Birgit Emich | Daniel Sidler
Samuel Weber | Christian Windler (eds.)

Making Saints in a "Glocal" Religion

Practices of Holiness in Early Modern Catholicism



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Kulturen des Christentums – Neue Zugänge zur Frühen Neuzeit

Cultures of Christianity – New Approaches to Early Modern History

Edited by
Nadine Amsler, Andreea Badea, Birgit Emich, Markus Friedrich, and Christian Windler

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Volume 3

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Daniel Sidler, Samuel Weber

Introduction: Making Saints in a "Glocal" Religion

Practices of Holiness in Early Modern Catholicism[1]

1. Rosa and the Others: "Glocal" Saints in Early Modern Catholicism

The place was Lima, and the year was 1670. Sometime in June, a group of men was hauling an unwieldy case up the hill from the port of Callao. The heavy chest had been discharged five days earlier, after a voyage from Rome that had lasted almost two years. Now volunteers were taking the coffer on a 10-mile trek to the Plaza Mayor, the beating heart of the Spanish government of colonial Peru. Once it arrived in the Viceregal Palace, the box was unlatched to reveal a white marble sculpture. Chiseled by the Maltese artist Melchiorre Cafà (1636–1667), the artwork was a life-size portrait of a young woman slumbering on her right side (Fig. 1). After a month or so in the chapel of the Viceregal Palace, the statue embarked on the final leg of its journey: it was bundled into the convent of San Domingo just one block from the Plaza Mayor, where it still sits today.[2]

The woman the sculpture represents was Rosa of Lima (1586–1617). Born Isabel Flores de Oliva, Rosa had been a Dominican tertiary who had died in her city aged just 31. The fragrance emanating from her body was so sweet that a local investigation into her blessedness was opened a mere week after her passing in 1617. In 1630, a second, apostolic trial got under way before the Congregation of Rites in Rome. Though off to a good start, this process stalled in 1634 when Pope Urban VIII's (r. 1623–1644) overhaul of the procedure to create saints stymied further canonizations for more than two decades. By the 1660s, however, work on pending cases had resumed. As the new mandatory 50 years between the candidate's death and their beatification elapsed, Clement IX (r. 1667–1669) proceeded to recognize Rosa as a *beata* in 1668. Having overcome this first hurdle, Rosa barreled toward official sanctity. The following year, she was designated patroness of Lima and Peru. In 1670, when the Cafà sculpture reached the New World, that patronage was extended to the Indies and the Philippines. In

1 We wish to thank Nadine Amsler, Birgit Emich, and Christian Windler for their thorough engagement with, and helpful comments on, earlier versions of this chapter. It goes without saying that all remaining factual errors and argumentative flaws are our fault alone.

2 This account is based on Tristan Weddigen, "Materiality and Idolatry: Roman Imaginations of Saint Rose of Lima," in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 103–146, 133, whose main source is the *Diario de Lima* of Josephe de Mugaburu (d. 1686).

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Fig. 1 Melchiorre Cafà, *Blessed Rosa de Santa María* (1665), marble, Lima, Museo del Convento Santo Domingo. Image © Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome; photo: Tristan Weddigen.

1671, when Rosa's likeness had been safely stowed away in the Dominican monastery, Clement X (r. 1670–1676) named Rosa the first American saint of the Church Universal.[3]

The marble sculpture that was sent to her hometown was part of the papacy's attempt to take control of the nascent cult. As Rosa underwent her apotheosis, the Curia spread the news of the New World beata *urbi et orbi*. In the wake of the beatification festivities in Rome in 1668, the papacy showered the Catholic world with 45,000 printed images, 20,000 medals, and 12,000 copies of a hagiography that was swiftly translated into six languages.[4] An impressive logistical feat though this was, these media paled in comparison with the campaign's *pièce de resistance*: the white sculpture. Commissioned by the Dominican pressure group orchestrating Rosa's sanctification, the Cafà effigy was first unveiled in Saint Peter's Cathedral on the day of her beatification. The artwork played on the polysemy of Rosa's name, with the rosebush symbolizing the spiritual

3 For a succinct summary of the proceedings, see Stephen M. Hart, "The Biographical Fashioning of the Americas' First Saint: Santa Rosa de Lima (1586–1617)," *The Modern Language Review* 114, no. 2 (2019): 230–258, 233–240.

4 Weddigen, "Materiality," 106. On the authorship of the hagiography, see Hart, "The Biographical Fashioning," 242–253.

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Fig. 2 Clemente Puche, *Saint Rose of Lima, the American Continent, and Luis Antonio de Oviedo y Herrera, Hagiographer of the Saint* (1711), engraving after a drawing by Matías de Irala (20.2 x 28.4 cm.), frontispiece of Luis Antonio de Oviedo y Herrera, Conde de la Granja, *Vida de la esclarecida virgen Santa Rosa de Santa Maria*, Madrid 1711.

conquest of the Americas: like Christianity, roses had been uprooted in the Old World and replanted in the New World to flourish in an inhospitable land.[5] In the aftermath of her beatification, the sculpture was dispatched to America as the papacy endeavored to mold Rosa's image ahead of her canonization. On site, though, the artwork's Rome-centric form and messaging found few takers: squirreled away in the Dominican convent, it quickly fell into oblivion.[6]

The reasons for this rejection were prosaic enough: the subjects of the Spanish monarchy in Lima and elsewhere preferred alternative depictions of Rosa. The Hispanic artistic production that gathered pace after her canonization attests to the ways in which different social groups reappropriated the Peruvian saint.[7] The rose as a symbol of transplanted Christianity remained a central motif, though the implantation of the new religion was chalked up to the Spanish nobility's derring-do rather than the papacy's universalism. In an engraving produced in Madrid (Fig. 2), Rosa sprouts from a rosebud,

5 Weddigen, "Materiality," 128–29.

6 Ibid., 146.

7 On appropriation in early modern Catholicism, see Simon Ditchfield and Linda Nolan, "Appropriation and Agency in the Making of Catholicism as a World Religion," in *Pathways through Early Modern Christianities*, ed. Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, and Birgit Emich (Cultures of Christianity: New Approaches to Early Modern History / Kulturen des Christentums. Neue Zugänge zur Frühen Neuzeit 1) (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2023), 87–124.

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holding an anchor with the cathedral of her hometown perched on its tines.[8] Clutching the stem of the plant is a naked allegory of America, whose mirror image is a member of the Spanish nobility, Luis Antonio de Oviedo y Herrera (1636–1717). The count of La Granja, as he was known, had spent several decades as a royal official in Peru and, as the quill in his hand tells us, penned a panegyric on Rosa, which was published in 1711. The details of his garb tell us much about the larger project of which this hagiographical production was part. Consider La Granja's coat with the embroidered cross of the Order of Santiago. Santiago, or Saint James (d. 44), was the apostle who had allegedly converted Spain to Christianity. In the Middle Ages, the Christian warrior nobility had recruited him for its latest venture: having been rebaptized Santiago Matamoros, the "Moor-slayer," he gave ideological cover to the "reconquest" of Christian Spain from Islam, which came to an end in 1492, the year Christopher Columbus set sail for the Indies. By choosing this motif, the engraver made the conquest of the Americas appear as the logical continuation of the conversionary politics of the reconquest and Rosa as the highest achievement of the Spanish elite's dissemination of Catholicism.[9] Rosa was hawked, not as a Roman *sancta*, but as a Hispanic saint, a comrade-in-arms for the spiritual mission of the monarchy of which she had been a subject.[10] As a member of the Spanish Inquisition, the institution that best embodied the Catholic monarchy's quest for religious conquest, put it, Rosa's "virtuous fragrances … have converted into a paradise of holy delights the previously barbarous jungle of our South America."[11]

Interestingly, the Madrid engraving lent itself to further modifications by those whom the Spanish aristocracy would rather have depicted as the passive recipients of Christianity. Let us have a closer look at a spinoff of the engraving that an anonymous artist of the Cuzco school must have realized sometime between 1730 and 1760 (Fig. 3).[12] As in the original, Rosa sprouts from a rosebud and clasps the same anchor that makes her instantly recognizable as a Limeña saint. What has changed is the two figures beneath

8 On the engraving, see Ramón Mujica Puntilla, *Rosa limensis: Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América* (Mexico City: Centro de estudios mexicanos y centroamericanos, 2005), 347–350.

9 See the brief notes in Ybeth Arias Cuba, "Aproximaciones sobre la producción y la circulación de impresos relacionados con la devoción de Santa Rosa de Santa María: Lima y México, 1669–1773," *Itinerantes: Revista de Histoira y Religión* 13 (2020): 9–31, 18. On the hagiographical project as part of the imperial ideology, see ibid., 22.

10 Ybeth Arias Cuba, "Los agentes de santa Rosa de Santa María: Gestores, divulgadores y devotos de la santa indiana en el Viejo y el Nuevo Mundo, siglo XVII," *Transhumante: Revista Americana de Historia Social* 16 (2020): 82–103, 93; Mujica Puntilla, *Rosa limensis*, 350.

11 Quoted in Kathleen Ann Myers, "'Redeemer of America': Rosa de Lima (1586–1617), the Dynamics of Identity, and Canonization," in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500–1800*, ed. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 251–275, 260.

12 See the description on the webpage of the Walters Art Museum, where the painting is now housed, for the information in this paragraph: https://art.thewalters.org/detail/101354/an-allegory-of-saint-rose-of-lima/ (last accessed December 17, 2023).

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Fig. 3 Anonymous (Cuzco School), *An Allegory of Saint Rose of Lima* (c. 1730–1760), oil on canvas (162.5 x 128.5 cm.), Baltimore, MD, The Walters Art Museum.

Rosa. The allegory of America is now dressed, and the Spanish nobleman has been replaced by a gentleman sporting the traditional gear of the Inca nobility, complete with a local flower called *cantuta*, which had been the symbol of Inca aristocracy since pre-Columbian times. While artists in Rome and Madrid had both wanted to enlist Rosa for their respective universalism, up-and-coming local elites portrayed her as an American saint—quite literally anchored in, and moored to, Peruvian society. As they inched toward independence from Spain, Rosa's prophecies lent support to their struggle against Iberian colonialism.[13] As Kathleen Ann Myer has commented: "criollos and Spaniards alike turned Rosa into a religious and political icon. For the latter, she often represented a new type of conquistador, while for the former, the saint proved America's parity with the Old World. For both, Rosa was a powerful symbol of America's triumphant Roman Catholic Christianity."[14]

As the example of the transfigurations of the first New World saint shows, saint-making was an open-ended process in which the Roman Curia was only one player among many. In the early modern period, the papacy constructed an increasingly convoluted regulatory framework that was supposed to turn Rome into the sole arbiter over the recognition of holy men and women. In reality, however, the bureaucratic structures that swelled from the late sixteenth century onward continued to depend on input from the grassroots and the outcome of their decisions had to be responsive to the needs and wishes of Catholics the world over. Despite Rome's assiduous attempts to put

13 On the appropriation of Rosa by Peruvians, see Mujica Puntilla, *Rosa limensis*, 352–372.

14 Myers, "'Redeemer,'" 259.

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an end to the pluralism of the Middle Ages, saint-making in the early modern period stubbornly and obstinately remained a process in which a great number of actors with contrasting and sometimes conflicting agendas participated. Far from being reducible to a legal procedure, as the Curia pretended, saint-making remained a set of practices that relied on a slew of media, ranging from panegyrics to paintings and sculptures, that allowed Catholics to tell rich stories about a saint.

The second point that emerges with equal limpidity is that contrary to the stated aims of the bureaucratization of saint-making, Rome rarely had the final say.[15] Indeed, once a saint had been recognized as worthy of universal worship, saint-making rumbled on as both early supporters of the cause and new devotees appropriated the saint and reinvented them for their own purposes. As evidenced by the example of the Roman sculpture that the Limeños and Limeñas treated with such indifference, the hopes and wishes of adorers of a saint living far away from Rome often thwarted the papacy's ambition to be the mainspring of sanctity. As Catholicism expanded to new continents and became more diverse, saint-making both before and after the formal verdict in the apostolic process necessarily played out between local exigencies and the global designs of the Church. Even if they were cleared for universal veneration, which was itself an exceptional occurrence, early modern holy persons like Rosa had to transmute into "glocal" saints: they needed to be firmly lodged in local contexts, where different groups could project their most intimate longings onto them, lest the paragon be deemed out of touch with the concrete reality in which ordinary laypeople eked out their existence.

2. Heavenly Protectors: Old and New Saints in Early Modern Catholicism

Rosa was one of the many saints of ancient origin or more recent creation that were venerated in early modern Catholicism. The phenomenal success of the cult of saints can partly be pinned down to theological reasons: their mere existence, and their efficacy, was a robust rebuttal of Protestant ideas of salvation. But if saints became as popular as they did in post-Tridentine Catholicism, this also had much to do with the fact that they helped Catholics to cope with the complexity and the unfairness of their world.[16]

Saints were an integral part of the everyday lives of Catholics after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). As Damien Tricoire has argued, the Catholicism that had crystallized by the early seventeenth century conceived of heaven and earth as interconnected entities

15 Birgit Emich, "*Roma locuta – causa finita*? Zur Entscheidungskultur des frühneuzeitlichen Papsttums," in *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit. Akteure – Handlungen – Artefakte*, ed. Arndt Brendecke (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), 635–645.

16 Diana Bullen Presciutti, *Saints, Miracles, and Social Problems in Italian Renaissance Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

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that existed on a continuum.[17] The here and now was made of estates that assigned each individual their place, but the social hierarchies on earth extended directly into the hereafter. Humans were perched on a ladder whose upper rungs were occupied by the saints, their queen, Mary, and God. And if clientelism dominated interactions between social groups on earth, patronage also reigned supreme in heaven. Just like earthly elites could be asked to intercede for favors from a prince, the saints acted as intermediaries between the faithful and God. After all, the Council of Trent had stipulated that "[…] the saints, who reign together with Christ offer up their own prayers to God for men; […] it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid, (and) help for obtaining benefits from God, through His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our alone Redeemer and Saviour."[18] Though this reading was not intended by the Council fathers, who wanted to promote the saints as role models, the faithful came to see them as agents who intervened directly in their lives.[19] This was as true of political elites, who consulted the saints regularly,[20] as it was of the masses over whom they ruled. Though the relationships they formed with the saints were often fraught with broken promises, Catholics regularly beseeched them to perform miracles that made their hardship a little more bearable.[21]

Since many early modern Catholics had an anthropomorphic conception of the saints, the relationships they cultivated with them could be quite personal and intense. Miracle reports pry open a world in which the faithful tremble at the revenge of a disappointed heavenly protector who retracted their aid when their devotees failed to honor them in the right way.[22] In other instances, though, Catholics were less reverent. In Portuguese India, for instance, they had a habit of taking it out on Anthony of Padua (1195–1231), the saint of lost things, when they mislaid something. According to a

17 Damien Tricoire, "What Was the Catholic Reformation? Marian Piety and the Universalization of Divine Love," *Catholic Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (2017): 20–49. Tricoire focuses on Mary, but his reasoning also applies to the other saints.

18 *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 235.

19 Ottavia Niccoli, *La vita religiosa nell'Italia moderna: Secoli XV–XVIII* (Rome: Carocci, 1998), 184–188; Gabriella Zarri, *Profezia e disciplina: La santità in età moderna* (Bologna: Marietti 1820, 2021), 50.

20 Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: Saints in the Italian City-State* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1996); Damien Tricoire, *Mit Gott rechnen: Katholische Reform und politisches Kalkül in Frankreich, Bayern und Polen-Litauen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

21 This is a major theme in many case studies that we will cite in the following pages. For an overview, see Niccoli, *La vita religiosa*, 184, 188. Our methodological approach owes much to Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013).

22 Two exemplary sources from our own research are Mauritius Pfleger, *Gedeonische Wunder-Fakel, auff ein newes entzündt in dem glorwürdigen Heiligen Blut-Zeugen Christi Leontio. […]* (Zug: Johann Karl Roos, 1706), 207–208; and Francesco Pepe, *Terza novena di sabati dell'Immacolata Concezione della Divina Madre Maria SS.* (Naples: Stamperia di Giovanni Riccio, 1744), 423.

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French missionary writing in the 1670s, whenever Indian Catholics "lost something" or "feared some accident," they attacked statues of the saint. To vent their anger, they hurled the icons into the corner of their fireplaces or hung them out the window. Others even attacked distinct body parts: while some "tie his feet, hands, and the entire body," others "bite his head, [and] tear off his ears with their teeth." Others still punished the saint by depriving the sculpture of the small image of Jesus that Anthony usually held in his hand.[23] While this may be an extreme example, it nevertheless demonstrates that Catholics felt they had a contract with the saints.

Holy children, women, and men were widely seen as troubleshooters. Neapolitans regularly implored the saints for *una grazia*.[24] In a world that lacked safety nets, a *grazia* could be something as seemingly mundane as protection from dog bites or an otherworldly insurance against traffic accidents involving horse-drawn carriages. In the eighteenth century, the reformer Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750) remarked sardonically of fellow Catholics: "through [the saints'] means, they expect worldly benefices, such as to be freed of ailments of the body, to be spared storms, floods, and fire, to have a good harvest, to win a court case, to have children, or to travel or navigate safely."[25] Muratori was highly critical of this particular conception of the saints. Not only did it abet the idea that it was the saints who performed miracles rather than God; but it also turned the faithful away from seeing saints for what they really were: "living models of all virtues," to be imitated by those "admiring what [the saints] have done in this life" on earth and willing to take in "the ineffable meed they have brought to God."[26] Though his reproval of Catholic practice was firmly rooted in the official doctrine of the post-Tridentine Church, Muratori's remained an isolated voice: even in the eighteenth century, most Catholics continued to venerate saints for the reprieve they offered in times of need, as they had done since the late sixteenth century.

Part and parcel of this veneration of the saints was the belief that every saint put forward particular services. Most faithful had a vague idea of the division of labor between saints and prayed to a whole roster of them to cover all their needs. However, the very vagueness of that mental map meant that the competencies of a saint could change even on such a small patch of land as the island of Sicily. A tract written to refute Muratori's assault on the baroque cult of saints reminded readers, "On our Sicily, Saint

23 François Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis and Apostolic Vicar, to Charles Sevin, Balasore (Bengal), December 22, 1672: Archives des Missions étrangères de Paris, vol. 854, 232. We thank Christian Windler for sharing this source with us.

24 Tommaso Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 139–150; Giulio Sodano, *Il miracolo nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia tra santi, madonne, guaritrici e medici* (Naples: Guida, 2010).

25 Lamindo Pritanio, *Della regolata divozion de' cristiani* (Venezia: Stamperia di Giambatista Albrizzi, 1747), 270.

26 Ibid., 264–265.

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Calogerus of Sciacca is famous for the cure of skin fissures (*crepature*), especially in children; in Caltagirone that same grace is bestowed by Saint James, in Syracuse by Saint Sebastian, in Noto by Saint Conrad."[27] On a global scale, these differences were even starker, with different saints being conjured for the same grace depending on locality.

Besides individuals in a pinch, saints shielded particular demographics. One group that was especially close to the saints was the nobility. Noble houses ostentated their holy ancestors. This tendency was particularly pronounced among members of the Hispanic elite, who fabricated holy ancestors that watched over them and, by extension, the *monarquía*. One obvious case in point was the Tomasi family from Sicily;[28] another the Borromeos, whose successful canonization of their forebear Carlo (1538–1584) is the subject of Samuel Weber's contribution to this volume. Many more tried and failed, not least because the Church boosted the spiritual family as a more saintly form of kinship than blood ties, as Birgit Emich explains in her chapter. The Spanish Habsburgs, for instance, had to make do with the belated and rather humiliating equipollent canonization of a thirteenth-century king in 1671.[29] Although Fernando III (1199/1201–1252) had an impeccable pedigree as a defender of the faith against Islam, he was no match for the crusader Saint Louis (1214–1270), who looked out for the Spanish kings' rivals, the French monarchs.[30]

More abstract groups similarly built rapport with the saints. Although much more research is needed on this particular topic, the veneration of saints was a deeply gendered phenomenon. Mary, for instance, appealed to men and women for different reasons. The Mother of God was the protectress of Christian warrior nobles; she helped shore up their masculinity.[31] At the same time, she was peddled as a saint for women, though the virginity that was held up as her distinctive feature was at best a mixed blessing, and at worst a poisoned chalice for most women.[32] Other holy persons safeguarded corporate groups, such as guilds, which often venerated the protector of their craft

27 Salvatore Maurici, *La divozion de' cristiani difesa dalla critica di Lamindo Pritanio. Dialoghi compilati da Salvatore Maurici della Compagnia di Gesù* (Lucca: Filippo Maria Benedini, 1753), 87.

28 Sara Cabibbo, *La santa dei Tomasi: Storia di Suor Maria Crocifissa (1645–1699)* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989).

29 Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, "Santo y rey: La corte de Felipe IV y la canonización de Fernando III," in *Homenaje a Henri Guerriero: La hagiografía entre historia y literatura en la España de la Edad Media y del Siglo de Oro*, ed. Marc Vitse (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2005), 243–260.

30 Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVI^e siècle: Essai sur la vision gallicane du monde* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), 83–85; Sean Heath, *Sacral Kingship in Bourbon France: The Cult of Saint Louis, 1589–1830* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021).

31 Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

32 Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

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in confraternities.[33] In ways not dissimilar from surgeons and booksellers, political entities, such as cities and entire kingdoms, solicited the protection of a particular saint. The city of Palermo, for example, adopted the twelfth-century hermit Rosalia (1130–1170) as its protectress after she had ended the plague that was ravaging in the city in 1624.[34] Having contained the epidemic that was eating away at both the very real bodies of the king's subjects and the imagined body politic, *la santuzza* conquered the Hispanic world by storm, making new devotees in Pegli near Genoa, the Andalusian port of Seville, El Hatillo on the outskirts of Caracas, and present-day California. Some saints protected whole empires. In the seventeenth century, the Spanish monarchy replaced its traditional warrior saint Santiago with the poster child of the triumphant Counter-Reformation. As the last *moriscos* were pushed out in 1614 and Iberia became exclusively Catholic after centuries of Christian *convivencia* with Jews and Muslims, the Carmelite nun Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582) was entrusted with the unenviable task of uniting the composite monarchy of the Catholic kings.[35]

Saints and the miracles they wrought were eloquent markers of confessional identity. Martyrs who had met a violent death in defense of the faith were cherished for their ability to establish a link to earlier generations of Christians. In the 1620s, the bodily remains excavated at Arjona, a town in Andalusia, were touted as so many vestiges of the early Christian past that had preceded the centuries of Muslim rule in the Middle Ages and that was resurrected as Spain became finally exclusively Catholic again.[36] A particularly revered group of martyrs was the men and women who had allegedly been immolated during the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire.[37] After the discovery of the Catacombs of Priscilla in Rome in 1578, the relics of purported martyrs were shipped out to the Catholic world, complete with invented hagiographies detailing their demise in all its gory details. As Christophe Duhamelle shows in this volume, these bones connected Catholics around the world with the Eternal City, offering them a sense of material continuity with the past that was no match for the Protestant Churches. Indeed, in re-Catholicized areas of the Holy Roman Empire, such as the Upper Palatinate in Bavaria, these translations helped Catholics set themselves apart from Protestants:

33 Cécile Vincent-Cassy, "Introducción," in *Hacedores de Santos: La fábrica de santidad en la Europa católica (siglos XV–XVIII)*, ed. eadem and Pierre Civil (Madrid: Doce Calles, 2019), 9–16, 12–13.

34 Sara Cabibbo, *Santa Rosalia tra terra e cielo: Storia, rituali, linguaggi di un culto barocco* (Palermo: Sellerio, 2004).

35 Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014).

36 Katrina B. Olds, "The Ambiguities of the Holy: Authenticating Relics in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2012): 135–184.

37 Bernard Dompnier and Stefania Nanni, eds., *La Mémoire des saints originels entre XVI^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2019).

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the catacomb saints seemingly provided unassailable evidence that the Roman Church was the one true Church that had existed unaltered since Antiquity.[38]

Though seldom canonized in the early modern period, more recent martyrs were held in equally high esteem, especially in areas where Catholics rubbed shoulders with other Christian denominations and non-Christians.[39] Martyred Catholics featured prominently where Catholics were an embattled minority laboring under Protestant majority rule. In England and Wales, for example, Catholics were galvanized by the example of brethren assassinated for their unflinching commitment to the old faith during the persecutions that the Crown unleashed on the clandestine Catholic minority, as Alexandra Walsham shows in this volume. But even in predominantly Catholic areas, the cult of recent martyrs made individual believers feel part of a larger whole. The belief in holy children allegedly killed by "perfidious" Jews around Passover forged a sense of community *ex negativo* among Catholics, with devastating consequences for the Jews living in their midst.[40] Missionaries killed in faraway lands, preferably by "savages," bolstered a Catholic identity both in the colonies and back in Europe, where stories of their tribulations circulated widely.[41] Indeed, Spanish and Portuguese imperialism rested to a considerable extent on the idea that the blood spilled when evangelizers were assassinated by antagonistic non-Europeans would act as a fertilizer for Christianity outside Europe.[42]

As this last example attests, saints were as popular in Catholicism's heartland in Europe as in the territories in the Americas, Asia, and Africa that had only recently become Catholic. Settlers in seventeenth-century New France, for example, had to cope with two disappointments at once: they had traded in a deeply depraved France for a colony that, far from being the empty land they could mold into a truly Christian community, turned out to be inhabited by hostile "savages" who had little time for the Gospel. In their dismay, settlers rallied behind Catherine de Saint-Augustin (1632–1668), an Augustinian nun and living saint "whom they could invoke in times of need or crisis and who might advocate with God on their behalf, and on the behalf of the colony and its Christian population."[43]

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38 Trevor Johnson, "Holy Fabrications: The Catacomb Saints and the Counter-Reformation in Bavaria," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47, no. 2 (1996): 274–297.

39 Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993).

40 Magda Teter, *Blood Libel: On the Trail of an Antisemitic Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020).

41 Paul Perron, "Isaac Jogues: From Martyrdom to Sainthood," in Bilinkoff and Greer, eds., *Colonial Saints*, 153–168.

42 Alejandro Cañeque, *Un imperio de mártires: Religión y poder en las fronteras de la monarquía hispánica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2020).

43 Timothy G. Pearson, "'I Willingly Speak to You About Her Virtues': Catherine de Saint-Augustin and the Public Role of Female Holiness in Early New France," *Church History* 79, no. 2 (2010): 305–333, 328.

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If saints could be protectors of white supremacy and genocidal settler colonialism, the new converts readily found ways to integrate them into their religious practice as well. The Nahua in New Spain, for instance, "learned the significance of the cult of saints" from the European missionaries who had swept in along Spanish conquering armies. In less than no time, "almost everything they wrote without supervision and thus for their own eyes and purposes—including wills, municipal decrees, property sales, leases or annals—reflected belief in the active agency of saints or invoked their intercession and aid. The latter were regarded as the parents of their people and as the true owners of a community's land."[44]

This syncretism was not unique to New Spain. Indeed, European missionaries in the Americas often tried hard to build on ideas about saints that were floating around. In the New World, proselytizers sought to weld Christianity with the religious beliefs of Indigenous peoples.[45] As Dot Tuer has shown, the Guaraní on the border of present-day Argentina and Paraguay were devoted to San Lamuerte, a figure made from human bones, which the Indigenous population believed spoke to them. To integrate this amulet into Catholicism, both the missionaries and the Guaraní had to make concessions. Missionaries occasionally honored San Lamuerte as part of the perfectly orthodox Señor de la Paciencia cult. The Guaraní in turn hid the figurines within the wooden statue of an official saint or Mary, which was then blessed by an unwitting priest.[46] Such pairings of recognized saints with local holy persons were increasingly common in early modern Catholicism, as several contributions to this volume reveal.

In the Americas, where great-power politicking intersected with the organization of society along racial lines, the same saint appealed to different groups for different reasons. The trajectory of Saint Anthony in Portuguese America seems particularly apropos to illustrate the polyvalence of early modern saints. An eleventh-century Portuguese friar named after the Italian city in which he had passed away, Saint Anthony of Padua made a name for himself as a scourge of Albigensians in southern France and a recoverer of lost property. In seventeenth-century Brazil, both qualities acquired new valence. His fight against heresy became a mobilizing tool against the Calvinist Dutch, who were driven out of Brazil under the Braganza, whose supporters used Anthony's association with lost property to turn him into a standard-bearer for the project to redeem Portuguese sovereignty from Spain, which promptly ensued in the 1640s. Within the racialized society of colonial Brazil, Saint Anthony also served as a patron of both the enslaved and

44 Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion, 1550–1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 201–224, 223.

45 Jodi Bilinkoff, "Introduction," in eadem and Greer, eds., *Colonial Saints*, xiii–xxii, xiv.

46 Dot Tuer, "Old Bones and Beautiful Words: The Spiritual Contestation between Shaman and Jesuit in the Guaraní Missions," in ibid., 77–97, 78.

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enslavers. Afro-Brazilians integrated him into their syncretic religion, whereas white slave catchers looked up to him as the restorer of lost property.[47]

In China, where adherence to Christianity was voluntary, missionaries similarly tapped into local beliefs. As a result of the encounter between Catholic evangelizers and Chinese elites, starting in the late sixteenth century the Catholic cult of the saints lived cheek by jowl with the local worship of spiritual overachievers. Over time these two cultures converged to form a Sinicized cult of saints, as Nadine Amsler argues in this volume. The cult of the saints, then, was elastic and flexible enough for Catholics to adapt it to their needs. What brought them together was the vision of the saints as celestial protectors who had the power to bail them out and offer them much-needed comfort.

3. Making Saints: The Practices of Holiness in Early Modern Catholicism

Saints were a ubiquitous presence in the lives of early modern Catholics who venerated them as heavenly patrons. As with earthly benefactors, their clients needed to cajole them lest they withhold their favor.[48] However, since these celestial protectors lived in the hereafter, they had to be petitioned through individual and collective action, through media and rituals, in a process that was constitutive of both the devotee and their saint.[49] Cécile Vincent-Cassy has therefore argued that this ensemble of actions should be treated as the incubator of old and new saints.[50] Saint-making encompassed a series of practices that were as diverse as the people who lived with the saints. We would like to suggest in turn that the construction of a cult consisted of a set of practices that were performed and mediatized in ways that were both timeless and specific to the social and media configurations of the early modern period, which saw the expansion of Catholicism to new continents and the resulting need to make and venerate saints in novel ways.[51]

The making of a saint usually started with the passing of a person who was thought to have lived a saintly life. The production of such a reputation was a collaborative effort. As Jodi Bilinkoff has taught us, the writing of a holy life often required the participation of the future saint themselves, such as when confessors asked their spiritual

47 Ronaldo Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," in ibid., 99–111.

48 Albrecht Burkardt, *Les Clients des saints: Maladie et quête du miracle à travers les procès de canonisation de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle en France* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004).

49 Robert Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint: Image and Performance in Marian Devotion," *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 629–654.

50 Vincent-Cassy, "Introducción," 9–10.

51 Friedrich Balke, Bernhard Siegert, and Joseph Vogl, eds., *Medien des Heiligen* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015).

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charges to record their experiences.[52] In other instances, it was the people who had lived closest to the deceased person who weaved stories about their saintly lives in the community in which they had prospered.[53] As Bilinkoff shows in this volume, narrating the sometimes deeply personal experiences that close allies of the saint had had with them was an important part of constructing the first hagiographical accounts of a saint. Alexandra Walsham, meanwhile, introduces us to the many visual, written, and oral texts that English and Welsh Catholics harnessed to honor the memory of their martyred coreligionists, demonstrating the importance of community in sustaining a *fama sanctitatis*. Significant though they were, these tales nevertheless remained circumscribed to relatively small communities. For the cult to develop further, the body parts of the saint, known as relics, were an important second ingredient.

Relics were a tangible physical remnant of the holy person. When a saint-in-waiting died, the faithful regularly scrambled to get their hands on bits of their corpse.[54] The chaotic scenes that unfolded when a saint was laid in repose were commonly associated with the populace. But some of these bodily remains regularly ended up in the hands of influential devotees who flaunted them as treasured possessions. Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–1598), for instance, hoarded the body parts of ancient, medieval, and early modern saints at the Royal Monastery of El Escorial. This collection was at once an attempt to be close to the saints as he brooded over the fate of the monarchy, and to lay claim to the holy men and women of the world-spanning empire over which he presided.[55]

Relics from the rapidly expanding Catholic world married the desire to rule the world with the aristocratic quest for exotica. For Philip II and his successors, the circulation of relics was inseparable from Iberian ambitions in Asia. As Urte Krass has shown, holy bones journeyed back and forth between Europe and the *Estado da Índia*, often stowed away in precious reliquaries that artisans from Gujarat, Goa, and Japan made from mother of pearl and tortoiseshell. These exotic containers betokened otherworldliness: the reliquaries manufactured in India put Europeans in touch with heaven.[56] At the same time, these cases were intimately bound up with European elites' thirst for distinction.

52 Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450–1750* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

53 Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Pearson, "'I Willingly Speak.'"

54 Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540–1770*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 135.

55 Guy Lazure, "Posséder le sacré: Monarchie et identité dans la collection de reliques de Philippe II à l'Escorial," in *Reliques modernes: Cultes et usages chrétiens des corps saints des Réformes aux révolutions*, ed. Philippe Boutry, Pierre Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2009), vol. 1, 371–404.

56 Urte Krass, "Naked Bones, Empty Caskets, and a Faceless Bust: Christian Relics and Reliquaries between Europe and Asia during Early Modern Globalisation," in Göttler and Mochizuki, eds., *The Nomadic Object*, 371–405.

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Collecting relics became *de rigueur* in aristocratic milieus. For aristocrats, relics were prized resources that could be converted within the gift-exchange economy on which that social group prided itself.[57] The hawking of relics fostered ties between the various elements of the ruling elites. In French cities, cloistered nuns, who often belonged to leading families, were gifted precious relics for their cloister that they then passed on to other houses of their order, making them important parts of the tit for tat that sustained aristocratic networks in early modernity.[58]

Fired by noble largesse, the circulation of relics proved a powerful catalyst for new cults. Both relics and contact relics (objects that had been in touch with the holy person's body) were believed to establish a tangible link between the saint and the faithful who hoped for their intercession. Before long, these body parts inevitably brought about miracles, ideally in places far away from where the saint had lived. Word of the holy reputation of the Carmelite Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi (1566–1607) spread quickly beyond her native Florence thanks to the relics that well-connected saint-makers sent out to the Catholic world.[59] In this volume, Philipp Zwyssig similarly shows how the promoters of the cult of Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–1591) were keen on miracles to materialize, not in Luigi's native Mantua or Rome, but in the Valtelline, a confessional borderland to which the Jesuit saint had had no personal connection but which his supporters had successfully infiltrated through patronage. The wider the relics were dispersed, the better for the nascent cult.

The early miracles, along with the life story of the saint, formed the basis of the first hagiographies. The miracles that relics helped engineer were duly documented in manuscript and printed sources. Broadsheets extoling the miracles of people who died with a reputation of sanctity flowed to and fro between continents.[60] Cobbling them together with earlier evidence from the saint's life, doughty saint-makers compiled extensive compendia. These miracle reports were then attached to a biography that expatiated on the heroic virtues of the saint in the making. To write these stories, saint-makers usually milked the manuscript work of others. As with the oral accounts on which they were based, these early biographies were extremely volatile. Often, the stories that were recounted about saints tell us less about the saints themselves than about their

57 A. Katie Harris, "Gift, Sale, and Theft: Juan de Ribera and the Sacred Economy of Relics in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014): 193–226.

58 Nicolas Guyard, "Sanctifier le cloître: Les dons de reliques aux carmélites de Lyon et Rouen à l'époque moderne," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 177 (2017): 283–302.

59 Clare Copeland, *Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi: The Making of a Counter-Reformation Saint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 77.

60 Jonathan E. Greenwood, "Miracles in Writing: Obstetric Intercessions, Scribal Relics, and Jesuit News in the Early Modern Global Cult of Ignatius of Loyola," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9 (2022): 338–356; Rady Roldán-Figueroa, *The Martyrs of Japan: Publication History and Catholic Missions in the Spanish World (Spain, New Spain, and the Philippines, 1597–1700)* (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 195) (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

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promoters, who changed the narratives to fit their shifting priorities, as Samuel Weber shows in his chapter detailing the many hagiographical rebirths of Carlo Borromeo.

Hagiographical texts came in many forms. As was typical of the written word in the early modern period, many genres had a performative element that made them accessible to the illiterate. The most common genres included sermons and stage plays, which were written for oral consumption and demanded considerable emotional investment of their consumers. In the Hispanic world in particular, the *comedia de santos* germinated as a popular genre. With their distinctive admixture of devout and comical infotainment, these plays became an important vector of saint-making in the seventeenth century.[61] The showpiece of these writings, however, was the hagiography proper. That genre had been around since the Middle Ages, but in the age of print it became ubiquitous.[62] In Catholic areas, the *vitae* of saints were one of the most widely consumed type of literature well into the eighteenth century.

While single biographies were often intensely local, there were parallel initiatives that wanted to portray the saints in all their diversity. By the latter half of the sixteenth century, Cesare Baronio (1538–1607) was hard at work on the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607), which raked up ancient and newer saints to demonstrate that the Roman Catholic Church had always been the same (*semper eadem*).[63] Other scholars followed suit. The Bollandists, a group of academics affiliated with the Jesuits, assembled a controversial collection that showcased the life stories of 1,400 saints in an explicit attempt to display the richness of Catholicism.[64] These projects may well have been too ambitious. Indeed, as Simon Ditchfield showed in a pioneering study in 1995, many dioceses had their "local Baronio" who churned out collective hagiographies of local saints.[65] In areas where confessional strife was rife, such as Bavaria, a tireless scholar like the Jesuit Matthäus Rader (1561–1623) offered an overview of local holy men and

61 Natalia Fernández Rodríguez, "El arte de hacer comedias de santos: Lope de Vega y la conformación de un género," in Vincent-Cassy and Civil, eds., *Hacedores de Santos*, 165–181.

62 This critique was developed most fully in the writings of Muratori. See Pritanio, *Della regolata*, 278.

63 Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, "Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church," in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 52–71.

64 Andreea Badea, "'Die Häretiker aber gönnen sich nun allerfeierlichstes Gelächter.' Oder: Wer entscheidet über den Heiligenhimmel? Kuriale Überlegungen zum Absolutheitsanspruch Roms im späten 17. Jahrhundert," in *Confessio im Konflikt: Religiöse Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung in der Frühen Neuzeit. Ein Studienbuch*, ed. Mona Garloff and Christian Volkmar Witt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 235–253; eadem, "(Heiligen-)Geschichte als Streitfall: Die *Acta sanctorum* und Mabillons *Epistola de cultu sanctorum ignotorum* und die römische Zensur," in *Europäische Geschichtskulturen um 1700 zwischen Gelehrsamkeit, Politik und Konfession*, ed. Thomas Wallnig, Thomas Stockinger, Ines Peper, and Patrick Fiska (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 379–404.

65 Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Local* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Part II: Sanctity, 115–269.

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women in the famous *Bavaria sancta* (1615–1627). A similar project saw the light in Catholic Switzerland, as Daniel Sidler shows in this volume. These books reveal the continued need for local pantheons in a rapidly diversifying universal Church, which in some cases put rabid defenders of their *patria chica* on a collision course with Rome.[66]

An equally potent means to portray saints was artwork. Paintings recovered long-forgotten saints, such as the alleged virgin martyrs of the Iberian Peninsula whom the masters of the Spanish Golden Age resurrected with the paintbrush: alongside bespoke comedies, these canvases played a significant role in creating the personae of these elusive heroines of the early Church.[67] The first paintings of ancient and modern saints were often produced in the place where they had lived before they were brought in line with the post-Tridentine canons. The earliest pictures of Rosa of Lima must have flowed from the paintbrushes of American painters, but the images that the papacy lavished on the Catholic world in the wake of her beatification were productions by Flemish and Italian artists.[68] Raphaèle Preisinger alerts us to a similar process in her chapter on the group of missionaries and their local acolytes who were impaled while tied to a cross during the persecution of Christians in Japan in 1597: the earliest depictions of the Nagasaki martyrs, as they became known, were produced in Japan in accordance with local conventions. It was only when these paintings traveled to Europe by way of Mexico that artists versed in traditional Christian iconography began portraying them in ways that made them resemble the crucified Jesus. As we have seen with Rosa of Lima, such an appropriation by the self-proclaimed center of the Catholic world did not preclude the possibility of later reappropriations by local communities. Indeed, in the case of the Nagasaki martyrs, painters in Cuzco showed considerable interest in the non-European victims of the anti-Christian persecution in Japan. After news of their gruesome death had reached the Andes, they used the martyred Japanese to inscribe non-European Christians into the emerging global Church.

Paintings were, of course, a distinguishing feature of early modern Catholicism.[69] Protestants and even some Catholics criticized Catholics' reliance on images, dreading that the uneducated might confuse them with the saint they represented. The decrees of the Twenty-Fifth Session of the Council of Trent sought to steer a middle course between these polarized positions. Ultimately, though, the majority of early modern Catholics chose to read the decrees as a full-throated endorsement of the use of paint-

66 On these dynamics, see Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).

67 Cécile Vincent-Cassy, *Les Saintes Vierges et martyres dans l'Espagne du XVII^e siècle* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011).

68 Weddigen, "Materiality," 146.

69 Suzanna Ivanič, *Catholica: The Visual Culture of Catholicism* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2022).

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ings as material connectors to the saints.[70] As with hagiographies, the printing press revolutionized the reproduction of images, which became portable objects that the faithful could use to pray for the intercession of the saints in their day-to-day lives. Prayer cards depicting saints—appropriately named *santini,* small saints, in Italian—circulated widely, snatching saint-making from church interiors, where the original paintings were normally hung, and transplanting it to the homes of ordinary Catholics.[71] Easily transportable, these images roamed the globe, where they proved instrumental in the spread of the cult of saints.[72] Ideally, paintings interacted with other media to assist ordinary Catholics with building rapport with the saints. Over time, reproducible texts and images replaced the finite number of relics on offer in helping Catholics get—quite literally—in touch with a saint and experience their intervention.[73]

Hagiographies, prayer cards, and other devotional articles whipped into being a public for a saint,[74] though ecclesiastical authorities never fully controlled the ways consumers appropriated their content. In theory, hagiographical media were meant to inspire Catholics to lead more saintly lives, a major concern of all the faithful at the time.[75] In reality, such imitative behavior often smacked of feigned sanctity and set its practitioners up for repeated run-ins with the Holy Office. In the 1750s and 1760s, Isabella Milone (1724–1782) of Naples briefly attracted a popular following as a living saint before it was discovered that her alleged mystical experiences had been lifted *verbatim* from the writings of Maria Villani (1584–1670), a woman who had departed this world in the odor of sanctity and whose *bona fides* were beyond doubt.[76] Luckily for the authorities, the willful appropriation of saints' lives was not as common as some *zelanti* feared.[77] Most Catholics did not pilfer from these texts to boost their profile. Nor, though, did they primarily read them to take in the edifying life story of a saint.

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70 Ottavia Niccoli, *Vedere con gli occhi del cuore: Alle origini del potere delle immagini* (Rome: Laterza, 2011); Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie der Frühen Neuzeit: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2016).

71 Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser, *Spectacular Images: Transforming Images in Italy from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013).

72 Göttler and Mochizuki, eds., *The Nomadic Object*.

73 Julia Boss, "Writing a Relic: The Uses of Hagiography in New France," in Bilinkoff and Greer, eds., *Colonial Saints*, 211–233; Xenia von Tippelskirch, *Sotto controllo: Letture femminili in Italia nella prima età moderna* (Rome: Viella, 2011), 75–78.

74 Paolo Golinelli, ed., *Il pubblico dei santi: Forme e livelli di ricezione dei messaggi agiografici* (Rome: Viella, 2000).

75 Ulrich L. Lehner, *The Inner Life of Catholic Reform: From the Council of Trent to the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

76 *Istruzione mistica a' confessori per discernere gli spiriti sulla confutazione de' portenti d'Isabella Milone* (Naples: Gaetano Raimondini, 1793), 31. The hagiography Milone plagiarized was Domenico Maria Marchese, *Vita della serva di Dio Suor Maria Villani dell'Ordine de' Predicatori, Fondatrice del Monastero di Santa Maria del Divino Amore di Napoli* (Naples: Giacinto Passaro, 1674).

77 For a similar argument on devotional objects more generally, see Lehner, *The Inner Life*, 193–194.

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Indeed, the common reader was most interested in the miracle-working prowess of the saint.[78] If the reader response was thus far removed from the proclaimed ideals of the Tridentine Church, hagiographical media nevertheless familiarized a critical mass of devotees with a new saint and propelled their cult forward. As consumers experienced new miracles, more and more of them were willing to entreat a new saint to intervene on their behalf.

Many of the miracles attributed to saints were the result of vows the faithful had made after learning about a saint's knack for helping them out. Within the logic of the early modern gift register, these votive offerings needed to be reciprocated by the saint in the form of new miracles. These gifts from above, in turn, fed media productions. Once they had received an act of grace, the *miraculés* documented their experience through votive tablets that were put on public display.[79] Another part of the vow often entailed pilgrimage to a shrine, which was another form of saint-making popular among Catholics,[80] though the ungovernable cults that developed at these sites could put ecclesiastical authorities in a spot of bother, as Philipp Zwyssig argues in this volume.

Some of these acts could take on a collective dimension. Votive offerings, for instance, were often made by communities, which thanked their intercessor for an act of grace by building a church in their honor. In 1673, the inhabitants of the town of Sittard in the Duchy of Jülich erected the first-ever chapel dedicated to Rosa of Lima after the new saint had ended an outbreak of dysentery in 1671, the year of her canonization.[81] A saint who had allegedly fended off a Dutch attack on Lima with the help of the Eucharist must have held particular appeal to these Limburg Catholics who resided a stone's throw away from Protestants.[82] Other vows were renewed every time disaster struck. Parisians repeatedly pleaded with their patroness, Saint Geneviève (c. 419/422–502/512), who helped them out time and time again. To acknowledge her intercession, the urban elite

78 Albrecht Burkardt, "Reconnaissance et dévotion: Les Vies de saints et leurs lectures au début du XVII^{e} siècle à travers les procès de canonisations," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 43, no. 2 (1996): 214–233.

79 Mary Laven, "Recording Miracles in Renaissance Italy," *Past & Present* 230, Issue supplement 11 (2016): 191–212; eadem, "Wax Versus Wood: The Material of Votive Offerings in Renaissance Italy," in *Religious Materiality in the Early Modern World*, ed. Suzanna Ivanic, eadem, and Andrew Morrall (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 35–50.

80 Philippe Boutry, Dominique Julia, and Pierre-Antoine Fabre, eds., *Rendre ses vœux: Les Identités pèlerines dans l'Europe moderne, XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2000).

81 Alphons B. Alberts, *Het leven der heilige Rosa van Lima, maagd, patrones tegen besmettelijke ziekten* (Sittard: Snelpersdrukkerij, 1885), 37–39.

82 They must have read a Dutch version of her first hagiography. See Leonardus Hansen, *Het Wonder Leven en de kostelycke Doodt, met het Begrijp der Mirakelen van de H. Rosa de S. Maria van Lima in Peru*, trans. Joannes Baptista Wouters (Brussels: Philips Vleugaert, 1668), 317–318. On the episode, see Mujica Puntilla, *Rosa limensis*, 215–221.

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and the French kings commissioned countless paintings and, most importantly, the church that is now the Pantheon sitting atop the Latin Quarter.[83] The individual and collective devotion to a group of saints could form entire topographies of grace, holy landscapes dotted with shrines, chapels, and churches, which seem to have been in particularly high demand in areas where Christian denominations lived side by side.[84]

Saint-making was also embedded within communal practices. Confraternities provided shelter to the devotees of a particular holy person, furnishing them with indulgences, as well as sociability. Saints were venerated regularly both in the liturgy and the ceremonies that were staged in their honor on their feast day. Both were enactments of a saint that gave communities ways to renew their attachment to them.[85] Ceremonies sanctified urban spaces. Not only did they give the laity an opportunity to create their saints *in actu*, but they also afforded a platform to the many artisans who produced the ephemeral art that was paraded through the streets on these occasions.[86] As with the individual appeal to the saints for tutelage, these instances of communal worship invoked the saints to protect the broader community through collective rituals in which the religious and the political intersected.[87] Unsurprisingly, such feast days were often an occasion to rally the faithful around king and country.[88] But as Cécile Vincent-Cassy shows in this volume, for this very reason, such events could also be highly divisive, laying bare and exacerbating tensions within a community as each corporate group feared being upstaged by the others.

Treacherous though they might have been, such public events fueled the campaign for a new saint. Promoters were careful to mediatize the staging of a holy person through broadsheets and paintings, engravings and medals.[89] In so doing, they apprised those who could not attend of these performative acts. At the same time, however, such a multilocal presence of a new saint was the *sine qua non* of the initiation of a process

83 Hannah Williams, "Saint Geneviève's Miracles: Art and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *French History* 30, no. 3 (2016), 322–353.

84 Daniel Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln: Katholische Reform und lokale Glaubenspraxis in der Eidgenossenschaft (1560–1790)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2017), 73–142; Philipp Zwyssig, *Täler voller Wunder: Eine katholische Verflechtungsgeschichte der Drei Bünde und des Veltlins (17. und 18. Jahrhundert)* (Affalterbach: Didymos Verlag, 2018), 157–296. On one attempt to universalize these local topographies, see Nicolas Balzamo, Olivier Christin, and Fabrice Flückiger, eds., *L'*Atlas Marianus *de Wilhelm Gumppenberg: Édition et traduction* (Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil-Presses Universitaires Suisses, 2015).

85 Vincent-Cassy, "Introducción," 13; Pablo González Tornel, *Roma Hispánica: Cultura festiva Española en la capital del Barroco* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2017), 196–240.

86 Vittorio Casale, *L'arte per le canonizzazioni: L'attività artistica intorno alle canonizzazioni e alle beatificazioni nel Seicento* (Turin: Allemandi, 2011).

87 Moshe Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris: Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

88 Françoise Le Hénand, "Les Translations de reliques en France au XVII^{e} siècle," in Boutry, Fabre, and Julia, eds., *Reliques modernes*, vol. 1, 313–362.

89 Hsia, *The World*, 135.

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that would lead to the recognition of the holy person as a universal saint. Part of the proceedings in the early modern Church was to adduce proof that a saint was making devotees in as many different locales as possible: in order to lob home a beatification or a canonization, a holy person needed a groundswell of support from devotees of all ranks and from as far away as possible from the saint's birthplace. Only when these conditions were met could an apostolic process in Rome sanction the manifold practices in which the grassroots were already engaging. It is to this aspect of saint-making that we must turn if we want to understand what was specifically early modern about the veneration of holy persons between c. 1588 and 1800.

4. Centralization and its Discontents: The Early Modern Apostolic Process

The praxeological take on saint-making we have offered so far is an open challenge to the vision of saint-making that the Roman Curia wanted to project to the world. In that view, the early modern period witnessed a decisive transfer of decision-making power from local communities to Rome.[90] This view is, of course, not entirely without merit. Starting in the seventeenth century, Rome did fine-tune the apostolic process and, as a result, succeeded in gatekeeping sanctity in increasingly sophisticated ways. At the same time, however, the flashy procedures should not distract from the fact that saint-making, as so much else in early modern Catholicism, remained dependent on the cooperation of the grassroots. Though the papacy invested considerable resources to suggest otherwise, saint-making in the early modern period remained a halfway house between Roman centralization and local pride. As we will argue, this was very much a feature of early modern saint-making, not a bug.

The centralization of saint-making was not a linear process. Its origins can be traced back to the medieval period. As early as the twelfth century, the Roman Curia attempted to centralize canonizations and to reserve for itself the exclusive right to nominate new saints.[91] In so doing, the papacy wrested a prerogative from the episcopate whose members had previously investigated and proclaimed saints in their diocese. While the first informative process remained within the remit of the bishops of the place where the candidate for sainthood had lived and died, the documents gathered during this phase now needed to be forwarded to Rome, where influential members of the Curia would consider them for a second trial, known as the apostolic process.

90 Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62.

91 André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge: D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981); Cordelia Hess, *Heilige machen im spätmittelalterlichen Ostseeraum: Die Kanonisationsprozesse von Brigitta von Schweden, Nikolaus von Linköping und Dorothea von Montau* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008).

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Interestingly, this medieval procedure remained largely unaffected by the Protestant Reformation that erupted in the Holy Roman Empire in the early sixteenth century. Indeed, the papacy's main response to Lutheran critiques of the cult of saints was to simply put canonizations on hold.[92] After the last-ditch elevation of Benno (c. 1010–1106) of Meissen, on Luther's doorstep, in 1523,[93] pending canonizations were paused for 65 years. When they eventually resumed in 1588 with the sanctification of the Franciscan missionary Diego of Alcalá (c. 1400–1463), they stuck to the late medieval procedure.

The first early modern bout of reforms transpired only in the seventeenth century. Centered on the overhaul of the apostolic process, these innovations proceeded in fits and starts. In 1588, a new curial agency—the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies—was instituted. Once in place, though, this new body raised more questions than it answered. For decades, successive pontiffs dealt with canonizations through *ad hoc* bodies, such as the Congregation of the Modern Beati, which was tasked with looking into recently deceased individuals who were venerated as saints without official sanction.[94] This slate of candidates, which included such famous Counter-Reformation saints as Carlo Borromeo, was fast-tracked to sainthood without having to stop at what would soon become a mandatory pit stop on the road to sanctity: beatification. It was only in the 1620s and 1630s—almost half a century after the establishment of the Congregation of Rites—that Urban VIII put in place a regulatory framework that officially split the apostolic process into two stages. Henceforth, aspiring saints needed to jump through the hoop of beatification before they would eventually be admitted to the honor of the altars through canonization proper.[95] The first saint to be proclaimed under the new regime was Thomas of Villanueva (1488–1555), who was levered in 1658, after a 30-year hiatus. It was only by the 1660s, then, that canonizations took on the juridical form that they would preserve, with minor modifications, well into the twentieth century.

Simultaneously, the papacy tightened the screws on would-be saints. The threshold to be beatified or canonized was now prohibitively high. Clare Copeland's painstaking analysis of the minutes of the Congregation of Rites between 1592 and 1675 shows that while a total of 213 candidates were discussed in meetings, only 56 of them made any ap-

92 Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379–420, 379–380.

93 Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Late Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011).

94 Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2002).

95 For an overview, see Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti, 1588–1634* (Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi: Sussidi per lo studio delle cause dei santi 7) (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001).

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preciable progress toward canonization over the 80-year period under consideration.[96] This was because even though the Church had every interest in creating new saints, it also had to ensure that the candidates who made it past the finish line were beyond reproach. As a result, saint-making and heretic-making became two sides of the same coin, as Simon Ditchfield has taught us.[97] In the early seventeenth century, the Holy Office regularly chimed in to ensure orthodoxy, though these interventions became less frequent over time. As the seventeenth century progressed, that forensic work was taken on by the newly created *Promotor Fidei*. Also known as the devil's advocate, this official raised all objections any bad-faith opponent of a candidate was likely to put forth. Thanks to this built-in control mechanism, candidates of questionable standing were scratched from the race before they could wreak reputational damage on the Church.

The vetting process could take on different shapes. Depending on when the candidates had lived, they faced varying obstacles. In the case of ancient saints, solid proof of their extraordinary existence was required. Some of the best erudites mustered state-of-the-art historical and philological methods to reconstruct their lives and, in other instances, to undo cults that inventive saint-makers had made up.[98] This was a double-edged sword, however. While scholarly standards shielded the procedure from Protestant taunts, they also opened the floodgates to inner-Catholic criticism of supposedly ancient cults. Starting in the late seventeenth century, it was no longer primarily Protestants but Catholics who availed themselves of the emerging ancillary sciences to question the authenticity of relics of ancient saints.[99]

In the case of contemporary saints whose existence was beyond doubt, the probe focused on the authenticity of their religious experience. Contrary to the official doctrine, which required "heroic virtue" of the saints, the procedure increasingly privileged medical miracles as markers of sanctity. As the role of the devil's advocate was strengthened, medical experts had to weigh in on a regular basis: it was up to them to decide whether a cure could be explained with contemporary medical knowledge or whether it had occurred preternaturally, with the latter increasingly becoming the knockout criterion for the healing to be deemed miraculous.[100] The clout medical doctors gained gave birth to a whole cottage industry of savants who placed medical know-how in the

96 Clare Copeland, "Sanctity," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 225–241, 232.

97 Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 3 (2009): 552–584, 580.

98 Stefania Tutino, *A Fake Saint and the True Church: The Story of a Forgery in Seventeenth-Century Naples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

99 Dominique Julia, "L'Église post-tridentine et les reliques: Tradition, controverse et critique (XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle)," in Boutry, Fabre, and idem, eds., *Reliques modernes*, vol. 1, 69–120, 83–120.

100 Gianna Pomata, "Malpighi and the Holy Body: Medical Experts and Miraculous Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (2007): 568–586.

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service of sundering holiness from possession and, increasingly, mental illness.[101] As the eighteenth century went on, the juridical nature of the new canonization procedure intertwined with the booming natural sciences.[102] Neutralizing what might well have jeopardized Catholic certainties about the world, the Church simply baked science into the production of religious truths, including ascertaining the sanctity of a holy man or woman.[103]

By the eighteenth century, then, Rome had a sturdy apparatus that ensured that only candidates with a clean slate were lifted into the pantheon. The apostolic process was testimony to what the heavy hitters in the Congregation of Rites wanted to spread as the take-home message for Catholics the world over: that the power to produce holiness had shifted decisively toward the Roman Curia. Rome as the capital of the universal Church was the only place whence sanctity emanated. In the papacy's view, this applied to early Christian saints, whose cult had not yet been given the all-clear, but especially to the so-called modern saints. Rome as the unquestioned center of saint-making was a powerful trope to which many authors contributed,[104] though none more so than Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758), who had won his spurs as devil's advocate before being elected to the Apostolic See as Benedict XIV (r. 1740–1758). As Maria Teresa Fattori shows in this volume, Lambertini marshaled his experience to compose a doorstop of a book, aptly titled *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*. Lambertini's *opus* was both a monument to, and an important part in the construction of, Rome's ambition to centralize saint-making in the early modern period.

So far, so impressive. Yet there is reason to doubt that early modern saint-making was in the exclusive gift of the papacy. Much recent research on early modern Catholicism has revealed that papal institutions were driven by demand rather than supply. In the case of saint-making, this meant that the Congregation of Rites only leapt into action when saint-makers outside Rome requested its services and set in motion a formal procedure. As we have shown, within the narrow framework of the trial that ensued, Rome tried to promote only those candidates to sanctity that fit its criteria. However, once a saint had been declared, the Curia was often unable to enforce its preferred hagiographical account. As we have seen in the example of Rosa of Lima, in order to appeal to Catholics, saints needed to be remade in the image of local communities. Clearly, the apostolic process was not as immune to the continued influence of the grassroots as the Curia

101 Elena Brambilla, *Corpi invasi e viaggi nell'anima: Santità, possessione, esorcismo dalla teologia barocca alla medicina illuminista* (Rome: Viella, 2010).

102 Fernando Vidal, "Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making," *Science in Context* 20, no. 3 (2007): 481–508.

103 Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, Marco Cavarzere, and Steven Vanden Broecke, eds., *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021).

104 For some of Lambertini's predecessors, see Ditchfield, "How Not to Be," 380–382.

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would have wished. Indeed, local communities often engaged very creatively even with the core part of the procedure that the papacy tried to shield from outside influence. With actions ranging from taking advantage of existing loopholes to downright disregard of centralized decision-making processes, Catholics continued to make saints in local settings; in the most extreme cases, they even did so without ever seeking validation from Rome. We will address each of these points in turn.

4.1 Discontent I: Grassroots Involvement in the Apostolic Process

Much recent work on early modern Catholicism has shrunk down the agency of the Curia. Scholars working both on Europe and the missionary areas in Asia and the Americas have stressed that early modern Catholicism was contingent on the willingness of local actors to engage Rome's institutions and solicit the material and symbolic resources they provided.[105] In the case of saint-making, the very nature of the apostolic process precluded the possibility of an all-powerful papacy imposing its will on the Catholic world. As Clare Copeland has argued in her study of the 1669 canonization of Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, saint-making "depended on contributions from devotees and on the goodwill of people outside Rome."[106] For papal institutions to get down to business, promoters of a servant of God had to take the initiative and build a sustained local cult first. The organizational input of those who had endorsed a cult in its early stages could make or break a saint, as many essays in this volume confirm.

The early modern papacy famously treated canonizations as a rarefied good, not least to insulate them from Protestant carping and to ensure compliance with the complex control systems detailed above. Early modern canonizations thus differed starkly from today's mass canonization (since being elected pope in 2013, Francis has canonized more than 900 saints, though that tally admittedly comprises the 813 Martyrs of Otranto, sanctified for stalwartly defending their Christian faith when the Ottomans attacking their town in southern Italy forced them to convert to Islam in 1480). Indeed, the number of holy persons who sauntered into the Roman heaven between 1540 and 1770 was exiguous: popes canonized a mere 27 men and women, with a further six being declared *beati*.[107]

Given this restraint, the promoters of a cult were well advised to rope in the support of well-connected influence-peddlers. They were needed to post the requisite postulatory letters to put pressure on the Congregation of Rites and the papacy. These patrons were usually buttered up with improbable dedications that prefaced popular hagiographies

105 Christian Windler, *Missionare in Persien: Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Externa. Geschichte der Außenbeziehungen in neuen Perspektiven 12) (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2018), 31–153; Zwyssig, *Täler*, 35–156.

106 Copeland, *Maria Maddalena*, 11.

107 These figures are from Hsia, *The World*, 127.

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whose publication marked the beginning of a trial. Ideally, these intercessors hailed from the aristocracy. This was partly because within the early modern hierarchy of heaven and earth, nobles were particularly close to the saints: as mediators between heaven and their vassals, they had a special responsibility to honor God's servants.[108] Another equally compelling reason was that laboring for a future saint went well with the ethos of the nobility. Saints were capital that could be traded against other coveted resources. Despite tentative reforms in the early half of the seventeenth century, which Birgit Emich details in her chapter, Roman saint-making remained inextricable from the aristocratic *do ut des* that governed social relations in the early modern Curia.[109]

Reflecting the great-power dynamics from the late sixteenth century forward, the most prolific saint-makers were nobles connected to the Spanish monarchy spanning from Manila to Milan. The sociologist Pierre Delooz went so far as to label the *Seicento* the "century of Spanish canonizations."[110] Given the lack of Iberian saints in the Roman calendar that was finalized in the late sixteenth century, the Madrid Habsburgs worked overtime to catch up with other parts of Europe that had had much more efficient saint-makers in the Middle Ages.[111] For the composite monarchy, the active promotion of saints from its different territories favored the political integration of its disparate components. Canonizations were bargaining chips, with local promoters battling it out with the king and the pope over the recognition of their saints, lest their competitors outshine them.[112] While this was frictionless at the height of Habsburg power, Cécile Vincent-Cassy's contribution to this volume would suggest that the eclipse of the Madrid Habsburgs toward the end of the seventeenth century was mirrored in the unseemly haggling over the primacy of saints among a Hispanic elite staring into the empty coffers of the monarchy.

While noble heads of households were crucial to get a procedure off the ground, the leg work was done by people lower down the social hierarchy. In addition to secular diplomats, clerics regular were particularly active in greasing the mechanisms of the Roman Curia and doling out the occasional bribe to an official.[113] The beatification of Rosa of Lima was by and large the fruit of the labor of the indefatigable Antonio González de Acuña (1630–1682), a Lima-born professor of theology and a Dominican, who harried

108 Tricoire, *Mit Gott rechnen*.

109 Marina Caffiero, "Santità, politica e sistemi di potere," in *Santità, culti, agiografia: Temi e prospettive*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano (Rome: Viella, 1997), 363–371.

110 Pierre Delooz, *Sociologie et canonisations* (Liège: Faculté de droit, 1969), 252.

111 Thomas James Dandelet, *Spanish Rome 1500–1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 170–187.

112 Cornelius Conover, "Catholic Saints in Spain's Atlantic Empire," in *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic*, ed. Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 87–105.

113 L. J. Andrew Villalon, "San Diego de Alcalá: The Politics of Saint-Making in Counter-Reformation Europe," *Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (1997): 691–715.

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decision makers in Rome for almost a decade.[114] Having officially severed ties with the secular world when they took their vows, clerics regular were seen as disinterested actors, a quality that turned them into trusted lobbyists in Rome.[115] Besides being disinterested, they were also highly mobile. Religious orders had logistical and financial means to push for canonizations in Rome, including the organizational longevity that became necessary after the introduction of the 50-year clause demarcating the time that needed to elapse between a prospective saint's death and their sanctification. As Birgit Emich explains in her chapter, religious orders guaranteed the continuity that became indispensable, as the duration of a trial from beatification to canonization surpassed the average life span of an individual promoter.

The social profile of early modern saints is reflective of the people who promoted their cause. The saints elevated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were typically well-born members of religious orders with close links to Habsburg Spain.[116] In fact, of the 38 saints created in the early modern period, 19 were from the Italian Peninsula, and 14 from Spain and its empire (though that number is even higher when one considers that a large part of Italy was under Spanish rule for much of the period under consideration). The remaining five saints hailed from France (three) and Central Europe (two). Those who careened up to the altars were typically members of the regular clergy. While six early modern saints were secular clerics, 21 new saints belonged to religious orders. Given the ruthless competition between religious communities, the papacy sought to promote saints from the orders with equanimity: the various quintuple canonizations of the period are a direct consequence of this.[117]

Would-be saints from other backgrounds found it harder to be canonized. Women are the most obvious disadvantaged group. Female mystics with thaumaturgic and prophetic qualities had been common in Renaissance Italy and Spain.[118] As prophets in particular, women could carve out a piece of power that early modern societies did not

114 Arias Cuba, "Los agentes," 85–88.

115 Adriano Prosperi, *La vocazione: Storie di gesuiti tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Turin: Einaudi, 2016); Gianvittorio Signorotto, "La 'verità' e gli 'interessi': Religiosi milanesi nelle legazioni alla corte di Spagna (sec. XVII)," in *I Religiosi a Corte: Teologia, politica e diplomazia in Antico Regime*, ed. Flavio Rurale (Rome: Bulzoni, 1998), 195–227.

116 The following figures are from Hsia, *The World*, 127.

117 The best studied example is the canonization of 1622, which saw the elevation of two Jesuits, a Carmelite, and an Oratorian (in addition to Isidore the Laborer). See Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Jesuit Saints: The Canonization of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier in Context," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9, no. 3 (2022): 327–337. Also see Cécile Vincent-Cassy's chapter for a study of the 1690 canonization of five saints.

118 Gabriella Zarri, *Le sante vive: Profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra '400 e '500* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990); Stephen Haliczer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy: Female Mystics in the Golden Age of Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

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otherwise afford them.[119] While many acquired a saintly reputation in the process, this also put them at loggerheads with ecclesiastical authorities, not least the dreaded Holy Office, which beginning in the 1530s persecuted female mystics as potential heretics.[120] Indeed, the category of fake or feigned holiness was invented specifically for women.[121] Many a mystic had to run the gauntlet of Inquisition trials before she was raised to the glory of the altars.

Many more did not make it through these trials unscathed. In the seventeenth century, those who failed to attain sanctity were in good company: 86 percent of all new saints were male, up from 72 percent in the fifteenth century, the last century in which the old apostolic procedure was applied without interruptions.[122] In light of the subversive potential of the female mystics of the Renaissance, the good female saint of the early modern period was an innocuous woman, confined behind convent walls and much more interested in harmless baroque devotionalism than in visions or other preternatural spiritual experiences. The Church was adamant about this, as Andreea Badea's chapter on the Spanish mystic María de Ágreda (1602–1665) shows: although María consciously downplayed her learnedness to meet the exacting standards that the early modern Church imposed on saintly women, her supporters are still awaiting her canonization.

While a few exceptional women like Rosa of Lima or Teresa of Ávila eventually overcame the hurdles female saints faced, access to the honor of the altars was barred for non-nobles and especially non-white people. To be sure, the seventeenth century did see a revamping of devotions that exalted the spirituality of artisans and the laity, with the revived cult of Joseph the Carpenter, Jesus's earthly father, no doubt being the most significant one.[123] Still, it was not until the eighteenth century that the Church became eager to promote saints of humble origin who had never joined a religious order.[124] These developments were reflective of the popularization of Catholicism, which the Church adopted as a conscious strategy in the face of elites' increasing espousal of enlightened ideas.[125]

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119 Zarri, *Profezia e disciplina*.

120 Adelisa Malena, *L'eresia dei perfetti: Inquisizione romana ed esperienze mistiche nel Seicento italiano* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003).

121 Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618–1750* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

122 Niccoli, *La vita religiosa*, 185.

123 Charlene Villaseñor-Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

124 Hsia, *The World*, 140.

125 Marina Caffiero, *La politica della santità: Nascita di un culto nell'età dei Lumi* (Rome: Laterza, 1996); Stefan Samerski, *"Wie im Himmel, so auf Erden?": Selig- und Heiligsprechung in der Katholischen Kirche 1740 bis 1870* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2002).

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Black candidates had it even harder. The Limeño healer Martín de Porres (1579–1639), the son of a Spanish father and a former enslaved mother of African descent, was beatified only in 1837.[126] His canonization in 1962 marked the end of the making of Catholicism as a world religion, a process that had its origins in the age of Spanish hegemony but was completed only in the twentieth century when, for the first time in history, the majority of Catholics lived outside Europe.[127] The official saints made in the early modern period were reflective of the Spanish–Italian aristocratic bubble that ruled the roost in Rome.

It bears repeating that even those who met the narrow criteria on paper did not sleepwalk to a beatification or canonization. Guile, good luck, and possibly the intercession of the candidate themselves remained key factors of success. Some of the campaigns for the aristocratic clerics who ascended to the ranks of universal saints in the early modern period took years, even decades, of intense lobbying before they triumphed. Many more would-be saints saw their prospects falter along the way. Such failures could, of course, be attributed to a lack of resources and political connections. Christians in the Kingdom of Kongo, for instance, chided Italian Capuchins in the early eighteenth century for the lack of effort they put into the promotion of African saints.[128] But as scholars working on the decision-making processes in Rome have pointed out, at the end of the day, it is well-nigh impossible to measure the real impact of both the campaign and the administrative procedure on the pope's final decision in a cause.[129] Indeed, the motives for deciding (or, as was more often the case, not deciding) in any given proceeding are difficult to grasp, though we would certainly be remiss in underestimating the papacy's will to protect saint-making from the blackmail of secular princes, a stark reminder of which is the increasingly arcane machinery that was put in place.[130]

Having said this, the new apostolic process introduced a number of exceptions for candidates who failed to meet these formidable standards of proof. Saints who had been venerated "since time immemorial" (*ab immemorabile tempore*), arguably, saw a lowering of the hurdle. In this case, the increased vetting of modern cults in terms of historical authenticity could be circumvented by appealing to a legal culture in which

126 Celia Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas: The Life and Afterlife of Martín de Porres* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

127 Simon Ditchfield, "What's in a Title? Writing a History of the Counter-Reformation for a Postcolonial Age," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 108, no. 1 (2017): 255–263.

128 John Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

129 Birgit Emich, "The Production of Truth in the Manufacture of Saints: Procedures, Credibility and Patronage in Early Modern Processes of Canonization," in Badea, Boute, Cavarzere, and Vanden Broecke, eds., *Making Truth*, 165–190.

130 Giuseppe Dalla Torre, "Santità ed economia processuale: L'esperienza giuridica da Urbano VIII a Benedetto XIV," in *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991), 231–263.

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orally transmitted memory could still stand in for written evidence: ceremonies that supposedly existed since time immemorial could be adduced as watertight proof of cult when the written evidence was found wanting.[131] For wily postulators, *casus excepti* and *canonizzazioni equipollenti* turned out to be so many legal tricks that allowed them to overcome the strictures of the new framework. Promoters of hapless candidates toyed with the flexibility that the new framework offered, switching between procedures and picking the one that seemed most promising to them, as Daniel Sidler demonstrates in this volume.

While the papacy was forced to relinquish some of its control over the procedure itself, it had even less influence over the ways in which the laity appropriated the saints thus created. The first difficulty was, quite prosaically, a lack of sufficient means for spreading the word. The Curia may have seen the men and women it canonized as "global players" whose exemplary lives represented the Catholic Church as a victorious institution defending the one true faith on the global stage.[132] But that vision often concealed the fact that the Church depended on other actors to sire truly world-spanning cults. The extremely successful campaign to establish John Nepomuk (1345–1393) as a global saint in the early eighteenth century owed much to enterprising Bohemian elites.[133] Likewise, the truly universal devotion to Francis Xavier was the work of the extremely well-connected Jesuits.[134] In the absence of such backers, even canonized saints rarely achieved global veneration, as Markus Friedrich shows in his comment text.

Another hurdle to overcome was the fact that Rome was unable to control how and, more crucially, why the faithful venerated a saint. As many of the chapters of this book show, even truly global saints were venerated in ways that differed starkly from one place to another. The Curia seems to have been all too aware of this. Roman portrayals of universal saints were often surprisingly ambiguous. The New World saint Rosa of Lima

131 This has been widely studied in secular legal proceedings. See Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Interestingly, this form of saint-making has received scant attention from religious historians. See, however, Cabibbo, *Santa Rosalia*, who shows how the promoters of the obscure hermit utilized ceremonies to fabricate her cult. A similar argument, especially on the use of oral evidence of tradition of cult, has been sketched by Olds, *Forging the Past*, 188–192.

132 See Hsia, *The World*, 127–143; and also the contributions to Ludwig Mödl and Stefan Samerski, eds., *Global-Player der Kirche? Heilige und Heiligsprechung im universalen Verkündigungsauftrag* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2006); Peter Burschel, "Der Himmel und die Disziplin: Die nachtridentinische Heiligenlandschaft und ihre Lebensmodelle in modernisierungstheoretischer Perspektive," in *Im Zeichen der Krise: Religiosität im Europa des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann and Anne-Charlott Trepp (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 575–595.

133 Howard Louthan, "Tongues, Toes, and Bones: Remembering Saints in Early Modern Bohemia," in *Relics and Remains*, ed. Alexandra Walsham (Past and Present Supplements 5) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 167–183, 177–179.

134 Rachel Miller, "From 'Apostle of Japan' to 'Apostle of All the Christian World': The Iconography of St. Francis Xavier and the Global Catholic Church," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9 (2022): 415–437.

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Fig. 4 Lazzaro Baldi, *Saint Rosa of Lima with Baby Jesus and Devotees* (1668 and/or 1671), oil on canvas, Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cappella Colonna. Image © Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome; photo: Enrico Fontolan.

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is a case in point. In the altarpiece by Lazzaro Baldi (1624–1703) that graces her chapel in Rome's Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Fig. 4), Rosa is depicted with a gaggle of Native Americans and Africans kneeling at her feet. Are they enslaved Africans and Indigenous peoples from the Andean region? Or are these figures allegories demonstrating the Church's global vocation?[135] The former would suggest that Rome was aware of the need to place the New World saint back into the local context from which Rosa had burst onto the Roman stage. The latter reading could mean that the papacy wanted to promote her as a saint who stood for the universality of the Gospel. The ambiguity may well betray the Curia's own awareness of the limits of its reach, its inability to force its version of the saints upon the faithful. Despite its ambition to centralize saint-making, the Curia could not help but acknowledge that canonizations remained very much the product of "empowering interactions" between Rome and the grassroots.[136]

4.2 Discontent II: The Preservation of the Particular in the Universal

The papacy was painfully aware of its inability to shape saints exclusively in its own image. In response to the enduring influence of the grassroots and the inability to universalize the worship of the saints, the Curia made a series of allowances for what Simon Ditchfield has called the preservation of the particular within the universal Church.[137] This ranged from accommodations within the apostolic process to the toleration of local cults that continued to flourish outside the legal framework laid down by the Curia, thus contributing to the diversity of early modern Catholicism.

Let us begin with the apostolic process itself. For all its centralizing rhetoric, the new apostolic process afforded considerable room for local beliefs. Scholars who have analyzed beatifications and canonizations from a sociohistorical perspective have shown that the campaigns mobilized the devotees in the social and geographical environment of the aspiring saint to testify to the holy life and the miracles of the candidate. These devotees addressed the aspiring saints with their own particular needs, which did not always coincide with the Roman point of view.[138] More surprisingly still, this local knowledge was allowed to persist even after the verdict of the Congregation had been handed down: the devotees of a saint were allowed to believe in prodigies even if these

135 Weddigen, "Materiality," 111–115.

136 Wim Blockmans, André Holenstein, and Daniel Schläppi, eds., *Empowering Interactions: Political Cultures and the Emergence of the State in Europe 1300–1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).

137 Ditchfield, *Liturgy*.

138 Matthias Emil Ilg, *Constantia et Fortitudo: Der Kult des kapuzinischen Blutzeugen Fidelis von Sigmaringen zwischen "Pietas Austriaca" und "Ecclesia Triumphans." Die Verehrungsgeschichte des Protomärtyrers der Gegenreformation, des Kapuzinerordens und der "Congregatio de propaganda fide" 1622–1729* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2016).

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had not been approved as miracles in Rome.[139] As the example of Rosa of Lima suggests, even the most universal of saints ultimately had their cult adapted to differing local realities. The contributions to this volume introduce us to multiple instances of the particularization of the universal.

The built-in preservation of the particular within the universal is even more apparent in holy persons who were yet to be canonized. As Birgit Emich suggests in her concluding remarks on this volume, beatification, the new intermediary stage added to the apostolic process in the seventeenth century, may be viewed as a way for the Curia to officialize a local cult without going as far as recognizing the holy person in question as a universal saint. While beatification is the best-known feature of the early modern apostolic process, the new procedure held many more ways for the Curia to partially recognize the veneration of a holy person. As Cornelius Conover has argued, the papacy put in place a "system of finely graded privileges" that enabled the Church "to reflect the strength of a saintly devotion with precision. The pope could extend particular liturgical concessions to any geographic unit of the Catholic world: empires, nations, orders, archdioceses, dioceses, parishes, churches, cities, and even chapels and altars."[140] As Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux shows in this book, promoters of candidates from Central Europe whose prospects for universal veneration were hopeless often made do with these partial concessions.

For promoters happy to stop short of universal recognition, there were numerous local alternatives to the apostolic process. The informative process continued to thrive under the new regime and could be leveraged as an alternative source of legitimacy. Indeed, as Katrina Olds has shown, the papacy often refused to make clear-cut decisions, tossing potential hot potatoes to local authorities. In the case of the alleged martyrs of Arjona whose bodies were discovered in the 1620s, Rome declined jurisdiction. In the local process that ensued in the diocese of Jaén, local erudites applied surprisingly rigorous standards to the evidence before them: "regional support for the Arjona relics was not just a natural, reflexive assertion of local pride as against universal Roman Catholicism, but a conscious choice, even among proximate observers in Jaén."[141] With the relics brushed aside by both Rome and local scholars, the bishop of Jaén hedged his bets, fully aware that the procedure introduced under Urban VIII rewarded those who were patient enough to play the long game and wait until time would honor the worship of the relics.[142] The saint-makers of Catholic Switzerland that Daniel Sidler discusses in his chapter seem less scrupulous in comparison: they found ways to make local saints that were cherished even in the absence of Roman approval, which the Swiss

139 Hart, "The Biographical Fashioning," 241–242.

140 Conover, "Catholic Saints," 88–89.

141 Katrina B. Olds, "The Ambiguities of the Holy: Authenticating Relics in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2012): 135–184, 171.

142 Ibid., 174–176.

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backers of local cults did not even bother trying to obtain, cognizant as they were of the low chance of a favorable outcome. Indeed, local Catholics went so far as to hatch the label of *Vielseligen* to designate the saintly men and women who had won a following in circumscribed areas.[143]

Centralization notwithstanding, local communities clearly wanted to make their own saints. Unrecognized servants of God continued to be venerated (almost) like universal saints in post-Tridentine Catholicism thanks to a combination of local cunning and Roman willingness to tolerate a degree of diversity. In early modern Naples, the two local saints that were canonized by 1800 were the tip of an iceberg of at least 150 holy people who attracted at least temporary cults.[144] The same was true of Lima: an official saint like Rosa inhabited a colonial world that pullulated with non-elite, Indigenous, African, and mixed-race holy women who never made it beyond the informative process, if that, but who were nevertheless revered with the same fervor as Rosa.[145] Far from becoming less frequent as the early modern period progressed, these unofficial local saints survived at least until the French Revolution. In the eighteenth century, conservative local elites defiantly stuck up for their cults as ramparts against both Roman meddling in jurisdictional affairs and the Enlightenment.[146] While many of the cults of these rogue saints were fads that came and went, some had a surprisingly long shelf life.

One suspects that, barring organized local opposition willing to appeal to Rome, these cults were actively tolerated. Nearly three decades ago, Simon Ditchfield uncovered in his work on a saint-maker from Piacenza that the activity of the Congregation of Rites was "an attempt by Rome to particularize the universal (by staffing their parishes with priests trained to a minimum standard by the new episcopal seminaries); and to universalize the particular (by ensuring that local devotions operated within guidelines policed, after 1588, by the Sacred Congregation of Rites)."[147] In his contribution to this volume, Ditchfield uses the example of three curial saint-makers who, despite living in a period stretching from the height of the Counter-Reformation to the reformist first half of the eighteenth century, all believed that the papacy needed to tolerate, and indeed promote the preservation of the particular within the universal. Hence, even saint-makers in Rome were deeply aware that saints derived much of their meaning from the liberty local communities took to make sense of their saints.

143 Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 69–73.

144 Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Naples et ses saints à l'âge baroque (1540–1750)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994).

145 Brianna Leavitt-Alcántara, "Holy Women and Hagiography in Colonial Spanish America," *History Compass* 12, no. 9 (2014): 717–728.

146 Pasquale Palmieri, *I taumaturghi della società: Santi e potere politico nel secolo dei Lumi* (Rome: Viella, 2010).

147 Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 10.

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In sum, the veneration of recognized saints and that of (as yet) unapproved holy men and women sometimes differed only slightly or not at all. The boundaries between Roman-made saints and locally revered holy persons remained porous and fluid. This raises the question of whether saints were made through papal decisions or, rather, as a consequence of the practices that had accumulated around them.[148] As we have suggested here, historians would be ill-advised to consider saint-making as an activity confined to the stuffy rooms of Roman congregations. In fact, the case studies of this volume strongly suggest that saint-making ought to be treated as an interactive process in which Roman scriptoriums played a moderating role but ultimately proved unable to shape the veneration of holy men and women on the ground to the extent that Roman hardliners would have wished. Early modern saints were "glocal" creatures, combining the Church's global aspirations with the local concerns of Catholics.

5. Overview of the Volume

The contributions to this volume propound that early modern saints were the product of diverse practices. Though the papacy suggested otherwise, the apostolic process was not the be-all and end-all of saint-making. Indeed, saint-making was a complex of activities that both preceded and outlasted a formal trial in the Curia and that sometimes even circumvented it completely. While Rome was increasingly important as a norm-setting institution, saint-making as a process remained a "glocal" affair, an attempt to reconcile local necessities with global aspirations in ways that the center struggled to control. For simplicity's sake, we have grouped these variegated practices into three categories that structure the chapters of this volume: early modern Catholics produced, framed, and spread sanctity.

The chapters of the first section look at how saints were produced both in Rome and outside the Eternal City. Birgit Emich's and Maria Teresa Fattori's chapters help us keep track of the steps the Curia took in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to establish beatification and canonization as bureaucratic procedures. Emich shows how successive popes in the early seventeenth century sought to insulate saint-making from the nepotism that buttressed other aspects of policy-making in the Curia. Fattori's discussion of Lambertini's *De servorum Dei* reveals how an abstruse procedure was meant to neutralize outside pressure and legitimize the very few saints that were minted in early modern Rome. The subsequent three chapters challenge the centralization narrative that Lambertini's *tour de force* perpetuated. Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux shows how local saint-makers from Central Europe leveraged the loopholes and ambiguities of the new procedure and produced saints whose worship was sometimes limited to a single

148 Our thinking on this point has been inspired by the contributions to Walsham, ed., *Relics and Remains*.

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diocese or monastery. Daniel Sidler's study of a cluster of unofficial saints from Catholic Switzerland bears these findings out. At the same time, he shows how Swiss saint-makers concocted local procedures to fabricate their own saints, for whose cult they did not seek official affirmation from the Curia. Moving across the English Channel, Alexandra Walsham discusses the sanctification of a recusant Welshman who had been executed for high treason during the reign of Elizabeth I. The Counter-Reformation Church was by and large disinterested in elevating new martyrs (a policy that contrasted markedly with its keen interest in ancient martyrs), especially when they hailed from a remote Protestant periphery of Europe. The clandestine Catholic minority in Wales nevertheless found ways to preserve the local memory of the woes that the schoolteacher Richard Gwyn had suffered at the hands of the Crown until he was formally canonized in 1970. As Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger suggests in her comment on the chapters of this section, the increasing formalization of saint-making that the Curia aspired to ultimately turned out to be a trap that closed around the papacy: formalization birthed informal spheres in which ambitious local saint-makers could tinker with the framework put in place in Rome and produce sanctity in localities as diverse as Bohemia, Tyrol, Switzerland, and Wales.

Once a person was regarded as holy in their community, saint-makers had to devise interesting narratives that framed their saint in the best possible light. The chapters in the second section show the rich variety of people who contributed to the production of hagiographical accounts. They also reveal how malleable and manipulable these stories were, and how perilous the cacophony around a saint could become for the saint and social cohesion. Jodi Bilinkoff explains how the earliest companions of John of the Cross (1542–1591) shaped his later hagiographies by volunteering stories about the time they had spent with the founder of the male branch of the Discalced Carmelites. While the inconsistencies between different versions were innocent enough in this case, they could also be the result of meddling from the highest political authorities. As Andreea Badea's chapter on María of Ágreda makes plain, this Spanish mystic beavered away at her own promotion, but these efforts eventually came to naught. While she warded off the attacks of the Spanish Inquisition, her canonization ultimately foundered on the opposition of the theological establishment in Paris and Rome, which slandered María as a fake saint who had made up her bilocations and her heart-to-hearts with the Virgin Mary. Samuel Weber's chapter on the hagiographies produced to ram through the canonization of Carlo Borromeo confirms that successful saint-making hinged on the ability to present a candidate for sainthood in the way that the powers that be found most attractive. While such selective storytelling could entail a brisk elevation to the glory of the altars, Cécile Vincent-Cassy's chapter shows that the particularization of saint narratives also spawned strife and discontent. In a case study of the festivities that followed the oft-overlooked quintuple canonization of 1690, Vincent-Cassy argues that the supporters of each of the three novel Hispanic saints worked hard for their candidate to upstage the others, revealing the local and group-specific reframing of

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universal saints through both evanescent ceremonies and lasting media. As Christian Windler posits in his comment on the section, the intense recasting of saints that was necessary for them to stand out and be taken into consideration for canonization in Rome unintentionally fueled the fragmentation of the universe of saints, giving rise to global Catholicism as a "composite religion" in which divergent interests constantly needed to be balanced.

The chapters of the final section show examples of the to-and-fro of saints between Rome and the Catholic world. Simon Ditchfield introduces us to the ground zero of saint-making, acquainting us with some of the most authoritative men spearheading canonizations in early modern Rome. As he argues, the three men he portrays hailed from very different walks of life, but they all shared a surprising awareness of the fact that the universal they were called on to defend meant leaving ample breathing room for the particular appropriation of a saint outside of Rome. Christophe Duhamelle shows a similar dynamic. In principle, the catacomb saints were holy martyrs that Rome exported to the Catholic world, complete with an invented hagiography. Yet as they embraced these martyrs, their host communities often embellished the biographies that Rome had delivered along with the bones. Philipp Zwyssig's case study of Aloysius Gonzaga shows the importance of miracles transpiring far away from Rome in the making of a saint: the faithful in the Valtelline, an Alpine Valley under the rule of the majority Protestant Three Leagues, relished the presence of Luigi, who offered relief from scrofula and various other incurable maladies. Though this outburst of devotion was a welcome development for the promoters of his cult, the ways in which local Catholics honored Aloysius did not necessarily align with the intentions of the clerics who had first familiarized them with the Jesuit saint. This polyphony becomes even more pronounced once we move out of the Italian Peninsula into the non-European world. Raphaèle Preisinger's chapter on the depictions of the Nagasaki martyrs reveals how their pictorial *fama sanctitatis* was originally produced in Japan and that it was only when the first paintings arrived in Europe that Europeans tried to reimagine them in ways that conformed with the pictorial canons of the post-Tridentine Church, portraying them with European facial features. At the same time, this appropriation by the center did not necessarily meet a favorable reception elsewhere: Andean Catholics, for instance, produced ingenious paintings on the basis of the models they received from Europe, which empowered non-European Catholics. A similar interaction between Europe and Asia characterized the conception of holiness that Chinese Catholics developed after their encounter with Jesuit missionaries. As Nadine Amsler argues, Chinese converts to Christianity readily espoused the saints because they were compatible with local ideas about the need to show appreciation for people with extraordinary merits in the spiritual realm. As time dragged on, some female converts even joined the ranks of those who were venerated as holy persons in Chinese Catholicism. While such stories garnered much interest from a Catholic reading public back in Europe, the papacy found this localization of the cult of saints increasingly hard to stomach. In his comment on

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this section, Markus Friedrich reflects on how the spread of universal saints within global Catholicism inevitably implied instances of particularization: for an abstract saint to become relevant to laypeople, they had to speak to their worlds and offer the laity something they found worthwhile. In a comment reflecting on all three sections, Birgit Emich situates these patterns within a broader polycentric matrix. Drawing on the manifold interactions between Rome and the local Churches from the preceding chapters, she sketches an approach for future research that will allow us to gain a bird's eye view of early modern saint-making along the two complementary binaries, universal vs. particular and local vs. global, that turn up again and again in the case studies.

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The insights that these case studies afford into early modern saint-making tell us much about wider dynamics at work within Roman Catholicism as the sole early modern religion that won followers on all continents known to Europeans at the time. Over the last four decades or so, social historians have exposed the vision of a highly centralized Catholicism as a myth forged in the nineteenth century. Many scholars have alerted us to the resilience of "local religions." Students of the collaboration between missionaries and the laity have unveiled the new religious cultures that emerged from such encounters. In Europe, local traditions exerted a tenacious hold on the faithful who adapted directives from Rome reluctantly and creatively.[149] As Trevor Johnson phrased it in his case study of the Upper Palatinate, the Catholicism that materialized there in the seventeenth century was a "local phenomenon, not only in the obvious sense that it was within their immediate locality that early modern Catholics were exposed to the new impulses originating at Rome, but also in the sense that such impulses were filtered through a prism of localism. Throughout the Catholic world, individual communities sought to preserve their traditional, home-grown institutions and customs, often by imaginatively adapting the new norms to suit local requirements."[150] This was even truer of areas outside Europe, where research on the Middle East and Asia has uncovered pertinacious patterns of localization.[151] In the Atlantic world, where Christianity was forced upon the Indigenous population and forcibly deported and enslaved Africans, the violent

149 Peter Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung: Europäische Gesellschaft und Kultur im Barockzeitalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2006); Hsia, *The World*, 43–95; William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); Marc M. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); and Dominik Sieber, *Jesuitische Missionierung, priesterliche Liebe, sakramentale Magie: Volkskulturen in Luzern 1563 bis 1614* (Basel: Schwabe, 2005).

150 Johnson, "Holy Fabrications," 274.

151 See the contributions to Nadine Amsler, Andreea Badea, Bernard Heyberger, and Christian Windler, eds., *Catholic Missionaries in Early Modern Asia: Patterns of Localization* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020); Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

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enforcement of Christian and white supremacy bred local religions in its own right, which occasionally and temporarily subverted the racialized hierarchies of these colonial societies.[152] Catholicism was a "composite religion," in which coexisted a dizzying array of local Catholicisms, ranging from the flamboyant tropical Catholicism in Portuguese India to the austere religion of French Jansenists.[153]

Helpful as these pointed interventions have been, more recently, historians have turned the spotlight on a contemporaneous and often tentative search for universalization within Catholicism. Unsurprisingly perhaps, missionaries have stood front and center in these attempts as well. As historians have shown, the globe-spanning networks of the missionary orders—the Society of Jesus chief among them—brought forth devotional practices that were shared widely across the Catholic world. Globe-trotting missionaries facilitated the foundation of confraternities and assisted the flight of the Holy House of Loreto from Central Italy across the Atlantic.[154] Still, it would be wrong to assume that the ready acceptance of this religious offering equated to a mindless espousal of gaudy European export goods. The diffusion of these devotions was nowhere as coordinated or methodical as older tales of the triumph of the Old over the New World averred.[155] Rather, devotions like that to Our Lady of Loreto were "glocal"—they popped up worldwide but manifested in locally specific forms as Catholics welcomed them into their lives.

One of the distinguishing features of Catholicism, the cult of saints partook fully in these dynamics. In saint-making, the seemingly unstoppable drift toward centralization competed with an irrepressible quest for localization.[156] These two countervailing forces molded Catholicism into a Church with global aspirations that plodded away at universalizing the faith by centralizing decision-making in Rome, but which accepted, tolerated, or even promoted local peculiarities under the broad umbrella of

152 Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster, eds., *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Miguel A. Valerio, *Sovereign Joy: Afro-Mexican Kings and Queens, 1539–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); and Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

153 Christian Windler, "Early Modern Composite Catholicism from a Global Perspective: Catholic Missionaries and the English East India Company," in Badea, Boute, and Emich, eds., *Pathways*, 55–85.

154 Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Black Saints in Early Modern Global Catholicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2019), 46–86; Karin Vélez, *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).

155 Simon Ditchfield, "Catholic Reformation and Renewal," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation*, ed. Peter Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 152–185.

156 Copeland, "Sanctity."

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post-Tridentinism. As Birgit Emich has recently argued, centralization did not, perforce, amount to homogenization. Roman centralism was symbolic and performative: it was a narrative ploy that the papacy needed to grapple with the increasing pluralism that was, in turn, the direct consequence of the migration of Catholicism to non-European territories. Instead of fighting the resulting diversity and trying to standardize religious practice, the expanding early modern Church, well aware of the resistance such a course of action might unleash, contented itself with administering it.[157] Far from constituting an insurmountable contradiction, the see-sawing between the global and the local rendered Catholicism "glocal," a religion bringing together the parochial and the universal in a synthesis that was in turn the prerequisite of its unparalleled expansion to the four corners of the then-known world. The post-Tridentine reordering of the pantheon was, like so much else in early modern Catholicism, negotiated within a complex mechanism that was based, at once, on reciprocity and structural inequality.[158] Local communities—whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, or the Americas—often remained impervious to the edicts coming out of Rome; they wanted to (re)make saints in their image. Rosa of Lima, with whom we opened this introduction, is as vivid an illustration of these dynamics as the many other saints with or without a Roman halo portrayed on the pages that follow.

157 Birgit Emich, "Uniformity and Polycentricity: The Early Modern Papacy between Promoting Unity and Handling Diversity," in Badea, Boute, and eadem, eds., *Pathways*, 33–53, 35–44.

158 Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*; Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 206, quoting William B. Taylor.

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I
Producing Sanctity

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Birgit Emich

Holy Family?

The Role of Kinship Relations in the Canonization Procedure

1. Introduction

For those of us who ponder the factors that played a role in early modern canonization procedures, the painting in Figure 1 is likely to pique our interest.[1]

It is located in the sacristy of the Roman Jesuit church Il Gesù and shows the great canonization of 1622, when Pope Gregory XV raised to the honor of the altars five candidates at once, among them Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus. On the left we see Pope Gregory XV on his throne, the canonization bull in hand; on the right we see the Jesuit Superior General kneeling with his four assistants. The center of the painting, however, is occupied by the cardinal-nephew Ludovico Ludovisi. The proportions alone are quite telling, but his body posture and his gesture of blessing really drive home the message: it was the pope's nephew to whom the Jesuits owed this elevation, which also explains why it is his name, not his uncle's, that appears in the center of the caption below.

If one is to believe this account of the event, the cardinal-nephew thus played a decisive role in the canonization procedure, at least in this case. This raises the question of what role kinship relations played in canonization procedures in general. I understand kinship relations here both in a narrower and a broader sense. On the one hand, the term refers to the kinship relations within the papal family itself, or more precisely, to papal nepotism, which found its embodiment in the figure of the cardinal-nephew and apparently also left its mark on the field of canonizations. On the other hand, however, it is about kinship relations which not infrequently existed between saints and their earthly patrons, as well as within the cosmos of saints. This chapter will discuss both of these variants of kinship and their significance in the field of canonization. What the one has to do with the other should become clear by the end of this chapter.

The starting point for the following discussion will be papal nepotism, i. e. precisely that structural element of the papacy around 1600 which had served the popes, who traditionally depended on personal loyalty, as an indispensable instrument of power for a

1 On this painting, see Arne Karsten, "Die Kunst der Bündnisse: Zur Förderung von Kirchen und Ordensgemeinschaften durch die Papstfamilien Borghese und Ludovisi," in *Werte und Symbole im frühneuzeitlichen Rom*, ed. Günther Wassilowsky and Hubert Wolf (Münster: Rhema, 2005), 138–139. A monochrome reproduction of the painting (Table 4 in Karsten's contribution) can be found in the appendix of the same volume.

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Fig. 1 Anonymous, *Pope Gregory XV and Cardinal Ludovisi at the Canonization of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier in 1622*, Sacristy of Il Gesù, Rome. Reproduced with permission from Fondo Edifici di Culto, amministrato dalla Direzione Centrale degli Affari dei Culti e per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto del Ministero dell'Interno Italiano.

long time, but which then came under increasing criticism.[2] The first part of the chapter will examine the role assigned to and played by the cardinal-nephew as the epitome of papal family politics within the field of canonization. Based on the Roman ceremonial and its visual representations, but also with a view to the everyday practices at the Curia, we will discuss which tasks and contexts were open to the cardinal-nephew—and which ones were not. The final finding may come as a surprise: the cardinal-nephew, still a

2 The definitive work on nepotism as a structural element of the early modern papacy is still Wolfgang Reinhard, "Nepotismus: Der Funktionswandel einer papstgeschichtlichen Konstante," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 86 (1975): 145–185. See also Wolfgang Reinhard, "Nepotism and Micropolicy," in *The Cambridge History of the Papacy* (forthcoming). On papal nepotism in the Middle Ages, see Sandro Carocci, *Il nepotismo nel medioevo: Papi, cardinali, e famiglie nobili* (Rome: Viella, 1999). For a study that focuses on the early modern period, see Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il tramonto della Curia nepotista: Papi, nipoti e burocrazia curiale tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Rome: Viella, 1999). On the crisis of nepotism, see Marzio Bernasconi, *Il cuore irrequieto dei papi: Percezione e valutazione ideologica del nepotismo sulla base dei dibattiti curiali del XVII secolo* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004).

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central figure in most areas of curial politics around 1600, also appears again and again in the context of canonizations. However, he was ostentatiously shut out of the actual decision-making process: apparently, the sacral core area of papal politics was to be kept separate from such kinship relations.

The second part of the chapter will explore the reasons for this separation. In addition to the obvious suspicion that the imperatives of Catholic reform no longer permitted mixing canonizations with the family interests of individual popes, two other factors will be discussed: first, the inner logic of the canonization procedure, which could not easily be combined with the logic of family politics and gift exchange, and second, the changing notions of family and kinship within the cosmos of saints. The initially narrow view of the cardinal-nephew and nepotism will thus eventually broaden into a discussion about the role of kinship relations in general. With regard to the general question of what factors shaped and influenced the canonization procedure, this chapter offers the following hypothesis: The procedure responded to shifts in the ecclesiastical-political landscape and can therefore indeed be seen as a reflection of such processes of change. Nevertheless, the procedure itself, with its technical details and its weight, also influenced which outside factors could be addressed in the canonization and which ones could not. Both the political exigencies of the time as well as the weight of the procedure were overarched by long-term processes of change. Together, these factors caused the displacement of kin and kinship from the canonization procedure.

2. Canonization and Nepotism

As is well known, the canonization procedure took on its modern form in the decades around 1600.[3] In 1588, the "crisis of canonization," which had begun with the fundamental criticism of the Protestant Reformation, finally came to an end with the first canonization since 1523 and the establishment of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, the agency that from then on was in charge of canonizations. The distinction between beatifications and canonizations gradually emerged under Clement VIII and Paul V; and then Urban VIII issued a series of decrees that ultimately set the procedural rules for the next few centuries. But the decades before and after 1600 not only saw the revival of canonizations and their institutional as well as procedural reorganization; this period of bureaucratization was also the heyday of papal nepotism. Between 1538 and 1692, there existed an institutionalized and formalized variant of papal nepotism in the form

3 On the procedure and its development from a legal perspective, see Marcus Sieger, *Die Heiligsprechung: Geschichte und heutige Rechtslage* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1995). For a focus on the early modern period and a broader contextualization, see Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion, 1550–1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 201–224.

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of the post of cardinal-nephew.[4] The responsibilities of this papal nephew in the rank of cardinal are perhaps best described in terms of the distinction between the cardinal-nephew's role as a high-ranking official of the state power and his role as a patron. As *Sopraintendente dello Stato Ecclesiastico*, he held a number of offices that formally made him a bit of a "vice pope", especially in the areas of public administration and foreign relations. As patronage manager (or *cardinale padrone*, as he was usually referred to in the sources), he also had the task of rewarding the clientele of the papal family for their loyal services. And finally, it was his job to establish his family in the Italian high nobility within the relatively short time of "its" pontificate by raising the family's status and aggressively enriching its members. Since there was virtually no area of curial politics in the period before and after 1600 that was unaffected by this much-maligned institutional nepotism, the question is: What role did the cardinal-nephew play in the field of canonizations?

We have already seen one model: Cardinal Ludovisi playing a decisive role in the canonization procedure. In light of previous research, however, this is precisely what comes as a surprise. Just recall for a moment the long canonization procedure, from the opening of the local informative process, to the transfer to Rome and the Apostolic Process, with all its hearings, expert reports, and deliberations, to the proclamation of the decision within the Consistory, and, finally, the ceremonial staging of the canonization in Saint Peter's[5]: at no point in the procedure does the cardinal-nephew have a prominent role. Of course, one cannot completely rule out the possibility that the papal nephews had a say in the matter as members of the Congregation of Rites or the Inquisition. But if they did, it was by virtue of their seat on those agencies, and not because they were the pope's nephews. Membership in these or other agencies of the universal church was by no means a given for the cardinal-nephews, however.[6]

Much the same applies to their participation in ceremonial events. In their capacity as cardinals, the papal nephews naturally took part in the consistories in which the canonization was formally requested, discussed, and finally decided upon. And in the actual canonization ceremony at Saint Peter's, the papal nephews were also among the wearers of the red hat who were seated according to their respective degrees of consecration. But at no point in the procedure itself or its textual and visual representations are they identified as the pope's nephews. In fact, in his study of the liturgy and iconography of the first canonizations after the crisis of canonization, Niels Krogh Rasmussen has gathered a wealth of textual and visual sources on the canonizations

4 For an overview, see Brigit Emich, "The Cardinal Nephew," in *A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth, Miles Pattenden, and Arnold Witte (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 71–87.

5 On the various steps of the procedure, see Maria Teresa Fattori's contribution to this volume.

6 On the offices that usually fell to the cardinal-nephews, see Emich, "The Cardinal Nephew," 75.

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since 1588,[7] but neither in the written accounts of the ceremonies, nor in the numerous visual representations of these events on coins, frescoes, paintings, and engravings do the cardinal-nephews appear in that capacity.

We encounter the papal nephew in his capacity as a cardinal-nephew neither in the decision-making process nor in the ceremonial implementation that concluded it; apparently, there was no place for the cardinal-nephew or nepotism in the canonization procedure.

Or does it simply require a closer look? This is precisely what the following section aims to do. Using the example of Scipione Borghese, the nephew of Pope Paul V (r. 1605–1621, we will reconstruct the contexts and roles in which the cardinal-nephews of the early seventeenth century appeared within the field of canonization—and the ones in which they did not.[8] We will return to Cardinal Ludovisi and his seemingly spectacular appearance at the 1622 canonization towards the end of the chapter.

2.1 Church and Politics: A Ceremonial Demarcation

The fact that the papal nephew did not make an appearance as a cardinal-nephew during ceremonial acts of canonization is also true for Scipione Borghese, the cardinal-nephew of Pope Paul V take the two frescoes that Giovanni Battista Ricci painted in the Galleria Borghese of the Vatican Palace to commemorate the canonizations authorized by Paul V (Fig. 2): on the left, we see the canonization of Santa Francesca Romana in 1608; on the right, the canonization of Carlo Borromeo in 1610. In both cases, the liturgical functionaries are at the center of the painting: on the far side of the room, we see the pope on his throne, and facing him, either standing or kneeling, are the persons who requested that he perform the canonization three times in a row—*instanter, instantius, instantissime*. One can even recognize the pope's nephew Scipione Borghese—but only by his facial features, well known thanks to the portrait bust of this cardinal by Gianlorenzo Bernini.[9] On the left fresco, we find him sitting two seats next to the pope; on the right fresco, he sits next to the throne as the first of the cardinals who do not have a liturgical function within the ceremony (the two people to the right and left of the pope

7 See Niels Krogh Rasmussen, "Iconography and Liturgy at the Canonization of Carlo Borromeo," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 15 (1986): 119–150.

8 The Borghese pontiff and his nephew were chosen to serve as an example here because, thanks to the studies initiated by Wolfgang Reinhard, the tenure of Paul V is one of the best researched pontificates of the early modern period. Especially the activities of the cardinal-nephew in question have been illuminated in many ways. See, for instance, the comprehensive synthesis offered by Wolfgang Reinhard, *Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621): Mikropolitische Papstgeschichte* (Päpste und Papsttum 37) (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2009).

9 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Cardinal Scipione Borghese*, Ivory, Rome, Galleria Borghese. For a reproduction of this famous work of art, see Philipp Zitzlsperger, *Gianlorenzo Bernini: Die Papst- und Herrscherporträts. Zum Verhältnis von Bild und Macht* (Munich: Hirmer, 2002), table 51.

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Fig. 2 Giovanni Battista Ricci, *Canonization of Francesca Romana, 1608 (left), and Carlo Borromeo 1610 (right)*, fresco, Gallery of Paul V, Vatican Library. Reproduced with permission from Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie. Direzione dei Musei e dei Beni Culturali. Ufficio Immagini e Diritti, Stato della Città del Vaticano.

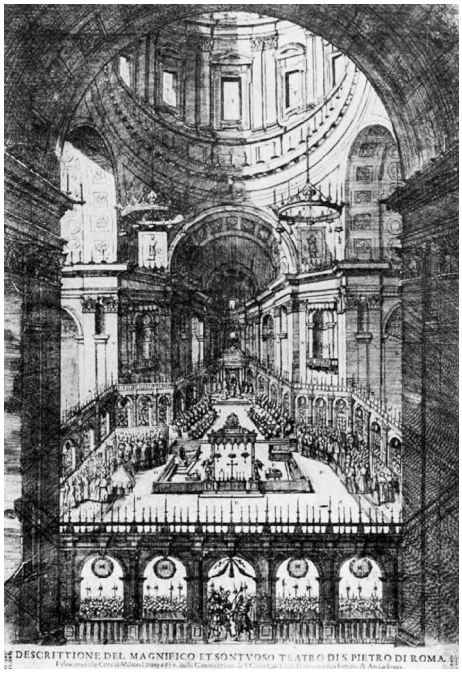


Fig. 3 Matthäus Greuter, Canonization of Carlo Borromeo. Interior of Saint Peter's, Rome, engraving. Carlo Gorla, ed, San Carlo Borromeo nel terzo centenario della canonizzazione, 1610–1910 (Milan: Bertarelli, 1910), 580.

are the two (most) senior cardinal deacons who assisted the pontiff in performing the canonization ceremony and celebrating the Mass that followed). In both cases, Borghese blends perfectly into the crowd of wearers of the red hat who are grouped around the papal throne according to their degree of consecration.

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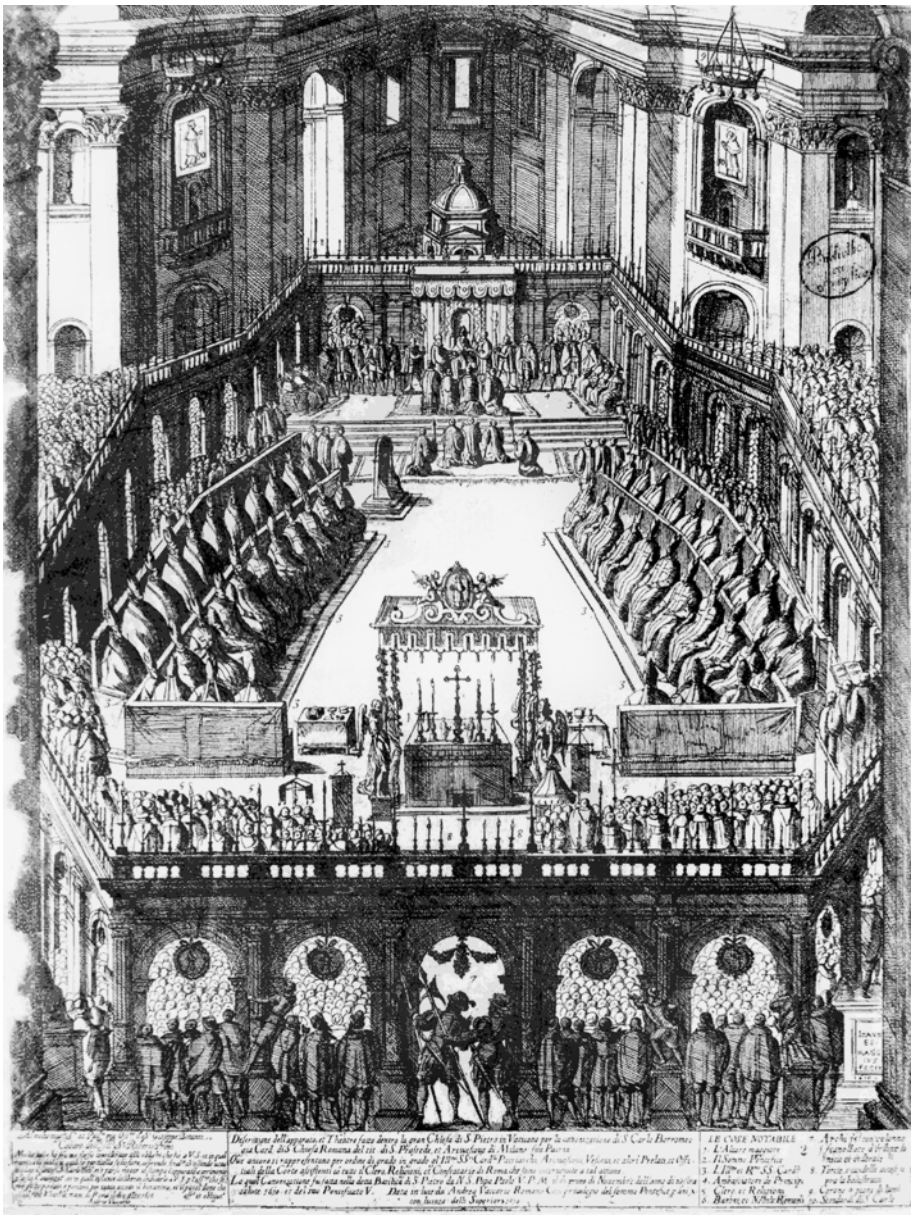


Fig. 4 Giovanni Maggi, *Canonization of Carlo Borromeo. Interior of Saint Peter's*, Rome, engraving. Reproduced with permission from Riproduzioni fotografiche presso la Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.

This principle becomes even clearer in the engravings that depict the *Teatro canonizzazione*. There are two known engravings of the canonization of Carlo Borromeo

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in 1610: the first one is by Matthäus Greuter (Fig. 3), the second by Giovanni Maggi Giovanni Maggi (Fig. 4); both engravings show the apse of Saint Peter's, where since 1608, the ceremony was performed in a wooden enclosure, almost like in an arena. The logic behind the seating arrangement reveals itself at a glance; the legend below the numbered image confirms the impression: the cardinals were seated on benches to the right and left of the pope, and somewhere among them we would have encountered Scipione Borghese.

To be clear: these illustrations have in no way purported or delivered on the promise to give a faithful representation of the ceremony as it had actually taken place, down to the very last detail. What these depictions show, however, are the basic organizing principles, and those did not provide for a prominent role of the cardinal-nephew in spiritual matters. Quite obviously, the seating arrangement at the canonization ceremony followed the basic pattern of the papal chapel.[10] As Maria Antonietta Visceglia has shown, this ceremonial-liturgical order of the papal mass was meant to reflect the papacy's majesty; it could not and was not meant to reflect the actual division of roles at the Curia, which itself was a result of the ongoing bureaucratization and differentiation of the curial agencies.[11] This also applies to the role of the cardinal-nephew: there was no place for the cardinal-nephew or nepotism within the spiritual ceremony.

10 The basic layout of the papal chapel is illustrated in the famous 1578 engraving by Étienne Dupérac and its detailed caption. For more on this aspect, see Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Il cerimoniale come linguaggio politico: Su alcuni conflitti di precedenza alla Corte di Roma tra Cinquecento e Seicento," in *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome: XVI^e–XIX^e siècle*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia and Catherine Brice (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), 117–176.

11 Technically speaking, the canonization ceremony at Saint Peter's consists of two parts: the canonization itself and the Mass that follows. The transitional moment between the two parts is marked by the moment when the pope puts on the liturgical vestments designated for the Mass. Up to that point, he wears decorative garments specially made for the canonization. See Rasmussen, "Iconography," 112 and 136, for a detailed description. Perhaps it was this dichotomy that provided the canonization ceremony with greater flexibility compared to the papal mass: in the context of canonizations, the political challenges the Curia was faced with at a given moment could be taken into account by conspicuously according the key figures special places of honor—even if they were women. Thus, all visual representations of the canonization of 1669 prominently feature some kind of throne on which—albeit outside the space reserved for the high clergy and the ambassadors of the crowns—the high-profile convert Christina of Sweden attended the canonization. See, for instance, the drawing by Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635–1700), *Queen Christina attends the canonization of S. Pietro d'Alcantara and S. Maria Maddalena de Pazzi on April 28, 1669, in Saint Peter's*, Stockholm, Nationalmusem, NMH THC 4852 (for a reproduction of the drawing, see Per Bjurström, *Feast and Theater in Queen Christina's Rome* (Stockholm: Stockholm Statens Humanistiska Forskningsrad and Längmanska Kulturfonden, 1966), 43).

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Fig. 5 Pietro da Cortona (Berrettini), *The Audience of the Imperial Ambassador Paolo Savelli to Pope Paul V in 1620*, Öffentliche Sammlung, Graf Harrach'sche Familiensammlung, Rohrau. Reproduced with permission from Graf Harrach'sche Familiensammlung, Schloss Rohrau, Reproduktionsabteilung.

Comparison with diplomatic ceremony shows that this was not necessarily always the case, however (Fig. 5). In the audience of ambassadors, here one of the year 1620 captured by Pietro Berrettini, we see Scipione Borghese at his uncle's side once again, but this time in a significantly more prominent position. The cardinal-nephew, who as head of the Secretariat of State signed all the diplomatic-political correspondence of the Curia, is by no means just one of several cardinals here: the whole performance of the audience portrays him as his uncle's assistant, as a person with a prominent role in secular-political matters.

But what does this mean? What conclusions can we draw from the different representations of the cardinal-nephew in the papal ceremonial? For now, only this one: there

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is clearly a subtle difference between political and ecclesiastical matters regarding the representation of the cardinal-nephew in the medium of the ceremonial and its visual representation. In the world of politics, the cardinal-nephew was allowed to assume a central role; in the much more restricted sphere of sacred affairs, he had to get in line and play along. This first observation raises questions about the significance of this fine line: Was this demarcation emphasized in other spheres as well? And if so, was it more than a fiction?

2.2 The Fine Line of Curial Practice

How misleading it would be to judge the cardinal-nephew's actual role from his staging in artworks such as the audience painting is intensely palpable in Borghese's case. From studies on the daily routines of the curial authorities during the pontificate of Paul V, we have learned one thing in particular: Scipione's political power role at the side of Paul V was essentially a fiction.[12] Although the ambassadors had to pay him regular visits, he was largely shut out from his uncle's decision-making. One could speculate somewhat maliciously that perhaps this is why he looks a bit absentminded in the painting. On the other hand, however, we know that Scipione could be quite forceful and assertive in matters of personnel policy and patronage: he fulfilled his role as patronage manager of the papal family—whose clientele he had to manage—with great dedication and determination, and he developed a somewhat reckless enthusiasm about the enrichment of his family dynasty, whose socio-economic status he had to raise within the few years of its pontificate.[13] As the proxy of his papal uncle, he also took the task of fulfilling the representational duties of an early modern prince very seriously, both in the field of art collecting and patronage as well as in the field of court ceremonial with all its festivities and banquets.[14]

These activities, which can be understood as the cardinal-nephew's role in a narrower sense, did not stop at spiritual matters, however. It may be true that the cardinal-nephew almost never made an appearance in the consistory when bishops were appointed or

12 We have a very clear picture of Borghese's scope of activity from the records of the Secretariat of State under Paul V and the former's patronage and private secretariats; see Birgit Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus unter Paul V. (1605–1621): Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Mikropolitik in Rom* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2001).

13 The methods and the extent of the cardinal-nephew's enrichment have been thoroughly examined by Volker Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese (1605-1633): Vermögen, Finanzen und sozialer Aufstieg eines Papstnepoten* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1984).

14 On this courtly proxy function, see Volker Reinhardt, "Der päpstliche Hof um 1600," in *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert.*, vol. 3, ed. August Buck, Georg Kauffmann, Blake Lee Spahr, and Conrad Wiedemann (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), 709–715.

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even when new cardinals were created.[15] However, he had usually been involved in the run-up to such personnel decisions, and the letters of thanks he received from those who were promoted are more than clear about that. One deserving official in the Papal States, for example, who had received the red hat as a reward for his successful work in the state administration in 1606, averred that he was well aware of the fact that he owed this honor to the strong advocacy of the cardinal-nephew, and that accordingly the latter could count on the newly created cardinal's lifelong loyalty to the entire Casa Borghese.[16] In other words, in the cardinal-nephew's correspondence, services rendered and services received (such as good performance in office and a subsequent promotion) were translated into the language of patronage. In this way, the promotion became intelligible as the patron's favor to his client, who had thus not only received his just reward, but also owed his patron gratitude and loyal service. The gift had been reciprocated with a gift in return, which again came with an obligation to make further gifts. In the language of the time, this principle was known as "do ut des," and it is precisely this culture of giving and taking that is documented in the cardinal-nephew's patronage correspondence.[17]

This raises the question of whether it was not only creations of cardinals but also canonizations that could be translated into the language of patronage: Had the elevation to the honor of the altars also been incorporated into the chain of gift exchange that linked patrons and clients? Did saints perhaps even play a role in enriching the papal family?[18] One will only find out by looking beyond both the facade of the public

15 The ceremonial itself only provided a role for the cardinal-nephew during creations in the consistory when, for example, he acted as the national protector of the empire and by virtue of this office proposed a candidate for a bishopric on behalf of the emperor. On this aspect, see Martin Faber, "Entweder Nepot oder Protektor: Scipione Borghese als Kardinalprotektor von Deutschland (1611–1633)," in *Kaiserhof – Papsthof (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Richard Bösel, Grete Klingenstein, and Alexander Koller (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 59–65.

16 On the occasion of his promotion to cardinal, Orazio Spinola assured Cardinal Borghese that he was "sicurissimo che la protetione sua ne ha giovato infinitamente; puo in ogni tempo sin che havero spirito promettersi d'me sua creatura ogni osservanza, et fede" (September 14, 1606, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV), Fondo Borghese II 322, fol. 176r). Borghese in fact freely acknowledged to third parties that Spinola had earned the cardinal's hat for his outstanding service, such as in Borghese's reply letter to the city of Ferrara, which had thanked him for the promotion of its vice-legate and future cardinal-legate Orazio Spinola. This promotion, Borghese wrote on September 27, 1606, "non hà .. havuto altro fine, che di premiare la virtù et il merito dei soggetti promossi et di accrescere servitio a questa Santa Sede" (AAV, Segreteria di Stato (SS), Lettere di Principi e Titolati 155, fol. 432v).

17 On the cardinal-nephew's patronage correspondence, see Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 115–152.

18 The fact that it was common practice to lavishly endow members of the papal court and household in advance of a canonization is evidenced by the "memorandum of what it costs for a canonization—more or less" (namely, about 20,000 ducats) which the Spanish ambassador sent to his king during the run-up to the canonization of Diego of Alcalá; see L. J. Andrew Villalon, "San Diego de Alcalá: The Politics of Saint-Making in Counter-Reformation Europe," *Catholic Historical View* 83, no. 4 (1997): 712–713.

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ceremony and the normative rules of the procedure. We have already seen that the cardinal-nephew cannot be found on either of these stages. But what if we have been looking in the wrong places so far?

And indeed, once one starts looking beyond the well-documented steps of the procedure, one finds traces of the cardinal-nephews just about everywhere. One first encounters the papal nephews in the ancillary courtly events that usually go with the canonization ceremonies. Whether there was a banquet to be held after a canonization ceremony or a piece of music to be performed in order to celebrate a new saint, the papal nephews were ready and waiting. While the costs for the canonization ceremonies had to be covered by those who had campaigned for the canonization of their respective candidates as procurators, the courtly festivities that usually followed were organized and also paid for by the cardinal-nephews. In 1610, for example, Scipione Borghese hosted the banquet that followed the Milan-financed canonization ceremony for Milan's model bishop, Carlo Borromeo.[19] The cardinal-nephews thus also fulfilled their representative duties in the secular-courtly ceremonial surrounding the canonizations.

The cardinal-nephew also appeared in other—more political-secular than spiritual—roles and contexts surrounding the canonization. Let us stay with the ceremony of 1622 for a moment: the costs of this pompous ceremony, which the painting with the Ludovisi nephew in the papal role refers to, were covered by the Spanish crown. Five candidates were raised to the honor of the altars at this celebration, four of whom were originally from Spain. It is no wonder that this elevation was considered the height of Spanish triumphalism in Rome.[20] The elevation of Isidore, the patron saint of Madrid, had been particularly important to the Spanish Crown.[21] Philip III of Spain attributed his deliverance from serious illness to the intervention of Isidore, and since he already took care of the *memoria* of this son of a regional farmer, who was already deeply venerated in Madrid, he, Philip, pursued the campaign for Isidore with full vigor, much in the spirit of the do-ut-des principle. The nuncio in Spain could have written a book

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There is also evidence of such "expenses" in the procedures for Isidor Labrador and Carlo Borromeo; see Karsten, "Die Kunst," 132. However, Villalon's list seems to suggest that these expenses went primarily to the officials involved in the procedure as an expense allowance, rather than to the papal family itself.

19 On Carlo Borromeo and the backstory to his canonization, see Samuel Weber's contribution to this volume. In his review of the sources on the canonization of 1610, Rasmussen identified one single appearance of the cardinal-nephew Borghese (see Rasmussen, "Iconography," 140): after the conclusion of the canonization ceremony, which is said to have lasted 5 hours, Cardinal Borghese, according to an *avviso* of November 3, 1610, hosted a banquet (*pranzo*) for 22 cardinals (although it is likely that more than 22 had participated in the ceremony; see ibid., 137); the musicians, according to Rasmussen, were given rich gifts, but ate their meals somewhere else in the palace.

20 As in Thomas James Dandelet, *Spanish Rome 1500–1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 180, for example. Alternative views are discussed in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9 no. 3 (March 2022): Special Issue: How to Be a Jesuit Saint.

21 The following analysis draws on Reinhard, *Paul V*., 626–628.

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about it: the Crown put so much pressure on him that he accidentally called Isidore "Santo" long before the final canonization went through. One can read all about it in the nuncio's correspondence with the Secretariat of State: whenever matters of canonization threatened to become a political issue, and this was regularly the case, it was up to this secretariat to handle the problem. Until well into the middle of the seventeenth century, however, those who succeeded one another as its directors and who had to sign the relevant correspondence were the cardinal-nephews. Thus Scipione Borghese, being the nominal head of the Secretariat of State, also repeatedly signed letters that touched on questions of canonization.

If one digs deeper into the holdings of this agency, one comes across two types of letters on the subject of canonization, both of which were prepared by staff members of the Secretariat of State before they were eventually signed by the cardinal-nephew. Based on its political correspondence with the nuncios, we see that, on the one hand, the Secretariat of State and its director had to answer when matters of canonization threatened to become political problems. For example, when in September 1618 the King of Spain declared the just recently beatified Teresa of Ávila patroness saint of Spain, thus violating Rome's newly established monopoly on canonizations, it was up to the Secretariat of State as Rome's political agency to handle the issue.[22] On the other hand, however, the Secretariat of State also answered all those letters in which the Spanish Crown requested the canonization of its candidates. As is well known, it was the crowned heads of Europe, along with the religious orders, who most frequently promoted the canonization of certain candidates, usually their own countrymen and women. Most of the time, the response to such a written request or supplication took the form of a Latin brief signed by the pope: canonizations were an executive matter, after all. These Latin briefs in the name of the pope were being drafted in a separate subdivision of the Secretariat of State, the Secretariat for Latin Briefs to the Princes (*Segretario dei Brevi ai Principi*).[23] Sometimes, however, the cardinal-nephew wrote to the petitioners and supplicants on behalf of his uncle, particularly when they were not in the rank of monarchs. He then assured them that his uncle would examine their requests with the utmost rigor.[24] These letters were often written in Italian and were always less formal

22 Take, for example, the papal nuncio to Spain's corresponding report to Borghese of September 20, 1618 (AAV, SS, Spagna 60F, 323): this report has ended up in the repository of the Secretariat of State, where it has also been processed. On this aspect, see also Hillard von Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage: Die spanisch-römischen Beziehungen 1605–1621 in akteurszentrierter Perspektive* (Frühneuzeit-Forschungen 16) (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca Academica Verlag, 2010), 425.

23 On this secretariat, see Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 184–190.

24 This is where a not unimportant desideratum needs to be mentioned. With many topics, it was usual for the cardinal-nephew to send out letters to Rome's correspondents that paralleled his uncle's briefs: these letters were mostly written on behalf of the pope and in a matter-of-fact, official tone that befitted the cardinal-nephew's role as his uncle's spokesman, but they were sometimes also written in the role of a patronage manager, who couched the matter at issue in the language of patronage and styled the pope's concessions

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than the papal briefs. And yet they also originated from the Secretariat of State, just like the Curia's correspondence with the nuncios and the formal Latin briefs of the pope.[25]

From the analysis of the processing steps of these letters, however, we know that Borghese rarely contributed more than his signature to routine correspondence of this kind: the Secretariat of State's correspondence was usually drafted by the agency's lower-ranking specialists.

Borghese was far more active in his role as patronage manager and in handling the corresponding mail. As *Cardinale Padrone*, he was responsible for accommodating the clients' wishes. And this is exactly what is reflected in the cardinal-nephew's patronage correspondence. For handling this correspondence, the papal nephew relied on other members of his staff: on his auditor, for instance, as well as on his secretaries and clerks. The holdings of this strand of correspondence, which went beyond the Secretariat of State, should also be taken into account, since the cardinal-nephew in fact also received requests for support from his clients in matters of canonization.[26] There were plenty of reasons to turn to the cardinal-nephew for help. It is a well-known fact among scholars that the popes of these decades tried to regulate and monopolize the canonization procedure ever more. In doing so, however, they somewhat paradoxically contributed to an increase in the essential steps to the procedure. This can be seen in the popes' efforts to overcome the piecemeal approach to sainthood still common around 1600. The promoters of a cult still tried to advance the cause of their candidate by providing him or her with appropriate attributes and symbols. At the Curia, however, there was a growing opposition to this traditional "canonizzazione pittorica."[27] Peter Paul Rubens, for example, had to rework the altarpiece of Filippo Neri, which the Oratorians had commissioned him to paint: he had portrayed Neri as a saint in a way that was a little too evocative, especially for someone who at the time had not yet been officially canonized.[28] The control over the textual production of the time was equally strict. Quite a few authors had to rewrite and reprint the vitae of their candidates, or at

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as an accomplishment of the entire Casa Borghese; see Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 179–180, 192, and 221–222, respectively. Whether or not such a parallel correspondence with the petitioners was also maintained in matters of canonization not only occasionally, but in principle, can only be determined through archival research, which unholy coronavirus has thus far prevented, however.

25 Letters written to the pope in Latin had to be answered in the pope's name by the cardinal-nephew in Latin as well, a task that the *Segretario delle lettere latine* carried out for him; the responsibility for the cardinal-nephew's replies to letters that the pope had received in vernacular languages fell to the respective department of the Secretariat of State; see ibid., 190–196.

26 On Borghese's patronage secretariat, see ibid., 263–283; on the corresponding departments during later pontificates, see ibid., 350–356.

27 Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)* (Vatican City: Urbania University Press, 2001), 285.

28 Ruth S. Noyes, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis of the Beati Moderni* (London: Routledge, 2018).

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least change all those passages where they had described the venerated persons as blesseds or even saints before they were officially recognized as such.[29] The various forms of veneration bestowed on those who had a reputation for sainthood allowed for a much more sophisticated classification system than just halos and titles.[30] And this was precisely where a vast field of inquiries and requests opened up. How often and in what particular churches a solemn mass could be celebrated in honor of a candidate, what indulgences were associated with it, whether medals with the likeness of the venerated person could be minted and distributed for the occasion, and whether such portraits or even votive offerings could be displayed at the grave[31]—all this had to be formally requested, examined, and approved.

Simon Ditchfield has described in detail how the Curia dealt with the problem of these *beati moderni* and the many steps to and forms of their veneration.[32] The decree "De non cultu," by which Urban VIII declared premature cultic veneration a reason for rejecting potential candidates had a particularly strong effect in this regard. There were still some procedural bottlenecks, however, even after the comprehensive reorganization of the 1630s. The decision to reduce the number of meetings held by the Congregation of Rites to only three meetings per year, for example, slowed down the entire process. And the longer the list of pending cases was, the more important it became to find a way to get one's cause on the Congregation's agenda. Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that contemporaries also turned to the papal nephew on the subject of canonization.[33]

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29 One example from the pontificate of Paul V is mentioned in Tobias Mörschel, *Buona amicitia? Die römisch-savoyischen Beziehungen unter Paul V. (1605–1621): Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Mikropolitik in Rom* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002), 325–326, esp. note 12: the Duke of Savoy, seeking the canonization of his ancestor Amedeo IX, sent the canon regular Pietro Francesco Maletto as an envoy to Rome. Before that, Maletto had written Amedeo's vita on behalf of the duke and had it printed in Turin. In March 1613, Maletto received a warm welcome in Rome and, moreover, was promised that Paul V would have the vita examined. Maletto sought out various cardinals, with Borghese (who pledged his support) among them. The vita, however, was met with criticism from the pope: all the passages in which the candidate was already referred to as a blessed or even a saint had to be rewritten and reprinted.

30 See also Daniel Sidler's contribution to this volume.

31 On the medals in honor of the Savoy candidate Amedeo, see Mörschel, *Buona amicitia*, 325.

32 Simon Ditchfield, "Coping with the 'Beati Moderni': Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ite inflammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog and Patrick Goujon (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), 413–440.

33 As an example from the time of Paul V., consider the efforts of the Savoyard envoys Maletto (in 1613) and Goria (in 1615) with various cardinals, not all of whom in fact belonged to the Congregation of Rites or the Holy Office. The cardinal-nephew Borghese, however, was always among that group; see Mörschel, *Buona amicitia*, 326. On the efforts to gain the support of Cardinal Antonio Barberini in the campaign for Gregory X, see Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379–422, 404. The fact that Urban VIII's actual cardinal-nephew, Francesco Barberini, had sided with the supporters of the Spanish competitor reduced Campi's chances of finally getting his cause on the Congregation's agenda.

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Anyone who sought to accelerate any particular process in Rome attended the cardinal-nephew's audience. Vitae, sermons, and other print products from the canonization campaigns were dedicated to the cardinal-nephews; they were given paintings of the candidates and other objects of veneration; and whenever one's efforts were going nowhere, the cardinal-nephews' influence in favor of the competition provided those who were coming up empty-handed with a convenient excuse for failure.[34]

Indeed, the papal nephews' patronage correspondence provides many examples of how assistance in matters of canonization was translated into the language of gift exchange,[35] sometimes even very explicitly so. In 1620, for example, shortly after he

34 During the campaign for the canonization of Francesca Romana, two sermons, both of which were delivered in Santa Maria Nova, March 9, 1601, and March 9, 1608, were printed with dedications to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini and Cardinal Scipione Borghese, respectively, "cioè ai due personaggi più vicini ai pontefici allora regnanti"; see Giulia Barone, "Francesca Romana: Santa della riforma cattolica," in *La canonizzazione di santa Francesca Romana: Santità, cultura e istituzioni a Roma tra medioevo ed età moderna. Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma, 19-21 novembre 2009*, ed. Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli and Giorgio Picasso (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013), 125–137, 269. On paintings as gifts in this context, see the example in Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 404; on the cardinal-nephews' preferential treatment of one competitor over another, see ibid. There was also an extensive work on the canonization of Carlo Borromeo dedicated to Cardinal Borghese; see Marco Aurelio Grattarola, *Successi maravigliosi della veneratione di San Carlo, Cardinale di Santa Prassede, arcivescovo di Milano* (Milan: Heredi di Pacifico Pontin e Giovanni Battista Piccaglia, Impressori Archiepiscopali, 1614). On the dedications, for the later seventeenth century, see the examples in Flavia Tudini, "Un beato americano nella Roma barocca: Le feste a Roma per la beatificazione di Toribio Mogrovejo (1679–1680)," in *A la luz de Roma: Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericano*, vol. 1, *La capital pontificia en la construcción de la santidad*, ed. Fernando Quiles García, José Jaime García Bernal, Marcello Fagiolo Dell'Arco, and Paolo Broggio (Rome: Romatre Press, 2020), 215–232, 218–219, for instance: "Juan Francisco Valladolid, nel 1681 pubblicò a Roma il Compendio della vita, virtù e miracoli del B. Alfonso Mogrobesio, dedicato a Livio Odescalchi, duca di Cero e nipote di Innocenzo XI."

35 For extensive empirical evidence of the significance of discourses and practices related to patronage in the Borgheses' canonization policy, see von Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage*, 420–428. Further examples from the era of the Borghese pontificate are provided in Marco Aurelio Grattarola's description of Carlo Borromeo's canonization, which Samuel Weber, whom I would like to thank for bringing this to my attention, used in his chapter: Marco Aurelio Grattarola, *Successi maravigliosi*. In this work in particular, however, the minor role attributed to the cardinal-nephew in the context of the procedure is striking: although the book is dedicated to him, the Cardinal Borghese only makes a few marginal appearances throughout it, most of which show him in highly formalized roles. When the city of Milan sent its requests for an acceleration of the procedure not only to the pope, but also at the same time to the cardinal-nephew by way of a rather formulaic letter (see ibid., 127–128, 134–135, 159–160), the city fathers simply followed the received conventions of the time (for examples of other parties who took the same course of action, see Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, 188). According to the book's index, it is only three times in the 600-plus pages of the volume that Borghese appears not as a mere recipient of letters, but as an active participant: as the author of a letter written on behalf of the pope (Grattarola, *Successi maravigliosi,* 124); as a spectator of a procession in honor of San Carlos (170); and as the benefactor of one of the many chapels dedicated to the new saint (404).

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became nuncio to Spain, Francesco Cennini, who as auditor to the cardinal-nephew Scipione Borghese had handled the latter's patronage affairs for several years, wrote a letter to the pope's nephew. In this letter he argued that now that Paul V had signaled his willingness to canonize Isidore of Madrid, the candidate whom the Spanish Crown had long promoted, one should not let this excellent opportunity go by. He had therefore reminded the people in charge at the Spanish court that in return for such an act of grace from His Holiness, it would be appropriate for the Spanish Crown to reciprocate. This is why he suggested that the pope's grandnephew, Marcantonio Borghese, finally be elevated to the rank of Grandee of Spain.[36]

We are definitely dealing here with a particularly loyal servant of the Casa Borghese who was trying to make a name for himself. And there were certainly other gifts involved in the dealings between Rome and Spain (such as the July 1619 promotion of the then only ten-year-old Spanish Infante to cardinal). But the deal Cennini described here really went through: in December 1620, the papal grandnephew Marcantonio Borghese, who had already been richly endowed as *Principe di Sulmona* in the Kingdom of Naples, was elevated to the rank of Grandee of Spain.[37] Cennini, the industrious servant, received the red hat of a cardinal not later than January 1621. And Isidore of Madrid was finally canonized, but not until 1622 and therefore by Pope Gregory XV! Although Paul V had agreed to this canonization, he repeatedly postponed its finalization: apparently, the pope had had some qualms about the whole thing himself—so much so that he could not bring himself to keep his end of the bargain until the very end of his life. His death in January 1621 meant that he no longer had to carry out the promised canonization himself. But that didn't help him much: even though Paul V had been dead for more than a year and the calendar read 1622 by then, the contemporaries were still very well aware of the fact that Isidore, who had just been canonized by Gregory XV, was actually a saint of the Borghese pontiff,[38] and the *avvisi*, the Roman gossip columns,

36 The contents of two of Cennini's reports of November 8, 1620, were summarized in Rome as follows: "Che havendo ricevuto l'avviso, che Nostro Signore in gratia del Re voleva canonizare il Beato Isidro, gli è parso di non dover perdere cosi buona occasione di ricordare al Conte die Benavente il negotio del Grandato per il Signore Principe di Sulmona, il che dice, che ha fatto con haver suggerito, che in ricompensa di tante gratie, fatte da Sua San//tità si doveva mostrar gratitudine, con far Grande suo Nipote." (AAV, Fondo Borghese II 265, 445r, as cited in von Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage*, 427–428) According to von Thiessen, this report was processed in the Secretariat of State. This needs to be double-checked; at least Borghese's letter to the nuncio Cennini of October 6, 1620, informing the latter that Paul V, contrary to his original intention, had brought himself to proclaim a canonization (FB II 422, 179), came from Borghese's patronage secretariat. On this secretariat and its archival records, see Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus*, esp. 87.

37 Wolfgang Reinhard, "Ämterlaufbahn und Familienstatus: Der Aufstieg des Hauses Borghese (1537–1621)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 54 (1974): 328–427, 425–426.

38 See the entry on the canonization of March 12, 1622, from Giacinto Gigli, *Diario Romano (1608–1670)*, ed. Giuseppe Ricciotti (Rome: Tumminelli, 1958), 96: "Haveva già Papa Paolo V. risoluto di canonizare Santo Isidoro, ma essendo lui morto, Papa Gregorio, che li successe, ordinò, che si facesse l'apparato per

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immediately made the connection between Isidore's heavenly career and the Borghese family's new Grandee of Spain as well.[39]

Both the pope's hesitation and the comments of the Roman *avvisi* underscore that such a close connection between canonization and family politics was an act that had indeed overstepped a boundary. For the Borghese pontificate, there is no indication that there had been other cases in which the canonization procedure had been used to enrich the papal family. Likewise, the other pontiffs of these decades also seem to have respected this boundary which had already made itself felt in the ceremonial staging of the cardinal-nephew's role.

In each field of curial practice that we have examined so far, a closer look has invariably revealed this fine line that left the cardinal-nephews out of the inner sphere of ecclesiastical-spiritual decisions. It is true that these cardinals had the pope's ear and sometimes a seat in the competent congregation, but as cardinal-nephews, they did not have an official procedural role. The courtly celebrations surrounding sacred acts certainly fell within the purview of the cardinal-nephews, but in the liturgical ceremonial of canonizations, the cardinal-nephews did not play a prominent role. In their capacity as nominal heads of the Secretariat of State they also had to sign numerous letters of the Curia in matters of saint-making; the politics behind that, however, remained the pope's business, at least during the pontificate of Paul V. And even though assistance in the run-up to a canonization could certainly be translated into the language of patronage, the actual decision, as expressed in the canonization bulls, for instance, remained entirely free of the rhetoric of gift exchange.

2.3 The Fine Line as a Fiction?

This begs the question of whether this demarcation was more than a fiction. To gauge the amount of influence the cardinal-nephews really had would surely require microscopic analyses of the individual cases. Nevertheless, there is enough circumstantial evidence to support the hypothesis that the influence of the cardinal-nephews on the canonization policy in Rome was quite limited.

An initial perusal of studies on specific cases and procedures already suggests that their influence on the innermost area of the canonization procedure was not only limited in its public presentation, but also in reality. Even a cursory glance at the name indexes

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celebrare la detta Canonizatione." On the "spadework" that the Borghese pontiff did for Isidro, see also Papa, *Le cause*, 273.

39 See Reinhard, "Ämterlaufbahn," 426. In actuality, however, the cardinal's hat for the Spanish infante was probably of greater value in this transaction than the canonization of Isidro. See ibid. as well as Hillard von Thiessen, "Familienbande und Kreaturenlohn: Der (Kardinal-)Herzog von Lerma und die Kronkardinäle Philipps III. von Spanien," in *Jagd nach dem roten Hut: Kardinalskarrieren im barocken Rom*, ed. Arne Karsten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 123–124.

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of such works shows that the cardinal-nephews clearly did not impose themselves as players in the game of canonization. In Miguel Gotor's seminal work on the "Beati del papa" and the development of the canonization procedure in the early seventeenth century, for example, Cardinal Borghese only appears a full four times.[40] Not even in the major studies that focus on the two Borghese canonizations—Angelo Turchini's study on San Carlo and the work of Martine Boiteux and others on Santa Francesca Romana—does the cardinal-nephew of Paul V play much of a role.[41]

This is also how the contemporaries saw it. Let us hear the opinion of the Spanish Cardinal Zapata on the importance of Scipione Borghese and his audiences: the nephew of Paul V, Zapata said, has no other responsibility than accumulating abbeys and pensions, so he keeps himself busy with signing all the letters written in the name of His Holiness. The only point of writing him in all the important matters that one wants to discuss with his uncle is to do him honor; other than that, there is no benefit in it. Most observers also considered the audience to be an act of deference that did not carry any practical meaning. He is friendly to everyone, Zapata said, and those who feel very satisfied as they leave his audience do not know that the cardinal-nephew's kind words are only empty phrases that evaporate into thin air.[42] Other cardinal-nephews,

40 Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2002), 429, cites these four instances: The municipality of Viterbo writes a letter to Cardinal Borghese, among others, for accelerating the opening of the formal procedure (p. 260). Roberto Roberti, the initiator of the cult of Francesca Vacchini, which is promoted by the Dominicans, is appointed bishop of Tricarico by Paul V. Thanks to his new office, he is now allowed to directly contact the cardinal-nephew Borghese, who also happens to be the Cardinal Protector of the Dominican Order (262). In two other cases, Borghese's participation in a meeting of the Holy Office under Urban VIII is mentioned in a note (285, 295).

41 See Marine Boiteux, "La cerimonia di canonizzazione di santa Francesca Romana: Teatro, riti, stendardi e immagini," in *La canonizzazione di santa Francesca Romana: Santità, cultura e istituzioni a Roma tra medioevo ed età moderna. Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma, 19–21 novembre 2009*, ed. Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli and Giorgio Picasso (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013), 99–121. On Carlo Borromeo, see also Samuel Weber's contribution to this volume.

42 In the Spanish original, Zapata's quote of 1611 reads: "El Cardenal Borghese ... no tiene otro negocio que amontanar Abadias y pensiones, ocuparse en firmar todas las cartas que en nombre de su Santidad se escriven … Bien es escivirle en los negocios // graves que sean de tratar con suo tio per hacerle esta honrra porque de ninguna otra cosa sirve; es muy cortes y a todos quantos le ablan dice unas mesmas palabras de gratulacion con tanta suavidad y agrado que los que no saben son clausulas de molde y que no pasan a altro elemento que el de ayre, quedan muy satisfechos," as cited in von Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage*, 69–70. This was by no means just the topical criticism of an outspoken opponent of the Borghese family, as is evidenced by other statements to that effect and their consequences in everyday curial practice. The comment of Ferrara's ambassador on Cardinal Borghese and his audiences, for instance, reads as follows: "Io non hò mai costumato di dar al Signore Cardinale Borghese le copie precise de' memoriali, che si presentano à Nostro Signore, poiche basta dar parte à S.S.Ill.ma della sostanza della dimanda, che si fà, e supplicarlo à favoreggiarla con Sua Beatitudine, essendo che nella maggior parte de' negozi, il resentargli i memoriali serve più tosto per segno della dovuta riverenza, che per molto profitto delle cose, che si desiderano da Nostro Signore." Annibale Manfredi to the City of Ferrara, March 19, 1616, Archivio di

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particularly Ludovico Ludovisi, might have been cut from a different cloth.[43] But even in their cases, most inquiries and requests probably reflected their formalized role as cardinal-nephews more than their personal political agendas. Even Ludovisi is only mentioned once in Gotor's study.[44] And in his case, too, the cardinal-nephew's audience was probably just as much a part of the courtly routine as his friendly but noncommittal words. The same applies to the dedications of print products to the cardinal-nephews: such dedications always also followed a social convention.[45]

What is also quite interesting in this context is that writings which promoted the canonization of former popes were usually not dedicated to the cardinal-nephew, but to the pontiff himself.[46] Apparently, there were some hierarchical rules to be observed here, which further emphasizes the formalized character of such dedications.

Incidentally, formalized official roles may be part of the reason there are at least some hits for the cardinal-nephews in the name indexes. According to Gotor's analysis, Borghese, for example, was rarely called upon, and when he was, it was in his capacity as

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Stato Ferrara, Fondo Comune: Archivio Storico Comunale, Serie H: Ambasciatori, Agenti e Procuratori di Ferrara a Roma - Corrispondenza con la Comunità, 9, fol. 555.

43 On Ludovisi, see Daniel Büchel, "Raffe und regiere: Überlegungen zur Herrschaftsfunktion römischer Kardinalnepoten (1590–1655)," in *Historische Anstöße: Festschrift für Wolfgang Reinhard zum 65. Geburtstag am 10. April 2002*, ed. Peter Burschel, Mark Häberlein, Volker Reinhardt-Gieler, Wolfgang E. J. Weber, and Reinhardt Wendt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 197–234, whose characterization of the cardinal we will come back to later.

44 Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 295, note 42, mentions Ludovisi's participation in a meeting of the Inquisition after his uncle's death.

45 According to Turchini's study on the fabrication of Saint Carlo (see Angelo Turchini, *La fabbrica di un santo: Il processo di canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo e la Controriforma* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1984), 28–29), it was "quasi un obbligo sociale assunto dai singoli autori" to dedicate their works on Carlo's life and deeds not only to his cousin Cardinal Borromeo, but also—for the time of Urban VIII—to the latter's cardinal-nephew, Francesco Barberini. For the Borghese pontificate, this is evidenced by the aforementioned description of Borromeo's canonization from the pen of Grattarola, who dedicated the work to Cardinal Borghese. The dedicatory letter to Cardinal Borghese at the beginning of the book (unpaginated) explicitly points out, incidentally, that Carlo Borromeo had also once been a cardinal-nephew himself and that Borghese, as his successor in this office, was therefore the ideal recipient of the work. I thank Samuel Weber for this information as well.

46 Roberto Rusconi, *Santo Padre: La santità del papa da san Pietro a Giovanni Paolo II* (Rome: Viella, 2010), 253, mentions a piece of writing for the canonization of Pope Pius V from 1605, which was dedicated to the newly elected Paul V In general, Rusconi's findings seem to suggest that in the case of initiatives to canonize a pope, the reigning pope himself was the person to run these by. Thus, in 1622, Pietro Maria Campi dedicated his "Relatio super processu" for Gregory X also to an incumbent pope, in his case Gregory XV (ibid., 271); a new edition of this writing from 1655, in contrast, was dedicated to Alexander VII (ibid., 276). What is also striking in light of these findings is that the initiative for the canonization of dead popes apparently did not come from family members, but primarily from members of religious orders and sometimes from compatriots. Following the introduction of the 50-year waiting period, the cardinal-nephews could hardly champion their own uncles' canonization, after all.

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Cardinal Protector of a religious order. Just as he, in his role as the National Protector of the Holy Roman Empire, proposed to the Consistory candidates for bishoprics within the imperial territory without actually having any influence on the decision, so, too, was he called upon in his role as Cardinal Protector of the Dominican Order to promote a candidate whom the order particularly cared about.[47] After the death of his uncle, the number of his public appearances in Gotor's analysis did not decrease at all: even after the end of his family's pontificate he was occasionally called upon, but again in an official capacity, namely as a member of the Holy Office.

As a rule, then, the cardinal-nephews' patronage activities surrounding canonizations were limited to social conventions, formalized dedications, and minor support in the run-up to the negotiations. From the core of the decision, the papal nephews remained shut out: their services as patronage managers were not needed; the logic of patronage was to be kept separate from this core area of theological decision-making. In summary: the blank space that both the procedural norms and the ceremonial set-up of the canonization have revealed is still there. The cardinal-nephew had to make do without an official role in the canonization procedure, and he did not have a prominent position in the canonization ceremonial either. But after our search for actual interventions of the cardinal-nephew, we can describe the blank space a little better. Thus, the cardinal-nephew appears time and again in the context of saint-making: as one cardinal among many, he held offices, participated in the consistory, and also attended the liturgical act of canonization. As head of the Secretariat of State, he signed the political-diplomatic correspondence of the Curia and answered the numerous requests sent to the pope. As a patronage manager, he blithely translated support in the run-up to the actual negotiations into the language of *do ut des*. By demanding a substantial quid pro quo, he obviously crossed a line, however. This line defined the sphere that—ostentatiously and for everyone to see—had to appear as a blank space: the innermost area of the canonization procedure remained shielded from the cardinal-nephew and the logic of gift exchange which he embodied. Clearly, the spiritual core business of the Curia was to be kept free from these kinds of kinship relations—which begs the question of why this was the case.

47 On the initiator of the Dominican-sponsored cult of Francesca Vacchini, who called upon the cardinal-nephew Borghese in this matter because of the latter's role as Cardinal Protector of the Dominican Order, see Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 262. See also note 45 above.

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3. Saints without Family: Why Kinship Relations were a Sensitive Issue in Canonizations

3.1 Catholic Reform

Of course, the most obvious reason the Curia's canonization policy was kept separate from the family ties and family interests of the ruling dynasty may be the challenges that the Roman Church faced around 1600. Although this period was the heyday of institutionalized nepotism, it was also the initial phase of the new canonization procedure which had just ended the crisis of the sixteenth century. Part of the reason for this crisis had been the criticism leveled against the excesses of previous canonizations: against the connections one needed in order to have one's voice heard in Rome, and against the profiteering sometimes associated with the veneration of saints.[48] In order to protect the newly established procedure from yet another wave of attacks, the obvious course of action was to address the issues raised and close the floodgates of criticism. And since papal nepotism was also coming under increasing pressure from within the Curia and its growing financial worries, there was a need to at least protect the narrow field of ecclesiastical-theological decision-making from it.[49] So one clear explanation is that the exclusion of the cardinal-nephews was due to the popes' efforts to protect the still new procedure and to present canonization as an instrument of a papacy that has regained its moral footing and strength.[50]

The fact that the Borghese pontificate is generally regarded as the end point of a gradual decline of the Tridentine reforming spirit is no contradiction to this: after all, the cardinal-nephew was kept away from the core area of canonization precisely in order to protect the institutionalized form of nepotism from even harsher criticism. In early modern Rome, the very same measure could both preserve the traditional nepotistic techniques and structures while also serving the cause of the Church, and that would have suited Paul V perfectly well. Accordingly, the strongest support for this interpretation does not come from one of the cardinal-nephews, but from the pope himself. Paul V—and not only him but also quite a number of other pontiffs—emphasized over

48 On this criticism, see the overview in Ulrich Köpf, "Protestantismus und Heiligenverehrung," in *Heiligenverehrung in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Peter Dinzelbacher and Dieter R. Bauer (Ostfildern: Schwabenverlag, 1990), 320–344.

49 On the growing criticism of nepotism, see Menniti Ippolito, *Il tramonto*, as well as Bernasconi, *Il cuore*.

50 On this aspect, see also Birgit Emich, "The Production of Truth in the Manufacture of Saints: Procedures, Credibility, and Patronage in Early Modern Processes of Canonization," in *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, Marco Cavarzere, and Steven Vanden Broecke (Scientiae Studies 1) (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 182–185. There, the thesis is put forward that the canonization process also had to be protected from any damage due to nepotism because it became increasingly important as an instrument for managing polycentricity and diversity within the Church (cf. ibid.). This idea will be taken up again in the concluding commentary to this volume.

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and over again what he felt was the most important point in the field of canonizations: observance of the rules. In the Latin briefs that the pope himself issued in response to requests from all over the world, it said somewhat rhetorically that he would examine each request very carefully. In order to take off the pressure a little bit, he sometimes added that this was going to take some time. His explanation for this indefinite period of evaluation speaks volumes: in matters of canonization, he must not only examine the individual case, but also his papal conscience; secular interests were not allowed to play a role here.[51]

Paul V has been given much credit for this respect for the rules. Panegyric writings praised the Borghese pontiff for his rigor, and Ludwig von Pastor, in his *History of the Popes*, takes the slowness of the procedures as a sign of Paul V's strict ecclesiastical orientation.[52] The petitioners might have complained about the length and cost of the canonization procedure at times, and it was precisely for these reasons that many of them came to the conclusion that beatification was easier to attain than universal canonization, which is why they went for it first. Paul V, on the other hand, must have been quite pleased with this development, since this meant that the new two-stage model of beatification and canonization had been quickly accepted.[53]

This attitude did not allow the canonization to be fully integrated into the chain of gift exchange. It may be true that in the cardinal-nephew's letters it was precisely the piecemeal requests and authorizations on the way to canonization that were translated into the language of patronage. And as the one-time lapse in judgment concerning the whole Saint Isidore affair has shown, the temptation to capitalize on the papal canonization monopoly could indeed be too strong to resist, even for the Borghese. In general, however, Hillard von Thiessen's assessment still rings true: in his daily decision-making, Paul V almost ostentatiously steered clear of the do-ut-des discourse.[54]

A look at the memorial culture *post mortem pontificis* shows that canonizations were not attributed to individual papal families at all, but to the papal office as a whole.

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51 See von Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage*, 424.

52 On the appreciation of the canonizations in contemporary panegyrics, such as those by Abraham Bzovius, see Reinhard, *Paul V*., 53. Ludwig von Pastor praises Paul V's extraordinary dedication to saints and blessed, before adding, "however, he did this only after a conscientious and searching inquiry and with most scrupulous regard for existing rules," see Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, vol. 25: *Leo XI and Paul V (1605–1621),* trans. Dom Ernest Graf O.S.B. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1937), 255–257. For the German original, see Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters,* vol. XII.: *Leo XI. und Paul V. (1605–1621)* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1927), 183–184.

53 See Daniel Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln: Katholische Reform und lokale Glaubenspraxis in der Eidgenossenschaft (1560–1790)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2017), 361–365, who illustrates this point using the example of Nicholas of Flüe. See also Sidler's contribution to this volume.

54 See von Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage*, 428.

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The papal tombs of this period are clear statements about the role that the revival of canonization and the development of the procedure played for the popes' self-image and politics of remembrance. Starting with the first post-Tridentine canonization of 1588, every single canonization up to the end of the Borghese pontificate made it onto the tomb of the corresponding pontiff. The tomb of Sixtus V features the canonization of Saint Diego of Alcalá, the tomb of Clement VIII the ceremony for Saints Hyacinth and Raimund, and Paul V's tomb, of course, features the acts of canonization of Santa Francesca Romana and Carlo Borromeo.[55] Of course, the frequent occurrence of this theme may have something to do with the closely intertwined history of the four tombs inside Santa Maria Maggiore and its two double funerary chapels, the Cappella Sistina and the Cappella Paolina—just as the disappearance of this theme after 1621 may be explained by the fact that such vivid depictions of *res gestae* on papal tombs went out of fashion in general.[56] Still, the concentration of such depictions in Santa Maria Maggiore remains a testament to the importance these acts held for the self-image of the papacy around 1600.[57]

What is striking about these papal tombs, however, is not only the serial recurrence of the canonization theme. Equally telling is the absence of the cardinal-nephews in the context of canonizations. Cardinal Borghese, for instance, can be easily found on his uncle's tomb (Fig. 6): one of the four relief panels surrounding the figure of the kneeling pope and recounting his *res gestae* shows Paul V in front of the massive fortress with which he not only fortified, but at the same time also subjected, the border town of Ferrara to Rome's rule (Fig. 6a). It is in this political-military context that we see, right next to the pope, the cardinal-nephew Scipione Borghese (who again, it may be added, has a somewhat absent-minded look about him). The relief panel, however, which to this day commemorates the canonizations of Paul V (Fig. 6, top left), focuses on the quintessential performative speech act of canonization—and thus on the pontiff in the liturgical context.[58] The papal nephew who would have connected these events with the Borghese family is not to be found here. So much for the more obvious reasons for why the cardinal-nephew and nepotism were shut away from canonization: from a

55 On the four tombs in Santa Maria Maggiore and their two double funerary chapels, see Steven F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels at S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

56 For more details, references for further reading, and photographs on these and other papal tombs in general, readers are encouraged to access the database of the Requiem-Project: http://requiem-projekt.de/datenbank/web-datenbank/ (last accessed December 15, 2023).

57 Strikingly, the only exception is the tomb of Alexander VIII inside Saint Peter's, who had little else to show for his short-lived pontificate than the great canonization of 1690; as far as I can tell, this motif appears here for the very last time.

58 For a more detailed view, see http://requiem-projekt.de/db/pic_ausgabe.php?pictID=3921 (last accessed December 15, 2023).

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church-historical perspective, this spirit of the Counter-Reformation is probably the most important aspect.



Fig. 6 The Tomb of Pope Paul V, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. Reproduced with permission from Archivi Alinari, Florence.

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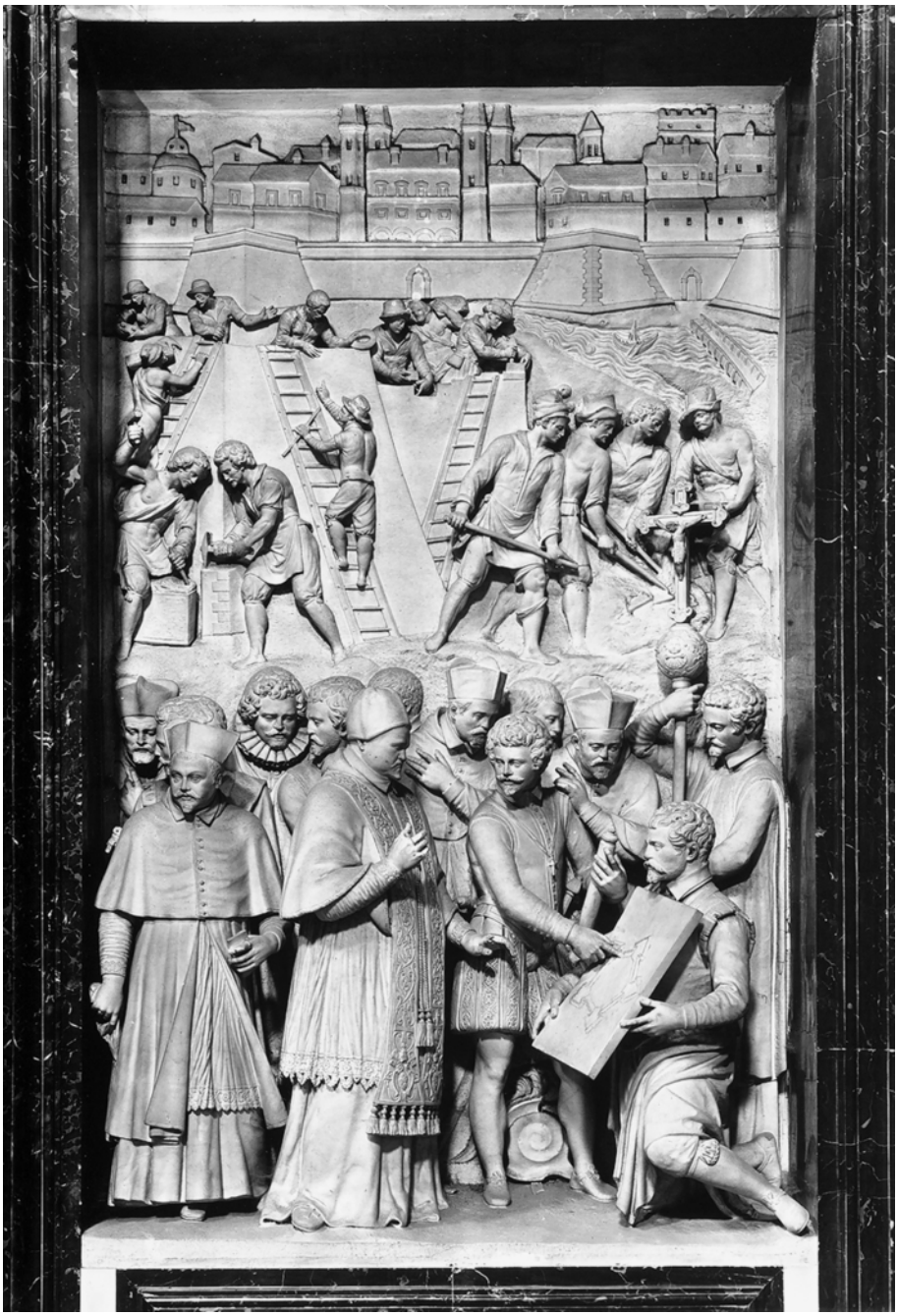


Fig. 6a The Tomb of Pope Paul V, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, detail: Paul V in front of Ferrara's fortress. Reproduced with permission from Archivi Alinari, Florence.

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There are additional factors, however, which have received little attention in the literature so far. One can argue that two further factors in particular contributed to the strict separation of canonizations from papal family interests: first, the procedure itself, and second, the changing notions of family and kinship within the cosmos of saints.

3.2 The Weight of the Procedure

Let us take another look at the canonization procedure first. It seems that a more technical—or rather, procedural—subtlety contributed to the fact that canonizations did not lend themselves well to gift exchange and patronage. This refers to the problem that such services were not easily attributable to any person or group, whether in practical, chronological, or spatial terms.

Services in the field of canonization were not easily attributable in practice simply because it was unclear who was the patron and who was the client. Borghese, in any event, was not so sure himself whether his support in 1613 for the beatification of Teresa of Ávila had eventually served the Spanish Crown or the Blessed Teresa. After the beatification had taken place, for instance, he wrote a letter to the Spanish side, in which he states: "By ordering me to promote this beatification, you have given me the opportunity to earn the patronage of this servant of God."[59] To be sure, Scipione would not have minded had the Spanish Crown offered him something in return anyway. But he was unable to ask for or even demand something in return in this context.

In spatial terms, it was the claim to establish a universally valid cult through canonization which proved to be an obstacle to clear attribution. Anyone and everyone could petition the pope for the canonization of a certain candidate, of course. But since the saints were to be venerated in the whole church, it was the sum total of supplications rather than the individual supplication that counted.[60] The Church encouraged and

59 Borghese to the Spanish minister-favorite, the Duke of Lerma, February 1, 1613: "Mentre Vostra Eccellenza mi commanda di adoprarmi per la beatificatione della Madre Teresia di Giesù mi da occasione di meritare il patrocinio di questa serva di Dio," AAV, Fondo Borghese I 943, fol. 195, as cited in Wolfgang Reinhard, *Freunde und Kreaturen: "Verflechtung" als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen. Römische Oligarchie um 1600* (Munich: Ernst Vögel, 1979), 30, note 52. Reinhard assumes a straightforward extension of patronage to the cosmos of saints here: "In other words, a typical service that Borghese performs as a client of the Spanish crown puts him in a supernatural patronage relationship with the saint in question—'patrocinio' is the *terminus technicus* for protection and patronage; it is quite naturally assumed that the rules of the game of patronage, which are yet to be discussed, also extend to the world beyond: any service rendered comes with an entitlement to receive protection and patronage in return," ibid., my translation. For my part, I would consider the transferability of earthly patronage to the saints less straightforward.

60 Having supporters with a certain level of prominence mattered, of course. The role that the width of the circle of supporters played, however, is shown, for example, by the enumeration with which the consistorial advocate Giulio Roma concluded his speech in favor of Carlo Borromeo's canonization in the public consistory: "E se le preghiere dei supplicanti possono muovere l'animo della Santità Vostra, questo

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accepted supplications from all over the world, but the broader the spectrum became, the less an individual supplication mattered. It signals a certain formalization of the supplications that in the course of the procedure, these letters of recommendation for sainthood were not only assessed according to the breadth and quality of the material; they also had to be available for review at all times, which is also why the documents ended up in the Congregation of Rites. Obviously, these letters did not fit into the cardinal-nephew's patronage correspondence and its do-ut-des rhetoric.

The last problem with attributing certain services to individual requests resulted from the length of the procedure. Ever since every canonization had to be preceded by a beatification, the great breakthroughs were usually accomplished over several pontificates. All five candidates of the 1622 canonization had been beatified before, for instance, but by the previous pope, Paul V To whom, then, were these saints to be attributed to? On the side of the petitioners, this was even harder to figure out because the procedure was designed to withhold this kind of information. Not only was the road from the informative process to canonization long—so long that hardly any one of the original initiators reached the desired goal during their lifetime. The procedural rules of the early seventeenth century also exacerbated this problem: if, as has been prescribed since 1627, it was only 50 years after the death of an individual who had a reputation of sainthood that an investigation of the case could even be requested, the immediate friends and relatives of the candidate were most likely out of the running. Only later generations were allowed to champion the cause, and even they had to expect that the procedure would drag on for several generations and involve an enormous amount of work in the meantime.

One consequence of this prolongation of the procedure was the establishment of procedural roles in the seventeenth century. In 1620, for example, the Duke of Savoy asked Paul V to entrust the archbishop of Turin with officially continuing the informative process for the duke's ancestor Amedeo, meaning that this would extend beyond the current officeholder's lifetime, if necessary. And it did prove necessary: Amedeo of Savoy was only beatified by Innocent XI in 1677, more than 50 years after this request; he was never made a saint, though.[61]

However, there was also a significant institutionalization of procedural roles on the Roman side. Just as there were Procurators whose duties within the procedure were clearly defined, so too was there, ever since its definitive establishment in the 1630s, the role of Promotor Fidei, whose job was to gather and present all evidence that might

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lo dimanda instantemente Filippo Terzo di Spagna re cattolico, lo ricercano i regi di Poloniai duchi di Savoia, di Mantova e di Parma, i signori Svizzeri de i cantoni cattolici e ne fanno instanza finalmente la communità di Milano, tutti i vescovi della provincia milanese, il clero della città e diocesi di Milano, il capitolo della veneranda Fabrica del Duomo e la congregatione ultimamente delli Oblati di S. Ambrogio," as cited in Turchini, *La fabbrica*, 21.

61 See Mörschel, *Buona amicitia*, 328.

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stand in the way of a candidate's canonization. The agents and envoys to the Roman Curia quickly realized that these officials were far more important to the progress of the increasingly bureaucratic procedure than the sidelined cardinal-nephews.[62]

In summary: the procedure made it clear that the cardinal-nephew and nepotism should play no role in the canonizations. But it also contributed to this separation itself: the inner logic of the procedure ensured that a clientelistic appropriation of the canonization for the family interests of the popes was hardly possible.

3.3 From Biological to Spiritual Kinship

Still, the question remains: What was Cardinal Ludovisi's role as quasi-pope all about? It is probably clear by now that this kind of portrayal of a cardinal-nephew was a rare exception. Nevertheless, one might wonder how this came to pass. First, if anyone were to qualify for this kind of exceptional behavior, it would be the Ludovisi. It was an open secret in Rome that a strong cardinal-nephew was handling the business for a very weak, very ill pope.[63] Cardinal Ludovisi thus assumed a role reminiscent of the sixteenth-century papal nephews we know from the group portraits that feature popes and their cardinal-nephews. Raphael painted Pope Leo X Medici with two blood-related cardinals, one of whom, Giulio de' Medici, was to ascend the throne of Saint Peter himself under the name of Clement VII. In his painting of 1545, Titian portrayed Paul III with his cardinal-nephews, who were actually his grandsons and who owed their status as independent sovereigns to their grandfather.[64] This motif would become less important over the course of the seventeenth century: nepotism was being forced onto the defensive in the papal portraits as well.[65] The only exception was the Ludovisi: in a painting by Domenichino, the double portrait of the pope and his nephew returned for a final appearance.[66] It fits the pattern that Gregory XV and his nephew are also the only pope–cardinal-nephew couple who found their final resting place in a double

62 See Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 208–209.

63 On Ludovisi, see Büchel, "Raffe und regiere."

64 Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio), *Portrait of Pope Leo X with Cardinals Luigi de' Rossi and Giulio de' Medici*, 1518/19, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi; Titian (Tiziano Vecelli), *Pope Paul III and His Grandsons (Cardinals Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese)*, 1546, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte. For reproductions of both paintings, see, for instance, Almut Goldhahn, *Von der Kunst des sozialen Aufstiegs: Statusaffirmation und Kunstpatronage der venezianischen Papstfamilie Rezzonico* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2017), 10 and 11, respectively.

65 On the popular motif "double portrait of the pope and his cardinal-nephews," see Goldhahn, *Von der Kunst*, 9–21, who also provides references for further reading and reproductions of the three double portraits mentioned here.

66 Domenichino (Domenico Zampieri), *Portrait of Pope Gregory XV and Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi*, 1621/23, Béziers, Musée des Beaux-Arts. For a reproduction, see Goldhahn, *Von der Kunst*, 12.

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tomb.[67] It can be visited in Sant'Ignazio, the second most-important Jesuit church in Rome. And this is also where we find the explanation for the painting in Il Gesù.[68]

The canonization of Saint Ignatius was financed by Ludovico Ludovisi, who bequeathed the princely sum of 200,000 scudi to the Jesuits for this purpose, and even held out the prospect of further payments. And just as the double tomb—conceived from the very beginning, although only completed after a hundred years—was an expression of gratitude on the part of the Society of Jesus, so too did the commemorative painting of the canonization spring from the Jesuits' gratitude for the Ludovisi's longstanding support. Against this backdrop it becomes clear why it is that out of the five people who were canonized in 1622, only the two members of the Jesuit Order are commemorated here: with this painting, which the Superior General of the Order, Muzio Vitelleschi, had commissioned, the Jesuits celebrated *their* saints. And they celebrated a kind of spiritual kinship that connected them to the cardinal-nephew. In other words, this painting is not about the quintuple canonization of 1622; it is about the relationship of the papal family to an order whose triumphant success in seventeenth-century Rome it had decisively facilitated. Papal nepotism is therefore not represented as a patronage system and enrichment practice in this case. What is portrayed here is a spiritual kinship that links the papal family to the saints in a most legitimate way.

This detour via the Ludovisi brings us to the second additional factor besides the Catholic reform that deserves more consideration with respect to the separation of canonizations from papal nepotism: the changing notions of family and kinship within the cosmos of saints. This refers to the kinship relations between the saints and the popes, among the saints themselves, and finally between the saints and their earthly kinfolk. At all these levels, and this is what should be demonstrated in closing, biological kinship relations and the interests associated with them have been pushed out of the picture.

One contemporary commentator of the 1610 canonization, for instance, noted succinctly: "On November 1, 1610, Pope Paul V canonized Carlo Borromeo, nephew of Pope Pius III."[69] The citizens of Rome did not seem to be bothered by the fact that a

67 On the papal tomb in Sant'Ignazio, see Daniel Büchel, Arne Karsten, and Philipp Zitzlsperger, "Mit Kunst aus der Krise? Pierre Legros' Grabmal für Papst Gregor XV. Ludovisi in der römischen Kirche S. Ignazio," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 29, 2002: 165–197.

68 I am following Arne Karsten's argumentation here. See Arne Karsten, "Die Kunst der Bündnisse: Zur Förderung von Kirchen und Ordensgemeinschaften durch die Papstfamilien Borghese und Ludovisi," in *Werte und Symbole im frühneuzeitlichen Rom*, ed. Günther Wassilowsky and Hubert Wolf (Münster: Rhema, 2005).

69 See Gigli, *Diario Romano*, 6: "Lunedì primo giorno di Novembre 1610. giorno di tutti i Santi Papa Paolo canonizò S. Carlo Borromeo Nepote di Papa Pio IIII. Cardinale del titolo di S. Prassede, et arcivescovo di Milano sua Patria, et per questa Canonizazione si fece nella Chiesa di S. Pietro un Teatro di legno, che fu disegno novo et il più bello apparato che fosse stato mai fatto nelle altre canonizazioni, et la festa die

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former cardinal-nephew became a saint here.[70] As the chronicler Gigli continued in his *Diario*, somewhat surprised himself, the Romans showed real devotion to San Carlo, all without orders from on high. But even if the contemporaries still openly discussed and brought up such relationships, the popes were fully aware of the fact that the times had changed. Carlo Borromeo's younger cousin Federico III Borromeo was quite active in promoting the elevation of his revered relative.[71] But in the canonization ceremony he only appeared as Carlo's successor in office as archbishop of Milan.[72] This may also have to do with the fact that the iconography of the veneration of saints emphasizes the saints' spiritual nobility, rather than the secular nobility of their biological family.[73] The popes' efforts to avoid associating such canonizations with family relationships, which were still recognized by the population, may have been at least as important.[74]

The Gonzagas were also feeling the effects of this.[75] Besides the Jesuit Order, it was this family in particular that campaigned for the beatification of its scion Luigi Gonzaga. Paul V did grant permission for some smaller steps to be taken. For example, an image of Aloysius was allowed to be placed above his tomb, along with votive tablets; everything else, however, was to be determined by the Congregation of Rites. The members of the Congregation thoroughly investigated the matter, which meant that the procedure dragged on for years. In the end, they reached a favorable verdict: in 1612, the Congregation voted to allow the Society of Jesus to celebrate Mass and the Divine Office

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questo Santo fu osservata dal Popolo per propria devozione, senza che fosse stato ordinato dalli Superiori, che si dovesse guardare."

70 It fits the pattern, then, that Grattarola did not hesitate to identify Carlo Borromeo as a former cardinal-nephew in his dedicatory letter to Cardinal Borghese (see note 45 above). If one follows Grattarola's account, Carlo Borromeo's canonization ceremony in Saint Peter's also included a painting of Borromeo's elevation to cardinal by his own uncle; see Grattarola, *Successi maravigliosi,* 224.

71 On this aspect, see Samuel Weber's contribution to this volume.

72 The fact that Federico Borromeo participated in his cousin's canonization in his capacity as archbishop of Milan is also emphasized by Turchini, *La fabbrica*, 126. As a matter of fact, Federico and his fellow campaigners for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo were also acutely aware that the relationship between the candidate and his consanguine supporter could quickly be interpreted as a secular interest and discredited as such; see Samuel Weber's contribution to this volume, 250–251.

73 It is true that most of the saints of that era came from the upper classes; Isidro the farmer was the exception rather than the rule. As saints, however, these people were removed from the status-oriented societal order of the time; thus, as far as I know, there is no representation of the saints through their families' coats of arms.

74 Thus, with regard to the numerous requests for Carlo Borromeo's canonization, von Pastor emphasizes: "However, the Pope insisted on a most rigorous inquiry lest anyone should suspect the least shadow of partiality in an affair in which there was question of honoring a Cardinal of the Roman Church"; see von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 25, 259. For the German original, see idem, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. XII, 186.

75 The following account is based on von Pastor, *History of the Popes,* vol. 25, 265. For the German original, see idem, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. XII, 190.

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in honor of Aloysius. Paul V, however, refused to give his consent: Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga, a blood relative of the candidate, had attended the Congregation meeting, and in order to avoid giving the impression that the presence of the Cardinal had informed the decision, the pope did not follow the recommendation of his Congregation, neither in 1612 nor thereafter.

Evidently, the families of the candidates continued to openly promote the canonization of their blood relatives. For the popes, however, it was all about observance of the rules again: any semblance of outside interference, or even bias within the Congregation's ranks, had to be avoided at all costs.

One might argue that there were still family saints. Even in the seventeenth century, the ruling dynasties in particular knew how to push through their relatives. In 1629, for instance, Elizabeth of Portugal, a relative of Elizabeth of Thuringia, was canonized. And with the canonization of Ferdinand III of Castile and Leon in 1671, there followed an Iberian monarch, albeit one of the thirteenth century. Gone were the days, however, when a saint like the aforementioned Elizabeth of Thuringia could pass on her sainthood to her husband.[76] The phenomenon of entire dynasties seeing themselves as *beata stirps* and making sainthood a kind of family trait had definitively fallen out of practice since at least the fifteenth century.[77] And even Ferdinand III of Castile, the solitary saint, was for a long time the last ruler to make it into the cosmos of saints.[78]

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76 See Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1994), 196.

77 Summarizing the state of research, Andreas Büttner notes the following with regard to the Late Middle Ages: "Instead of one individual saintly royal ancestor, it was the sanctity of the entire dynasty that became the focus of attention now: sanctity became hereditary, so to speak; affiliation with such a 'sacred clan' (*beata stirps*) distinguished all its members. This concept became particularly popular in the Kingdom of Hungary under the Árpáds and the Kingdom of Sicily-Naples under the Anjou"; see Andreas Büttner, *Königsherrschaft im Mittelalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 194, my translation. For more detailed accounts, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), who uses the example of the Hungarian Árpáds (of whom the above-mentioned Elisabeth of Thuringia was a descendant), as well as Tanja Michalski, "Die Repräsentation einer *beata stirps*: Darstellung und Ausdruck an den Grabmonumenten der Anjous," in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen: Texte – Bilder – Objekte*, ed. Andrea von Hülsen-Esch and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 187–224, who focuses on the Anjou.

78 Peter Burschel has also observed a singularization of the saints, who precisely ceased to appear as groups or collectives (take the Fourteen Holy Helpers, for instance) in the post-Tridentine era: "Culminating in the 1617 removal of the Mass for the Fourteen Holy Helpers from the 'Missale Romanum,' the official detachment from heavenly collectives can be seen above all in the fact that saints, who since the Late Middle Ages had preferably been depicted and venerated as members of a group, increasingly had to appear in isolation after the Council …. Moreover, there is no evidence of the formation of new groups of old saints, which would have been officially promoted, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the new saints appeared exclusively as 'individual saints,' who remained notorious loners even when they were in company, a fact that becomes quite obvious when looking at baroque church ceilings"; see Peter Burschel, "'Imitatio Sanctorum': Oder: Wie modern war der nachtridentinische Heiligenhimmel?" in *Das Konzil*

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Fig. 7 Genealogical Tree of the Franciscan Order in Berlin, Marienkirche Berlin. Reproduced with permission from Berlin Marienkirche; photo: Birgit Emich.

von Trient und die Moderne, ed. Paolo Prodi and Wolfgang Reinhard (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2001), 241–259, 251–252, my translation.

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Lineage continued to play an important role, but now in a fashion that one could still observe in the seventeenth century. As André Vauchez has shown, a major shift had already occurred in the late Middle Ages: especially in the case of saints, it was no longer biological family lineage that counted, but spiritual kinship.[79] Both in the hagiographic literature and in the composition of the cosmos of saints, the lineage of a ruling family was replaced by the spiritual family, particularly by that of the mendicant orders.[80] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this idea finds its iconographic expression in spiritual genealogies, i. e. genealogical trees of the orders in which the founder saints of the orders were the roots and the saints and blesseds of an order were the fruit. One such genealogical tree that is reminiscent of the popular 'Tree of Jesse' motif can be found in the graphic collection from the destroyed Franciscan monastery in Berlin, for instance, which is on display in Berlin's Marienkirche now: from the root of Saint Francis grow the Blesseds and Saints of the order, like the fruit of a tree, connected to the founder of the order by true, that is, spiritual, blood ties (Fig. 7).

The Ludovisi painting clearly belongs to a different genre than such spiritual genealogies of religious orders. However, one can certainly read the cardinal-nephew's painting as an adaptation of the original theme to current needs: just as kinship among the saints was only of a spiritual nature, so too were the dealings of the papal families with the saints meant to be guided by spiritual kinship, and not by the interests of the biological family.

This spiritualization of kinship can also be observed with regard to the saints themselves, both on a collective and individual level. Peter Burke has already examined the social profile of the post-Tridentine cosmos of saints and found that it was almost exclusively celibate clergy who were canonized.[81] And this appreciation of celibacy at the expense of the biological family was reflected in the individual vitae of the saints. Let us take a look at the first female saint of the Borghese pontificate, whom we have not talked about much so far: Santa Francesca Romana.

The fifteenth-century vitae and dossiers of the first canonization campaign for this patrician lady from Rome mostly emphasized her success as a mother and wife. When the process was taken up again under Paul V, however, there was no longer almost any

79 See André Vauchez, "'Beata Stirps': Sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles," in *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval: Actes du colloque de Paris (6-8 juin 1974)*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), esp. 404–405.

80 See Vauchez, "'Beata Stirps,'" 405: "La conception lignagère de la sainteté ne disparait pas pour autant mais elle se survit sur un autre registre." According to Vauchez (ibid.), the *famille charnelle* tended to be replaced by a *famille spirituelle* in the hagiographic literature of the Late Middle Ages, especially in the Dominican and Franciscan orders: the founder saints of the orders are the root and model of all holiness in those orders, and all members enjoy the benefits of this holiness.

81 See Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62, 54.

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mention of biological motherhood or married life. Francisca's entrance into the convent and her spiritual motherhood to her spiritual daughters as founder of the order were the only things that mattered. As Giulia Barone has shown, we are dealing here with an adaptation of the saint's vita to the patriarchal family ideals of the post-Tridentine era: given that married women had to obey their husbands at all times and follow the *pater familias* in spiritual matters as well, it was only behind the walls of a convent that they could become the spiritual model of a new, spiritual family.[82]

But it was not only for female saints in the making that spiritual kinship counted far more than biological family. In the representations that his supporters circulated during the campaign for his canonization, Carlo Borromeo likewise appears as a pastor who fought for the spiritual welfare of his flock with the utmost dedication, but who refused to promote his own biological family.[83] Apparently, saints around 1600 were not only excused from the family politics in which papal nephews were usually expected to engage; they also had to distance themselves from their own families to an ever greater extent.

4. Conclusion

Where does all that leave us in terms of the role of kinship relations in the canonization procedure? For the period before and after 1600, the first thing to note is the separation of the canonization procedure from the cardinal-nephew and nepotism. This separation did not amount to a total exclusion of the cardinal-nephew from all dimensions of saint-making, however. Rather there was a fine dividing line between the fields in which he was allowed to make an appearance as cardinal-nephew and those in which the papal nephew and the family politics he embodied were entirely out of place. The cardinal-nephew appears in the court ceremonial surrounding canonization celebrations as well as in the political correspondence of the Secretariat of State in matters of canonization, and as a patronage manager he was certainly involved in translating minor acts of support into the language of patronage and gift exchange. In the actual canonization procedure, however, the cardinal-nephew as such played as little a role as in the canonization ceremony in Saint Peter's.

There is no doubt that this fine line can be explained by the popes' efforts to avoid new waves of attacks being leveled against the newly established procedure (and against

82 On this aspect, see Giulia Barone, "La canonizzazione di Francesca Romana (1608): La riproposta di un modello agiografico medievale," in *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991), 270, who quite accurately describes this phenomenon as "maternità spirituale." See also Barone, "Francesca Romana," 128–129, on the consistencies between this new modeling of the image of women, Paleotti's *Avvertimenti*, and the post-Tridentine family ideal.

83 See Samuel Weber's contribution to this volume.

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nepotism itself). The narrow field of Rome's spiritual-ecclesiastical decision-making had to be protected from the menace of nepotism; observance of the rules was the order of the day, and so there was no place for the cardinal-nephew, neither in the ceremony of canonization or the procedure leading up to it, nor in papal *memoria* afterwards.

But the restrained instrumentalization of canonizations for the otherwise highly typical exchange of gifts can also be explained by the procedure itself: both the canonization's claim to universality and the enormous length of the process made it difficult to attribute requests and services to specific individuals in practice. And in any canonization procedure, there was also the difficulty of actually identifying who was the patron and who was the client. It was only natural then that the roles of those who filed requests and those who reviewed them were institutionalized as distinct procedural roles. The weight and logic of the procedure thus contributed to the fact that gift exchange and nepotism did not mix well with canonization.

Third and finally, all these developments were part of a general trend that saw the notion of spiritual kinship take precedence over biological lineage. Of course, the family remained a basic category of the early modern social order. But in spiritual matters, the importance of kinship relations declined significantly. It fits the pattern that from the early sixteenth century onwards, no family has succeeded in ascending the papal throne more than once. And it also fits the pattern that the naturalness with which the great dynasties of Italy and Europe claimed a cardinal's hat for themselves was lost in the later seventeenth century as well.

With regard to the hypothesis formulated at the beginning of this chapter concerning the interplay of various factors in shaping the canonization procedure, we can therefore conclude the following: procedures like that of canonization not only respond to the political exigencies of their environment, but also shape the values and evaluations surrounding them. And yet they are also subject to the influence of what may be best described as macrohistorical shifts in the *longue durée*.

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Maria Teresa Fattori

The Juridical-Bureaucratic Roman Saint-Making Machine

The Apostolic Process in Benedict XIV's *De Servorum Dei*[1]

1. Introduction

From the decrees of Urban VIII (1625) to the reforms introduced by Benedict XIV (1742), the whole Roman machine for saint-making sought to attain certainty in recognizing holiness. The certainty at the basis of the canonization process amounted to a practical self-assurance that, while presumed, was no less solidly argued for, and was therefore able to validly support the pontifical pronouncement on the matter. Thanks to that moral certainty, the canonization was understood as an infallible pronouncement. The sacred and charismatic bureaucracy was the guarantor of the entire canonization process and a concrete support for the infallibility of the Pope's decision.

The rationale behind the procedure was detailed in Benedict XIV's *De Servorum Dei*. The first book described the tasks and duties of the various members of the Congregation of Rites, clarifying the decision-making process, the various officials engaged in specific parts of that process, and finally, the bureaucratic *iter* of the documents that the process produced. The treatise presented the various goals to be achieved during the process: the canonization and beatification procedure's apologetic defense demonstrated the truthfulness and rightfulness of the entire canonical *iter*. The juridical process was built on historical and medical proof and eyewitness testimonies, attesting acts in the life of the blessed and miracles operated by God in the blessed's name. Called the "the bishop of the bishops" (*episcopus episcoporum*), the Supreme Pontiff's role may be described as the keystone of the entire curial apparatus: his personal participation in the final and supreme act was the entire procedure's crowning achievement. Both the treatise's text and images show that the curial hierarchy displayed a precise ecclesiology. At the same time, the procedure showed that the time taken to conclude the process was a guarantee of quality: before elevating a candidate to the honor of the altars, care and prudence were taken as much as possible. The process was blended together with

1 I am very grateful to Birgit Emich, Daniel Sidler, Samuel Weber, and Christian Windler for their invaluable comments on drafts of this essay. Excluded from this essay is the process brought by the diocesan ordinary. Abbreviations used include: BUB (Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna), AAV (Archivio Apostolico Vaticano), and DSD (De Servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione).

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patience, juridical respect for the various steps, and precise descriptions of the duties of the officials involved in the procedure.

The Roman bureaucratic procedure of saint-making consisted of a multidisciplinary analysis of the historical sources, following the scientific criteria of history; verification of the legal reliability of the testimonies on the candidate's virtues; as well as a medical or scientific verification of the nature of the miracles. All the various proofs were discussed on three levels of judgment. After the three judgments, the heroic degree of the candidate's virtues was proved; the miracles involved were proven to be extraordinary events that could not be explained by rational or scientific means; and, last but not least, the possibility of proceeding further (*ad ulteriora*), from a beatification to a canonization, must have been decided with moral certainty. The three curial judges—consultors, cardinals, and the Pope—first unanimously decided on beatification and, later, on canonization.

This essay endeavors to present the apostolic process and how it seeks to produce a moral and juridical certainty in canonizing candidates to holiness. After a presentation of the treatise of Prospero Lambertini, Benedict XIV, on canonization and beatification, I describe the decision-making process and its three phases, and the tasks of the officials involved in the two procedures of beatification and canonization, presented by the author in a meticulous and idealized mode. Subsequently, the economic costs and the specific rewards for the officials involved in the canonization processes are briefly illustrated. The ceremony of the two liturgical and solemn acts of beatification and canonization are then presented.

2. *De Servorum Dei*

The first version and edition of *Servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, Benedict's treatise on canonization and beatification, which was published in Bologna between 1734 and 1738, may be ascribed to Lambertini's Roman years, when he was a Curia member. This first project, legal in nature, dates to the years when Lambertini acted as a "Promoter of the Faith" from May 5, 1708, to April 30, 1728. Over the decades he amassed a wealth of solid documentation, adopting a multi-disciplinary approach to the theme of saintly canonization. Canonization and beatification served as an adjacent field for an author delving into the fertile terrains of canon law and theology, appealing to his historical sensibility as a canonist. As a cultural and liturgical phenomenon, sainthood was, in fact, addressed in terms that encompassed its indirect consequences in the Church's immediate present, as well as reconstructing its historical bases. The intended readers of the 1743 Paduan edition, as well as of the 1747–1751 Roman edition, were the professors of Roman universities and those beyond the Alps, as well as the Catholic Church's bishops. However *De Servorum Dei* was also intended to be *the* fundamental and authoritative text for Curia members, designed to be consulted for

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celebratory purposes, and utilized as a guide for individual causes for canonization and beatification, with its final aim being to demonstrate the doctrinal authority of the Pope.[2]

Lambertini was appointed Promoter of the Faith on May 5, 1708, and remained in the Congregation until April 30, 1728.[3] The treatise is the result of his experience as an actor in various points of the process, from the bottom up, as consultor, Promoter of the Faith, Cardinal, and last but not least, as Supreme Pontiff. Several works of expertise written during the twenty years of his service became preparatory material for the final version of the *De Servorum Dei*, playing a part in the construction of his oeuvre. Furthermore, his own research activity was the scientific basis of the treatise.[4] The central core of the first books, on the juridical aspects of the process, finds its first delineation in the manuscript *Tractatus iuridicus*, composed between 1712 and 1721.[5] The fourth book, on miracles, was an evolution of the manuscript *Notae de miraculis*,

2 Cf. Riccardo Saccenti, "La lunga genesi dell'opera sulle canonizzazioni," in *Le fatiche di Benedetto XIV: Origine ed evoluzione dei trattati di Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758)*, ed. Maria Teresa Fattori (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Lettertura, 2011), 3–48, 13–17. The intended readers of this treatise are nowadays the members of the Curial Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments; see the edition with a parallel Italian translation, Benedict XIV (Prospero Lambertini), *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione/La Beatificazione dei Servi di Dio e la Canonizzazione dei Beati*, ed. Vincenzo Criscuolo, vol. I/1 (Vatican City: LEV, 2010); vol. I/2 was published in 2011; books II/1 and II/2 were published in 2012 and 2013; books III/1 and III/2 in 2015 and 2017; IV/1 and IV/2 in 2018 and 2020. All pages cited in this essay are from this last edition. Also see Vincenzo Criscuolo, "Presentazione," in Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei*, vol. I/1, 9–71. The Roman typica edition, which was edited by the Portuguese Jesuit, Emmanuel de Azevedo, is *Benedicti XIV pont. opt. max.… De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione, editio tertia auctior, et castigatior* (Rome: Nicolaus et Marcus Palearini, 1747–51). The bibliography on DSD is vast; only essays essential to this contribution are cited here: Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 3 (2009): 552–588; Rebecca Messbarger, Christopher M.S. Johns, and Philip Gavitt, eds., *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment: Art, Science, and Spirituality* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2016); Rebecca Messbarger, "Popes, the Body, Medicine, and the Cult of Saints after Trent," in *The Cambridge History of the Papacy*, vol. IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming) (my thanks to Rebecca Messbarger for providing me with this work in manuscript). For an extensive presentation of the historical problem of canonization, cf. Pierluigi Giovannuncci, *Canonizzazioni e infallibilità pontificia in età moderna* (Brescia: Morecelliana, 2008).

3 BUB, Ms. 1071, t. XXVI, no. 4, brief of Clement XI, May 5, 1708; BUB, Ms. 1063, t. I "Memorie per la vita di Benedetto XIV," file 4; Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del Medio Evo*, vol. XVI/1 (Rome: Desclée & C., 1933), 20.

4 BUB, Ms. 654, file V, no. 4, letter from E. Manfredi to the Archibishop Lambertini, September 6, 1736, and "Risposta al Card. Arciv. Lambertini intorno alla domanda: Quali caratteri dovessero avere alcuni fenomeni celesti per essere compresi nel numero dei miracoli."

5 BUB, Ms. 260, tt. I–II "Delineatio prima operis de servorum Dei Beatificatione et Canonizatione ex ejusdem schedis et fragmentis collecta: Originalia prima," cf. Saccenti, "La lunga genesi," 13–17.

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probably written between 1731 and 1734.[6] A historical demonstration that the Basilica Church of Saint Peter was the traditional location for canonization ceremonies was furnished by Lambertini in 1728, satisfying the demand of Cardinal Annibale Albani, Archpriest of the Vatican Basilica, for a historical demonstration of the Church tradition in canonizing saints.[7]

If we transition from a philological analysis of *De Servorum Dei* and place it into the context of the author's life, the treatise shows the extent to which Lambertini presented his personal experience and choices as a model and point of reference for future beatifications and canonizations. Customs and rules observed in the Congregation were witnessed by the Pope with the expression "I can witness" ("Testari possum").[8] The processes that 'crossed the finish line' during his pontificate, and under his supreme authority, were presented as models of correct procedure; moreover, the two hundred processes in which he was involved were quoted with precise references.[9] The ceremonial *apparati* of the canonization of April 18, 1746, were represented with the aid of several images, added to the Roman print as choreographic instructions for future celebrations. The entire lifetime of activity that Lambertini accomplished, from his first experiences working in the Curia, up through the years of his pontificate, are reflected in *De Servorum Dei*. He sought to teach by example, one might say.[10]

In presenting the second edition in 1743, Benedict XIV stated that the completeness of the sources edited in the appendices had been attained thanks to his having become pope—and thanks to additions and sources he had found in the Vatican Secret Archive.[11] As Supreme Pontiff, he played a role in the canonization of five saints on April 18,

6 Cf. Emidio Alessandrini, "Creder tutto e… creder nulla." *Il Notae de miraculis: Opera inedita del cardinal Prospero Lambertini (Benedetto XIV) sui fenomeni straordinari e magico-superstiziosi* (Assisi: S. Mariae Angelorum, 1995; 2nd ed. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2024).

7 Vatican City, Archivio dei Canonici San Pietro II, box 48, file 1, "Carte del cardinale Lambertini"; BUB, Ms. 270, vol. VIII, Varia Mss., file 7, "Ristretto sopra il primo, e quarto Miracolo, esaminati nella Causa della Canonizzazione del B. Gio. Canisio, colle Animadversioni del Promotore della Fede, Risposte, e con 3 Novela de' Vov." with the list of Cardinals' voting in favor and against the cause.

8 DSD, Liber III/1, caput 3, no. 2, 45: "testari possum, me semper ab antiquioribus cardinalibus et consultoribus audivisse, in causis procedentibus per viam non cultus probationes in dubio virtutum debere esse, quantum fieri potest, aequalis ponderis probationibus in causis criminalibus."

9 DSD, Liber III/1, caput 9, no. 2, 213, for references to Lambertini's personal opposition to the use of historical sources without the witnesses' names, cf. the causes of Giuliana de Falconieri and Giovanni or Johannes Nepomuceno.

10 DSD, Liber II/2, Appendix, no. 1, XLIX–L; as well as the edition of the two briefs of Beatification of Camillo de Lellis and the Canonization of Queen Elisabeth of Portugal, added to the second edition of the DSD in May 1742. Cf. Saccenti, "La lunga genesi," 28–40.

11 Benedict XIV to Francesco Peggi, Rome, March 21, 1742, in *Briefe Benedicts XIV. an den Canonicus Francesco Peggi in Bologna (1727–1758) nebst Benedicts Diarium des Conclaves von 1740*, ed. Franz Xaver Kraus (Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1884), 6: "notizie che abbiamo ricavate da questo Archivio Vaticano Segreto, a cui senza esser Papa non avressimo [*scil*. avremmo] avuto l'accesso."

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1746, the bureaucratic procedure of which was sanctioned as a model for subsequent canonizations.[12] The Pope was singulary capable of distinguishing between personal opinion, bureaucratic protocols, and political opportunity, when it was necessary. On May 5, 1753, Benedict XIV played the role of witness in the canonization process of Blessed Roberto Bellarmino, in the Congregation of Rites. In that context he expressed both his positive disposition and personal opinion, enumerating the reasons favoring the Jesuit cardinal's canonization. Nevertheless Bellarmino's cause was not brought to conclusion during Lambertini's pontificate. The necessity to postpone the cause was due to the international opposition to the cardinal's beatification ("the unfavorable circumstances of the time") because Bellarmino was a member of the Society of Jesus. Bellarmino's beatification was sanctioned only in 1923 in a very different international context.[13]

If we consider the material aspects of the Roman edition of the treatise, published by de Azevedo in 1747, the intended readership of the work has greatly broadened. The *De Servorum Dei* edition printed in Bologna, while Lambertini was archbishop of his home town (where he supposed he would remain for the rest of his life), was addressed to both present and future members of the Roman curia. With the Roman edition, his perspectives are clearly wider. The quality of the paper and the typographic clarity of the print, the orthographic choices of the Latin translation over the Italian originals, and the hundreds of revisions and corrections of the Paduan edition all demonstrate that—with the Roman edition—Benedict XIV strove to attain a pinnacle in international and inter-confessional erudition, presenting his opus as so formally and scientifically perfect as to be unchallengeable. The formal and material quality of the Roman edition was to contribute to demonstrating the infallibility of the Roman saint-making machine, as is manifest in *De Servorum Dei*'s content. The following pages

12 For the two hundred processes, cf. Criscuolo, "Presentazione," 20–48. Benedict XIV to Pierre Guérin de Tencin, Rome, June 19 and July 6, 1746, in *Lettere di Benedetto XIV al card. de Tencin*, ed. Emilia Morelli, 3 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1955, 1965, 1984), vol. I, 330 and 345, referring to the relation presented in the consistory on the canonization of Saint Camillo de Lellis, AAV, Fondo Benedetto XIV, vol. 7, ff. 302r–329v; see also the letters sent by the Pope to Jacopo Facciolati, March 10, April 21, and May 26, which can be found in Riccardo Saccenti, "Carteggi lambertiniani per l'edizione dei trattati," in Fattori, ed., *Le fatiche*, 245–258, 254–255; BUB, Ms. 1063, t. I "Memorie per la vita di Benedetto XIV," I/3 C, ch. 15.

13 Benedict XIV to de Tencin, Rome, May 9, 1753, in *Lettere di Benedetto XIV*, vol. III, 48: "pretendendo Noi, […] d'esser bene informati al pari di chicchessia del merito della causa"; therefore "il pio cardinale [Bellarmino], oltre la gran dottrina, [was] un vivo esempio della vita religiosa, della vita arcivescovile, e di quella di cardinale, essendo infinite le utili fatiche, che colla penna alla mano ha sfangate nella congregazione del S. Officio, ed in quella de' Riti, ed in ogn'altra consesso, in cui è stato bisogno, che la Sede apostolica sia ajutata." The three cardinals Domenico S. Passionei, Henry B. Stuart of York, and Maria Neri Corsini voted against the beatification of the cardinal (21 cardinals and six consultors voted in favor), cf. von Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, 238–239.

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will analyze the juridical-bureaucratic machine that the apostolic process of beatification and canonization represents in Lambertini's description.

2.1 Procedures and the Decision-Making Process

The order allotted to the various matters composing the first volume of the treatise was the following:

1. the difference between recognition of Christian holiness and the pagan apotheosis;
2. the ancient and medieval typology of martyrs and saints and their veneration;
3. the historical necessity of the Apostolic See's judgment on holiness;
4. papal intervention throughout history;
5. the process in its most ancient tradition and the new bureaucratic procedures established in the early modern period.

From the first book's chapter XVI to chapter XLVII, Lambertini describes the various consultants and officials involved and their tasks, the liturgical ceremony, and the fees and rewards of individual officials.

2.1.1 Taking a Step Backwards

Throughout the Middle Ages, from Celestine III (1191–1198) to Callixtus III (1455–1458), the local procedure overseen by bishops gradually changed in the direction of a growing involvement of the Curia. This was accomplished by adding two bureaucratic stages to the procedure: the expert opinions ("consilia") written by canonists, theologians, and auditors of the Roman Rota on the one hand and, on the other, the examination ("examina") conducted by cardinals and bishops, in provincial or general councils, or simply in consistories. In the thirteenth century, beatification and canonization were entrusted to auditors of the Rota and a specific cardinal, with the number of cardinals then increased to three (or even more). This use was introduced by Honorius III (1216–1227). The consistory became the 'see of the examination' of the causes where all the cardinals residing in Rome—with the Pope—discussed the case; on such occasions bishops, too, present in Rome, were admitted. Before the discussion in the consistory, a certain amount of the expertise of theologians and/or canonists was put under scrutiny and discussed by the cardinals.[14] The presence of cardinals and bishops was intended to show that the procedure was not completely different from the ancient process, where councils were the traditional sees for making saints or, one might say, for declaring saints. In the early modern process, advice from the Church's

14 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XV, nos. 1–17, 341–356: "De gravitate causarum canonizationis et de his, quorum opera et consilio summi Pontifices olim usi sunt in eorum definitione."

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representatives was replaced by the cardinals' advice, *partes Ecclesiae* replaced by *pars corporis papae*.

2.1.2 The Novelty of the Sistine Curia: The Congregation of Rites

The Congregation of Rites was founded in 1588 by Sixtus V's bull *Immensa aeterni Dei*, as the fifth congregation of the Curia. The entire project of curial reform was driven by the need for bureaucratic efficiency ("ut facilius, et celeriusque expediantur"), to which the Apostolic See responded by putting the various issues and problems presented by actors worldwide into the hands of the Cardinals' Congregations ("conventus"); this represented a more efficient solution and, at the same time, a divestiture of the Sacred Consistory's authority, which lost its traditional tasks (e. g., its responsibility for the most important subjects, called *res arduae*), such as sanctioning the canonization of saints.[15] In the new procedure, the cardinals' duty to give advice was only exercised by the restricted number of them belonging to the Congregation of Rites.[16] The Congregation of Rites was entrusted with the "diligent care for the canonization of saints and the celebrations of feast days" ("diligentem curam circa Sanctorum Canonizationem, festorumque dierum celebritatem"). Earlier on, the causes of saints had been voted on and eventually approved by cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops in the consistory.

The first 1588 procedure was similar to the one adopted by the congregations already in existence, such as the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Council. The number of experts, consultors, and cardinals involved in the procedure was a guarantee of quality and, last but not least, attested to divine assistance ("Ubi multa consilia, ibi salus"). The Congregation dealt with the phase preceding the cause's presentation in the consistory. Such monthly meetings were distinguished from ordinary meetings ("congregatio ordinaria"), held in the Apostolic Palace in the Pope's presence, in which participated the Sacristan or sexton ("Sacrista"), the Apostolic Protonotary ("Protonotarius apostolicus"), the Secretary of the Congregation, the Promoter of the Faith ("Fidei Promotor"), and the Master of Ceremonies ("Magister caeromoniarum"). These meetings dealt with various questions related to canonization/beatification and ceremonial precedence in

15 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XVI, no. 1, 357–358: "distintos Cardinalium conventus et Congregationes ad certas rerum negotiorumque tractationes paratas habeant, Cardinalesque ipsi distributi muneris partem levius ferant, diligentius administrent, commodius nos consulant, et denique viri primarii publicis in rebus exercitati nullo unquam tempore desint." Paolo Prodi considered the subdivision of duties and the specialization of the various ministries one of the hallmarks of the early modern Curia, cf. Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice: Un corpo e due anime. La monarchia papale nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982), 28–40. For the Curia's reform of Sixtus V, cf. Maria Teresa Fattori, "Per una storia della curia romana dalla riforma sistina, secoli XVI–XVIII," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 35, no. 3 (2014): 787–847.

16 For the ecclesiological implication of the duty to give advice, cf. Maria Teresa Fattori, "'An cardinales etiam non requisiti teneantur ex natura officii sui Papae consilia ministrare': Appunti sulla crisi del Sacro Collegio durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIV," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 25, no. 1 (2004): 103–131.

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processions. Only cardinals had the right to vote; the other attendees could answer questions, when asked to do so.

During Benedict XIV's pontificate, he himself made the final decisions, in a second ordinary meeting (or specific ordinary meeting) to be held after the expression of the cardinals' votes. The recess between the two meetings was necessary to invoke divine help ("Divina opus"), before proceeding *ad ulteriora* ("dilataque propositi dubii resolutione, ut interim Divinam opem imploraremus").

The normal procedure was divided into three steps, corresponding with three types of meetings and three kinds of voting members. The other members had the duty to listen and open their minds to the successive steps.

1. Ante-preparatory meetings: The ante-preparatory meetings took place in the palace of the reporting cardinal (*Cardinal relator*), with the participation of the consultors of the Congregation and the Master of ceremonies. The documents under scrutiny had been prepared by the ordinary process and revised in Rome by the Secretary of the Congregation of Rites. The meeting itself, despite its name, was conducted according to a highly formalized procedure. Only consultors voted and the cardinals remained silent, listening to discussions, and observing the voting process. Only one specific cause of beatification or canonization was discussed in these meetings and the consultants resolved any possible doubts over virtues, martyrdom, or miracles. The decrees of Urban VIII and Innocent XI did not mention the ante-preparatory congregations, set up later, during the eighteenth century. The goal set for these meetings was to open the reporting cardinal's mind. Openness to the Holy Spirit was guaranteed during formalized bureaucratic procedures as well.[17]
2. Preparatory congregations: Set up by Urban VIII's decrees, these were held in the Apostolic Palace, summoned by the reporting cardinal. The Apostolic Palace was the papal residence (the Quirinale, from the seventeenth century on) and such meetings were attended by all the cardinal members of the Congregation. Along with the cardinals, the consultors of the Congregation and the Master of ceremonies were invited, too. Only consultors and minor officials of the Congregation cast their votes (*vota*); the stated goal was to open the cardinals' minds by making them quietly listen to the debate and passively observe the voting procedure.[18] As in ante-preparatory meetings, the goals and matters to be discussed in preparatory congregations concentrated on a single cause, or were intended to resolve doubts over virtues, martyrdom, or miracles. The author underlined the mandatory presence in the bureaucratic procedure of moments of contemplation and openness to divine mystery.

17 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XVI, no. 5, 363–364.

18 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XVI, no. 6, 365: "ita fit Congregatio *praeparatoria*, ut instruantur animi omnium Cardinalium, qui deinde in Congregatione generali mentem suam aperire debent, et suffragium dare."

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3. General congregations: The Pontiff's presence was mandatory in the general congregations: at the first meeting, the consultors first voted, followed by the cardinals. The issues to be voted on were the approval of virtues or martyrdom, the acceptance of miracles, and last, the final and definitive doubt had to be resolved: could the cause of beatification or canonization be concluded for certain? For each cause, the examination of doubts over the virtues, martyrdom, or miracles were dealt with three times: in the ante-preparatory, preparatory, and general congregations. For each cause, Urban VIII's decrees dictated three meetings of the general congregations a year (in January, May, and September) in order to ensure "great maturity" (*magna maturitate*).[19]

The general congregation met in the Pontiff's presence, following a series of actions conducted in a certain order with the same procedure. The Secretary of the Congregation of Rites prepared a grid of doubts on the life, actions, and miracles of the candidate; every single document was voted on and approved by the theologians' consultors; the documents were then approved or rejected by the cardinals' vote. These decisions normally accepted the consultors' indications, if the votes were unanimous or almost so. The cardinals' votes approved virtues, miracles, and martyrdom, removing the final doubt on the definitive approval of the beatification or canonization. That final vote-counting, on the specific doubt as to whether beatification or canonization could proceed in keeping with moral certainty, was the most important, and all the cardinal members had to participate and give their personal answers. Only three or four causes of blesseds eligible for the spiritual state of sainthood could be 'handled together,' to avoid confusion. The procedure had to be orderly, clear, and tightly argued.[20]

Particular congregations (*congregationes particulares*), too, were held for precise reasons. In this case, only some cardinals and some consultors were called, consulting with special experts elected by the Pope in accord with the Secretary of the Congregation and the Promoter of the Faith.

Votes were submitted in writing by the absent members—whether cardinals or consultors—of the Congregations, but the participating consultors cast their votes verbally, sitting during the ante-preparatory and preparatory meetings, and standing during the general congregations; they then left the room while the cardinals' votes were counted, when only the Secretary, the Promoter of the Faith, and the Master of ceremonies were admitted.

19 Cf. images of the Congregation of Rites meeting in general congregations were xylographes edited in the first edition of the DSD, vol. I (Bologna 1734), 1; vol. II (Bologna 1735), 1; vol. III (Bologna 1737), 1.

20 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XVI, no. 9, 365: "ut in dictis Congregationibus coram Sanctitate sua habendis, ordinate, dilucide, ac breviter procedatur, in unaquaque ex eis referantur per Cardinales tres, vel ad summum quatuor tantum causae."

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2.1.3 The Bureaucratic Protagonists

Thirteen levels and corresponding members of the Roman Curia were involved in the saint-making Roman machine. I present that pyramid in hierarchical order from the apex to the base.

In the first and second place were the Pope and the Congregation of Rites, at the pyramid's summit. The Prefect of the Congregation and all the cardinal members were chosen by the Pope. From 1588 to 1665, the cardinals of the Congregation themselves chose which cardinal was to become the relator of a new cause, but the decree of February 25, 1665, changed that procedure with causes thenceforth personally entrusted by the Pope to cardinals as "Relatores, sive Ponentes": the centralization of the procedure of beatification and canonization was thus strengthened.[21]

In the third position, there were consultors and officials, as members of the Congregation of Rites: in 1588, Sixtus V granted the cardinals the right to choose their consultors, selected among the regular and secular prelates of the Curia, but Benedict XIV attributed that choice to the Pope himself. Consultors of the Congregation of Rites were the Bishop Prefect of the Apostolic *Sacrario*, called the *Sacrista*; the Protonotary of the Congregation of Rites; the eldest auditors of the Roman Rota; the auditor of the Supreme Pontiff; the Assessor of the Holy Office; the Master of the Sacred Palace; the Secretary of the Congregation; and the Promoter of the Faith. The Dominican Order, the Friars Minor Observant, and the Society of Jesus all enjoyed the privilege of having a member of their religious families among the experts of the Congregation from its beginnings. In 1725 and 1726, Benedict XIII added—as consultants from the ranks of the religious orders—members of the Conventual Franciscans, the Barnabite Fathers, and the Order of the Servants of Mary. The consultors from the regular clergy were excluded from the meetings where causes of members of their orders were discussed, as decided by Clement XII in 1733, "to ensure that everything is done according to protocol and the law" ("ut omnia rite ac recte procedant"). Members of religious orders, if consecrated bishops or appointed Masters of the Sacred Palace, were an exception to the rule and were not excluded. The entire Church was symbolically represented by these members.

The common duty of cardinals and consultors, sworn under oath, involved reading, listening, and participating at the various above-mentioned meetings; they were obliged to maintain secrecy for each and every part of the process, and they also had the duty of reporting situations that were not correct. In fact, they had to read all the documents, information, observations, or objections ("informationes" and "animadversiones"), and the related answers, i. e., all the written documents connected with the causes. They had to listen to the oral reports and discussions. They were obliged to be present at the

21 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XVI, no. 12, 367.

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meetings where their vote was required. The secrecy was mandatory and imposed under pain of excommunication. They were required to denounce 'string-pulling' for causes (if someone tried to influence the process in some way, using personal connections or money).

The Protonotary was in fourth position: in the ancient tradition, he was in charge of taking notes of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation; in the time of Benedict XIV, he had to guarantee the authenticity of the text under examination by the Congregation.[22] Then came the Secretary: that crucial official was a consultor from the Congregation of Rites; he had the duty of notifying cardinals and consultors of scheduled meetings (with a written note signed by the Prefect himself), with a complete list of the names of the relators and the agenda of causes to be discussed. He had the obligation of recording the approved decrees and registering decisions on the matter of the cults of saints and precedents. It must be reiterated that the Congregation's decrees only had the force of law with papal approval. The Secretary needed to have an episcopal character, or, in other words, he needed to be a titular bishop, like the other secretaries of the Curial congregations. The sixth position of officials were the eldest auditors of the Roman Rota: they simply gave their votes in the general congregation, but from Urban VIII's decrees on, they had and have no further obligations.[23]

Seventh were the Promoter of the Faith and his Sub-Promoter. The Promoter's major duty and task was to formulate the objections and *animadversiones* of each cause in relation to both the apostolic process and the ordinary one, showing difficulties, weaknesses, and hurdles to be cleared in order for the cause 'to cross the finish line.' He was the cornerstone of the architecture of infallibility. In his decree dated January 11, 1631, Urban VIII dictated the Promoter's competencies in relation to canonization: he is the collector of the 'authentic copy' of all the acts of the process, involving the summary and all the *informationes* and written expertise presented by the postulators of the cause.[24] Identifying the main difficulties and faults, he had to write opportune animadversions ("animadversiones") that the procurators and lawyers had to resolve and answer for the cause to go forward. Lambertini had been *Promotor Fidei* from April 7, 1708, to April 10, 1728. In Urban VIII's decrees (edicted in the years 1625, 1634, and 1642), the Promoter was responsible for rightly and honestly proceeding with the cause ("ut omnia

22 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XVII, nos. 1–3, 381–384.

23 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XVII, no. 7, 388.

24 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XVIII, nos. 1–15, 397–416. His activity was justified with the words "Divina inspiratione illuminati, quae Ecclesiam suam errare non sint." The first evidence documenting his existence dates to the Pontificate of Leo X, being expressly mentioned in a document dated 1525. His duties were described with the words "Et cum hoc insuper, ut tibi copia authentica processuum factorum, ac omnium scripturarum producendarum, ac informationum faciendarum super dubiis tempore opportuno disputandis, ad effectum ea videndi et considerandi, eisque obiectiones et responsiones opportunas faciendi, detur" (Ibid., 397).

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rite ac recte adimpleantur"). He could make interventions in all the acts of the process; he could interrogate or prepare questions for interrogating all the witnesses; he could ask for further testimony, visit tombs and burials in Rome as well as worldwide, and could do so personally or through a delegate appointed by him. He could personally visit and talk with the cardinals of the Congregation and the Pope. Before Urban VIII's decrees, the Promoter could also have no objections or animadversions against the candidate's virtue, martyrdom, or miracles; after the reform, instances of 'no objections' no longer arose. The objection had to be written, facilitating the possibility of a full answer on behalf of the procurators. As consultor, the Promoter was obliged to provide truthful declarations, as well as raising trustworthy objections where he found difficulties. His figure is somewhat analogous to the Commissar of the Apostolic Chamber and the lawyers of the Holy Office. Lambertini made a distinction between the Promoter's personal opinion and the office's obligation to state the truth, independently from his personal opinion or inclination toward that specific cause, and obligations connected to the office that are the basis of its professional ethics (deontology).[25] The Promoter was chosen by the Roman Pontiff from the college of consistorial lawyers. He could choose a Sub-Promoter, following his personal inclinations. This was an exception in the vertical and centralized rule of papal appointments of officials involved in canonization procedures.

The eighth official was the Notary, in analogy with the Holy Office, the Congregations of the Fabric of Saint Peter, and of Borders, the Congregation of Rites could appoint its own notaries from its staff. In the seventeenth century, the Notary was chosen by the Congregation, but starting with Alexander VII (1655–1667), the choice was in the Pope's hands. The Notary had to swear his personal fidelity and agree to (not increase or pretend to more than) the tax established for his emoluments. He was also the inspector of the Archive of the Congregation.[26] The ninth official was the Archivist, who was responsible for the Congregation's archives, located in the Apostolic Palace, where authentic documents of beatification and canonization records of the processes were kept and classified, together with autographed translations of the documents in foreign languages ("extero idiomate confecti"). All the acts, after being inventoried, were transcribed in four copies (kept by the Protonotary, the Secretary, and in the Archive of the Congregation).[27] Formally appointed for the first time by Innocent XI (1676–1689), translators were sworn professionals, capable of translating documents written in foreign

25 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XVIII, no. 2, 400: "Quin immo, si summus Pontifex, aut sacrorum rituum Congregatio demandet Fidei Promotori, ut in aliquo articulo, non ad opportunitatem sui muneris, sed pro veritate scribat, tunc debet ipse suum sensum pro veritate exponere, licet esset propitius causae: tunc quippe non ratione muneris scribit, sed ut debitam praested mandatis obedientiam."

26 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XIX, no. 1–6, 417–422.

27 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XIX, nos. 7–9, 422–425; the documents could be copied in authentic copies, but not lent to anyone from 1684 on.

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languages. They were appointed by the Cardinal relator of the cause.[28] Next came the Procurators who were chosen from within the Apostolic college of the procurators of the Sacred Palace from 1701 on. They materially wrote the documents and acts ("summaria" and "informationes") of the Congregation, receiving a maximum of four causes. That maximum was established because their work had to be carried out with the utmost diligence. After the bureaucratic step of the cause in the *Signatura commissionis*, the procurator could assume another cause, because of the long time required to complete the apostolic process. In fact, normally, ten or twelve years passed between the end of the ordinary process and the beginning of the apostolic process.[29] Lawyers could be chosen by the Congregation from among the lawyers of the consistory, but since they were quite busy and only twelve in number, another twelve lawyers of the Curia could be appointed to that task, replacing the consistory's lawyers. When they were chosen from among the consistory's lawyers, they were selected among university professors and experts in both canon and civil law. They were admitted after meticulous examination and a public disputation.[30] Their task was to write the cause using correct legal standards, and to do that with the care required, they were entrusted with a maximum of six cases.[31] The procedures describe a form of recruitment, through a public examination and dissertation.

At the base of the hierarchy were medical doctors and scientific consultants. The only lay people admitted into the procedure, they could be doctors in medicine, physics, mathematics, or natural sciences, chosen to verify the reality of the miracles and write specific documents of expertise.[32] Medical experts, under oath, presented a written *pro veritate* report or 'expert opinion' as established by the decrees of Innocent XI in 1678; starting in 1743, a public register in Rome indicated doctors and scientists who were both able and trustworthy, to collaborate with the Congregation of Rites.[33] One (or more) report from a medical expert was mandatory when the postulator of the cause

28 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XIX, no. 10, 425–426.

29 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XIX, nos. 11–14, 426–430.

30 Ibid., 433–432: "neque hi, neque Auditores absque magno examine admittuntur, et necesse est eos publice disputare, priusquam in hunc ordinem aspirare valeant."

31 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XX, nos. 15–16, 430–432; see the quotation from Innocent XI's decrees, §12, 431: "ad scribendum in iure assumi debeant ad libitum Postulatorum, dummodo sint ex collegio sacrae Consistorialis aulae, vel ex duodecim aliis approbatis a sacra Congregatione; ita tamen, ut quilibet eorum sex tantum causas patrocinari possit."

32 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XX, nos. 17–16, 432–433: "Medici tandem, Physici, Chirurgi, quin immo et Mathematici, quando agitur de miraculis, et quando materia id exposcit, a sacra Congregatione consuluntur, ut suum sensum in scriptis pro veritate aperiant."

33 AAV, Archivio della Congregazione delle cause dei santi, Decreta Sanctorum 1742–1744, f. 129r, "Nota de Medici, e chirurghi," edited in DSD, Liber IV/1, 11. According to Lambertini, a doctor's testimony to the miracle was mandatory and essential, and he presented his personal experience when "multa miracula" were rejected by the Congregation because it lacked the examination of the treating physician, cf. DSD, Liber III/1, caput 7, no. 9, 175; Pierluigi Giovannucci, "Dimostrare la santità per via giudiziaria," in *Storia,*

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presented healings as miracles: such documents had to be verified by other more famous doctors ("alium Medicum, et Chirugum celebriorem") who answered *pro veritate* if the purported miracles exceeded the force of nature ("an asserta miracula excedant vires naturae"). Even before the decrees of Innocent XI and also when medical reports were not presented by the candidate's postulator (in this specific case they were called *periti pro opportunitate*, experts on the postulator's side), the medical advice *pro veritate* was required to comply with the established process.

2.1.4 The Apostolic See's Procedure

After two chapters dealing with the historical procedure in force before the institution of the Congregation of Rites, Benedict XIV presented the current praxis. The presentation was divided into four parts; the first described the beatification.[34] The ordinary process could begin if there were an established veneration of candidates with a reputation for sanctity and miracles. That veneration could not take the form of a public cult. The first steps were identical to those of the two ordinary processes: the first on the reputation of sanctity and miracles, the second on the lack of aspects of a cult, such as an 'adoring public.' The documents of the two ordinary processes were then presented to the Congregation of Rites, which had to repeat the process on 'not representing a cult,' established on a diocesan level. Ten years after the presentation of the documents of the ordinary process, the records were opened by the Cardinal Prefect in the presence of the Promoter of the Faith, the whole dossier was entrusted to the cause's Cardinal relator, and then the translator and revisor of the process were chosen by the Cardinal relator or by the Prefect. From that moment on, the ordinary's jurisdiction over the process ended and the whole case was put in the hands of the Congregation, filling the gap that might eventually be present in the ordinary process—with temporary missions *in loco*.[35]

The procedure began with the examination of the candidate's works and manuscripts. In the ordinary congregation, the Congregation of Rites appointed the judges. The apostolic process on the virtues and miracles could only be initiated fifty years after the candidate's death (as Urban VIII's decrees dictated); possible derogations could

medicina e diritto nei trattati di Prospero Lambertini, Benedetto XIV, ed. Maria Teresa Fattori (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2013), 277–296, 293, note 60.

34 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXII, no. 2r, 487–488; ibid., no. 2, 487: "Causae Beatificationis et Canonizationis aliae sunt Confessorum, aliae Martyrum; nonnullae item ex his introductae errant ante decreta Urbani VIII; nonnullae vero post eadem decreta introducuntur; et aliquae demum procedunt per viam ordinariam non cultus, aliquae per viam extraordinariam casus excepti a citatis Urbani VIII decretis."

35 Cf. the Congregation of Rites's Decree on December 3, 1650, DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXII, no. 4, 489–490.

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only be authorized by popes themselves.[36] The Pope was only present in the general congregation, but his confirmation was essential.

Quoting Gabriele Paleotti's *De Sacri Concistorii consultationibus*, Benedict XIV noted that the Pope was obliged to request advice.[37] Canonization and beatification were exactly between the *arduae et maiores causae* seeking advice. Approval on the virtues and miracles was to be adopted based on the Congregation members' majority vote. In the case of doubt, the Pope had to listen in silence to the cardinals' and consultants' vote. He thanked the presenting prelates and then took time for prayer and silence.[38] A unanimous vote was required, but exceptions were possible. The approval of the heroic degree of virtues was unanimous in the case of Alfonso Toribio de Mogrovejo (decree of March 8, 1672) and Caterina da Bologna (decree of January 18, 1680); the approval of the four miracles attributed to Carlo Borromeo was also unanimous (decree of May 15, 1610). But in the cases mentioned, only seven or eight cardinals were members of the Congregation; at the time of Benedict XIV's writing—as he noted—the members had increased and, consequently, unanimity had become rarer. Lambertini explained the majority needed for partial and definitive approvals. Traditionally, a simple majority of votes was required analogously with the *causae maiores* voted by the Holy Office and in General Councils when called on to define dogmas of faith.[39] In his *Storia del concilio di Trento* (History of the Council of Trent), Cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicino mentioned the use of the expression "placet/non placet" and the simple majority adopted by the Fathers voting on major questions, like the divine or ecclesiastical origin of the obligation to reside.[40] But Lambertini proposed a vote with a qualified two-thirds

36 Doubts about the candidate's virtues were first proposed in the ante-preparatory congregation, subsequently in the preparatory congregation, and finally in the general congregation. An identical three-stage examination was also conducted to resolve doubts about miracles.

37 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXII, no. 12, 497: "Communis est Scriptorum opinio, teneri summum Pontificem ex honestate requirere aliorum consilia in arduis" (pars I, quaestio 3). Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597), bishop of Bologna starting in 1566 (then archibishop of the same see, elevated to the rank of metropolitan see), member of the Council of Trent, cardinal starting in 1566, was the author of one of the most important treatises—*De Sacri Concistorii consultationibus*, edited for the first time in Rome in 1592, by typographia apostolica Vaticana—on the sacred consistory of cardinals, its agenda, its functioning, and its regulations. Cfr. Paolo Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597)*, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1959–1967).

38 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXII, no. 13, 498: "interea vero Deum orat, et preces indicit, nec omitti quidquid facere potest private studio, ut veritatem assequatur; ita ut solum questio numerum respiciat suffragiorum, utrum videlicet concordia omnium suffragiorum necessaria sit necessitate honestatis, ut Pontifex prudenter agat in approbatione dubiorum super virtutibus et miraculis, an maior tantum pars eorumdem sufficiat."

39 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXII, no. 15, 500, founded on the opinion of the Cardinal Ostiense and Prospero Fagnano.

40 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXII, no. 15, 500: "dicano le Signorie vostre con somma brevità per la parola piace/non piace, se vogliono, o no, che si dichiari, la residenza essere di ragione Divina; acciocchè, secondo il

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majority as a better and surer solution, confirmed by the custom of the Apostolic See ("ex consuetudine et institutio Sanctae Sedis"). When unanimity was unreachable, even if it was desirable, the majority of two thirds assured a sound legal basis for the final decision.[41] It is worth noting that the case of canonization finds analogies not with the approval of dogmatic definitions, but with the procedures for electing the Roman Pontiff.[42] We will come back to this point in this essay's conclusions.

In the second part, Lambertini dealt with the canonization. The cause was proposed only if and when God had worked other miracles through the blessed's intercession. To start the procedure, new miracles were needed, as Urban VIII's decrees dictated, but the necessity of a rigorous examination of the miracles on behalf of the Congregation ("severus examen") was only required later, by Clement IX (September 10, 1668). The passage from beatification to canonization was different for non-cult and excepted cases.[43] The cult and miracles subsequent to beatification had to be proven by absolute and conclusive proof ("iuridicae probationes") and the careful deliberation of the Congregation. The act of canonization authorized the cult of the saint throughout the universal Catholic Church. The resumption commission ("commissio reasumptionis") sent letters to the Congregation of Rites to only investigate the process of apostolic authority on new miracles.[44] Miracles were examined by the Congregation with a threefold process in the ante-preparatory, preparatory, and general meetings, and cardinals had to resolve all doubts in order to achieve moral certainty in the Congregation's final decisions.

The necessary number of miracles approved by eyewitnesses (*testes de visu*) required for beatification was two, although in several cases the number of approved miracles

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maggior numero delle voci, e delle sentenze, possano scrivere i decreti, come in questo santo Concilio sempre s'è usato." Cf. Pietro Francesco Sforza Pallavicino, *Storia del concilio di Trento* (Naples: Stamperia di Stefano Abbate, 1724), lib. IV, sess. XVIII, no. 316, 181. In his personal library, Benedict XIV had the *Storia*'s first edition (Rome: Angelo Bernabò dal Verme, 1656–1657). See the catalogue of the library, BUB, Ms. 425, t. II, f. 699; digital edition is available at the page: https://bub.unibo.it/it/collezioni-e-cataloghi/Benedetto-XIV (last accessed December 15, 2023).

41 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXII, no. 20, 503: "Quod tandem ea, quae modo dicta sunt, potiori iure sibi vindicent locum, si inter duas ex tribus partibus adsint illorum suffragia, quos aptiores et peritiores summus Pontifex reputaverit, probatur."

42 Cf. Günther Wassilowsky, *Die Konklavereform Gregors XV. (1621/22): Wertekonflikte, symbolische Inszenierung und Verfahrenswandel im posttridentinischen Papsttum* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2010), 35–134.

43 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXV, nos. 1–13, 534–544, cf. the decrees of Urban VIII.

44 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXVI, 545–559. Miracles prior to beatification were no longer subject to the new process; all kinds of miracles were welcome, not only those termed first or second class, described in the fourth book of the DSD, dedicated to miracles. On the resumption commission, see also Liber I/1, caput XXXIII, nos. 1–18, 660–674.

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was even higher.[45] Benedict XIV asserted that in cases where the miracles were attested by witnesses *de visu*, two miracles were enough; in cases of hearsay witnesses (*testes de auditu*), four miracles were needed (April 23, 1741).[46] Consultors and cardinals voted, and their written votes were inserted into the process's acts; then the cardinals, after mature deliberation, decided if the cause could advance further.[47] After a day or two of listening and praying, and having asked God's help, the Pope would call the Secretary and the Promoter of the Faith, authorizing them to open the canonization procedure. The final decision came under the Pope's personal responsibility, expressing his opinion ("mens") directly to the Secretary and the Promoter of the Faith. The Secretary then wrote the decree: *the Pope has made up his mind*.

The Congregation of Rites approved the virtues first and then the miracles, with a two-thirds majority. The votes of the cardinals and consultors were expressed in the Pope's presence; after requesting prayers of those present, he himself retired in prayer, expressing his final judgment exclusively to the Secretary and Promoter, and scheduling the date of the solemn act. A document proving and illustrating the procedure was the bull of the beatification of the Jesuit Giovanni Francesco Regis, held on April 28, 1715, when the Promoter was Lambertini himself.

In the third part, the author described equipollent beatification dealing with the *iter* of the non-cult ("non culto") or excepted cases ("casus exceptus"). Lambertini explained how to calculate the time span necessary for fixing the cult "from time immemorial" (*ab immemorabili tempore*).[48] Urban VIII prohibited the veneration of those who had not been beatified or canonized by the Apostolic See, with the only exception being ancient saints who had been venerated from time immemorial, authorized by an apostolic indult, or by patristic and other saints' writings. The ordinary prepared a process under his authority over virtues and miracles, the fame of martyrdom, signs, and miracles, and a process on the exceptional case. When that process was incomplete, the Congregation compensated for the lacuna. For all the other aspects, the process followed the procedure explained earlier. If the final sentence of the ordinary or apostolic judge were in favor of treating the candidate as an excepted case, the judgment would be approved by the Congregation and the Supreme Pontiff: at this point, the person under consideration would be beatified in the equipollent way.

45 Nothing new was introduced by the decrees of Benedict XIV, approved on April 23, 1741. Cf. Giovannucci, "Dimostrare la santità," 295.

46 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXVI, nos. 1–2, 545–548.

47 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXVI, no. 5, 552. The discussion on the moral certainty over canonization was only sometimes held in the Pontiff's presence; the written *vota* had to resolve the doubt "An tuto procedi possit ad Canonizationem," and were presented to the Secretary; the second doubt, "An, supposita approbatione miraculorum, quae supervenerunt, tuto procedi possit ad Canonizationem," was answered and the names of the cardinals and consultors approving the miracles were recorded with a short summary of their *vota*.

48 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXXI, 630–636.

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The approval of beatification might be the end of the procedure, or it could carry on until canonization, solving the double doubts on the exercise of the theological and cardinal virtues or on the reality and cause of the martyrdom.[49] The fourth and last doubt was on the possibility of proceeding to solemn canonization with moral certainty.[50] The Apostolic See's custom was to authorize canonization with only two miracles, but Benedict XIV's decree of April 25, 1741, demanded four miracles for canonization. In such cases, only subsidiary tests could be examined by the Congregation from historians and witnesses *de auditu*, because the witnesses *de visu*, ascertaining the virtues with radiant light ("constare exposcit probationes apertissimas, atque, ut aiunt, luce meridiana clariores") were all dead: ascertaining required very certain evidence, clearer than daylight.[51] A granting of veneration and worship must be discussed through legal evidence and, after mature discussion, drawn up in accordance with the law. In this way, the Apostolic See could confidently proceed to solemn canonization in accordance with the law. For anciently venerated candidates, the discussion in the Congregation was only conducted on miracles and not on virtues.

In the fourth and final part, Lambertini examined the procedure dedicated to martyrs. The causes of martyrs differed from the causes of confessors by the fact that the process was not over the virtues and the virtues' renown, but over the martyrdom and the martyrdom's cause and, possibly, its fame.[52] Miracles and signs operated by God with the intercession of the martyrs were inquired into as well. The ordinary and apostolic process of the 'non-cult' nature of veneration was equally necessary; in fact the doubt over the nature and the reason of the martyrdom ("An consted de Martyrio and causa Martyrii") was parallel to the doubt in the confessors' causes. The first act to be published was the papal decree on the heroic degree of the martyr's virtue: that act preceded the act of the approval of the miracles. Doubt regarding the martyrdom paralleled the doubt over miracles in the cause of confessors. Miracles were the divine confirmation of the sainthood of the blessed, as martyrdom confirmed the holiness of the martyr. Following the Roman *Ordo* of Cardinal Caetani and the Roman ceremonial, the doubt over the virtues had to be resolved first, before the second doubt over the miracles.[53] That precise order in the examination was important for understanding the difference between miracles inspired by God or those that were simply naturally occurring. The candidates spoke for themselves through their virtues, but God spoke through miracles.

49 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXXII, nos. 1–21, 636–659.

50 Ibid., 638: "An, stante approbatione virtutum, et miraculorum, aut Martyrii, et causae Martyrii, et signorum sive miraculorum, tuto procedi possit ad solemnem Canonizationem." Cf. Giovannucci, "Dimostrare la santità," 294–295.

51 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXXII, no. 6, 642.

52 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXVII, nos. 1–9, 560–573.

53 This order was decided in the Congregation of Rites held on December 6, 1712, for the cause of Sister Giacinta Marescotti, with Prospero Lambertini himself as the Promoter of the Faith.

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For that reason, Benedict XIV decided on April 10, 1742, that the examination of the virtues and miracles of the Blessed Paolo Burali could be done at the same moment, one after the other, by the Congregation.[54] Men and God were both witnesses to the sainthood and heroic degrees of virtue, but it was impossible to ask God's confirmation without excluding human intelligence or human procedures. Examinations of "miracles and virtues" were carried out via separate acts.[55]

What could be considered a miracle is explained in a dedicated book of the *De Servorum Dei*. In the first part of the treatise, in a sort of short anticipation, miracles or signs were defined as something exceeding the force of nature.[56] Miracles were necessary for the causes of martyrs, as they were in simple confessors' cases.[57] The verification of the previous life of the martyr was necessary, following the tradition of the Ancient Church, as well as the presence of miracles operated through the mediation of the martyr: an entire chapter illustrated the customs of the Congregation of Rites.[58] The veneration of martyrs had traditionally considered the death and the cause of the death, without considering the dignity of the life preceding that martyrdom. Martyrs' causes dealt with the cause of the death, the circumstances of the death, and the behavior and perseveration in the faith at that supreme moment. Therefore, miracles were less important and the procedure for martyrs simpler when compared with the procedure for confessors. The examination verified, first, that the martyrdom was real; second, whether the sanctity of the entire life was real; and last, it verified judging the acts, the exercise of virtue to a heroic degree, as testified by eyewitnesses. Miracles were, in any case, necessarily intended as God's confirmation, excluding the possibility that the death was accepted for reasons other than hatred of the Christian faith, or that that death might be the result of vainglory or impatience.

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54 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXVII, no. 8, 568: "canonizandorum sanctitas, virtutes in gradu heroico debeant utroque, hominis videlicet per se, ac Dei per miracula loquentis, testimonio probari, rite atque ordinate procedendo, non prius esse de Divino testimonio quarendum, quam humano satis (quantum est ex hac parte) constiterit probari […]." Paolo Burali (1511–1578), born in Arezzo, became a member of the Congregation of Clerics regular; he was appointed bishop of Piacenza in 1568, cardinal starting in 1570, and then archbishop of Naples in 1576.

55 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXVIII, 574–594: the entire chapter discussed authors who agreed and authors who disagreed on the sentence invoking the need for miracles in order to proceed in the martyrs' causes.

56 Ibid.: "et signum saltem quoad modum debere excedere vires naturae, atque adeo in re, de qua nunc agimus, confudi cum miraculo tertii generis."

57 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXIX, nos. 1–16, 595–615. Before the decrees of Urban VIII, the validity of the process authorized by the Rota had to be recognized by the Congregation, which proceeded to a verification of the validity. The two necessary miracles needed to have happened after the death of the blessed to be useful for the cause. Miracles that happened during the life of the blessed could be discussed but were not enough to establish the sanctity of the blessed, as happened in the cause of Saint Alfonso Toribio de Mogrovejo.

58 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXX, nos. 1–10, 616–629.

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3. Economic Aspects: Fees, Taxes, Graft

The first part of the two related chapters dealing with fees, taxes, and rewards for curial officials began with an apologetic defense of the Apostolic See's need to have enough wealth to defend the truth, for the dignity of the State and, finally, to be able to help the poor and maintain church buildings.[59] Since the expenses for canonization were sustained by the apostolic treasury, Lambertini explained how expensive the canonization process was: he specified why and how much money was needed for long and accurate examinations of causes. The care taken in that process was the reason why canonization was so expensive, Lambertini wrote, quoting Father Daniel Papebroch of the Bollandist Society.[60]

The expenses were incurred in the travels of curial prelates to the place of the candidate's life or to the town(s) where miracles took place; other travels were also necessary to collect full information on the saint's life; the curial saint-making machines had to be paid for their examinations and listening to the numerous witnesses; the written expertise had to be analyzed and translated from all the languages of the Catholic world; and the solemn celebration itself was expensive, too. The Apostolic Chamber never received emoluments for any of that. The exact cost of the curial notary's tax was indicated by the Congregation's decree, on March 6 and September 18, 1706, edited by Lambertini in the appendix: one Carlino or Carolenum (the fourth part of a Roman Iulio) for each sheet of twenty-four lines, each line of sixteen syllables. The Promoter of the Faith's helper was paid with one golden coin (aureo).

The postulators were not paid by the Congregation, but by the religious orders or the actors who had interest in 'making the saint.' The cheapest solution was to find a member of a religious order or congregation who had a convent in Rome, in order to give him a little reimbursement or fee for his needs, while board and lodging were paid by his convent. A friar's honorarium was cheap in comparison to the emolument due for the work of a canon or an aristocrat. Lawyers and medics were to be paid, but a precise emolument had not yet been established when Lambertini was writing his treatise.

59 DSD, Liber I/2, caput XLVI, nos. 1–50, 188–234; DSD, Liber I/2, caput XLVII, nos. 1–19, 235–255.

60 Ibid., 195: "Daniel respondit, se Hadrianum Papam utique laudasse propter zelum bonum, modestiam, pietatem, aequitatemque intentionis in minuendis sumptibus Canonizationum; minime vero probasse rationem ab ipsos allatam, quod iidem sumptus essent alieni a sanctimonia et puritate Canonizationis; additque, censere se multas et graves esse causas, quae sumptus fieri solitos probent tamquam valde congruos."

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4. Ceremonial Aspects

Solemn beatification was introduced by Pope Alexander VII in the Vatican cathedral for the first time on the occasion of Saint Francis of Sales's beatification in 1661. Before 1661, beatification was carried out in the church of the Order of which the blessed was a member, or in the Church of their nation in Rome, for blesseds whose nation had a church in the city. The novelty sought by Alexander VII was a precedent showing that beatification was the preparatory act of sanctification: therefore, beatification and canonization had to start and end in the Vatican cathedral. The Vatican Basilica was the Roman-papal theater, the place where it was possible to transform the symbolic language of the centrality of Rome in the ecclesiological and political language of papal infallibility.

Beatification authorized the cult of a blessed in a precise place, diocese, or area. The act of beatification was composed of the following parts: the publication of the indulgence that the faithful could gain if present at the beatification, after confession and communication; the reading of the apostolic brief by the postulator of the cause in the presence of the cardinals of the Congregation of Rites and the assembly; the celebrating bishop singing the *Te Deum laudamus*; the images of the blessed being shown and presented for veneration by the faithful; and finally, the celebration of holy mass with public prayers to the blessed, and with the blessed's images incensed. The celebration of holy mass was in the presence of the Supreme Pontiff himself.

The solemn act of canonization was only granted if requested by sovereigns, kings, populations, or communities, actors of the local and particular churches.[61] Many years might separate a request for solemn canonization and its final granting. Having decided on the solemn canonization, the Pope summoned all the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, including titular bishops living in Rome, and asked them to vote. The deliberative vote of the titular bishops was discussed by Lambertini as a possibility, as well as the deliberative vote granted to the bishops of the Eastern Church in communion with Rome. All the bishops present in Rome were invited to the consistory to vote on the solemn canonization, by a letter written by the Secretary of the Congregation of the Council, who was also Secretary of the Congregation on residency. The solemn act of canonization of Saint Pius V in 1712 was declared by an assembly of cardinals and

61 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXXIV, nos. 1–17, 675–692: "De consistoriis privato, publico, et semipublico habendis pro absolutione causarum canonizationis." For the reciprocal but unequal process, cf. Simon Ditchfield, "Il mondo della Riforma e della Controriforma," in *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale*, ed. Anna Benvenuti, Sofia Boesch Gajano, Simon Ditchfield, Roberto Rusconi, Francesco Sforza Barcellona, and Gabriella Zarri (Rome: Viella, 2005), 261–329; idem, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion, 1550–1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 201–224.

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bishops, called to represent the Church as mirror images of ancient Roman councils.[62] Three rites were necessary: in the secret consistory, in the public consistory, and in the semi-public consistory.

In the secret consistory, the cardinals voted on the solemn canonization. The Pope demanded the opinion and advice of the cardinals, with a solemn allocution; after that, the Cardinal Prefect recalled the saint's merits with a speech summarizing the acts of the process. The compendium was composed by the Secretary of the Congregation or by the Promoter of the Faith. Then the cardinals voted. The vote was oral, with the expression "placet" or "non placet" by each cardinal standing in the assembly in front of the Pope: that was the sixth and final step in the ceremony of the secret consistory.[63]

In the public consistory, all the cardinals in Rome were present, together with the deans and eldest of the assistant bishops of the curia, the Protonotaries, the auditors of the Roman Rota, the clerics of the Apostolic Chamber, the judges of the tribunal of the Apostolic Signatura, the abbreviators and consistorial lawyers, the Secretary of the Congregation of Rites, the Promoter of the Faith, the ambassadors present in Rome, the Governor of Rome, the Vice-Chamberlain, the Conservators of the Urbe, the representative of the Papal States' cities, and the Master of the Sacred Palace. They all wore capes. The consistorial advocate presented the merits, life, and miracles of the saint in a solemn and long speech, read together with the petitions of the sovereigns. Any protestation or opposition on behalf of the Promoter was forbidden in that consistory. Only two speeches for canonization were admitted in public consistories.

At the last, semi-public, consistory, bishops were asked to vote on the canonization, confirming the procedure. Prayers and fasting were required as a means of obtaining God's inspiration and advice. The semi-public consistory was opened by the Supreme Pontiff's allocution; then cardinals voted orally, and the vote was written if cardinals could not be present; finally, bishops expressed their votes. In his final allocution, the Pope scheduled the date of the solemn canonization. Sentences of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops were re-ordered by the Protonotary, but the other curial judges, such as the auditors of the Rota, were not called on to express their vote but had to be present, to eventually provide explanations of the various parts of the procedure. Abbots too might be called to be present at the semi-public consistory. When cardinals expressed their vote, they stood up bareheaded, sitting down after expressing their sentence; patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, heads covered, sat during the cardinals' voting procedure but stood when expressing their vote. During the Pontiff's speech, the cardinals and bishops all stood up; before and after taking the floor, they

62 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXXIV, no. 2, 678: "ut in hoc sacro consessu veterum Conciliorum Romanorum imaginem praeferente de Sanctorum cultu solemniter ei decernendo."

63 Lambertini edited two maps of halls dedicated to the secret consistory in the Quirinale, with the positions of the various actors. He did the same for the semi-public and public consistories.

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knelt in prayer. Precedence between the participating prelates was resolved by Pius II's constitutions. A single semi-public consistory was requested for every canonization.

The ceremony of the solemn canonization began after these three consistories. The see of the act must be Rome; the church could be none other than the Vatican Basilica of Saint Peter.[64]

The ceremony could be divided into parts. First, the decree of canonization was edited in the hall of the consistory. In more recent times, the act has been published in Saint Peter's or in other Roman churches. Saint Peter's was the church where liturgical and ceremonial acts of solemn oaths or excommunications were celebrated. Lambertini recalled historical acts and sources documenting the importance of the Vatican Basilica for the history of Christianity. In the second year of his pontificate, Benedict XIV promulgated a constitution obliging the celebration of canonization in Saint Peter's.[65]

The day of the week was chosen by the Pope. Until Gregory XV (1621–1623), the saints to be solemnly canonized were ordered from the oldest to the most recent, as it was done on March 12, 1622, but during the pontificate of Clement X (1670–1676) the Congregation of Rites decided that the order of the proposed act of canonization had to respect the hierarchical order of the Church with three criteria: the first to be canonized were members of the secular clergy, then members of the regular clergy, and finally members of the same religious order or congregation were ordained on the basis of the date of their deaths. Mendicant orders had the right to precede members of other religious orders. Women could be canonized only as nuns belonging to religious orders. Lay people were not even mentioned in *De Servorum Dei* as possible saints. The solemn act of canonization decided the number of days of indulgence for the faithful who stood at the canonization, after having confessed their sins and received the Eucharist.

The rite of canonization began with a procession with candles and flambeau in the hands of the cardinals and prelates entering Saint Peter's. Then banners with the images of the saints were carried in. Differing from the ancient rite, the early modern rite of canonization had the Pope as protagonist, who on the throne "heard" the obedience of the cardinals, bishops, and abbots. The procurator, who could be a cardinal or a royal representative, demanded the canonization. The assembly recited litanies of the saints, and sang the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Petitions were repeated three times. The Pope uttered the sentence of canonization and personally celebrated the solemn high mass. The celebration of the mass was not part of the canonization but was only a tribute paid to the new saint. The Cardinal Archpriest of Saint Peter's offered the Pope the "presbyterium," such as twenty-five denarii as a reward for the celebrated mass sung. If the Pope was ill, a cardinal celebrated the holy mass in his stead. During mass,

64 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXXVI, nos.1–17, 702–767, "De solemnitate canonizationis." In past canonizations the churches could be outside Rome, as happened for Francesco d'Assisi's canonization, and Domenico da Rieti's.

65 DSD, Liber I/2, Appendix II, "Ad sepulcra Apostolorum," November 23, 1741, 295–302.

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oblations were collected, consisting of bread and wine for the sacrifice and other objects in connection with the liturgy, such as large, six-pound candles, altar clothes, or baskets with doves or little birds. These last objects were excluded from the canonization rite by Benedict XIII in his eight canonizations—celebrated in 1726. The Pope himself preached the sermon during the mass, presenting the life and merits of the blessed, or phrases from the process of canonization.[66]

5. Final Considerations: From Procedures to Infallible Judgments in the Universal Church

It's hard to imagine that the procedure was followed exactly as it is described in the treatise. Lambertini's description presents an idealized and formalized series of actions, combining elements of inquisitorial trials, evaluation of witnesses according to the rules of criminal cases, applications of the epistemological methodology of the philological and historiographical sciences, the index's procedure in relation with the writings' judgment, and comparison with the results of experimental sciences.[67] Proving holiness was a huge question for both the parts and the centers of polycentric Catholicism. Polycentricy refers to the idea that the Roman center (understood as a layered and polycentric reality itself) was one instance among other centers located in the different regions of global Catholicism. Sainthood played its role insofar as it was an issue negotiated between local and Roman centers. Indeed, it was extremely incorrect, on behalf of the Roman authority, to propose (or impose) through the prayers of the universal Church facts that were unproven, doubtful, or apocryphal. This would have exposed the Church

66 With the help of images, Lambertini documented the procession, the ornaments of the Vatican Palace, and the internal ornaments of the Vatican Basilica.

67 I owe a debt in writing the final conclusions to the stimulating discussions of the international conference held in Rome, October 20–22, 2021, "Making Saints in a 'Glocal' Religion: Practices of Holiness in Early Modern Catholicism," and to Barbara Stollberg Rillinger's final comment at the conference. See her contribution to this volume. For the relationship between bureaucratic procedure and the enlightened, final part of the decision, see Birgit Emich, "*Roma locuta – causa finita*? Zur Entscheidungskultur des frühneuzeitlichen Papsttums," in *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit: Akteure – Handlungen – Artefakte*, ed. Arndt Brendecke (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), 635–645. For the relations between supreme papal authority in the declaration of heresy as head of the Holy Office and papal jurisdiction over canonization, see Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62, 48; see also Pierluigi Giovannucci, *Canonizzazione e infallibilità pontificia in età moderna* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2008), 183–184; on the overlap between trials to determine heresy and to determine sanctity, see Giuseppe Dalla Torre, "Santità ed economia processuale: L'esperienza giuridica tra Urbano VIII e Benedetto XIV," in *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991), 231–263.

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to the "ridicule of the heretics" (*haereticorum irrisionibus*).[68] That responsibility came under papal authority, and juridical and scientific standards were introduced into the procedure. Writing to Cardinal De Tencin in October 1750, Benedict XIV expressed his personal faith in Divine Providence: "it's all handed over to Divine Providence, which can do everything if it wants to, but the point is that it doesn't want to every time we want to; rather it wants that placing all trust in it, human means are not omitted by us."[69] The Roman saint-making machine stood like a precarious bridge spanning two sides of an abyss: to believe or not to believe (or doubt) in God's intervention. The saint-making machine and its formal, bureaucratic procedure were the unavoidable human means, to be carried out before asking for supernatural intercession, that were invoked, in the final part of the process, with the charismatic turning point to the mystery. Only after a trackable sequence of written decisions, produced by many actors, was it possible to reach such a result. However difficult it might be, the final beatification or canonization was shielded against error: it was intended to go beyond any reasonable doubt. All the actors entangled in the procedure legitimized themselves through the procedure, while the procedure itself legitimized the results of their work. Formal procedures, as long and arduous as they might be, were a sure and possible path capable of producing a limited number of "blesseds" and "saints" after a certain period of time. Against the critiques of enlightened rationalists and protestants, it was important to protect the sanctity of the process from saint-makers' inconsistencies and errors: popes, cardinals, officials, consultors, and scientists, all constrained by material needs, dominated by the logic of patronage, and exposed to political influences, might fall into error. Respecting formal procedures rationally prevented them from making mistakes, and freed them from contingency. That was the reason they acted as cautiously as possible, otherwise the saint-makers acted to the detriment of the Church ("agitur de praejudicio Ecclesiae").[70]

Dissensions and quarrels on the blesseds' and servants' calls for canonization or beatification were frequent, but Lambertini does not document them.[71] The Congregation's

68 Cf. Benedict XIV's comment on the reform of the French Breviary, Benedict XIV to de Tencin, Rome, June 7, 1743, in *Lettere di Benedetto XIV*, vol. I, 81: the Pope intended to maintain the doubtful saints with a "semplice commemorazione di que' santi, che oggi hanno luogo nel breviario per mantenere il loro culto nella Chiesa; non vedendo in ciò altra critica, se non quella di fare una novità, ed in una tal qual maniera di sminuire il culto fino ad ora ad essi prestato, qual critica sarà sempre inferiore all'altra […] di *far recitare in nome della Chiesa fatti o apocrifi o dubbj*" (italics mine). On the scorn of heretics, see also DSD, Liber III/1, caput VI "De qualitate testium," no. 1, 127–128.

69 Benedict XIV to de Tencin, Rome, October 15, 1750, in *Lettere di Benedetto XIV*, vol. II, 321: "il tutto si ripone nella Providenza Divina, che può far tutto, se vuole, ma il punto consiste, che non vuole ogni volta che Noi vogliamo, anzi vuole, che ponendo in lei tutta la fiducia, non si tralascino da Noi i mezzi umani."

70 DSD, Liber III/1, caput 3, no. 3, 45–47.

71 In a letter to de Tencin dated Rome, April 7, 1751, Benedict XIV said on the Sacred College of cardinals: "il chiamare tutto il collegio [of the cardinals] per ogni negozio, anche di conseguenza, è cosa impraticabile, e che imbroglierebbe tutto, il chiamare alcuni fa, che i non chiamati si siano per dispreggiati, e diventano

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archives are full of unapproved causes; hence Lambertini built a facade of unanimity in the final stage. For this reason, the geometric design presented in the treatise strove to be a contribution helpful in closing the process. For example, Lambertini ruled out the possibility of applying excessive rigor to the excepted cases by reproducing things previously approved. The bureaucratic procedure was an instrument capable of building unity between the scattered parts of the universal Church, which had their own, varying necessities and concerns in matters of saints and local cults. The papacy of the early modern period succeeded in asserting its monopoly over canonization, and not least in establishing its procedure.

5.1 From a Local to a Universal Level

The difference between beatification and canonization was explained in detail in the last chapter of Lambertini's first book.[72] Beatification was the confirmation and permission—given by the ordinary or by the Apostolic See—to recognize the veneration of a blessed person at local levels, in provinces, dioceses, or cities, or in the convents of the blessed's monastic order or religious congregation. Canonization was *the* mandatory precept to venerate a saint, whose cult, confirmed by the Apostolic See, had thereby been prescribed for the universal Church. Beatification was an act of permission to venerate in local Churches; canonization was an act of prescription for the universal Church and for global and polycentric Catholicism. With the first act, a cult was permitted locally, with the second not only was a cult permitted universally, but canonization was a definitive ruling ordering the cult of the saint at a universal level. The transfer from the local to the universal and global levels was the result of the Roman procedure of canonization.

inimici del negozio, e di chi non li ha chiamati. Vi è poi un genere di cardinali che o chiamati, o non chiamati, hanno l'onore di non capire il negozio, di cui si tratta," in *Lettere di Benedetto XIV*, vol. II, 375. On Lambertini's awareness of the omnipresent logic of patronage, see the comment in the letter to de Tencin from Rome, August 15, 1753: "Il numero dei prelati è esorbitante, arrivando ormai quasi ai duegento, e le cose, che possono vacare, dando tutto il giorno immaginabile, non possono arrivar a trenta." Pretensions went beyond all norms: "tutti vorrebbero stare in Roma, e nessuno vorrebbe uscirne; ed i Vescovadi, che una volta si davano per provista a qualche cardinale e per uscita onorata a qualche prelato, oggi si ricusano col pretesto di mancanza di vocazione; o se qualcheduno gli prende, a capo a quattro giorni li rinunzia pel motivo del clima molesto, col riservarsi una pesante pensione. I Papi che o per un verso o per un altro mantenevano il nipotismo, erano liberi da tanti guaj, dando tutto ai parenti, ed ai dipendenti da essi con tutta pace, essendo la Corte accostumata a bere simili calici; ma il Papa, che non ha quella bella prerogativa, è un signum ad sagittam, ed è continuamente saettato dai pretendenti, e loro protettori." Ibid., 72.

72 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXXIX, nos. 1–14, 810–814.

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5.2 From Moral Certainty to Infallible Judgment

Although the act of beatification did not fall under papal infallibility, canonization was an infallible act.[73] The bishops' declaration of beatification had never been considered infallible in the Church, for one thing because it is historically certain that some bishops were wrong. An equivalent beatification, enacted by popes, was not an infallible judgment, nor was it a judgment of faith. Beatification was a provisional permission enacting a preliminary inquiry on the fame of holiness and its antiquity: it was never considered infallible. Formal beatification was more important than equipollent beatification: even if it was not infallible, the affirmation that popes might be mistaken over beatification was judged "temerarious." The participation of cardinals, bishops, and curial officials was not ceremonial but touched on the substance of the judgment. Nevertheless, formal apostolic beatification was not an infallible act.

In summarizing his arguments, Lambertini concluded his description of the Roman procedure with a discussion of papal infallibility in defining the saints. In canonization, the formula used by the Roman Pontiff expressly hearkens back to the Pope's infallible judgment: "Decernimus ac definimus, talem esse Sanctum, ac Sanctorum catalogo adscribendum." The case of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was presented as an example of a papal inclination shared by the common *sensus fidelium* that was not as certain as might be a "certainty of faith." Canonization was a definitive judgment of holiness; beatification was a judgment of holiness based on moral certainty.[74] The infallible inscription of the saint in the catalogue of the universal Church was admitted by Saint Thomas of Aquinas and his disciples, by Duns Scotus and his disciples, and by the Neoteric theologians.[75] On the theological level, discussion was brought to an end with a lapidary expression.[76]

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73 DSD, Liber I/2, caput XLII, no. 1, 89: "certum esse de fide, summum Pontificem errare non posse in Canonizatione, transiens postea ad Beatificationem, et animadvertens, in ea non contineri definitivam sententiam, sicuti continetur in Canonizatione."

74 The infallibility of the papal judgment on canonization is the object of the DSD's Liber I/2, caput XLIII, nos. 1–14, 114–132: "De ecclesiastico iudicio, quod interponitur in sanctorum canonizationem, utrum sit *infallibile*" (italics in the original).

75 The Neoteric theologians were Roberto Bellarmino and Lamindo Pritanio (Ludovico Antonio Muratori). Pritanio, *De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio […]*, lib. I, cap. 17, was quoted by Lamberti in DSD, Liber I/2, caput XLIII, no. 8: "Sed tamen ritus iste ab Apostolica Sede eo nunc peragitur accurate diligentique studio, ut pie credendum sit, nullum ea in re (hoc est in Canonizatione) errori locum fuisse, aut deinceps futurum."

76 After the analytic presentation of the authors discussing the infallibility of papal canonization, Benedict XIV stigmatized the refusal of canonization as near heresy: DSD, Liber I/2, caput XLV, no. 28, 186: "si non haereticum, temerarium tamen, scandalum toti Ecclesiae afferentem, in Sanctos iniuriosum, faventem Haereticis negantibus auctoritatem Ecclesiae in Canonizatione Sanctorum, sapientem haeresim, utpote viam sternentem Infidelibus ad irridendum Fideles, assertorem erroneae propositionis, et gravissimis poenis obnoxium dicemus eum, qui auderet asserere, Pontificem in hac, aut illa Canonizatione

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The reasons presented as the basis of the Pope's infallible judgment in matters of canonization were: first, the Church could not give the wrong answer on the holiness of a death, induced into mistakes by the Pope; second, the judgment of the Pope inspired by the Holy Spirit was infallible; third, the cult of the saints was almost a profession of faith in the saint's glory. Papal infallibility in canonizations was affirmed with three stages of reasoning: rational reasons based on the carefulness and length of the process; reasons deduced from authority; and finally, reasons derived from the facts themselves, therefore of a historical order.[77] Among the rational reasons was the argument that holiness was not assessable during life, but could be deduced after death from the quality and quantity of miracles God operated through the blessed's mediation. The juridical procedure was interconnected with multidisciplinary approaches. In the final phase, the juridical procedure opened itself to divine intervention, with a charismatic turning point: the Holy Spirit prevented the Supreme Pontiff from making mistakes and the judgment of canonization was ultimately founded on the Holy Spirit's assistance rather than on human witness. The prayers directed to God by the Pope for obtaining infallible judgment were a sort of protection and defense safeguarding the judgment from possible error and instruments for obtaining infallibility. Errors were excluded through the long, painstaking procedure; infallibility in judgment was reached thanks to prescribed moments of silence and prayer during which popes and also cardinals sought out God's help. Infallibility was solidly argued for.[78]

5.3 The Juridical Procedure and Ceremonial Materially Manifested the Apostolic See's Infallibility and Catholicism's Modernity

The juridical procedure was based on three stages of examinations and a three-stage voting system, repeated two or three times for virtues, miracles, and martyrdom in both beatification and canonization. Here the ceremonial represented a liturgical translation of the bureaucratic procedure. The entire curial hierarchy and ecclesiastical hierarchy were asked to express a final judgment, where eventual dissension had to be settled—reaching a unanimous consensus. The ceremonial, in particular, expressed the unanimous accord between the various orders of the ecclesiastical hierarchy: three subjects had the duty and were asked to 'take the floor' during the liturgical moment, a consistory lawyer, a cardinal, and the Pope himself. At its three hierarchical levels,

errasse, huncque, aut illum Sanctum ab eo canonizatum non esse cultu duliae colendum: quemadmodum assentiuntur etiam illi, qui docent, de Fide non esse, Papam esse infallibilem in Canonizatione Sanctorum, nec de Fide esse, hunc, aut illum Canonizatum esse Sanctum."

77 DSD, Liber I/2, caput XLIV, nos. 1–21, 133–167.

78 Cf. Maria Teresa Fattori, "'… sedotti dal modo, che teniamo nell'esporre gli affari': L'argomentazione nel *De Synodo dioecesana*," in *Storia, medicina*, 209–246.

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the bureaucratic machine spoke publicly.[79] Speaking up, "*la prise de parole*," as Pierre Bourdieu said, was never a neutral act: belonging to the Roman machine, three types of officials were in charge of making public speeches in praise of the blessed and narrating the actions performed by the saint, the miracles God had worked thanks to the saint's intercession. The public manifestation of internal dissent was also part of that public performance, where doubts, differences, and dissensions—instruments for seeking the truth—had to be settled in the final stage. The decision-making process of canonization established the Roman institution as the ultimate source of recognition of holiness in the universal Church.[80] The fifteen images dedicated to the "Theatri Prospectus" and its display, its "Apparatus," manifested the unutterable.

When Lambertini edited the *Thesaurus resolutionum Sacri congregationis concilii*, he officially made public sentences and solutions of the Congregation of the Council, until then not publicly known (or whenever someone had tried to edit them the book was placed on the Index).[81] Prospero Fagnani's *Commentaria in secundum librum Decretalium* presented several decrees of the Congregation of the Council,[82] in particular files, glosses, and dossiers produced by Cardinal Antonio Carafa (Prefect of the Congregation from 1586 to 1591). The *Commentaria*'s first edition was published in 1661, by Fagnani (1588–1678), who had been Secretary of the Congregation of the Council from 1613 to 1625, and had fifty years' worth of experience as secretary of five other curial congregations as well as member of eleven. Only in the seventeenth century were the archives of the Congregation of the Councils organized for internal use, helping functionaries find the needed cases. Lambertini, too, filed the Congregation's archives and edited sentences and solutions of the most important bureaucratic institutions receiving and

79 DSD, Liber I/1, caput XXXV, nos. 1–18, 693–701. Before Urban VIII's decrees, the lawyers invented criminal causes and discussed them in the final public consistory. After the reform, that moment was spent in the solemn description and praise of the saint. Against the speech of the lawyers, the Promoter of the Faith issued a solemn protest. The speeches covered an empty moment during the public consistory and were revised by the Secretary of the Congregation.

80 Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire: L'Économie des échanges linguistiques* (Paris: Fayard, 1982); Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes: Constitutional History and the Symbolic Language of the Holy Roman Empire*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 1–14.

81 *Thesaurus resolutionum Sacrae Congregationis Concilii […]*, vols. I–III (Urbino: Sumptibus Hieronymi Mainardi, 1739). On April 27, 1621, Gregory XV approved placing Agostinho Barbosa's *Remissiones doctorum ad contractus, vltimas voluntates, et delicta spectantes […]* (Vlyssipone: Ex officina Petri Craesbeeck, 1618) on the Index, for the Portuguese had commented on the Congregation's decisions, BUB, Ms. 534, vol. I.

82 Cf. Prosperi Fagnani, *Commentaria in primum librum decretalium: Cum disceptatione de grangiis quae in aliis editionibus desiderabatur; ac ipso textu suis loci apte disposito* (Venice: Ex Typographia Balleoniana, 1796); Diego Quaglioni, "Fagnani Boni, Prospero," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 44 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1994), 187–189; BUB, Ms. 542/I, "Opus In Sacrum Concilium Tridentinum A Sessione Prima Usque ad XXIV Tomus Primus, Authore Prospero Fagnani"; ibid., Ms. 509/I, ff. 18r-v.

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interpreting the Council of Trent. In 1734, with *De Servorum Dei*, Lambertini made the decision-making process of a Roman congregation public for the first time in Curia history. In the matter of holiness, Benedict XIV impacted the public discussion, intending to improve the reputation of the Church in a modernizing world. He did likewise in reforming the Index and censorship's procedure and public health, and transforming the public dissection from a form of postmortem punishment into the modern practice of body donation.[83] Procedural models and sources of normative decision-making were made public. The Church's procedural modernity was demonstrated through a principle of transparency. Canonizations played their role.

5.4 A Progressive Centralization from 1588 to 1743

While having different roles, all the officials and parts of the Roman saint-making machine were called upon to place themselves exclusively in the service of truth. The guarantee of the whole process consisted of maturity, effort, engagement, and the time expended in the beatification and canonization processes.[84] The Catholic-Roman hierarchy was present and represented on both procedural and liturgical levels. Time and care ("postquam tanta maturitate") produced a moral certainty in the final decision, and moral certainty was the basis of the infallibility of the papal judgment. A direct consequence of the described procedure was infallibility. Asserting papal authority against the possibility of making a mistake in the declaration of holiness required a personal papal presence in the process. Everyone had to be able to *see* the charismatic presence of the papal majesty. This was made possible thanks to the separation and physical distancing of the person of the Pope and the papal residence, as studied by Antonio Menniti Ippolito: the relocation of the primary papal residence to the Quirinal Palace, prepared for and occurring in the seventeenth century, physically separated popes from the main site of the cardinal bureaucracy in the city.[85] That separation is well represented metaphorically by the procedures' two parts, the formalized bureaucratic procedure and God's enlightened or charismatic part.[86]

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83 Cf. Patrizia Delpiano, "La riorganizzazione della censura libraria," in *Storia, medicina*, 109–124; Hubert Wolf and Bernward Schmidt, *Benedikt XIV und die Reform des Buchzensurverfahrens: Zur Geschichte und Rezeption von* "Sollicita ac provida" (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011); Messbarger, "Popes, the Body, Medicine."

84 In an interesting parallel, Lambertini characterized donating cadavers for public dissection purposes as a "heroic act of Christian charity" in the service of medical education and public health: "Ex quibus omnibus unusquisque facie deprehendere poterit, quanta maturitate, quanto studio, quanto labore, quanti temporis impendio omnia examinarent." Quoted ibid.

85 Cf. Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *I Papi al Quirinale: Il sovrano pontefice e la scelta di una residenza* (Rome: Viella, 2004), 155–159.

86 This point has been underlined by Emich, "*Roma locuta*," 639.

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Fig. 1 Raphael Sanzio, Carving of the *Christ's Charge to Peter*, preceding the publication of Benedict XIV's first constitution *Laetiora Apostolicae Servitutis* (*Magnum Bullarium Romanum* […], tomus I [Rome: Typis S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 1746], 1).

In the *longue durée*, from the foundation of the Congregation of Rites in 1588 to the last reforms decided upon by Benedict XIV in 1743, a progressive centralization and monarchization of the entire procedure is visible: from General Councils to the Congregation of Rites, from the Cardinals of the Congregation to the person of the Pope, we find points of convergence between both charismatic and bureaucratic responsibility in the process and its final decisions. Both on the level of decision-making and the appointment of officials, the Pope's role increased in the 150 years that passed between the Sistine reform of the Curia and Lambertini's time. The same might be said of the Pope's personal presence and active performance at the apical points of the ceremonial. It is also true that this monarchical centralization was paralleled with more modern and meritocratic forms of selection, such as the recruitment of lawyers for the Congregation. The center of the canonization procedure was a chosen person—elected by votes of the members of the sacred colleges: cardinals were subject to multiple converging and conflicting pressures, such as those characterizing the instabilities and transformations of papal elections; for that reason the procedures of papal elections were reformed,

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formally opening them to God's intervention (Fig. 1).[87] That same chosen person, elected by a procedure open to the Holy Spirit's intervention, should be able to open himself to the mystery and make decisions as to the canonization of saints.

The entire procedure of canonization was placed under the pressure of an enormous paradox: God was the only source of Christian holiness, but the Church was responsible for its concrete definition. God spoke through miracles; the Church spoke through its procedures. How could the two horns of the dilemma possibly be reconciled? The answer is to be found in the Roman saint-making machine.

87 Cf. ibid., 640. In papal elections, various factions acted expeditiously, persuaded that they were acting in God's name: I recall here that another nickname of the *Squadrone Volante* was "God's faction"; that part of the Sacred College successfully attempted to influence the election of two successive popes: Fabio Chigi in 1655 and Giulio Rospigliosi in 1667. The *Squadrone* attempted to fortify papal authority against interference from the Catholic monarchies, cf. Gianvittorio Signorotto, "The *Squadrone Volante*: 'Independent' Cardinals in European Politics in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 177–211, 186.

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Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux

How Local Was a Local Saint? How Global Was a Regional Saint?

Contrasted Cases of *Recognitio Cultus* in a (Large) Central European Space in Early Modern Times

1. Introduction

A saint canonized according to the canonical norms of the early modern period had their cult decreed *de praecepto*, that is to say, compulsory across the Catholic world. They were a universal saint, albeit only in principle, for temporal powers may have limited the saint's public cult. Let us take as an example the Habsburg territories, those under the direct rule of Vienna and the Spanish—then Austrian—Netherlands. By withholding their *placetum regium*, the sovereign could suspend the publication and thus the implementation of papal bulls, including those that concerned liturgical feasts and canonizations. This is well known for the reigns of Maria Theresa (1740–1780) and Joseph II (1780–1790), but it had already been the case under Ferdinand III (1637–1657).[1] Moreover, differences in hierarchizing festivals, that is to say, differences in the liturgical ranking granted to a saint, were widespread. Their status varied depending on diocese, church, and religious order. The same "Servant of God" might well have a proper office in one country, diocese, or locality, with a range of prayers, hymns, and readings, according to the context, while elsewhere have nothing but the prayers of the Common of Confessor-Bishops or non-Bishops, the Common of Virgins, the Common of Martyrs, and so forth.

There was, however, a second group of Servants of God: those of saintly reputation who had not been formally canonized. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many types of recognition of local worship were requested for them of the Congregation of Rites, which had been created in 1588. In these cases, it was necessary to prove that

1 Hans Hollerweger, *Die Reform des Gottesdienstes zur Zeit des Josephinismus in Österreich* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1976), 103, 494–511; Leopold Willaert, *Le Placet royal dans les anciens Pays-Bas* (Namur: J. Vrin, 1955); Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux, "Reconstructing the Catholic Church and Restituting the Power of the Sovereign: The Clergy in the Composite Monarchy of the Habsburgs during the Seventeenth Century," *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques* 22, no. 2 (2021), https://doi.org/10.4000/acrh.12201 (last accessed December 17, 2023); Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux, "Liturgical Books after the Council of Trent: Implementation, Innovation and the Formation of Local Tradition in the Habsburgs Lands," in *Print Culture at the Crossroads: The Book and Central Europe*, ed. Elizabeth Dillenburg, Howard Louthan, and Drew B. Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 105–124.

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the personage reputed a holy protector had been venerated since "time immemorial." Should that be the case, such a "Servant of God" was then considered "Blessed," enjoying the equivalence of beatification. If the "proof" were judged insufficient, the request was likely to be rejected.[2] Many of these attempts can be read as encounters with the norms edicted by the papacy, especially since the decrees of Urban VIII, promulgated between 1625 and 1642. These encounters were less conflicts than circumventions, playing out as a sort of learned game of the clerks involved in the trial. These clerks sometimes interpreted the rules for a local cult in such a way as to accept the arguments made by the local party. At other times they adopted the opposite jurisprudence and rejected them. In 1714, Prospero Lambertini, the future Pope Benedict xiv, who held the title of Promoter of the Faith and thus acted as the *advocatus diaboli*, or the so-called Devil's Advocate for the Congregation of Rites for many years, admitted that he could not find a universal principle underlying the decisions made on individual excepted cases (*casus excepti*).[3] Yet it is in this very category of *casus excepti* that the majority of requests for the recognition of cults may be classified in all the Catholic world, and most certainly in Central Europe.[4] Thus, with some exceptions, local *casus excepti* will be the main topic of this chapter.

Alongside these trials for the recognition of cults *per viam cultus*—whether abandoned or completed—others, also in the form of requests to the Congregation of Rites, might concern only one liturgical point. Despite the existence of a double documentary base, it is difficult to grasp the reality of the uninterrupted existence of local cults. A local actor's request for the recognition or for an extension of a cult to the Congregation of Rites did not necessarily point to a massive social or devotional base for the cult at the time of the petition, even though the festival might have already been in the local liturgical calendar. The evidence offered often concerned discontinuous temporalities. Even more difficult to judge was the diffusion of the name or the veneration of a holy but not officially canonized personage elsewhere than in the precise place from which a request originated. Saints, blessed, and Servants of God did indeed circulate: they did so first of all through their relics, which are parts of their bodies, clothes, objects they touched, or rooms that they allegedly inhabited. Saints also traveled through the written

2 On the steps of the procedures for canonization and the recognition of cults, see Simon Ditchfield, "Coping with the 'Beati Moderni': Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ite inflammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog and Patrick Goujon (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), 413–440.

3 Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2002), 355. See also Prospero Lambertini, *De Servorum Dei beatificatione et de Beatorum canonizatione,* 3rd ed. (Rome: Nicolaus Palearini and Marcus Palearini, 1749), vol. IV, part III–IV.

4 Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62; Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379–380.

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word, through the spread of hagiographical texts or the local adoption of readings in the liturgical hours. In combining the local and the universal, the local and the global, we start to get a sense of the multiple forms of what was subsumed under the moniker "Catholic sainthood" in the early modern period.

The aim of this chapter is to draw attention to the plurality of the category of local sainthood, especially in the composite monarchy of the Austrian Habsburgs, and, more precisely, in an area extending from Poland to the Adriatic and the Ottoman border, and sometimes Italy and the Spanish world, too. Among the collection of trials for the canonization and recognition of cults kept in France's National Library in Paris, I have found four lesser-known cases, which interrogate the porosity of the category of "local" or, on the contrary, its solidity.[5] These are the cases of Francesco Gonzaga (1546–1620), the Good Thief, Agostino Gazotto (1260?–1323), and Victorinus of Pettau (250–304). For good measure, I have added a fifth case, that of Hemma of Gurk (995?–1045?). Complements to these sources come from the *Acta Sanctorum*, seventeenth-century Habsburg correspondence with Rome and some other documents in Rome, Budapest, Vienna, and Prague. The few examples presented below reveal a richly nuanced picture, and the coexistence of highly varied situations.

2. The Scale of the Realms versus the Primacy of the Sovereign: Dynastic Saints or "Collective" Saints?

Many officially "universal" saints such as the Early Church saints, and the first bishops of dioceses, as well as many saints canonized in the early modern period, remained attached to a precise locality. The new Roman Martyrology printed in 1583 and all its revised editions are sufficient proof of the phenomenon. For the non-canonized blessed, this attachment was often ingrained in their patronage, or through a particular rank or place in local liturgical calendars, or else through any other form of particular devotion. They were thus adopted locally. This is the first modality of the phenomenon of a "local saint" shared by other Catholic Christians, which in turn divides into multiple varieties. Another modality derives from the fact that some saints perceived as representatives of a country or region have, first of all, been dynastic saints, often belonging to a sovereign's lineage. The case of Saint Louis in France in the seventeenth century epitomizes the

5 The trials for canonizations and recognition of cults taken from Rome in 1809 by Napoleon's armies and kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) in Paris have been inventoried by Wilhelm Schamoni, *Inventarium processuum beatificationis et canonizationis Bibliothecae nationalis Parisiensis provenientium ex Archivis S. Rituum Congregationis typis mandatorum inter annos 1662–1809* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1983). See also Maria Pia Donato, *Les Archives du monde: Quand Napoléon confisqua l'histoire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2020). Since this paper was written during the COVID pandemic, I was unable to travel to Rome to consult the collection of these trials in the Vatican.

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matter.[6] This was also partially true for Saint Leopold with regard to the Habsburgs of Vienna. His cult, which had long remained limited to the abbey of Klosterneuburg, was promoted by Emperor Maximilian I (1486–1519), who developed it from the feasts of his canonization, which had been celebrated from the end of the fifteenth century onward. The cult saw a major upsurge, both dynastic and local, in Lower Austria and, symbolically, in the Archduchy of Austria under the Emperor Leopold I (1658–1705). Yet, if we set aside the outsized role given to the Virgin Mary, the only real dynastic saint of the two branches of the Habsburgs in the seventeenth century was Saint Joseph. The two branches spread the official cult of this saint across all their lands. The sovereigns of Vienna imposed his patronage upon all the territories of their monarchy, starting with Bohemia in 1654. Saint Joseph may have been a universal, regional, and local saint, but for the Habsburgs, he was chiefly a dynastic saint. He remained unaffected by Maria Theresa's policy of reducing festivals from 1753 onwards. Even when in 1770–1771 she demanded that her lands be content with one sole patron, per diocese and per kingdom, she urged that Saint Joseph stay the Patron Protector of the House of Austria and the Austrian Lands.[7] Yet from medieval times, other "founding" dukes and kings enjoyed collective and territorial support in the lands of the Habsburg composite monarchy, primarily from the nobility and the first Hungarian and Bohemian dynasties. Saints Stephen and Ladislas of Hungary, as well as Saint Wenceslas of Bohemia, stand out in this regard. As early as the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries in Central Europe, these three sovereigns represented, each in his own context, both the collectivity and symbolic continuity of the state.[8] All three were included in the Roman Martyrology of 1584 and during the seventeenth century there was a decisive local revival of their liturgical cults. In particular, Stephen in 1687 and Wenceslas in 1729 benefited from a decree of equipollent canonization, which made them *de*

6 Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996); M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008); Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), 80, 126–164; Alain Boureau, "Les Enseignements absolutistes de saint Louis, 1610–1630," in *La Monarchie absolutiste et l'histoire en France: Théories du pouvoir, propagandes monarchiques et mythologies nationales*, ed. Chantal Grell and François Laplanche (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1987), 79–98; Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Le Mythe de saint Denis entre Renaissance et Révolution* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2007), 423; Sean Heath, *Sacral Kinship in Bourbon France: The Cult of Saint Louis, 1589–1830* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021).

7 Kerstin Schmal, *Die Pietas Maria Theresias in Spannungsfeld von Barock und Aufklärung: Religiöse Praxis und Sendungsbewußtsein gegenüber Familie, Untertanen und Dynastie* (Bern: Peter Lang Verlag, 2001), 161–168; Hollerweger, *Die Reform*, 70–74.

8 For the Middle Ages, there are many studies on the saint kings Stephen and Ladislas of Hungary and the saint duke Wenceslas of Bohemia. See, for example, Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Petr Kubín, ed., *Svatý Václav: Na památku 1100. výročí narození knížete Václava svatého / Saint Wenceslas: On the 1100th Anniversary of the Birth of Duke Wenceslas the Saint* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 2010); Stefan Samerski, *Wenzel: Protagonist der böhmischen Erinnerungskultur* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2018).

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praecepto (compulsory) saints with a cult recognized across all Christendom. They remained, however, first and foremost celebrated and honored in the dioceses close to their countries of origin.[9]

Nevertheless, the very notion of "collective" saints ought to be clarified at this point. Indeed, who are those who request the elevation of a saint's liturgical ranking, a canonization, or the recognition of cult? Who can really speak on behalf of a community, a province, a diocese, or a country in early modern times? Backers were always needed. They were bishops, abbots, or superiors of religious orders, but also aristocrats and sovereigns. It was even a requirement of the papacy, and this was also quite usual before the 1588 reforms of the Roman Curia. However, Urban VIII's decrees, starting with the bull *Coelestis Ierusalem Cives* (1634), made the submission of a monarch's "postulatory letter" mandatory to support the cause of a holy personage having lived or acted in their territories. This means that from 1634 onwards, all kings and sovereigns had to intervene in the process of local saint-making, but it does not necessary reflect either their personal preferences or the deepness of their commitment. However, Polish magnates intervened individually and massively compared to the rest of Europe to advocate for a canonization or a recognition of cult.[10] In this case, demands were often collective, in the sense that they associated the king with the greatest magnates and senators, through political and ceremonial acts. The trial for the recognition of the cult of Władisław of Gnielniów (1440–1505), initiated in 1627 and re-opened in 1743, is a good illustration of this. His public cult was approved by the diet of the kingdom as early as 1597. Together with King Sigismond Wasa, that same year the diet organized the translation of Władisław's body to Warsaw with great pomp and circumstance, as well as voted on the construction of a sumptuous tomb where the faithful were said to have soon poured in.[11]

The situation appears much more contrasted and difficult to grasp in the Habsburg monarchy, which was polycentric but governed by an emperor of the House of Austria. There, the figure of the sovereign was more prominent in matters of sanctity. Nevertheless, a distinction between motivations of dynastic prestige ought to be made: they were either linked to family blood ties, or to enhancement of the imperial majesty, or reflecting the choice of festivals that the House of Habsburg would then impose on its subjects across its territories. In his Austrian patrimonial lands, in Hungary, Bohemia, and Croatia, the emperor reigned as king, archduke, duke, etc. Austrian, Bohemian, or Hungarian aristocrats' interventions were much less visible than the bishops' and other

9 About these ten (in fact, eleven) recognized cases of Equipollent Canonization, see Prospero Lambertini, *De Servorum Dei beatificatione et de Beatorum canonizatione*, 1st ed. (Bologna: Formis Longhi, 1734), vol. I, ch. 43, 342–373.

10 The collections of decrees of the Congregation of Rites as well as letters sent to the popes, held in Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV), Segreteria di Stato, Principi, Ad Principes, testify to this fact.

11 BNF, H–1156, fasc. 5090–5096.

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prelates' in the decrees or *positiones* of the Congregation of Rites. Yet we can sometimes uncover high-ranking figures' letters to the popes. The same records of the Congregation of Rites contain few traces of their interventions for saints of Bohemia, Hungary, and Austria. There is the 1625 exception of three principal patron saints, Stephen of Hungary, Wenceslas of Bohemia, and Adalbert of Prague, supported by requests from the emperor, the archbishops of Prague and Esztergom, and the "catholic" estates of the two kingdoms. Other traces exist in the letters of nuncios for the same patron saints, which can be found up until 1632. We also know through the correspondence of an archbishop of Prague, Sobek of Bilenberg, that Leopold I intervened in 1669 to include Wenceslas into the Roman Breviary. There is, too, a letter from the Cardinal Pio di Savoia requesting on behalf of Leopold I the extension of the proper office of Saint Stephen "in memory of the victory of Buda over the Turks" in 1686.[12] To the extent that they are accessible, the archives of the Congregation of Rites, however, do not appear to bear any trace of this. Charles VI, like the kings and queens of Poland, indeed firmly endorsed the cause of a purely local saint in Bohemia, John of Nepomuk, and then endorsed that cult in all his lands both before and when he became a universal saint with his 1722 beatification and his 1729 canonization. The cult of Saint John of Nepomuk, thanks to the Habsburgs' steadfast endorsement, quickly grew beyond the limits of the Habsburg monarchy to reach Poland, then the whole of Europe and Latin America.[13]

All in all, however, insofar as they are accessible, the archives of the Congregation of Rites and the Habsburg correspondence with Rome do not appear to bear many traces of the Emperors' interventions concerning local saints of their own territories. This relative restraint in publicly demonstrating interest for the most visible patron saints of their kingdoms outside of those kingdoms, except when it was profitable to weaponize their heritage symbolically and politically, makes other requests for the support of saints mentioned in letters between the Habsburgs and Rome even more interesting.[14]

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12 For Saint Wenceslas, see Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux, "L'Honneur et le 'noviciat' du saint Patron de la Bohême: Les deux faces d'une reconnaissance de culte," in *Dévotion et légitimation: Patronages sacrés dans l'Europe des Habsbourg*, ed. Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2016), 105–126. For Saint Stephen, King of Hungary, see Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Vienna, Staatsabteilungen, Rom Korrespondenz, box 65, fol. 119r.

13 Yves Lasfargues, "Le culte mondial de saint Jean Népomucène aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles. Histoire, mythe et spiritualité" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis., Université de Paris, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines, 1965); Sara Cabibbo, "Un nouveau culte dans l'Italie des Habsbourg: Saint Jean Népomucène," in *Dévotion et légitimation: Patronages sacrés dans l'Europe des Habsbourg*, ed. Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2016), 127–146. The beatification and canonization trials of John of Nepomuk can be found in the Canonization Collection of France's National Library: BNF, H–1076, fasc. 4332–4335 and BNF, H–1080, fasc. 4362–4370.

14 The symbolic heritage of Saint Stephen of Hungary, the founding king, included the title of "Apostolic king" and the claim to absolute royal patronage of the Church of Hungary. The popes denied this title to the Habsburg sovereigns until its recognition under the Empress Maria Theresa. After that and with the rediscovery of the Holy Dexter of Saint Stephen of Hungary in 1771 that was transferred to Buda, this

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The most numerous of these requests concerned the Virgin and then Saint Joseph, Jesuit saints, and a few other regulars that were often founders of the orders which they introduced or strongly supported in their own lands.[15] Linked to the imperial dignity are requests on behalf of the Emperor Saint Henry and his wife Saint Cunigunda. Otherwise, the requests show a particular interest for personages who acted in Trentino-South Tyrol, Switzerland, with the Grisons, or Alsace, namely, territories on the margins of or bordering their countries and possessions strictly speaking, but in areas which used to be the family's cradle in early medieval times. For example, in 1645 Ferdinand III advocated the canonization of Fidelis of Sigmaringen to no avail, and in 1646 requested opening the canonization trial of Nicholas of Flüe.[16] Yet again, on July 3, 1660, Leopold I intervened in order to open the canonization trial of Bernardine of Feltre, who was strongly associated with anti-Judaism for his role in the affair of the alleged ritual murder of "Simonino" or Simon of Trent at the end of the fifteenth century.[17]

On the other hand, the many endorsements by Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III—in their case mostly in vain—and later again by Leopold I and Charles VI for the cause of Aloysius Gonzaga (beatified in 1605; canonized in 1726) may be considered to be acts in support of a dynastic saint. This dynastic sainthood can be explained by the blood kinship, intensified in the course of the seventeenth century, between the Habsburgs and the House of the Gonzagas of Mantua. The latter family was that of both the second wife of Ferdinand II and the third wife of Ferdinand III. Moreover, the correspondence between Ferdinand III with Rome contains the request to canonize another, far less famous Gonzaga, Annibale, known also as Francesco once he entered the Observant Franciscans.[18] The Minister General of his religious order from 1567, and cardinal and bishop of Mantua from 1593 to his death in 1620, Francesco Gonzaga was closely related to Duke Vincenzo I (who reigned between 1587 and 1612), father of Empress Eleonora, the second wife of Emperor Ferdinand II.[19] He reformed the constitutions of the diocese of Mantua in 1605, alongside Duke Vincenzo. Francesco Gonzaga was the object of a first

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relic obtained from the pope a new festival celebrated in all the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy: the Translation of the Dexter of Saint Stephen.

15 Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux, "Patronage, Politics and Devotion: The Habsburgs of Central Europe and Jesuit Saints," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9 (2022): 53–75.

16 On the latter, see Daniel Sidler's contribution to this volume.

17 HHStA, Staatsabteilungen, Rom Korrespondenz, box 13, fol. 206 rv (Bernardine of Feltre); box 55, fol. 138 (Fidelis of Sigmaringen); box 56, fol. 96 (Nicholas of Flüe). On Nicholas of Flüe, see Daniel Sidler's contribution to this volume.

18 HHStA, Staatsabteilungen, Rom Korrespondenz, box 13, fol. 53 (letter to Cardinal Frederick of Hesse-Darmstadt).

19 Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra, sive de episcopis Italiae*, 2nd ed. (Venice: Sebastianus Coletus, 1727), vol. 1, 874–875. See also Antonio Cairoli, "Venerabile Francesco Gonzaga. Vescovo di Mantova," in *Enciclopedia dei Santi,* http://www.santiebeati.it/dettaglio/90995 (last accessed December 17, 2023). Francesco Gonzaga has been beatified, and his canonization trial, recently reopened, is presently underway.

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attempt at opening a canonization trial in 1627, repeated in 1662, to no avail. In 1662, the trial faltered, it seems, over diverging understandings of the limits of a sovereign's public right to participate in the constitutions regulating a diocese.[20] In the course of the events, no one seems to have recalled the intervention of Emperor Ferdinand III. Eventually, with the exception of the imperial support coming from Vienna, the Francesco Gonzaga case remained closely confined to the duchy and diocese of Mantua. Here, the kindred and dynastic demands of a Habsburg sovereign merged with the local interest of a diocese to be bestowed—like Milan with Carlo Borromeo—with a cardinal bishop and canonized religious reformer.[21] Together, they point to the persistence of the debate over the two sources of power.

3. Expansion of Devotions, Extensions of Offices

Liturgical offices and other forms of devotion will be the focus of the following sections, which will dwell on the cases of four Servants of God.

3.1 The Good Thief

Let us start with the Good Thief, a figure that liturgical and canonical norms have difficulty characterizing. He is, however, a universal figure. Indeed, he participated in the Passion and, according to the Gospel of Luke, was the criminal crucified on Christ's right-hand side. The Savior addressed him, saying that because of his faith, the thief would be with him this day in Paradise (Luke 23:43). All other mentions of a "good thief," as well as all the legends about him, are apocryphal, as were the names given him, most often Dima or Dismas. His cult existed both in the Western and the Eastern Churches.[22] Furthermore he was overwhelmingly cited in the Western medieval sermons of the minor orders and the iconography of the Crucifixion in churches.[23] He figures in the Roman Martyrology of 1584 and in its following editions for the date of March 25, but solely as a commemoration in the city of Jerusalem and only under the name of "the Good Thief." Yet, as the short note in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the month of March emphasizes, Cardinal Cesare Baronio (1538–1607), the author of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* and the Roman Martyrology, had almost "ratified" the apocryphal name

20 BNF, H–896, fasc. 2518: *Mantuana Beatificationis, & Canonizationis Servi Dei Francisci Gonzaghae Episcopi Mantuani Ordinis Minorum*.

21 On Carlo Borromeo, see Samuel Weber's chapter in this volume.

22 BNF, H–760, fasc. 1334: *Extensionis officii proprii Boni Latronis. Animadversiones R.P.D. Fidei Promotoris.*

23 Christiane Klapisch, *Le Voleur de paradis: Le Bon Larron dans l'art et la société (XIV^e–XVI^e siècles)* (Paris: Alma, 2015).

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of Dima in a gloss.[24] The first recognition of his cult and a proper office of the Good Thief were then granted in 1587 by Sixtus V for the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy, more commonly known as the Mercedarians.[25] More than a century later, in 1716 the Superior General and all the Consultors of the congregation of the missionary priests of the Pious Workers (*Pii operarii*) of Naples chose him as patron saint. They also requested permission to build a chapel for the use of nobles, which would be dedicated to him in their city church of Saint George. What they wanted, moreover, was to be granted the office and the mass of the Good Thief Dima, approved in 1587, and the same feast day as that of the liturgical calendar of the Mercedarians, April 24. This was to bolster the custom of praying at the Cross and for the "joy" of the people who would thus be encouraged to commit fewer misdeeds. The sessions of the trial then took place between 1718 and 1719. The office of 1587 was revised, and a handwritten note indicates that all the requests of the Congregation of Pious Workers of Naples were granted by Pope Benedict XIII on September 23, 1724, in spite of the objections of the Promoter of the Faith, Prospero Lambertini. Among these objections figured the idea that such a concession would definitively render it impossible, more or less across Christendom, to restrain the multiplication of patron saints of religious orders, and that it sanctioned the unauthorized usage of an office and a mass for the Good Thief, who was neither a true martyr nor a true confessor.[26]

Through the prism of the Roman Martyrology, the cult of the Good Thief concerned Jerusalem; Naples, with the Pious Workers; and the whole Hispanic world, with the Mercedarians. Central Europe would have seemed far away indeed. Yet that region is omnipresent, if invisible, in the requests for extensions of cult and of office. The March note in the *Acta Sanctorum*, citing Jesuit Peter Canisius, had already pointed out that his office was recited in many churches across Germany. Nevertheless, by the end of the seventeenth century at the earliest, the cult of Dismas (and not Dima, as with the two congregations in question) grew not only in Bavaria and Carinthia,[27] but also in the whole of Austria, in Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia. This developed, it seems, without the request for either special confirmation or concession of office. In these lands, Dismas the Good Thief became a key figure of Marian congregations of Jesuits, particularly in Hungary, including present-day Slovakia and Romania—in Transylvania—and Croatia. Take the so-called *Officium Rakoczianum*, a highly popular

24 *Acta Sanctorum Martii […] Tomus III* (Antwerp: Apud Iacobum Meursium, 1668), vol. 1, 543.

25 BNF, H–760, fasc. 1331–1336. See also Lambertini, *De Servorum Dei,* 3rd ed., vol. IV, part II, ch. 12, 651–653.

26 BNF, H–760, fasc. 1336.

27 Edgar Krausen, "Der Kult des heiligen Dismas in Altbayern," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1969): 16–21; Leopold Kretzenbacher, "St. Dismas, der rechte Schächer," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 42 (1951): 119–139; Leopold Kretzenbacher, *Heimat im Volksbarock. Kulturhistorische Wanderungen in den Südostalpenländern* (Klagenfurt: Landesmuseum für Kärnten, 1961), 47–56.

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book of devotion, which circulated from the colleges of Košice (Kassa, Kassau), Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau), Zagreb, and Cluj (Kolozsvár).[28] Dismas can be found among the patron saints with special orations or a votive "little office."[29] There are also editions of this *Officium Rakoczianum* in Vienna, Győr, Buda, and Pest. In the nineteenth century, there are editions in Venice, Augsburg, and Nitra (in today's Slovakia). Moreover, the only two confraternities which ever benefited from a papal confirmation brief were situated in two Habsburg dioceses, Laibach/Ljubljana in 1709 and Zagreb in 1772.[30] A first confraternity, made up solely of nobles, existed in Laibach/Ljubljana in 1688, but this is not the one that received a plenary indulgence in Rome in 1709.[31] In these two confraternities, as in devotional Bavarian booklets, Dismas's cult is associated with that of Saint Joseph, the patron of a good death, and with the suffrages for the dead and the dying.[32] This should come as no surprise, as Dismas supposedly descended with Christ into Limbo and ascended into Heaven with him without passing through Purgatory.

3.2 Agostino Gazotto

The case of Agostino Gazotto illustrates how patronages and offices could travel far from the places or congregations for which they were requested. The argument of the Devil's Advocate latched onto this nomadism, which made it difficult to hinder such dispersion, and his objection should be taken seriously. Furthermore, for the *casus excepti*, the range of possible discrepancies between the trial's conclusions and the pope's final decisions was significant. What is noteworthy in the case we will now focus on is the peregrination of a cult and an office from southern Italy to Zagreb, the capital city of the Kingdom of Croatia, and to Hungary. We will look at a figure who was neither global nor regional but is perhaps better described as "trans-local": the Blessed Agostino

28 *Officium Rakoczianum, sive varia pietatis exercitia cultui divino, magnae matris Mariae, sanctorumque patronorum honori debita*. This booklet had more than eighty Latin editions by the end of the eighteenth century. There were also German editions published in Vienna and Graz and some Hungarian editions printed starting in 1732. On the history of the editions of the *Officium Rakoczianum*, see: Éva Knapp, *Officium Rákóczianum. Az I. Rákóczi Ferencről elnevezett imádságoskönyv története és nyomtatott kiadásai* (Budapest: Borda Antikvárium, 2000); Éva Knapp, "Egy xvii. századi népszerű imádságoskönyv: az Officium Rákóczianum története I," *Magyar könyvzsemle* 113, no. 1 (1997): 149–166; Éva Knapp, "Egy xvii. századi népszerű imádságoskönyv: az Officium Rákóczianum története II," *Magyar könyvzsemle* 113, no. 3 (1997): 282–298.

29 See, for instance, *Officium Rakoczianum* (Zagreb: Johann Michael Sattner, 1737), 224–225.

30 AAV, Segreteria dei Brevi, *Indulgentiae perpetuae*, vol. 6, fol. 477v (a parish in the diocese of Laibach, April 29, 1709) and vol. 9, fol. 263v (diocese of Zagreb, October 3, 1772). This information comes from a collective research project initiated by Jean-Marie Le Gall and Bernard Dompnier, in which the author of this chapter has covered Central Europe and Poland–Lithuania.

31 Klapisch, *Le Voleur*, 329.

32 Krausen, "Der Kult," 18.

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Gazotto, or "of Dalmatia," a fourteenth-century Dominican friar, bishop of Zagreb and then shortly of Lucera in Apulia from 1322 until his death in 1323.[33] Let us trace his steps through the initial part of the printed process of canonization, published in 1699 by the Vatican Typography.[34] I will supplement it with the further steps of the process, which can be found in the Parisian collection of the acts of the Congregation of Rites.[35] Drawing on this documentation, we can comprehend that several attempts for opening a canonization trial were undertaken at least as far back as 1620. Then, the local bishop of Lucera gathered new testimonies in 1687.[36] The outcome of the process, held at the turn of the eighteenth century, did not result in canonization: it failed because the petitioners were never able to chase up a canonization brief allegedly granted by Pope John XXII in the 1320s.[37]

The procedure was resumed in the 1690s. In 1693, the Council of the ecclesiastical province of Benevento, along with Antonin Cloche, General Master of the Order of Preachers, petitioned the Congregation of Rites to open the trial of Agostino Gazotto.[38] The starting point of this affair was a precedence conflict ignited between the local Dominican and Franciscan friars about a rogation procession where statues of the city's patron saints were paraded. The Franciscans denied that Agostino's statue could be featured alongside that of Antony of Padua's effigy, a truly canonized saint, given that the Preacher Agostino, in their opinion, was not.[39] The 1693 request placed by the archbishop of Benevento—who himself was a Dominican—acted along with all his suffragan bishops for Rome to grant an immemorial cult and the performance of an office. It was in Lucera, and specifically in the local Dominican convent, that the tomb of the "Blessed Agostino" lay. The local preachers, as their superior argued, owned the manuscripts of proper office and mass dedicated to their medieval confrère, which had allegedly been granted by Pope John XXII. The bishop of Lucera relied on local custom

33 For a bibliography on Agostino Gazotto, including references to manuscripts and printed sources, see Franjo Šanjek, "Blaženi Augustin Kažotić, Trogiranin (o. 1260–1320). Bio-Bibliografski podaci," *Croatia Christiania Periodica* 3, no. 4 (1979): 133–154. Also see Massimiliano Monaco, *Agostino da Traù: Un domenicano croato vescovo di Lucera* (Lucera: Edizioni Terzo Millennio, 2001), 84.

34 *Sacra Rituum Congregationis Lucerina canonizationis B. Augustini Dalmatae Ordinis Praedicatorum, episcopi Zagrabiensis and demum Lucerini* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1699).

35 BNF, H–915. fasc. 2629, and H–721, fasc. 899–907: *Lucerina canonizationis Beati Augustini Dalmati […]* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1701).

36 *Lucerina Canonizationis B. Augustini Dalmatae […]. Summarium […]* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1699), 1–2.

37 This brief cannot be found either in the Vatican Archives or in the Archives of the Avignon papacy. Šanjek, "Blaženi Augustin Kažotić," 137.

38 BNF, H–721, fasc. 899: Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione Eminentissimo & Reverendissimo D. Cardinali Petrucci Lucerina Canonizationis Beati Augustini Dalmati Ordinis Praedicatorum Episcopis Zagabriensis & demum Lucerinae: Memoriale Pro Signatura Commissionis, & introductionis causae.

39 *Sacra Rituum Congregationis Lucerina canonizationis B. Augustini Dalmatae […]. Summarium* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1699), 4, and BNF, H–721, fasc. 899, 1–2.

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and on an indulgence, granted by Pope Alexander VII in 1666 to anyone visiting Fra Agostino's tomb in the local Dominican convent on his festival day, as evidence that his medieval predecessor fulfilled the prerequisites for being a *casus exceptus* in the sense of Urban VIII's 1628 decree. This point, however, was later rejected by the Promoter of the Faith.

The cause was introduced on June 9, 1696, at the Congregation of Sacred Rites.[40] Then, the continuity of the existence of a local immemorial cult was acknowledged on August 25, 1700, though only for the Preachers' convent of Lucera. This led to the concession of a new office for this convent. But the petitioners were not satisfied. That same year, together with Antonin Cloche, General Master of the Dominicans, they repeatedly demanded the extension of this office and a proper mass to the whole Order of Preachers, to the city of Lucera, to the ecclesiastical province of Benevento, and to the Dalmatian dioceses of Split and Trogir, where Gazotto was born. Meanwhile, in 1695 the bishops of Split and Trogir had already added their own petitions to the requests of the bishop of Lucera and of the archbishop of Benevento.[41] The documentation I was able to consult does not contain the pope's final decision. Nevertheless, the Roman *Bullarium* states that the office and mass in question were effectively granted on April 4, 1702, to the entire Dominican order, the dioceses of Lucera, Trogir, and surprisingly Zagreb, but not Split.[42] In addition, a handwritten decree signed by Cardinal Gaspare Carpegna on August 26, 1702, reads that Antonin Cloche obtained that, in the case of the Order of Preachers, the date of Gazotto's feast be transferred from August 3, the day of his death in Lucera and of the Invention of Saint Stephen the Proto-Martyr in the Roman Breviary, to August 8 in order to avoid a conflict of precedence between the two saints.[43]

Therefore, Clement XI's *indult* did not follow the final recommendations of the Congregation of Rites, which proposed not Zagreb but Split and Trogir for an extension of a proper office and mass. The only petitioner mentioning the support of the bishop of Zagreb was the archbishop of Benevento, Cardinal Vincenzo Maria Orsini, future Pope Benedict XIII (1724–1730), in 1696. He acknowledged the lack of images, reliquaries, or convincing proof of long-lasting devotion in Zagreb but blamed it on the destruction

40 *Lucerina Canonizationis B. Augustini Dalmatae […]. Informatio super dubio ad sententiam reverendissimi episcopi Lucerini tamquae delegate a sacra congrenatione in vim litterarum remissorialium super cultu immemorabili […] & casu except a Decreti fel. Rec. Urbani viii […]* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1699), fol. A3.

41 BNF, H–721, fasc. 907 (*Summarium*) and fasc. 905 (*Summarium additionale*). The *Summarium additionale* also contains another of Cloche's requests sent to Pope Innocent XII, dated August 7, 1695.

42 *Bullarium Romanum seu novissime et accuratissime collectio apostolicarum constitutionum* […] *Vol. x* (Rome: H. Mainardus, 1736), 32–33.

43 BNF, H–915, fasc. 2629. The manuscript decree and indult from the Sacred Congregation of Rites, dated August 26, 1702, are inserted in the canonization trial of Francisco Solano.

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wreaked by the Ottomans.[44] Orsini is said to have sent Gazotto's humeral on October 11, 1692, to the bishop of Zagreb, Aleksandr Ignacij Mikulić (1688–1694), through Cardinal Leopold Kollonich, who was then archbishop of Kalocsa and state minister at the Court of Vienna.[45] Again, Lambertini provides a partial answer to account for this discrepancy in the fourth book of his famous treatise. First, popes had no obligation to follow the advice of the Congregation of Rites. Second, Lambertini discusses the inextricable complexity ruling the granting of an office in excepted cases (*casus excepti*) that culminated in an equivalent beatification (*beatificatio aequipollens*). Among others, he cites Agostino Gazotto's case: it was by grace, not *ex jure*, that his office was expanded beyond the places where his cult was maintained, that is to say, beyond the city of Lucera and its Dominican convent.[46] Political pressures may have been exerted for granting this "grace" to the diocese of Zagreb, which by this time was part of the Hungarian Church. However, excepting Cardinal Kollonich's role in providing relics to the cathedral of Zagreb in the early phase of the trial, I lack any evidence to support this claim at this stage. At any rate, popes had no obligation to follow the advice of the Congregation of Rites.

After the successful request for an extension of cult by Cloche and the above-mentioned bishops, the revised office features at least in the Dominican propers of the Austro-Hungarian Province, for instance in a Viennese edition of 1726.[47] This office can also be found in a book of various offices published in Zagreb in 1785. It does not mention Clement XI's *indult* granted to the diocese and to its cathedral.[48] The date of his festival remains set as August 3, as stated in Clement XI's brief. The office published in Zagreb in 1785 then figures in the first proper of the saints of two new dioceses in Northeast Hungary (in today's Slovakia), the first one created in 1776 in Spiš, and the second erected under Emperor Francis I in 1804, Košice (Kassa, Kaschau). The proper

44 BNF, H–721, fasc. 907, 2. Šanjek, "Blaženi Augustin Kažotić," 137, briefly mentions a continuous devotion to Gazotto in Zagreb but does not document it whatsoever.

45 Lina Slavica Plukavec, "Humeral - naramenik bl. Augustina Kažotića u riznici zagrebačke katedrale," *Tkalčić: Godišnjak Družstva za povjesnicu Zagrebacke nadbiskupije* 1 (1997): 319–369, 325, 350.

46 Lambertini, *De Servorum Dei,* 3rd ed., vol. IV, part II, ch. 3, 449: "Neque quod sciam, ullum adest exemplum concessionis Officii et Missae probata nedum consuetudine immemorabili recitationis Officii et celebrationis Missae, sed etiam usque ad tempus petitionis, praetor exempla duo B. Augustini Dalmatae […] in quibus tamen non defuit gratia, cum concessio fuerit amplior praecedenti observantia, quando ex jure debuisset concessio esse coercita intra limites praecedentia observatione." See also Lambertini, *De Servorum Dei,* 3rd ed., vol. IV, part II, ch. 4, 453.

47 *Officia de novo concessa Pro Universo Ordine Praedicatorum, Et In Austria Celebrari Solita* (Vienna: Schwendimann, 1726).

48 *Officia varia sanctorum quæ diversis in locis vel de præcepto vel speciali indulto sedis apostolicæ recitari debent: ab iis qui ad horas canonicas tenentur ordine disposita iuxta seriem mensium. Ex concessione summorum pontificum* (Zagreb: Trattner, 1785), 134–136.

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of the diocese of Spiš, printed in 1795, refers to Pius vi's indult dated January 15, 1794.[49] The proper of Košice, printed in 1839, contents itself with the last line of the sixth reading of the second nocturn, which underlines what the reader already knows: that the office had been granted to the dioceses of Lucera, Trogir, and Zagreb by Clement XI on April 4, 1702.[50] In this case, we lack any mention of an extended concession to this new Hungarian (now Slovakian) diocese.

Let us now investigate the clues of Gazotto's presence in Hungary. First, the Kingdom of Croatia had been associated with the Kingdom of Hungary since 1102 and the diocese of Zagreb was still part of the Hungarian Church. Let us come back to the trial, which does not contain any letters from a bishop of Zagreb or of some other "Hungarian" diocese. Indeed, the exhibits of the process for the recognition of the cult shed light on the backdrop of the transfer of the festival from Apulia to Croatia and Hungary via Dalmatia. Cardinal Pier Matteo Petrucci (1630–1701), appointed Cardinal Ponent in 1696, synthesized what was known of Agostino Gazotto in the memorandum introducing the cause.[51] It drew on many authors, but mainly on two "Hungarian" hagiographers of the first third of the seventeenth century. One of these was of Italian origin, Sigismondo Ferrari or Ferrarius (1589–1646), himself a Dominican, who wrote a history of the Order's Hungarian Provinces, published in 1637. The other, János Marnavics Tomkó or under his Croatian name, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, 1580–1637), an important Hungarian-Croatian prelate, a canon of Zagreb, and bishop of Bosnia, wrote a *vita* of Agostino that Ferrarius) later copied and summarized.[52] Born in 1260 at Trogir in Dalmatia, and joining the Preachers in Rome, Agostino was bishop of Zagreb from 1303 to 1317, then acted as an important advisor and inquisitor to Pope John XXII in Avignon before he was appointed to Lucera in 1322.[53] He was backed by the House of Anjou, first in its Hungarian branch and then in the Calabrian one, since he had, through a fervent sermon during an assembly of magnates, strongly contributed to the election of Charles Robert of Naples as king of Hungary in 1308.

Let us now examine the two liturgical offices dedicated to his festival. The office granted in 1702 takes up in a striking manner, sometimes almost word for word, the argument of Cardinal Petrucci, himself often very close to Ferrarius and Marnavics

49 *Officia Nova Propria Dioecesis Scepusiensis: Et Alia Quae In Antiquioribus Breviariis Non Reperiuntur* (Košice: Ellinger, 1795), 253–257.

50 *Officia nova propria dioecesis Cassoviensis* (Košice: Ellinger, 1829), 363–366.

51 BNF, H–721, fasc. 899.

52 F. Sigismundus Ferrarius, "Appendix: Vita B. Augustini Episcopi Zagrabiensis, & Lucerini, à Dn. Episcopo Joanne Tomco conscripta, & a F. Sigismondo Ferrarrio recognita, & publicata," in F. Sigismundus Ferrarius, *De rebus ungaricae provinciae ordinis praedicatorum partibus quatuor, et octo libris distributi commentarii* (Vienna: Matthaeus Formica, 1637), 115–142.

53 Šanjek, "Blaženi Augustin Kažotić," 135–136.

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Tomkó. Thus, it is the canonization trial, mainly based on the writings of two contemporary "historians," that gives the content of the three readings of his second nocturn. The office revised at the turn of the eighteenth century is very different from that which had already been granted to Lucera by Pope John XXII in 1325 from the petition of the duke of Calabria, an Angevin as well, who had introduced Fra Agostino's cause immediately after his death. This medieval office, which Cardinal Petrucci had in his hands—also reprinted in the preliminary part of the process—and which Ferrarius's book reproduced in its entirety, contained hymns, antiphons, prayers, and nine proper readings.[54] In this first medieval office, Italian prevails. Nothing is said of the life of the Blessed nor of his earthly acts, but each of the readings of the three nocturns tells of the miracles performed for the local people in Lucera after his death. In other words, the medieval office rests upon the statements by witnesses for the trial of 1333, while starting at the end of the seventeenth century, the office retraces the major chapters of Gazotto's life, referring to the sermon that, according to Marnavics Tomkó, secured the crown of Hungary for the Angevin candidate. In this medieval office, Zagreb and Hungary are not mentioned. On the contrary, although the request for the concession of a feast and an office was derived from Lucera and Benevento in 1693, it was in large part the actions of Gazotto during his Croatian episcopate and his stay in the kingdom of Saint Stephen that were, if not decisive, at least strongly present in the acts of the end of the seventeenth century. But neither Cardinal Petrucci nor the Congregation of Rites endorsed what the two hagiographers from the Kingdom of Hungary asserted. For them, Agostino Gazotto—or Casotti in Italian, Kažotić in Croatian, Kazotik in Hungarian—was a Hungarian; the Dominican province of Zagreb, being part of that of Hungary and Dalmatia, was governed by the kings of Hungary. For the Curia, he was alternatively "Augustinus Dalmata" or "Augustinus Dalmatus," a Dalmatian who had converted Bosnian heretics such as the Muslim Saracens of Lucera.

4. Changes in Diocese Borders and the Migration of Local Saints

4.1 Hemma of Gurk

With Hemma of Gurk (980?–1045?), we return to Ljubljana, Carinthia, and Styria. She is an example of sainthood which was at first merely local, yet which then became regional in the nineteenth century, before being upgraded to the transnational level in the twentieth. The only foreign element known in Hemma's fame is a miracle performed in Bologna, as recounted in the acts introducing her failed canonization at the end of

54 Ferrarius, "Appendix," 130–142; *Lucerina Canonizationis Servi Dei Augustini Dalmatae […] Summarium*, 25–33.

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the fourteenth century. All the other miracles from the trial dealt with the inhabitants of Gurk, Lavant, or Laibach (Ljubljana), or sometimes also the Carinthian or Styrian parts of the Archdiocese of Salzburg and the Patriarchate of Aquileia *in parte Imperii*.[55] At first, it seems that Hemma was not, or was only rarely, honored beyond the borders of the dioceses of Gurk and Lavant, perhaps also Seckau, and then in a few parishes of the diocese of Laibach (Ljubljana) situated in Styria or Carinthia. In this sense, we are indeed dealing with a "local," then "regional" saint. Gurk and Lavant, like Seckau, were situated in different regions of Styria and in Carinthia until Joseph II's reforms of the dioceses dependent on Salzburg. The diocese of Laibach/Ljubljana, created at the end of the fifteenth century, remained suffragan of Aquileia until 1751. Until Joseph II's reconfigurations, it included the parishes of Carniola (present-day Slovenia) as well as the parishes of six distinct regions of Styria and Carinthia, over which the emperor exerted the right of patronage.

Little is known about the life of Hemma of Gurk.[56] The only reliable information around this noble lady is rare and subsequent to her death. We know that she was a relative of the Aribon branch of the Dukes of Bavaria and the wife of Count Wilhelm II of Friesach, margrave of Sanntal. Her donations supposedly contributed to the creation of the Benedictine abbey of Admont in Styria (1070) and the creation of the diocese of Gurk (1072).[57] She is credited with the foundation of about thirty different religious houses. Of great use on the matter is the work of German epigraphists drawing on medieval sources. As Friedrich Leitner and Johannes Gießauf tell us, the ancient charters that might have referred to her were destroyed and falsified in the thirteenth century.[58] This was when the bishop of Gurk, in conflict with the archbishop of Salzburg, endeavored to provide his diocese with all the attributes of a proper diocese, and among them specific holy protectors.[59] Gießauf found no trace of Hemma's commemoration in the first quarter of the twelfth century, either in the old necrologies of the metropolitan chapter of Gurk

55 *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur […] Editio novissima, curante Joanne Carnandet. Junii Tomus septimus. Sanctos a die XXV usque ad finem mensi complexus cum tractatuu praeliminari qui continet chronologiam patriarcharum alexandrinorum similiter illustratam* (Paris: Victor Palme, 1867), 460–461.

56 André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge: D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), does not cite the case of Hemma of Gurk, nor does Robert Bartlett, *Why Can The Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).

57 Friedrich W. Leitner, *Die Inschriften des Bundeslandes Kärnten. Teil 2: Die Inschriften des politischen Bezirks St. Veit an der Glan* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), xvii–viiii.

58 Leitner, *Die Inschriften*, xvii–viiii; Johannes Gießauf, "Gedanken zur Gurker Gedenküberlieferung. Oder: Wie viel Kopfzerbrechen kann eine Handschrift bereiten?" in *Päpste, Privilegien, Provinzen: Beiträge zur Kirchen-, Rechts- und Landesgeschichte*, ed. Johannes Gießauf, Rainer Murauer, and Martin P. Schennach (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2010), 93–103, 93–94.

59 Leitner, *Die Inschriften*, xxx. The calendar of the memory of the deceased to be celebrated by the nuns of the convent in Gurk, cited in Gießauf, "Gedanken," can be found in Thomas László Csanády, "Breviarium monialium Seccoviensium: Über einige so genannte Seckauer Nonnenbreviere. Liturgiewissenschaftlicher

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or in the calendar of the nuns' convent of Gurk that she is believed to have founded. Yet a thirteenth-century tradition located her first tomb in that convent. According to this legend, her remains were then transferred in 1174 to the crypt of the cathedral of the diocese of Gurk.[60] Pope Honorius IV "beatified" her on November 2, 1287.[61] As a result, if we follow André Vauchez and Christian Renoux, the pope recognized the possibility of a local devotion in Gurk.[62] The first opening of a canonization trial was requested two centuries later, in 1465, by both the bishop of Gurk and the Habsburg emperor Frederick III, Duke of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola starting in 1423. The inquiry lasted until 1494 but failed to come to a successful conclusion.[63] Five centuries later, in 1879, the bishop of Gurk reopened the trial, yet again to no avail. One last attempt took place in 1933, not on the initiative of Gurk/Klagenfurt, but on that of the bishops of Seckau, Lavant, renamed Maribor in Slovenia, and then from Ljubljana—formerly Laibach. It ended finally with her canonization by Pius XI in 1938. Hemma of Gurk thus became the official patron of Carinthia and its capital Klagenfurt, seat of the diocese of Gurk since the end of the eighteenth century.

Between 1465 and the nineteenth century, no new requests for canonization or recognition of cult seem to have been placed.[64] Had Hemma always been venerated in Gurk? In Carniola and Lower Styria between the Mur and the Sava (present-day Slovenian Styria), in other regions of Carinthia and Styria? Was there an interruption in her cult? Be that as it may, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century erudition was decisive in fixing the tradition that, in the nineteenth century, took on the canonical forms demanded by the papacy. In tomes V (1709) and VII (1727) of the month of June, the *Acta Sanctorum* summarized what was known of the "Blessed" Hemma. She was within those volumes twice granted the same thirty-page note, placing her feast day on

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Beitrag zur Frage der Lokalisierung einer Handschriftengruppe an der Universitätsbibliothek Graz" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 2008), 418–429, 470–471, 548–550.

60 Gießauf, "Gedanken," 93–103.

61 Heinz Dopsch, "Hemma von Gurk: Eine Stifterin zwischen Legende und Wirklichkeit," in *Hemma von Gurk: Katalog der Ausstellung auf Schloss Straßburg/Kärnten. 14. Mai bis 26. Oktober 1988*, ed. Günther Peter Tropper (Klagenfurt: Universitätsverlag Carinthia, 1988), 11–23, 19–23; Leitner, *Die Inschriften*, xxx.

62 Vauchez, *La Sainteté*, 81–84, 105; Christian Renoux, "Une source de l'histoire de la mystique moderne revisitée: Les Procès de canonisation," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée* 105 (1993): 177–217, 180–185.

63 Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Late Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 93–94.

64 The records of the decrees of the Congregation of Rites issued from the end of the sixteenth century through 1700 and kept in AAV, Archivio della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (ACCS), which I scoured in 2009 for the Habsburg Lands, contain no such request, nor does it appear in the *Acta Sanctorum* for the month of June.

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June 29.[65] "The Life of our Hemma," the Bollandists noted, "was never written down in the earliest times."[66] First, they tell of a text written around 1650 by a canon of Gurk, Friedrich Raidestorfer.[67] According to the medievalist Leitner, it is from this text that the entire later tradition around Hemma was derived.[68] The note refers to the acts of the failed trial's opening around 1464–1494. It reproduces a memorandum of a priest, Paul Waldner, which he allegedly culled from the archives of the chapter of Gurk, but its neo-Latin style indicates that it was written in the seventeenth century.[69] The author of the *Acta Sanctorum* entry, the Jesuit Conrad Janninck, relied on a copy of the *vita* and miracles dated 1275—the period of the conflict between Gurk and Salzburg—and on that of the more or less contemporary office transcribed in 1675 for the Bollandists by the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Sankt Lambrecht in Styria. According to this information, the "Blessed" Hemma was supposedly worshipped during the vigil of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul only in the church of Gurk, with one sole reading, the ninth reading of the canonical hours recited by the canons of the cathedral chapter, proper hymns and a proper *responsorium*. Since Hemma of Gurk is not to be found in the Roman Martyrology of 1584 or in its later editions, nor in the Roman Breviary, this is doubtless part of a medieval office or commemoration.

What might have accounted for the trial's reopening in the nineteenth century? The most decisive impetus seems to have come from the reform of the dioceses that Joseph II initiated without the approval of the Holy See. The seat of the small diocese of Gurk was transferred to Klagenfurt in 1787 when Joseph II redrew the diocese maps of Inner Austria and Habsburgian Istria.[70] The new borders of the dioceses of Inner Austria (Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Habsburgian Istria, Gorizia, then Trieste and Gradisca, and finally Laibach/Ljubljana) continued to evolve marginally until the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, the regional archiepiscopal seat was relocated several times, from Aquileia to Gorizia, then from Gorizia to Gradisca, eventually

65 *Acta sanctorum junii [...] collecta, digesta, commentariis & observationibus illustrata a Conrado Janningo [...] Tomus V* […] (Antwerp: Pieter Jacobs, 1709), 498–531; *Acta sanctorum junii [...] collecta, digesta, commentariis & observationibus illustrata a Conrado Janningo [...] Tomus VII seu pars II supplementi addendorum, mutandorum, corrigendorum in primis V tomis de Actis sanctorum ejusdem mensis […] Opera et studio Joannis Baptistae Sollerii* (Antwerp: Jan Paul Robyns, 1717); *Acta Sanctorum quotquot,* 456–481.

66 *Acta Sanctorum quotquot*: "Vita hujus nostrae Hemmae, antiquitus scripta nulla fuit."

67 *Acta Sanctorum quotquot*, 456–481, 707.

68 *Acta Sanctorum junii […] Tomus V*, 498. *Acta Sanctorum quotquot*, 456; Leitner, *Die Inschriften*, xviii.

69 *Acta Sanctorum quotquot*, 463–472.

70 This was done in adopting the plan of the bishop of Gurk, at the expense of the Archdiocese of Salzburg and that of Gorizia, which had replaced the Patriarchate of Aquilea in 1751 by taking back territories located in the Holy Roman Empire. See Hollerweger, *Die Reform*, 199–223; Jacob Radoslav Kušej, *Joseph II. und die äußere Kirchenverfassung Innerösterreichs* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1908).

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returning to Gorizia.[71] The reconfiguration process continued after the dissolution of Austria–Hungary in 1918, this time to make ecclesiastical provinces coincide with national borders. These relocations and encroachments were translated into the liturgical books and calendars of the dioceses in question, particularly for proper Saints and for holy patronages. Until 1787, the Austrian dioceses depending on the archdiocese of Salzburg had used the liturgical books of this ecclesiastical metropolis, even if at times the propers of Salzburg were printed locally. This is the case, for example, with the editions printed in 1651 in Graz, capital of the Duchy of Styria, for the small diocese of Seckau's use.[72] The first liturgical calendar specific to the diocese of Seckau was submitted to the Congregation of Rites in 1787.[73] We can assume that the other dioceses of Inner Austria followed suit. There is too little scholarship to measure the effects of these modifications of ecclesiastical borders on the liturgy and the cult of saints. In several cases, convergences between calendars appear clearly between dioceses that used to be clearly divergent. Conversely, the number of "local" saints present in the liturgical calendars sometimes grew significantly. At any rate, the structures of liturgical books for the period of 1600–1770, passed on from the adaptations to the post–Tridentine Roman liturgical reforms, were often transformed to the point of being unrecognizable.

To create or recreate a diocese thus implied uncovering proper Saints. The printed propers of the archdiocese of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Salzburg were still quite similar to the Roman Missal and Breviary, including the proper printed for Seckau in Graz in 1651, with only two patron saints for the archdiocese: two bishops, Saint Rupert and Saint Virgil, both with an octave and a feast of translation. No references to Hemma of Gurk are to be found. Nor is she included in the proper missal of Seckau and Leoben printed in 1832, nor in the proper of Saints approved in 1840 by the Congregation of Rites and printed in 1841.[74] In 1933, however, the diocese of Seckau was among those requesting the canonization of Hemma of Gurk. At the same time, since the nineteenth century the diocese of Gurk had reappropriated Hemma as its patron saint. Thus, she had an important place in the new proper of Gurk for the date of June

71 In 1807, the two dioceses of Gorizia-Gradisca and Ljubljana/Laibach were immediately joined to the Holy See during Napoleon's rule of the Illyrian Provinces, and by 1830, Ljubljana became suffragan diocese of Gorizia, where the archiepiscopal seat was retransferred.

72 *Missae propriae cum propriis sanctorum Archidioecesis Salisburgensis officiis, Jussu et auctoritate illustrissimi et reverendissimi principis, ac domini, domini Paridis Archiepiscopi Salisburgensis […] Accuratissime revisis & emendatis, ac in lucem editis, Concordantes* (Graz: Franciscus Widmanstadius, 1651).

73 This date was noted in the decree of approval by the Congregation of Rites dated 1840, following the merger of the diocese of Seckau with that of Leoben, which had been created in 1786. See *Proprium Sanctorum Dioecesis Seccoviensis*, 2nd ed. (Graz: Kienreich, 1841), iv–vii.

74 See n. 70 and 71 above.

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27, in a double rite of the First Class as foundress of its cathedral, but not in those of Lavant or Laibach/Ljubljana.[75]

4.2 Victorinus of Pettau

The last case studied in this chapter has similarities with that of Hemma of Gurk, since here, too, changes in the bishopric boundaries—but also and especially the definitive solution to a point of ecclesiastical erudition—finally put this last case in point on the altars: a bishop of Poetovio in Roman Pannonia, martyred under Diocletian in 303 or 304, who became Victorinus of Pettau or Ptuj, which was a locality in Lower Styria attached to Slovenia in 1918. At first situated in the Styrian part of the Archdiocese of Salzburg, the reconfigurations of the diocese borders of Inner Austria, initiated under Joseph II and completed in 1857–1859, transferred this town to the diocese of Lavant.[76] Two letters of request for the recognition of the cult, both dated March 25, were written in 1768. The first was addressed to the Congregation of Rites, signed by Count Franz Ignaz Inzaghi, and the other to Pope Clement XIII, signed by this same Inzaghi and backed by the mayor and aldermen of Pettau. Inzaghi had been archpriest and dean of the church of Saint George in the city of Pettau since 1731. In 1758–1759 he also served as administrating archdeacon of the archdeaconry of Straßgang, to the south of Graz, for the archdiocese of Salzburg. Finally, starting in 1751, he was president of the regional hospital for war invalids, which had been founded by the Empress Maria Theresa in Pettau in 1750. Undoubtedly, he resided for the most part at Graz, where his family owned palaces.[77] These two missives have been reproduced in different places in a *Summarium*, compiled in March of 1768, for the Congregation of Rites. Revised by Cardinal Giovanni Carlo Boschi, the summarium above all comprises a historical dissertation signed by an abbot of Porto Santa Rufina, Achilles Ruschi, with a complement of proper liturgical texts suggested by the petitioners on behalf of Victorinus. It ends with a letter of support dated March 25, 1718, by Joseph Philipp, Count Spaur, bishop of Seckau, and general vicar of the diocese of Salzburg in Upper and Lower Styria. On the back one can read the handwritten note *"dilata,"* i. e., postponed or even rejected.

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75 *Officia propria dioecesis Gurcensis, pars aestivalis* (Graz: n. p., 1889), 25*–30*: *Die 27. Junii. B. Hemmae, viduae, fundatricis ecclesiae cathedr. Gurcensis, Duplex 1. Classis.*

76 Karl Hübner, "Die Archidiakonats-Einteilung in der ehemaligen Diözese Salzburg: Mit einer Übersichtskarte," *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 45 (1905): 41–78. https://www.zobodat.at/pdf/MGSL_45_0041-0078.pdf (last accessed December 17, 2023).

77 Hübner, "Die Archidiakonats-Einteilung," 76; Marjeta Ciglenečki, "Franc Ignac grof Inzaghi, ptujski nadžupnik in dekan ter češčenje sv. Viktorina, prvega po imenu znanega petovionskega škofa," *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* 24, no. 2 (2019): 113–166, 132.

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Inzaghi and the aldermen of Pettau affirmed that although all ancient vestiges of this martyr had disappeared with the vicissitudes of time, local devotion to him persisted among the elite. They petitioned Clement XIII to integrate Victorinus—whom they named as the first known bishop of the ancient diocese of Poetovio—into the Roman Breviary under a Double Rite of the First or Second Class and to establish his feast in the city of Pettau. Abbot Ruschi, in his dissertation, also suggested a mass including an oration *de Sanctis Episcopis*, and an office of the Common of Martyrs with oration and three proper readings for the second nocturn. All these texts are in the 1768 *Summarium*.[78] Ruschi recalled that Victorinus was already included in the Roman Martyrology for November 2. Unfortunately, Cardinal Baronio placed him in Poitiers, and not in Pettau, in both the Martyrology and in volume XII of his *Annales Ecclesiastici*.[79] Ruschi's entire argument was thereafter not so much on Victorinus' sainthood, but on the existence of a local cult that was quite probably still nonexistent at the time of writing. He concentrated, too, on the greatness and age of the city of Pettau and Baronio's spatial confusion: it was in *Poetovio*, the seat of an ancient diocese in Pannonia, i. e., in Pettau, not in *Pictavis*, i. e., in Poitiers in Aquitaine, that the bishop Victorinus, author of commentaries on Holy Scripture and texts against heresies, lived and died, admired by Saint Jerome. His veneration at Poitiers was unwarranted. Furthermore, a French author, Jean de Launoy, like many before him, had already corrected this regrettable mistake in 1653.[80]

For the members of the Congregation of Rites, the authority of Cardinal Baronio held sway and the cause was rejected on August 17, 1768.[81] The matter stalled, furthermore, because Inzaghi had died in Pettau on June 20, 1768, before the refusal was issued. Meanwhile, Count Inzaghi had ordered a chapel's ceiling painting in the church at Pettau showing, albeit in a corner, the bishop and martyr Victorinus as the local founder of Christianity.[82] This all changed in the nineteenth century when a Benedictine of Ligugé, François Chamard, definitively established Baronio's mistake and showed that no bishop by the name of Victorinus had lived or exerted at Poitiers.[83] As a result, with Pettau no longer in the archdiocese of Salzburg, the bishop of Lavant had the holy martyr introduced into the proper of his diocese by the middle of the nineteenth

78 BNF, H–1386, fasc. 7574, 46–49.

79 BNF, H–1386, fasc. 7574, 1–3.

80 Jean de Launoy, *De Victorino episcopo et martyre dissertatio* (Paris: Edmond Martin, 1653).

81 Ciglenečki, "Franz Ignac," 147.

82 This is Ciglenečki's interpretation.

83 François Chamard, *Saint Victorin, évêque et martyr, et saint Nectaire, évêque de Poitiers* (Poitiers: A. Dupré, 1876).

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century, fixing the date of his feast on November 3, with no uptick in local devotion accompanying this appropriation.[84]

5. Conclusion

The recognition of a cult is always a matter brimming with uncertainties. It might be a step toward canonization in good and due form. Or it might only concern a particular locality, sometimes a diocese, a religious order, or exceptionally a whole country. It is also always a matter of prestige and, once obtained, is often followed by requests for the elevation of a liturgical cult, that is to say—most often—a concession of hymns, orations, and proper readings in the liturgy of the hours. Entry into the Roman Breviary was rarely obtained in a plenary manner, in other words with a proper office and not a simple commemoration. Thus, gaining a proper office with three readings might have meant rendering the name and the glory of a saint universal, a saint whose cult, however, might nevertheless have remained more or less circumscribed to a particular country or a diocese. For example, it was with much difficulty and effort that Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III succeeded in obtaining for the saint emperor, Henry II, and Saint Stephen of Hungary the right to a proper reading in the third nocturn of their feast days in the 1632 revision of the Breviary. In Saint Stephen's case, this reading was never adopted in Hungary, where he benefited from a proper office as one of the principle patrons of the kingdom, approved in the proper of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Congregation of Rites in 1631. The augmentation of the glory of Saint Henry and his wife, Cunigunda, continued to be claimed by Ferdinand III between 1642 and 1645.[85] In July of 1669, Leopold I gained a proper office for the saint emperor,[86] then requested permission, or an *indult*, to make him a saint *de praecepto* in the Holy Roman Empire and across all the countries of the monarchy. It was only in 1687 that Saint Stephen of Hungary was entered *de praecepto*—as compulsory—in the Roman Breviary, with a proper office in remembrance of the reconquest of Buda from the Ottomans, September 2, 1686.[87] Saint Wenceslas, chief patron saint of Bohemia, was directly incorporated into the

84 *Proprium dioecesis Lavantinae, pars automnalis* (Marburg [Maribor]: n. p. 1887), 25*–26*: *S. Victorini Episcopi et Martyris, Duplex*, November 3, with only one proper reading of the second nocturn, that is the fourth; see also Ciglenečki, "Franz Ignac," 123.

85 Letters of Ferdinand iii to Duke Federico Savelli: HHStA, Staatsabteilungen, Rom Korrespondenz, box 54, fol. 18 (April 11, 1642) and fol. 48 (December 5, 1642); letters of Duke Federico Savelli to Ferdinand iii: HHStA, Staatsabteilungen, Rom Korrespondenz, box 55, fol. 1 (January 10, 1643) and fol. 138 (July 15, 1645).

86 AAV, ACCS, *Decreta* 1669–1670, fol. 63r.

87 AAV, ACCS, *Decreta* 1687–1688, fol. 24, 36.

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Roman Breviary a few days before Saint Henry, but *ad libitum*, that is to say as non-compulsory, and it was only in 1729, the year of the canonization of his fellow Bohemian John of Nepomuk, that his cult became *de praecepto*, i. e., mandatory, in the whole of Catholic Christendom. John of Nepomuk was the most successful "glocal" saint studied in this chapter. Within nine years, between 1720 and 1729, he first achieved recognition of cult, then formal beatification, and eventually canonization. But we should bear in mind one detail, which sheds light on the often unpredictable path between recognition of cult and failed or successful canonization. The first prelate who set out to introduce his cause was an archbishop of Prague, Sobek of Bilenberg. However, when he did so, in 1674–1675, his Roman agent as well as the metropolitan chapter of Prague were of the opinion that it would only be possible to obtain a recognition of cult, not a canonization.[88]

Still, the cases of local saints who were either canonized or who obtained the equivalent of canonization (*canonizatio equipollens*) in the early modern period are exceptional in Central Europe. John of Nepomuk, Stephen of Hungary, Saint Henry, Wenceslas of Bohemia, and some of the Polish patron saints are also, relatively speaking, the most well known. In parallel, there were transfers as well as circulations of cult, both regional and trans-European, barely visible at first glance, for example, the Blessed Kinga (1234–1292), a Hungarian princess who lived in Poland, where she was Duchess of Cracow and of Sandomierz before entering the Poor Clares. On behalf of the Polish king together with the magnates of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, her cult was recognized in 1690. She officially became patron saint of Poland in 1715 and was only canonized in 1999. Nevertheless, she possessed a proper office and a feast day in Zagreb and in the propers of several Hungarian dioceses—strikingly new Hungarian dioceses, both Theresian and post-Josephine—but not earlier than the 1780s and 1800s.[89] In her case, Hungary's appropriation of a Polish blessed is a liturgical reappropriation of a tradition cultivated in Hungarian hagiography since the seventeenth century: that of the holiness of the Árpád's royal blood. This implicitly reconnects with the first medieval attempts to canonize the daughters of King Béla IV of Hungary: Kinga, Margaret, and Yolanda,[90] all three nieces of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, also known as of Thuringia. The presence of offices dedicated to Blessed Kinga and Blessed Margaret—in the latter

88 See the collection of the Benedictine Order in the Czech National Archives in Prague: Národní Archiv (NA), ŘA-B 1280, box 877: Benedetto Gasparini to Archbishop Sobek, March 16 and May 4, 1675; NA, ŘA-B 1280, box 878: letter from the provost of the Prague cathedral chapter to Sobek, Rome, December 22, 1674; Prague Castle Archives (APH), collections of the Metropolitan Chapter (AMK), codex clxi, February 16, 1675, fol. 74.

89 This is the case in the dioceses of Spiš (1795), Veszprém (1805), Csanad (1807), Košice (1829), etc.

90 On the failed reopening of a trial for the recognition of cult for Saint Margaret of Hungary, see Péter Tusor, "Le Culte liturgique des saints de Hongrie et la Congrégation des Rites, 1600–1700," in *Dévotion et légitimation: Patronages sacrés dans l'Europe des Habsbourg*, ed. Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2016), 91–101, 98–100. The cult of Yolanda, the Hungarian princess who was

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case through that which had been granted to the Hungarian Dominicans at the end of the eighteenth century—renewed and established the idea of a Hungarian *Beata Stirps* in the contemporary memory of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.[91]

It thus emerges, as in many of the cases addressed in the second part of the chapter, that the modification of diocese borders—and in the twentieth century, state borders—played a major role in the recognition of cults. Let us add the role played by the concessions of cult obtained by religious orders in the transfer of certain devotions. One of the attempts studied in this chapter failed in early modern times: that of Victorinus of Pettau. Two others succeeded in one specific place or more, i. e., the Good Thief in Naples, far from Central Europe, and the Dominican Agostino Gazotto. The diffusion of the cult of the Good Thief in Southern Germany and in the lands of the Habsburgs did not take the form of new requests for the recognition of cult, or at least so it seems. His worship in Central Europe owed everything, or at least a great deal, to the religious orders, above all the Jesuits, who included the Good Thief in devotions for a good death as well as in spiritual patronage for the members of their sodalities. Certain confraternities must also be credited, of which only two, situated in Croatia and Carniola, both in the south of the Habsburg lands, had been officialized by a papal brief. In the case of Agostino Gazotto, his cult was first recognized in the Preachers' convent of Lucera, then extended to the city of Lucera, to the archepiscopal province of Benevento, and to the dioceses of Trogir and Zagreb. It was not surprising to come across Agostino Gazotto in Zagreb since he was its bishop in the fourteenth century. In such a case, scrutinizing the exhibits of Gazotto's trial exposes how complicated and even ambiguous such an undertaking might have been. We do not know how deeply worship of Gazotto—if any survived the vicissitudes of time—was rooted in Zagreb in the first half of the eighteenth century. There is no evidence of any local cult in the printed breviaries from the fifteenth century and only one mention in the first printed missal (1511) on July 2. Interestingly enough, in the early phase of his trial, his commemoration reappeared on July 2 in the edition restoring the Zagreb cathedral chapter's "old" liturgical rite in 1687. It allegedly reproduced the 1484 breviary, which however ignored Gazotto altogether.[92]

Duchess of Greater Poland and Poor Clare, was confirmed by Leo XII in 1827 for the archdiocese of Gniezno.

91 These are to be found, among others, in the propers of the dioceses of Spiš and Košice—see n. 47 and 48 above.

92 *Breviarium secundum usum ecclesiae Zagrabiensis* (Venice, Erhardus Ratdolt, 1484): Hungarian National Library (OSZK), Budapest, Inc. 800, https://usuarium.elte.hu/book/862/view (last accessed December 17, 2023); *Missale secundum chorum et rubricam almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis ecclesiae roboratum et approbatum in sacra synodo et generali capitulo sub reverendissimo domino domino Luca episcopo* (Venice: Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511), 543 (246r): OSZK, RMK III 0176, https://usuarium.elte.hu/book/92/view (last accessed December 17, 2023); *Breviarium ad usum Cathedralis ecclesiae Zagrabiensis* (Vienna, Leopold Voigt, 1687): OSZK, RMK III 3492.

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The office officially granted in 1702 was printed in Zagreb in a book collecting readings for festivals in 1785. The discovery of this same office in 1795 and 1839 in the northeast of present-day Slovakia in the propers of Saints of two new Hungarian dioceses points to the significance of the changes in diocesan borders. As for Hemma of Gurk's case, these changes also played a decisive role in the delayed officialization of her cult in the nineteenth century.

The case of Agostino Gazotto also highlights the difference between the texts of the medieval offices and those written after the Council of Trent and the subsequent reforms of Roman liturgical books. It also shows that the hagiography of the modern period plays a role in the process of canonization and recognition of worship, which corroborates the findings of a recent publication.[93] His medieval office relates only the miracles that occurred after the death of the saint by his tomb. In the offices from the early modern period, by contrast, the lessons of the second nocturn refer much more often to recent hagiographic sources. Thus, they historicize the events that occurred in the earthly life of the Servant of God. On the other hand, and this is an important point, these new offices had attempted to draw on the achievements of Catholic ecclesiastical erudition since the end of the sixteenth century. This is also what we learned from the failed attempt to recognize the cult of Victorinus of Pettau or Ptuj: in fact, the documentation preserved is centered on a point of ecclesiastical erudition, and it was the preference given to the authority of Baronio and not to his detractors that caused the affair to fail at the end of the eigtheenth century.

I will place final emphasis on two points. First, when studying any recognition of cult, one must take into consideration thick temporality. The delayed officialization of the cult of Hemma of Gurk until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the 1999 canonization of another medieval princess, Kinga of Cracow, are perhaps the most illuminating examples of this. And second, the cases presented in this paper suggest, I hope, the necessity for a precise history of the making of local liturgical calendars and propers of saints. This is perhaps even more true in the context of the lands of the "Most August House of Austria" at the turn of the nineteenth cenrury, because it went hand in hand with a state policy of creating new dioceses. However, the liturgical impact of the ecclesiastical reforms conducted by Maria Theresa, Joseph II, and Francis I from the 1770s until the 1830s remains unchartered territory in scholarship to this day.

93 Philippe Castagnetti and Christian Renoux, eds., *Sources hagiographiques et procès de canonisation: Les Circulations textuelles autour du culte des saints (XVI^e^–XVII^e^ siècles)* (Paris: Garnier, 2022).

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Daniel Sidler

Below the Radar of the Roman Curia?

The Making of "Local Saints" in Early Modern Switzerland

1. Introduction

With their reforms of beatification and canonization procedures in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Popes Sixtus V (pope from 1585 to 1590) and Urban VIII (1623–1644) not only changed the paths for recognizing holiness. Their reforms also affected the afterlife of all "saints," even of those whose odor never wafted beyond the walls of a monastery or the boundaries of a parish. Far more numerous than the newly canonized saints, these local figures included ancient and medieval saints who had been recognized by ancient procedures as well as those who had passed away in the odor of holiness in the early modern period. Even though the Roman Church approved their cult either with significant delay or not at all, some of them were of crucial importance for local piety and for the religious identity of local communities or even political entities. They represented a specific facet of early modern Catholicism: whereas the newly canonized saints and Mary stood for the success of post-Tridentine Catholicism, its universal aspirations and its centralization in Rome,[1] the emergence and persistence of "local saints" symbolized the desire of communities to "make" and to venerate their own saints.[2]

In the system of early modern holiness, "local saints"—and among them especially those who had passed away in the late medieval and early modern period—occupied a precarious position, as they were neither canonized nor ecclesiastically recognized according to ancient procedures.[3] Nevertheless, from a praxeological and phenomeno-

1 On the role of a saint in the construction of global Catholicism, see the example of the cult of Our Lady of Loreto examined by Karin Vélez, *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).

2 Still exemplary for the veneration of local saints is Jean-Michel Sallmann's study on Naples: Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Naples et ses saints à l'âge baroque (1540–1750)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994). Simon Ditchfield taught us years ago that the normal case was not canonization but non-canonization. See Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379–422.

3 As I use it in this essay, "local" is often used synonymously with "non-beatified" or "non-canonized" in historical studies. The two concepts are closely intertwined though not congruent. Early Christian saints, whose biography was often invented by humanists and who were venerated in a narrowly defined geographical region, could be as local, and globally unknown, as an early modern "local saint." Even if these ancient figures were never formally canonized by the papacy, it was usually assumed and accepted

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logical perspective, they resembled the recognized saints in many respects. Their virtues were exalted in written texts, miracles were experienced at their tombs, and sometimes even entire parishes organized pilgrimages to their places of worship. They constituted the third tier of the post-Tridentine pantheon: if the *sancti* and the *beati* enjoyed recognition and global or regional veneration, devotion to these men and women was limited to a particular region or religious community and not recognized at all. On the one hand, they formed the pool from which the Roman Curia recruited its blesseds and saints, who were beatified, canonized, and popularized after often extensive and elaborate campaigns. On the other hand, these local personalities, regardless of whether they were serious candidates for recognized holiness, posed a potential threat to the celestial order as they were worshipped without authorization and outside the control of centralized institutions. Their veneration had been severely restricted since the early seventeenth century: neither the decoration of their graves nor the affixing of ex-votos and above all their designation as "saints" in texts or on paintings was permitted.[4] If they became aspiring saints, the examiners ensured in the non-cult proceedings that no illicit form of veneration existed. In order to effectively enforce the papacy's prerogative on the decision about holiness, however, the restrictions ultimately applied to all non-beatified and non-canonized saints. Therefore, like all saints, local saints were situated at the intersection of local practices of piety and the global aspirations that popes pursued with their *sancti*.

Examining the "making" of local saints, the possibilities and limits of their devotion, is therefore of particular interest for understanding the system of holiness, the mechanisms of beatification and canonization and, more generally, the interdependence of local and global Catholicism. What forms of veneration were practiced, and how did they differ from devotion to officially recognized saints? Which strategies did local actors implement to permanently integrate them into their topography of saints? When did local saints appear on the radar of the local bishops or the Roman Curia and how did the ecclesiastical authorities react to them? To address these questions, the Catholic cantons of the Old Swiss Confederacy make for an interesting case study. As a confessional border region, Catholic Switzerland attracted the attention of actors of the Catholic Reform in Milan and Rome.[5] Together with local elites, they contributed to the transformation of

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that they had been declared saints through other procedures, by entry into appropriate local registers for instance, as there were various procedures for canonization by popes and bishops until the late Middle Ages.

4 Marcus Sieger, *Die Heiligsprechung: Geschichte und heutige Rechtslage* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1995), 96–105.

5 Bertrand Forclaz, "La Suisse frontière de catholicité? Contre-Réforme et Réforme catholique dans le Corps helvétique," *Revue suisse d'histoire culturelle et religieuse* 106 (2012): 567–583. This aspect was also emphasized by studies that were more oriented toward personal and institutional history. See Mariano Delgado and Markus Ries, eds., *Karl Borromäus und die katholische Reform: Akten des Freiburger Symposiums zur 400. Wiederkehr der Heiligsprechung des Schutzpatrons der katholischen Schweiz* (Fribourg: Academic Press

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the Catholic cantons into rich and diverse topographies of saints during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The connection to Rome became visible, for example, through the numerous catacomb saints who were translated into churches and chapels.[6] The Swiss candidates for holiness, however, benefited only to a limited extent from the proximity to the Italian peninsula and the manifold connections of Swiss actors to the center of Catholicism. Although the gravesites of two aspiring saints, the hermit Nicholas of Flue (Niklaus von Flüe, 1417–1487), called Brother Claus, and the Jesuit Peter Canisius (1521–1597), were situated within the Catholic cantons and their canonization campaigns were organized from there, their canonization was completed only in the twentieth century.[7] In addition, the Swiss cantons were more or less actively involved in the processes for other candidates, such as those issuing from the Grisons, Allied Cantons (*Zugewandte Orte*) to the Swiss Confederation.[8]

In what follows, the main focus lies only in part on these aspiring saints. Instead, the chapter focuses on what one might call the "ordinary" local saints and their "making," particularly on men and women, whether historically authentic or not, who had passed away in the odor of sanctity, but who never came close to canonization as laid down by Urban VIII. The aim of the essay is neither to create a complete panorama of the

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Fribourg, 2010); Urban Fink, *Die Luzerner Nuntiatur 1586–1873: Zur Behördengeschichte und Quellenkunde der päpstlichen Diplomatie in der Schweiz* (Lucerne: Rex, 1997).

6 Christophe Duhamelle and Stéphane Baciocchi, "Des gardes suisses à la frontière confessionnelle: Apothéose et banalisation des corps saints des catacombes (Suisse, XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles)," in *Reliques romaines: Invention et circulation des corps saints des catacombes à l'époque moderne*, ed. Stéphane Baciocchi and Christophe Duhamelle (Rome: École française de Rome, 2016), 371–411; *Hansjakob Achermann, Die Katakombenheiligen und ihre Translationen in der schweizerischen Quart des Bistums Konstanz (Stans: Historischer Verein Nidwalden, 1979).* See also the contribution of Christophe Duhamelle to this volume.

7 An impression of the many facets of the afterlife of Nicholas of Flue up to the present day is offered by the contributions to Roland Gröbli, Heidi Kronenberg, Markus Ries, and Thomas Wallimann-Sasaki, eds., *Mystiker, Mittler, Mensch: 600 Jahre Niklaus von Flüe 1417–1487* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2016). For his biography, see Roland Gröbli, *Die Sehnsucht nach dem "einig Wesen": Leben und Lehre des Bruder Klaus von Flüe* (Lucerne: Rex, 2006). A new biography of Peter Canisius is available by Mathias Moosbrugger, *Petrus Canisius: Wanderer zwischen den Welten* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 2021). Stefan Samerski has outlined the main features of Canisius's canonization. See Stefan Samerski, *"Wie im Himmel, so auf Erden?" Selig- und Heiligsprechungsverfahren in der Katholischen Kirche 1740 bis 1870* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2002), 256–258.

8 Namely those of the Capuchin Fidelis of Sigmaringen (1578–1622) and Nicolò Rusca (1563–1618). On the veneration of saints in the Grisons and the canonization processes, see Philipp Zwyssig, *Täler voller Wunder: Eine katholische Verflechtungsgeschichte der Drei Bünde und des Veltlins (17. und 18. Jahrhundert)* (Affalterbach: Didymos Verlag, 2018); Matthias Emil Ilg, *Constantia et fortitudo: Der Kult des kapuzinischen Blutzeugen Fidelis von Sigmaringen zwischen "Pietas Austriaca" und "Ecclesia Triumphans." Die Verehrungsgeschichte des Protomärtyrers der Gegenreformation, des Kapuzinerordens und der "Congregatio de propaganda fide" 1622–1729* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2016).

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Swiss pantheon nor to trace individual cases in all their complexity.[9] Rather, the chapter centers some of the ways—whether consciously applied strategies or not—with which local actors attempted to permanently integrate their "local saints" into the topography of saints.

As the making of all *beati* and *sancti*, the making of local saints took place in various contexts and at various sites: in hagiographic texts, sometimes only available as drafts or manuscripts, where their profiles of holiness were defined; in sacred spaces, churches and chapels where they were worshipped at their gravesites and where miracles testified to their holiness; and in the correspondence between the local clergy, political institutions in the Swiss cantons, bishops and representatives of the Roman Curia who negotiated the legitimacy of a particular devotion. In the first part of this essay, I focus on the hagiographic texts, being less interested in the *vitae* as such than in the ways local saints were written about. In the second part, I investigate some of the churches and chapels where the "local saints" were buried, taking an interest in the forms of veneration as well as the spatial arrangements. In the third part, I examine how the ecclesiastical authorities reacted to the different forms of veneration and how they themselves participated in the procedures of making, transforming, or undoing local saints. By analyzing the various arrangements, interactions, and (spatial) transformations, I will argue that besides the regular beatification and canonization procedures, there were various forms of "saint-making"—with or without the intervention of Rome.

2. Swiss "Local Saints" and Their Models of Holiness

A first answer to the question of who were the local saints is offered in the compilations of the *vitae* of venerable men and women, such as the *Bavaria Sancta*, which the Jesuit Matthäus Rader (1561–1634) had put together for Bavaria in a way that found many imitators elsewhere.[10] The Swiss equivalent was the *Helvetia Sancta* written by Heinrich Murer (1588–1638) and published posthumously in 1648. Murer, as was the case with Rader), was working on his book at the time when Urban VIII was reforming the canonization procedure. He was all too aware that the equation of "blessed" and "non-beatified" or "saint" and "non-canonized" was in fact a contradiction in terms. He included (at least) eight non-approved saints in his selection of honorable historical

9 I refer to my book: Daniel Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln: Katholische Reform und lokale Glaubenspraxis in der Eidgenossenschaft (1560–1790)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2017), on which this essay is largely based.

10 Alois Schmid, "Die 'Bavaria sancta et pia' des P. Matthäus Rader SJ," in *Les Princes et l'histoire du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle: Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin et l'Institut Historique Allemand, Paris/Versailles, 13–16 mars 1996*, ed. Chantal Grell, Werner Paravicini, and Jürgen Voss (Bonn: Bouvier, 1998), 499–522.

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personalities from Switzerland. For the most part, he did not refer to them as "saints" (*Heilige*) but awarded them other titles, such as *"Gottselige."*[11] This term covered the whole spectrum from the aspiring saints Nicholas of Flue, Peter Canisius, Nicolò Rusca (1563–1618), and Fidelis of Sigmaringen (1578–1622) to a group of lesser-known hermits, including Conrad Scheuber (1481–1559), Brother Ulrich (died 1491), Sister Cäcilia (died 1565), and Brother Hans Wagner (died around 1514).[12]

The label *"Gottselige"* and similar terms were used in numerous hagiographic texts at that time. In the *Bavaria sancta*, for instance, a similar category had already been created in the title, which was actually *Bavaria sancta et pia*, and a separate volume was dedicated to the *Pii*. In the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, along with the term *"Gottseliger,"* the expression *"Vielseliger"* emerged in the 1620s, first in the correspondence of political actors attempting to canonize Nicholas of Flue.[13] Over time, it became the signum of early modern non-canonized local "saints" and remained in use well beyond the early modern period. This—more or less consistent—labeling shows that local actors were willing to make the new order of heaven visible on earth without anticipating papal judgment. The corrections made by local actors even in unpublished texts, as well as the interventions of ecclesiastical authorities show that the avoidance of the terms "saints" and "blessed" was effectively implemented and demanded.[14]

Apart from such conceptual finesses—the use of the term "miracle" was similarly delicate—the hagiographies about the Swiss local saints did not differ fundamentally from those of recognized saints. Murer and other hagiographers saw themselves as potential "saint-makers" who, as the selection in the *Helvetia Sancta* suggests, also gave life to a specifically Swiss culture of hermit saints. As is the case of all hagiographic texts, their lives were constructed and reconstructed by emphasizing different aspects, depending on the author, time, and context. This is especially true for Nicholas of Flue, whose cult played an important role in Swiss political and religious life. Brother

11 There is probably no synonymous English equivalent. A (more or less) literal translation would be "blessed by God."

12 Heinrich Murer, *Helvetia Sancta, Seu Paradisus Sanctorum Helvetiae Florum; Das ist Ein Heiliger Lustiger Blumen-Garten, und Paradeiß der Heiligen; Oder Beschreibung aller Heiligen, so von Anfang der Christenheit in Heiligkeit des Lebens, und mancherley Wunderwercken, nicht allein in Schweitzerland, sondern auch an angräntzenden Orthen geleuchtet* (Lucerne: David Hautt, 1648), 386–431. On Murer and his publications, see Michel Guisolan, "Heinrich Murer (1588–1638): Kartäusermönch und Historiker," in *Thurgauer Köpfe 1*, ed. André Salathé (Frauenfeld: Verlag des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Thurgau, 1996), 233–240.

13 This term also does not translate directly into English. It means approximately "blessed by many" or "blessed many times." The expression was created specifically for the canonization of Nicholas of Flue in the 1620s. As far as I can see, it shows up for the first time in 1621, whereas before, Nicholas was referred to as a "saint." See Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 69–73.

14 In printed hagiographies, the formulation was also common that the designation as a "saint" was made on the basis of the obvious signs of holiness, but that this was not intended to anticipate the Roman approval.

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Claus had left his family in 1467 and lived as a hermit in a ravine above his home village of Sachseln for almost twenty years until his death, without eating solid food. His first hagiography appeared one year after his death, focusing on his way of being holy, especially his asceticism, but also presenting him as *pater patriae* who was important for the unity of late medieval Switzerland.[15] After the Protestant Reformation he was claimed by both the Reformed and the Catholic cantons. From then on, his life and miracles were told and retold in several biographies by both Catholic and Reformed authors.[16]

His asceticism was particularly controversial, with Catholic authors repeatedly defending it when this was disputed by Protestant authors. Asceticism was the hallmark and ideal of the holiness of a hermit. This way of life had a certain tradition in the pre-Alpine and Alpine regions of Switzerland, which was further consolidated, and in some cases even invented, such as in humanist biographies of the Swiss apostle Beatus.[17] Brother Claus's complete asceticism raised this way of life to a new level. All hermits besides and after him, among them those portrayed in the *Helvetia Sancta*, took their cue from him and had to be measured against his model by their hagiographers. A local saint was thus constructed on the image of another local saint, as was the case of many hagiographies. Conrad Scheuber, for example, was portrayed in text and image with his own biography, his attributes, and the miracles he performed posthumously. Nevertheless, the parallels to Brother Claus were obvious and hagiographers placed particular emphasis on them: his political career, his departure from his family, his life as a hermit in the late years of his life first in Nicholas's former hermitage at Flüeli-Ranft, afterwards above his home village of Wolfenschiessen in the canton of Nidwalden, and finally his posthumous appropriation by the local community, which saw in him their regional patron saint. A hagiographer, Franz Bernhard Göldlin von Tiefenau (1762–1819), brought this tradition begun in the early modern period to its zenith. He made these parallels particularly explicit in the chapter headings of his biography published in 1813. Brother Conrad was, "like Brother Claus, a prophet of the fatherland"; another chapter deals with Conrad's passing, which was "blessed" like that of Brother Claus, a third

15 David J. Collins, *Reforming Saints: Saints' Lives and Their Authors in Germany 1470–1530* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 99–122.

16 Fritz Gloor, *Bruder Klaus und die Reformierten* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2017), and for the political dimension, see, e. g., Thomas Maissen, "Glaubensvorbild, Mahner, überkonfessioneller Nationalheld: Zum Nachleben von Niklaus von Flüe in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 113 (2019): 209–234.

17 Gabriela Signori, "Beat, der Schweizerapostel: Eine hagiographische 'Invention of Tradition,'" in *Konstruktion der Gegenwart und Zukunft / Shaping the Present and the Future*, ed. Rudolf Suntrup and Jan R. Veenstra (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 3–23. On the importance of hermitism in the alpine regions of Switzerland, see Catherine Santschi, *Les Ermites suisses sous l'Ancien Régime* (Geneva: Slatkine, 2005).

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one with the early veneration, which he also compared with that of Nicholas of Flue.[18] According to their hagiographers, the lives and afterlives of the two hermits were thus very similar, but differed in one crucial point. Conrad Scheuber failed to live up to the ideal of living completely without eating. His life was "an almost permanent fast" as was claimed in one of his early modern hagiographies.[19]

In this sense, the hagiographers of Swiss hermits not only tried to make saints in their own right, but also to confirm the holiness of Brother Claus. Texts about Brother Ulrich, who had lived near Nicholas's hermitage, were written to prove the outstanding qualities of Nicholas of Flue. Johann Joachim Eichhorn (1578–1658), hagiographer of Brothers Claus and Ulrich, used his small book about the *"Gottselige"* Ulrich published in 1605 to illustrate how Ulrich aspired to live up to Brother Claus's example but never achieved that goal. In fact, he failed several times in his attempt to lead an ascetic lifestyle. Nevertheless, miracles occurred at his gravesite but were not recorded because of the "simplicity" of the contemporaries.[20]

The hermits embodied an ideal of holiness well established in the Catholic Church. It had first found recognition in the early Church. But with their lives far from the secular world, hermits were hardly suitable as representatives of the struggling and triumphant early modern Church.[21] The oft-lamented lack of lobbying in Rome aside, this was another reason why Brother Claus's beatification and canonization was dealt a poor hand—and it may have kept Swiss actors from even considering initiating additional canonization proceedings.

After 1634, the new possibility of a recognition as a *casus exceptus* emerged.[22] This new procedure did not involve recognition of holiness in the actual sense, but merely recognition of a saint's veneration for more than one hundred years. The Swiss Catholic cantons almost immediately took the opportunity and switched the procedure for their

18 Franz Bernhard Göldlin von Tiefenau, *Konrad Scheuber von Altsellen: Ein Tochter-Sohn des Seligen Bruder Niklaus von Flüe* (Lucerne: Meyer, 1813), 145, 189, 197: "Bruder Konrad, wie Bruder Klaus, auch ein Prophet des Vaterlandes," "Bruder Konrads, wie Bruder Klausen seliges Hinscheiden," "Bruder Konrads, wie Bruder Klausen frühe Verehrung."

19 Quoted from an unpublished hagiography ("schier ein lauters fasten"), in Bürgerbibliothek Lucerne, Ms. 130.4, 19: "Kurtze Verzeichnuß ettlicher puncten und denckwürdiger sachen von dem Einsidlerischen Leben und Wandel deß Gottseligen Einsidlers Bʳ. Cuonrad Scheübers, so zu Wolffenschießen in Underwalden Nit dem Kernwaldt begraben ligt." On his biography and biographers, see Brigitt Flüeler, "Bruder Konrad Scheuber: Sein Leben im Spiegel der Biographien," *Der Geschichtsfreund* 136 (1983): 205–228.

20 Johann Joachim Eichhorn, *Kurtze historische Relation / Von dem Leben und Härkommen deß Gottseligen Bruder Ulrichs im Mösly […]* (Constance: Nicolaus Kalt, 1605).

21 On the profile of the early modern saint's heaven, see Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62. See also the overview of Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 122–137.

22 On the *casus excepti,* see the contribution of Marie-Élizabeth Durcreux to this volume.

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candidate from a regular canonization campaign to a *super cultu* process at the suggestion of their postulator. In fact, Nicholas of Flue became one of the first candidates to successfully undergo a *super cultu* process in the Roman Curia, reaching the *beatificatio aequipollens* in 1648/49. This meant that he could now be venerated as a "blessed" in his homeland.[23] However, the establishment of this new procedure did not change the starting position of the other venerated hermits. Conrad Scheuber, for example, had passed away after 1534, the cut-off year for a *casus exceptus*. Nevertheless, the new procedure raised the odds for similar cases—and in a sense also changed the landscape of (non-recognized) local saints. In the following century and a half, the titles of personalities whose lives were dated to the High or Late Middle Ages were switched from "saints" to "*Vielse(e)lige*." This can be seen as much as a success of Roman regulation as a concession by local actors, who nevertheless found ways to semantically distinguish their local saints from the rest of the deceased. In these cases, the question was whether they had already been entered into the registers of saints—whatever this meant in the specific cases—or whether they required the approval of the papal Curia as a *casus exceptus*. Particularly remarkable is the posthumous "career" of Burkard of Beinwil, who was said to have lived in the eleventh century and was buried in a parish church in the *Freien Ämtern*, a jointly governed condominium (*Gemeine Herrschaft*) in today's canton of Aargau. Although he was mentioned in Heinrich Murer's *Helvetia Sancta* and some parishes in the *Freien Ämter* organized pilgrimages to his tomb,[24] little is known about his biography and his veneration until the eighteenth century, at which point he was "downgraded" from a saint to a *Vielseliger* in hagiographic sources and local actors chose the procedure for excepted cases when they put in a request to have him approved as the patron of their local church.[25]

Of course, the landscape of Swiss local saints also changed in the opposite direction, with devotees turning their backs on once popular inhabitants of heaven in the course of the early modern period. The *Helvetia Sancta* was only a snapshot of the early seventeenth century. New cults emerged as men and, less frequently, women passed away in the odor of sanctity. Almost every monastery, nunnery, and Catholic order had one or more members to whom they ascribed holiness. While the hermits inscribed themselves into a specifically local culture of piety, the religious saints modeled themselves on the ideals of their orders. While these ideals were universal, the saints remained local in that the devotion to them originated in a narrow geographical area and remained often

23 The entire process and its outcome were far longer and more complex than can be presented here. Prospero Lambertini, in his work published in 1740, also referred to the case in this sense. Prospero Lambertini, *La beatificazione dei Servi di Dio e la canonizzazione dei Beati* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012), 453–455. On his reforms, see the contribution of Maria Teresa Fattori to this volume.

24 Murer, *Helvetia Sancta*, 159.

25 Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 367–373. The same is true of Idda of Toggenburg, who is a particularly exciting case study as a saint reactivated by Peter Canisius and other reformers.

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limited to that location. For some of these personalities, the only trace left is a note in the chronicles of a monastery. Others, such as some of the saintly Capuchins, had hagiographic texts written about them and were invoked as thaumaturges by their confrères who, in writing down their miracles, hoped to perpetuate their veneration and make preparations for a possible recognition in Rome.[26] With the same end, their gravesites, the most local of sites, were made visible and available for worship and the experiencing of miracles.

3. The Making of Local Saints as a Spatial Practice

On a visit to the Swiss city of Fribourg around 1730, the provincial of the Swiss Capuchins regretted the gradual disappearance of the cult of the saintly Father Philipp Tanner (1578–1656). The clearest sign of this was that he could no longer identify his grave in the local cemetery.[27] For if the graves were not marked or decorated, the saintly dead were in danger of vanishing into oblivion. "Local saint" was not a secure or recognized status. It had to be established again and again. Downwards, to the normally deceased Catholics, the border was fluid and permeable. Conversely, if a grave was looked after too well, for example by placing ex-votos on it, it would violate papal regulations. This balancing act turned the gravesites of local saints, especially when they were located within or next to a chapel or church, into particularly delicate places. To respect papal restrictions, a local saint shared a sacred space with at least one approved saint to whom the church or chapel was dedicated. The non-canonized saintly person and the saint(s) present in the same room stood in a relationship which was subject to change over time through spatial transformations. When pictures were moved or relics translated, these movements were often accompanied by a shift in meaning and perception. From the point of view of the cults' promoters, the relationship had to be shaped in such a way that the veneration of the local saint was guaranteed or, better still, advertised, and that experiencing miracles was possible. Ideally, the local saint was perceived as the unofficial patron saint of the church or chapel despite the official prohibition. These

26 For an overview of the saintly Capuchins in Switzerland, see Aurelian Roshardt, "Im Glanze der Vollendung," in *Die schweizerische Kapuzinerprovinz: Ihr Werden und Wirken. Festschrift zur vierten Jahrhundertfeier des Kapuzinerordens*, ed. Magnus Künzle (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1928), 374–408. See also Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 317–324.

27 This handwritten note is found on the first two leaves of the book "Reformatio difformis et deformis" in the Library of the Capuchins in Fribourg. I am quoting from the copy that can be found in: Provinzarchiv der Schweizer Kapuziner, Lucerne, 3998.2.

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spatial practices had consequences for the status of the "*Vielseligen*". In a sense, they created a fait accompli before the papacy reached a final verdict.[28]

In this respect, too, Nicholas of Flue was the prototype. The transformations of his gravesite, and the translations of his relics and other spatial rearrangements, made the gradual rise of an uncanonized figure in the local hierarchy possible and visible. After his death in 1487, his body was buried in the cemetery of his hometown of Sachseln. In 1518, his remains were moved to a gravesite within the church. This at least is what the witnesses in the canonization process said in the 1620s. Interestingly enough, after the switch to the *super cultu* procedure in 1646, those interviewed claimed that Nicholas had been buried within the church since the beginning. In 1600, a chapel was built around his tomb "*in eius gratiam*" (at least according to several witnesses during the canonization procedure). Even though the chapel was dedicated to Mary in 1603, Brother Claus was its unofficial patron: it was furnished with a cycle of paintings illustrating his life and miracles, and, at least in the middle of the seventeenth century, housed his frock as a relic. In 1679, after his beatification, the tomb was transferred to the center of the newly built parish church, which was dedicated to Mary again, where it formed the altar table. Nicholas's remarkable trajectory was completed in 1732 when the Congregation of Rites allowed the splitting of his relics, some of which were placed on the high altar and presented Nicholas in the form of a catacomb saint.[29]

In addition to Mary, Brother Claus cooperated with Saint Carlo Borromeo, who had been the patron of a chapel near the former hermitage—next to the tomb the second place of pilgrimage and worship—since 1618, a few years after his canonization (1610). As with the connection with Mary, to whom Brother Claus was said to have been particularly devoted, this choice was part of the public relations campaign for the aspiring saint. It was claimed that the archbishop of Milan and *protector Helvetiae* had prayed in front of Claus's tomb during his journey through Switzerland in 1570 and called the hermit a "saint." This was frequently emphasized during the canonization procedure from 1618 onwards—significantly only after Saint Carlo himself had been canonized.[30] The attempt, frequently observed in the hagiographies and iconographies of aspiring saints, to have their holiness confirmed by association with a recognized saint, whether through biographical analogies or some other form of "proximity," was translated into a spatial arrangement in this case. Further emphasizing this propinquity

28 I use a relational understanding of the construction of spaces as it has been in use since the spatial turn for the analysis of churches. See Susanne Rau, *Räume: Konzepte, Wahrnehmungen, Nutzungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013); Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff, eds., *Topographien des Sakralen: Religion und Raumordnung in der Vormoderne* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 2008).

29 For the entire reconstruction, see, with the corresponding source references and bibliographical references, Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 144–155.

30 On the canonization of Carlo Borromeo, see the contribution of Samuel Weber to this volume.

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were two cycles of paintings of Borromeo and Nicholas—a symbiosis and parallelism that can be observed in many churches in the Swiss Catholic cantons.[31]

Similar analogies—this time of Mary and Brother Claus—were made in the case of Brother Conrad Scheuber. Like Claus, Scheuber was venerated at his tomb and at his former hermitage.[32] His supporters might have imitated the pilgrimage sites of his relative Nicholas of Flue in both their arrangement and architecture. Like Brother Claus, Scheuber's gravesite also moved in various steps from the cemetery at his death to the center of the newly built parish church in 1777, where it still forms the altar table today. During this time, he was associated with various saints, mainly Anne and Mary, but was seen as the unofficial patron of the parish church, at the very latest when it was furnished with a cycle of paintings depicting his life in 1652. Ten years later, in 1663, his relics were translated into a newly built side-chapel dedicated to Mary in a rather pompous celebration stage-managed by a local Capuchin priest. The priest had defied the explicit order of the bishop of Constance and continued preaching, goading the crowds to storm the church door to see the relics presented on the altar. As was typical in similar cases, he gave greater weight to the concerns of the faithful than to the observance of ecclesiastical regulations.[33] By furnishing the chapel with a statue of Our Lady of Loreto (a "*Laurethanischen Mariae Ebenbild*"), Scheuber even became part of a pilgrimage site visited by parishioners and believers from the surrounding area.[34] Officially, the pilgrimage was to Our Lady of Loreto, but in the process Conrad Scheuber was venerated as well. Miraculous events were sometimes attributed to Brother Conrad and Our Lady of Loreto in equal measure, but often to Scheuber alone. The connection with Our Lady of Loreto made it possible to organize pilgrimages to the non-canonized Conrad Scheuber.[35]

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31 In the canonization procedure, this was first mentioned in 1618, though not yet in the 1590s. The testimony became significant only after Carlo's canonization. In the hearings held in 1625, one of the (rhetorical) questions that witnesses had to answer was whether Borromeo had called Nicholas of Flue a saint. ("[…] Sanctus Carolus Borromaeus qui publice dixit cum esse magnum sanctum, […]."). For the hagio-biographical facts, see Eduard Wymann, "Karl Borromeo und Petrus Canisius über den seligen Niklaus von Flüe," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 11 (1917): 55–60. For an analysis of the churches and chapels in Sachseln and the iconographic parallels in other sacred spaces, see Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 155–167.

32 His cottage, which today stands next to the parish church, also has an interesting history. It has been moved several times over the years, by, among others, Melchior Lussy (1529–1606), who wanted to use it for his own retirement as a hermit.

33 Franz Jakob Andermatt, *Wunderbarliches Leben / und Wandel Dess Rechtfrommen / Andächtigen / Gottseligen / und weitberühmten Bruder Conrad Scheubers […]* (Lucerne: Gottfrid Haut, 1679), 163–165.

34 Ibid., 157.

35 Ibid., 171–182. An interesting example of this veneration of both Mary and Scheuber is an ex voto from 1770, which shows both. See the copy in Hans von Matt, *Votivkunst in Nidwalden* (Stans: Verlag Standeskanzlei II Nidwalden, 1976), 156. For the full context with further evidence from sources, see Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 178–186.

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Outside his hometown, as in the hagiographies, Nicholas of Flue was Brother Conrad's main partner. In numerous churches in his native Nidwalden, for instance in the parish church of Stans and in the chapel built at his former hermitage, the statues of both men were placed as side figures on altars in the mid-seventeenth century. In his *vera effigies*, especially those elaborated in the seventeenth century, Scheuber was given the same insignia as Brother Claus, the staff and a beard, and even though the two men must have looked quite different, it is at times hard to tell the two apart. The fact that Brother Conrad's reference was Nicholas of Flue—and thus not a saint, but another "local saint" who would be elevated to the rank of "blessed" only later—can be interpreted to mean that the promoters of his cult were not primarily concerned with integrating him into the global heaven of saints of the Roman Church. Conrad Scheuber was never an aspiring saint in the narrow sense since there was probably never any serious intention to initiate a canonization procedure. Rather, the Catholic cantons of the Swiss Confederation remained the frame of reference for his veneration. In this sense, Conrad Scheuber is an example of the making and long term persistence of a local saint riding in the slipstream of approved blesseds and saints without Roman approval, but supported by the local religious and secular clergy, who used devotional objects from Scheuber's belongings to propagate him as a thaumaturge.[36]

Other examples could be added of how the relations between saints on different levels of the celestial hierarchy and spatial transformations gave impetus to the veneration of a saintly man or woman. However, this connection was not inevitable. When a global cult was introduced next to the gravesite of a local saint—as with the cult of Borromeo above Sachseln or the one of Our Lady of Loreto in Wolfenschiessen—the veneration could also tip in the other direction if local actors lost interest in the promotion of the local figure and turned the shrine into a supra-regional pilgrimage site. The hermitage of Brother Hans Wagner in Hergiswald, a few kilometers outside the city of Lucerne, is such an example. It had been connected to a chapel of Mary since Wagner's lifetime, and until the early seventeenth century it looked as if both Wagner and Mary could form the center of the sacred area. When the church was rebuilt in the 1620s, the chapel received a Marian image of grace, while at the same time a cave was identified as the location of Wagner's hermitage. Moreover, the hermit was included in Heinrich Murer's *Helvetia Sancta* and even portrayed with a nimbus above his head.[37] However, in the 1650s, the Lucerne patrician family von Wil, led by the enterprising Capuchin Ludwig von Wil (1594–1663), decided to turn the chapel into a great pilgrimage site and relied on Our Lady of Loreto to woo the masses. Wagner, meanwhile, lost his importance as

36 On the use of devotional objects, see Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 324–355. Dominik Sieber studied the adaptation of religious orders to local practices in his detailed and insightful study about the Jesuits in Lucerne. See Dominik Sieber, *Jesuitische Missionierung, priesterliche Liebe, sakramentale Magie: Volkskulturen in Luzern 1563 bis 1614* (Basel: Schwabe, 2005).

37 Murer, *Helvetia Sancta*, 408–412.

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a point of attraction. His gravesite remained located within the chapel, albeit outside the chapel of grace. The translation was not a pompous celebration but done out of purely infrastructural necessity. Moreover, there were no pictures of his life or potential miracles within the church; the entire sacred space centered on Mary, especially the impressive ceiling with Marian paintings.[38] Even though the promoters of the pilgrimage site still saw him as the starting point of the sanctity of this site and staged him as such (for example in a theater play[39]), the rearrangements and relocations in Hergiswald led to the marginalization of Hans Wagner in his own chapel. His grave remained on site, but Hans Wagner had disappeared from the local topography of saints.[40] Not only the making of a local saint, but also their sidelining was thus a spatial practice.

4. Approbation, Destruction, or Ignorance? Rome, Bishops and the "Local Saints"

For the ecclesiastical authorities, then, Hans Wagner was a simple case: he dropped out of the topography of saints before he was a potential threat to the celestial order. But what did this look like for Conrad Scheuber and others whose devotion was permanently "public" and therefore in a gray zone of what was permitted by canon law? As mentioned earlier, investigations were carried out in the beatification proceedings to examine if cycles of paintings were not already hanging, if the tombs were not excessively decorated, or if other forms of "public" devotion were visible.[41] The proceedings for Peter Canisius and his devotion are a good example of what these boundaries meant in practice: during the process *super non-cultu*, it was often stressed that a pompous translation of his relics to the newly built Jesuit church in Fribourg in 1625 had happened before Urban's brief came into force, because afterwards it would have been problematic.[42] The proponents of his cult also continued to emphasize that the inside of the church was not furnished with

38 Dieter Bitterli, *Der Bilderhimmel von Hergiswald: Der barocke Emblemzyklus der Wallfahrtskirche Unserer Lieben Frau in Hergiswald bei Luzern, seine Quellen, sein mariologisches Programm und seine Bedeutung* (Basel: Schwabe, 1999). Wagner's importance declined further when another saint entered the scene in 1651, the catacomb saint Felix, who, through the ritual transfer of his relics, immediately merged with another Felix, the old apostle of Zurich, and thus became a local saint himself. See Achermann, *Katakombenheiligen*, 225–226.

39 Staatsarchiv Lucerne, SA 5050, Carmen super aedificia B.V.M.ª in Hergiswald, 1658.

40 For the whole restructuring, see Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 168–178.

41 The term "public" is used ambiguously, at least until the mid-eighteenth century. It implies both veneration in the public sphere and veneration authorized by public authorities.

42 On the translation, see Mariano Delgado, "'… besonders in dem hehren Gotteshaus von St. Niklaus das Evangelium zu künden': Petrus Canisius als Prediger in St. Nikolaus," in *Le Chapitre Saint-Nicolas de Fribourg. / Das Kapitel St. Nikolaus in Freiburg*, ed. Jean Steinauer and Hubertus von Gemmingen (Fribourg: Société d'histoire du canton de Fribourg, 2010), 73–84.

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paintings staging Canisius's life. On the contrary, a portrait in the city church was not seen as a sign of devotion, but a common way that people in Fribourg commemorated learned and respected personalities, as was evidenced by a similar portrait of a local councilor in the same church.[43] Moreover, the Jesuits in the Swiss city of Fribourg emphasized that although his tomb was repeatedly decorated and provided with votive offerings, these were regularly removed. However, his case also shows how, despite these restrictions, the Jesuits found ways to venerate their aspiring saint within the order, especially in the room where Canisius had passed away, which had been converted into a chapel. Through this internal veneration, they elevated him to the status of the region's actual patron saint even before his beatification.[44]

In this circumspection, the case of Canisius differed starkly from someone who never underwent any procedure. In the case of Conard Scheuber, for instance, there were no regular investigations into possible devotion, which opened unprecedented possibilities for his veneration as a "saint" in the public space, as shown by the structure of the church's interior. Criticism by church authorities was only selective. True, the bishop's visitor complained about the circumstances of the translation on his visitation in 1675, ten years after it had taken place. He also objected to the fact that Scheuber had been called a "saint" in a hagiographic text.[45] Still, in his case, there were no consequences to fear and there was no fundamental criticism of Scheuber's position in the local hierarchy. Indeed, the consecration of a sacred space could be seen as an ecclesiastical confirmation of the local hierarchy of saints. In terms of their everyday veneration, it seems as if those Swiss local saints, for whom no beatification or canonization was ever sought, flew largely below the radar of the papal Curia or the bishops until well into the seventeenth century. Therefore, their veneration could go much further than that of a candidate undergoing a canonization procedure. One could say that not to seek a canonization, whose swift and positive outcome was unlikely in the first place, was also a way to permanently integrate a saintly man or woman into the local topography of saints.

It appears that the Roman Curia or its representatives, the nuncios, only intervened when local actors decided to approach the ecclesiastical authorities either with the desire to have a local cult approved or culled.[46] In fact, conflicts at the local level could

43 This was the portrait of Peter Schneuwly (around 1540–1597), who significantly supported calling the Jesuits to Fribourg. See Josef Vaucher, "Peter Schneuwly (1540–1597), Wegbereiter der Jesuiten," *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter* 74 (1997): 11–21.

44 Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 186–197; David Aeby, *La Compagnie de Jésus de part et d'autre de son temps de suppression: Les Jésuites à Fribourg en Suisse aux XVIII^e^ et XIX^e^ siècles* (Padua: Padova University Press, 2020), 338–363.

45 The letter of Johann Christoph Krenkel, dated November, 1675, is in: Staatsarchiv Nidwalden, C 1170.548.

46 For an example of a "living saint" see Marco Jorio, "Das Blutwunder von Frauenthal 1708: Glaube, Aberglaube und Inquisition am Vorabend des zweiten Villmergerkrieges," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 101 (2007): 313–322. On the strategy of the Curia to react only to requests

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lead to the dismantling of a cult even after years of open worship. The Franciscan monk Illuminatus Rosengardt (1612–1632), who had died in the odor of sanctity in the Franciscan monastery in the city of Lucerne, was revered (almost) like a saint in the cloister of the monastery for more than a century, as evidenced by the inscription "a blessed man in the opinion of all" (*in omnium opinione beatus*) and thousands of ex-votos in the mid-eighteenth century. His devotees were supported by other clerics, including the Jesuits, whose Father Benedict Sigl translated a Latin hagiography of Rosengardt, first written in 1729 by another (unknown) Jesuit, into German in 1758, praising Rosengardt as a "clear mirror of the virtues and monastic perfection."[47] By this time, however, the cult had become suspect to the Franciscans. Since they felt disturbed in their daily lives and worship by Rosengardt's devotees who frequented the cloister, they turned to the nuncio in Lucerne. Embroiled in disputes with the council over the remit of his office, the papal envoy seized the opportunity to show clear leadership.[48] On the orders of nuncio Filippo Acciaiuoli (1700–1766), Rosengardt was reburied in a cloak-and-dagger operation in 1746. The author of the report about the translation not only omitted the usual references to the sanctity of the mortal remains, such as the pleasant smell or the miraculous integrity of the bones, but also emphasized the toil of collecting the bones. His "relics" were first cleared away and later, without much fuss, moved to a new location within the choir grates at a safe remove from the faithful. Rosengardt's pilgrimage site thus disappeared and he as a person was demoted from a local saint to a regular Franciscan.[49]

The nuncios in Lucerne—as well as the bishops—not only supported local actors in their desire to suppress a cult, but they also endorsed the petitions to canonize Peter Canisius and Nicholas of Flue, whether it was by promoting their worship or by mediating with the Roman Curia. After Brother Claus's beatification, Odoardo Cibo (1619–1705), nuncio in Lucerne, even took a leading role in the promotion of his cult. He traveled to Sachseln in 1672 to bless the cornerstone of the new parish church that was under construction at that time. He also supported the printing of a mass of Nicholas of Flue that was distributed to the local clergy. Despite the occasional support of papal

by local actors (and sometimes still not to decide), see also the examples given by Philipp Zwyssig, *Täler*; and by Christian Windler on the Catholic missionaries in Persia: Christian Windler, *Missionare in Persien: Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Externa. Geschichte der Außenbeziehungen in neuen Perspektiven 12) (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2018).

47 Benedict Sigl, *Leben Joannis Ludovici, in dem Heiligen Orden wurde er genennet Illuminatus Rosengardt […]* (Lucerne: Jost Frantz Jacob Wyssing, 1758), 161. Significantly, the inscription "in omnium opinione beatus" was translated as "in the opinion of everyone a saint" ("der nach jedermanns Meinung heilig ist"). Ibid., 165.

48 Hans Wicki, *Staat – Kirche – Religiosität: Der Kanton Luzern zwischen barocker Tradition und Aufklärung* (Lucerne: Rex, 1990), 74–91.

49 Staatsarchiv Lucerne, URK 531/9732, Translatio Corporis Ven. Fr. Illuminati Rosengarth, ca. 1746. On the circumstances of the translation, see Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 197–203.

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envoys, the prospect of success of those proceedings were rather slim in the short term; for the Congregation of Rites and the pope, petitions coming from Switzerland had no priority.[50]

This was different for the *casus exceptus*, as illustrated by the rapid success of the procedure for Nicholas of Flue in the 1640s. This form of approval for an "ancient" local saint, having died in the odor of sanctity before 1534, was easier, faster, and cheaper to acquire. From the perspective of the actors involved in the decision-making process in Rome, this was logical, as they made no decision about a candidate's holiness but only confirmed the existence of a cult. The most important process of saint-making, thus, did not take place in Rome, but within the local context. As it was unclear in practice for which medieval saints such a confirmation was necessary or possible to obtain, local actors could initiate the procedure if it seemed useful to them to have the symbolic capital of a saint approved by Rome or if they sought their liturgical elevation. In the case of the priest Burkard of Beinwil, the campaign was managed mainly by the local parish priest and a monk from the nearby monastery of Muri in the 1780s. Thanks to the right preparations—miracles, for instance, were eagerly recorded at the time—the approval was apparently easy to secure; it was only due to the political upheavals of the French Revolution that Burkard's sanctification was not decreed until 1817. The Congregation of Rites showed great willingness to take the wishes of local actors seriously, to recognize local saints as *beati* or *sancti* and to approve the often invented traditions of hundreds of years of uninterrupted worship. In a pragmatic manner, the Congregation interpreted certain devotional forms and practices as the equivalent of a beatification, especially the confraternities dedicated to Burkard and approved or at least tolerated by the bishop or the papacy. In Burkard's case, it had been Pope Clement XII (1730–1740) who had granted in 1735 that the members of the "confraternity of the Saint Apostles Peter and Paul and the blessed thaumaturgical priest Burkard" (founded in 1586) obtain an indulgence when they visited his burial chapel on the anniversary of Burkard's death.[51]

The extent to which this official approval changed the position of Burkard, Brother Claus, or other excepted cases in the local topography of saints is difficult to determine. Granted, according to canon law, the reading of the Divine Office and the dedication of the local church were now possible. But whether Burkard was recognized by the Congregation of Rites as *beatus* or *sanctus* was still debated in the early twentieth century when a local priest received episcopal approval to write a hagiography with the proviso

50 To materialize his role, Cibo had medals printed showing Brother Claus on one side and Cibo's family coat of arms on the other. For medals produced in connection with the devotion to Nicholas of Flue, see Anton Küchler, *Münzgeschichte von Obwalden* (Sarnen: J. Müller, 1892), 28–31.

51 "Confraternitas sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac Beati Thaumaturgi sacerdotis Burcardi"; Pfarrarchiv Beinwil, 28, D.04., Bruderschaft zu hl. Peter u. Paul, sel. Burcard, 1781. See Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 281–288, 456–457.

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that he replace "Saint" with "Blessed."[52] In the case of Brother Claus, it was not only unclear to the Swiss when exactly the procedure had been completed—whether with the declaration of *beatificatio aequipollens* (1648/49) or with the approval of veneration on the altar (1669/71)—but also what title had been conferred on him in the process. In the end, it was agreed to continue to refer to him as a *"Vielseliger"*—a title he still had in a hagiography the Capuchin Benno Lussi published in 1732.[53] This can possibly be interpreted as an indication that, in the eyes of the promoters of his cult, Nicholas of Flue was a "local saint" recognized by Rome, but not a *beatus* in the sense of the Roman hierarchy—or in other words: even when he had been recognized as a *beatus*, a local saint remained first and foremost a *"Vielseliger,"* a title which in the Swiss Catholic cantons was considered more important than the Roman appellation.

5. Conclusion

Local saints were symptomatic of their time. This is as true for early modern Switzerland as for a region that was, like Naples, closer to the Roman Curia.[54] For Swiss local saints, as for most early modern men and women who passed away in the odor of sanctity, the canonization as the highest honor the Catholic Church had to offer was impossible to achieve. As Maria Teresa Fattori shows, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Roman Curia canonized only few candidates in order to prove the correctness and legitimacy of the whole procedure.[55] Given these canonization strategies, not to be canonized was the rule, not the exception. The postulators and supporters of the Swiss local saints, clergymen as well as councilors, were well aware of the difficulties of a beatification and canonization procedure, and if not, they were made aware through the long-lasting proceedings for Brother Claus and Peter Canisius. Therefore, they mostly made the decision not to seek canonization for saintly persons but sought the Roman approbation of a medieval saint when a positive outcome of a procedure seemed a promising prospect.

Not to be canonized, however, did not mean not to be publicly venerated. The boundaries between saints and non-saints were less clear than the Roman regulations had

52 This was the following (small) book: Arnold Käppeli, *Sankt Burkard von Beinwil: Sein Leben und seine Verehrung* (Immensee: Calendaria, 1932). As the correspondence in the parish archives of Beinwil shows, the reaction of the Roman Curia was very early modern: the Roman authorities no longer responded to a request from Beinwil and the book could be printed with the designation of "saint."

53 Benno Lussi, *Wunder- und Tugendt-Stern […]. Das ist Übernatürliches Leben, heiligister Wandel, und grosse Wunder-Werck dess Viellseeligen Bruder Clausen Von Underwalden […]* (Lucerne: Joseph Christoff Rüttimann, 1732).

54 I refer once again to Sallmann, *Naples*.

55 See the contribution of Maria Teresa Fattori to this volume.

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stipulated since the reforms of Urban VIII. True, a divine office and an altar consecration were not possible without Roman permission. Other forms, however, were often more important to the faithful, and those were practiced extensively. Hagiographies reported on the lives and virtues of local saints, their relics were passed around, and their gravesites were altered to allow for the experiencing of miracles. It was precisely the renunciation of submitting local saints to a canonization procedure by outsiders that allowed local actors to gradually alter the gravesites in such a way that public veneration became permanently possible. These spatial rearrangements can be interpreted as local processes of saint-making, which though not leading to the honor of the altars, nevertheless granted local saints the honor of a central place within a church or chapel. This making of local saints did not require public relations campaigns, but the support of influential ecclesiastical and secular actors at a local level and the indifference of the Curia towards the cults of local saints. If they were not interested in promoting a saintly man or woman, or if conflicts arose between different actors, they opted for marginalizing local saints or removing them from the topography.

The cases studied in this chapter do not call into question Rome's success in centralizing canonization proceedings and monopolizing the final decision from the seventeenth century onwards. The influence of the Curia also reached the Swiss local saints, as is evidenced by the fact that they were not called saints. Nevertheless, the cases show that important processes of saint-making took place at the local level, as it was local actors who initiated the approbation of a cult, besought Roman actors to put an end to it, or found their own ways of venerating them almost like recognized saints. These findings remind us that we need to look at different levels to understand the full breadth of the processes of the making and veneration of saints in early modern times.

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Alexandra Walsham

Welsh Saints-in-Waiting

The Politics of Canonization in a Minority Catholicism

1. Introduction

On October 25, 1970, Pope Paul VI canonized forty English and Welsh martyrs who had suffered death in defense of the Catholic religion between 1535 and 1679.[1] In the homily he delivered to mark this solemn event, the pontiff spoke of the "long and glorious history" of Great Britain as "an island of saints" and rejoiced in adding more "heroic sons and daughters" from "this noble land" to the number of those whom the Church of Rome publicly recognized and raised up for veneration and admiration by the faithful. Despite differences in age and sex, culture and education, social status and occupation, and character and temperament, these men and women shared an "unshakable loyalty to the vocation given them by God" to sacrifice their lives for the sake of conscience and the love of Christ. They stood as "shining examples" in a "tormented world" suffused by "increasing religious indifference" and growing materialism, which was in "consummate need" of compelling models of Christian witness and holiness. The pope concluded by praying: "May the blood of these Martyrs be able to heal the great wound inflicted upon God's Church by reason of the separation of the Anglican Church from the Catholic Church" in the reign of Henry VIII.[2]

The canonization of these forty martyrs *en masse* was the culmination of a prolonged process of saint-making that had begun four centuries earlier. It provided a belated official imprimatur of the popular cults that had sprung up in the immediate aftermath of their violent deaths at the hands of the Protestant state. Urban VIII endorsed initiatives to advance the formal cause of the English and Welsh martyrs in the early 1640s and a commission was appointed to collect the necessary documentation, but the intense anti-popery inflamed by the outbreak of the Civil War made it imprudent to pursue this further and the proceedings were suspended indefinitely. Clerical efforts to catalogue and collect evidence and records continued in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But it was only after Catholic emancipation in 1829 and the re-establishment of the episcopal hierarchy in 1850 that the campaign was renewed in earnest. The first tranche

1 I am grateful to Anne Dillon, Simon Ditchfield, Birgit Emich, and Christian Windler for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this essay.

2 *The Canonization of the Forty English and Welsh Martyrs: A Commemoration Presented by the Postulators of the Cause* (London: Office of the Vice Postulation, 1970), 58–64.

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of beatifications was approved in 1886, followed by two subsequent tranches in 1895 and 1929, when 136 were accorded this status. John Fisher and Thomas More, executed for rejecting the Royal Supremacy, were fast-tracked to sainthood in 1935, on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of their martyrdom, ahead of the Forty Martyrs canonized in 1970. Treated as a representative unit, this carefully selected group incorporated both clergy and laypeople and included individuals from a range of geographical regions and backgrounds. Many others were destined to remain saints-in-waiting. Some had already been declared venerable by the papacy; others were beatified in 1987. The fate of a third set of confessors who died in prison, the so-called *dilati*, remains undecided. They linger in ecclesiastical limbo and occupy the outer rings of the diffuse but expansive universe of Catholic sanctity created by the religious intolerance unleashed by the British Reformations.[3]

This essay investigates the early and informal phases of the process that finally bore fruit in the late twentieth century. Focusing on an Elizabethan martyr from the principality of Wales, it investigates how saints were made in a context in which Catholicism was a beleaguered minority faith and a clandestine church. The conquest of Wales by the English Crown in the Middle Ages was succeeded by a long and contested process of Anglicization. Recent scholarship has contested the settled consensus that Protestantism was surprisingly successful in forging an effective link between its own spiritual aspirations and a proud tradition of Welsh history and identity. It has begun to recover evidence of the resilience of traditional religion and the spirited revival of Catholicism in the later sixteenth century in which Wales's ancient heritage and ethnic and linguistic distinctiveness were likewise closely implicated. Such work has presented Wales as a revealing case study of the lively dialogue between the universal and the particular, center and periphery, that shaped the Counter-Reformation world as a whole.[4]

My aim here is to extend these insights by examining the formation and evolution of the cult of Richard Gwyn, a schoolmaster who was executed in 1584, beatified in 1929, and canonised in 1970 as the "Protomartyr of Wales." As we shall see, his story cannot easily be disentangled from those of other Catholic priests and laypeople in whose circles he moved in this bilingual frontier region. I examine the process by which

3 For the history of the cause, see ibid., 22–30.

4 See Alexandra Walsham, "Holywell: Contesting Sacred Space in Post-Reformation Wales." in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 211–236; eadem, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), ch. 3. For the older consensus, rooted in the work of Glanmor Williams, see his "Wales and the Reformation," in *Welsh Reformation Essays*, ed. idem (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967), 11–33; idem, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales, c. 1415–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), esp. ch. 12–13; and idem, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997). For a study setting Wales in the wider European context, see Jason Nice, *Sacred History and National Identity: Comparisons between Early Modern Brittany and Wales* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009).

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he came to be venerated as a Counter-Reformation saint in tandem with the manner in which others faded out of the picture and were consigned to oblivion. In doing so, I draw inspiration from a body of research that recognizes sainthood as a concept that not only lies in the eye of the beholder, but that is also the product of negotiation, disagreement, collaboration, and collusion. Created in everyday encounters between individuals and groups, saints are "a kind of litmus paper sensitive to the changing relationship between the Church and the rest of society."[5] "Automatically situated in recollection," they spring from the dialectic between institutions and the collective memory of local communities.[6] The incipient martyr cult that I place under the spotlight illuminates the energies and tensions that animated early modern Catholicism in an environment in which it was fighting for its very survival. It deepens our understanding of the role that perceptions and practices of holiness played in the battle to win back Britain to the mother Church of Rome, and of the macro- and micropolitics of this process.

2. Saint-making and Martyrdom in Counter-Reformation Europe

The ways in which saint-making was transformed and centralized in the later Middle Ages and early modern era have been a subject of thorough investigation over the last few decades. Eager to limit the role of local communities and to claim a monopoly in matters of sanctity, starting in the thirteenth century the papacy began tightening the procedures associated with canonization. These became increasingly bureaucratic, quasi-judicial, and legalistic, involving witnesses, testimonies, evidence, and proof. Time-consuming, expensive, and administratively cumbersome, their success depended upon a timely conjunction between tenacious lobbying, well-directed patronage, and pontifical approbation. This ensured that official affirmation being obtained for new cults remained the exception rather than the rule. Balancing the defense of theological truth against the imperatives of popular zeal was challenging, especially in the case of individuals who had died a violent death. As André Vauchez demonstrated in a classic study, this was a category of sainthood that was steadily marginalized by a medieval hierarchy intent upon prioritizing scholarship, virtue, and doctrinal orthodoxy.

5 Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62, quotation at 59.

6 See Pierre Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 189–216, quotation at 194; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 132. See also Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

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Its reluctance to ratify the cults of obscure holy people who had expired in dreadful circumstances and charismatic figures who had acquired a reputation for effecting miraculous cures did not deter their devotees from continuing to venerate them locally. The gulf that developed between papal and popular conceptions of sanctity as a result of these trends was particularly pronounced in northern Europe.[7]

The impulse to regulate spontaneous saint-making was reinforced by the advent of the Reformation. Humanist critique of and Protestant polemic against the excesses and abuses of the cult of saints not only fostered unprecedented attempts to regulate devotion to existing ones; it also prompted a further overhaul of the machinery for formally recognizing new ones. Symbolized by the establishment of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1588, this sought to deflect the mockery of the heretics by subjecting candidates for sainthood to yet more exacting and rigorous standards of authentication. These were further strengthened in the years leading up to 1642 by Urban VIII. A decree of 1625 issued by the Holy Office took steps to contain the proliferation of unsanctioned cults by prohibiting the placement of lights and votive offerings before images of men and women who had not been officially recognized and banning the printing and possession of accounts of their alleged miracles and visions.[8] At the same time, the papacy made tactical concessions to the vibrant tradition of local saint-making by condoning cults that dated from "time immemorial" and by formalizing an intermediate stage of non-universal veneration in the form of the "blessed" (*beati*), whose claim to sainthood was in progress but still pending. As Birgit Emich has remarked, these developments heightened the dilemma of reconciling local priorities with those of the universal Church, even as they illustrated its capacity to accommodate a degree of regional diversity.[9] This "delicate equilibrium" was further tested by the rising suspicion of false

7 André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). On popular and local sainthood, see book 2 (145–245). See Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011). For a study that shares some objectives in common with the current one, see James D. Ryan, "Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages: Martyrdom, Popular Veneration, and Canonization," *Catholic Historical Review* 90 (2004): 1–28.

8 On the importance of the role played by the Roman Inquisition in the control of prospective saints' cult, see: Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: Santità, Inquisizione, e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2002); Simon Ditchfield, "'Coping With the '*Beati Moderni*': Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ite infiammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog and Patrick Goujon (Rome: Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), 413–430.

9 For some useful recent overviews and contributions, see Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion, 1550–1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 201–224; idem, "'Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 3 (2009): 552–584; Ditchfield, "Coping with the '*Beati Moderni*'"; Clare Copeland, "Sanctity," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013),

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and fake saints, whether they were invented holy ancestors or living female visionaries whose ecstasies, trances, and prophecies were subject to forms of inquisitorial scrutiny that mirrored those deployed in canonization itself.[10]

It is a telling feature of the sociological profile of canonized sainthood in this period that martyrs are conspicuous by their virtual absence. Overshadowed by celebrated clerics, bishops, the founders of religious orders, and a few mystics, only two individuals who lived between 1540 and 1770 and died for their faith were formally recognized: the Capuchin Fidelis of Sigmaringen (1577–1622), who was put to death by Calvinist soldiers for refusing to renounce his faith in Seewis in the Prättigau in present-day Switzerland, and Juan de Prado (1563–1631), an Observant Franciscan missionary murdered by Muslim pirates after being captured on the Barbary coast in 1631.[11] Elevating the many Catholics put to death in Protestant states to this hallowed status did not fit well with the self-image of a Church intent upon presenting itself as militant, triumphant, and dominant. It sat uneasily with the high pretensions of the papal monarchy and with the ethos of baroque magnificence and splendor it projected in art, architecture, and music. Although the Japanese Christians crucified in Nagasaki in 1597 were beatified in 1627, and the nineteen monks and clerics killed by Dutch Calvinists in Gorkum in 1572 were beatified in 1675, Rome had little appetite for fully and publicly endorsing the cults of contemporary victims of religious persecution. Men and women who had made the ultimate sacrifice proved to be a source of considerable fascination to the peoples of Catholic Europe, but the Tridentine papacy was slow to enroll these and other heroic sufferers in the company of saints. Early modern martyrdom was not central to its vision for vanquishing Protestant heresy and renewing Christian devotion. It was nevertheless a potent source of inspiration for those who acknowledged its jurisdiction over their souls.[12] Moreover, the tiny number of contemporary martyrs that the Church canonized contrasts with the lively interest in the relics of the early Christians who had perished during the persecutions of the first and second centuries AD, which the papacy and

225–241; Birgit Emich, "The Production of Truth in the Manufacture of Saints: Procedures, Credibility and Patronage in Early Modern Processes of Canonization," in *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, Marco Cavarzere, and Steven Vanden Broecke (Scientiae Studies 1) (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 165–190, esp. 178.

10 See Gabriella Zarri, "Living Saints: A Typology of Female Sanctity in the Early Sixteenth Century," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 219–303; Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618–1750* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Stefania Tutino, *A Fake Saint and the True Church: The Story of a Forgery in Seventeenth-Century Naples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), quotation at p. 37.

11 Fidelis was beatified in 1729 and canonized in 1746. Juan had been beatified in 1728.

12 See Hsia, *World of Catholic Renewal*, ch. 8 (122–137), esp. 125–126; see Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Harvard Historical Studies 134) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), ch. 7 (250–314), esp. 252–253, 277–314.

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Curia both actively endorsed and carefully authenticated. The excavation of the Roman catacombs after 1578 flooded Europe with the holy bones of these apostolic champions. Filling the vacuum left by Calvinist iconoclasm, they proved to be effective instruments of re-Catholicization in regions heavily scarred by the Protestant Reformation. Serving didactic and polemical purposes in the fight against heresy as well as satisfying the traditional thirst for thaumaturgic resources, they "satisfied the needs of Tridentine universalism and local popular religion" simultaneously.[13]

The British Isles, however, was a pre-eminent factory for manufacturing new martyrs in this period. Beginning with the high-profile deaths of the Carthusian monks and Fisher and More under Henry VIII, it generated a rich harvest of heroes to sustain those who clung to the faith of their forefathers, repudiated the Royal Supremacy, and rebelled against the imposition of Protestantism. Following the brief hiatus of Mary I's Catholic restoration, Elizabeth I reinstated the policy of achieving religious uniformity through a combination of exposure to the reformed liturgy and the steady attrition of conservative survivalism and residual superstition. This was challenged by Pius V's bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, excommunicating the queen in 1570, the arrival of seminary-trained missionary priests and Jesuits from Italy and the Low Countries, and an accompanying wave of lay resistance. This manifested itself in conspiracies designed to effect regime change with the aid of foreign intervention and in the rise of recusancy, principled refusal to attend the services of the Church of England. The state responded by stiffening the sanctions for religious dissent and by augmenting its arsenal of weapons against the threat posed by the resurgent Counter Reformation that was gaining ground on the Continent. With a statute of 1581 it imposed crippling fines on conscientious objectors and defined those who sought to persuade Elizabeth's subjects to withdraw their allegiance to her and to acknowledge the "pretended authority" of the see of Rome as traitors. The discovery of the Throckmorton Plot in 1583 and the assassination of William of Orange in July of the following year provided fresh impetus and led directly to the act of 1585 by which the mere presence of a Jesuit or seminary priest on English soil was adjudged a felony worthy of death, as was the act of aiding, succoring, or maintaining these fugitives.

Some 189 Catholic priests and laypeople from England and Wales were hanged, drawn, and quartered in the course of Elizabeth's reign under these laws. The latter comprised a small fraction of the total, but they ranged from noblemen and yeoman to wives and mothers, spinsters and widows. In deliberate contrast to the controversial burnings of Protestants carried out under the queen's half-sister in the 1550s, the crime

13 See Trevor Johnson, "Holy Fabrications: The Catacomb Saints and the Counter-Reformation in Bavaria," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47, no. 2 (1996): 274–297, at 275; Stéphane Baciocchi and Christophe Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines: Invention et circulation des corps saints des catacombes à l'époque moderne* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2016). On Spanish cases, see Katrina B. Olds, "The Ambiguities of the Holy: Authenticating Relics in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2012): 135–184. See also Christophe Duhamelle's essay in this volume.

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for which they were indicted was not heresy but treason. The politicization of religious dissidence that was the side-effect of the state-led Tudor Reformation undoubtedly impeded and complicated the path that led towards their official canonization.[14] Unsurprisingly, the papacy was disinclined to wade too boldly into this diplomatic minefield. Yet the condemnation of these individuals as traitors did nothing to prevent them from being hailed as martyrs by fellow believers. On the contrary, it added strength to the claim that they were the victims of unwarranted persecution and enhanced the aura of sanctity that surrounded them. It created the conditions in which dozens of impromptu cults germinated and flourished. The acute dangers that missionaries faced as they roved around the countryside reconciling schismatics and administering the sacraments encouraged the tendency to perceive them as living saints, while the savage rites of judicial violence inflicted upon their bodies on the scaffold not only ensured that they remained posthumously etched in the collective imagination but fostered the collection and distribution of their remains for preservation and veneration.[15]

Some senior figures on the mission, including the Jesuit superior Jasper Heywood, worried that publicizing martyrdoms might be counterproductive, worsening the lot of those still at work in England and Wales and fueling the flames of persecution.[16] Others, though, acknowledged the benefits that the blood of the martyrs brought to members of the oppressed community at home and its diaspora overseas. Dead priests and laypeople served as powerful mascots for a church under the cross, helping to forge a sense of confessional identity rooted in resentment of the Protestant authorities who captured, interrogated, tortured, and executed their colleagues and co-religionists. In 1582, Gregory XIII gave permission for their relics to be used to consecrate altars where others were not available, and Paul V allowed the English College to sing a solemn *Te Deum* upon hearing the news of the execution of one of its alumni. Those present at

14 For this process in a broader context, see Thomas S. Freeman, "'*Imitatio Christi* with a Vengeance': The Politicisation of Martyrdom in Early Modern England," in *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c. 1400–1700*, ed. Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 35–69. See also Michael Questier's *Catholics and Treason: Martyrology, Memory, and Politics in the Post-Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), which utilizes contemporary Catholic records of martyrdom to develop a powerful new account of the politics of state violence and persecution throughout the period. For the Elizabethan era, see Part II.

15 See Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 167–171, 394–396; eadem, "The Pope's Merchandise and the Jesuits' Trumpery: Catholic Relics and Protestant Polemic in Post-Reformation England," in *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe: An Album Amicorum for Charles Zika*, ed. Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 370–409; Robin Malo, "Intimate Devotion: Recusant Martyrs and the Making of Relics in Post-Reformation England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 44 (2014): 531–548.

16 Discussed in Thomas M. McCoog, "Construing Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community," in *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation": Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. Ethan Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 95–127, at 100–103.

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the Mass who confessed and received the Eucharist were entitled to receive a plenary indulgence.[17]

Meanwhile, the exemplary lives and edifying deaths of the newly minted martyrs became the subject of published books and images, manuscript texts, and a vibrant body of orally transmitted tradition. Although the execution of Edmund Campion and other priests in 1581 prompted the publication of a handful of vernacular narratives, including Cardinal William Allen's *Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of xii. Reverend Priests* (Rheims, 1582), the printed martyrologies of this period were largely Latin works directed towards Continental readers.[18] Linking the recent sufferings of Catholics in Britain with those of ancient Christian heroes, the series of dramatic murals of martyrs painted by Niccolò Circignani on the walls of the church of the English College in Rome were reproduced by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri in a set of lavish engravings published under the title *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea* in 1584. First created to inspire priests in training with a sense of their vocation, disseminated more widely, they served as a vehicle for anti-Protestant polemic.[19] The graphic depictions in Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum Crudelitatum* (1587) were similarly intended to stir outrage against Calvinist atrocities in Britain, France, and the Netherlands and to rally leading European powers to launch an international crusade to restore England and Wales to their former allegiance to Rome.[20] Meanwhile, John Gibbons's *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia*, first published in 1583, revised and expanded in 1588, supplied the learned Catholics of Europe with extensive documentary evidence of the outrages taking place in the British Isles.[21] In turn, this was a principal source for Diego de Yepes's *Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra* (1599), which fed Spaniards with accounts of the English and Welsh martyrs in their own language.[22] Fostered by the Jesuits, Robert Persons's *De Persecutione Anglicana* (1581) ran through editions in

17 Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests, as well Secular as Regular; and of other Catholics of both Sexes, that have Suffered death in England … from the Year of our Lord 1577, to 1684* (London, 1741–1742), sig. A4r.

18 William Allen, *Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of xii. Reverend Priests* (Rheims, 1582). An Italian edition appeared in 1583.

19 Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea* (Rome, 1584). See Carol M. Richardson, "The English College Church in the 1580s: Durante Alberti's Altarpiece and Niccolò Circignani's Frescoes," in *The Church of the English College in Rome: Its History, Its Restoration*, ed. Andrew Headon (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2009), 34–51. Cf. Carol M. Richardson, "Durante Alberti, the Martyrs' Picture and the Venerable English College, Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 73 (2005): 223–263.

20 Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum Crudelitatum* (Antwerp, 1587).

21 *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia,* comp. John Gibbons and ed. John Bridgewater (Trier, 1583 and 1588).

22 Diego de Yepes, *Historia Particular de la persecucion de Inglaterra* (Madrid, 1599).

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French, Italian, and German. In total some 95 martyrological imprints appeared in this decade alone.[23]

Printed books about the English and Welsh martyrs were forms of apologetic that reinforced the settled confessional prejudices of their target audience. Their authors and editors shielded Catholicism from renewed heretical taunts about the extravagances of the medieval cult of saints by editing their vitae with the humanist criterion of heroic virtue in mind. However, the signs and wonders that had characterized hagiographical classics like the *Legenda Aurea* did not disappear completely. The canon of scribally copied lives that circulated around the Catholic underground similarly presented martyrdom as a divine privilege and highlighted the miraculous happenings that surrounded it as evidence of heavenly approbation. Both were "joint creations" of the individuals and communities who were eyewitnesses to the martyrs' deaths and the priests who served them. Agents of the unofficial canonization of the people they described, these texts, as they evolved over time, were crafted to indict Protestant persecutors, defend fundamental Catholic doctrines, and underline the necessity of stalwart conscientious objection in the guise of recusancy. As Anne Dillon comments, "like all family stories, they were expanded in the telling" and acquired fresh embellishments as they were related and transcribed.[24] They reflected the willingness of missionaries to cater to the indigenous cultures they found on the ground and to harness popular beliefs for pious ends. Re-entering the oral realm via ballads and rhymes, tales of the martyrs also left a lasting deposit in local memory and folklore about providential events and topographical landmarks. Their resilience in later centuries points to the longevity of the posthumous cults of the missionaries and their lay friends and protectors. As Alison Shell has observed, they attest to a continuous, visible, and vibrant tradition of devotion that proved to be grist to the mill of Catholic scholars working to promote the cause for their canonization.[25] These sources do not merely offer insight into the saint-making processes I explore in greater detail in the rest of this essay; in due course, they also came to be regarded as precious relics of the martyrs themselves. The very act of transcribing and recirculating them was an act of devotion, as well as a pointed gesture of religious and political resistance.

23 Robert Persons, *De Persecutione Anglicana* (Ingolstadt, 1581). For the figures on imprints, see Gregory, *Salvation at Stake,* 289.

24 For complementary but differing discussions of the significance of martyrological writing in England (and Wales), see Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), esp. ch. 2 (72–113), at 99, 78; McCoog, "Construing Martyrdom."

25 Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), ch. 4 (114–148), esp. 143–144.

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3. Richard Gwyn and the Catholic Revival in Wales

With these observations in mind, I now turn to analyzing how Richard Gwyn became recognized and renowned as the Protomartyr of Wales. The specific arena of my micro-historical enquiries is the north of the peninsula, and within this the counties of Denbighshire and Flintshire in particular. The Reformation made limited inroads in Wales, at least initially. Reports from bishops and other officials repeatedly complained that its inhabitants languished in ignorance and "extreme darkness" and were "slow and cold in the true service of God." They described the stubborn persistence of popish rituals and customs, including pilgrimages to hallowed places in the landscape, not least the famous thaumaturgic spring and shrine of the virgin martyr Saint Winifred at Holywell. The survival of material residues of "idolatry" such as images and statues created a climate in which many still clung to "the dregs of superstition." In the eyes of the clergy, the country remained filled with illicit vigils to corpses and prayers muttered with the aid of "beads and knots."[26] This coexisted with a lazy outward conformity to the new religious regime, behind which lurked a stubborn adherence to traditional Catholic beliefs. Reflecting on the 1560s later in life, the Benedictine monk Augustine Baker recalled how many, including his own parents in Monmouthshire, had "easily digested the new religion and accommodated themselves thereto … ."[27] Protestants disparagingly called such people "church papists."

North Wales fell under the jurisdiction of the Council of Marches and the Diocese of Chester. While remote from London, it also provided a dangerous gateway to and from Ireland, which was widely perceived as a launching pad for a Catholic invasion. By the 1570s, coinciding with an influx of missionaries trained in Douai and Reims, recusancy was on the rise, along with illegal Masses celebrated in private homes and barns. The Catholic revival was given a further fillip by the arrival of the Jesuits Edmund Campion and Robert Persons in England in June 1580. Fears about the influence exerted by these stirrers of "sedition" were acute. Bishops John Whitgift and William Chaderton lay behind the fierce drive to arrest and punish offenders towards the end of the decade. The Privy Council expressed concern that the growth of Catholic nonconformity in the region was the consequence of the laxity of local magistrates, many of whom were

26 This paragraph draws on Williams, *Renewal and Reformation,* ch. 12, at 312; Katharine K. Olson, "'Slow and Cold in the True Service of God': Popular Beliefs and Practices, Conformity and Reformation in Wales, c. 1530–c.1600," in *Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World*, ed. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2014), 92–107.

27 Justin McCann and Hugh Connolly, eds., *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker and Other Documents Relating to the English Benedictines* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1933), 16.

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themselves merely nominal Protestants.[28] With an eye to advancement, others pragmatically aligned themselves more emphatically with the new regime. In market towns like Wrexham within this border region, the presence of the hotter sort of Protestants, puritans, injected moral zeal and passionate anti-popery into the mix. The outcome was latent tension that sometimes broke out into open sectarian conflict in the streets.[29]

A further feature of the world from which Richard Gwyn emerged must be highlighted. This is the continuing vitality of the Welsh language as a medium for communication, culture, education, and learning. Although it was being edged out by English in the spheres of administration and law, and its long-term trajectory was one of decline, it lent a special dynamic to confessional politics in the later sixteenth century. The Protestant-sponsored translations of the Bible and prayer book into Welsh must be set alongside evidence that Catholics keenly exploited the language as a vehicle for sustaining loyalty to their country's ancient faith, counteracting the Reformation, and spreading oppositional discourse.[30] It is revealing that the first Welsh language book to be printed in Wales was a Catholic tract entitled *Y Drych Cristianogawl*, the product of a secret press set up in a coastal cave near Llandudno in 1586–1587.[31] However, this was an oral-literate culture in which speech and manuscript predominated. The Welsh tongue was tightly intertwined with the native bardic tradition, which itself had a close affinity with the "old religion." Observers told of barefooted pilgrims summoned to ruined chapels by "Pencars or heade minstrells" and meetings accompanied by the music of the harp.[32] Alongside the poetry composed by professional aristocratic bards flourished a mass of free meter verse, which was particularly well suited to spreading dissident rumors and subversive libels and prophecies, the proliferation of which was a perennial source of concern to the authorities. "Vain songs" written "to the detraction of the true religion" were other elements of the Welsh-language subculture that challenged

28 See E. Gwynne. Jones, "Catholic Recusancy in the Counties of Denbigh, Flint and Montgomery, 1581–1625," *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1945): 114–133; John Martin Cleary, "The Catholic Resistance in Wales: 1568–1678," *Blackfriars* 38 (1957): 111–125.

29 For the strength of puritanism in this region, see Thomas Richards, "Flintshire and the Puritan Movement," *Flintshire Historical Society Publications* 13 (1952–1953): 53–71.

30 See Richard Suggett and Eryn White, "Language, Literacy and Aspects of Identity in Early Modern Wales," in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500–1850*, ed. Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 52–83. On the harnessing of Welsh history to both support and undermine Protestantism, see Lloyd Bowen, "The Battle of Britain: History and Reformation in Early Modern Wales," in *Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World*, ed. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2014), 135–150.

31 Robert Gwyn, *Y Drych Cristianogawl* (Welsh secret press, 1585 [1587]).

32 London, British Library Lansdowne MS 111, fo. 10r-v.

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Fig. 1 Detail of painting of St. Richard Gwyn, executed 1584, in the Roman Catholic Cathedral Church of Our Lady of Sorrows, Wrexham, built 1857. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Richard_Gwyn.jpg (last accessed December 17, 2023) Llywelyn2000, CC BY-SA 4.0 https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0 (last accessed December 17, 2023), via Wikimedia Commons.

the Protestant establishment in the late Tudor era, and in which Richard Gwyn was deeply implicated.[33]

Born in Montgomeryshire around 1537, Gwyn grew to maturity against the backdrop of repeated religious reversal (Fig. 1). After a short period in Oxford, he migrated to Cambridge, but left without a degree after the conservative master of his college,

33 See Williams, *Renewal and Reformation,* ch. 18, esp. 442–446; Lloyd Bowen, "Information, Language and Political Culture in Early Modern Wales," *Past and Present* 228 (2015): 125–158, esp. 150–151.

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who was his patron, went into exile on Elizabeth's accession. At university he assumed the anglicized version of his name, White, by which he was known for the rest of his life. Gwyn returned to Wales and became a teacher, serving villages in the vicinity of Wrexham for sixteen years, notably Overton, where he married a young woman who bore him six children, three of whom survived into adulthood. Like many of his contemporaries, in the 1560s and 70s, Gwyn seems to have been a conformist, who attended the services of the reformed Church of England but refrained from taking communion. The arrival of the missionary priests in the region proved to be critical in precipitating his drift to outright recusancy and his formal reconciliation to Rome. At a time of growing official concern about the role of rogue Catholic schoolmasters in radicalizing the young, Gwyn came under increasing scrutiny by local Protestant officials and the bishop of Chester. He fled Overton for Erbistock and set up a school in a barn, where he taught the children of Catholic families. Arrested in 1579, he escaped from Wrexham jail and was at large for a year and a half before being recaptured. Gwyn was shackled throughout his imprisonments in various gaols, during which repeated efforts were made to turn him, including by transporting him to Protestant services and force-feeding him sermons. Indicted, together with two other men, on the charge of proselytizing, he was later subjected to torture and interrogation, and, in a version of the "bloody questions," asked if he acknowledged Queen Elizabeth as his lawful sovereign. His trial for high treason, which reputedly involved perjured testimony, ended in a sentence of death. After further attempts at persuading him to recant failed, this was finally carried out on October 15, 1584.[34]

Gwyn's sufferings for the Catholic faith soon became the subject of oral and written reports in north Wales and the Marches. Entitled "a true report" and described as a "rudely" sketched "purtriature" penned lest "the memory of soe glorious a martyr should perish," an English manuscript life (once preserved in the Jesuit mission house at Holywell) has survived, alongside a separate narrative that was absorbed into the Latin *Concertatio* (from which Bishop Yepes produced a translation into Spanish for his *Historia Particular*). There are sufficient differences between the two texts to suggest that they were produced independently, albeit relying on a common source, which may since have been lost.[35] The circumstantial details they contain suggest that their author

34 See Daniel Huws, "Gwyn [White], Richard [St Richard Gwyn] (c. 1537–1584)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www.oxforddnb.com (last accessed December 17, 2023). Gwyn was one of 23 Catholic schoolmasters executed in early modern England: see Arthur C. F. Beales, *Education under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II 1547–1689* (London: Athlone Press, 1963), 72–73.

35 The Holywell MS (which was later transferred to Heythrop College) and the relevant section of the *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae* (1588 edition, 173–203), with a translation of the passages in the latter, have been edited by D. Aneurin Thomas, *The Welsh Elizabethan Catholic Martyrs: The Trial Documents of Saint Richard Gwyn and of the Venerable William Davies* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971). In what follows, citations from both texts are from this edition, which is abbreviated hereafter as *WECM*.

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or authors were intimately acquainted with Gwyn and with the micropolitics of the communities of which he was part.

One candidate for their authorship is Edward Hughes, a priest ordained at Cambrai in 1578 who was active in north Wales until his arrest in 1595. One of those known to be present at the clandestine Masses in private homes that Hughes celebrated was Richard Gwyn.[36] Another is Robert Gwyn, whom we shall meet shortly. A third is John Bennett, a native of Flintshire and graduate of Douai College, who, in May 1580, returned to the area as a missionary. According to a contemporary Catholic account, he traversed it mostly on foot, "with exceeding zeale & labour confirming such as he found sound in true ffaith, and reconciling others that were fallen from it." Apprehended two years later, in 1583 he was imprisoned in the same gaol as Gwyn, and may have been an eyewitness to his death the following autumn. Bennett's likely identity as a source for one or both of Gwyn's vitae is strengthened by the narrative of his own learned debates with and torture by Protestant officials incorporated in the *Concertatio*. Banished in 1585, he returned five years later after becoming a Jesuit, spending the rest of his life ministering to "the poore, & meaner sort of people," who flocked to him for "Spirituall Cordialls & Divine food" in multitudes. These "Faithfull people" apparently held him in such "exceeding greate esteeme" during his long life that they called him "the Sainct." At the age of 80, Bennett volunteered to serve the dying in plague-infected London, where he himself expired in 1625. Gwyn's life may have been written by a man who was himself subsequently revered as a holy confessor.[37]

Regardless of who authored these two interrelated texts, reading them against the grain and against each other enables us to observe popular hagiography in the making and to trace Gwyn's transformation into a schoolmaster saint.[38] The discrepancies, omissions, and embellishments they contain attest to the alchemical interaction of lay and clerical priorities, local rumor and Tridentine imperatives, and Welsh ethnicity and

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For a summary of the main differences, see *WECM,* 141. For the account of Gwyn in Yepes, *Historia Particular*, see 550–593.

36 See John Martin Cleary, "Edward Hughes: A Seminary Priest in Maelor Saesneg, 1578–1595," *Journal of Wrexham Local History Class: Bulletin of Local Studies* 1 (1962).

37 For Bennett, see Thomas M. McCoog, "Bennett, John (c. 1550–1625)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* https://www.oxforddnb.com (last accessed December 17, 2023); *WECM,* 4–5, 202–227, 317–321. Aneurin Thomas attributes the MS to Bennett: 80–83. His life was preserved in Stonyhurst College, MS Anglia vol. IV, n. 71. Bennet was credited with miraculous powers during his lifetime, including exorcising a house "terribly haunted with evill spiritts or hobgoblins" via "Sacred prayers" and "the accustomed Ceremonies of the H. Church … as it was never more troubled wth evill spiritts or Nocturnall Terrours."

38 Here I draw methodological inspiration from Peter Lake and Michael Questier, "Margaret Clitherow, Catholic Nonconformity, Martyrology, and the Politics of Religious Change in Elizabethan England," *Past and Present,* 185 (2004): 43–90; idem, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow: Persecution, Martyrdom and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England* (London: Continuum, 2011).

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Catholic universality. They alert us to "cracks in the formulae" that allow us a glimpse of the person behind the ideal.[39]

In both accounts, Gwyn is a convenient emblem and cipher of the priestly drive to replace feeble-kneed church papistry with stalwart recusancy. His martyrdom is presented as a lesson in the necessity of overtly confessing one's faith and refusing to comply with the legal obligation to attend the services of the established Church. The Holywell manuscript describes his transition from partial to full nonconformity as a kind of conversion experience precipitated by a prodigious sign from heaven. Persuaded to receive the Protestant Eucharist, "although greatly against his stomacke," "no sooner" had he left the church than he was attacked by a company of crows and kites that pursued him all the way home. This incident made him as "sick in body as he was allready in soule diseased," leading him to resolve to become a true Catholic if his life was spared, a promise that he fulfilled upon his return to health.[40] By contrast, the account in the *Concertatio* makes no reference to it, insisting that "he was from the first devoted to the Catholic religion and abstained from all contact with heresy and especially avoided all association with heretics." It presents Gwyn as quick to heed the doctrine of the seminary priests on the topic of withdrawing from "the impious meetings of schismatic men" and to avoid "all the ways of profane imposterous men as from uncleanness."[41] Glossing over the temptation to which Gwyn succumbed, its aim is to underline his swift obedience to clerical directives and the almost instant success of the campaign to promote conscientious objection as a confessional marker of Catholic identity.[42]

In this regard, the life of Richard Gwyn not only reinforced the central message of Robert Persons's celebrated manifesto for recusancy, the *Brief Discours Contayning Certayne Reasons why Catholiques Refuse to Goe to Church* (1580), but also, more importantly, that of *Gwyssanaeth y Gwyr Newydd*, a manuscript tract advancing the same argument in Welsh. Written by the priest Robert Gwyn (who was not related to Richard), this tract took advantage of the inaccessibility of the language in which it was written to launch an outspoken assault upon Protestantism as a perverse foreign import, *Crefydd y Sais* ("the Englishman's religion"). It referred to heretics as *bastardied* (bastards); scathingly denied the monarch's right to dictate her subjects' behavior in matters of

39 For a similar approach, though focused on witnesses, see Laura A. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–454, at 431.

40 *WECM,* 87.

41 *WECM,* 146–147.

42 On this campaign, see Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1993), ch. 2; Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas M. McCoog, and Michael Questier, eds., *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2010), esp. 111–278. As Lake and Questier show, the martyrological life of Margaret Clitherow was similarly harnessed to advance this agenda in the context of internal disputes about the legitimacy of partial and occasional conformity: Lake and Questier, "Margaret Clitherow" and *Trials.*

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religion; and provided a mandate for political resistance by declaring that obedience to God outweighed obedience to any earthly ruler. It took a hard and uncompromising line on the question of conformity, claiming that this was a sin even when a man blocked his ears to avoid hearing the preacher's words. Only someone who had been dragged there by force would be free of guilt.[43] Intriguingly, the same scenario features prominently in the narratives of Richard Gwyn, which highlight his belligerent resistance to the attempt to convert him by carrying him—bolts, shackles, and all—to a parish church to hear a Protestant service. They paint a compelling picture of the spectacle of him drowning out the "railing sermon" by rattling his irons so loudly that he was clamped in the stocks in the marketplace (where he was mocked by "a rabble of ministers") and prosecuted for disturbing divine service.[44] The close interplay between the prescriptive and martyrological literature here is suggestive of the skill with which Gwyn's life was crafted to reinforce the Counter Reformation teaching on recusancy, which was gathering momentum in both England and Wales during his period. The author(s) of Richard Gwyn's vitae must have read Robert Gwyn's book, if they were not the same person.

In this regard, these texts resonate with another scribal treatise that had circulated in north Wales a few years earlier, and which had also been conveyed to Ireland, France, and Italy. This told the story of Elizabeth Orton, a fourteen-year-old girl resident of Overton, the same village in which Richard Gwyn taught school, who had experienced a series of startling visions in the early months of 1581. Accompanied by bodily fits, painful writhing, and copious tears, these endorsed the repudiated doctrine of purgatory, devotion to the Virgin Mary, transubstantiation, and the Mass. They also provided an occasion for a vehement denunciation of "the Religion of the Protestauntes" and a declaration that she would never enter into "their wicked and accursed Churche, moste abominable in Gods sight" as long as she lived "unlesse I be caried thether by force." Entailing a scathing critique of the established church and a call to defy statute law, Elizabeth's two ecstasies were instruments of her own conversion from outward conformity and church papistry to stalwart recusancy. The fire and brimstone into which she believed she had descended in the midst of her trances served as a dramatic illustration of the punishments that awaited those who failed to reconcile themselves to Rome. The torments she suffered, which left her joints and limbs feeling "as if thei had been stretched out of the Racke" equated her own spiritual experiences with those of

43 James January-McCann, "Robert Gwyn and Robert Persons: Welsh and English Perspectives on Attendance at Anglican Service," *Recusant History* 32 (2014): 159–171, citing National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, MS 15542B at 164, 165, 167–168. For a modern edition of this manuscript, see *Gssanaeth y Gwŷr Newydd: Robert Gwyn, 1580*, ed. G. Bowen (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1970); Robert Persons, *A Brief Discours Contayning Certayne Reasons why Catholiques Refuse to Goe to Church* (Douai [London], 1580).

44 *WECM*, 90–91, 154–157.

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persecuted priests and laypeople. In short, the text constructed Elizabeth as a martyr as a well as a seer.[45]

Although the revelations of the young prophetess greatly impressed the local Catholics who witnessed and heard of them, the fame of this holy maid of Wales proved short-lived. Arrested, interrogated, and whipped, under duress she admitted that she had counterfeited her visions. Obliged to make a humiliating public confession of her imposture in Chester Cathedral, she declared that she had been led astray by the "wicked counsaile" of "a vile runnagate papist" who had abused "the simplicitie of my tender yeres." The "craftie and subtill seducer" she blamed for perverting her was named as "that naughty fellowe Hughes," who, she said, had formerly been her schoolmaster in Overton. This confused amalgam of the priest Edward Hughes and the teacher Richard Gwyn suggests that both may have been implicated in this extraordinary incident, which soon became the subject of a scurrilous anti-Catholic pamphlet written by the soldier and semi-professional author Barnaby Rich; the pamphlet reprinted the manuscript tract with sarcastic marginalia and excoriating commentary that denounced the episode as a typical piece of popish deceit.[46] Elizabeth's brief career as a Counter-Reformation saint was over. The embryonic cult generated by her controversial visions defending Catholic dogma and promoting recusancy rapidly disintegrated. As Aviad Kleinberg has commented, "A saintly reputation could be as transient as the hopes and fears of the people who created it."[47]

Unsurprisingly, no reference is made to this embarrassing episode in Richard Gwyn's vitae. The silence of both texts on this topic is resounding. Anxious that he should not be tainted by association with the scandal stirred up by the discredited visionary, their authors conveniently airbrushed Elizabeth Orton out of their histories. Gwyn's heroic death at Wrexham two years later provided an opportunity to repair some of the damage and set the Catholic mission to eliminate the "schism" in north Wales onto a fresh footing.

It is telling that Richard Gwyn himself was the author of a carol summarizing the nine reasons in Persons's *Brief discourse* against going to heretical services. Renowned for his knowledge of his Welsh tongue, in which he was said to have been "inferior to none in his country," he was not an official bard but a part of the penumbra of lesser poets that hovered around this elite literary caste. As belligerent in tone as Robert Gwyn's *Gwyssanaeth y Gwyr Newydd*, Gwyn's carol paints a pitiful picture of the new religion,

45 The manuscript is printed for refutation in Barnaby Rich, *The True Report of a Late Practise Enterprised by a Papist, with a Yong Maiden in Wales* (London, 1582), sigs B1v-D4v, quotations at D1r, C1r. For a fuller account of this episode, see Alexandra Walsham, "The Holy Maid of Wales: Visions, Imposture and Catholicism in Elizabethan Britain," *English Historical Review* 132 (2017): 250–285.

46 Rich, *True Report,* sigs A3v-4v.

47 Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, IL.: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 162.

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castigating the English translation of Scripture as "topsy-turvy" and "full of crooked conceits," the "sorry trestle" that stands in place of the sacred altar and the "shrivelled cobbler" who substitutes for the holy priest, the "miserable tinker" of the minister "making a boast of his knavery," and the empty niches now bereft of sacred images.[48] This is one of six surviving songs attributed to Gwyn, who appears to have written them while in prison. Addressed to the faithful people of Cambria, others proclaim the unity of the true Catholic church, denounce the Reformation, lambast Luther as "the cunning flatterer," and promote devotion to the Virgin Mary and the saying of the rosary. Others that are no longer extant apparently attacked clerical marriage and called the Bible "a bubble."[49] The remaining two are more topical and provocative. One is a vehicle for reporting a piece of anti-Protestant providential news: the mysterious outbreak of gaol fever at the Oxford Assizes in 1577, which carried off the judge and jury who passed sentence on the Catholic bookseller Rowland Jenkes. The second celebrates the assassination of the Dutch ruler William of Orange in July 1584. Rejoicing in the demise of the "fat and tedious" prince, this "funeral ode, full of reproach" pours scorn on leading Protestant churchmen including John Jewel, John Foxe, William Fulke, and the puritan dean of Chester, Christopher Goodman, and concludes with audacious insolence by wishing "success to the man who shall kill him."[50] In short, this Welsh poem is nothing less than a vindication of tyrannicide. Inflected with a corrosive anti-Protestantism, it breathes the spirit of the distinctly militant and apocalyptic brand of Catholicism that seems to have flourished in this region. Gwyn himself was heard to have declared that the world "would not last long" and that he hoped to see a "better" one.[51]

All of this sets another central theme of Gwyn's vitae into sharp relief: the narratives that revolve around the central question of the schoolmaster's alleged treason. They are strenuous attempts to repudiate the claim that he was disloyal to the queen and that he had actively denied her sovereignty, upheld the pope's supremacy, and sanctioned rebellion in the name of Pius V's bull of excommunication of 1570, *Regnans in Excelsis*. Their aim is to demonstrate that the local men who testified against him were perjurers, paid to frame Gwyn and his companions and cement the case for putting them to death as political traitors. Slanted to cast the prisoners as the innocent victims of a malicious conspiracy, their clear objective is to whitewash the threesome of guilt. Yet we ignore the sense of crisis and urgency that animated the proselytizing endeavors of Gwyn and other Welsh Catholic laymen at our peril. It is unlikely that everything these witnesses

48 Catholic Record Society, "The Carols of Richard White," in *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs*, ed. John H. Pollen (London: Catholic Record Society, 1908), 90–99. See also T. H. Parry-Williams, ed., *Carolau Richard White* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1931).

49 *WECM*, 105.

50 Pollen, *Unpublished Manuscripts*, 97–99.

51 *WECM*, 105. On Catholic apocalypticism, see Coral Stoakes, "English Catholic Eschatology, 1558–1603" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2017).

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reported Gwyn had said were actually "impudent lyes" invented in return for a bribe.[52] In light of the evidence cited above, it is possible that Gwyn would have welcomed a foreign invasion and even, as a last resort, an act of regicide. He might, too, have been the author of some of the prophetic "songs and rhymes" predicting a glorious Catholic restoration, which were circulating in Welsh in the 1570s.[53] As recent work by Michael Questier and others has taught us, the political radicalism of Elizabethan Catholicism should not be underestimated. The story of passive Catholic quiescence that has dominated the historiography is itself a legacy and artefact of contemporary efforts to shape how successive generations remembered these heady decades. Consciously and unconsciously, Catholic writers edited out evidence that imperiled their efforts to argue for toleration on the basis of the martyrs' loyalty and which also jeopardized advancements of the cause for the canonization of those who had been the victims of judicial violence. Recusancy itself was a defiant act of political resistance and civil disobedience, which struck at the heart of the regime's strategy for creating a Protestant nation: religious uniformity. In striving to convert and reconcile fellow laypeople to Rome, Gwyn was engaged in subverting their allegiance to the queen.[54]

Both narratives of Gwyn's life and martyrdom open a revealing window into the intense sectarian tensions that hovered close to the surface in Wrexham and its surrounding villages. Originally written for audiences familiar with the people they name and identify, they were themselves interventions in local confessional politics designed to discredit the martyr's sworn enemies, including the wealthy puritan cloth merchant, David Edwards, who confronted him in the street and sought to carry out a form of civilian arrest. In the unseemly scuffle involving a dagger and a staff that ensued, Edwards was knocked unconscious, after which Gwyn fled, only to be seized by Edwards's servants, who delivered him to the magistrates. While the Holywell manuscript makes no reference to Gwyn fighting back, the *Concertatio* bends over backwards to stress

52 *WECM*, 106; see also 105–110.

53 As reported by Dr. Morys Clynnog, who actively supported an invasion scheme to overthrow Elizabeth I: John Martin Cleary, "Dr Morys Clynnog's Invasion Projects of 1575–1576," *Recusant History* 8 (1966): 300–322, at 306–307.

54 Some important contributions include Peter Lake and Michael Questier, "Puritans, Papists and the 'Public Sphere' in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context," *Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000): 587–627; Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Michael Questier, "Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England," *English Historical Review* 123 (2008): 1132–1165; Aislinn Muller, *The Excommunication of Elizabeth I: Faith, Politics and Resistance in Post-Reformation England, 1570–1603* (Leiden: Brill, 2020). For an overview of trends in interpretation, see Alexandra Walsham, "In the Lord's Vineyard: Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain," in Walsham, *Catholic Reformation,* esp. 12–20. On reconciliation, see Lucy Underwood, "Persuading the Queen's Majesty's Subjects from their Allegiance: Treason, Reconciliation and Confessional Identity in Elizabethan England," *Historical Research* 89 (2016): 246–267.

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that "the good man" was so shaken by the "unexpected calamity" that he "remained motionless in the same place stunned with great pity of heart" towards the man he believed he had accidentally killed. Only after Edwards showed signs of life, it says, did Gwyn leave the scene. Reconciling Gwyn's aggression with his status as a martyr required some careful sleight of hand.[55]

Filled with resentment of "hotte puritanes … full of the Ghospell," the Holywell manuscript was a text designed to stir the pot of the Catholic hatred of heretics. Its caustic marginal comments accuse one of Gwyn's persecutors of incest, condemn others as "a greedy blood sucker" and a "cursed bailiff more inhumane then turke or heathen," and brand the "evangelicall brethren" as people having "not one dramme of charity among them."[56] It reports scandalous rumors about the divine judgments that overcome the judges and jury who convict him, one of whom loses his credit and another his wits; the crier who becomes "a foole and a momme"; and David Edwards himself, who dies ignominiously of a gangrenous disease in a "horrible stink" that symbolizes, in time-honored fashion, his spiritual corruption.[57] The *Concertatio* and Yepes's *Historia Particular* omit most of the *ad hominem* tales of the gory and humiliating punishments that befell his adversaries, though the story of the clerk mysteriously struck blind before he could read the bill of indictment keeps its place, together with the judge's fear that "the papists" would "make a miracle of" this incident.[58] This was too much of a gift to a Catholic polemicist to be overlooked. These subtle shifts of emphasis are indicative of the wider process that marks the transition from oral to written, whereby anecdotal detail is silently elided and eclipsed by the priority of creating an enduring and timeless model of heroic virtue.[59]

The assimilation of Gwyn's vitae to this template is evident in other ways, too. In his exchanges with his interrogators, he repeatedly outwits them, displaying knowledge, learning, and wit. Indeed, in these disputes, he appears as something of a stand-up comedian. While the martyr who shows up his persecutors and laughs off his impending death is a standard motif, in the Holywell narrative elements of convention are combined with glimpses of this ardent Welshman's sparkling sense of humor and the "merry conceits" and "proceedings" with which this "jesting fellow" entertained those who attended his trial and execution.[60] The *Concertatio* occludes some of these exploits,

55 *WECM*, 88, 148–151.

56 *WECM*, 93, 108, 94.

57 *WECM*, 128–130. On divine judgments on persecutors as a martyrological trope, see Questier, *Catholics and Treason*, 63–70.

58 *WECM*, 91, 158–159.

59 See Evelyn Birge Vitz, "From Oral to the Written in Medieval and Renaissance Saints' Lives," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 97–114.

60 *WECM*, 92, 114, 120.

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effacing his joking personality in favor of playing up his status as a symbol of Catholic constancy in the face of persecution. The process of transforming him from a feisty figure of fun into a sober servant of God who suffers the assaults of his heretics with exemplary dignity and patience was underway. In both accounts, the spectators who lament and weep as he prepares for his death, his noble forgiving of his enemies, and his quiet endurance of his death and dismemberment, calling out "the very sweet name of Christ" in the last throes of his suffering, are poignant details that also align with the conventions of martyrology.[61] The courage of Gwyn's wife, who, carrying an infant in her arms, retorts to the exhortation in court that she reform herself by saying "If you lacke blood you may take my life as well as my husbands," contributes to constructing Gwyn in the image of a pious householder and a devoted parent.[62]

The gradual process of recasting Gwyn as a saint can also be seen in the incorporation in the *Concertatio* of new elements that accorded with hagiographical tradition, including the story of the vision of three men dressed in dazzling white robes seen in the sky above a field between Wrexham and Overton some years before Gwyn's martyrdom, which served as a sign from heaven foretelling his death. The miraculous escape of the devotees who came to retrieve his remains at midnight, whose tracks were covered by a blanket of deep snow, was cited as further evidence of God's approbation of this holy prophet, together with the fact that his mangled quarters emitted "a most sweet smell."[63] Like so many Christian martyrs before him, Gwyn had apparently died, as he lived, in the odor of sanctity. The author of the Holywell manuscript was reluctant to recount "the manyfould grate and straunge wonders yt his blood, bones, ashes & other holy monuments of his have done" because "the incredulity of this time will not suffer [them] to be published." He was confident that "they shall one day (god willing) [be] made manifest to ye glory of God, honour his Saint, confirmation of the Catholiqe fayth and confutation heresie."[64] Gwyn's primary and secondary relics were clearly venerated soon after his death, including the rosary beads he gave to his wife, the dozen silk points (pieces of lace) he blessed and bestowed on local priests and gentlemen, and the penny that he bent (in keeping with the ritual of medieval pilgrims) and delivered to his ghostly father and confessor.[65] In this way, Gwyn both anticipated and cultivated his own reputation as a future saint.

Above all, these narratives bear witness to the process of Gwyn's steady translation into the proto-martyr of Wales.[66] Comparing him to the virgin martyr Saint Winifred and saying that he followed in "the happy steppes of his blessed country man Saint

61 *WECM*, 247.
62 *WECM*, 112.
63 *WECM*, 248–251.
64 *WECM*, 130.
65 *WECM*, 115–116.
66 *WECM*, 248–249.

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Albano, the first martyr of the ancient Britons," the Holywell manuscript declared that "the fame of his death pierced the heartes of all Wales from north to south," leading many across its remote, rugged and mountainous terrain to honor his commitment to the faith of their "dear progenitors."[67] These texts shared the conviction of John Bennett that the activities of local Catholic priests and laymen would restore the "faith our ancestors for fourteen hundred years [had] devoutly exercised" and enlist others to apply themselves to building "the walls of Jerusalem" anew.[68] They reflect the authentic voice of a powerful strain of Welsh Catholic identity rooted in a creative fusion of the Celtic language, sacred history, and the "old religion."[69]

4. Afterlife and Canonization

Over time, Gwyn and his fellow Welsh confessors and martyrs drifted out of living memory and entered the realm of hagiographical legend. His vitae continued to circulate scribally, alongside copies of his *carolau*, a dozen manuscripts of which survive. A printed text dated 1600 and produced by an illicit press appears to have survived until about 1720. Alongside Gwyn's bodily and personal relics, these literary "monuments" provide evidence of his posthumous charisma and of how his cult was transmitted down the generations.[70] In the process, relieved of the ambiguities and contradictions that had surrounded him, Gwyn became "a mnemonic unit."[71]

Gwyn's scribal and printed lives flowed into the body of material that leading Catholics began building towards the formal canonization of England's Elizabethan and early Stuart martyrs in the second decade of the seventeenth century. The Congregation of Propaganda Fide issued orders to the shadow Catholic Bishop of Chalcedon and Vicar Apostolic Richard Smith in 1626 to gather the requisite evidence and prepare a catalogue, but this was interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War.[72] By 1700, Gwyn's vitae had

67 *WECM*, 125–126.

68 *WECM*, 225.

69 For wider manifestations of this, see Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, "Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church," in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 52–71; and Simon Ditchfield, "What Was Sacred History? (Mostly Roman) Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent." in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World,* ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 72–97.

70 Daniel Huws, "Gwyn [White], Richard [St. Richard Gwyn]," The Holywell MS refers to the Welsh manuscripts he left to posterity as "eternall monuments of his witte, zeale, vertue and learning": *WECM*, 87.

71 Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country*, 1–2.

72 See Questier, *Catholics and Treason*, ch. 13–15. For an older account, see Aloysius Smith, "The Processes of Beatification and Canonization," in *The English Martyrs: Papers from the Summer School of Catholic*

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become part of a wider corpus of martyrological narratives that provided a focal point for remembering the sufferings of Catholics since the Reformation and comprised an archive that was consciously designed to counter the official Protestant narrative of that contested past.[73] Absorbed into collections compiled by the Jesuit Christopher Grene, the Benedictine Ralph Weldon, and the secular priest John Knaresborough, these narratives filtered into Bishop Richard Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, published in two volumes in 1741–1742, the first systematic attempt to collate the lives of the martyrs in print, which also drew liberally on the *Concertatio*.

One of Challoner's central aims was to vindicate those who had died from "the odious Imputation of Treason" and demonstrate that they were innocent victims of the tyrannical Tudor and Stuart state and that "their only Guilt was their Religion." The preface expressed his hope that "every generous English soul" would admire the "Fortitude and Courage, joyn'd with so much Meekness, Modesty and Humility, in the Lives and Deaths of so many of his Countrymen, who have died for no other Crime but their Conscience." He sought not to "make Panegyrics of any of these brave Men," but rather to present an impartial account of the "strictest Veracity," free of the vagaries of "Hearsays" or "popular Traditions."[74] The book contained an abbreviated cameo of Gwyn, playing up his transition from church-papistry ("an Error too common in those Days") to recusancy, the perjured witnesses who claimed that he had denied the Queen's supremacy over the church, and the cruel "butchery" of his execution, during which he had pronounced the name of Jesus twice "whilst the Hangman had his Hands in his Bowels." Stripped of surplus information, it is an index of his gradual transformation into a timeless archetype. Anxious not to "seem to run before the Church of God," Challoner refrained from "giving them the title of saints or martyrs" and was "very sparing in mentioning miracles, visions, or revelations shown in favour of any of these champions of God's truth; for such things, by the decrees of the Apostolic see, ought not to be published till they have been first duly examined and approved by the ordinaries." Acknowledging the "milder Ways of proceeding with Catholics" that now prevailed and which "they will ever thankfully acknowledge," Challoner's book sought to advance the cause of toleration.[75] Explicitly omitting from its register those who had publicly disavowed the lawful sovereignty of the monarchy, the book was also a bid to depoliticize their deaths, and thereby to remove one principal impediment to their canonization. The effect was to sanitize and homogenize the lives of the missionary priests and laypeople it summarized, ironing out their individuality in the interests

Studies Held at Cambridge, July 28–Aug. 6, 1928, ed. Bede Camm (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons Ltd, 1929), 43–76, 55–56.

73 Liesbeth Corens, "Dislocation and Record-Keeping: The Counter Archives of the Catholic Diaspora," *Past and Present*, Supplement 11 (2016): 269–287.

74 Challoner, *Memoirs*, sigs A2r-3v. On Challoner, see Questier, *Catholics and Treason,* 4–9.

75 Ibid., 163–165.

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of foregrounding the impeccable Catholic consciences that motivated their lives and endeavors.

Following Catholic emancipation in 1829, the campaign to persuade the papacy to formalize the cults of the English and Welsh martyrs gathered pace. In the 1860s, Richard Simpson published transcriptions of a series of relevant texts in the Catholic periodical, *The Rambler*, including the Holywell *vita* of Richard Gwyn.[76] Others were incorporated into the Jesuit John Morris's *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, which appeared in three volumes between 1872 and 1877, with the objective of stirring up "affectionate devotion" to these men and women. He, too, protested that "no word there used is intended as an anticipation of the decrees of the Church," but he fervently prayed that the Holy See would "be pleased to pronounce its judgment on the cause of those who gave their lives for the faith."[77] The beatifications of 1889 and 1895 were the consequence of the endeavors of Morris and other Fathers of the London Oratory to secure papal approval.[78] John Hungerford Pollen's editorial labors to make available the *Unpublished Documents* of the martyrs for the newly formed Catholic Record Society must be understood as attempts to advance the cause of canonization and facilitate the promotion of those declared venerable to fully fledged saints. These included Gwyn's *carolau*, despite Pollen's evident discomfort with the belligerent tone of his verses, which were "plainly wanting both in forebearance and in good feeling."[79] If previous times had been adverse to promoting this formally, now at least some of the obstacles to doing so had been removed, though the worry that this would re-inflame Protestant sensitivities and intolerance remained. Stressing the "underlying unity" of the accounts it contained, "in spite of the unavoidable divergencies of style" of their writers, the *Lives of the Martyrs*, including Gwyn, which Pollen co-edited with Edwin Burton in 1914, further helped to cement them into a single, albeit hybrid, entity. Insisting that none of them could be charged with any civic or criminal offense, it comprehensively exonerated them of treason and condemned the bloody questions as a "hypocritical device" that was "one of the most detestable features of the persecution."[80]

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76 Joseph L. Altholz, "Materials for Recusant History in *'The Rambler,'*" *Recusant History* 6 (1961–1962): 80–89; [Richard Simpson, ed.,] "A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mr Richard White, Schoolmaster," *The Rambler,* NS 3 (1860): 233–248, 366–388.

77 John Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves,* 3 vols (London: Burns and Oates, 1872–1877), vol. 1, x; vol. 3, xii.

78 See Lucy Underwood, "English Catholic Martyrs," in *Making and Remaking Saints in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Gareth Atkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 144–160.

79 Pollen, *Unpublished Documents*, 91. Subsequent questioning of the attribution of the funeral ode on William of Orange to Gwyn probably reflects an attempt to distance him from radical political opinions: see *WECM*, 49.

80 Edwin H. Burton and J. H. Pollen, eds., *Lives of the English Martyrs: Second Series. The Martyrs Declared Venerable* (vol. 1, *1583–1588*) (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1914), ix–x, xix, 127–144. See also Pollen's article, John H. Pollen, "English Confessors and Martyrs, 1534–1729," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*,

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This process was actively enhanced by the papal proceedings for canonization. Among a dizzying array of cults and supporting documents, it was agreed that the most efficient strategy was to treat the martyrs as one, identifying a group of forty figures representative in terms of geographical origin, social status, and occupation to stand for the rest. The product of delicate discussion and careful compromise, the details of which remain hazy but which clearly involved much behind-the-scenes horse-trading, the cohort selected using these criteria was a mixture of men and women, clergy and laity, English and Welsh. The evidence that some had been the subject of a public cult was supplied by the paintings painted by Circignani in the English College and reproduced as engravings in the *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea*. A single miracle, subjected to forensic scrutiny by the Holy See, was deemed sufficient to seal the case for pronouncing them saints.[81] Despite continued fears of stirring up ancient animosities, offending the "separated brethren," and derailing the progress of ecumenical and eirenic reconciliation, this finally took place in 1970.[82] The product of a movement that deliberately elevated the shared experience of persecution above divergent linguistic, regional, and ethnic characteristics, it fused the martyrs into a composite and plastic symbol around which British Catholics could rally. Reflecting Peter Burke's observation that saints bear witness to the values of the age in which they are canonized as much, if not more, than the era in which they were born, this cohort gave expression to the hopes and aspirations of a community whose identity was still inflected by the legacy of its post-Reformation history, but which was also conscious of the new challenges of dwindling devotion and growing religious indifference.[83]

The presence of Richard Gwyn among the Forty martyrs canonized in 1970 reflects the careful balancing act that the postulators for their cause sought to achieve. In choosing

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https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05474a.htm (last accessed December 17, 2023). The collection of papers edited in 1929 by Bede Camm was part of the process. In the preface, he spoke of the many prayers "going up to God for this happy consummation": Camm, ed., *English Martyrs*, p. v. Gwyn is mentioned briefly (as White) in Joseph Clayton, "Martyrs of the Laity A.D. 1535–1680," in ibid., 288–304, at 299.

81 Office of the Vice Postulation, *Canonization of the Forty English and Welsh Martyrs*, 22–30, at 25, 27–28, 29–30. For the official presentation of documents relating to the martyrdom and cults of eleven of the forty martyrs, including Edmund Campion, see Congregatio Sacrorum Rituum, *Archdiocese of Westminster: Cause of the Canonization of Blessed Martyrs … Put to Death in England in Defence of the Catholic Faith (1535–1582),* Sacred Congregation of Rites Historical Section 148 (Rome: Vatican Polyglot Press, 1968). See also London, Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster, AAW/DOW/CEM/7 (Relations for the Cause of Various Saints, 1961). Gwyn was not one of the martyrs depicted in Circignani's murals, which were produced before he was put to death.

82 On the ecumenical implications, see Office of the Vice Postulation, *Canonization of the Forty English and Welsh Martyrs*, 31–34, at 31. This is explored further by Andrew Atherstone, "The Canonisation of the Forty English Martyrs: An Ecumenical Dilemma," *Recusant History* 30, no. 4 (2011): 573–587. See also Alana Harris, *Faith in the Family: A Lived Religious History of English Catholicism, 1945–1982* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 233–250.

83 Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 52–53.

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Gwyn, they bypassed other Elizabethan missionaries, including the Anglesey priest William Davies, who was executed in 1595, having been revered during his lifetime as "the star of his country."[84] In doing so, they did not prioritize merely the first person to be executed for the faith in post-Reformation Wales, but also a married layman with a family whose career as a Welsh language schoolmaster made him an accessible figure for emulation by modern Catholics in this part of Great Britain. In 1933, T. P. Ellis's *Martyrs of Wales* (1933) had adopted him as the central mascot of his catalogue of the "long-forgotten members of our race" who had died for conscience and religious principle and shown "unswerving fidelity" to Rome as "gallant heroes of Welsh history." In Ellis's hands, Gwyn was elevated into a passionate partisan who epitomized the native resistance to the Reformation, to an "alien faith" forced upon its "utterly unwilling people." Convicted of treason by "a packed jury of riff-raff" and "rascals" in a trial that was a farce, he had died as a "heroic son of Wales." Tellingly, Ellis reversed Gwyn's own anglicization of his name to White in a blatant bid to claim him for the nationalist cause.[85] In 1955 the Office of the Vice Postulator published a pamphlet about "Blessed Richard Gwyn" by Oswald Murphy and in 1963 he featured prominently in a painting it commissioned of the 40 martyrs, set against the backdrop of the Tower of London and the gallows at Tyburn, standing to the left of Margaret Clitherow and Edmund Campion, wearing a cap and ruff and bearing a quill as an emblem of his vocation.[86]

Multivalent and malleable, Gwyn was a saint who could serve simultaneously to unite the Catholics of the British Isles and to trumpet a distinctive and vibrant tradition of Welsh Catholic piety rooted in defiant resistance of the Protestant Church of England. His canonization sanctioned a popular cult that had hitherto lurked in the shadows: a cult centered on his literary and bodily relics, on the local landmarks linked with his life and death, including the site of the former beast market in Wrexham where he was executed and to which a procession is still made annually on the anniversary of his death, and on the churches and schools dedicated to him before and after 1970.[87] Secretly preserved for over 250 years, the small piece of his arm bone now on display in Wrexham's Catholic cathedral of Our Lady of Sorrows provides material evidence

84 On Davies, who was beatified in 1987, see *WECM*, 55–70, quotation at 59. Surviving documents relating to him are reproduced on 261–234. As well as the manuscript accounts that circulated after his death, the preservation of his relics attests to his cult: a withered hand, supposed to be his, was discovered in an old trunk in a house belonging to a prominent Catholic family in the nineteenth century. See *WECM*, 307.

85 Thomas Peter Ellis, *The Catholic Martyrs of Wales, 1535–1680* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne Ltd, 1933), xi–xvii, 18–33.

86 Oswald J. Murphy, *Blessed Richard Gwyn: Protomartyr of Wales* (London: Office of the Vice-Postulation, 1955). See also *Martyrs of England and Wales 1535–1680* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1960), 14, where Gwyn is described as a convert. The painting by Daphne Pollen was reproduced in the *Universe and Catholic Times* (July 10, 1964).

87 See https://www.wrexham-history.com/saint-richard-gwyn-wrexham/ (last accessed December 17, 2023); https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Gwyn (last accessed December 17, 2023).

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of the tenacity and durability of local devotion to Gwyn over a prolonged period.[88] At the same time, he remains a flexible symbol of the evolving priorities of the global Church of Rome as it adapts to fresh challenges. In a devotional booklet published in the wake of the murder of the French priest Jacques Hamel in Rouen by two Muslim terrorists in July 2016, Gwyn is reactivated to speak to new circumstances. Presented as a mirror for the Catholic faithful in what its author declares is, "without doubt," "a new age of martyrs," here he appears as "a good husband," "a loving father," and "a model of conjugal life."[89]

This essay has sought to investigate some aspects of saint-making in the context of an early modern minority Catholicism as it navigated its transition from a monopolistic institution to a beleaguered and scattered body of believers. Attentive to the creative interplay between the universal and the particular, the center and the periphery, medieval hagiography and later invented tradition, eyewitness testimony and inherited memory, it has probed the cult of one individual who rejected the Reformation, alongside other Elizabethan Welsh priests and laypeople who have since been forgotten or erased from public memory. The contested practices of holiness and the spontaneous processes of veneration to which these gave rise add new levels of complexity to our understanding of sainthood as an unfinished and open-ended process of becoming shaped by a variety of stakeholders reacting to the ever-changing religious and political, local and international climate in which they find themselves. They illustrate the irony that the persecuted Catholic communities of the British Isles supplied the resurgent Tridentine Church and the papacy with some of its most compelling sources of sacred power and validation, even as circumstances conspired against legally ratifying this for more than four centuries. Paradoxically, what the politics of canonization entailed in this context was the systematic evacuation of the political content and dynamics of the cults of these English and Welsh saints-in-waiting.

88 For the relic, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Gwyn#/media/File:Eglwys_Gadeiriol_Wrecsam_-_Wrexham_Cathedral,_Cymru._Eglwys_Gatholig_-_Catholic_Church_131.jpg (last accessed December 17, 2023).

89 John S. Hogan, *A Book of Martyrs: Devotions to the Martyrs of England, Scotland and Wales* (London: Catholic Truth Society, Publishers to the Holy See, 2017), 7–9, 63, 73, 74, 81.

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Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger

Comment

Roman and Local Procedures

In matters of sanctity, the early modern period was characterized by a growing tension between local customary practices of veneration and papal attempts to control, formalize, and monopolize the procedures of beatification and canonization. There are obvious parallels to the simultaneous process of state building. I would like to focus on some analogies and entanglements between the two developments. My comment refers (1) to the relationship between saint-making and the general social logic of the period, and (2) to the consequences of formal decision-making.

1. Analogies and Interconnections between the Social Logic in Heaven and on Earth

What the articles intriguingly show is that the worlds here and beyond shared the same social logic. Heaven and earth followed the principles of hierarchy, rank, honor, and patronage. They also shared the general trend from close social relations to more generalized, more abstract ones, briefly: towards centralization and the concentration of power. What took place on earth was mirrored and reinforced in heaven.

Both worlds were shaped and interconnected by the social logic of patronage, hierarchy, and *do ut des*. The rhetoric and the formula were the same. The rulers in heaven and on earth would be addressed in the same way: with utmost deference and by means of a hierarchy of intercessors. The saints were addressed as God's courtiers, a *cour céleste*.[1] The society of blesseds and saints ressembled the court society in that they were supposed to be hierarchically ordered. Like in any other social hierarchy, though, there were different, shifting criteria of rank which could diverge and compete with one another. As a consequence, there were heavenly competitions and conflicts of rank: between old and new saints; *sancti*, *beati*, and *Vielselige*; between local, regional, and universal saints; between formally approbated saints, formally approbated blesseds, aspiring blesseds, those without any aspirations of success in the procedure, those

1 Olivier Marin and Cécile Vincent-Cassy, with the collaboration of Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, Andreas Sohn, and Marie-José Michel, eds., *La Cour céleste: La Commémoration collective des saints au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

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who required papal approval as *casus exceptus*, and those who did not even need any procedure and whose status was beyond any doubt.

Both worlds were also shaped by similar spatial practices: lesser, informal cults benefited from the spatial closeness to major cults, just as minor courtiers benefited from spatial closeness to the ruler's favorites (Daniel Sidler). It may be also worthwhile looking for structural similarities between the procedures of beatification/canonization and the procedures of ennoblement, which were standardized in the seventeenth century as well. Similar scholarly methods were needed to prove one's noble ancestors and the saint's virtues and miracles; similar sovereign decisions were required, etc.

The stronger the political integration at the state level was, the more supra-regional saints were needed. According to Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux, this was also true for dioceses: new dioceses required new cults. Therefore, it is not surprising that blesseds and saints could wander; their cults moved, and they expanded from a local to provincial and even universal level. As Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux and Samuel Weber show, blesseds and saints were malleable; they flexibly adapted to political and social demands. Not only high nobles and ruling families were agents in this process, but also local communities and simple believers (Daniel Sidler). There was a strong demand for heavenly support from below—which seems to be a parallel to the fact that state building, too, was stimulated from below. In short: the (contingent, non-linear) process of state making was mirrored by the transformations of the heavenly society. Local intermediary powers were limited; central power was strengthened. There was a trend from local to regional to national/imperial saints, because political entities required spiritual integration by a shared cult, be it on the communal, regional, national, or imperial level.

Much like social status in early modern societies, sainthood was "the product of negotiation, disagreement, collaboration, and collusion" (Alexandra Walsham). Most of the papers treat the aspiring saints as passive objects in this process, as objects of a strategic "making," be it by the common people, noble patrons, the clergy, or the Curia. From the perspective of the contemporaries themselves, however, the saints were powerful agents of their own, members of a social universe that encompassed heaven and earth. The fact that believers acted strategically does not exclude that they sincerely believed in the aspiring saints' own power to act and to intervene unexpectedly in the process of their own beatification. As Philipp Zwyssig shows, the saints' agency could make them—to a certain degree—uncontrollable.

For social and political communities, blesseds and saints were valuable symbolic and social capital. The British case, however, is a counter example (Alexandra Walsham). As long as Catholics were a persecuted minority and adherence to the pope was treated as a political crime, the Curia did not find it opportune to canonize British recusants as martyrs. That is why it took no less than four centuries and a transformation from "victims of tyranny" into "timeless archetypes of Christian virtue" until a representative group of forty British martyrs could finally be canonized. There is a stunning contrast between the vibrant cult of the ancient martyrs and the Curia's extreme reluctance to

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canonize any Catholics put to death by Protestant authorities in the era of confessionalization. As Walsham shows, the global church of Rome did not want to stir up political conflicts and irritate its own image of *ecclesia triumphans*.

2. Functions and Consequences of Formalization

The post-Tridentine procedure of making saints was obviously an early forerunner of bureaucratic formalization in general. Formalization means, firstly, defining and enacting procedures (usually set out in writing) for how to produce clear and unambiguous decisions, and secondly, submitting to the outcome of the procedures in advance, whatever it may be and regardless of personal loyalties.[2] So, the crucial question is: How does this fit with the ubiquitous social logic of patronage and reciprocity? What were the consequences of formalization here, what were the benefits, and what were the risks? Birgit Emich and Maria Teresa Fattori both give answers to these questions.

The amount of formalization in the Post-Tridentine beatification/canonization procedure is stunning. The procedure combined elements of judicial trials (interrogation of witnesses, final judgment, etc.) with advanced philological scholarship, as well as experimental science. Science and technology studies have shown that legal proceedings were deeply influenced by experimental science in the seventeenth century.[3] What the canonization procedures and the new science had in common was the burden of proof, that is: the necessary condition that each case had to be falsifiable. As Maria Teresa Fattori shows, the role of the promotor of faith, *advocatus diaboli*, cannot be overrated. In the procedure of saint-making, the burden of proof was made as heavy as possible.

This kind of formalization does not go without saying. There would have been an alternative way of determining whether one was a saint or not. Since the very core of holiness consisted of supernatural intercession by God, why not also take recourse to supernatural intercession by God when it comes to determining the sanctity of a person—as would have been done in former times? Why was divine ordeal no longer an option? Wouldn't it have been much more consistent to determine on a miracle by asking God for a miracle? Why did the Curia prefer a rational procedure according to juridical and scientific standards? In the end, the procedure did not get by without heavenly intervention anyway. From a modern point of view, it may seem like an inconsistency

2 Philip Hoffmann-Rehnitz, André Krischer, and Matthias Pohlig, "Entscheiden als Problem der Geschichtswissenschaft," *Historische Zeitschrift* 45, no. 2 (2018): 217–281; Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Die frühe Neuzeit – eine Epoche der Formalisierung?" in *Die Frühe Neuzeit: Revisionen einer Epoche*, ed. Andreas Höfele, Jan-Dirk Müller, and Wulf Oesterreicher (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 3–27.

3 Barbara J. Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationship between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law, and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

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to follow formal procedures on the one hand and ask for supernatural intercession on the other. However, this presupposes a clear separation of the immanent and the transcendent, which did not exist then. I will come back to this later.

What were the benefits of formalization, and what were the risks?

As for the benefits: what Maria Teresa Fattori beautifully calls the "machine of decision-making" is the clear consequential, conditional structure, the logic of "if this—then that." The procedure of decision-making was divided into innumerous small steps, all of which had to be documented in writing. What was to be achieved was a traceable and comprehensible sequence of decisions, produced by many different actors—bishops, cardinals, witnesses, experts, consultants, and church officials. They all became entangled in the procedure, which made it difficult to distance themselves from the results. Formalization was aimed at shielding the procedure against any external influence and guaranteeing its autonomy. The effect to be achieved was what Niklas Luhmann has called legitimation by procedure.[4] A formalized procedure tends to calm down the conflict and produce acceptance by everyone involved—even those who disagree and do not like the result.

There is also an important second effect. Formal procedures legitimize not only their results, but also—as an indirect side-effect—the authority of those who produce them, that is, not only the decision as such but also the decision-makers. Clearly, the procedure of beatification/canonization was meant to stage the authority of the curial hierarchy and the infallibility of the pope in particular, as Maria Teresa Fattori and Birgit Emich both show. By formalizing the whole procedure, from request through exam to approval, the pope also monopolized it. Birgit Emich argues that the procedure was even strong enough to prevail against the omnipresent logic of patronage—or at least it was not translateable into the rhetoric of patronage. The procedure allowed for a precise distinction of roles: the cardinal-nephew as such had no role in the procedure, except as cardinal. Whether this prevented the procedure from actual patronage is an open question.

There was yet another consequence of formalization, resulting from the rule of scarcity: the more difficult and meticulous the procedures were, the less likely their success; the fewer approved blesseds and saints there were, the higher the symbolic and social value of those happy few who made it, like Ignatius and Francis Xavier. This notion is confirmed by Christophe Duhamelle, who shows that the inflation of catacomb saints reduced their value.

On the other hand, there were also considerable risks of formalization. The whole procedure was highly ambivalent in two respects: Firstly, formal decision-making in the strict sense, with an open outcome, is always dangerous, because it makes contingency

4 Niklas Luhmann, *Legitimation durch Verfahren*, 6th ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001).

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visible. A decision—by definition—could always have been made differently. This is particularly true for decisions by majority. As Maria Teresa Fattori mentions, some of the decisions in the beatification and canonization procedures could be made by the majority of the congregation if unanimity was not achieved—but only in strict secrecy, for good reasons.

It seems, however, that the Curia did not trust its own decision-making procedure. Actually, one might doubt whether the majority principle in the strict sense really applied here. Lambertini's handbook reads that there should be a majority of two thirds, adding the important reservation, "if among these two thirds there are those whom the pope considers the most apt and appropriate."[5] Obviously, the *maior pars* should only decide if it was also the *sanior pars*! The question is: Are there any cases of open dissent being documented in the files? And what happened in these cases? How contingent actually were the individual procedural steps and the final result?

In any case, even if there had been moments of real contingency, they would eventually have had to be made invisible. In the end, the final decision would be performed in a magnificent public ritual and staged as entirely unanimous, which was a sign of divine presence, and as a consequence of divine intercession. A facade of consensus had to be constructed. Maria Teresa Fattori calls this the "charismatic turning-point" of the process. A modern observer might wonder why they did not let the Holy Spirit decide from the very beginning. In other words: the rationality and contingency of the procedure had their obvious limits. The "theater of infallibility" at the end of the procedure questioned or even denied the openness of the whole decision-making process. Open outcomes were clearly considered a serious threat to papal authority and to true belief in general. At least in the eyes of enlightened thinkers, this was a fundamental inconsistency of the whole canonization process.

Secondly, referring to Birgit Emich's article: Was the pope really successful in preventing the formal procedure from external influence? To keep it free from the rhetoric of *do ut des* did not mean keeping it free from the logic of *do ut des* itself. Don't we overrate the power of formalization?

Birgit Emich's most interesting argument is: The procedure itself made it easier to separate canonization from the patronage interests of the papal family because the duration of the process exceeded a single pope's lifetime, and the universal character of the saints devaluated the single intervention. In general, according to this argument, the complex procedure made it difficult to attribute certain services to individual requests. This may be true for the papal family itself, but not for all the other persons involved. The multiplication of procedural steps and involved personnel also created more occasions to solicit and intervene informally—for example, to manipulate witnesses, experts, or

5 "Si inter duas ex tribus partibus adsint illorum suffragia, quos aptiores et peritiores summus pontifex reputaverit," quoted by Fattori, 104, n. 41.

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officials. And on the level of these individual steps, a certain intervention would have been attributable to a certain request—at least to the extent that this was usually the case. Patronage was always characterized by a certain vagueness.

The formal procedure ran yet another risk. Once formal rules had been established, they needed to be enforced; deviance needed to be sanctioned. Daniel Sidler's examples illustrate how difficult this was. Common people on the local level deliberately decided not to ask for beatification and preferred to "fly below the radar." There were a lot of loopholes of strategic dissimulation and ambiguity. One could leave it to everyone's interpretation who was actually venerated in a chapel. Only for high nobles and dynasties who tried to establish a cult on the provincial or even imperial level was this clearly not an option. Sidler also shows how difficult it was to effectively sanction violations. In the case of Conrad Scheuber, for example, the bishop proved unable to enforce the ban of the cult. Failures like this would reveal the lack of power of church officials and threaten curial authority.

My assumption is therefore that more formality leads to more informal loopholes. It seems more likely that formalization did not weaken the logic of *do ut des*, but rather established what Hillard von Thiessen calls competition of norms and what I would call organizational hypocrisy.[6] In general, it seems to me that the risks and benefits of the formalized procedure were balanced. Formalization caused inconsistencies that the enlightened critics were happy to attack. I would argue that eventually the Curia was caught in a trap of its own making.

6 "Normenkonkurrenz": Hillard von Thiessen, *Das Zeitalter der Ambiguität: Vom Umgang mit Werten und Normen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2021). The notion of "organized hypocrisy" was coined by Nils Brunsson, *The Organization of Hypocrisy: Talk, Decisions and Actions in Organizations* (Chichester: Wiley, 1989).

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II
Framing Sanctity

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Jodi Bilinkoff

Fathers, Friars, Sons, and Saint-Makers

John of the Cross and His Earliest *Discípulos*

1. Introduction

John of the Cross (1542–1591) is esteemed today as a sublime mystic, spiritual guide, and one of the finest poets in the Spanish language. He began his career, however, as a founder and administrator of monastic houses. In 1567, the future Saint Teresa of Avila charged him with establishing the male branch of the Discalced Carmelite Order she had founded for nuns five years earlier.[1] Over the next two decades John would recruit, mentor, and supervise younger men as friars. After his death in 1591, many of these *discípulos* would, in turn, promote his canonization as a saint.

In this chapter I explore John's years as a monastic superior and attempt to reconstruct his relationships with the friars under his authority. I focus on the years in which he served as rector of his order's college in Baeza (1579–1582) and prior of friaries in Granada (1582–1588) and Segovia (1588–1591). As always with this history, the thorniest challenge is finding sufficient primary sources. John, unlike Teresa, never wrote an autobiography, and of the perhaps hundreds of letters he composed during his lifetime, only about thirty remain, some in fragments. Examining John's extant writings yields information, or at least clues, about the future saint's opinions, practices, and affective commitments.

The major source base for this study, though, are writings and transcribed oral accounts by friars who lived with John in one of these communities and thus came to know him personally. Utilizing some of the hundreds of testimonies recorded at beatification hearings held between 1614–1618 and 1627–1628 raises important questions about reliability and interpretation, to be sure. They were produced by admirers who shared the goal of publicizing John's virtues and promoting him as a saintly exemplar, not achieving some sort of journalistic "objectivity." The sheer abundance and richness of these texts, however, make them difficult to ignore entirely. As I have argued with respect to hagiographical writings, they can offer significant insights, providing fascinating windows into their society's values. Read critically and with care, they shed light not

1 For the biographical information that follows, José Vicente Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz: La biografía* (Madrid: San Pablo, 2012); José Vicente Rodríguez and Federico Ruiz Salvador, eds., *God Speaks in the Night: The Life, Times, and Teaching of St. John of the Cross*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh (Washington, DC: Institute for Carmelite Studies, 1991).

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only on the individual regarded as holy, but also his devotees.[2] The question-and-answer format used during beatification hearings may have been formulaic, but deponents' responses were extremely varied and deeply personal. One must discern the patterns that emerge, but also attend to the deviations, idiosyncrasies, and even contradictions.[3] Each testimony, I suggest, contains within it something of the recalled experiences of a spiritual son of John of the Cross as he participated in the initial phases of saint-making.

2. Life with John of the Cross

Between 1579 and 1591, John of the Cross recruited a cohort of young Discalced Carmelite friars, mainly from southern Spain. The most trusted among them he appointed to various administrative positions, affording them leadership experience as well as increased respect and status within the order. These spiritual sons assisted him in less formal ways as well, notably by accompanying him on one of his numerous journeys. As recent Discalced Carmelite historiography has stressed, John of the Cross was a contemplative who nonetheless traveled a great deal, a mystic on the move.[4] His activity only increased after his appointment in October 1585 as regional supervisor (*Vicario provincial*) of Andalusia, an office he undertook while also prior of the Granada house. Whenever John set out to inspect friaries or perform other business for the order, he took at least one friar with him, for reasons of safety and security, to help carry official papers and other supplies, and to keep him company. Occasionally he traveled on the back of a mule, but most often he walked.

John probably most frequently chose Juan Evangelista as his traveling companion. This "favorite son" (*hijo predilecto*) certainly tried to give that impression in his oral and written depositions, proclaiming at one point, "I was ever at his side."[5] However,

2 Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450–1750* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 9–10. See also Catherine M. Mooney, "Voice, Gender, and the Portrayal of Sanctity," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 1–15.

3 My approach to these methodological questions has been influenced by Carlo Ginzburg's pioneering studies involving the search for "fissures" in the historical record. See, for example, "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist," in Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 156–164.

4 Rodríguez and Ruiz Salvador, *God Speaks*, includes the following chapter or subchapter titles: "Traveling the Roads with Fray Juan," "Apostle and Traveler," "On the Road Again," and "A Tireless Traveler." Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz*, includes a chapter called "Juan de la Cruz, viajero."

5 John of the Cross, *The Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross,* trans. and ed. E. Allison Peers (London: Burns and Oates, 1935), 350. "[…] su compañero en caminos y fuera de ellos […] era [este testigo] que andaba a su lado." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan de la Cruz, Doctor de la Iglesia,* ed. Silverio de Santa Teresa, Biblioteca Mística Carmelitana, vols. 10–14 (Burgos: Monte Carmelo, 1929–1931), vol. 10, 340–341. See also "Y en todo el tiempo que este testigo anduvo con el dicho padre fray Juan de la Cruz, siendo prior

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at least ten other friars also provided anecdotes in their testimonies, fondly recalling their days walking the roads with John of the Cross. By this time, their identities as travel partners had clearly become a source of pride for individual friars and a badge of honor within the order. For example, while the first question posed to witnesses simply asked if and how they knew John, Fernando de la Madre de Dios hastened to reply that he would relate the places and times "he spent and walked (or traveled) with the Servant of God […]"[6] Juan de San Angelo could insist on his knowledge of John's many virtues "because of the topics discussed and experienced on the roads [this witness] walked with him."[7] Several friars alluded to a deeply meaningful spiritual aspect of this relationship: when on journeys they would hear one another's confessions. After describing John as "a saintly and very pure soul," Diego de la Concepción explained that he knew this for certain, "not only for having lived with him [at the Granada friary] and been his traveling companion on various occasions, but for having often heard his confessions over a long period of time."[8]

In the process of building monastic communities, then, John of the Cross reaped certain benefits from cultivating close relationships with a group of younger Discalced Carmelites. These friars, in turn, attached special meaning to their association with a mentor many people regarded as a saint. Their testimonies in beatification hearings (*procesos*) provide glimpses of spiritual and emotional commitments, as well as long-held memories they could deploy in the service of saint-making.

Twenty-four friars who had lived under John's supervision testified at one or both sets of *procesos*. Of these, fourteen received their habits as novices from John and/or made their final monastic professions to him as their prior, most at either Baeza or Granada. We know this detail about their lives as religious because they offered it; none of the formal questions posed to witnesses required this specific piece of information. They nevertheless found a way to signal their special status, perhaps even prestige within their order, due to their proximity to John.

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y vicario provincial […]." Antonio Fortes and F.J. Cuevas, eds., *Procesos de beatificación y canonización de San Juan de la Cruz,* Biblioteca Mística Carmelitana, vols. 22–25 (Burgos: Monte Carmelo, 1991–1994), vol. 23, 42.

6 "[…] dice que el dicho tiempo […] estuvo y anduvo con el siervo de Dios fray Juan de la Cruz […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 320.

7 "[…] y esto sabe por haberlo tratado y experimentado en algunos caminos que anduvo con él." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan*, 69.

8 "[…] dijo que el santo padre fray Juan fue un alma santa y muy pura. Y esto sabe muy bien, no solo por haber vivido con él y sido su compañero diversas veces, sino por haberle confesado muchas veces en mucho tiempo." Juan del Arco Moya and José del Arco Moya, eds., *Proceso de beatificación de San Juan de la Cruz: Proceso de Jaén, años 1627–1628* (Córdoba: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural Cajasur, 2006), 105–106. Other friars who testified about traveling with John included: Bartolomé de San Basilio, Bernardo de los Reyes, Inocencio de San Andrés, Jerónimo de la Cruz, Juan de Santa Ana, Luis de San Angelo, and Martín de la Asunción.

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Most of these witnesses made rather simple, factual statements, such as that of Sebastián de San Hilarión: "I took the habit when the servant of God Friar John of the Cross was rector of Baeza."[9] Others, though, chose to elaborate, for example, referencing the physical intimacy of the ritual of investiture, in which the superior clothes the novice in garments that signify his new identity. Agustín de la Concepción described how in Baeza he took the habit from John and later, in Granada, "professed at the hands of the Servant of God."[10] In a letter of 1614, Martín de San José recalled that "it has been thirty years since the Saint, as prior of the Granada friary, gave me the habit of this holy religious order." "Ever since then," he continued, "I have worn the cincture (*correa*) that he placed upon me with his own hands, esteeming it more than if it were made of gold." This language highlights the significance of John's touch to the friars' religious experience. Friar Martín went on to state that he loaned his cherished belt to people in need, "and they have told me that it has been of much benefit to them."[11] In this formulation, the cincture of the Discalced Carmelite habit extends in meaning from a marker of group membership to a precious keepsake to an efficacious contact relic.[12]

When a man joined the Discalced Carmelite order, he exchanged his family name for a religious name of his choice. Fernando Ortega de Carvajal apparently had trouble making up his mind. He testified about entering El Calvario at the age of seventeen and how "in this house the holy friar John of the Cross gave [him] the habit on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist in the year 1579." Then, in response to a question about John's devotion to the Virgin Mary, Fernando interjected a personal anecdote. When he had to select a new name, his fellow friars began making suggestions: "some said that I should adopt this name and others, another, each one different from the other according to his own devotion." The prior stepped in at this point and said, "My son, do not call yourself that, but rather Fernando de la Madre de Dios, because the Most Blessed Virgin greatly rejoices when she is referred to as the Mother of God." Thus, he concluded, "this witness

9 Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 178.

10 : "[…] el convento de Granada, donde cumplió su noviciado y profesó en manos del dicho siervo de Dios […]." Quoted in Gabriel Beltrán, "San Juan de la Cruz: Procesos de beatificación. Carmelitas Descalzos testigos oculares," *El Monte Carmelo* 106 (1998): 419–452, 424.

11 : "[…] habrá treinta años que me dió este Santo siendo prior de Granada el hábito de esta sagrada Religión, y desde entonces traigo puesta la correa que el me puso con sus manos, estimándola por esto más que si fuera de oro, y la he prestado para algunas necesidades y me han dicho que ha sido de mucho provecho." Letter of April 25, 1614, in Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 13, 377.

12 "[…] the most highly valued form of religious touch was that which brought one in direct physical contact with holiness […] the way in which the power of relics was accessed was above all, through touch." Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 35, 40. See also Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

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named himself Friar Fernando de la Madre de Dios, because the holy friar John of the Cross bestowed this name upon him, and for being a most excellent name."[13]

One of the most poignant testimonies of this sort came from Luis de San Angelo. This friar related how he met John in Baeza, and then, at his request, accompanied him to Granada. There he received his habit in 1583 and professed one year later. Friar Luis was now qualified to hear confessions, and John offered himself as the young priest's first penitent:

> He was the first person who confessed [to me] when they bestowed this ministry upon me, and such was his confession, and it left this witness so edified and ashamed, that, as I have said many times since, the very first person who confessed to me was a saint, because his confession was like that of an immensely pure soul, and since then this witness has considered himself fortunate to have had such a start to this most lofty ministry.[14]

John's biographers, from the seventeenth century to the present, have called attention to his ideas and practices regarding the supervision of friars.[15] This is not surprising given the nature of the surviving evidence. John expressed his opinions on this topic, as extant copies of his words of advice reveal. His statements suggest a pervasive concern

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13 "[…] en [El Calvario] le dió a este testigo el hábito el santo fray Juan de la Cruz, día del señor san Juan Baptista, del año mil y quinientos y setenta y nueve […] al este testigo al tiempo y cuando se le dió el hábito que trae, los religiosos que se hallaron presentes, unos decían se pusiese tal sobrenombre u otros otro, diferente cada uno, conforme a su devoción. Y el Santo le dijo a este testigo: hijo, no se llame ansí, sino Fernando de la Madre de Dios, porque la Virgen Santísima se huelga mucho la llamen Madre de Dios: y así se llamó este testigo fray Fernando de la Madre de Dios, por habérselo puesto el santo fray Juan de la Cruz, y por ser tan excelentísimo nombre." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 320–321. By 1600 "de la Madre de Dios" was one of the religious names most often chosen by Discalced Carmelite novices. José Carlos Vizuete Mendoza, "Onomástica y devociones entre los primeros carmelitas descalzos," in *El culto a los santos: Cofradías, devoción, fiestas y arte*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Instituto Escurialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, Simposium, 2008), 91–108.

14 "[…] siendo el venerable padre […] rector de Baeza, donde este testigo […] trató con el dicho padre […] ser religoso de su hábito y recibir el hábito de la dicha Orden. El cual le dió después, a este testigo, pasados algunos años en la cuidad de Granada." Quoted in Beltrán, "San Juan de la Cruz," 445. "El fue la primera persona que confesó cuando le pusieron en este ministerio, y fue tal su confesión y dejó a este testigo tan edificado y confuso, que ha dicho muchas veces después acá que el primero que confesó fue a un santo, porque de tal fue su confesión como de un alma purísima, y desde entonces este testigo se ha tenido por dichoso de haber hecho un tal principio en un ministerio tan alto." Juan de la Cruz, *San Juan de la Cruz: Obras completas*, ed. José Vicente Rodríguez, 6th ed. (Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2009), 1105, note 2.

15 Jodi Bilinkoff, "First Friar, Problematic Founder: John of the Cross in His Earliest Biographies," in *Reforming Reformation*, ed. Thomas F. Mayer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 103–118. Rodríguez and Ruiz Salvador, *God Speaks*, 226–235; pages 231–232 bear the subchapter title "The Art of Governing." Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz,* 770–772.

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about overbearing priors and the potential abuse of power. In the first of his "Spiritual Sayings" (*"Dictámenes del espíritu"*) John "greatly objected to imperious commands being given by superiors to their religious," insisting that nothing else "shows a man to be so unworthy of commanding others." He reportedly condemned ambition as "the most infectious of all vices." Worried about a perceived decline in courtesy among the Discalced Carmelites, he warned that "if instead there should enter cruelty and ferocity in superiors […] we should mourn the Order as ruined […]."[16] Recognizing, though, the inevitability of finding some disappointing priors in among the exemplary, in one of his "Cautions" (*"Cautelas"*) John urged friars to control their personal feelings toward the figure to whom they owed obedience. He counseled stoic forbearance: do not allow "the superior's unpleasant character to annoy you or his good and pleasing manner to make you happy."[17]

During the beatification hearings, John's former friars also had much to say about their experience of living under his leadership. Overall, their testimonies were highly laudatory, as one would expect from a group of saint-makers. Some made statements that aligned with John's recorded criticisms of arrogant and unjust superiors and his calls for moderation. Baltasar de Jesús, for example, marveled at his prior's "domination over his passions" and claimed that he had never seen him get "upset or exasperated." When John needed to reprimand a friar for his faults, he did so with "gentleness" and "calm."[18] This assessment was echoed by Antonio del Espíritu Santo, who likewise insisted that he "never saw [John] angry or out of temper." The prior corrected his monastic sons

16 John of the Cross, *The Complete Works*, 288, 293–294. "Fue enemigo de que los superiores de religiosos, y más reformados, mandasen con imperio; y así repetía que en ninguna cosa muestra uno ser indigno de mandar como mandar con imperio." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras completas,* 1123. "Decía del vicio de la ambición que en gente reformada es casi incurable, por ser el vicio más envicionero de todos," "[…] cuando viésemos en la orden perdida la urbanidad […] y que en lugar suyo entrase la agrestidad y ferocidad en los superiores, que es propio vicio de bárbaros, la llorásemos como perdida […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras completas*, 1127.

17 "Y será tu obediencia vana o tanto más infructuoso cuanto más tú, por la adversa condición del prelado te agravas o por buena condición te aligeras." John of the Cross, *The Collected Works of St. John of the Cross,* trans. Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodríguez (Washington, DC: Institute for Carmelite Studies, 1991), 723; Juan de la Cruz, *Obras completas,* 125.

18 "[…] y mostraba tener tanto señorío de sus pasiones, que por ningún acontecimiento en el capítulo ni en el refectorio ni en casa, jamás le vió este testigo inquieto ni inexasperado, sino cuando reprendía hacía con tal suavidad las faltas […] que mostraba bien quietud […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 140. Todd W. Reeser introduces "the notion of moderation as a gendered concept," one that young men would have encountered by reading Aristotle and other ancient authors. See Todd W. Reeser, *Moderating Masculinity in Early Modern Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 32. My thanks to David Boruchoff for this reference and other helpful suggestions.

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with "such prudence and modesty, that [I] never heard him say a word that was rude, which could have hurt the feelings of his subordinates."[19]

However, given the number of witnesses and personalities involved, varying, even contradictory statements were perhaps inevitable. Indeed, the wording of some of the questions posed to deponents virtually invited a range of responses as well as expressions of paradox. Number twenty-three of the first set of hearings related to John's modesty. People were first asked if they knew that John was "very advanced in the virtue of modesty, that people could compose themselves just by looking at him […] And his words were very serious and held great weight." The interrogation continued but veered a bit off course, "[A]nd even when he reprimanded his subordinates, he did so with such prudence and modesty that they were left corrected but not aggravated." It ended by raising a seemingly unrelated topic, "And during the hours of recreation that this religious order requires, he was very friendly without ever losing his composure."[20]

Wide-ranging questions such as this one provided openings for witnesses to make statements or share anecdotes that complicated the emerging hagiographical portrait of John of the Cross. Jerónimo de la Cruz admitted that the prior "was known as rigorous, since he was himself so saintly, and some friars were afraid to live in his company […]."[21] What might have caused apprehension about living in a friary with John as prior? Perhaps some people had heard stories such as the one related by Lucas de San José in a lengthy response to question twenty-three. He recalled witnessing John giving "a good discipline [that is, using the *disciplina* or whip] to a far-from-perfect friar for a certain reason and fault." "[A]fter the guilty friar had received [this punishment]," the witness continued, "he said […] 'I hope, Father, to see in heaven this hand with which you have given me this discipline.'" Friar Lucas brought this moral tale to a somewhat ambiguous conclusion, "All this, it seems to this witness, had an effect on these souls

19 "[…] dijo que el santo padre fray Juan de la Cruz era tan modesto, que con solo su presencia componía a los que le miraban; tan compuesto en sus acciones, que jamás le vió colérico ni descompuesto […] aun cuando reprendía a los súbditos, lo hacía con tanta prudencia y modestia, que jamás se oyó de su boca palabra que fuese descompuesta, de que se pudiesen sentir los súbditos." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 151. In both English and Spanish of the early modern period, modesty/modestia connoted moderation or self-control more than humility. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1734) offered this definition: "Virtud que modera, templa y regla las acciones externas, conteniendo al hombre en los límites de su estado […]" "Modestia," in *Diccionario de la lengua castellana en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces […]*, vol. 4, https://apps.rae.es/DA_DATOS/TOMO_IV_HTML/MODESTIA_010347.html (last accessed December 17, 2023).

20 "Si saben que fué muy aventajado en la virtud de la modestia, que solo con mirarle componía a los otros […] Y en las palabras guardaba mucha gravedad y peso y aun cuando reprendía a sus súbditos, lo hacía con tanta prudencia y modestia, que quedaban corregidos y no exasperados. Y en la horas de recreación que la Religión tiene, era muy agradable, sin perder un punto la composición." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan*, vol. 14, 7.

21 "Tenía nombre de riguroso, como era tan santo, y temían algunos religiosos de vivir en su compañía […]." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 229.

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[that is] the modesty, gentleness, sanctity and words of the holy Father, which carried great weight."[22]

Becoming a Discalced Carmelite meant committing oneself to a life of austerity regarding food, dress, and small, poor living quarters, in remembrance of the desert hermits of Mount Carmel. John, however, gained notoriety within the order for the intensity of his ascetic practices. His rejection of material comforts and possessions, negation of self in search of absorption in the divine, and willingness to suffer in imitation of Christ were deeply rooted in his theology. John had, after all, chosen the cross for his name in religion. In a letter to Luis de San Angelo, he warned, "If at any time someone, whether superior or anyone else, should try to persuade you of a lax teaching, even though it be confirmed by miracles, do not believe or embrace it; rather, greater penance and greater detachment from all things. And do not seek Christ without the cross."[23]

Friars may have thus worried that they would not be able to meet the exacting standards described by some of John's spiritual sons. Martín de la Asunción detailed his former prior's continuous fasts, vigils held all night on his knees, use of a hair shirt, and scanty hours of sleep. He testified that, in addition to the ascetic practices carried out with the rest of the community, John "would go by himself to secluded parts of the friaries and harshly flagellate himself." When Friar Martín heard the sounds, he would seek him out and try to stop him, with the result that John "got angry at him many times, and would tell this witness not to pursue him, to leave him alone […]."[24] "He

22 "[…] y así vió este testigo, que dando un día una buena disciplina a un religioso, no muy perfecto, por cierta ocasión y falta, después de la haber recibido el culpable dijo al santo Padre; espero, Padre nuestro, de ver en el cielo esa mano con que me ha dado esta disciplina. Todo eso parece a este testigo obraba en los tales ánimos la modestia, suavidad, santidad y sus palabras del santo Padre, que eran de mucho peso." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 285. Twelve years earlier Friar Lucas had written that John "had a great gift for government [but could] when necessary reprove those under him severely and correct their faults." John of the Cross, *The Complete Works*, 313–315. He did not then mention John's use of corporal punishment, nor does Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz,* or Rodríguez and Ruiz Salvador, *God Speaks*. My thanks to Alison Weber for insightful conversations about supervision and punishment among the Discalced Carmelites and many helpful suggestions.

23 John of the Cross, *The Collected Works*, 759. "[…] Si en algún tiempo alguno le persuadiere, sea prelado u otro cualquiera, alguna doctrina de anchura, aunque la confirme con milagros, no lo crea, ni abrace; sino más penitencia y más desasimiento, de todas las cosas, y no busque a Cristo sin cruz." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras completas,* 1104–1105. For an English-language introduction to John's theology, see Bernard McGinn, *Mysticism in the Golden Age of Spain (1500–1650)* (New York: Herder, 2018), ch. 4.

24 "[…] y sus vigilias eran tan largas y continas, que ordinario se gastaba la mayor parte de las noches en la capilla mayor de las iglesias donde estaba de rodillas […] en día y noche dormía dos o tres horas escasas […] era tan áspero en sus disciplinas y cilicios […] además de las asperezas que se hacía con las demás comunidad, él a solas, retirado a partes ocultas de los conventos, se disciplinaba con mucha aspereza, de manera que muchas veces le obligó a este testigo, oyéndole, a enviarle luz en las partes donde estaba por que cesase: de que el dicho Santo se enfadaba muchas veces, y le decía a este testigo que no le persiguiese,

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was very strict when it came to regular observance [of the Discalced Carmelite Rule]," agreed Pablo de Santa María, adding that the prior "would not excuse any friars who failed in their compliance."[25]

Do these testimonies indict John of the Cross as one of the "cruel and ferocious" priors he condemned in his "Spiritual Sayings," as well as a person who really did get angry on occasion? As if to assuage the fears of the intimidated, some of the friars whose statements revealed a rigid, ultra-ascetic, and punitive side to John of the Cross also portrayed an affectionate, solicitous, and forgiving side. Pablo de Santa María made an important distinction: "He was very affable and cheerful with everyone else, [but] austere and penitent when it came to himself."[26] Jerónimo de la Cruz, having acknowledged concerns about John's "rigor," continued, "but he governed with such prudence and love, that those who experienced [life with] him changed their minds […] some of those friars told this to me, regretful that they had not begun to enjoy sooner the benefit of living with the servant of God."[27]

These "benefits" included acts of individual kindness. In addition to making conventional statements of a generic nature, John's friars were eager to share anecdotes about themselves or to which they were eyewitnesses. They often provided detailed narratives about episodes of personal interaction, far beyond that required by the questions posed. Moreover, these narratives contain information found only in those specific testimonies, unique to each of the men's experiences.

John may have punished his own body, but he showed tender concern for the health of his friars, as many of them attested. Indeed, another instance when he lost his temper involved a sick friar. John had ordered Inocencio de San Andrés to keep watch over this patient throughout the night, but he fell asleep around three in the morning. John came in just then and "[…] severely reprimanded this witness, although very gently

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que le dejase […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 93. Elizabeth Rhodes offers more examples of "hyperbolic asceticism" in her "The Male Body and Catholic Piety in Early Modern Spain," *Body and Religion* 3, no. 2 (2019): 130–149. In contrast, Teresa of Avila emphasized *suavidad* or gentleness for Discalced Carmelite nuns. Her approach, as Alison Weber explains, "had important implications for their disciplinary, medical, and recreational practices, which were less severe than those of other reformed orders […] [and] constituted a significant shift in monastic attitudes toward the body—a rejection of the idea that piety required extreme self-imposed suffering." See Alison Weber "Introduction to María de San José Salazar (1548–1603)," in María de San José Salazar, *Book for the Hour of Recreation*, ed. Alison Weber and trans. Amanda Powell (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 1–26, 15–16.

25 "Era muy recto en lo que toca a la observancia regular; no disimulaba defectos […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 13, 375.

26 "Era muy afable y alegre para con todos, y para sí austero y penitente." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 13, 375.

27 "[…] pero governaba con tanta prudencia y amor, que los que le experimentaban se trocaban […] A mí me lo dijeron algunos religiosos, arrepentidos de no haber gozado antes del bien que era vivir con el siervo de Dios." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 229.

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and with words that caused [him] to feel great shame."[28] On another occasion, the prior nursed a friar who had lost his appetite. John made several unsuccessful attempts to tempt the sick man's palate. At last, he took a piece of roasted chicken breast, added a little seasoning (*una salsilla*), urged the patient, and began to feed him by hand. These efforts restored the friar's desire to eat, reported Jerónimo de la Cruz, who was present at the time.[29] According to Antonio del Espíritu Santo, John used to say: "the ill do not need to keep their vows of poverty."[30]

Witnesses shared other instances of personal attention as cherished memories of their mentor. Noticing the old and shabby state of one friar's tunic, John took off his own new one and swapped with his subordinate.[31] He relieved brothers of their turns reading during meals in the refectory, taking on this humble task so that they had more time to eat.[32] A friar afflicted by a terrible, unspecified temptation sought John's advice. "[A]nd with the one word he said to me, he made the temptation go away," Martín de San José recalled, adding "and it has never returned in more than thirty years."[33] John recognized

28 "Una noche le mandó a este testigo que estuviese con un enfermo […] y habiéndole velado hasta cerca de las tres de la mañana, se quedó este testigo un poco dormido […] en esta ocasion y tiempo se levantó el santo P. Fr. Juan de la Cruz a visitar el dicho enfermo […] y como le vió así, le dió a este testigo una reprensión con mucho rigor, aunque con grande mansedumbre, y con palabras que causaron a este testigo harta confusion." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 62–63. The juxtaposition of the terms "rigor" and "mansedumbre" is quite striking here. John's words may have seemed especially severe to Friar Inocencio precisely because he delivered them so gently, with the express goal of causing shame.

29 "Asistía mucho al consuelo de los religiosos, personalmente, estando enfermos. Yo le vi asistir a uno que había perdido la gana de comer, y le estuvo refiriendo de muchos manjares, para ver si apetecía alguno […] Mandó asar un pecho de un ave; y traído, tomó un poco de sal y la echo en un plato, deshaciéndola con un poco de agua. Y dijo: 'Esto le ha de saber muy bien e con esto ha de comer.' Y pasó así, que lo comió y dijo le había sabido como había dicho su prelado que lo había hecho y dádoselo de su mano, con que abrió la gana de comer. A esto me hallé presente y pasó en el convento de Granada." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 227–228. Sebastián de San Hilarión recalled how after he fell ill while still a student at Baeza, John came to visit him, then brought him back to the Granada friary and nursed him to health. Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 180.

30 "Y solia decir que para los enfermos no había de haber pobreza." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 151. See also Rodríguez and Ruiz Salvador, *God Speaks*, 204–206. For the intersection between John's ideas about health and his contemplative theology, see Daniel Chowning, "El camino de la sanación en San Juan de la Cruz," *Revista de Espiritualidad* 59 (2000): 253–333.

31 "Era muy caritativo con los religiosos, y yo le vi quitarse una túnica nueva y buena para dársela a un religioso, tomando para sí una vieja en el rigor de invierno." Pablo de Santa María, quoted in Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 13, 376.

32 "[…] cuando estaban en el refitorio, comía con brevidad por ir al púlpito al padre que estaba leyendo para quitarle el libro y leer él, y esto lo hacía muchas veces, y se espantaban y admiraban que viendo que era perlado se humillaba a ir a hacer el ministerio de leer y dejarlos en la mesa […]." Martín de la Asunción, quoted in Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 92.

33 "Y siendo este testigo religioso en el convento de Granada fué molestado de una tentación penosa, y la comunicó con el dicho santo P. Fr. Juan, que era prelado de él, y con una palabra que le dijo se le quitó de dicha tentación, y nunca más le ha vuelto en treinta años y más que ha que pasó lo susodicho." Juan

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that novices required special care and patience.[34] During his first year at the Granada house, Jorge de San José worked as a cook. One day, as the time for the communal meal approached, he dropped a pot and all the rice spilled out. Just at that moment, John entered the kitchen. Regarding both the spilled rice and the agitated young man, the prior said softly, "My son, do not let this upset you, just distribute the rest of the food since Our Lord does not want us to eat rice today." Friar Jorge was immediately struck by "the mildness and gentleness with which [John] met his distress and carried on as if [this mishap] had never happened," leaving him "amazed and consoled."[35]

In 1618 Eliseo de los Mártires sent a collection of his colleague's words of advice from his friary in Mexico. He prefaced these "Spiritual Sayings" with a description of the author's physical and personal attributes, declaring that John "was fond of recollection and given to speaking little; he seldom laughed and when he did so, it was with great restraint."[36] Ever since then, biographers and scholars, especially Discalced Carmelites, have repeated and refuted Friar Eliseo's assessment. They have marshaled the words of John's friars to depict a much more cheerful man who, for example, derived great pleasure from the natural world. Baltasar de Jesús testified that the prior would sometimes "take his friars out to the country and leave them to entertain themselves" while removing himself for some prayerful solitude.[37] Juan Evangelista fondly remembered these excursions as well, including the time he was among a group of friars John had brought from the Granada house up into the Sierra Nevada. When they arrived at their

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de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 17. Agustín de San José also related how John helped friars with "sus tentaciones y aflicciones espirituales." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 116–118.

34 In a letter of November 9, 1588, John advised the prior of the Madrid friary, "You should be careful that no priest or other religious interfere with the novices, for as your Reverence knows there is nothing more harmful than that the novices pass through many hands and others be disturbing them." John of the Cross, *The Collected Works,* 743–744.

35 "[…] siendo él novicio y cocinero […] un día tenía guisado una olla de arroz, y estando ya los religiosos a la puerta del refitorio para entrar a comer en comunidad, yendo este testigo apartar de la lumbre la olla, se le abrió de alto abajo y se derramó el arroz. Y a este tiempo, estando este testigo harto tribulado y afligido, entró el santo padre fray Juan en la cocina y, con palabras suaves, viéndole ansí y lo que había sucedido, le dijo: '¡Hijo! no se le dé nada, reparta lo demás, que hay que comer, que no quiere Nuestro Señor que comamos hoy arroz.' E notó este testigo la mansedumbre y suavidad con que acudió su turbación, y llevó aquello como si no hubiera sucedido; y a este testigo le dejó admirado y consolado." Jorge de San Juan, quoted in Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación,* 101–102.

36 John of the Cross, *The Complete Works*, 288. "Fue amigo de recogimiento y de hablar poco; su risa, poca y muy compuesta." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras completas*, 1122. This may be one of the texts that inspired William James to refer to "Saint John of the Cross, a Spanish mystic who flourished—or rather who existed, for there was little that suggested flourishing about him—in the sixteenth century." William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Random House, 1902), 299.

37 "[…] algunas veces le vió que sacaba a sus súbitos al campo y les dejaba entretenerse, apartánadose él alguna soledad solo […]" Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 137.

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destination, John announced, "Today each should walk by himself among these mountains and spend this day in solitary prayer and in calling out to Our Lord."[38] The daily routine included a talk by the prior on a scriptural passage or other spiritual topic, often followed by communal prayer in the friary's garden. "[H]e spoke so delightfully," Juan Evangelista reported, "that, when he discoursed upon the things of God at recreation, he would make us all laugh, and we used to greatly enjoy going out."[39]

Juan de Santa Ana occasionally accompanied his superior to a farm outside Baeza that two devotees had donated. He reminisced how John

> would go out into the fields singing psalms, especially at night. Sometimes he brought me with him and then talked about the beauty of the sky and the light from so many stars. And he would explain to me how, there being so many, they differed from one other…and other things about the harmony of the heavens and the infinite music [the stars] made by their movements, which then continued ascending until reaching the celestial realm of the blessed.[40]

Anecdotes such as these serve as useful correctives to tropes about John of the Cross as either so severe or so otherworldly that he was a total stranger to human happiness. Just as there were times in which he became angry, so there were occasions on which he expressed joy and made others laugh. Nevertheless, John's spiritual sons relied heavily upon a language of moderation to articulate his personality while constructing his profile as a saint. Their shared vocabulary included the words "prudence," "modesty,"

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38 "Y entre otras se acuerda este testigo llevó a alguno de los religiosos, en que iba este testigo, a los montes de la Sierra Nevada de aquella parte de Granada; y llegando a la sierra, dijo a todos los religiosos: 'Hoy cada uno se ha de ir a solas por estos montes y a solas cada uno ha de gastar este día en oración y en hacer exclamaciones a nuestro Señor', como en efecto se hizo." Fortes and Cuevas, *Procesos de beatificación*, vol. 23, 45. John's appreciation of nature is abundantly clear from his poetry, as many scholars have noted. See, for example, Daniel A. Dombrowski, *St. John of the Cross: An Appreciation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), ch. 4; Colin Thompson, *St. John of the Cross: Songs in the Night* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), ch. 3, 9.

39 John of the Cross, *The Complete Works*, 335–340, 337. Juan de Santa Ana testified that when caring for the ill in Baeza, John "told them stories to cheer them up and said that even if they were worldly, they were not useless but beneficial since they helped to cheer the sick and bring them some relief," to which José Vicente Rodríguez adds, "It's a pity that those who spoke of John's stories and jokes did not hand any down to us." This English translation by Kieran Kavanaugh is in Rodríguez and Ruiz Salvador, *God Speaks*, 204; a transcription of the Spanish text is in Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz*, 411. John was certainly capable of wise cracking, however; see note 51 for an example.

40 Partial English translation in Rodríguez and Ruiz Salvador, *God Speaks*, 208; the rest is mine. Spanish testimony quoted in Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz*, 406–407: "[…] salíase por aquellos campos cantando salmos y en especial a las noches; llevábame algunas veces consigo y luego trataba de la hermosura del cielo y luz de tantas estrellas. Y me decía que, con ser tantas, diferían en especie unas de otras […] y otras cosas de la armonía de los cielos y música que hacen grandísima con sus movimientos; y luego iba subiendo, hasta llegar al cielo de los bienaventurados."

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"gentleness," "composure," "calm," and "mildness."[41] To the potentially contentious question of John's leadership skills, Juan Evangelista praised his mentor for maintaining an even keel. John, he insisted, exercised prudence to such a remarkable degree, "especially when it came to the governance of friaries when he was prior, and ruled them so calmly and smoothly, that no one ever found his approach either too rigorous or too lax […]."[42] Jerónimo de la Cruz marveled at, as a gift of divine grace, the "great light that God had given [John] of faith and the ability to choose just the right words to bring calm and quiet […] and great peace" to friars, especially novices, who suffered from excessive scruples.[43]

John's friars even cited his facial expression as evidence of his equanimity and self-control. Just watching his prior at prayer and regarding "the tranquility and modesty of his face" made him feel edified and calm, testified Baltasar de Jesús.[44] Martín de la Asunción recalled how during the daily hours of recreation John was "very discreet and friendly without ever losing his composure or changing his countenance."[45] Lucas de San José commented that he had never seen his prior explode in uproarious laughter, on the one hand, or display sadness or twist his face into a frown, on the other. Rather, "[John's] expression conveyed a mild happiness […] for his own sake and that of his subordinates […]." "The saintly Father," Friar Lucas declared, "was placid, cheerful, and never wanted to see his friars succumb to melancholy."[46]

This last point was crucial. "Melancholy" was variously defined in the early modern period as everything from an individual's battles with self-doubt to a malaise that could

41 Spanish terms include: "prudencia," "modestia," "suavidad," "quietud," "compostura," "mansedumbre," and "sosiego."

42 "[…] le conoció tan singular prudencia […] y señaladamanente en el gobierno de sus monasterios cuando era prelado de ellos, que los gobernaba tan suavemente, que no se le conoció en su trato ni demasiado rigor ni flojedad […]." Fortes and Cuevas, *Procesos de beatificación*, vol. 24, 528.

43 "Y sé que algunos religiosos, particularmente novicios que padecieron diferentes tentaciones y desconsuelo, con la gran luz que Dios le había dado en la fe y las palabras acomodadas para dar quietud y sosiego, la causaba en las almas de los que le comunicaban sus escrúpulos y desconsuelos, dejándoles con suma paz." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación,* 224.

44 "[…] y cuando estaba en oración, con mirarle este testigo cómo estaba de rodillas y la compostura y modestia de su rostro, que con solo mirarle este testigo se edificaba y componía […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 139–140.

45 "[…] era muy discreto y agradable sin perder su composición y semblante […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 94–95.

46 "[…] y notó este testigo que con ser el santo Padre apacible, alegre y enemigo de ver a sus súbitos melancólicos, jamás le vió reírse descompuestamente; mas en lugar de la risa, mostraba en el rostro y semblante una alegría apacible; ni tampoco jamás le vió melancólico o con rostro torcido, para consigo o para con sus súbitos, mas siempre conservaba un trato y aspecto suave y santo […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan*, vol. 14, 283.

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afflict an entire community.[47] Many regarded members of religious orders as especially vulnerable to this complex malady that could affect bodies, minds, and souls.[48] In his "Spiritual Sayings," John exhorted his fellow monastic superiors to "endeavor to bring it about that those under us never leave our presence downcast [or sad]."[49] According to Gabriel de la Madre de Dios, John followed his own advice. He testified that "whenever [John] saw that a friar was sad and dejected, he would summon him and walk with him, sometimes in the friary garden, sometimes in the countryside, and as serious as his bout of sadness had been, that friar would return very content and consoled."[50]

In this context, friars' descriptions of John's face begin to take on a new meaning. The constant composure and expression of reassuring steadiness they perceived in their prior revealed features of his personality, to be sure, but may have also served a strategic purpose. As Lucas de San José astutely noted, John maintained his aspect of "mild happiness" on behalf of his subordinates. He exercised exceptional self-control (or "mastery of his passions") with the aim of keeping the friars under his supervision calm and free of melancholy. He seems to have largely succeeded in this goal, but at what personal cost? Considering John of the Cross in this way renders more understandable his often-cited desire for solitude and occasional "escapes" from the pressures of office, for example, to the caves in the cliffs above the friary when he was prior at Segovia.[51]

It must have indeed been hard to maintain absolute control of his words and his face all the time. Occasionally, it seems, John lost his patience and vaunted prudence and turned instead to sarcasm and public humiliation in correcting his friars. His remarks,

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47 There is a growing literature on melancholy in early modern Europe by scholars in several disciplines. For studies that focus on Spain, see Christine Orobitg, "El sistema de las emociones: la melancolía en el Siglo de Oro español," in *Accidentes del alma: Las emociones en la Edad Moderna*, eds. María Tausiet and James S. Amelang (Madrid: Abada, 2009), 71–98; Elena Carrera, "Madness and Melancholy in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain: New Evidence, New Approaches," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 87, no. 8 (2010): 1–15.

48 Moshe Sluhovsky, "The Devil in the Convent," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 5 (2002): 1379–1411; Sharon T. Strocchia, "The Melancholic Nun in Late Renaissance Italy," in *Diseases of the Imagination and Imaginary Diseases in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Yasmin Haskell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 139–158. Melancholy in communities of male religious still awaits systematic study.

49 John of the Cross, *The Complete Works*, 288. "[…] han de procurar que los súbditos nunca salgan de su presencia tristes." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras completas*, 1123.

50 "Cuando veía que algún religioso estaba triste y desconsolado, le llamaba y se iba con él, unas veces a la huerta, otras al campo, y, por grande que fuera la tristeza, venía muy contento y consolado." Transcribed in Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz*, 770.

51 See, for example, the testimony of Juan Evangelista, "Fue amicísimo de soledad en extremo, y todo su gusto era estar en ella, y cuando traía la obra, siempre se andaba entre las piedras. Y diciéndole yo un día: '¡Válame Dios! ¡Todo ha de ser estarse Vuestra Reverencia entre piedras!, me dijo: 'No se espante, hijo, que cuando trato con ellas tengo menos que confesar que cuando trato con los hombres.'" Transcribed in Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz*, 612. I discuss John's ambivalence toward authority and office-holding in Bilinkoff, "First Friar."

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recorded in testimonies and letters, are admittedly difficult to interpret. We lack the ability to hear the tones of voice used, observe changing facial expressions and body language, or even ascertain the full context in which certain exchanges took place. These caveats aside, they make for disturbing reading. Modern biographers have downplayed, made light of, or simply left out these episodes from their accounts.

Agustín de San José once heard John reprimand a friar for coming back late to the Granada friary, demanding to know why he had not yet celebrated mass. The latecomer replied that he was not yet ready, to which John retorted, "How is it that a Discalced Carmelite like yourself is not always prepared?"[52] Another incident occurred in Baeza. When John came upon a friar speaking to a group of laymen without his permission, "right then and there, in front of those people, he mortified the friar and made him prostrate himself for having spoken without authorization," Friar Agustín remembered.[53]

Diego de la Concepción hailed John as "a very great prior and master of [directing] souls," but he chose to illustrate this point with a somewhat troubling anecdote. Once, in Granada, John scolded a friar in front of the community for a fault he had committed, afterwards ordering him to his cell. The miscreant spent the night there, then the whole next day, and then another night. Finally, when the others had gathered for a meal in the refectory, the prior "began to marvel at the lack of charity in this friary, that not one friar had pleaded with him to bring the brother back from his cell […]."[54] With this, Friar Diego concluded, John made the point that friars needed to treat one another with charity, leaving open the question of whether John had used one friar's infraction and castigation as an occasion to shame them all. One can only wonder how he would have reacted if one of his subordinates had questioned his choice of punishment as excessive.

John even directed barbs against Juan Evangelista, arguably his closest *discípulo*. Friar Juan lived long enough to testify at both sets of beatification hearings and correspond

52 "Dijo una vez el santo padre fray Juan a un religioso en Granada, siendo ya tarde, que cómo no había ya dicho misa. El le respondió que por no estar preparado. El santo, como reprehendiéndole, le dijo: '¿Cómo, y un fraile descalzo no ha de andar siempre preparado?'" Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación,* 115.

53 "[…] en Baeza, siendo allí el santo padre perlado, un religioso de su convento, grave y predicador, estaba hablando sin su licencia con unos hombres graves; y que allí, delante de las mismas personsas, le mortificó y postró por haber puéstose a hablarles sin licencia." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación,* 119.

54 "Estando una vez en Granada, le vio reprehender a un hermano de una falta que había hecho, a quien dijo: 'Váyase a la celda.' Y el religioso se fue a la celda, y se estuvo en ella. Pasó aquella noche; y otro día, en la noche, estando todos juntos en refitorio, comenzó a ponderar la falta de caridad de todo aquel convento, pues no había habido fraile alguno que le hubiese pedido sacase al hermano de la celda, levantando de punto este acto de caridad que hemos de tener unos con otros." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación,* 106. Rodríguez transcribed Friar Diego's testimony in his *San Juan de la Cruz*, 456, but makes no comment.

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with one of John's biographers. On these occasions, he remembered times in which he disappointed or displeased John of the Cross, earning his rebukes.

He recalled, for example, how his prior had flagellated himself as a penitential exercise. During one of their many journeys together, Friar Juan discovered his superior's *disciplina* made of knotted rope hidden in their lodgings. When he asked, "why he mortified himself so cruelly [even] when he was ill," John brusquely replied, "Silence, son […] it is luxury enough to go on horseback." He added, "[W]e must not take our ease all the time."[55] In a similar vein, he once "severely reprehended [Friar Juan] because he bought some trout that he found priced very cheaply at an inn, telling him that this was not appropriate food for poor Discalced friars, even if it had been given for free."[56] By making these comments John cast aspersions on the younger man's commitment to a life of austerity and penance.

Testifying in 1616 about John's embrace of the theological virtue of hope, Juan Evangelista shared a lengthy anecdote about a time when the Granada house ran out of food. John refused to give him, the friary's provisioner, permission to leave in search of donations. In fact, he replied quite sarcastically to the worried *procurador*: "Oh, my God! We go without for only one day and we don't have enough patience?" "Go back to your cell," he commanded, "and commend this to Our Lord." After some time had elapsed, Friar Juan asked again and received the same reply. Finally, the third time, appealing on behalf of the ill members of the community, the prior sent him off, saying, "Go, my son […] and you will see how soon God confounds you and your scant faith."[57] Predicably just as Friar Juan began to leave, a messenger arrived from the city with alms.

The eminent Discalced Carmelite scholar José Vicente Rodríguez noticed the gratuitous tone of these rebukes. After recounting the trout-purchasing incident, Rodríguez commented that the well-meaning friar "did not escape a small scolding from John."

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55 John of the Cross, *The Complete Works*, 336. Partially transcribed by Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz*, 531: "'Calle, hijo, basta el regalo que traemos de venir a caballo; no ha de ser todo descanso.'"

56 Rodríguez and Ruiz Salvador, *God Speaks*, 259. Transcribed by Rodríguez in his *San Juan de la Cruz*, 531: "Una vez se enojó con este testigo; porque, habiendo llegado a una venta, vendíanse allí truchas muy baratas […] este testigo compró dos truchitas, que costaron poco más que costaron sardinas. Y cuando lo supo sintiolo mucho, diciendo que se daba mal ejemplo, pues aquel no era manjar de frailes descalzos." Rodríguez treats this anecdote and the one above merely as episodes from life along the road with John, without further comment.

57 "Aconteció una vez, siendo este testigo procurador del convento de Granada, que no había un día que comer […] Pidió licencia […] al dicho padre fray Juan de la Cruz, que era prior de Granada, para ir a buscar de comer. El cual respondió: '¿Válgame Dios, hijo, un día que nos falta? ¿No tendremos paciencia y más si no quiere Dios probar la virtud que temenos? Ande, déjelo y váyase a su celda y encomiéndolo a nuestro Señor.' […] 'Vaya y verá cuán presto le confunde Dios en esa poca fe que ha tenido.' Y este testigo salió […] a la puerta de la iglesia del dicho convento, llegó el relator Bravo […] una limosna que envían los señores de la audiencia […]." Fortes and Cuevas, *Procesos de beatificación*, vol. 22, 41–42. Rodríguez transcribed this passage in his *San Juan de la Cruz,* 469–470, simply noting it as a disagreement between the two men over financial matters ("la cosa económica").

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The historian may have betrayed some anxiety, though, when in his next sentence he twice repeated this sentiment, complete with diminutives, referring to "a small fraternal scolding" and "John's little scoldings."[58]

For Juan Evangelista, however, enduring the disapproval of his beloved mentor was no small matter. At the conclusion of his testimony, the friar described his emotions. When the friary finally received donations,

> on one hand this witness rejoiced at being able to relieve the immediate need, [but] on the other, he lamented in his soul, given what [John] had said about staying in his cell and trusting in God… [After buying provisions] he returned home feeling great embarrassment and shame. And [John] said to him, 'How much more glory would have been yours, and without so much effort, if you had stayed in your cell, from there God would have sent all that was lacking […] learn from this, my son, to have faith in God.' From which this witness, although a miserable sinner, learned a great lesson […].[59]

Clearly these memories remained painful, even after thirty years.

In January 1630 Juan Evangelista responded to a request for information from a colleague who was then preparing a biography of John of the Cross. Now sixty-eight years old, he thanked Jerónimo de San José for his interest and acknowledged the younger man's envy of his years of contact with the saint. Indeed, given their proximity, he lamented, "I ought to be his true disciple and imitator." But, he continued,

> [you] must have pity on me, for despite all the benefits and all the good that I had from [John], I am the worst person in this province; I assure [you] that I live with great embarrassment and shame when I remember the good opportunities that I had to be what I should and see that I am just the opposite.[60]

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58 Rodríguez and Ruiz Salvador, *God Speaks*, 259.

59 "Y este testigo por una parte se holgó, por remediar la necesidad presente; y por otra lo sintió en el alma, por lo que […] Juan de la Cruz le había dicho que se estuviese en la celda y fiase en Dios. Y este testigo fue a comprar lo necesario y volvió a casa con harta confusion y vergüenza. Y el dicho padre […] le dijo: 'Cuánta más gloria suya le hubiera sido estarse en su celda, que allí le hubiera Dios enviado lo necesario, que no haber tanta diligencia; aprenda, hijo, a confiar en Dios.' De lo cual este testigo, aunque es miserable, tomó una grande lección de aquel hecho […]." Fortes and Cuevas, *Procesos de beatificación*, vol. 22, 41–42.

60 John of the Cross, *The Complete Works*, 349–350 (I have somewhat modified Peers's translation). "[…] si yo fuera el que había de ser, tuviera V.R. razón de envidiar mi buena suerte de haber tratado a nuestro venerable Padre nueve años […] con que mediante su doctrina y ejemplo pudiera ser verdadero discípulo suyo; pero téngame V.R. lástima, que con tantas ayudas de costa y tanto bueno como tuve, soy el peor que tiene esta Provincia; que le prometo a V.R. vivo con harta confusion y vergüenza de acordarme de las buenas ocasiones que tuve para ser el que debía y ver que soy el que no debo." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 10, 340–342.

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The intensity of the feelings expressed here, not in a public venue, but in private correspondence, is quite striking.

The words of his spiritual sons suggest that life with John of the Cross was as complex and multifaceted as the man himself. When friars who lived under his supervision at the houses in Baeza, Granada, and Segovia testified in the public, hagiographical context of his beatification hearings, they lauded his "heroic virtues," as one would expect. However, they often went beyond the response required by the prepared questions, providing specific, even intimate details about a solicitous prior prepared to stay up all night with a sick friar or to forgive the clumsiness of a nervous novice. More surprisingly, perhaps, some of the brothers described features of another, less attractive side to John of the Cross. His strict adherence to his monastic rule and ultra-ascetic practices clearly intimidated some friars. Even more troubling was his occasional recourse to sarcasm, public humiliation, and harsh punitive measures in correcting his subordinates. The silence regarding these incidents in conventional biographical accounts tells its own story.

For the most part, though, the friars who lived, worked, prayed, and traveled under the supervision of John of the Cross recognized his efforts to forge a middle way. They greatly appreciated a prior who directed their shared religious life according to the principles of moderation, prudence, and kindness, and highlighted these qualities during the saint-making process. That they never knew when John might temporarily lose his composure and lash out at one friar or at the entire community may have only added a certain *frisson* to their regulated daily existence.

3. Death with John of the Cross

Among these spiritual sons was a smaller group that witnessed John's final illness and death. Eight friars who had lived under John's supervision in the houses at Baeza and/or Granada spent time with him between July and December 1591. That June, during a bitter internecine conflict among the Discalced Carmelite friars, the order's superiors had disciplined John and stripped him of office. Returning to the status of a simple friar, he moved to the remote "desert house" of La Peñuela. Nevertheless, his *discípulos* continued to regard him with enormous respect, even awe. Many years later, in their beatification testimonies, they recalled their actions and emotions during the last months of his earthly existence.

In August John fell ill with a persistent fever. By mid-September, his condition had worsened, with painful sores spreading on his legs and feet. He had contracted erysipelas, an acute bacterial infection of the skin. The prior of La Peñuela, recognizing that his small and isolated friary lacked the necessary medical supplies, reluctantly sent the sick man to the nearby city of Ubeda. No one suspected that this would be his final journey. In a letter dated September 21, 1591, John wrote to his patron and spiritual daughter

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Doña Ana de Peñalosa, "Tomorrow I am going to Ubeda for the cure of a slight bout of fever. Since it has been returning each day for more than a week and does not leave me, it seems I shall need the help of medicine. Yet I plan to return to [La Peñuela] immediately […]."[61]

John of the Cross died at the Discalced Carmelite friary of San Miguel in Ubeda on December 14, 1591. Later, friars who lived with him during those last few months, including some who had known him for years, shared their reminiscences. They expressed grief at watching John's final sufferings and death, but also conveyed the sense that they had been privileged witnesses to something remarkable: a man's transition from life to sainthood. Each wanted to underscore his presence, and describe his role in this worldly and spiritual drama, no matter how small. Moreover, their accounts signaled an important shift in the dynamics of the father–son relationship. As a prior, John had attended to the bodily and spiritual needs of his subordinate friars. In an inversion of roles, the sons now tried to relieve the sufferings of their ailing and dependent father.

This process began even before he arrived in Ubeda. Bartolomé de San Basilio recalled that John's illness had deprived him of appetite. As he slowly made his way on muleback from La Peñuela, the lay brother assigned to accompany him asked if he wanted anything to eat, but "the only thing he felt like eating was a little asparagus, which was not procurable, since it was out of season." Nevertheless, as they crossed a bridge, John "saw a bunch of asparagus on a large stone in the middle of the river." He asked his companion to fetch it, causing the latter to exclaim, "Father, this is a miracle, for it is not the season for asparagus, and there is none to be found in this part of the country." Friar Bartolomé, a member of the Ubeda community at the time, added with evident pride, "I saw this asparagus myself because I prepared it for him."[62]

When John reached the friary, he was warmly greeted by Fernando de la Madre de Dios, one of his earliest protégés. The two had met in 1579 at El Calvario, where John had bestowed the habit upon the young novice. Friar Fernando lived under John's supervision at the friaries in Baeza and Granada as well. He now held the rank of subprior of the house in Ubeda, his native city. He remembered the appalling physical condition of his former prior, "ill and oppressed by enormous pains," and lamented that he could not provide more comfortable accommodations due to the house's poverty. What he could offer, however, were connections. Born Fernando Ortega de Carvajal, he belonged to one of the elite families that dominated the city's economic and political

61 John of the Cross, *The Collected Works*, 763. "Mañana me voy a Ubeda a curar de unas calenturillas, que, como ha de más de ocho días que me dan cada día y no se me quitan, paréceme habré menester ayuda de medicina; pero con intento de volverme luego aquí […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras completas,* 1109.

62 John of the Cross, *The Complete Works*, 344. Francisco de San Hilarión also recalled this anecdote, adding that when the Ubeda friars saw the asparagus, they too were amazed ("lo tuvieron por milagro"). Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 114. Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz*, 816–817.

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institutions. He would serve as the conduit of gifts of food, bandages, and bedding to John from pious benefactors such as his sister-in-law, Doña Clara de Benavides.[63]

Sebastián de San Hilarión had received his habit from John in Baeza and resided with him in Granada. When he was still a student, he had fallen ill, and John had tenderly cared for him. More than ten years later, Friar Sebastián was a member of the Ubeda community that nursed John of the Cross. Responding to a question about his mentor's possession of the virtue of patience, he answered emphatically, identifying himself as "a good witness." After all, he had seen John "in his bed before his death, covered with sores running with pus, [when] he was becoming nothing more than skin and bones." Friar Sebastián described the construction of a pulley device that enabled the patient to move without a person touching his afflicted body. "Everyone who saw him that way was amazed to see the patience with which he endured and suffered the pains of his infirmity," he recalled.[64] These sentiments were echoed by Agustín de San José, who had lived with John in Granada. He arrived in Ubeda just in time to witness his former prior's final days, afflicted by his disease and the well-intentioned butchery of the surgeon. Friar Agustín later testified that "all the friars of that house were very edified by [John's] patience, because they had never witnessed him complaining of his pains until close to the time of his death."[65]

Throughout the rainy night of December 14, the friars of the Ubeda house kept a vigil over John of the Cross. One of these was Diego de Jesús. As a novice in Baeza he had received his habit from John during the ritual of investiture. Now he could in some way reciprocate that intimate gesture. He later recalled his former prior's request: "'Brother Friar Diego, tell me when they ring the bells for matins, for that will be the hour,' adding, 'at midnight I will go to say matins in heaven.'" "And at that moment, embracing him, without having looked to see if he had expired, I suddenly saw a great light […] turning my gaze back to the Servant of God, whom I had in my arms, I saw and

63 "[…] viendo la pobreza y necesidad del dicho convento […] malo y agravado de grandísimos dolores […]." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 145. Eulogio Pacho, ed., *Diccionario de San Juan de la Cruz* (Burgos: Monte Carmelo, 2009), 468–469; Jodi Bilinkoff, "John of the Cross: The Long Road to Sainthood," in *St John of the Cross: Carmel, Desire, and Transformation*, ed. Peter M. Tyler and Edward Howells (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

64 "[…] de que yo soy buen testigo, porque le vi en la cama antes de su muerte: vile lleno de llagas, manado podre, que vino a quedar solamente con los huesos y la piel. Y, para sustenarse o menearse en la pobre cama, le tenían asidas dos cuerdas de unos clavos en el techo, para se poder menear o hacer un medicamiento. Todo los que le veían salían admirados de verle con la paciencia que llevaba e sufría los dolores de su enfermedad." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación,* 183.

65 "Y vio que todos los religiosos de aquel convento estaban muy edificados de su paciencia, porque jamás le habían visto hacer sentimiento de sus dolores hasta cerca de la muerte […]." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 120.

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knew for certain he was dead […]." Thus did this spiritual son pronounce John's demise while underscoring his own social and physical proximity to an emerging saint.[66]

4. Afterlife with John of the Cross

Of course, for devout Catholics, bodily death is not the end of the story; it is merely the transition to the next, eternal chapter. Moreover, as we have seen, the friars who lived with John of the Cross frequently mixed the miraculous with the mundane in remembering their conventual lives together. Not surprisingly, then, they described relationships that persisted after his death. These post-mortem moments of contact recalled an earlier time when John both supervised and cared for mostly young, subordinate friars. As mature men, they related occasions when their now-deceased mentor aided them from beyond the grave. Their testimonies contained tropes about the "good death" and saintly interventions, to be sure, but also details that were quite specific and highly personal.[67]

The encounters they described involved both the physical and the metaphysical. As soon as he died, John's body, belongings, and any objects he had touched were regarded as sacred relics.[68] By 1591 this process was familiar to the faithful throughout Catholic Europe. The pious would strive to possess or at least touch these material reminders of

66 I draw here from the testimonies that Diego de Jesús made in both 1617 and 1627. "Y, estando en este modo, me dijo: 'Hermano fray Diego, avise que toquen a maitines, que ya es hora.' Y así lo avisé […] Y a este instante, teniéndole yo abrazado, sin haber echado de ver que hubiese expirado, vi de repente una gran luz sobre la cama […] Y volviendo a mirar al siervo de Dios, que tenía en mis brazos, vi y conocí estaba difunto […]." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 213. "[…] el mismo día que murió le oyó decir, este testigo, que a las doce de la noche había de ir a decir maitines al cielo […] Llovía aquella noche." Beltrán, "San Juan de la Cruz," 431. Friar Diego may have been the first to report John's prediction of the hour of his death, but he certainly was not the last! This story has been repeated by biographers from the seventeenth century to the present, including in Rodríguez and Ruiz Salvador, *God Speaks*, 369, and Rodríguez, *San Juan de la Cruz*, 851–852.

67 For Catholic teaching on the "good death," see Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 8–11, 24–35, 371–378.

68 The collection of John's possessions began even before his death. Lucas de San José "suffered from a very great and crushing affliction and tribulation." Once, when the prior was away from the Segovia friary, "with much devotion, he took the blanket from where the holy father slept." As soon as Friar Lucas wrapped himself and slept with the blanket, "the said affliction never returned […] which this witness took as a miraculous thing." He kept it as a relic, noting that "[…] even when the holy father John was alive, his things were esteemed in that way." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 285–286.

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the holy man or woman, efficacious, they believed, for divine protection and healing.[69] The beatification hearings included accounts by friars who were present during John's last hours in Ubeda. Waiting by his deathbed, they were well placed to acquire relics.

Agustín de San José offered a vivid picture of those first moments after John's demise. He recalled how "all the friars came in and touched cloths to his face, because they perceived the odor he gave off, and they cut off pieces of his hair and took his personal items as relics." Friar Agustín hastened to secure a relic for himself, making a somewhat unusual choice. He kept a piece of the rope used in the pulley device that had allowed John to move in his sickbed, an artifact that may have held unique significance for members of the Ubeda community.[70] Diego de la Concepción, for his part, found that one of John's hats fit him and "greatly esteemed it as a relic of such a [holy] father."[71]

In one of the most intriguing of these testimonies, Sebastián de San Hilarión reported that while John's body was reposing in the Ubeda house, "a certain person arrived to kiss his feet and cut off one of his toes," a situation only discovered when the friars prepared him for burial. Friar Sebastián was asked from whom he had learned this information and, more pointedly, "who was the person that took said toe." He chose to answer only the first question, stating that he had heard about this example of what Teófanes Egido has termed the "digital dispersion" of John of the Cross from three of his *confrères*: Diego de la Concepción, Fernando de la Madre de Dios, and Bartolomé de San Basilio. Either he did not know the identity of this relic-collector or chose not to reveal the name to the episcopal officials administering the hearings in Jaén on August 13, 1627. Neither did they press him, leaving posterity with another mystery to ponder.[72]

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69 There is an extensive literature on saints and their relics. For a good overview for the early modern period, see Clare Copeland, "Sanctity," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 225–241.

70 "Y vio, por veneración, le llegaban los religiosos a tocar los pañuelos a su rostro, porque les parecía salía olor dél, y le cortaban cabellos por reliquias, y sus cosas vio las tomaban por reliquias. Y este testigo tomó por reliquia un pedazo de soga de la que tenía colgada del techo de su celda, sobre su cama, para poderse menear en la cama. Y vio que todos le veneraban como a santo." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 120. Diego de Jesús also detected "una fragrancia de olores suavísimas que salían del cuerpo del siervo de Dios" and described how all the friars gathered around John's bedside "a besarle las manos y los pies, arrodillados con particular afecto." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 213–214.

71 "Y en especial, a este testigo, después de su muerte, le cupo su sombrero, el cual estimaba en muchísimo como reliquia de tal padre." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 111.

72 "Y que, estando el cuerpo del siervo de Dios en el capítulo del dicho convento, llegó una persona a besarle los pies y le cortó un dedo de los del pie; lo cual echaron de ver los padres del dicho convento cuando lo enterraron […] Preguntado a quién ha oído decir lo que ha referido y quién fue la persona que quitó el dicho dedo al siervo de Dios, digo que al padre fray Diego [de la Concepción] y al padre fray Hernando de la Madre de Dios y a el padre fray Bartolomé de San Basilio les he oído esto del dedo. Y esto digo." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 187. Teófanes Egido, "Claves históricas para la

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Over the years, dozens of people reported miraculous cures and rescues due to contact with the relics of John of the Cross.[73] Among them were some of his spiritual sons. Fernando de la Madre Dios gave graphic details of an acute abdominal attack he suffered in 1617.[74] The pain was so severe, he testified, that he could not walk or even move and required help returning to the Ubeda friary only a short distance away. Once inside, the pain only grew worse, so that he "could not rest or remain calm." A doctor was called and tried "many remedies," but none provided any relief. Watching his distress was Baltasar de Jesús, who had lived with John in the Granada house some thirty years earlier. He announced: "I want to go for that relic, the foot of the holy father Fray John of the Cross." After all, he noted, "he is our father, and if he works miracles for others, he will also do the same for [you], since you are his son." Friar Baltasar placed the relic on the most affected part of Friar Fernando's body and at that moment "all the pain that [the latter] had suffered was taken away […] and from that time on has never returned." Having shared this intense experience, both friars included it in their testimonies.[75]

Jerónimo de la Cruz, who had resided with John in Baeza and Granada, testified about "some miraculous apparitions that many people had seen and still see in a piece of John's flesh […]" He too had "seen many things in the relics of [John's] flesh," he insisted, but did not provide any details.[76] His reticence here contrasts with the vivid account he gave of an incident that occurred while John was still alive. Once, as Friar

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comprensión de San Juan de la Cruz," in *Introducción a la lectura de San Juan de la Cruz*, ed. Salvador Ros García (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1991), 59–124, 114.

73 José Luis Sánchez Lora, *El diseño de la santidad: La desfiguración de San Juan de la Cruz* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2004); Jodi Bilinkoff, "A 'Prodigal Son' Remembers John of the Cross," in *Embodiment, Identity, and Gender in the Early Modern Age*, ed. Amy E. Leonard and David M. Whitford (New York: Routledge, 2021), 48–58.

74 He used the expression "dolor de ijada," literally, pain in his side. But Covarrubias included a word derivation along with definitions: "*latine morbus iliacus*." From this, I suggest a diagnosis of ileitis, the inflammation of the ileum, the lowest part of the small intestine. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, 1611, ed. Felipe C.R. Maldonado (reprint, Madrid: Castalia, 1995), 661. My thanks to Michele Clouse for her expert consultation.

75 For Fernando de la Madre de Dios: "[…] había este testigo salido fuera de su convento a cierto negocio y le dió tan recio dolor de ijada […] que no podía volver al convento ni menearse […] y fué en tanto crecimiento el dicho dolor […] que no podía reposar ni quietarse; y aunque el doctor Robles, médico, hizo muchos remedios a este testigo, ninguno le aprovechó […] viéndole el dicho fray Baltasar, su compañero, con tantos dolores y angustias, compadeciéndose […] le dijo: yo quiero ir por la reliquia del pie del santo padre fray Juan de la Cruz, que pues es nuestro padre y hace milagros con los de fuera, también lo hará con Su Reverencia, pues es su hijo […] y al punto que se le aplicó y puso sobre la parte y lugar donde tenía el dicho dolor […] se le quitó de todo punto el dolor que padecía […] después acá no le ha vuelto a este testigo […] todos […] lo atribuyeron a milagro." Juan de la Cruz, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 342–343. See also *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 151, #2. For Baltasar de Jesús: *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 141.

76 "[…] es muy notable de algunas maravillosas apariciones que muchas personas han visto y ven en cualquiera reliquia de su carne […] Yo he visto muchas cosas en las reliquias de su carne […]." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 248.

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Jerónimo accompanied his prior on a journey, two sheep dogs appeared at the top of a hill and rushed down toward them, barking furiously. The dogs seemed so ferocious to the young friar, that "he feared that they were going to tear [us] to pieces." John, however, responded in a way that recalls one of the "Little Flowers" of Francis of Assisi.[77] Without halting his stride, he reassured his companion, then simply held out his hand and placed it on the head of each dog. He smacked them on their snouts and told them to leave and "they went back without barking or anything else." Friar Jerónimo regarded the dogs' sudden transformation as "a marvelous thing," adding that this was surely due to "the grace Our Lord gave [John] over all living things."[78]

Thus were John's spiritual sons convinced that their mentor continued to preserve them from illness and danger even after death. They would, in turn, preserve his memory. The testimonies of the men who had lived with John of the Cross provided crucial source material for his earliest biographers. The enterprise of saint-making was also one of bridge-making, connecting generations of Discalced Carmelites.

Born four years before John's death, Jerónimo de San José (Ezquerra) was named official historian (*Historiador general*) of the order in 1626. Soon afterwards, his work as biographer of John of the Cross began. He composed a brief account to accompany the 1629 edition of John's works and published his massive *History of the Venerable Father Friar John of the Cross* in 1641. Friar Jerónimo now had the benefit of both sets of *procesos*. His efforts were further aided by the correspondence he established with a key informant, Juan Evangelista, John's "favorite son," trusted lieutenant, and frequent travel companion.[79]

During the winter and spring of 1630, Juan Evangelista, now 68 years old, complied with the request of his order's historian for "information about the Saint and his writings." Due to his age, perhaps, or a relationship of trust that had developed between the two men, Friar Juan sent three letters that were especially rich in details about himself as well as John of the Cross. He even revealed to Friar Jerónimo how he had once come upon

77 "How St. Francis tamed the very fierce wolf of Gubbio," in *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis*, trans. Raphael Brown (New York: Doubleday, 1958), 88–90.

78 "[…] bajaron de lo alto de un cerro dos perros de ganado, con una furia muy grande […] el compañero temió; porque parecía, según la furia traían, que venían a despedazarlos. Y conociendo el venerable padre fray Juan de la Cruz el miedo del compañero, le dijo: 'No tenga miedo.' Y sin parar de andar […] extendió la mano y se la puso sobre la cabeza a cada uno de ellos; y dándoles en el hocico un golpe, les dijo: 'Andad.' Y se volvieron sin ladrar ni hacer más otra cosa alguna […] tuve por maravilloso ver la furia con que los perros venían y la facilidad y blandura con que quedaron luego […] yo lo atribuí fue a la gracia que Nuestro Señor le dio sobre todas las criaturas." Del Arco Moya and del Arco Moya, *Proceso de beatificación*, 239.

79 Pacho, *Diccionario*, 620–621.

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his mentor in a state of ecstatic rapture, an incident that John had asked his companion to keep secret.[80]

Having access to so many written and oral narratives about John of the Cross, some containing personal, even intimate details, Jerónimo de San José may have begun to feel that he had known the man himself. Perhaps for this reason, as well as his position as official chronicler, he testified in Segovia on February 8, 1628. Although he admitted that he "never met or saw the venerable father Fray Juan de la Cruz," Friar Jerónimo insisted that he "had immense knowledge of [John's] deeds, life, death, virtues and miracles" and thus could answer the questions put to him.[81]

Moreover, he claimed to have been the beneficiary of one of the holy man's post-mortem interventions. Affirming John's special power to calm storms, the friar recounted how once he had become lost in the mountains alone at night during a ferocious downpour. He began to despair of his life, then suddenly remembered that he had an (unspecified) relic of John of the Cross with him. He held the relic up to the angry clouds, made the sign of the cross with it, and "at that moment the storm stopped completely, and soon [I] could see the stars come out."[82]

Jerónimo de San José was thus able to claim some of the same experiences as friars who had once lived with John of the Cross. Testifying during the beatification hearings, highlighting his office within the Discalced Carmelite order, owning a relic, and receiving a miraculous rescue all rendered him a "spiritual son once removed." He and other biographers would continue the work of promoting John as a saint begun by his first friars. The road ahead to formal beatification (1675) and canonization (1726) would be a surprisingly long and difficult one.

The testimonies of friars who had personally known John of the Cross offer a fascinating lens into his life and those of his *discípulos*. These accounts, and other primary sources, shed light on the unique experiences and emotions of individuals and the varieties of homosocial relationships within religious communities. They show as well how, some thirty years after living with John as his subordinates, these sons deployed their memories to construct their father prior as a saint.

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80 Santa Teresa, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 10, 340–346. John of the Cross, *The Complete Works*, 349–355; Pacho, *Diccionario*, 674; Beltrán, "San Juan de la Cruz," 443–444.

81 "[…] aunque no conoció ni vió al venerable padre fray Juan de la Cruz […] tiene gran noticia de sus cosas, vida, muerte, virtudes y milagros, así por haberlas oído a muchos que le conocieron, como por haber visto testimonios auténticos de personas fidedignas, los cuales han venido a sus manos y poder de este testigo por razón de la ocupación de la Historia General de su sagrada Orden en que la Religión le emplea […]." Santa Teresa, *Obras de San Juan,* vol. 14, 414.

82 "[…] acerca del poder que […] tuvo sobre las tempestades, dice este testigo que él mismo le pasó una cosa que tuvo y tiene por milagrosa, y fué que viéndose perdido en un camino de noche, y quedándose solo en medio de una sierra solo […] llovia con harta furia […] y así, tornando a conjurar el nublado con la dicha reliquia, al punto cesó la tempestad totalmente, y se descubrieron luego las estrellas." Ibid., 420.

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Andreea Badea

On the Road to Sanctity?

The Construction of María de Jesús de Ágreda as a Franciscan Saint between Missionary Zeal and Scholarly Debates

1. Introduction

Female mystics as well as "real" or "false" saints played a vital role during the "long Tridentine century."[1] It is therefore hardly surprising to learn that they have increasingly come under scholarly scrutiny in recent decades, especially with respect to the incremental institutionalization and formalization of beatification and canonization processes.[2] Recent scholarship has revealed how different actors appropriated early modern canonization procedures across space and time and how sanctity was repeatedly designed/fabricated to service various claims and interests amidst evolving religious, social, political, and doctrinal parameters. However, holiness was not merely something that was haphazardly invoked. It is more rewarding to consider sanctity as a gateway to the thought-style of the time, the authenticity of which was not questioned by mainstream Catholics. I refer here to Ludwik Fleck's definition, according to which a thought collective (Denkkollektiv) denotes the social unit of a defined community. The individuals within the thought collective relate to the same intellectual and cultural basis—the thought style (Denkstil), which defines what is true and what is false and

1 Simon Ditchfield, "'Historia magistra sanctitatis?' The Relationship between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent (1540–1742 ca.)," in *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores: Storici e storia in età postridentina*, ed. Massimo Firpo (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2005), 3–23, 23. I wish to thank Erika Milburn for the linguistic revision and María Laura Giordano for helpful suggestions, and I am deeply grateful to Bruno Boute for his diligent and critical reading of the manuscript.

2 The topic was of particular interest from a gender perspective and thus opened up a variety of approaches to the study of everyday female life between the assumption of socially and religiously prominent positions and the necessity of securing them, especially against different authorities. For a deeper reading, see, for example, Adriana Valerio, *Cristianesimo al femminile: Donne protagoniste nella storia delle Chiese* (Naples: D'Auria, 1990); Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618–1750* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Andrew W. Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2011); and Isabelle Poutrin, *Le Voile et la plume: Autobiographie et sainteté féminine dans l'Espagne moderne* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2017).

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the methods and categories by which one can distinguish between them. The experts within the thought collective define the epistemological content. They form the esoteric circle and provide the less educated, the exoteric circle, with the knowledge content they must consider true.[3]

Following Stuart Clark's *Thinking with Demons*, Simon Ditchfield has convincingly argued that early modern societies accepted the supernatural aspects of holiness as a matter of course and attributed manifold relevance to them.[4]

The fortunes of the Spanish Franciscan nun María de Jesús de Ágreda (1602–1665) furnish an excellent vantage point to observe how sainthood and canonization procedures were not only monitored by institutions whose brief also consisted of battling heresy and theological error,[5] but that heresy and sanctity were interdependent, indeed dialectical twins that presupposed and underpinned each other. In this context, I will show how detailed evidence and procedures intended to disqualify María de Jesús for the so-called "honor of the altars" were reversed and appropriated to manufacture a saintly persona instead. Additionally, the interdependency between sanctity and heresy facilitated the involvement of numerous actors, each of whom created their own image of María empowering her to justify their interests or to boost their authority in doctrinal questions as much as in questions pertaining to the fine lines between holiness and heresy. On the other hand, it also led to a clash between different thought collectives (Fleck) that vented distinct identities and that claimed interpretative supremacy or sovereignty within early modern society.

María's life offers an excellent opportunity to show how many different actors engaged in the process of constructing sainthood within seventeenth-century Catholicism. What practices did they adopt, and what importance did they attribute to their construction in different discursive contexts? Beyond María's entourage, and the Franciscan promoters of the cult, the Spanish Crown and the House of Habsburg were also interested in a quick canonization. The case thus became one of the many bones of contention between Spain and the Curia, which simultaneously gained political, scholarly, and theological

3 See Ludwik Fleck, *Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache: Einführung in die Lehre vom Denkstil und Denkkollektiv*, ed. Lothar Schäfer and Thomas Schnelle (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980), particularly 54, 130–131.

4 Clark assumes that belief in the demonic was omnipresent even among the scholars and that they attributed linguistic, social, political, religious, and scientific significance to it. Cf. Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 3 (2009): 552–584, 554.

5 As convincingly pointed out by Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints," particularly 578. For further reflections on the interdependence of orthodoxy and heterodoxy or even heresy, cf. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Einleitung," in *Konfessionelle Ambiguität: Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Andreas Pietsch and Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013), 12.

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significance because of its entanglement, among other factors, with Spanish stakes in promoting Marianism. From the beginning, it was not only individual actors who were involved in the debates about the canonization of María de Ágreda, as these quickly escalated into a state affair. On a scholarly level, the controversy intermingled with the religious disputes over the Immaculate Conception, even triggering interventions from the Sorbonne in the struggle for interpretative sovereignty over Ágreda's iconic book "La Mystica Ciudad de Dios," which was crucial for the development of modern Spanish. In competition with the Roman scholars, the Parisian Doctors transformed the case of the Spanish mystic into a vital issue of gender and academic culture.

2. The "Mystical Lady in Blue" and the Order of Saint Francis

María de Jesús was one of four surviving children of the patrician Converso couple Francisco Coronel and Catalina de Arana of the town of Ágreda.[6] The family was completely immersed in the Franciscan universe and invested heavily in building an existence as part of the order. María was twelve years old when she took the veil, in 1614. Four years later her father ordered the family home to be converted into a convent "Of the Immaculate Conception" and to host María, her mother, sister and servants, and a few followers who joined them. They appointed María as their abbess in 1627.[7] At that time her father and her two brothers had already left the family estate and joined the Franciscans in Burgos.[8]

The young woman's distinctive status as the receptacle of divine grace, which had already been heralded by her family history,[9] started immediately after María entered the order. Very soon, she began to fall into ecstasy after receiving the Host. Under the auspices of her mother, such events became a public attraction, and the convent regularly welcomed spectators who also sought the nun's advice and sometimes even consulted her as an arbiter in minor legal matters. In addition, María herself increasingly reported

6 For a brief overview of María's life and canonization proceedings: Sara Cabibbo, "Una profetessa alla corte di Spagna: Il caso di María d'Ágreda fra Sei e Settecento," *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 1 (2003): 101–104.

7 Cabibbo, "Una profetessa," 101.

8 The brothers and the father left the family convent in 1619; Elisa Rebellato, *La fabbrica dei divieti: Gli indici dei libri proibiti da Clemente VIII a Benedetto XIV* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2008), 168.

9 María's biographer, José Jiménez Samaniego, intensively describes the early signs of holiness that were already present at the moment of her birth, cf. José Jiménez Samaniego, *Vita della venerabile madre suor María di Giesu, Abbadessa del Monistero dell'Immacolata Concezione della Villa d'Ágreda, scrittora della Mistica citta di Dio, composta dal p. Gioseppe Ximenes Samaniego dell'Ordine di San Francisco; e tradotta dallo Spagnuolo nell'Italiano con il Prologo Galeato o sia Discorso Preliminare del medesimo al dotto Lettore, et un Compendio di tutta l'opera concernente all'Istoria Divina, e Vita della Vergine Madre di DIO, Regina, e Signora Nostra MARIA Santissima* (Trent: Per Giovanni Parone Stampator Vescovale, 1714), 2–4.

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that she had traveled the world during her so-called "exterioridades" between 1622 and 1630. She claimed to have undertaken such journeys increasingly in Mexico and in the territory of present-day Texas in order to manifest herself to the Indigenous population and to introduce them to the catechism.[10] Her later confessor and biographer, the Franciscan José Jiménez Samaniego, documents over 500 such experiences, in which she preached as a "dama mística de azul" and was even occasionally alleged to have given rosaries to the local people.[11]

With her choices of destination during her trances, María touched an essential nerve in her order, which was almost obsessively looking for ways to silence criticism of its missionary strategies in North America: María's adventures fit perfectly into local narratives and could thus be interwoven with Franciscan historiography. According to these histories, monks who encountered Indigenous people during these years noted that they had been so well taught about the Holy Scriptures that they could be baptized immediately. When asked, they reportedly said that a beautiful young woman in blue had visited them. This led the order to ponder over which of the well-known mystics of the time this could be, ultimately deciding on María. She was therefore visited in 1631 by Sebastián Marcilla, the head of the Franciscan Province of Burgos, along with her confessor, Francisco Andrés de la Torre, and Alonso de Benavides, the custos of New Mexico.[12] Benavides himself had written the report on the American side of her bilocations and delivered it to the king. And María in turn would publish an account of her experiences with the Indigenous peoples in the same year.[13]

Bilocations were by no means an attribute unique to María; in fact, they belonged to the common repertoire of distinctly female mysticism beyond individual religious orders, especially in the first decades of the seventeenth century. These women and their religious and mystic tools contributed significantly to establishing a distinctive Spanish-Catholic thought collective.[14] Luisa de la Ascensión appeared to Catholic soldiers at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, Antonia Jacinta de Navarra y la Cueva manifested during a battle against the Turks in 1627, Martina de los Ángeles showed up at Lützen in

10 Sara Cabibbo, "Una 'dama niña y hermosa' nella nuova Spagna: María d'Ágreda fra gli Indios," in *Ordini religiosi, santità e culti: Prospettive di ricerca tra Europa e America Latina. Atti del Seminario di Roma, 21–22 giugno 2001*, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Galatina: Congedo, 2003), 112.

11 Samaniego, *Vita della venerabile Madr*e, 32–33. See also Cabibbo, "Una profetessa," 92, 94, 101.

12 Clark Colahan, "María de Jesús de Ágreda: The Sweetheart of the Holy Office," in *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary Giles (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 158.

13 Clark Colahan, *The Visions of Sor María de Ágreda: Writing Knowledge and Power* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 104–115.

14 For a closer look at María's position as a visionary and the religious claims deriving from it, see Patricia Manning, *Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain: Inquisition, Social Criticism and Theology in the Case of El Criticón* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 40. On the importance of sainthood for the construction of a Catholic collective identity, see Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints," 572, and concerning especially Spain, see Rowe, *Saint and Nation*.

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1632, and María de San José even went to Japan.[15] Beyond these events, María's visions also echoed the cults of Lidwina and Birgitta of Sweden, who were usually staged as anti-Protestant bulwarks.[16]

Yet the publicity of María's bilocations primarily served the global interests of her very own order: the Spanish Franciscans eagerly adopted María's narrative, as it helped them to defend their baptismal practice against the other orders in New Spain. The Jesuits in particular accused the Franciscans of insufficiently instructing the Indigenous population on the basics of the faith prior to baptizing them, thereby gaining an advantage in the missionary struggle for souls and colonial land.[17] Against this background, an apparition that had been continually preaching for nearly ten years seemed a welcome remedy.[18] Surprisingly, the explicitly female elements of visions and bilocations did not seem to provoke the fundamental theological suspicion that accompanied female preachers. Indeed, the Spanish acceptance of women visions actually served to overlook the theological problem of female preaching for the moment.

In this context, the compatibility of the religious practices of the local Indigenous population with Franciscan spiritualism proved a boon, too.[19] Visions and bilocation experiences already belonged to the local Indigenous people's religious cosmos; hence the appearance of the Child Jesus or various saints had been part of the standard repertoire of local Catholics in today's Mexico and New Mexico since the first conversions in the sixteenth century.[20] The compatibility of local cults with Franciscan mysticism was further expressed in the native preference for the color blue, giving additional local substance to María's story of bilocation.

With Benavides's publication of 1631, María's bilocations reached a level of transcontinental publicity that eventually produced genuinely American narratives including, from the 1690s onwards, Indigenous eyewitness accounts that María de Jesús had appeared to their grandparents or had contributed significantly to their own conversion.[21]

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15 Cf. Poutrin, *Le Voile et la plume*, 83–85; Cabibbo, "Una profetessa," 106, n. 16.

16 Cabibbo, "Una profetessa," 92.

17 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 156–157.

18 Ibid., 157.

19 Francisco Morales, "New World Colonial Franciscan Mystical Practice," in *A New Companion to Hispanic Mysticism*, ed. Hilaire Kallendorf (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 79; Sara Cabibbo, "Il *Libro serrado* di María d'Ágreda: Per un'analisi della cultura femminile nella Spagna del Seicento," in *La Bibbia nell'interpretazione delle donne*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Adriana Valerio (Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2002), 15.

20 Morales, "New World," particularly 85–89, and Roberta Emanuela Peccatiello, "Strategie francescane e taumaturgiche nell'evangelizzazione della penisola yucateca," in *Il santo patrono e la città: San Benedetto il Moro. Culti, devozioni, strategie di età moderna*, ed. Giovanna Fiume (Venice: Marsilio, 2000), passim.

21 As Anna Nogar has pointed out, they were all acquainted with María's writings, above all with the "Mystica Ciudad," cf. Anna Nogar, *Quill and Cross in the Borderlands: Sor María de Ágreda and the Lady in Blue, 1628 to the Present* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018), 242–252. For a list of

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However, the bilocations ceased with the media attention, probably in part because the publicity attracted the authorities' attention. In the end, it was only a matter of time before such performances called those actors to the scene whose brief consisted in regarding the supernational with suspicion and in uncovering charlatanism and heresy. As a result, María became part of the inquisitorial campaign against "lo Maravilloso" and was investigated in 1635.[22] The bureaucrats of the faith focused on religious manifestations that smacked of sorcery or diabolic possession, and thus tried to erase any supernatural power with positive connotations.[23] Similar reactions on behalf of both the Iberian and Roman Inquisitions pushed back against the conquest of the public sphere by female mystics.[24]

Bilocation was a fundamental subject of investigation in María's 1635 trial before the inquisition in Logroño. It was helpful that the inquisitors, who were in any case well disposed toward the young woman, appointed nobody else but her confessor Andrés de la Torre as an examiner. Departing from what was often the case, he did not focus on the authenticity of the bilocations or on the question of their divine or diabolic origins. He instead tried to navigate his way around these loaded issues and thus save his penitent from the dangers of precise classification. De la Torre even proved that the abbess herself could not remember the bilocations, attributing some of the blame for the confusion to the recently deceased Benavides. More importantly, he discussed the public levitations in consideration of the general campaign against female mystics and defined their publicity as the underlying problem of the trial. He explained that María had not known about the public and that the nuns who might have let strangers join them had since left the convent. According to his argumentation's logic, it was no longer possible to obtain a clear testimony about the events. The Inquisition, for its part, was satisfied and sought to communicate an overall state of affairs to Madrid that was as reassuring as possible.[25] No further qualificators or experts were called either, because the inquisitors in Logroño agreed that they lacked qualified personnel to tackle

documented presences after María's death, cf. Marilyn Fedewa, *María of Ágreda: Mystical Lady in Blue* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2011), 284–285.

22 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 182–183. For a general overview regarding such inquisitorial attempts against female mysticism, see María Laura Giordano, "Historicizing the Beatas: The Figures behind Reformation and Counter-Reformation Conflicts," in *Devout Laywomen in the Early Modern World*, ed. Alison Weber (London: Routledge, 2016), 98–100.

23 Cf. Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints*, 95–110. Sluhovsky understands possession as a "catch-all term that was used in premodern times to describe all sorts of both physiological and psychological afflictions," very difficult to distinguish from divine manifestations with the same character, Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 14.

24 For a fundamental exploration of this topic, see Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints*, particularly 45–46; see also Stephen Haliczer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy: Female Mystics in the Golden Age of Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002), particularly 125–127.

25 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 160.

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such issues: "We don't have qualificators for such purpose here."[26] As a consequence, the proceedings ended with the statement that no charges could be brought against the nun.

3. Preparing Her Way to Holiness

Despite her brushes with the Inquisition, María collaborated with her confessor and her order's leadership in shaping her role as a bridge between Castile and the New World.[27] The old and new Christians shared their devotion to the abbess, and the Franciscans readily provided the necessary infrastructure. As a result, they not only positioned themselves favourably vis-à-vis other missionary orders but also inevitably drew attention to themselves on a political level.

King Philip IV's visit to the convent in 1643 and his decision to discuss personal aspects of his family life with the abbess alongside political problems thus appear, in this light, to be almost the logical consequences of previous events for both parties.

Philip and María began an intensive and very intimate correspondence with each other that conspicuously echoed the exchanges between Teresa of Ávila and Philip II.[28] María enjoyed her position as an informal counselor, and the king intended to use the nun's staging to position himself in the tradition of his grandfather. After all, he was trying to create a kind of resurgence of Philip II's once intimate friendship with Teresa of Avila.[29] His correspondence with the nun speaks for itself, for Philip did not want María to keep his letters but demanded that the nun use the same paper for her replies. He wrote to her regularly on the left side of sheets of paper divided lengthwise. María was to use the right side, ensuring that all the documentation of this correspondence was always in the king's possession. They kept up the habit until the abbess died in March 1665, leaving behind a corpus of some 618 letters.[30] If this relationship between king

26 "Aquí no tenemos calificadores tan a propósito." Joaquín Pérez Villanueva, "Algo más sobre la Inquisición y Sor María de Ágreda: La prodigiosa evangelización americana," *Hispania Sacra* 37 (1985): 585–618, 608.

27 For a general overview on the confessor's role in shaping a saintly persona and their relationship to the penitent, see Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450–1750* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), 12–30.

28 On the importance of the presence of so-called *beatas* at the court and for the courtly networks, see Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, particularly 41–43.

29 For a more general perspective on Philip's motives, see Sara Cabibbo, "Vizi e virtù di una 'sociedad ensimismada': María d'Ágreda e la Spagna di Filippo IV," *Península: Revista de Estudios Ibéricos* 3 (2006): 166.

30 Copies of the letters can be found in Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), Espagnol 455; cf. also Joaquín Pérez Villanueva, "Sor María de Ágreda y Felipe IV: Un epistolario en su tiempo," in *Historia de la Iglesia en España, IV: La Iglesia en la España de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, ed. Ricardo García-Villoslada and Manuel Sotomayor y Muro (Madrid: Católica, 1979).

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and mystic were to continue to be utilized in some form in the service of the monarchy, Philip's method of communication was nevertheless initially intended to secure the textual corpus for the staging of this friendship, and perhaps for future beatification interests.

However, María had closely studied Teresa's biography and writings at a very early stage. The fruits of her reading are reflected not only in her book but also in her later answers before the Inquisition.[31] In addition, the publicly advertised correspondence was in keeping with Philip's attempts to intervene in the politics of his country. María's importance to him and to those around him is also apparent from his opponents' attempts to win her over for their purposes. For example, the duke consort of Híjar, Rodrigo de Silva Mendoza y Sarmiento, wrote to her repeatedly, seeking her support for his cause against the king. Though she did not accept, she was careless enough to send a reply to him.[32] Consequently, the Inquisition targeted her again, after the attempted coup to overthrow Philip was uncovered and Silva was arrested in 1648. Given the seriousness of the allegations, in September 1649 the Supreme Tribunal in Madrid ordered that her case be reopened and that she be subjected to a meticulous inquisition.[33]

This time, however, the inquisition in Madrid monitored the proceedings closely. The Suprema instructed that the inquisitors in Logroño be strict and that no Franciscans be involved in the case. Therefore, two expert qualificators examined María's writings, both of whom were determined opponents of any manifestation of female religiosity in general and intellectual preoccupations with theology in particular.

In January 1649, the inquisitors had already received the expert opinions written by Andrés de la Torre in 1635 as well as witness reports and the abbess's writings and statements. A review of the documents revealed that she would need to be questioned for more than treason alone, as she had obviously allowed herself to be misled and was at least firmly in favor of false, possibly even heretical, propositions: "They found it difficult to persuade themselves that it is the work of God and not passive or active illusion, or all together, and a slight credulity on the part of those who have governed it."[34] Therefore, the inquisitors found it necessary to have experts question María in person.

31 Cf. regarding Teresa's advice, Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints*, particularly 46–49.

32 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 160.

33 Ibid., 160–161. On the entanglements of Spanish female mystics in the seventeenth century between persecution by the Inquisition and their proximity to the kings, see María Laura Giordano, "Al borde del abismo: 'Falsas santas' e 'ilusas' madrileñas en la vigilia de 1640," *Historia social* 57 (2007), particularly 84–87.

34 "Hallaban mochas dificultades a persuadirse a que sea obra de Dios y no ilusión pasiva o activa, o todo junto, y una ligera credulidad de los que la han gobernado," cited in Pérez Villanueva, "Sor María," 385.

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Lucas Grandín, the first expert to examine María's writings and original documents, particularly attacked her language in her litany for the Virgin Mary, her expressive adjectives, and her manner of addressing God.[35] María's linguistic power, which made her texts milestones in the development of the Spanish language, would contribute to her downfall.[36] Grandín wanted her to use a simpler, less expressive style. He saw in her language, as in the "graces" she was supposed to have received, an expression of her awareness of having a special relationship with God. Therefore, he practically demanded that from now on she live as if no one in the world would ever remember her: "she should live persuaded that there will be no one in the world who will regret her."[37] Though he was not sure whether María was good or evil in her soul, he saw the exclusion of her order from further proceedings as the only way of making a clear statement in this regard.

Grandín's stance against similar manifestations and practices of female religiosity was echoed by the second expert, Alonso de Herrera, though his judgment was less harsh and built on the assumption that the devil had turned her "into a passive victim of delusion."[38] However, he suggested the first path towards a lenient judgment by wondering whether her deep desire to be a missionary might have generated imaginary bilocations.[39]

Based on the judgements received, the Inquisitor General decided that an inquisitor from Logroño would question María.

A notary of the Holy Office accompanied the inquisitor. They arrived at the convent on January 18, 1650. The abbess faced the inquisitors' 80 questions with some delay for health reasons, and then answered them in 10 days, in two sessions per day.[40]

She had probably prepared for these sessions, not only by studying the writings of Teresa of Ávila but also by closely following the trial of Luisa de la Ascensión and tailoring her answers accordingly.[41] Luisa de Carrión, who died in 1636, was also renowned as a mystic and visionary missionary of New Spain. However, there were even more parallels between the two women; for example, Luisa also tried to imitate the relationship between Philip II and Teresa of Ávila albeit in collaboration with Philip III. As in the case of most other women mystics, the Inquisition initiated a trial against her.

35 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 161.

36 Cabibbo, "Una profetessa," 89.

37 "Ellas vivan persuadidas a que no ha de haber en el mundo quien se acuere de ellas," cited in Pérez Villanueva, "Sor María," 385.

38 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 162.

39 Ibid., 162.

40 Ibid., 162.

41 For the similarities of the two processes, see Poutrin, *Le Voile et la plume*, https://books.openedition.org/cvz/2430, §12 (last accessed December 15, 2023) and https://books.openedition.org/cvz/2422, §14 (last accessed December 15, 2023).

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However, she died isolated from her religious community long before the trial ended with an acquittal in 1648.[42]

Regarding her trance states, María stated that she had been unaware of the presence of strangers and subsequently discussed not their authenticity but the publicity they had received. Since the "exterioridades" in her story were related to the reception of the Host, she told the inquisitors that she no longer received the Host if she could not be certain of being alone afterwards, in order to avoid attracting further attention. She could not testify to whether and where she traveled at such moments, nor could she say whether anyone had seen her. She testified that according to Benavides, she had spent even longer periods in the new Mexican territories, but in reality, had been so ill on these days that she could not make any statements about her condition. Regarding her report of 1631, she related that she had written it carelessly and given it to Benavides without thinking, and that it was he who had published it, without her knowledge.[43]

Samaniego adopted this version of events in the *Vita*, without, however, renouncing the bilocations and the accompanying conversions.[44] They remained part of the cult surrounding María de Ágreda both in the missionary territories and in northern Castile, and also remained in the enumeration of miracles necessary for her canonization procedures.

María referred to Teresa of Ávila in her defence regarding bilocation and the accusation that she claimed to have been accompanied by angels. She categorized her visions according to the criteria Teresa had established.[45] She also used a clearly theological language to describe them, though she could still credibly affirm that her knowledge of the Virgin Mary sprang from the latter's saintly inspiration rather than from learning. With this, she sought to refute accusations of an inquiring, intellectual spirit, and a desire for knowledge. Unlike other mystics in front of the inquisitions, however, she did not adopt a submissive attitude. Instead, she rather stuck to the path of logical lines of reasoning.[46] Female spirituality was only acceptable as long as it sprang from immediate supernatural inspiration. However, despite the inspiration argument, María was careful to keep her distance from the sacred. She firmly denied that angels had accompanied her on her world travels, as stated in Benavides's report of 1631.

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42 Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 41, and Nogar, *Quill and Cross*, 25–28.

43 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 169–170.

44 Samaniego, *Vita della venerabile Madre*, 26–29.

45 Especially on Teresa of Ávila and rhetorical strategies before the Inquisition, see also Alison Weber, *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), particularly 35.

46 Cf. Colahan, *Writing Knowledge and Power*, 33, and Manning, *Voicing Dissent*, 41. María was undoubtedly not the only nun who avoided clear statements about her theological work by referring to the Mother of God as the source of ideas. In fact, this phenomenon was common to all religious orders. Another example is Hypólita de Rocabertí, cf. María Laura Giordano, "I 'salici sterili' della religione esteriore: Sor Hipólita de Jesús e la Controriforma," *Quaderni storici* 144 (2013): 865.

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What is more, she also denied having perceived the presence of the Blessed Virgin or even of God during her "exterioridades." She stated her awareness that this was a level of communication open only to the blessed, among whom she would not dare to count herself.[47] By doing so, she distinguished the public space, where information could circulate in an uncontrolled manner, from the private space, where she both believed and said what she believed. This strategy aimed to point out again and again that the Inquisition's suspicions of heresy were based on second-hand information and that María alone could clear up the resulting misunderstandings:

> The Lord does not discover Himself in Himself, but mediately to the understanding with an intellectual presence, a kind of intuitive vision. It does not teach the real presence, although it contains it, and so it is easy for the creature and the spiritual Father to whom this vision is communicated to be deceived into thinking that this is seeing the divinity, when this is specific only to the blessed ones.[48]

She stuck to this strategy of ignoring the content and discussing only the form of her statements when she came to an even more significant point, namely, when she was questioned about her writings. The most dangerous manuscript in the eyes of the Inquisition was "Mystica Ciudad de Dios," which she had probably begun in 1636.[49] The book described a secret history of the Mother of God, and María firmly maintained that it had been dictated to her by the saint herself. Apparently, news of this text had already circulated widely, and she had become aware of the trouble it could cause her, for she had burned the book when it became apparent that another Inquisition trial was probably in store for her.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the inquisitors specifically sought the "Mystica Ciudad de Dios," but as it was lost, they had to deal only with the published texts, especially the Litany for the Virgin Mary. Therefore, they again examined María's language, with its numerous neologisms based on Latin and its particularly expressive adjectives in the description of the Virgin.[50]

While modern research has convincingly argued that María de Ágreda must have been a linguistic genius, the nun insisted that she had only a rudimentary knowledge

47 "No descubriendose el Señor en sí mismo, sino mediatamente al entendimiento con presencia intelectual, especie de visión intuitiva. Que no enseña la presencia real, aunque la contiene, y así es fácil que la criatura y el Padre espiritual a quien se comunica esta visión se engañen y se piense que eso es ver la divinidad, cuando eso es propio sólo de los bienaventurados." Peréz Villanueva, "Sor María," 387–390.

48 Cited ibid., 387. See also Colahan, "María de Jesús," 164.

49 For an overview regarding the genesis and literary quality of the text see Poutrin, *Le Voile et la plume*, https://books.openedition.org/cvz/2423#bodyftn43, §32–34 (last accessed December 15, 2023).

50 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 162–165.

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of Latin.[51] Nevertheless, she also hastened to abandon the inquisitors' initial framing of her case, turning the acceptance or rejection of her writings into a question of the proper way to manage publicity. Therefore, she stated that she had written the litany exclusively for the nuns of her convent and that the text had been published in Zaragoza against her will.[52] This meant that the content and doctrinal quality of the text were no longer at stake. Instead, María preferred to argue that the text should not have been shown to the exoteric, the outside circle of non-experts (Fleck).

María's strategy to distinguish clearly between her own statements and those made about her by third parties, as well as between different forms of publicity, was effective because she had destroyed what was probably the main incriminating document. She had burned her copy of "Mystica Ciudad," so the inquisitors could not ask anything about it. The mere assertion that the Virgin Mary was the original author of María's history would have sufficed to invalidate her arguments and accuse her of presumption at the very least. Additionally, the eloquent language, learned references, and numerous biblical passages[53] cited would have made it very difficult to explain how her writings could have been the outcome of intrinsic inspiration.

The only person who could have assisted the inquisitors with information material to this question was the king himself, as the nun had given him the only remaining copy of her book. María had written to him after the questioning on February 28, 1650, asking him to keep quiet about his copy: "Hasta que se aquiete esta tormenta, mejor está oculta."[54] The king did her a favor and waited silently in the background for the trial's outcome.

The storm passed, and María was acquitted. Her judges even allowed themselves to be given devotional souvenirs like rosaries, reportedly because they were so enthralled by María's humility and piety. María emphasized this positive turn of events in her above-mentioned letter to the king, to whom she expressed her gratitude, even going so far as to speak of her deep love for the Inquisition. She maintained this tone in her report for Pedro Manero, the general of the Franciscan order.[55] In this text, her description of her life story and of the interrogation by the inquisitors allowed the accusation of heresy to fade. In this light, her eventual acquittal appeared almost a recommendation for canonization. She takes up the accusations again, but tells her story actively, basing the events on the logical thread she spun in her answers to the inquisitors. On top of that, she begins the account with "I confess," giving the entire interrogation the appearance of a grand, voluntary confession.[56]

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51 Ibid., see Colahan, *Writing Knowledge and Power*, 32–34; cf. also Nogar, *Quill and Cross*, 49–52.

52 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 165.

53 Cabibbo, "Una profetessa," 89.

54 Peréz Villanueva, "Sor María," 378.

55 Colahan, "María de Jesús," 166–167.

56 Peréz Villanueva, "Sor María," 378, see also Colahan, "María de Jesús," 167.

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In the end, her own interpretation had such a strong impact that even twentieth-century research argued that she was never really put on trial.[57] In fact, she had succeeded, first in exploiting the two-sided nature of the Inquisition itself as a criminal tribunal as well as a tribunal of conscience, and second in transforming the mark of heresy into a badge of sanctity, paving the way for canonization during her own lifetime in the process.

4. Sanctification Arrangements and Pre-Eminence in Faith Matters

Surprisingly soon after María's death in 1665, the Franciscan order began to prepare for her canonization. In the years following her interrogation by the Inquisition, she had rewritten the "Mystica Ciudad" but had never published it. Following her death, this work quickly became the centrepiece of the canonization efforts and was investigated again by various bodies.[58] Consequently, María's confessor Samaniego received permission to print the book in three volumes in 1670 after obtaining a Franciscan report, two favorable censorship reports commissioned by the Spanish Inquisition, and the royal imprimatur.[59] The Crown, especially the Queen Mother, was strongly attached to the Franciscan order. Besides, the Crown and the Franciscans were still united by their staunch defence of Marianism and of the Immaculate Conception, which went against the theological regime of the Curia, also endorsed by the Sorbonne.[60]

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57 Cf., for example, the whole argumentation of Peréz Villanueva, "Sor María," or Eduardo Royo, *Autenticidad de la Mística Ciudad de Dios y biografía de su autora* (Barcelona: Herederos de Juan Gili, 1914).

58 Cabibbo, "Una profetessa," 102.

59 María de Jesús, *Mystica Ciudad de Dios, Milagro De Su Omnipotencia Y Abismo De La Gracia: Historia Divina, Y Vida De La Virgen Madre de Dios, Reyna, y Señora nuestra Maria Santissima, Restauradora de la culpa de Eua, y Medianera de la gracia. Manifestada En Estos Ultimos Siglos por la misma Señora à su Esclava Sor María de Iesus, Abadesa de el Convento de la Inmaculada Concepcion, de la Villa de Ágreda, de la Provincia de Burgos, de la Regular Observancia de N. S. P. San Francisco, para nueva luz de el mundo, alegria de la Iglesia Catolica, y confiança de los mortales* (Madrid: Por Bernardo de Villa-Diego, 1670), I, n. p.: "Censura de la obra, comission, y licencia de su impression, por la Religion de San Francisco"; "Censura del reverendissimo Padre Maestro Andres Mendo, de la Compañia de Iesu, Predicador de su Magestad, Calificador dl Consejo de la Inquicion Suprema [etc.]"; "Censura, y aprobacion de el Reverendissimo Padre, y Ilustrissimo Señor D. Fr. Diego de Silva, Maestro e Sagrada Teologia [etc.]."

60 Paolo Broggio has worked extensively on the connection of political and theological debates between Spain and the Curia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In particular, he shows how the disputes over the doctrine of grace continued into disputes over the Immaculate Conception after 1600. Cf. Paolo Broggio, *La teologia e la politica: Controversie dottrinali, Curia romana e Monarchia spagnola tra Cinque e Seicento* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2009), especially 143–158. For the strong nexus between the Spanish Crown and the Franciscans, see Paolo Broggio, "Teologia, ordini religiosi e rapporti politici: La questione dell'Immacolata Concezione di Maria tra Roma e Madrid," *Hispania Sacra* 65 (2013): 259–260, and the chapter by Cécile Vincent-Cassy in this volume.

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The "Mystica Ciudad" was part of the petition for canonization sent to Rome by the Spanish Franciscans. Soon after the proceedings started, in 1673, the abbess's writings caused a stir, because they were submitted to the Holy Office, whose working practices, in sharp contrast with the customs of its Spanish sister institution, did not allow authors or representatives to justify what they had written. However, the first public reaction did not come until five years later, on July 30, 1678, when the Index Congregation published a ban of another book authored by María, the "Letania, y Nombres Misteriosos de la Reina del Cielo."[61]

Three years later, on June 26, 1681, the Roman Inquisition also banned "Mystica Ciudad" and all existing or future variants and translations of the book and of María's vita during a so-called Feria V (Thursday)-session chaired by the pope himself.[62]

Immediately after the publication of the ban, Innocent XI received petitions from Charles II of Spain and his mother demanding that it be lifted.[63] The pope complied on November 9, 1681 with a decree lifting the ban exclusively for Spanish territory, until a more thorough examination of the books could be undertaken.[64]

This response, however, hardly satisfied her supporters in Spain; the Crown, for its part, eagerly awaited an opportunity to lift the ban indefinitely. The king had indeed ordered the bando (or prohibition placard) of June 26, 1681 with the bull containing the book ban to be published, but immediately after the pope's concession of November 9, all copies of this bando in Spain were destroyed. However, Innocent's suspension of the ban in Spain was made accessible to the Spanish population, giving the impression that the canonization procedure was peacefully taking its course.

As a result, the canonization of María de Ágreda became a distinctly Spanish enterprise, as if there had been no need for the Curia to certify sainthood. Madrid and the Franciscans in Spain took up the issue and championed it with such vigor that other religious orders soon joined in. Therefore, it is not surprising to learn that on May 16, 1685, the Capuchin Epifanio de Mayoran requested permission from the Holy Office in Rome to translate the "Mystica Ciudad de Dios" into Latin. According to him, the book was not to be published but only to be presented in a readable version for the Italians in the Roman Inquisition. He claimed that this would enable them to work more thoroughly with the book and to understand its subtleties.

61 Archivio del Dicastero per la Dottrina della Fede (ADDF), Index Prot. 41 (1676–1684), fol. 259r. There is no documentation that goes beyond this—as is usually the case; cf. also Rebellato, *La fabbrica dei divieti*, 169.

62 A prohibition of such high rank always received its own *bando* (an official publication of the decree). Cf. ADDF, SO, St. St. B-2-k.

63 Cf. ADDF, SO, St. St. O-3-b, 5.

64 ADDF, SO, St. St. O-3-b, 1.

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The cardinals made a note for the day that they had received Mayoran's request, but otherwise passed over it in silence.[65] Both they and the cardinals of the Index Congregation treated all requests for reading licences for María's book during these years similarly; they simply decided not to respond at all.[66] "Nihil esse respondendum" belonged to the Curia's tested stratagems to avoid contested issues without generating further debate or jeopardizing the Apostolic Church's claim to infallibility.[67] Presumably, they hoped to be able to sit the case out and—like many others of the kind—postpone it from decade to decade. However, there were clearly limits to this strategy, as María's case belonged to the public domain and, by consequence, fueled scholarly debates introducing new actors.

5. Scholarly Stages

5.1 Sorbonne Deciding

Like the Spanish Crown, the Minorites treated the suspension as if it were an acquittal or, even more, a seal of quality. They used the "Mystica Ciudad" to pursue their Marian mission and to propagate Scotism in southern France. For this reason, the Recollect Thomas Croset published his French translation of the first volume in Marseille in 1695.[68]

The French Crown reacted immediately and without heeding the universal Catholic solution to this case presented by Rome. Chancellor Louis Boucherat had the "Mystica Ciudad" confiscated in Paris and Marseille and forbade Croset to produce further translations.[69]

It was clear that the French Crown actively sought to procure the theological condemnation of the book. However, it did not want to rely on the (nominally universal) judgment already passed in Rome but appealed to what it considered the highest authority. At the end of June 1696, the Sorbonne was ordered to deliver a verdict on the book; the university appointed four of its doctors to examine it on charges of heretical content. However, it was precisely this ostentatious lack of interest in the Roman decision that

65 ADDF, SO, Tit. Libr. 1677–1687, Nr. 163.

66 Cf., for example, ADDF, Index Diari 10 (1692–1696), fol. 111r–117v, and ADDF, Index Prot. 53 (1694–1695), fol. 285r–288v.

67 Christian Windler, *Missionare in Persien: Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Externa. Geschichte der Außenbeziehungen in neuen Perspektiven 12) (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2018), 607–625.

68 Cf. the report of the Nuncio in France, Daniele Marco Delfino, of June 18, 1696, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV), Segreteria di Stato, Francia, 190, fol. 619r.

69 AAV, Segreteria di Stato, Francia, 191, fol. 27r.

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the papal nuncio Daniele Marco Delfino observed, prompting him to monitor the matter closely and report on it frequently to Rome: "I will be attentive to what follows; in the meantime, I thought it was my duty to humble Your Eminence with this news concerning a book, which, by decree of June 26, was condemned, and forbidden by the Holiness of Our Lord Innocent XI of glorious memory in the General Congregation of the Holy Office."[70]

The arguments that would be raised by the Sorbonne's censors not only concerned María's opinions (for example, the Immaculate Conception through Anne, or her need to add the Virgin to the Trinity) but also linked the controversy to the very explicit anti-Spanish and anti-Marian stance of the Gallicans in Paris.[71] They also took up a central issue of the Castillian Inquisition on a social and gendered level: the intellectual capacities of the abbess. While during her lifetime she had to defend herself against the accusation of being excessively intellectual, this ability was now ultimately denied her. The references to various church fathers and scholars, the many biblical passages quoted, and the educated style of some portions of her book in particular were now explicitly attributed to a (still unknown) man, even though the question of authorship had already been raised in María's lifetime.[72] The Parisian censors assumed that María had not written much of her book, and strongly condemned her Marian theology. The famous faculty of Divinity therefore decided to ban the book in September 1696.[73]

A lively scholarly debate accompanied the proceedings.[74] Beyond the well-known interventions for each party, this dispute revealed another significant trans-territorial intra-Catholic bone of contention. The intervention of the Sorbonne showed how reluctant France was to accept Roman ecclesiology; the French saw the university and its faculty of Divinity as one tribunal of the faith among others, whose collective magisterium rested on its secular tradition as Christianity's primary school of theology. This self-perception was addressed by the French partisans of the "Mystica Ciudad" in an open memorandum to the four experts on July 4, 1696. They admonished the doctors

70 "Starò con attenzione a quello che seguirà frattanto ho creduto debito mio l'umiliare a V. Eminenza tale notizia concernendo un libro, che con Decreto de 26. Giugno 1681 fù condannato, e proibito dalla S. di Nostro Signore Innocenzo XI di gloriosa memoria nella Congregazione Generale del Sant. Offizio." AAV, Segreteria di Stato, Francia 190, fol. 619v.

71 Cf. María de Jesús, *Mystica Ciudad de Dios*, III, 94. Cf. also ADDF, SO, St. St., O-3-b, 2, (fol. 10r.). Concerning the Sorbonne and its vehement opposition to Spanish-mystical manifestations of Marianism, cf. Broggio, *La teologia e la politica*, 148.

72 Cf. Cabibbo, "Una profetessa," 89. Regarding discussions about a potential male author, see Manning, *Voicing Dissent,* 41.

73 Cf. *Sententia D.D. deputatorum S. facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis,* Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 1117–2.

74 Lenglet du Fresnoy wrote a profoundly critical overview of the debates: Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy, *Traité historique et dogmatique sur les apparitions, les visions & les réuélations particulières. Tome II: Avec des observations sur les dissertations du Dom Calmet, Abbé de Sénones, sur les Apparitions et les Revenans* (Avignon: Chez Jean-Noel Leloup, 1751), 1–91.

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that María's closeness to Philip IV and the numerous positive opinions of the Spanish inquisitors and the Minorites were sufficient proof of her piety and unimpeachability. Moreover, the doctors should have been well aware that no university had as yet assessed the quality of visions.[75] Though the authors of the memorandum stated *expressis verbis* "that your Faculty has no superiority over the Inquisitions and the Universities of Spain, Portugal, and Italy," they nevertheless made the existence of a clear hierarchy evident in their paper.[76] At this point, the Roman Inquisition became a local instrument of government with jurisdiction only in Italy; likewise, the emphasis on Philip IV demonstrated the superiority of the Spanish verdict, as it was issued by a royal institution.

The self-confidence of the Sorbonne implied in the memorandum was also reflected in the judgment of September 1696,[77] which ultimately elevated its own decision to an *ultima ratio*.

The "Mystica Ciudad" had undoubtedly caused a sensation in Paris. Nicholas Lenglet du Fresnoy discussed the authenticity of María's visions in his "Lettre à Messieurs les doyen" and showed himself to be a clear opponent of the abbess and her book, which he, too, attributes to a man.[78] Beyond that, the leading lights of French Gallicanism opposed the book and the Marianism it advocated. The bishop of Paris, Louis-Antoine de Noailles, and the bishop of Meaux, Jacques Benigne Bossuet, interfered with the trial's actors to impose their own will. For this reason, some of the scholars initially approached for the report had refused, while others simply absented themselves from the proceedings, so that new substitutes had to step in. Some of the doctors were rumored to have been threatened with the end of their careers, or even to have received threats to their health, if they dared to enter the auditorium and speak out in favor of the book.[79]

Franciscan propaganda identified the corruption of the proceedings by Bossuet and Noailles as the main reason for the ban on the book. They were alleged to have influenced the course of the proceedings through informal practices to achieve the desired verdict.[80]

At the same time, however, the public controversy over the corrupt nature of the procedure proves that, at least in France, everyone agreed on the supremacy of the

75 AAV, Segreteria di Stato, Francia 190, fol. 600r–601r.

76 "Que votre Faculté n'ayant aucune supériorité sur les Inquisitions et sur les Universités d'Espagne, de Portugal, et d'Italie," AAV, Segreteria di Stato, Francia 190, fol. 601v.

77 *Censure faite par la Faculté de theologie de Paris, d'un livre qui a pour titre : La mystique cité de Dieu*, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 1117–1, 19.

78 Lenglet du Fresnoy, "Lettre à Messieurs les doyen, syndic et docteurs en théologie de la faculté de Paris contre 'la Mystique cité de Dieu.'" A copy of the publication is in ADDF, SO, Tit. Lib. (1694–1697), 67.

79 Lengles du Fresnoy describes this special situation in his *Traité historique et dogmatique*, cf. Lengles du Fresnoy, *Traité historique et dogmatique*, 15. Cf. also Claude Meron's irritated statement on the overstepping of competence by the Sorbonne from 1697, *L'affaire de Marie d'Agreda, et la manière dont on a cabalé en Sorbonne sa condamnation*, BNF, Français 15801, passim.

80 Ibid., particularly fol. 110r–114v.

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Sorbonne in deciding doctrinal questions. No critic or defender of the verdict criticized the tribunal itself or its formal authority. Both sides criticized only the dependency of the Sorbonne scholars and the immoral interference of the two bishops.

For this reason, it is only logical that other French decisions no longer counted. The University of Toulouse, for example, had acquitted the book at the same time, but this was no longer relevant after the Paris judgment.[81] In this light, anyone who noted that Rome had already delivered a verdict on this issue was insulted in the plenum as an "Italian" or "Spaniard" and was suspected of being an enemy of Gallican freedoms.[82]

5.2 The Roman Censorship

The Sorbonne trial and the French controversy pushed Charles II and his spouse into the limelight once again.[83] In two letters dated June 18 and July 4, 1696, they demanded that Pope Innocent XII revoke the verdict of his predecessor and clear the path for canonization. They argued that the cult of María was necessary to the consolidation of Marianism in Spain and beyond.[84] Apparently, they believed their national-religious requirements could interest the strong rigorist curials in Rome. However, since the pontificate of Innocent XI, important opponents of these rather popular religious movements held influential positions in the Roman dicasteries and had shown scant attention to the Spanish mystic.[85]

It should not come as a surprise to learn that these letters went unanswered, for Innocent XII no longer saw any further need to satisfy Spain's interest in María de Ágreda. He had already granted the king the highest concession he could muster as pope by confirming the suspension of 1681 in 1692 on the request of the Spanish Crown, just as Pope Alexander VIII (1689–1691) had done before him.[86]

However, under pressure from events in France, Innocent XII convened a special congregation to reconsider the case. This Congregation included the former Cardinal-Nephew Palluzzo Palluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni, Gaspare Carpegna, and the Secretary of State Fabrizio Spada, who commissioned two wintered experts on Spanish affairs to examine the book again.

The two reports presented to them by both the Secretary of the Index Congregation, Giulio Maria Bianchi, and the Bolognese professor of theology, Vincenzo Ludovico

81 Delfino's letter of January 14, 1697, ADDF, SO, Tit. Lib. (1694–1697), 83.

82 *Avis Sur La Censure Du Livre Composé Par Marie De Jesvs Abesse d'Agreda*, ADDF, SO, Tit. Lib. (1694–1697), 67, 6–8.

83 ADDF, SO, St. St., O-3-b, 5 and ADDF, SO, Tit. Lib. (1694–1697), 67.

84 ADDF, SO, Tit. Lib. (1694–1697), 67 n. p.

85 I am currently preparing a book project which addresses the question of the rigorist positioning of numerous curials after the pontificate of Innocent XI.

86 ADDF, Index Diari 11, fol. 1v; cf. also Rebellato, *La fabbrica dei divieti*, 172–173.

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Gotti, proved to be polemical excoriations of the book. Both opinions were based on a presumption of intellectual superiority, and both mock the simple-minded piety of the text:

> If one wished to relate all the inert matter contained in the work, it would be necessary to transcribe it all, and one needs the lamp of Diogenes to find a magnificent mystery required to be known by the Church, previously no longer revealed, nor known by the faithful.[87]

In page after page, the authors ridiculed the everyday concerns the Virgin Mary struggles with in the book: whether the Queen of Heaven was allowed to sweep the kitchen alone, or if angels had to come to her aid to do so, or whether she should defend herself against the evil tongue of a neighbor possessed by the devil.[88]

However, these reports are not merely the products of two misogynistic pens. Both experts belonged to the Dominican order, whose representatives in Italy, in particular, took a harsh rigorist line and vehemently opposed the cult of the Virgin Mary and especially of the Immaculate Conception. It was no coincidence that they were selected, since their position corresponded to the Inquisition's mainstream theological opinion at the time.

The cardinals ended the work of their *Congregatio Particularis* by stating that they had taken note of the expert opinions. Given the heated discussions, it did not seem appropriate for Rome to take a stand.

In fact, the Curia did not do so until after Charles's death, when Spain might have also been expected to have other concerns because of the War of Succession.[89] Nevertheless, the Spanish nobility and newspapers reacted with indignation to the Roman ban of the book in 1704, which was considered an attack on the authority of the Spanish king and the Spanish Inquisition as the institutions that had given their imprimaturs to the book. The ban's vocal opponents in Spain held that the pope and the Curia were foreign powers that aimed to flout Spanish laws and ruin the reputation of a pious and venerable woman.[90] Although not claiming the authority to ordain sainthood on a territorial/national level, the reactions show that Rome was expected to do no more than rubber-stamp decisions that had already been made in Spain.

In their polemic against María's visions and against the basic tenet of her book that the Virgin Mary had dictated it, the Roman censors also confirmed the simplicity for which she had had to fight so fiercely during the interrogations by the Castilian inquisitors.

87 "Chi volesse riferire tutte le inertie che contiene l'opera, sarebbe necessario trascriverla tutta, e per ritrovare un magnifico mistero necessario da sapersi da Chiesa, innanzi non più rivelato, ne saputo da fedeli, ci vuole la lucerna di Diogene," ADDF, SO, St. St., O-3-b (2), fol. (8v).

88 María de Jesús, *Mystica Ciudad de Dios*, II, 213.

89 Rebellato, *La fabbrica dei divieti*, 175–183.

90 ADDF, SO, St. St., O-3-b, 3.

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Though they took a decidedly theological position in condemning the book, they were very close to the non-Catholic scholars who had read Lenglet du Fresnoy's assessment. One of them was Pierre Bayle, who was so fascinated by the fuss over the mystic and at the same time so repulsed by the cult of Mary that he included an entry on María in the second edition of his *Dictionnaire*.[91] In doing so, he effectively provided an arsenal of tools from the current non-theological and even anti-Catholic discourse to turn the body of mystical texts, especially those written by women, into a textual and spiritual world that was clearly demarcated from the scholarly preoccupation with theology.

6. Conclusions

Though María, her order, and the Spanish Crown had prepared the case for her canonization well, their efforts were not in keeping with trends within universal Catholicism after Innocent XI or within a theological field that, by the end of the seventeenth century, increasingly identified itself as an eminently scholarly enterprise.

María succeeded in deriving her own sanctity from a heresy trial and thus staged herself as a transatlantic Spanish figure of identification. She also fulfilled all the requirements for becoming a religious and political icon linking the homeland and the missions overseas. This "baroque," feminine mysticism, which continued to keep large parts of Spanish society under its spell, was no longer compatible with the rigorism conquering Roman palaces. However, only the intervention of the Sorbonne clarified the extent of the distance between each camp's exponents and the increasing significance of territorial boundaries. As they went on to articulate their own collective claim to absolute interpretative sovereignty, the Parisian doctors challenged not only the authority of the Spanish king, but also that of the Curia and the Roman Inquisition as the highest tribunals of the faith.

Furthermore, by the end of the seventeenth century such debates engaged scholarly thought collectives on an entirely different level than they had fifty years earlier. Both the Sorbonne and Rome leaned towards a scientific understanding of theology. This allowed theology to access the discursive level of the *Respublica literaria*, while mysticism, which was gradually stripped of the scholarly ambitions it had nurtured throughout the

91 Pierre Bayle, *Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique: Par Monsieur Bayle. Tome premier, seconde edition, Revuë, corrigée & augmentée par l'Auteur. A-D* (Rotterdam: Chez Reinier Leers, 1702), avec privilege, I, 102–104, s.v. Ágreda. See also Cabibbo, "Vizi e virtù," 171. Regarding Bayles's attitude towards Catholic practices and especially practices concerning Mary: Hans Bots, "Pierre Bayle et les Catholiques," in *Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), le philosophe de Rotterdam: Philosophy, Religion and Reception. Selected Papers of the Tercentenary Conference held at Rotterdam, 7–8 December 2006*, ed. Wiep van Bunge and Hans Bots (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 79.

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siècle des âmes, was to become increasingly associated with the social status of the less educated.[92]

92 Michel de Certeau, *La Fable mystique: XVI^e^–XVII^e^ siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982), 127–137.

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Samuel Weber

The Promises and Pitfalls of a Family Saint

The Borromeos and the Canonization of Carlo (c. 1590–1620)

1. Introduction

In the winter of 1611, the Milanese were out and about celebrating the canonization of Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584), archbishop extraordinaire and scion of one of the city's leading families.[1] A cortege of ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries, headed by Carlo's cousin and successor, Federico III Borromeo (1564–1632), was snaking its way through the city center toward the massive gothic cathedral, the *Duomo*. Shortly before the high and mighty paraded onto the square in front of the church, they passed under a triumphal arch adorned with depictions of Saint Carlo, showing the late archbishop as the protector of Philip III (r. 1598–1621), king of the vast Spanish Empire that had gobbled up Milan in the early sixteenth century. Those able to read Latin learned that Carlo had been *Regni decora alta potentis*—the high splendor of powerful royalty.[2] As a Jesuit pamphleteer later explained the meaning of the ephemeral arch to those who had not attended that day, the intrepid Carlo had always acted as the "most singular ornament and protector of the Catholic king, whose vassal he had been on earth."[3]

The worthies milling around that day must have been astonished to see Carlo portrayed as the jewel in the crown of the Spanish Habsburgs. Many were old enough to remember the saint who had died a mere 26 years earlier, and their recollections of the archbishop rubbed up against the official memory they were presented with amidst the pomp and pageantry. The most vivid memory of Carlo was that of the whippersnapper cardinal-nephew of Pope Pius IV Medici (r. 1559–1565) who had overseen the decisive final stage of the Council of Trent and, inspired by the restoration of the power of the episcopate decreed there, had turned his back on the magnificence of the court of Rome

1 As will become clear, this piece is more concerned with the public memory of Carlo than his lived experience. For an overview of his life and work in English, see the contributions to John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro, eds., *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Folger Books, 1988).

2 Marco Aurelio Grattarola, *Successi maravigliosi della veneratione di San Carlo, Cardinale di Santa Prassede, e Arcivescovo di Milano* (Milan: Heredi di Pacifico Pontin e Giovanni Battista Piccaglia, Impressori Archiepiscopali, 1614), 284.

3 Angelo de Grossi, *Relatione della festa fatta in Milano per la canonizzazione di san Carlo card. di S. Prassede et arcivescovo di detta città* (Milan, 1610), quoted in Angelo Turchini, *La fabbrica di un santo: Il processo di canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo e la Controriforma* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1984), 12.

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to devote himself to his flock in the archdiocese of Milan. Still fresh were the recollections of how Carlo's uncompromising disciplining of the faithful as part of his new function had resulted in multiple clashes between the archbishop and representatives of the secular powerholder in Milan, Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–1598). Wielding the considerable clout that both his office and his aristocratic lineage bestowed on him, Carlo had built up an ecclesiastical power structure that rivaled that of the Spaniards, whose governance he hamstrung at every opportunity. Such had been his oppositional streak that Philip II had come to see Carlo as an exponent of an insubordinate local aristocracy whom he suspected of conspiring to overthrow the Spanish Habsburgs with hopes of placing himself at the helm of the State of Milan.[4] Far from viewing him as a "protector" of the crown, then, many of his contemporaries had deemed Carlo "the most dangerous rebel that Your Majesty has ever had," to use the words of a particularly biting Spanish memorandum written during the saint's lifetime.[5]

To make sense of Carlo's posthumous metamorphosis from rebel to protector of the kings of Spain, we need to focus on the promoter of the cause, his cousin Federico.[6] On the face of it, Federico kept a low profile throughout the canonization process. Nominally, the cause was pushed by the City of Milan and the Oblates, a society of apostolic life founded by Carlo.[7] Writing at a time when the overt pursuit of family interests had fallen into disrepute, the author of a *vita* of Federico claimed that the archbishop feared that the "close blood kinship (*cogiuntione del sangue*)" would lead others to perceive an active push for Carlo's sanctification as chasing after "a worldly favor."[8] At the same time, Federico was anything but coy about his willingness to sponge off his cousin's heritage. Over the years, he had obsequious sycophants extol him as the "living relic" of Carlo[9] and a "rare Phoenix" who had risen from Carlo's ashes to

4 Agostino Borromeo, "Archbishop Carlo Borromeo and the Ecclesiastical Policy of Philip II in the State of Milan," in Headley and Tomaro, eds., *San Carlo Borromeo*, 85–111, 95.

5 Ibid.

6 Surprisingly little systematic work has been done on Federico himself. See, however, Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Julia Zunckel, "Handlungsspielräume eines Mailänder Erzbischofs: Federico Borromeo und Rom," in *Römische Mikropolitik unter Papst Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621) zwischen Spanien, Neapel, Mailand und Genua*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 107) (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004), 427–567.

7 Francisco Peña, *Sommaria Relatione della Vita, Santità, Miracoli, & Atti della Canonizatione di San Carlo Borromeo, Cardinale del Titolo di Santa Prassede, Arcivescovo di Milano, Canonizato dalla Santità di N. S. Papa Paolo V. il dì primo di Novembre MDCX: Cavata fedelmente da i processi autentici di questa causa da Monsignor Francesco Penia Decano della Sacra Rota Romana* (Venice: n. p., 1610), 42; Grattarola, *Successi*, 42, 257; Francesco Rivola, *Vita di Federico Borromeo, Cardinale dal Titolo di Santa Maria degli Angeli, ed Arcivescovo di Milano* (Milan: Dionisi Gariboldi, 1656), 302.

8 Rivola, *Vita*, 301.

9 Giovanni Pietro Giussani, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo, Prete Cardinale del titolo di Santa Prassede, Arcivescovo di Milano* (Rome: Stamperia della Camera Apostolica, 1610), 24.

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complete the holy bishop's mission.[10] The potential dividends of such a strategy of self-affirmation as the heir to a would-be saint were high. But, as we will see, its success depended on Federico's flair as a raconteur and his ability to respond to shifts in the political landscape and reshuffle the story on the basis of which he staked Carlo's claim to sainthood.

The posthumous rewriting of the lives of saints was exceedingly common in the seventeenth century. As Peter Burke reminded us many years ago, *vitae* frequently tell us more about the priorities of the saint-makers than the saints themselves.[11] Not only were the stories that devotees recounted of their saints frequently far removed from the biographical raw data on which they were based; they also tended to shape-shift over time, adapting to new cultural trends and preoccupations. The prime example in the seventeenth century is the changing narrative around Saint Louis, France's medieval crusader king. As Thomas Worcester and Sean Heath have shown, Louis's self-proclaimed descendants of the Bourbon dynasty twisted and tweaked the hagiographies of their medieval namesake to fashion themselves as paternalist Counter-Reformation rulers.[12] If this was true for French royals, it was even truer for noblemen in the Spanish monarchy like Federico Borromeo, who needed to think on his feet if he wanted to keep Carlo relevant.

This need for adaptability was second nature to the functioning of symbolic capital. Early modern nobles were locked in competition with their peers, forcing them constantly to reaffirm their status in increasingly interconnected elite networks.[13] A

10 Pietro Paolo Carnatti, "Oratione in laude di S. Carlo Borromeo Cardinale di S. Romana Chiesa et Arcivescovo di Milano: Fatta dal molto R. P. F. Pietro Paolo Carnatti da Novara dell'Ordine de' Conventuali di S. Francesco, Dottore nell'Arti, & in Theologia, Lettore nelle Scuole Cannobiane di Novara. Recitata da lui nel Duomo di Milano li 4 Novembre 1606," in *Orationi in lode di S. Carlo Borromeo, Arcivescovo di Milano: Recitate da diversi eccellenti oratori nel Duomo di Milano, in occasione della festa di detto Santo, cominciando dalla sua morte fino all'anno presente* (Milan: Giovanni Battista Bidelli, 1622), 214–250, 248.

11 Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62, 53.

12 Thomas Worcester, "Saints as Cultural History," in *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke*, ed. Melissa Calaresu, Filippo De Vivo, and Joan-Pau Rubiés (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 191–205; Sean Heath, *Sacral Kingship in Bourbon France: The Cult of Saint Louis, 1589–1830* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021).

13 My approach is inspired by the work of Wolfgang Reinhard on early modern power elites: Wolfgang Reinhard, ed., *Power Elites and State Building* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), and his extensive case study of the pontificate of Paul V, as synthesized in idem, *Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621): Mikropolitische Papstgeschichte* (Päpste und Papsttum 37) (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2009). I have used the theoretical concepts of Pierre Bourdieu to combine the approach of Reinhard and his many students with Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger's work on symbolic power. See Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes: Constitutional History and the Symbolic Language of the Holy Roman Empire*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (New York: Berghahn, 2015).

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family's ability to retain a competitive edge over their rivals hinged on the successful mobilization of base capital, or valued resources. However, for these resources to reach their full potential, they needed, in the words of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, to be "transubstantiated" into symbolic predominance so as to render raw power "misrecognizable" as benevolent rule.[14] In the Spanish monarchy at the height of the Counter-Reformation, religion in general and sainthood in particular were among the most sought-after resources for elites itching to stand out: a family saint conferred aplomb and prestige upon the descendants who placed themselves in the tradition of a holy forebear, promising a decisive edge in the ongoing power struggle.[15] Yet, like all other forms of capital, the uses of sainthood were circumscribed by context, and the "transubstantiation" of religious capital was, like the misrecognition of other forms of capital, a never-ending grind.[16] In order to deploy the family saint as a bargaining chip in the quest for hegemony, the heirs to the "nonmaterial legacy" of the virtuous relative needed to be agile, crafting and recrafting the story they told about the holy person in response to shifts in the political priorities of the moment.[17]

Historians are no strangers to Carlo's shifting image, though none of them has attributed his many rebirths to the dynastic strategy of the saint's heirs. Giuseppe Alberigo, Volker Reinhardt, and Katja Burzer have blamed the frequent mutations on the papacy, pointing to successive pontiffs' considerable success in taming the image of a zealot whose sobriety embarrassed the nepotists that ruled the roost in the Rome of the early seventeenth century.[18] Only recently have historians become more interested in Carlo's

14 The fundamental texts remain Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241–258; idem, *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); idem, *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*, trans. Lauretta C. Clough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); and idem, *On the State: Lectures at the Collège de France 1989–1992*, trans. David Fernbach (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014). For an interesting exegesis, see David L. Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997); and idem, *Symbolic Power, Politics, and Intellectuals: The Political Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013). For a discussion of the usefulness of Bourdieu to early modernists, see Marian Füssel, "Die feinen Unterschiede in der Ständegesellschaft: Der praxeologische Ansatz Pierre Bourdieus," *Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit* 15 (2011): 24–46.

15 Sara Cabibbo and Marilena Modica, *La santa dei Tomasi: Storia di suor Maria Crocifissa (1645–1699)* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989).

16 This is what Loïc Wacquant calls "labor of domination": Loïc Wacquant, "Foreword," in *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*, ed. Pierre Bourdieu (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), ix–xxii, x.

17 On the idea of "nonmaterial legacies" as a resource, see Giovanni Levi, *Inheriting Power: The Career of an Exorcist*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 120.

18 Giuseppe Alberigo, "Carlo del mito, Carlo della storia: Sensibilità storica e impegno pastorale," in *Il grande Borromeo tra storia e fede*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo et al. (Milan: Cariplo, 1984), 127–219; Volker Reinhardt, "Krieg um die Erinnerungs-Hoheit: Die Heiligsprechung Carlo Borromeos," in *Karl Borromäus und*

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status as a subject of the king of Spain and the impact of the latter on his representation. Massimo Carlo Giannini has made a similar argument to the one presented in this chapter: between his death and canonization, Carlo morphed from maverick noble into Habsburg loyalist. Giannini concludes that this shift paralleled the metamorphosis of the official promoter of Carlo's cause, the City of Milan, from champion of urban independence into an imperial city at the heart of the Habsburgs' dominion.[19] While not disagreeing with Giannini's reading of a profound shift in Carlo's image, this chapter focuses not on the front put up to seek his canonization but on the person pulling the strings behind the scenes to argue that Carlo's posthumous transformation sprang primarily from Federico Borromeo's repositioning of his clan within the Spanish monarchy.

The goal of this case study is to unveil the shifting public image of Carlo as a function of his heirs' dynastic ambitions. Using a methodology inspired by British Cultural Studies,[20] the chapter builds on a bevy of textual and pictorial sources and places the shifting representations of Carlo into the context of the Borromeos' deepening ties to the Habsburg empire.[21] As will become clear, Federico Borromeo deconstructed and reassembled his cousin and predecessor's *vita* in the face of profound changes to the relationship between the Spanish monarchy and the nobilities in its far-flung territories.[22] As the Spanish monarchy hurtled toward the "courtization" of its nobility and the Borromeos risked losing out on the considerable patronage that awaited those who toed the line, Federico needed to revise the early image of Carlo as a truculent nobleman and reinvent him as a protector of the monarchy. It is on the increasingly improbable yarn that Carlo's cousin spun of the saintly archbishop as he elbowed his way to the monarchy's treasure chests that this paper focuses.

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die katholische Reform: Akten des Freiburger Symposiums zur 400. Wiederkehr der Heiligsprechung des Schutzpatrons der katholischen Schweiz, ed. Mariano Delgado and Markus Ries (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2010), 275–284; and Katja Burzer, *San Carlo Borromeo: Konstruktion und Inszenierung eines Heiligenbildes im Spannungsfeld zwischen Mailand und Rom* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011).

19 Massimo Carlo Giannini, "'Con ser santo puso a riesgo de descomponerse mucho esta ciudad y estado': Carlo Borromeo da arcivescovo di Milano a santo della Monarchia," *Chronica Nova*: *Revista de Historia Moderna de la Universidad de Granada* 47 (2017): 19–52.

20 Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications, 1997).

21 For the family history in the period, see Samuel Weber, "Pining for Stability: The Borromeo Family and the Crisis of the Spanish Monarchy, 1610–1680" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Universität Bern and Durham University, 2019), ch. 1–2.

22 This is not the place to go over the Italian and Spanish historiography that has uncovered the elite networks at the heart of early modern states. See, however, Angelantonio Spagnoletti, *Principi italiani e Spagna nell'età barocca* (Milan: Mondadori, 1996); and Gianvittorio Signorotto, *Milano spagnola: Guerra, istituzioni, uomini di governo*, *1635–1660,* 2nd ed. (Milan: Sansoni, 2001).

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In the evolution of the tale that Federico rehearsed of his cousin between the latter's premature passing in 1584 and the decade after his canonization in 1610, three rewritings, or transcriptions, can be discerned.[23] During the first phase, which lasted roughly until the turn of the seventeenth century, the chronicles of Carlo told the familiar story of an archbishop galvanized by the spirit of Trent who fought his heart out for the reform of the Milanese Church and antagonized the Spanish powerholders in the process. This emplotment aligned with Federico Borromeo's plan to conscript the public memory of Carlo into a project to perpetuate the Borromeos as an ecclesiastical dynasty—a family proud of its aristocratic heritage that was able to harness the legacy of Tridentine reform in its quest for distinction in local society and was brave enough to do so against the wishes of the mighty Habsburg family.[24]

If the frequent jurisdictional controversies with representatives of the Spanish Crown enjoyed pride of place in the narrative forged during the first phase, the second stage witnessed a depoliticization of Carlo. Starting in 1601, the sermons and art that Federico commissioned to commemorate Carlo skirted over the bickering with Spanish government officials and went full in on Carlo's personal qualities, portraying him as a man who had, monk-like, renounced the corruption of the world to devote himself to caring for the weakest members of his flock, the poor and the sick. This shift in emphasis was a response to the rise of the minister-favorite in the court of Spain and the extensive clientele networks that were being woven across the Spanish empire in the early years of the seventeenth century. By representing Carlo as an innocuous paternalist, Federico turned the would-be saint into a fig leaf for a governing class riven with guilt over its profiteering while paving the way for his own accession to the select club of Philip III's Italian clients.

It was only in the third and final stage that the jurisdictional conflicts were reintroduced through the backdoor. From his canonization onward, Carlo's "virtues" were construed to have been such that he yearned to "sanctify" the whole of Milan. In the definitive accounts of Carlo's life published after 1610, the skirmishes with the exponents of the monarchy that resulted from this calling were no longer a sign of obstructionism and fierce independence but a foreshadowing of the close cooperation between secular and ecclesiastical powers necessary to preserve Spain's dominion in northern Italy. As

23 In his study of François de Paris, Nicolas Lyon-Caen uses the term "transcription" to describe how every social group who adopted him rewrote the holiness of the failed saint in accordance with their own priorities. While this essay focuses on the distinct narratives put forth by one party among Carlo Borromeo's many devotees, the constant rewriting over time is similar to the shifting narratives that Lyon-Caen details. Nicolas Lyon-Caen, "Un 'saint de nouvelle fabrique': Le diacre Paris (1690–1727), le jansénisme et la bonneterie parisienne," *Annales* 65, no. 3 (2010): 613–642.

24 I borrow the concept from J. A. Bergin who used it to describe French aristocrats trying to stay independent of the crown by falling back on income from ecclesiastical benefices. See J. A. Bergin, "The Decline and Fall of the House of Guise as an Ecclesiastical Dynasty," *The Historical Journal* 25, no. 4 (1982): 781–803.

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Federico inched toward signing a pact with Philip III to put to bed the standoff over jurisdiction that had plagued Milan since Carlo's ascendancy, Carlo's rebellion was reinterpreted as a misunderstood attempt to bring about the new alliance between the Church and the Monarchy that Federico had identified as the new stratagem for the Borromeo family in the age of the minister-favorite. As Federico pined to be swept into the ranks of Philip III's expanding network of Italian cronies, he began depicting Carlo as a surrogate of Spain's Habsburg rulers, creating the mythology of the hispanophile bishop that was wheeled out for the first time during the festivities in Milan in 1610.

2. Transcription I: The Rebellious Archbishop

When Carlo Borromeo died in 1584 at the age of only 46, the odor of sanctity was already wafting through Milan. His grave in the Duomo became a popular pilgrimage site, with the faithful congregating on Milan from as far away as Switzerland to cram the tomb with votive tablets and candles. In elite circles, relics of the aspiring saint, most notably shreds of the linen in which he had expired, began to circulate along with paintings of the archbishop.[25] Representatives of the urban patriciate were wont to stress the spontaneous nature of the cult that had sprung up in Milan: as they saw it, the "extraordinary bout of piety" rocking their city had seized not only "lowly people of the populace, who fall an easy prey to such sentiments," but also nobles and even some cardinals, which they regarded as a telltale sign of Carlo's sanctity.[26]

Unsolicited as the fervor for Carlo may have been, there is no denying that the Borromeo family did much to mold the public image of the aspiring saint. Francesco Panigarola (1548–1594), a popular Franciscan preacher, set the tone in the funeral address he gave in the Duomo in November 1584. Studiously turning a blind eye to the Borromeos' origins as recently ennobled financiers to the Renaissance dukes of Milan, he painted a portrait of Carlo as an aristocrat who had put himself at the service of his community.[27] Drawing on knightly imagery and bellicose language, he etched the parvenu archbishop as "an armed man always committed to fighting and waging war on sin."[28] His most crucial battle was the jurisdictional conflicts with representatives

25 These elements of the nascent popular devotion to Carlo were documented by someone in the Borromeos' entourage and sent as a memorandum to Philip III of Spain. The memorandum is reproduced in Burzer, *San Carlo*, 261–263.

26 Grattarola, *Successi*, 15.

27 Francesco Panigarola, *Orazione funerale del R.P.F. Francesco Panigarola in morte dell'Illustrissimo, e Reverendiss. Carlo Borromeo, Cardinale di Santa Presedia, e Arcivescovo di Milano* (Florence: Domenico Manzani, 1584), 4–5.

28 Francesco Panigarola, "Il secondo ragionamento di F. Francesco Panigarola Minore Osservante in occasione delle essequie, che al Santo Cardinale Santa Prasseda, alcuni mesi doppo la morte di lui, commandò

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of the Spanish Crown, which he had fought with "premeditation," "steadfastness," and "happiness."[29] In the first written tract on the late archbishop of Milan, the bishop of Verona, Agostino Valier (1531–1606), was even more explicit than Panigarola: in his rendition, Carlo had "imitated" Saint Thomas of Canterbury (c. 1120–1170), the medieval archbishop who had had serious run-ins with Henry II over ecclesiastical privileges and had been assassinated by followers of the king in 1170.[30] As a proud nobleman, Valier told his audience, Carlo did not shy away from telling gainsayers that while he respected the king of Spain, his only allegiance was with the "king of kings"—the pope—who had appointed him to his offices.[31]

These early interventions set the tone for the first *vita* that Carlo Bascapè (1550–1615), superior general of the Barnabites and a confidante of Carlo's, set out to write between 1585 and 1590. The Latin hagiography Bascapè produced after this long gestation obliterated Carlo's early life as a cardinal-nephew to focus entirely on his stint as archbishop of Milan. Bascapè depicted Carlo as a zealous reformer of the Church who had not been afraid to challenge entrenched interests in pursuit of his mission. As was to be expected in such an account, the *melee* over ecclesiastical jurisdiction that other authors had only hinted at came to stand front and center. Although he had more than a few qualms about potentially incensing influential members of the Spanish governing class,[32] Bascapè du-

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che si facessero subito venuto à Milano l'Illustrissimo Arcivescovo Visconte suo immediato successore nel mese d'Agosto 1585," in *Orationi in lode di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 24–39, 27–28.

29 Ibid., 38.

30 Agostino Valier, *Vita del beato Carlo Carlo Borromeo, Cardinale di Santa Prassede & Arcivescovo di Milano: Scritta dall'Illustriss. Cardinale di Verona* (Milan: Gratiadio Ferioli, 1602), 23. The first edition was published in 1587. Curiously, Giussani and Bascapè, in two hagiographies published after 1610, also draw this comparison, which is at odds with the then popular narrative of Carlo as a pillar of the Spanish monarchy in Italy. See Giussani, *Vita*, 53; and Carlo Bascapè, *I Sette Libri della Vita, & de' fatti di San Carlo Card. di S. Prassede Arcivesc. di Milano, composti in Latino dal Reverendiss. D. Carlo Vescovo di Novara; e tradotti in volgare da Luca Vandoni Canonico Teologo della Collegiata di S. Gaudentio di Novara: Con l'aggiunta de' Miracoli principali del medesimo Santo* (Bologna: Heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1614), 86. These are, however, the only contradictions in works that were otherwise readily adapted to the climate of the moment in which they were re-edited. These shifts will be discussed in more detail later in this paper.

31 Valier, *Vita*, 23. The Jesuit Giovanni Battista Possevino (1552–1622) made a similar argument in his 1591 hagiography. See Giovanni Battista Possevino, *Discorsi della Vita, et Attioni di Carlo Borromeo Prete Cardinale di Santa Chiesa del Titolo di Santa Prassede, Arcivescovo di Milano* (Rome: Iacomo Tornieri, 1591), 137.

32 By comparing Bascapè's drafts with the printed manuscript, Sergio Pagano has been able to show that Bascapè was particularly cautious about how he portrayed the jurisdictional conflicts with the Spanish monarchy: he rewrote these passages multiple times. Sergio Pagano, "La tribolata redazione della 'Vita' di S. Carlo del Bascapè," *Studia Borromaica* 6 (1992): 9–67, 58–59. Maria Mellano and Franco Molinari have shown that Bascapè was wary of Spanish censors and tried to publish the *vita* in the Republic of Venice, the Italian state where Spain's influence was weakest. Maria F. Mellano and Franco Molinari, "La 'Vita di S. Carlo' del Bascapè: Vicende della pubblicazione," *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa* 21–22 (1982): 125–189, 133–135.

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tifully covered each instance of saber-rattling between the archbishop and anyone from canons under Spanish patronage to members of the Milanese Senate, the highest court in the land, accusing them of seeking open confrontation with Carlo while chanting "most foolishly 'Spain, Spain!'"[33] Most significantly, however, Bascapè expatiated on the showdown between Carlo and governor Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga (r. 1571–1573). In 1573, Requesens had famously confiscated the Borromeos' fief of Arona. Carlo's riposte to this blatant attack on the very essence of the Borromeos' noble identity—their status as feudatories—was to excommunicate the governor.[34] The overall picture that emerged from Bascapè's *vita* was unambiguous: this was a free-spirited nobleman who readily cited (invented) medieval doctrines of *plenitudo potestatis Ecclesiae* to hamper the onslaught of the Spanish Crown in Italy when it suited the interests of his clan.[35]

This framing of the life and times of Carlo Borromeo was reflective of the uses to which his cousin Federico wanted to put the *vita* of his prominent ancestor.[36] Federico rightly acknowledged Carlo as the relative who had snatched the Borromeo family from the jaws of almost certain annihilation after the onset of Spanish rule in Milan in the wake of the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). Whereas Milanese aristocrats from the same milieu as the Borromeos had lost what influence they had commanded under the local dukes from the Visconti and Sforza families, Carlo's weaponization of the Tridentine decrees had allowed the Borromeos to eschew the fate of former Sforza clients who had been swallowed up by the Habsburgs. By waging relentless lawfare on the new overlords, Carlo had established the Borromeos as an ecclesiastical dynasty—a family who, despite being vassals of the king of Spain, "aspire[d] to greater things through the Church," as an internal memorandum of the Spanish Monarchy mordantly remarked.[37] It was on this legacy of aristocratic autonomy in the face of the Habsburg juggernaut that Federico wanted to capitalize through the imitation of his cousin.

The self-fashioning as the second coming of Carlo was a mixed bag. In 1586, Federico was furnished with the red hat after taking the advice of Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585–1590) to

33 Carolus a Basilicapetri, *De vita et rebus Caroli S.R.E. Cardinalis, tituli S. Praxedis, Archiepiscopi Mediolani: Libri Septem* (Ingolstadt: Oficina Typographica Davidis Sartorii, 1592), 66.

34 Ibid., 102–103. The episode was toned down in later editions. See Pagano, "La tribolata redazione," 61–62.

35 Ada Annoni, "Giurisdizionalismo ed episcopalismo," in *Storia religiosa della Lombardia: Chiesa e società. Appunti per una storia delle diocesi lombarde*, ed. Adriano Caprioli, Antonio Rimoldi, and Luciano Vaccaro (Brescia: La Scuola, 1986), 141–177, 141, 151–152.

36 For more on Federico's influence on the manuscript, see Carlo Marcora, "La storiografia dal 1584 al 1789," in *San Carlo e il suo tempo: Atti del convegno internazionale nel IV centenario della morte (Milano, 21–26 maggio 1984)* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1986), 37–68, 47.

37 Quoted in "Istruzione a Gastón de Moncada, marchese di Aytona, 1606," in *Istruzioni di Filippo III ai suoi ambasciatori a Roma 1598–1621*, ed. Silvano Giordano (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, 2006), 43–67, 63. That others saw Carlo as a nobleman who weaponized the power of the Church to advance the interests of his clan was openly acknowledged in the Italian edition of the hagiography by Bascapè, who had by this point fallen out with Federico Borromeo. Bascapè, *I Sette Libri*, 92.

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"imitate Cardinal Borromeo."[38] Less than a decade later, he was nominated archbishop of Milan, completing a career based on the emulation of his cousin. Once he had been elevated, however, the honeymoon ended abruptly. On receiving the news of his promotion to Milan, it dawned on Federico that his *mise-en-scène* as the new Carlo would force him into endless jurisdictional scuffles. As he fretted in a letter to his brother, "I would be worse, much worse off than our cardinal."[39] The Spanish authorities anticipated the same, with the governor of Milan writing anxiously in an internal paper that the newly minted archbishop was likely to continue Carlo's scorched-earth policy of "disrupting this city and state."[40] Federico, he reasoned, already had a disturbing track record of opposition to Spanish interests as a cardinal in Rome. With this new "dignity and honor" under his belt, it was to be expected that his wantonness "as a young man" (*como mozo*) would conspire with the "reputation of, and rumors about, his uncle" (in reality, cousin) to make Federico act even more recklessly "in his hometown" (*en su casa*) than he had in the papal court.[41] Federico did not disappoint. Upon taking office in 1595, he ruthlessly instrumentalized the episcopate to assert the Borromeo family's power in local society just like his cousin had done.[42] Unfortunately for him, he soon realized that the deliberate ramping up of the simmering controversies proved much less incisive than his cousin's provocation of the Spaniards had been. Spanish officials in Milan soon had a running competition over who would rile up Archbishop Borromeo the most.[43] Given this open mockery, Federico went into self-imposed exile in Rome a mere two years into his mandate and only returned to Milan five years later.

To make matters worse, what might have bolstered his sagging legitimacy—the rapid canonization of his role model Carlo—was going nowhere either. In the immediate wake of Carlo's death, the moment had seemed propitious. After a lull of several decades, the Roman Catholic Church had just begun to lose its fear of the Protestants' sneering

38 Federico Borromeo to Renato Borromeo, Rome January 10, 1588, in *Lettere del cardinale Federico Borromeo ai familiari 1579–1599*, vol. 1, ed. Carlo Marcora (Milan: L'Ariete, 1971), 100; Federico Borromeo to Renato Borromeo, Rome October 18, 1586, in ibid., 68. The nomination was delayed by several years because of Federico's young age and the machinations of his adversaries in the court of Rome. See Rivola, *Vita*, 97–98, 100, 123–124.

39 Federico Borromeo to Renato Borromeo, Rome April 23, 1594, in *Lettere del cardinale Federico Borromeo*, 260.

40 Juan Fernández de Velasco y Tovar (1595), quoted in Giannini, "'Con ser santo,'" 20.

41 Idem, quoted in Leonida Besozzi, "Momenti della vita del cardinale Federico attraverso la documentazione milanese," *Studia Borromaica* 14 (2000): 301–343, 322. Also see Giannini, "'Con ser santo,'" 26, n. 24.

42 A. D. Wright, "Relations between Church and State: Catholic Developments in Spanish-Ruled Italy of the Counter-Reformation," *History of European Ideas* 9, no. 4 (1988): 385–403, 394, 388.

43 Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2002), 65.

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at the cult of saints.[44] Starting in the 1580s, the Curia was rewiring the veneration of holy men and women into Catholicism, driving up the value attached to sanctity as a form of capital for those associated with a cause. What is more, in 1588, Sixtus V had appointed Federico to the newly established Congregation of Rites, which was in charge of canonizations.[45] Although little concrete evidence survives from this period, there is no dearth of hints indicating that Federico was hatching plans to fast-track his cousin to the glory of the altars. Upon Federico's nomination, Archbishop Gaspare Visconti (1538–1595), Carlo's immediate successor in Milan, had written a letter of congratulations in which he waxed lyrical about how valuable the appointment was "for the defense of this Church [of Milan] and the holy discipline established by this saintly soul [Carlo]."[46] Quite evidently, this client of the Borromeos shared Federico's confidence that if the Congregation gave Carlo the belligerent archbishop the official seal of approval, his successors would be well within their rights to perpetuate their war against Spanish interests in northern Italy.

Despite these excellent prospects, Carlo's apotheosis met many stumbling blocks from the 1590s onward. Bascapè's hagiography that was to pave Carlo's way to the honor of the altars failed to win the approval of the Master of the Sacred Palace, the papal theologian in charge of granting printing licenses in Rome. In a letter to Bascapè, Bartolomé de Miranda, a Spanish Dominican, urged the author to sanitize the highly charged issues of Carlo's episcopate, especially the "jurisdictional dispute between the cardinal and the king or his ministers." The censor asked the author to focus on the bishop's private virtues instead.[47] Bascapè railed against this attempt at bowdlerization, concluding that if this line prevailed, "one could no longer write histories and might as well burn those that already exist."[48] What was at stake was more than Bascapè's empiricist sensibilities, however. The request to elide the jurisdictional squabbles also went against the most deeply held interests of the Borromeo family, who craved to build lasting fame off the memory of the man who had stood up to the king of Spain. A defiant Federico decided to have the hagiography printed in Bavaria, where it appeared in Ingolstadt in 1592. The young cardinal clearly hoped that once the genie was out of the bottle, the papacy

44 On the "revival in saint-making" as a result of the "recovery of confidence" of Roman Catholicism in the 1580s, see Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion, 1550–1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 201–224, 205–206.

45 On the early history of the Congregation, see Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)* (Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi: Sussidi per lo studio delle cause dei santi 7) (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001).

46 Besozzi, "Momenti," 315.

47 Giuseppe Alberigo, "Carlo Borromeo come modello di vescovo nella chiesa post-tridentina," *Rivista storica italiana* 79 (1967): 1031–1052, 1043. On de Miranda, see Mellano and Molinari, "La 'Vita,'" 149; and Giannini, "'Con ser santo,'" 25.

48 Burzer, *San Carlo*, 26.

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would have to swallow his preferred narrative and, by corollary, endorse his dogged fight against Spanish interests in the name of his holy cousin.

Federico lost that gamble. Unbeknownst to him, the opposition was not limited to the Master of the Sacred Palace. Indeed, after the publication of Bascapè's text, Federico saw himself confronted with other Roman critics who questioned his good faith in pushing for the canonization of Carlo. These voices grew more insistent after his nomination to the archbishopric of Milan in 1595. By the late 1590s, even Cesare Baronio (1538–1607), an early supporter of Carlo's canonization, urged Federico to tone things down.[49] In a bid to defuse a potentially explosive situation, he reiterated the entreaty of the Master of the Sacred Palace. As Federico's agent in the papal court conveyed the influential cardinal's unequivocal message regarding any future hagiography, "the high society (*il mondo*) in Rome expects mainly that [part] on the virtues, for the facts are well-known: many who saw them are still alive."[50]

Historians have advanced diverging interpretations of these attempts to water down Carlo's legacy. The most famous one has explained them as a product of curial dynamics. Giuseppe Alberigo, for instance, has construed the insistent requests as an attempt to depoliticize a zealous archbishop who put the papacy into a spot of bother with his caviling over legal precedents.[51] What this reading misses is that the papacy was at this point no longer an independent actor: successive papal families were under increasing pressure from the Spanish Habsburgs.[52] As they became clients of the kings of Spain,[53] pontiffs and their families were careful to isolate canonizations from the pay-to-play practices that increasingly dominated the court of Rome.[54] In a related move, they narrowed down the definition of sanctity to virtuous behavior that the faithful could imitate, superseding the heroism that had been the *sine qua non* for medieval canonizations. This slippage did not escape a keen observer like Marco Aurelio Grattarola, the fixer of Carlo's canonization in Rome: he openly acknowledged that "virtue" had become a major criterion for a candidate to sainthood.[55] If Carlo's canonization was to go anywhere, then, Federico needed a new transcription of Carlo's life—one that emphasized his "virtues" rather than his controversial "actions." Fortunately for him,

49 Edgardo Franzosini, *Sotto il nome del cardinale* (Milan: Adelphi, 2013), 67.

50 Antonio Seneca to Grattarola, Rome November ?, 1605, quoted in Alberigo, "Carlo del mito," 162.

51 Ibid., 137–138.

52 Mellano and Molinari, "La 'Vita,'" 158, 183.

53 Maria Antonietta Visceglia: *Roma papale e Spagna: Diplomatici, religiosi e nobili tra due corti* (Biblioteca del Cinquecento 149) (Rome: Bulzoni, 2010); Hillard von Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage: Die spanisch-römischen Beziehungen 1605–1621 in akteurszentrierter Perspektive* (Frühneuzeit-Forschungen 16) (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca Academica Verlag, 2010).

54 See Birgit Emich's contribution to this volume.

55 Grattarola, *Successi*, 3.

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such a rewriting fit with his new ambition to bury the hatchet and become a client of the king of Spain.

3. Transcription II: The Caring Archbishop

Despite the unforeseen difficulties in Rome, the public cult in Milan was gaining momentum under Archbishop Federico Borromeo. Pilgrimages to the Duomo grew exponentially. In 1606, an investigation headed by the Congregation of Rites dug up almost 10,000 ex-votos that had been left on Carlo's grave since his passing.[56] If Federico Borromeo volunteered to curtail the "excesses" of this ceaseless "influx of people" (*concorso di popolo*), Baronio urged him not to remove the votive offerings from the gravesite, as they constituted substantial evidence of the archbishop's miracles.[57] A reluctant papacy caved to the outbreak of religious fervor gripping northern Italy. As Clement VIII Aldobrandini (r. 1592–1605) admitted, there was little the Church could do "if a woman wanted to offer, for instance, a pound of candle wax in devotion to" Carlo, even if there was reason to suspect that the cult was an orchestrated movement to cow the papacy into speeding up Carlo's canonization.[58] Powerless, the papacy opened formal proceedings in 1601 and dispatched a mission to Milan to collect evidence of Carlo's holiness.

Accompanying the start of the canonization proceedings was an extensive public relations campaign for the would-be saint. Stage-managed by Federico, its *pièce de résistance* was a cycle of ultimately 20 paintings that the sitting archbishop of Milan had exhibited in the Duomo.[59] Although the title of the cycle suggested that these canvases familiarized his mostly illiterate devotees with Carlo's most important "actions," the deeds shown differed markedly from the derring-do that had suffused earlier hagiographies. The episodes in the paintings encompassed anecdotes from his early life as a cardinal-nephew in the papal court, as well as from his stint as archbishop.[60] Instead of lingering on the many confrontations with other noblemen in Milan, the cycle homed in on acts that supposedly cast a new light on Carlo's personality. Of the first ten paintings commissioned in 1602, none touched on the repeated brushes with Spanish grandees, but almost half styled Carlo as a humble protector of the poor. One canvas, by Pier Francesco Mazzucchelli (1573–1626), displayed Carlo renouncing "various dignities, degrees, and offices" on becoming archbishop of Milan, juxtaposing two events that had taken place nine years apart (Fig. 1).[61] Another painting, by Giovanni Battista Crespi

56 Giannini, "'Con ser santo,'" 34.
57 Grattarola, *Successi*, 183, 14.
58 Giannini, "'Con ser santo,'" 31.
59 Burzer, *San Carlo*, 73–108.
60 Ibid., 75.
61 Ibid., 81.

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Fig. 1 Pier Francesco Mazzucchelli, *Retaining Only the Title of the Archbishopric, Carlo Renounces All Other Dignities, Ranks, and Offices* (1602), tempera on canvas, Duomo, Milan. Image © Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, all rights reserved.

(1573–1632), depicted Carlo selling off the principality of Oria in Spanish Naples, with money bags brimming with coins symbolizing the 40,000 *scudi* in proceeds that Carlo immediately distributed to the poor (Fig. 2). Although the painting conveniently failed to mention that Carlo had earlier lobbied for the elevation of the marquisate of Oria to a principality and the consequent increase in rent,[62] it, too, hammered home the message of Carlo's voluntary poverty and his drudgery for society's weakest members. Both qualities were fast becoming the leitmotif of depictions of the aspiring saint.[63]

The message of the cycle was broadcast by members of various Counter-Reformation orders who, beginning in 1601, took turns reading a sermon in Milan's Duomo on November 4, the day of Carlo's passing. The regulars orating at Federico Borromeo's

62 Zunckel, "Handlungsspielräume," 433.

63 Burzer, *San Carlo*, 82–83. On Carlo's humility, see Anne H. Muraoka, *The Path of Humility: Caravaggio and Carlo Borromeo* (New York: Peter Lang, 2015).

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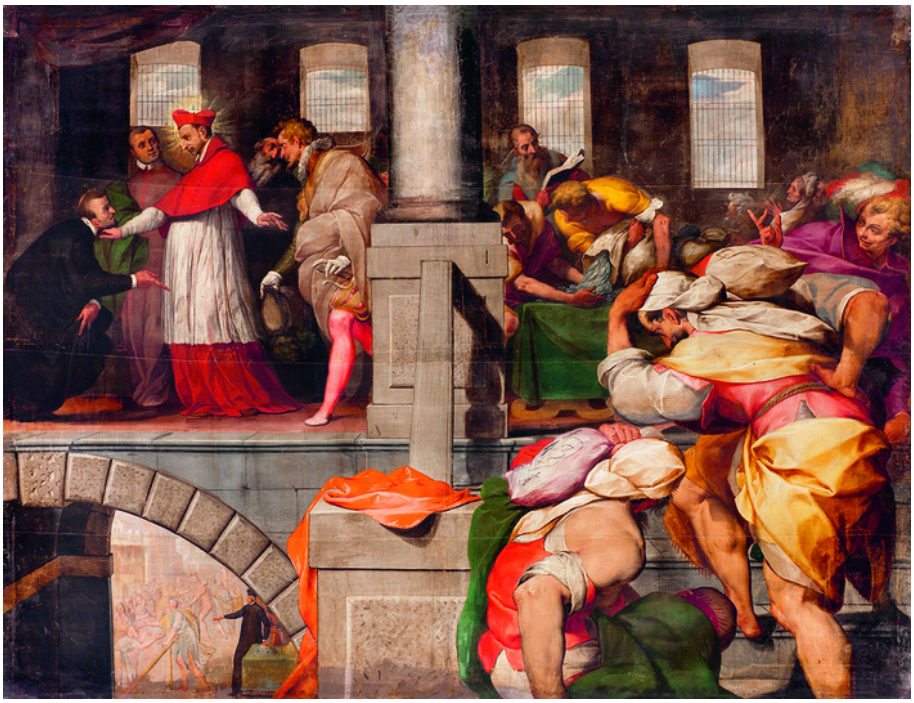


Fig. 2 Giovanni Battista Crespi, *Carlo Sells the Principality of Oria for 40,000 Scudi, Which He Immediately Distributes to the Poor* (1602), tempera on canvas, Duomo, Milan. Image © Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, all rights reserved.

bidding[64] did their utmost to refigure Carlo as an honorary member of their branch of the clergy. While earlier hagiographers had highlighted Carlo's identity as a proud aristocrat, these chroniclers stressed his break with the milieu from which he hailed. Unlike the first *vitae* from the 1580s and 1590s, these sermons usually began with Carlo's time as a spendthrift cardinal-nephew in Rome to then pivot to the Damascene moment he supposedly had when his elder brother died unexpectedly in 1562. In the story the preachers rehashed over the years, that upsetting experience made Carlo decide to renege on the privilege into which he had been born and to put himself at the

64 Many preachers make it clear that their sermons were commissioned by Federico Borromeo and therefore reflected his vision of Carlo. See, for example, Bonifazio Fausti, "Oratione in lode di S. Carlo Borromeo Cardinale di S. Chiesa Romana del Titolo di S. Prasseda: Composta e recitata alli 4 di Novembre del 1604 nel Duomo di Milano dal M.R. Padre Fr. Bonifatio Fausti da Monte dell'Olmo di Min. Con. Dottor Theologo, Predicatore, e Regente dello studio di San Francesco di Milano," in *Orationi in lode di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 136–178, 175; and Carnatti, "Oratione," 248.

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service of the community.[65] In the myth constructed by the regulars, Carlo's resolution to remain in the clerical estate, forgoing marriage, "principalities," and the "Golden Fleece" after his brother's passing,[66] became a "vocation"[67] akin to that of young men of noble heritage who overcame parental resistance to join a religious order.[68] Like the famed first Jesuits of popular lore, Carlo had allegedly cut ties with his family, going so far as to refuse to prefer them for offices and benefices unless their merits as spiritual individuals rendered them worthy of his support.[69]

In the preachers' story, the uncoupling from the corrupt and corrupting world of the aristocracy was inseparable from the adoption of voluntary poverty. Carlo, the orators told the crowds in Milan, had turned down the wealth he had inherited, donating it to religious and charitable institutions.[70] The Jesuit Giulio Negrone (1553–1625) explained in 1602 that Carlo had repudiated all benefices attached to the archbishopric of Milan, happy to chew on "the bone without the marrow."[71] Others apprised the public of his minimalist lifestyle. According to a sermonizer of the Theatines, an order known for its aristocratic propensities, "Carlo Borromeo—nobly born, softly raised, brought up in comfort and delight—fasts, dresses badly, and beds down worse."[72] An integral part of this lifestyle was Carlo's predilection for the fare of the poor. Despite the copiousness of the "most delicate food" in Milan, Carlo had resolved "amid these many delights to restrict himself to bread and water, amid so much licentiousness to deprive himself of any appetite and to deem four lupini beans or a couple of apples delicate foods."[73] By the decade's end, that message had crystallized into a trope that found its way into the briefs the provincial council of the Church of Milan sent to the papacy: with his

65 On the change in outlook and lifestyle after his brother's passing, see Alberigo, "Carlo Borromeo," 125–126.

66 Lorenzo Felino, "Oratione in lode di S. Carlo Borromeo Cardinale di S. Prasseda et Arcivescovo di Milano: Composta, e recitata dal Rev. P. Don Lorenzo Felino Chierico Regolare Teatino nel Duomo di Milano li 4 di Novembre dell'Anno 1605," in *Orationi in lode di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 179–213, 201.

67 Luigi Bosso, "Oratione delle lodi di S. Carlo Cardinale di S. Prasseda, Arcivescovo di Milano: Composta e recitata nel Duomo di Milano, da Monsignor Aluigi Bosso Milanese, Canonico Ordinario, Theologo dell'istessa Chiesa in occasione della prima solennità fatta nel giorno che si soleva celebrare il suo Anniversario l'Anno 1601," in ibid., 40–59, 42.

68 Adriano Prosperi, *La vocazione: Storie di gesuiti tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Turin: Einaudi, 2016); Barbara Diefendorf, "Give Us Back Our Children: Patriarchal Authority and Parental Consent to Religious Vocations in Early Counter-Reformation France," *Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 2 (1996): 1–43. On the violation of social norms as a requirement of sanctity, see Jean-Michel Sallmann, "Il santo e le rappresentazioni della santità: Problemi di metodo," *Quaderni storici* 14, no. 2 (1979): 584–602, 596–597.

69 Carnatti, "Oratione," 234.

70 Bosso, "Oratione," 48.

71 Giulio Negrone, "Oratione in laude di S. Carlo Borromeo Cardinale: Recitata dal. P. Giulio Negrone della Compagnia di Giesù nel Duomo di Milano, li tre di Novembre 1602," in *Orationi in lode di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 60–119, 92.

72 Felino, "Oratione," 221.

73 Ibid.

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voluntary simplicity, the council stated, Carlo had adopted the lifestyle of a mendicant monk, all while continuing to exercise public functions, reconciling "the great toil of those who lead an active life with the strictness of the life of an anchorite."[74]

By casting him as an honorary mendicant, the propagandists in Federico Borromeo's employ rebranded Carlo as a disinterested servant imbued with the public good. Where others blurred the boundaries between family matters and the commonwealth, Carlo allegedly separated his clan's aspirations from the greater good, even averring once that "the purple and the bishop's habit were garments belonging to the dignity, not to his person."[75] In a society where the ideal of Christian virtues and the reality of dynastic aspirations constantly clashed with each other, saints, along with members of religious orders, were widely recognized as the only ones able to turn their backs on worldly greed and devote themselves fully to perfecting Christian society.[76] Where other nobles succumbed to temptation and loaded up on the court's benefices and rents, Carlo "remained a pure white lily amidst the stench of the weed, without the nature (*qualità*) of the wealth around him rubbing off on him."[77] In the mental acrobatics performed by these sermonizers, the break with the family of origin and the minimalist lifestyle were umbilically linked: it was Carlo's aristocratic background that lent meaning to his active shunning of wealth in the first place. In the seventeenth century, the Catholic Church began to distinguish between the culpable misery of the masses and the voluntary poverty of men from well-to-do families who actively opted for destitution.[78] While poverty was increasingly policed in the masses, for someone born with a silver spoon like Carlo, minimalism was seen as exemplary, as proof positive of that most prized index of distinction: disinterestedness.

Holding up Carlo as a poster child for saintly aloofness performed multiple functions in the stratified society of seventeenth-century Milan. On the one hand, it taught the

74 Brief of the provincial council of the Church of Milan to Pope Paul V (1609), quoted in Grattarola, *Successi*, 167–168.

75 Bosso, "Oratione," 48.

76 Hillard von Thiessen, "Familienbande und Kreaturenlohn: Der (Kardinal-)Herzog von Lerma und die Kronkardinäle Philipps III. von Spanien," in *Die Jagd nach dem roten Hut: Kardinalskarrieren im barocken Rom*, ed. Arne Karsten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 105–125, 106; idem, "Normenkonkurrenz: Handlungsspielräume, Rollen, normativer Wandel und normative Kontinuität vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Übergang zur Moderne," in *Normenkonkurrenz in historischer Perspektive (Zeitschrift für historische Forschung, Beiheft 50)*, ed. Arne Karsten and idem (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2015), 241–286, 275–276.

77 Fausti, "Oratione," 149.

78 Marina Caffiero, *La politica della santità: Nascita di un culto nell'età dei Lumi* (Rome: Laterza, 1996), 71, 76. For a medievalist's perspective, see Annette Kehnel, "Der freiwillig Arme ist ein potentiell Reicher: Eine Unterscheidung zwischen freiwilliger und unfreiwilliger Armut," in *In proposito paupertatis: Studien zum Armutsverständnis der mittelalterlichen Bettelorden*, ed. Gert Melville and Annette Kehnel (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2001), 203–228.

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poor, in the words of one Franciscan preacher, "not to bother about wealth" and accept their lot.[79] On the other hand, it was cathartic for the elite, relieving them of the burden of social responsibility. Some preachers praised Carlo's example as an exhortation to be "free-handed with the poor."[80] Others, consolingly enough, limited themselves to nudge their aristocratic audience to leech off Carlo's glory rather than trying to live up to an ideal that remained unachievable for ordinary Christians.[81] Like close ties to members of the mendicant orders, on which the new portrait of Carlo was modeled,[82] devotion to the aspiring saint became a vicarious display of virtuousness for a ruling class clambering to absolve itself of its sins.[83]

First in line among the worthies who supposedly flocked to Carlo were members of the Spanish elite. In a revisionist move that defies belief, members of the Spanish high nobility were said to have been particularly smitten with Carlo. The preachers from the religious orders insisted that the Spanish officials who met Carlo in Milan were so impressed that they "brought the glorious lore of the heroic virtues of the man who eschewed glory with all his might overseas to all those kingdoms" under Habsburg rule.[84] One of the main recipients of the glad tidings was Philip II himself, who allegedly turned into an instant disciple and regularly prayed to Carlo, of whom he kept a portrait in his private chambers.[85] Since his death, the sermonizers assured their audience, devotion to Carlo had augmented among the "princes and great lords," including some Spanish ministers in Milan, such as Pedro Enríquez de Acevedo, count of Fuentes (r. 1600–1610), who had begun serving as Milan's new governor in 1600.[86] The veneration of Carlo also swelled at the highest echelons of power. As one preacher maintained, the protection Carlo had granted Philip II had been displaced onto his son, Philip III, enabling him to "rule justly and peacefully the many kingdoms that he governs."[87] By scrapping Carlo's obstreperous streak and burying the earlier narrative

79 Fausti, "Oratione," 174.

80 Ibid., 174.

81 This was, of course, a problem that ran much deeper: despite attempts to redefine holiness, the tension between being recognized for having exercised virtuousness to a heroic degree and being held up as a role model to ordinary Christians continued to suffuse the cult of all Counter-Reformation saints. See Sallmann, "Il santo," 588.

82 I thank Nicolas Rogger, whose forthcoming dissertation promises to shed new light on this issue, for discussing the function of mendicant orders in the vicarious display of virtuousness with me.

83 Originally formulated by Thorstein Veblen, the concept of vicarious display has been refined by Jean Pascal Daloz, *The Sociology of Elite Distinction from Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), ch. 6, esp. 105–107.

84 Negrone, "Oratione," 73.

85 Ibid., 103, 101.

86 Bosso, "Oratione," 58.

87 Negrone, "Oratione," 119.

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of Carlo as a pugnacious aristocrat, the preachers were able to peddle him as a mascot of the very Castilian high nobility who had every reason to remember him as a bane.

It is worth noting that the espousal of the saintly archbishop by Spanish gentlemen was more than wishful thinking on the preachers' part. The yarn of Carlo as a disinterested public servant likely lessened the nagging feeling of guilt that the Spanish ruling elite was experiencing.[88] With the death of Philip II and the accession of Philip III in 1598, the governing structure of the Spanish Monarchy underwent profound changes. If Philip II had prided himself on self-rule, his successor entrusted the governance of the global empire to a new figure, variously called *valido* or minister-favorite.[89] The main goal of Philip III's favorite, the Duke of Lerma (r. 1598–1618), was to widen the monarchy's base in the face of a resurgent France. To this end, he courted the nobilities of the crown's far-flung territories and enlisted them as surrogates of the king in local society, enticing them with the promise of a share in the monarch's material and symbolic riches, including landed titles, court offices, and military honors.[90] While the emerging patron-client networks enhanced Spanish power across the globe, this integration of local worthies was far from anodyne. Propelled by nobles' urge to enrich themselves, Lerma's operation gave rise to anxieties about the moral implications of his pyramid scheme among an elite nominally committed to the preservation of the collective good.[91] It was to these worries that Carlo spoke. Not only had he refused the offices and titles with which the Spanish monarch had showered him (the principality of Oria of pictorial fame), he had also had a strong sense of what contemporaries called "distributive justice"—the moral imperative to divvy out patronage with equity.[92] Little did it matter that Carlo's perfection remained both unattainable and undesirable for most of Lerma's cronies: what counted was that they could bask in the glory of a saint

88 This became most apparent under Lerma's successor, the Count-Duke of Olivares. See Hillard von Thiessen, "Der entkleidete Favorit: Legitimation von Günstlings-Herrschaft und politische Dynamik im Spanien des Conde-Duque de Olivares," in *Integration – Legitimation – Korruption: Politische Patronage in Früher Neuzeit und Moderne*, ed. Ronald G. Asch, Birgit Emich, and Jens Ivo Engels (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2011), 131–147.

89 Patrick Williams, *The Great Favourite: The Duke of Lerma and the Government of Philip III of Spain, 1598–1621* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Giuseppe Mrozek Eliszezynski, *Bajo acusación: El valimiento en el reinado de Felipe III. Procesos y discursos,* trans. Esther Jiménez Pablo (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2015).

90 Spagnoletti, *Principi italiani*; Francesco Benigno, *L'ombra del re: Ministri e lotta politica nella Spagna del Seicento* (Venice: Marsilio, 1992).

91 Hillard von Thiessen, "Korruption und Normenkonkurrenz: Zur Funktion und Wirkung von Korruptionsvorwürfen gegen die Günstling-Minister Lerma und Buckingham in Spanien und England im frühen 17. Jahrhundert," in *Geld – Geschenke – Politik: Korruption im neuzeitlichen Europa*, ed. Jens Ivo Engels, Andreas Fahrmeir, and Alexander Nützenadel (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009), 91–120.

92 Fedele Daniele, "Oratione in lode di S. Carlo Borromeo: Composta dal Rev. P. Fedele Daniele della Compagnia di Giesù et detta da lui nel Duomo di Milano il dì 4 Novembre 1603," in *Orationi in lode di S. Carlo Borromeo*, 120–135, 125.

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and pay lip service to his standards without paying the price of living up to them.[93] In rewriting the history of Carlo with a focus on his private virtues, Federico Borromeo had inadvertently handed Spain's ruling class the perfect alibi.

He had not done so without ulterior motives. In tendering the Lerma faction this screen, Federico Borromeo hoped to join their ranks. Despite his last-ditch attempt to ram through the canonization of Carlo in the 1590s and thus perpetuate his opposition to Spain, Federico Borromeo had slowly come to realize that the tried-and-trusted strategy of all-out opposition to Spanish rule through the Church had run aground. As the "courtization" of the nobility proceeded apace, even a family as influential as the Borromeos could no longer do without access to the resources of the crown, lest they be outperformed by rivals on better terms with the favorite and his surrogates.[94] The rise of Philip III was seen as a serendipitous moment to hold out an olive branch and cozy up to the new patron in the court of Spain. No sooner had Philip acceded to the throne than Federico's brother, Renato, traveled to Iberia to patch up the clan's strained relations with the crown.[95] Federico, still in exile in Rome, wrote a letter to the new *valido*, Lerma, beseeching him to lobby the new sovereign to put an end to the commotion in Milan. Anticipating the spin that he would put on his past actions in years to come, Borromeo claimed that he had engaged in the strenuous defense of jurisdictional prerogatives "with all due respect, as behooves a bishop devoted to His Majesty."[96] In a nod to the new climate, Federico sought to reinscribe his obstructionism within an overarching fidelity to the house of Habsburg, a loyalty that remained unbroken even when his duties as archbishop had occasionally required him to go after representatives of the king of Spain in Milan. On these grounds, he asked Lerma to offer "protection to the Church of Milan and, at the same time, myself," promising that this would result in "glory for God and honor for Your Excellency."[97] This rapprochement with the new magnate in the court soon produced the desired outcome. In line with his overall strategy of roping

93 For a discussion of the extent to which Christian virtues such as charity and humility impinged on the actions of medieval warrior nobles, see Gerd Althoff, "Christliche Ethik und adeliges Rangbewusstsein: Auswirkungen eines Wertekonflikts auf symbolische Handlungen." in *Wertekonflikte – Deutungskonflikte*, ed. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger and Thomas Weller (Münster: Rhema, 2007), 37–49.

94 Gianvittorio Signorotto has been the first to highlight that Federico's relatively unpolitical stance was not a character trait, as previous historians had argued, but a clever response to the requirements of the age. See Gianvittorio Signorotto, "La scena pubblica milanese al tempo del cardinal Federico e del conte di Fuentes," in *Carlo Borromeo e il cattolicesimo dell'età moderna: Nascita e fortuna di un modello di santità*, ed. Maria Luisa Frosio and Danilo Zardin (Rome: Bulzoni, 2011), 25–71, 28, 40, 64. On nobles' increasing dependence on the court, see Ronald G. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition: Courtiers and Rebels in Britain and Europe* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2003).

95 Federico Borromeo to Renato Borromeo, Ferrara November ?, 1598, in *Lettere del cardinale Federico Borromeo*, 306.

96 Besozzi, "Momenti," 325.

97 Ibid., 326.

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in Italian families, Lerma entrusted the new governor of Milan, Fuentes, with the task of cultivating close ties to the high-profile Borromeo.[98] In 1601, Fuentes appointed Renato to the Secret Council, the collective body of local nobles advising the governor, prompting Federico to return to Milan to meet the new alter ego of the king of Spain.[99] In the wake of this rendezvous, the jurisdictional conflicts petered out,[100] and the former rebels began their slow metamorphosis into surrogates and members of a hispanophile ruling elite.

In the *quid pro quo* between the Borromeos and the monarchy, the canonization of Carlo in his latest incarnation as a selfless pastor was an important currency. Belying the nascent reconciliation between the Borromeos and the monarchy, Fuentes visited Carlo's sepulcher in the Duomo and urged the king to back Carlo's canonization.[101] Philip III agreed to lean on the papacy to push for the sanctification of the archbishop who had waged open warfare on his father, Philip II. In a letter to Pope Clement VIII, Philip III stressed that Carlo had been a vassal of the Spanish Crown, arguing that for this reason alone, his canonization deserved the king's endorsement.[102]

The Borromeos enthused over this boost to Carlo's fortunes as a future saint. By rewriting the life of Carlo, Federico had created the conditions for unblocking a process that seemed to have become snared by his stubborn insistence on representing Carlo as an aristocratic rebel. As he reinvented his forebear as an other-worldly servant of the common good, he inadvertently birthed an alibi for a ruling class in distress. Taking the bait, Castilian grandees threw their weight behind the canonization of a man who, during his lifetime, had been anything but a pillar of the monarchy. Under these new premises, the canonization seemed likely. And as a welcome side effect, it would pave the way for the Borromeos to accede to the Lerma faction, a step that would be of critical import to their survival as local overlords in the seventeenth century.

98 Signorotto, "La scena," 34–35.

99 Ibid., 45.

100 Turchini, *La fabbrica*, 16; Signorotto, "La scena," 38–39.

101 Ibid., 44.

102 Grattarola, *Successi*, 89.

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Fig. 3 Raffaello Guidi, *Antonio Tempesta's Cycle of Carlo Borromeo's Life and Miracles* (1610), engraving. Image © Biblioteca Angelica, Rome; photo: Mario Setter.

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4. Transcription III: The Hispanophile Archbishop

In the wake of Philip III's endorsement, the cult of Carlo went from strength to strength. In 1606, the king of Spain announced he would disburse 4,000 *ducati* to build a crystal coffin for Carlo in the Duomo as a sign of his "singular veneration" to the *beato*.[103] That same year, the local investigation into Carlo's life and miracles was wrapped up and the records forwarded to Rome for review by the Congregation of Rites. After the back-and-forth between the Congregation and the Tribunal of the Roman Rota that would soon become typical of sanctifications,[104] the canonization came before the mandatory three consistories of cardinals in 1609. Following their favorable verdicts, Pope Paul V (r. 1605–1621) proclaimed Carlo a saint of the Roman Catholic Church on November 1, 1610. A mere 26 years after his death, Carlo had acceded to the highest honor that the Catholic Church had to offer. So swiftly had he ascended to the pantheon that one particularly irreverent gossipmonger in Milan rumored that it had been "the abundance of money that had produced this outcome."[105]

With his elevation to the honor of the altars came important changes in the way Carlo was limned. The main transmitter of the novel narrative was a cycle of now lost paintings by Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630) that were exhibited inside Saint Peter's Basilica (Fig. 3).[106] The main novelty was the decision to depict Carlo as a Roman cardinal rather than a Milanese bishop, signaling the papacy's attempt to appropriate Carlo.[107] The individual pictures themselves offered a mixture of old and new stories. Some of the canvases showed familiar images of Carlo as the emollient shepherd who disciplined heretics in the Grisons, stood up for the poor in Milan, and risked his own life to assist the sick during a plague epidemic. Others, though, struck a different chord. In addition to new paintings of Carlo's early life before his move to Milan, one *tondo* in particular betokened how he "defends—fearlessly, not without great sweat and risk to his life—the immunity and authority of his Church."[108] Within the broader context of the well-worn trope of Carlo as a champion of virtuousness, the jurisdictional quarrels the Borromeo family had done so much to excise from the official record made their

103 Ibid., 184.

104 On the characteristics of Carlo's canonizations anticipating later reforms, see Miguel Gotor, *Chiesa e santità nell'Italia moderna* (Rome: Laterza, 2004), 45–46.

105 Giannini, "'Con ser santo,'" 39.

106 Grattarola, *Successi*, 219. See Matthias Bodenstein, "Die Ikonographie Carlo Borromeos anlässlich seiner Kanonisation: Der Kampf um die Deutungshoheit über den Reformbischof," unpublished paper presented at the "Mythos Reform?" conference, Fribourg, Switzerland, February 12–15, 2019. I thank the author for allowing me to cite this paper as we await the publication of his doctoral thesis on which it is based.

107 Interestingly, painters in Milan continued to portray him as an archbishop even after the canonization. See Burzer, *San Carlo*, 200–208.

108 Grattarola, *Successi*, 225.

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comeback, foreshadowing the fusion of the two transcriptions that had emerged in rapid succession after Carlo's death.

The jurisdictional strife had slowly been reintroduced through the backdoor since the advent of Pope Paul V in 1605. As the Borghese pontiff became embroiled in a jurisdictional war with the Republic of Venice shortly after taking office, he briefly toyed with the idea of canonizing Carlo as a martyr who had "suffered so much opposition and anguish" for upholding "the authority of the Church and ecclesiastical jurisdiction."[109] If Carlo were elevated on these grounds, the pope mused, he "would have been an advocate with God for such causes."[110] Born in the heat of the moment, the idea was quickly dropped in its original form, not least because the Borghese were keen to extricate canonizations from the clientelistic mechanisms they otherwise indulged in.[111] As an astute politician, Paul V understood that feeding this narrative too directly would jeopardize his relations with the Spanish monarch, who was an essential patron to the Borghese family.[112] As the dust settled on the conflict with Venice, Paul V, therefore, cobbled together the two extant stories about Carlo, welding what had hitherto been deemed a contradiction between Carlo the aristocratic standard-bearer of jurisdictional privileges and Carlo the disinterested public servant. By 1609, as he received the papers from the Rota, the pontiff extolled Carlo for "living saintly and fearlessly defending ecclesiastical immunity."[113]

This was a succinct summary of a tale that Francisco Peña (1540–1612), the Aragonese dean of the Rota, had lathed in his preliminary report for Carlo's canonization.[114] According to Peña, Carlo had been "contemptuous of worldly riches" and had cleaved to meritocratic principles when handing out the patronage over which he presided.[115] This dedication to the commonwealth translated to Carlo's intense program of ecclesiastical reform: his "charity" was paired with "an incredible zeal to secure the salvation of his flock."[116] While this commitment sometimes made him bump up against vested interests, his actions were always meant to prevent "endless ills and the ruin […] of entire states and kingdoms."[117] The quarrels with Spanish grandees, therefore, had a stabilizing effect. Carlo's tussle with royal ministers, Peña concluded, needed to be seen as ultimately in the interest of the Spanish Monarchy, of which Peña was a subject just like Carlo.

109 Ibid., 189.
110 Ibid., 181.
111 See Birgit Emich's contribution to this volume.
112 Von Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage*.
113 Grattarola, *Successi*, 272.
114 On Peña, see Simon Ditchfield's contribution to this volume.
115 Peña, *Relatione*, 28.
116 Ibid., 18.
117 Ibid., 17.

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In giving a new spin to the jurisdictional conflicts as an outflow of Carlo's virtuousness (as opposed to his aristocratic volition), the contradiction that had nagged Carlo's devotees vanished. With the two mutually exclusive stories stitched together, the ruckus over jurisdictional prerogatives could be passed off as advantageous for the Spanish Monarchy. Giulio Roma, the consistorial advocate, summed up the new synthesis during the public hearings on September 14, 1610, when he claimed that Carlo had "exerted himself with a valiant heart" to "defend ecclesiastical jurisdiction and advance God's cause" thanks to "the particular piety of Philip II, king of Spain, protector and defender of the dignity of the Catholic Church."[118] What had gotten Carlo into hot water and had been misconstrued as an attempt to undermine Spanish dominance in Italy was, Roma implied, in reality a benign exercise in law and order of which the king of Spain was at once the cheerleader and main beneficiary.

Federico Borromeo ran with this second rewriting of history that the papacy had foisted upon him in less than two decades. Culling the last remaining contradictions, he perfected the *bricolage* of the two stories that Peña and Paul V had started. In the new hagiography he commissioned from the Oblate Giovanni Pietro Giussani after the canonization,[119] the lore of Carlo the philanthropist was turned into a function of Carlo the principled defender of jurisdictional prerogatives. Giussani reiterated the hackneyed *topos* of Carlo as an extraordinary administrator of the common good who never gave in to self-seeking, grinding away exclusively for the "benefit" of his subjects, "and not his own interests."[120] From this holy predisposition, Giussani went on, sprang a desire to transform his flock into so many saints. Alas, in doing so, he encountered two obstacles. At the time of Carlo's episcopate, Giussani explained, Milan was a hotbed of debauchery where Christian holidays were regularly "profaned with spectacles, games, balls, binges, and other forms of frolicking and dissolution."[121] Adding insult to injury, in the face of this depravity, certain Spanish officeholders inexplicably saw fit to "protect the subjects of His Catholic Majesty and defend them against the jurisdiction" of an archbishop intent on drilling wayward Christians, a recklessness that imperiled the monarchy.[122] It was to counter this sabotage, Giussani elucidated, that Carlo had to wage jurisdictional battles willy-nilly. Thus, if the saint occasionally locked horns with representatives of the Spanish Crown, his intention only ever was to "turn his people into saints, which is the real basis of stability for kingdoms and monarchies; for people

118 Grattarola, *Successi*, 181.

119 Miguel Gotor, "Agiografia e censura libraria: *La Vita di san Carlo Borromeo* di G.P. Giussani (1610)," in *Il pubblico dei santi: Forme e livelli di ricezione dei messaggi agiografici*, ed. Paolo Golinelli (Rome: Viella, 2000), 193–226, 193; Marcora, "La storiografia," 53–58.

120 Giussani, *Vita*, 14, 17.

121 Ibid., 50. On Carlo's social discipline, see Wietse de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

122 Giussani, *Vita*, 116.

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who live in fear of God are loyal and subordinate to their prince, as God commands."[123] Far from subverting established power relations, Giussani insisted, Carlo had done his utmost to guarantee law and order in a strategically sensitive territory of the Habsburg empire.

This concoction required Giussani to reinterpret the role of the Spanish monarch and the governors in his service. In a trend that had been in the making since the sermons on Carlo's anniversary, Philip II was recast as an early supporter of Carlo's. According to Giussani, the monarch "cherished it very much that the archbishop cooperated in the good effort of His Catholic Majesty and removed the abuses and the depravity that are the cause of many sins."[124] The sovereign allegedly agreed with Carlo that the "good governance of the Church of Milan" was the *sine qua non* for the "salvation of the subjects of his crown" and, by extension, the stability of its rule.[125] Given the king's clear position on Carlo, how did Giussani explain the actions of the governors who went on a collision course with the archbishop? To start with, he dismissed the officials who had attacked Carlo as a few bad apples who distracted from the vast majority of representatives of the king who supported the archbishop. As for those who deviated from the script, they were either "ill-informed of the holy mind of the Catholic king"[126] or had been waylaid by the devil "who could not tolerate these sound reformist principles for the benefit of the souls" and had forced "these supreme ministers to oppose and prevent with all their might the saintly activities of the cardinal."[127] In Giussani's retelling, the governors who had been indispensable antagonists in the earlier David-versus-Goliath story shrank down to the status of hapless victims of the devil. Unable to see that they were inadvertently truncating the cohesion of the Spanish monarchy, they stood in the way of the cooperation between the ecclesiastical and secular arms of government to which both Carlo and Philip II were equally committed.

As Carlo was born again as a hispanophile archbishop in Giussani's authorized *vita*, the story attracted many free riders. The most surprising one was Carlo's first hagiographer, Bascapè. Initially, Bascapè had protested the blatant revisionism of Giussani's tract. In a private letter to the superior of the Barnabite Fathers, he had lambasted Giussani's "coarse and very coarsely written book": "it seems to me that he has treated [Carlo] badly. Retracing his path with little respect, he changes things, mixes them up, and almost corrects them into something wrong in many places."[128] This Emperor's New Clothes moment did not last long, however. As Carlo's fame as a saint in hock to the Spanish monarchy grew in the early 1610s, Bascapè published a completely revised

123 Ibid., 349.
124 Ibid., 392–393.
125 Ibid., 414.
126 Ibid., 208.
127 Ibid., 116.
128 Marcora, "La storiografia," 58.

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Italian translation of his earlier Latin hagiography in which Carlo transmuted into a Spanish saint. While diluting the conflicts that had been the backbone of his first *vita*, Bascapè milked even the most insignificant points of contact between the Borromeo family and the Spanish Monarchy to establish a long-standing rapport between Carlo and Philip II. He placed particular emphasis on the last six years of Carlo's short life when the archbishop had supposedly lumbered toward *détente* with the monarchy, a process in which Bascapè claimed to have played a pivotal role.[129] As he recounted the events, Carlo had dispatched him to the court of Madrid in 1580 to plead for rapprochement. When he arrived in Spain, Bascapè, according to his self-flattering account, had asked the king to "ensure in future that Carlo will not be hindered but that he will, instead, be helped in the efforts he has been making for these souls, as behooves such a pious king" as Philip II.[130] Inflating his role and the mission's success,[131] Bascapè the conscientious empiricist had morphed into a fibber willing to contribute to the canard of Carlo's lifelong communing with the Spanish monarchs.

Federico Borromeo was possibly even more elated by this mendacious puff piece from the inventor of Carlo the anti-Spanish rebel than by Giussani's treatise. The reason for this was straightforward. The cooperation between the archbishop and monarchical institutions that Bascapè had allegedly propounded to Philip II in the 1580s (and Giussani vaunted as a *fait accompli*) was precisely what Federico had been trying to formalize since the days of governor Fuentes in the early 1600s.[132] Having given up on their favorite conceit of Carlo as a rebel, the Borromeos were now pushing the narrative of Carlo the archbishop who spearheaded efforts to smoothen the partnership between the Church and the Monarchy. In making this case, the Borromeos saw the strategy of picking up where Bascapè had supposedly left off in 1580 as particularly promising.

This conciliatory stance fell on receptive ears. Both the minister-favorite and his sub-patrons in the Italian peninsula[133] readily accepted the new imagining of Carlo as a precocious proponent of cooperation between Church and state.[134] Worn down

129 Bascapè's tale is not entirely fabricated, as Paolo Prodi has shown. Paolo Prodi, "San Carlo Borromeo e le trattative tra Gregorio XIII e Filippo II sulla giurisdizione ecclesiastica," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 11 (1957): 195–240, 222, 226, 234.

130 Bascapè, *I Sette Libri*, 482.

131 In his correspondence with Carlo Borromeo at the time of the mission, Bascapè had felt much more ambiguous about the commitment of the king and his entourage to the sort of cooperation between ecclesiastical and monarchical authorities that he now celebrated as his accomplishment. See Mellano and Molinari, "La 'Vita,'" 129, 137.

132 Signorotto, "La scena," 47.

133 The key players here were two brothers of the Castro clan who, in the 1610s, controlled the embassy in Rome and held sway in the Council of Italy. See Isabel Enciso Alonso-Muñumer, *Nobleza, poder y mecenazgo en tiempos de Felipe III: Nápoles y el Conde de Lemos* (Madrid: Actas, 2007).

134 See Samuel Weber, *Aristocratic Power in the Spanish Monarchy: The Borromeo Brothers of Milan, 1620–1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 18–22.

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by decades of jurisdictional strife and willing to win over the Borromeos as clients, they embraced Carlo as a saint of the monarchy[135] and offered the sitting archbishop of Milan a peace treaty that would put to bed the jurisdictional controversies that had marred Milan for the last fifty years. Sailing on the coattails of the imaginary Carlo of hagiographical fame, Federico Borromeo went through the motions to sign what became known as the *concordia jurisdictionalis*, which promoted the archbishop of Milan to the rank of an administrator of royal justice whose jurisdiction complemented that of the secular tribunals rather than undermining it.[136]

Wrapped up in 1618, the treaty sealed the Borromeos' transformation from mavericks to royal patrons that Federico had initiated when he was forced to retell Carlo's life with a focus on his virtues as a disinterested public servant. When he knitted this story together with a new rendition of the jurisdictional stalemate, the monarchy was willing to institute Federico as an integral part of the Spanish ruling class. The careful sculpting of the plot had been as essential to Carlo's rise to the glory of the altars as to Federico's rapprochement with the crown. Like the French kings rearranged the story of Saint Louis to present themselves as benign Counter-Reformation rulers, Federico Borromeo drew essential legitimacy for his shape-shifting self-fashioning from Carlo. While crucial to Carlo's canonization, the increasingly improbable tales the archbishop of Milan told of his famous relative were ultimately more reflective of Federico's own transformation from religiously motivated rebel to Philip III's client than of Carlo's lived experience.

5. Conclusion

Federico Borromeo's lobbying for the canonization of a family saint was symptomatic of its time. In the late Middle Ages, towns and local communities, locked in competition over symbolic preeminence with their neighbors up and down the Italian peninsula, had pushed for the canonization of men and women from their midst who had died in the odor of sanctity.[137] As the decline of Renaissance city-states set in and new dynastic monarchies emerged in the sixteenth century, town councils gave way to families as the principal backers of new cults.[138] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, sanctity became a resource coveted by aristocrats, alive to the fact that a family saint would bolster

135 On Carlo's fortune as a Spanish saint from the late 1610s onward, see Giannini, "'Con ser santo,'" 45–47.

136 Zunckel, "Handlungsspielräume," 532.

137 Gabriella Zarri, *Le sante vive: Profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra '400 e '500* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990).

138 Stefano Andretta, *La venerabile superbia: Ortodossia e trasgressione nella vita di suor Francesca Farnese (1593–1651)* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1994), 38–39; Angelantonio Spagnoletti, *Le dinastie italiane nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003), 239–243.

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their prestige vis-à-vis their peers.[139] The Tomasi and a cadet branch of the Gonzaga are only two examples of elite clans who, in the seventeenth century, convinced the Roman Catholic Church to furnish a family member with the honor of the altars.[140] Many more tried, and failed, to emulate them.[141] Yet the earliest and undoubtedly most successful self-affirmation of this kind remains the archbishop of Milan pulling the strings to have his cousin admitted to the pantheon of Counter-Reformation saints.

If family saints looked like an adequate response to the rise of more powerful monarchies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the very clout of the emerging states made the promotion of such cults arduous. On the Italian scene, noble families courted secular princes for their ability to adjudicate the competition between them. But appealing to them as supreme arbiters came at the cost of accepting that the new sovereigns could arbitrarily quell the preferred transcription of a family if it rubbed them the wrong way. Up until now, historians have rightly focused on the papacy as an entity who regularly resorted to the carrot, as well as the stick, to set bounds on the imagination of hagiographers.[142] But as this essay suggests, the Habsburg monarchy was an equally authoritative spoilsport, able to wield its mushrooming patronage apparatus to condition what stories could and could not be told of saints. In the example discussed here, it was the rise of the minister-favorite and the fear of being left out of the Habsburg patronage market—not the whims of the Inquisition—that ultimately forced successive pontiffs and the Borromeos into the limber reinvention of Carlo the scourge of Spanish regalism as Carlo the jewel in the Habsburg crown. Increasingly dependent on worldly court patronage, promoters of a family saint had to come to terms with the fact that he who paid the piper called the tune.

To conclude, then, the path to the canonization of a family saint was beset with challenges even in the rare instances where the sanctification of a relative ultimately went through. To maintain its value and remain expendable in the marketplace of distinction, the religious capital of a family saint constantly needed to be parlayed into symbolic capital through the reframing of the saint's *vita*. Far from being a stable currency, the family saint as symbolic capital could come under intense pressure. Sudden changes in the political priorities of princes might require families hanging on their sleeves to modify their accounts. It is fair to assume that the confabulations about Carlo Borromeo doing the rounds in early seventeenth-century Italy offer only a glimpse of a reality that was bound to become even more pervasive over the following decades. As the era of dissimulation beckoned, the stories of saints' lives likely were saturated with the

139 Reinhardt, "Krieg," 281.

140 On the Tomasi, see Cabibbo and Modica, *La santa*. On the Gonzaga, see Philipp Zwyssig's contribution to this volume.

141 See Stefania Tutino, *A Fake Saint and the True Church: The Story of a Forgery in Seventeenth-Century Naples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

142 Gotor, *I beati*; Tutino, *A Fake Saint*.

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treachery and skullduggery of the age.[143] A detailed analysis of family saints canonized later in the century would no doubt yield even further evidence of the narrative hoops through which the heirs of a saintly relative needed to jump to please secular princes. As the seventeenth century progressed and the monarchies' gatekeeping became more robust, family saints needed chameleon-like qualities and, even more so, legatees sly enough to recognize when the moment had come for them to change colors. Much was at stake, but if the camouflage was convincing enough, a family saint offered lifelong protection in heaven and, perhaps more importantly, on earth, as the example of the Borromeos' spectacular rise on Carlo's coattails clearly demonstrates.

143 Jon R. Snyder, *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009); Rosario Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione: La lotta politica nel Seicento* (Rome: Laterza, 1987).

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Cécile Vincent-Cassy

The Canonization of Saint John of God and Four Other Saints in 1690

Triumph and Rivalry in the Hispanic Monarchy

1. Introduction

The seventeenth century saw the triumph of the Spanish saints, whose sanctity was often proclaimed collectively. The Hispanic Monarchy, champion of Catholicism, made the most of the saint-making, since half of the twenty-five saints canonized over the course of the century were Spanish. Saint John of God was the last epigone of a hagiographical type forged with the canonization of Diego of Alcalá in 1588. This Spanish predominance is an invitation to reflect on the universal and local nature of canonizations from the point of view of the saint-makers, by examining the forms and spaces of the celebration of canonizations.[1] The issue I will address in this chapter could be expressed in these terms: Who wanted to celebrate the saints, why, and how? To answer these questions, I will analyze the celebrations in honor of the last cohort of Spanish saints, that of 1690, which included Saint John of God.

1 This chapter is an extension and deepening of my previous studies; see Cécile Vincent-Cassy, "Fiestas de santos, fiestas de poetas: En torno a los festejos de 1629 en honor a San Pedro Nolasco," in *Nuevos caminos del hispanismo: Actas del XVI Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, ed. Pierre Civil and Françoise Crémoux (Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert), CD-ROM, 2010; Vincent-Cassy, "Llevando a santo Tomás de Villanueva (1486–1555) a los altares: Del proceso al modelo de santidad," *Chronica Nova: Revista de Historia Moderna de la Universidad de Granada* 43 (2017): 109–138; Vincent-Cassy, "Le Chant des poètes: Fêtes de béatification et de canonisation au XVII^{e} siècle en Espagne," in *Poésie de cour et de circonstance, théâtre historique: La Mise en vers de l'événement dans les mondes hispanique et européen (XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles)*, ed. Marie-Laure Acquier and Emmanuel Marigno (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014), 327–349; Vincent-Cassy, "Los santos, la poesía y la patria," *Revista de historia Jerónimo Zurita* 85 (2010): 75–94; Vincent-Cassy, "Las fiestas de canonización en la España del siglo XVII, polifonía de la santidad española," in *"Iglesia Memorable": Crónicas, historias, escritos … a mayor gloria. Siglos xvi-xvii*, ed. Ángela Atienza López (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2012), 149–168; and Vincent-Cassy, "*Les Joyaux de la Couronne:* Sainteté et Monarchie hispanique en Espagne après le Concile de Trente," in *Dévotion et légitimation: Patronages sacrés dans l'Europe des Habsbourg*, ed. Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2016), 41–56. A different version of this study has been published in Spanish: "Un triunfo precario: Las fiestas de 1691 en honor a san Juan de Dios y cuatro santos en el ocaso de la Monarquía austriaca," *Tiempos Modernos: Revista electrónica de Historia Moderna* 46 (2023), 329–346.

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I will focus on the topic of collective canonizations as a representation of the communion of saints and an image of celestial glory,[2] but also as the result of a dynamic of rivalry between promoters at all scales (between Rome and Spain; between the Hispanic Monarchy and other powers and "nations"; between regions and the capital; among towns and among religious orders).[3] I will argue that the saints' celebrations reveal on the one hand what the organizers and actors of the canonizations hoped to publicize about themselves in these series of events, and on the other hand what the Hispanic Monarchy wished to demonstrate by promoting these canonizations. In fact, canonizations might not have been—always and in every aspect—as triumphant as we have assumed they were. This topic can be approached through the celebrations' proceedings, their textual translations into printed books published a few years later in order to publicize them and "once again present to consideration what the senses could not grasp because of the greatness of the festivals."[4]

2. Multiple Canonizations on the Roman Stage

On October 16, 1690, Pope Alexander VIII proclaimed the canonization of five saints at the same time. The gathering of saints provided financial benefits to the papacy, since the authorities who requested a canonization had to pay for its cost, including the ephemeral Roman triumph built in Saint Peter's Basilica. Thus, the joint proclamation of several saints allowed for various political and religious bodies to carry the financial weight together. Likewise, in such a collective ceremony it was essential to preserve a certain unity in order to reflect the universal communion of the canonized saints together in heaven. Thanks to the four Italian *relazioni* of the Roman triumph[5] and

2 Olivier Marin and Cécile Vincent-Cassy, eds., with the collaboration of Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, Andreas Sohn, and Marie-José Michel, *La Cour céleste: La Commémoration collective des saints au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

3 On this topic, Cécile Vincent-Cassy, "Luchar por su santo: Rivalidades entre las órdenes religiosas en torno a las canonizaciones en el siglo XVII," in *Identidades y fronteras culturales en el mundo ibérico en la edad moderna*, ed. José Luis Betrán, Bernat Hernández, and Doris Moreno (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, 2016), 179–192.

4 These were the words of Juan de Leyva, canon of the college of Santa Catalina, the college of the Sacromonte, doctoral chaplain of the royal chapel of Granada, professor of canon law at the university of Granada, in his *aprobación* of the book commemorating the 1691 festivals for the canonization of Saint John of God: Sebastián de Gadea y Oviedo, *Triunfales fiestas que a la canonizacion de San Juan de Dios Patriarca y Fundador de la Hospitalidad consagro la muy noble, leal, y gran ciudad de Granada cuyo cabildo las dedica a la Magestad Catolica de D. Carlos II N.S., que Dios guarde, rey de las Españas* (Granada: Francisco de Ochoa, 1692).

5 About the ceremonies that took place in St. Peter's Basilica, see Vittorio Casale, *L'arte per le canonizzazioni: L'attività artistica intorno alle canonizzazioni e alle beatificazioni del Seicento* (Turin: Allemandi, 2011), 189–195. He lists the four *relazioni*, p. 290, and also quotes the anonymous *relazione* dedicated to the

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the Spanish *Relación de las Ceremonias y aparato hecho en la Basílica de San Pedro para la canonización de los cinco Santos: Lorenzo Justiniano, Juan de Capistrano, Juan de Sahagún, Juan de Dios, Paschal Bailón*, we know that the 1690 monument was conceived by the papal architect Carlo Fontana (1634–1714) and that the facade of Saint Peter's Basilica was decorated with a large painting by Giacinto Calandrucci (1655–1707) representing the five canonized saints together with the arms of the sovereigns who had promoted their cause. The Emperor was associated with the figure of John of Capistrano; the Republic of Venice with that of Lorenzo Giustiniani; the king of "Spains" with the three other saints.[6] The *relación* also indicates that, as in other Roman canonization festivals, the portico arches were decorated with tapestries drawn by Michelangelo and Raphael, and the second tier "chapels" represented narrative scenes of the lives of each saint in *grisaille* medallions placed under the arms of the religious orders who had supported and sponsored the trial of their respective saints.[7]

This multiple canonization was not the first one. On April 12, 1671, five saints, three of whom were subjects of the Hispanic Monarchy, had already been jointly canonized by Pope Clement X: the Dominican Louis Bertrand and the Jesuit Francis Borgia, both from the kingdom of Valencia; Cajetan (Gaetano di Thiene); the Servite Philip Benizi; and the Dominican Rosa of Lima, the first New World saint.

Earlier in the century, the multiple canonization of 1622, the most famous and best known of them all, represented an absolute triumph for the Spanish Crown since, for the

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feasts organized at Santa Maria in Aracoeli in honor of Saint John of Capistrano and Saint Paschal Baylon, *Relazione delle feste fatte in Roma*. No ceremonies were organized in Rome apart from Saint Peter's triumph to celebrate the canonization of the other three saints. See also *Esattissima Relazione Degli Adornamenti della Basilica Vaticana, e delle Cerimonie fatte in detta Chiesa, per la Canonizzatione, De' Cinqve Santi Lorenzo Givstiniano, Gio: Da Capistrano, Giovanni Di S. Facondo, Gio: Di Dio, E Pasqvale Baylon: Canonizati Dalla Santità Di Nostro Signore Papa Alessandro VIII: A' dì 16. Ottobre 1690. colla dichiaratione de' Cartelloni* (Roma: per Giovanni Battista Molo, 1690).

6 BINSM, Rome, bundle 97, fol. 46 ss. October 16, 1690, fol. 52r., cited by José Luis Martínez Gil, "Documentación referente a la beatificación y canonización de San Juan de Dios," *Archivo Hospitalario* 3 (2005): 431–470, 469. About Calandrucci's decoration, see Fabrizio Bifferali, "16 ottobre 1690: iconografia di una canonizzazione," in *San Juan de Sahagún: Culto, historia y arte*, ed. Antonio Iturbe Saíz and Roberto Tollo (Tolentino: Biblioteca Egidiana, 2019), 105–112.

7 "Debajo de los Arcos de las capillas pendían Medallones pintados por varios célebres Pintores en que con claro obscuro de oro se representaban los milagros de los Santos canonizados, acompañados encima con las Armas de los Religiosos a quienes pertenecían, y debajo un rotulo grande que indicaba con carácter el de oro el Milagro de otro Medallón; habiendo assi mismo ricos Pendones encarnados que rendían á los ojos gran magnificencia," *op. Cit.*, fol. 52v., cited in Martínez Gil, "Documentation referente," 469. Also Casale, *L'arte per le canonizzazioni*. A drawing from the Calandrucci workshop is kept in the Louvre, certainly copied from those of the master who produced the ephemeral decoration for the 1690 canonizations. There exist several other drawings representing scenes of miracles, typical of the hagiographies of the five saints under study, in the collections of the Louvre and elsewhere. See Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, INV. 15293 and INV. 15231.

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very first time, several of its canonization requests came through at the same time. Four Spaniards, Teresa of Avila, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, and Isidore the Laborer, later patron saint of Madrid, along with the Italian Philip Neri, founder of the Oratory, were canonized on March 12 by Gregory XV.[8]

The three multiple canonizations of 1622, 1671, and 1690 reveal some resemblances and invite first and foremost a political reading. While the Hispanic Monarchy showed itself as the great Catholic power of its time and proved it was able to display both its sacred and profane glory through these celebrations, it is remarkable that it was able to maintain this reputation in the last part of the century. Indeed, it has often been noted that 1622 marked a high point in Hispanic power. It is also worth remembering that between 1630 and 1658 diplomatic relations with Rome were not in Madrid's favor. Pope Urban VIII's well-known Francophilia and his decrees of 1625 and 1634–1642 considerably slowed down the pace of canonizations of Spanish candidates.[9] However, throughout the seventeenth century Spain's requests were always met as soon as the diplomatic and financial circumstances allowed it. The multiple sanctifications of 1671 and 1690 demonstrate that its weakness on the military, economic, and political levels was counter-balanced—not hidden—by its dominating and overwhelming influence in the field of sanctity from 1658 to 1700. No other early modern power enjoyed similar success. This is even more striking for the years 1690–1691 when the Monarchy was in a state of sharp decline, governed as it was by a depressive and powerless king who was still without an heir after Marie Louise of Orléans's death and his wedding to Maria Anna of Neuburg in 1689. As a matter of fact, the speeches for the ceremonies were permeated by the necessity for a successor to Charles II.

Looking closer at 1690's multiple canonizations, we see that between all the saints, John of God, who had been beatified in 1630, was, and is still, the most popular one in Spain. Born in Portugal at Montemor-o-Novo in 1485, he was of very humble origin and was a *converso*, a fact which does not appear at all in the hagiographies. He was first a shepherd, then a soldier on two occasions, and finally a traveling salesman of printed matter. He eventually settled in Granada, where he died in 1550. It was there that he heard the preaching of John of Avila, "Apostle of Andalusia."[10] According to the hagiographic legend initiated by the biography published in 1585 by Francisco de

8 On this topic, see Silvia Canalda, Sara Caredda, Ramon Dilla, and Cécile Vincent-Cassy, eds., *Territori di santità. Immagini e scenari del Seicento: Quattro spagnoli e un santo (1622–2022)* (Roma: Edizioni Oratoriane, 2023).

9 On this topic, see Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione del primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)* (Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi: Sussidi per lo studio delle cause dei santi 7) (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001), 319–360.

10 Joseph Magliozzi, *Le Maître de Jean: L'Influence de l'apôtre de l'Andalousie sur la spiritualité de saint Jean de Dieu*, trans. Fr. Marie-Alphonse Gauthier and Fr. Pierre Renier (Paris: Curie provinciale des Frères hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Dieu, 1988).

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Castro, prior of the community of Hospitalers of Granada,[11] this sermon led him to convert to a pious, ascetic, and charitable life. He cared without any discrimination for the sick and the poor who passed through his home. Strongly supported during his lifetime by members of the Church and local elites, his model of charity took shape in the context of the Spanish debate on poverty and assistance in the sixteenth century,[12] in a region that experienced three major plague epidemics in the following century—in 1601–1602, in 1649–1650, and in 1680–1684—and led to the foundation of a hospital completed in Granada in 1553. This type of institution spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula starting in the mid-sixteenth century, beginning with the foundation of the hospital in Madrid by his disciple Antón Martín in 1552, shortly before his death. This foundation was the origin of the order of the Hospitalers.

Saint John of God was very representative of the model of sanctity the Hispanic Monarchy had promoted throughout the seventeenth century. First of all, his works of mercy tied him to the Augustinian Thomas of Villanueva (1486–1556), beatified in 1618 and canonized in 1658. Both were presented as the ultimate figure of charity. And both were represented, in the second half of the seventeenth century, by the Sevillian artist Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, who painted *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Giving Alms to the Poor* for the Capuchin convent of Seville around 1668 (Museum of Fine Arts of Seville) and then, in 1672, *Saint John of God* for the brotherhood of Seville's famous Charity Hospital (preserved *in situ*).[13] Murillo showed Thomas) giving money to a kneeling man in rags while for John of God the brothers of the Charity of Seville, who had commissioned the second picture, chose an episode in which the future saint (he was only blessed at the time), falling under the weight of a dead body he carried, was helped up by an angel who appeared to comfort him.

Second, Saint John of God shared with the Jesuit Francis Borgia (1510–1572), another Spanish saint canonized some twenty years before him in 1671, the influence of the preacher John of Avila. And although, as previously mentioned, he never took any religious vows or entered any order, John of God was included by the Church authorities in the family of famous founders canonized throughout the century at the behest of the

11 Francisco de Castro, *Historia de la vida y santas obras de San Juan de Dios y de la Institución de su Orden y principios de su Hospital* (Granada: Antonio de Librixa, 1585, ed. facs. Córdoba: Publicaciones Obra Cultural Cajasur, 1995).

12 See Jeanne Moisand. "Le Procès de béatification de saint Jean de Dieu 1622–1623" (unpublished *mémoire de maîtrise*, Université Paris I, 2000).

13 These works can be seen using the following links: https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/santo-tom%C3%A1s-de-villanueva-dando-limosna-a-los-pobres/JgHvcnY9afJnXQ?ms=%7B%22x%22%3A0.5%2C%22y%22%3A0.5%2C%22z%22%3A9.321276447629536%2C%22size%22%3A%7B%22width%22%3A3.8349421388751757%2C%22height%22%3A1.23752254356175 43%7D%7D for *Saint Thomas of Villanueva Giving Alms to the Poor* (last accessed December 17, 2023) and https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5b/San_Juan_de_Dios._Bartolomé_Esteban_Murillo.jpg for *Saint John of God* (last accessed December 17, 2023).

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Spanish Crown. Among these we find Saint Peter Nolasco, founder of the Mercedarians in the thirteenth century, canonized in 1628, and, most importantly of all, two of Saint John of God's contemporaries: Saint Teresa of Avila (1515–1582), founder of the Discalced Carmelites, and Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), founder of the Jesuits, both canonized in 1622.

Last, John of God was a lay person just like Saint Isidore the Laborer, also canonized in 1622, and Saint Elizabeth of Portugal, infanta of Aragon, canonized in 1625, who was raised to a quasi-ecclesiastic status and thus presented as a reformer of the Church in the post-Tridentine context. His model allowed the Catholic Church and the Hispanic Monarchy to exalt charity as a Christian work in opposition to the Lutheran idea that only faith saves. As early as 1571, the hospital in Granada, and later the other hospitals of the congregation, obtained privileges and indulgences from Pope Pius V In 1586, Sixtus V established the congregation as a religious order, and while in 1592 Pope Clement VIII reduced it again to the state of a congregation, Paul V definitively established it as a religious order by the Romanus pontifex brief of 1611. Thus, the foundations of hospital convents run by the "disciples" of John of God, first in Madrid and Andalusia (Montilla, Lucena, Jerez), were followed by others in Italy, Naples, Rome, Perugia, then in France, where the Paris hospital was founded in 1602, in the West Indies, Austria, and Poland.[14] So Saint John of God became, so to speak, the last of the Hispanic Monarchy's great founders of religious orders whose cult was to be proclaimed for the entire universal Church under the Spanish Habsburgs.

If this may have represented an obstacle to his sanctification at first, he was ultimately canonized because the model he offered allowed the Church to glorify charity as Christian good works. In fact, right from the time of their original foundation in Granada, the Hospitaler friars dedicated themselves exclusively to works of mercy. All the points that John of God had in common with other Spanish saints confirm that we are indeed dealing with a figure who met the standards of sanctity established by the seventeenth-century Catholic Church.

His sanctification, strongly supported by the Spanish Crown and the Spanish Church,[15] as well as by the political elites of Spanish society, went through various stages: his 1550 burial in Granada, when the faithful snatched relics from his coffin; the aforementioned 1585 publication of his first hagiography; his beatification trial beginning in 1622; his canonization trial authorized in 1679; and finally, the triumphant ceremony of October 16, 1690, when his sainthood was officially recognized, after years of repeated pleas by several cities and dioceses of Castile and even by the king of

14 Manuel Jesús García Martínez, "El modelo de enfermería de San Juan de Dios," *Index de enfermería: Información bibliográfica y documentación* 4, no. 14 (1995): 31–35.

15 As Moisand, "Le Procès de béatification," 17, has observed, "35 % des témoins au procès ordinaire en vue de la béatification de Jean de Dieu, soit plus d'un tiers, sont des ecclésiastiques. Cette donnée atteste d'une forte mobilisation de l'Église espagnole en faveur de la promotion de Jean de Dieu à la sainteté."

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Spain himself. In 1666, during her regency, Mariana of Austria, Charles II's of Spain's mother, requested that the Spanish ambassador in Rome, who at that time was Gaspar Méndez de Haro, VII marquis of Carpio, take steps to ensure that the canonization's trial of Blessed John of God would proceed. From 1679 onwards, the pressure exerted both by the cities and dioceses of Castile and by the king was even greater. In 1690, the Hospitaler Order became impatient. It asked the Council of Castile, in the person of its president Cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, to beg the monarch to intercede for its cause with Rome. In his letter on May 18, 1690, Portocarrero acted as mediator with the king, citing one of the many reasons for his intervention: the blessed was "Spanish." The documents also mention the request for the canonization of Paschal Baylon, but the other saints canonized in 1690, who were rival candidates of John of God, are never mentioned.

But of course, his canonization occurred simultaneously with that of four other blesseds whose trials had remained outstanding until 1690: two Italians, John of Capistrano and Lorenzo Giustiniani, and two Spaniards, John of Sahagun and Paschal Baylon. The Neapolitan Observant Franciscan John of Capistrano (1386–1456) had preached across all of Europe, particularly in those parts of Bavaria, in Saxony, Silesia, and Poland that were heavily marked by the influence of the Hussites. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, he led the battle against the armies of the Turks, victorious in Belgrade in 1456. As for Lorenzo Giustiniani (1381–1456), first Patriarch of Venice and author of various mystical treatises, he was mostly known as a Church reformer. The Augustinian friar from Salamanca John of Sahagun (1430–1479) was a great preacher, while the lay brother of the Reformed Franciscan order Paschal Baylon (1540–1592), from the Valencia area, acquired a reputation of sanctity thanks to his great humility and devotion to the Eucharist, which led him to be considered as one of the promoters of the adoration of the Holy Sacrament.

3. Celebrating the Canonizations in the Hispanic Monarchy

In fact, in the canonization bull, as in the ceremony itself, pride of place went to Saint Lorenzo Giustiniani, followed by Saint John of Capistrano and then the three Spanish saints. The order of precedence was not insignificant, and it certainly did not escape the notice of the author of an anonymous Spanish *relación* describing the Madrid festivals of 1691, who noted that Saint Lorenzo Giustiniani, the only saint not connected in some way to the Hispanic Monarchy (since the second one was Neapolitan), had been placed in first position, something which did not prevent the authorities from overlooking

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Saint Lorenzo in the festivals held in the Spanish capital.[16] In Madrid, nobody had any interest in championing his cause. The Spanish Crown even had interest in hiding that he was the first of the cohort. In Granada, however, where the festivals were both longer and more elaborate, the Venetian saint was represented with the other four. Indeed, a painting from the city's Casa de los Tiros museum by local artist Juan de Sevilla Romero, a disciple of Alonso Cano, shows the five saints in trompe l'oeil niches according to the order dictated by the papal bull. Saint Lorenzo Giustiniani can be seen on the left, dressed in red, while Saint John of God bears the crucifix, in conformity with the *vera effigies* which had been devised during his beatification trial. But that is the only trace of Saint Lorenzo Giustiniani's presence in all the Spanish celebrations.[17]

Even inside the Hispanic Monarchy the celebrations focused on one saint or another between the three Spaniards. The case of Naples has recently been scrutinized by Luigi Coiro, who has used the proceedings published in the viceregal capital in 1691 and dedicated to the viceroy, Francisco Benavides Dávila y Corella, count of Santisteban del Puerto. As the ceremonies were organized by the Franciscan observants of Naples, they glorified the canonization of the Neapolitan John of Capistrano and, secondarily, Paschal Baylon. The prints and texts Coiro studied show that none of the other three saints canonized together with them seems to have ever been mentioned or represented in the procession from Santa Maria la Nova to Santa Lucia nel Monte and architecture decorations of the festivities.[18]

The absence of remarkable celebrations in honor of Saint John of God in Naples, one of the most important cities of the Hispanic Monarchy, and a place where a hospital had been founded in 1587, may be surprising. As a matter of fact, he was the appointed representative for the Spanish religious projection built since Diego of Alcalá's canonization in 1588. This shows that even when there was a religious community to organize

16 Anonymous, *Relación sumaria verídica del solemnísimo aplauso, y trofeo glorioso, con que las sacras religiones, del serafín humano Francisco, del Fénix abrasado augustino, y del padre de pobres san Juan de Dios, y coronada villa de Madrid, celebraron la fiesta de la canonización de los santos San Juan de Capistrano [...] de San Juan de Sahagún [...] del patriarca San Juan de Dios, y del admirable San Pascual Bailón [...] hecha por la santidad de Alejandro VIII el año pasado de 1690 en el día 20 de mayo de este año de 1691* (s.l.: [1691]), fol. 1v.: "Canonizò, y declarò por Santos à los quatro que fueron el objeto deste solemnissimo Culto (supongo antes que todos à San Laurencio Justiniano) N. Santissimo Padre Alexandro VIII con esta graduacion, y precedencia, como consta en su Bula."

17 Oil on canvas, 48,5 x 128 cm, ca. 1691, Granada, Museo Casa de los Tiros. Granada [DE00054]. It is possible to consult the brief description by Eva María Cubiles Robles, "Juan de Sevilla Romero y Escalante: Vida, obra y catálogo actual del artista" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Seville, 2021), vol. 2, catalogue no. 111, 548.

18 Luigi Coiro, "Ancora sulla 'solennissima festa celebrata in Napoli' per i Santi Giovanni da Capestrano e Pasquale Baylon (1691)," *Napoli nobilissima: Rivista di arti, filologia e storia* VII, no. II–III (2015): 70–79; and Luigi Coiro, "Aniello Perrone, Raimondo De Dominici e il 'teatro' per la canonizzazione di San Pasquale Baylon a Santa Lucia al Monte (1691)," *Napoli nobilissima: Rivista di arti, filologia e storia* VI, no. IV (2013): 205–218.

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the celebrations, the local links and dynamics played the most important roles. We have to take into account that the concept of hierarchy and "national" pride was different from one place to another. The geography of sainthood was in the process of continuous reconfiguration within the Catholic Church and within the Hispanic Monarchy.

The case of John of Sahagun is particularly noteworthy. Present in the Madrid celebrations but relegated to a secondary role, his canonization was celebrated at length and in sumptuous fashion in his hometown of Salamanca.[19] This demonstrated the ability of the organizing bodies, in this case the town council and the order of the Augustinian friars, to which the saint belonged, to gather and mobilize a crowd made up of locals as well as foreigners drawn to the city for the occasion. They did so through an octave (celebrated between August 28 and September 4, 1691) but above all through a procession that traveled across the city from the cathedral to the Augustinian convent, decorated with twenty-eight altars and three triumphal arches, and which culminated, in typical fashion, with fireworks. The additional ingredients did not differ much from those of the other festivals which had been organized in Spain since the beginning of the seventeenth century. On the one hand, there were masquerades, *mojigangas*,[20] bull fights, and plays (*comedias* as well as *autos sacramentales*) to entertain and instruct the masses, who took a direct part in the festivities by way of the floats that the trade brotherhoods commissioned and paraded during the procession. On the other hand, the nobles showed off their skills by engaging in chivalrous jousting matches (*juegos de cañas*) and horse parades (*parejas*). They also attended the poetic contests in which local luminaries displayed their ingenuity and wit by competing in front of a select audience gathered in the church of the organizing order or, in the case of Salamanca, in the university itself. Outside of those Salamanca festivals, no trace has been found of a celebration honoring Saint John of Sahagun in Spain.

19 See Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, "Fiestas celebradas en Salamanca con motivo de la canonización de su patrón San Juan de Sahagún," in *El culto a los santos: Cofradías, devoción, fiestas y arte*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Instituto Escurialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, Simposium, 2008), 1053–1080. The festivals were described by the prior of the Augustinian convent of Salamanca, Miguel Varona, but the lost text is only known to us through the references of Manuel Vidal in his *Agustinos en Salamanca: Historia del Observantísimo Convento de San Agustín* (Salamanca: Eugenio García de Honorato, 1751), vol. 2, 160–171, as well as through a 1697 *relación* (judging from the *licencias* and the rest of the paratext): Álvarez de Ribera, *Expression panegirica diaria de las festivas demonstraciones con que solemnizó la Canonizacion de su Tutela Patron San Juan de Sahagún la muy Antigua, Noble y Leal Ciudad de Salamanca* (Salamanca: s. i., s.a). About this saint, see Antonio Iturbe Saíz and Roberto Tollo, eds., *San Juan de Sahagún: Culto, historia y arte* (Tolentino: Biblioteca Egidiana, 2019).

20 These were very short plays that were extremely popular in early modern Spain. Presented in the streets on such festive occasions as well as between the acts of *comedias*, they served as comical and satirical interludes. Their ridiculous, extravagant, and masked characters brought the *mojigangas* close in form to the masquerades.

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Likewise, the canonization of Saint Paschal Baylon was only really celebrated in the city of Valencia.[21] The introduction to the book of celebrations dedicated by José de Jesús does not even mention the other saint's canonizations in the bull. It is the city, through its own saint ("nuestro Baylon"), that is honored through these celebrations and through the printed *relaciones* that publicize them.[22]

This was also the case in Granada. The population accompanied the rise of Saint John of God to glory. To find out about all the festive arrangements in this Andalusian town, we need to consult the thick book of festivities published in 1692 by the authorities of the town: *Triunfales fiestas que a la canonizacion de San Juan de Dios [...] consagro la [...] ciudad de Granada.*[23] We cannot go into detail here about the festivities in this place, which also gave itself over to self-glorification on this occasion.[24] Nevertheless,

21 Less important festivals were organized in the town of Almansa in the province of Albacete, which housed a monastery of Discalced Franciscans and which had elected Paschal as its patron saint. See Pedro Luis Cortés, *Demonstraciones festivas, con que la noble, antigua, y siempre leal Villa de Almansa celebro la canonizacion de su especial patrono, y abogado S. Pascual Baylon, de los descalzos del S.P.S. Francisco, en su religiosissimo Convento de Santiago* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, Mateo Llanos, 1693), and the study of María Trinidad López García, "Fiestas de canonización en honor de san Paschal Baylón en la Villa de Almansa (Albacete)," in *El culto a los santos: Cofradías, devoción, fiestas y arte*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Instituto Escurialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, Simposium, 2008), 1026–1033. For Valencia, see the festival book of the Discalced Franciscan José de Jésus, *Cielos de fiesta*. The Valencia festivals lasted ten days (long enough for a novena) starting on May 17, 1691, overlapping in part with the Madrid celebrations of the quintuple canonization. Otherwise, a three-act *comedia*, written for the occasion and to be performed during these festivities, was printed in 1691: Campillo de Bayle, *Comedia, el meior pastor descalzo san Pasqual Baylon*.

22 José de Jésus, *Cielos de fiesta*, 1: "No ay en mi destemplada pluma, la generosa valentia, que animada de superior aliento, necessita para volar a la esfera de tantos lucimientos, como es preciso registrar en tanto cielo, que à todas luzes à resplandecido, en la muy Ilustre, muy Leal, muy Noble, y Coronada Ciudad de Valencia, publico Teatro, en donde su adelantado cariño à S. Pascual Baylon, à representado muy al vivo (con garrosissimas acciones de todo desempeño) en las muy solemnes, y aplaudidas demonstraciones, que con excesivo gasto, y mayor gusto, à consagrado reverente à su deseada Canonizacion, en diez dias de Fiestas Pascuales (de quien tomò nombre, por aver nazido en Pascual el Glorioso Santo). Pretendiendo los diez divididos dias de las mayores fiestas del año juntarlo para solemnizar el estruendoso Culto de nuestro Baylon, con diez dias tan alegres como unas Pascuas. […] Nuestro Glorioso Santo su fidelissimo Patricio (por su dichoso transito, ò feliz nazimiento para la vida eterna) atendiendo quanto se gloria la piadosa Nacion Valenciana, por arhivar en el Erario de su Floridissimo Reyno, su portentoso Panteon, en el Reyno de los Cielos se experimenta à todas horas, serles vigilantissimo Patron."

23 Sebastián Antonio de Gadea y Oviedo is the author; Gadea y Oviedo, *Triunfales fiestas*.

24 The members of the municipal authorities, who commissioned the book of celebrations, address the king at the beginning of it, declaring their gratitude for his mediation with the Holy See in favor of the canonization of Saint John of God, of whom Granada was the "homeland" and "reliquary": "Agradecida, y reverente à un Héroe para quien el Cielo la eligiò Patria de su admirable santidad, Relicario de su milagroso cuerpo, y origen de su utilissima Religion," s.f. (signed by Francisco de Arévalo Ericaño, the viscount of Rías, Juan de Córdoba Ronquillo, Francisco Romero Lechuga y Lara and Félix Tomás de Gadea y Oviedo, on behalf of the city).

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we shall insist on one important fact. The author of the book dwells on the financial difficulties encountered by the organizers: the community of Hospitalers and the city were unable to pay for the celebrations.[25] The organizing *junta* of the municipality therefore asked Charles II for an exceptional fund-raising campaign on the grounds that Granada was the most obliged of all the cities in its territories to celebrate these festivals. It was successful, as the king allowed it to collect a *real* on each pound of silk imported for sale in the kingdom of Granada for one year.[26] Finally, the dates of the Granada celebrations were set for mid-September. These celebrations were, like those in Salamanca, a model of their kind: total celebrations, combining the profane and the sacred, poetry displayed and recited, ephemeral decorations, dances and sermons, bullfights, fireworks and theater, autodafé and poetry competitions. The people of Granada and the surrounding villages naturally flocked to this spectacular multi-faceted event, where all the communities of society, nobles, clerics, brotherhoods, and civil institutions, gathered. The celebrations opened with fireworks, followed by three days of masses in the cathedral around the holy body transported for the occasion from the convent-hospital, and brought back with great pomp. The author of the book particularly details the altars and ephemeral monuments erected by the different religious communities, such as the one in the Jesuit college of San Pablo, which was much admired. Poems, hieroglyphs, and emblems are very present. The octave in the hospital, with a mass and a sermon each day, followed the second procession. Again, fireworks were launched. They marked the passage of the festivities from the sacred to the profane sphere: they ended at the beginning of October with bullfights framing an autodafé where four *Judaizantes* were publicly burned. Finally, a poetry contest, always convened in Spain for the solemn celebrations of beatification and canonization, was held at the university. The performance of an *auto sacramental* reproduced at the end of the book completed the event. As we can see, all the festive ingredients were brought together for the occasion. Everybody, and nobody in particular, contributed to it. This in no way signified the victory of the idea of the universality of worship. These total celebrations glorified Saint John of God because he was the saint of Granada.

In all the seventeenth-century canonization festivals we have examined so far, the connection between the saint and the place of celebration has always taken priority over the universality of sainthood in the Catholic Church. In reality, although the celebrations marked a canonization which proclaimed and authorized the universal cult of a saint, they foregrounded the local nature of the saint. However, what is important

25 Gadea y Oviedo, *Triunfales fiestas*, 19: "desmayava la impossibilidad, quanto alentava el zelo; porque para los crecidos dispendios, à que persuadia la grandeza de la ocasion, contradezia la miseria del tiempo, lo que aconsejava la liberalidad del dictamen." The author points out that the convent of the Hospitalers lacked resources, as did the town, since it had suffered a reduction in alms and taxes collected, but, having two hundred beds, still had to care for the sick and destitute.

26 Ibid., 23.

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to note is that every powerful individual or group, every social organization, every subject of the Monarchy, took an active part in these festivities, wishing to proclaim their own participation, through the saint who was being celebrated, in celestial glory. And through these festivities, everyone, as a member of his or her own community, took part in the universal communion of saints from his or her interests.[27]

4. Celebrations at the *Villa y Corte*

One could imagine that, in a place like Madrid, the capital, the festivals of 1691 would serve to promote the Hispanic Monarchy's reputation as the champion of Catholicism, and keeper of its universality, by bringing together all the canonized saints in a shared celebration, and this was the case to a certain extent. However, the communion of saints was only celebrated for one day out of the three weeks the festivities lasted, from May 19 to June 10, 1691. John of God eclipsed all the other saints, as did the community of the Hospitaler convent of Nuestra Señora del Amor de Dios y del Venerable Antón Martín. Tellingly, the account of the Moroccan ambassador then residing in Madrid, whom Charles II invited to attend the procession of May 20 and who watched from the balcony facing the royal balcony on the *Plaza Mayor*, only evoked the figure of Saint John of God.[28] His memory could recall no other saint. In fact, the precedence of Saint

27 For Salamanca, see Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, "Fiestas celebradas en Salamanca." Regarding the Valencia celebrations, José de Jesús's introduction to the book describing the festivals of that city does not even mention the other canonizations. It is the city, through its very own saint ("nuestro Baylon"), that is honored in the celebrations and the printed text. José de Jesús, *Cielos de fiestas*, 1: "No ay en mi destemplada pluma, la generosa valentia, que animada de superior aliento, necessita para volar a la esfera de tantos lucimientos, como es preciso registrar en tanto cielo, que à todas luzes à resplandecido, en la muy Ilustre, muy Leal, muy Noble, y Coronada Ciudad de Valencia, publico Teatro, en donde su adelantado cariño à S. Paschal Baylon, à representado muy al vivo (con garrosissimas acciones de todo desempeño) en las muy solemnes, y aplaudidas demonstraciones, que con excesivo gasto, y mayor gusto, à consagrado reverente à su deseada Canonizacion, en diez dias de Fiestas Paschales (de quien tomò nombre, por aver nazido en Paschal el Glorioso Santo). […]."

28 *Voyage en Espagne d'un ambassadeur marocain (1690–1691)*, 141–144: "J'ai assisté là à une fête que les Espagnols célébraient sur cette place [la *plaza mayor*] en l'honneur d'un de leurs religieux qu'ils appellent *San Juan*. […] Ils ont donc choisi ce jour pour sa fête, après s'être réunis en masse […]. Le roi a réuni à cette occasion toute sa cour et nous a fait préparer un emplacement en face de celui qui lui est destiné ; il l'a fait richement orner comme le sien et nous a envoyé inviter à assister à la cérémonie, voulant par là nous distraire et nous récréer. Nous nous sommes donc dirigés vers cet endroit ; nous y avons trouvé une multitude compacte d'hommes et de femmes pour laquelle, malgré ses dimensions, il était devenu trop étroit, et avons beaucoup souffert de l'encombrement de la foule. […] Ayant gagné l'endroit qui avait été préparé pour nous, nous y sommes montés. À peine étions-nous assis en face du roi que celui-ci nous a salués à plusieurs reprises, a levé son chapeau et pris place ainsi que la reine et sa mère, entouré de sa suite et de ses ministres. Alors a défilé la procession avec la croix et les images et la statue de ce moine que le pape les a autorisés à fêter. Ils lui ont élevé de nombreuses églises dans chaque ville ou village ; ils ont

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John of God, which, as we will see, was imposed by the monarch, annoyed the other orders involved in the multiple canonization.

When the news of the canonizations reached Spain, shortly before Christmas, a thanksgiving mass was celebrated in the royal chapel of the Alcazar with the ruler and all the representatives of the mendicant orders present. The priors of the Franciscan and Augustinian orders asked to play an active role in the procession that would take place during the celebrations, planned for the following spring. They intended for the procession to leave from the royal monastery of the Encarnación, a convent of Augustinian Recollect nuns founded by Charles II's grandmother in 1611 and connected to the Alcazar by a passageway, and to have it arrive at the Colettine convent of the Descalzas Reales (the Colettines being a branch of the Franciscan family), which had been founded by Philip II's sister in the middle of the sixteenth century in the heart of Madrid. This request, which emphasized the connection of both religious families with the house of Austria, and astutely built on the exaltation of the *pietas austriaca*, aimed to push the Hospitalers into the background. The orders also resorted to "Romanist" arguments. They argued that the favor granted to a single saint out of the five, even to the four saints of the Monarchy, was contrary to the definition of Catholic rites and to the pontifical degree that had brought them together.[29]

But, against their advice, the sovereign imposed by royal decree that there be a single procession and that Saint John of God hold pride of place.[30] When the time came to organize this final grand celebration of Charles II's reign, no detail was left to chance in order to maintain a relative and apparent balance of power between the participants. And the reason invoked in the texts to grant the privilege of the festivities to Saint John of God was that the Franciscans and Augustinians already had their saints, contrary

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aussi institué dans chaque localité, suivant l'importance la ville ou du village, une fête en son honneur. Les moines de son ordre sont ceux qui s'occupent de traiter les malades, de les servir, etc ; car, comme de son vivant il faisait partie des moines adonnés à cette œuvre, tous se sont mis à fonder des hôpitaux dans ses églises et à se livrer avec beaucoup de zèle au soin des malades."

29 *Relacion sumaria veridica del solemnissima aplauso*, n. p.: "Las dos esclarecidas Religiones de San Francisco, y San Agustin, halladose tan fecundas en hijos Santos, tan colmadas en glorias, y honores, galantes, y generosas alargaron à la de San Juan de Dios el favor de la precedencia en el sitio deste aplauso à su Patriarca unico, aunque no sin el escrupulo, y reparo de muchos discretos, sobre si era contra los sacros ritos, ò contravenia al Decreto Pontificio."

30 The author of the book on the Madrid festivals of summer 1691 copied the royal decree sent to the president of the Cámara de Castilla for him to put into effect. Juan de Santos, *Lauros panegíricos*, 20: "Aviendo resuelto, que para escusar duplicados gastos en las Fiestas, que las Religiones de San Francisco, San Agustin, y San Juan de Dios han de hazer para las Canonizaciones de San Juan de Dios, San Juan Capistrano, San Juan de Sahagún, y San Paschal Baylon, no aya mas de vna Procession, en que salgan los quatro Santos; y que en ella San Juan de Dios y su Guión, tengan el mejor lugar y por ser Patriarca, y Fundador, y que la Procession pare en San Juan de Dios, y que esta Comunidad vaya en ella delante de las demás Comunidades. Lo tendréis entendido, para dar las ordenes que sean neceffarias, a las partes. donde convenga, para que se execute assi."

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to the Hospitalers, recognized here for the first time by the Roman authorities, with the support of the Spanish Crown, through their founder. Hence, on May 20 the other religious orders were forced to participate in a procession in which they shared their treasures of glory. The Augustinians had seven statues to carry: Saint Rita's, Saint William of Aquitaine's, Saint Nicholas of Tolentino's, Saint Thomas of Villanueva's, Saint Monica's, and Saint Augustine's, as well as that of the newly canonized Saint John of Sahagun. The Franciscans, as previously mentioned, had ten. It was decided to divide them up between the different religious communities parading in the procession to present an image of harmony and communion. However, Saint John of God's Hospitalers led the procession because their order was the most recent of all. They carried a statue of the archangel Saint Raphael and another of Saint Carlo Borromeo, whose cult they had adopted since his canonization in 1610.[31] Their saint had the privilege of closing the procession.

We must question why the king imposed a single procession and gave Saint John of God the central role. First of all, the reason for this decision appears to be mainly economic. By doing so, the sovereign demonstrated his awareness of the Crown's inability (like other authorities within the Monarchy) to organize festivities similar to the truly triumphant ones of 1622. In the delicate political and economic context of the time, everything was done to ensure the triumph of the order of the Hospitalers, precisely by underscoring its poverty and its charitable vocation in a paradoxical demonstration of material wealth and lavish celebrations.

The organizing body and the location of the festivities held in the *Villa y Corte* was the second convent-hospital of the Hospitalers, founded in 1552 by Antón Martín. Naturally, the intention of these, as principal sponsors of the celebrations, was to turn the ceremonies into a monument to the glory of their own saint. Thus, the call for the poetry contest posted on the convent's door showed the saint's *vera effigies* under a red-trimmed canopy. Moreover, the community showcased an extraordinary program of decoration both inside and outside of its church and annexes, filled with stucco, trompe-l'oeil jasper and marble imitations, narrative paintings in medallions, hieroglyphs, garlands, floral decorations, and even an artificial rock surrounded by water in the great cloister.[32]

There was also a political reason behind Charles II's choice. The monarch really wanted to manifest the Crown's support for this specific cause, which we know he inherited from his predecessors. Neither Saint John of Capistrano nor Saint John of Sahagun or Saint Paschal Baylon had received similar support from the Crown since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Of the five canonizations, that of John of

31 See the chapter by Samuel Weber in this volume.

32 Although the decorations were described in great detail in the book of festivals cited in fn 29, p. 22–30, no artist's name was mentioned. The author of the book of festivals explained that the expenses were spectacular because the convent-hospital had decided to pay for decorations that would not be merely ephemeral. Unfortunately, the church was destroyed in the twentieth century and everything was lost.

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God then embodied the royal triumph in a paroxystic sense. Charles II made sure that members of the various government councils (Finance, Inquisition, Italy, etc.) attended the celebrations.[33] He also demanded at the end of July that the Council of Castile write to the royal courts in order to ensure that the people of the towns and villages where there was a convent-hospital would participate in the celebrations of John of God's canonization, based on what had been organized in Madrid.[34] The Madrid festivals were meant to be imitated and emulated. They instituted royal patronage over the order, as did those of Granada though to a lesser extent because of the absence of the king's physical presence. In fact, the book of festivals describing the Granada celebrations, like the one in Madrid, was dedicated to Charles II.

Logically, this decision created a certain frustration, especially among the Franciscans, in the unfolding of the procession organized on the eve of May 20. Indeed, the procession that the Franciscans organized was so magnificent that the anonymous author of a *Relacion sumaria* which was most likely commissioned by the Franciscans claimed that it was perhaps even more impressive than the official one the next day.[35] And so the different Conventual communities of the Franciscan family present in the capital launched the festivities on May 19. From the convent of San Francisco, assembled behind the standard of the Third Order borne by José Fadrique de Toledo Osorio, V duke of Fernandina, the Friars Minor made their way to the church of San Gil, located on the calle Mayor, near the Alcazar. They displayed sculptures of four of the order's saints on a route as grandiose as that of the following day and which passed, notably, the *Plaza Mayor* and the royal palace.

Moreover, thanks to the *relaciones* and the 1693 book of festivals, we know that Juan Antonio López de Zárate, I marquis of Villanueva de la Sagra, state secretary of the War council, summoned the members of the Franciscan Third Order. From that moment on, the order's partnership with the high nobility acted as a counterweight to Charles II's power of decision. On the day of the common procession, all the capital's Franciscan

33 The Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Consejos Suprimidos, 7229 *Fiestas de Corte*, holds the royal order dated April 19, 1691, demanding that all the Councils attend and contribute financially to one of the days of the octave organized at the Hospitaler convent of Madrid: "Deseando que la celebridad de la canoniçazion de San Juan de Dios se haga con toda decenzia, y attendiendo a la prerrogativa particular de ser Patriarcha de su religion, he resuelto que todos los Consejos assistan un dia de la octava a hazer una fiesta en su casa con misa y sermon, en la forma que se huviere practicado en ocasiones semejantes y que den una limosna para los gastos de ella, de que me dare por muy servido. Tendrase entendido en el Consejo para executarlo por su parte. En Madrid 19 de abril de 1691."

34 Letter of Charles II to the Council of Castile, July 24, 1691: "Mandadose se escriva a las Chancillerias y Audiencias para que la hagan que las ciudades, Villas y lugares de sus distritos donde hubiere conventos de la orden de San Juan de Dios concurran a las fiestas de la Canonizacion deste santo en consequencia de lo que se hizo en esta corte" (AHN, Consejos Suprimidos, 7229, *Fiestas de Corte*).

35 *Relacion sumaria*, s.f.: "Celebròse este glorioso triunfo el dia Domingo 20 de Mayo, y como era tan clasico, tuvo sus visperas, no sè si en parte mas solemnes."

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communities assembled at the Santa María de la Almudena church, close to San Gil, proudly displaying the images of six other saints from the order. Only then did they meet up and join the other religious orders taking part in the main procession, which ended at the hospital-convent of the Hospitaler friars. The Franciscans and members of its Third Order also organized a candlelit return procession. Welcomed by the Dominicans at the convent of Santo Tomás, they staged a salutation between Saint Dominic and Saint Francis, and then Saint John of Capistrano, also paying a visit to the Jesuits at the Imperial college.

The grandees of Spain, through their wives, dressed and decorated the Franciscan statues present in all the processions at their own expense. By associating themselves with the glory of the Franciscan order, they ostentatiously displayed their power. A statue of the blessed Antonio da Stroncone, a lay brother of the order whose cult had been confirmed in 1687, was placed at the front. It had been dressed by the Duchess of Fernandina. Second came the statue of Saint Diego of Alcalá, the first saint canonized, at the Spanish Crown's request, after the creation of the Congregation of Rites in the wake of the Council of Trent. It had been dressed by the Countess of Oñate, while the statue of Saint Francis had been decorated by María de Loyola, I Marchioness of Villanueva de la Sagra. Last, Saint John of Capistrano's statue was dressed and decorated by the queen mother herself, Mariana of Austria, who at that stage was no longer regent. We can regard the intervention of the grandees and the queen mother as a sign of weakness of the king's power. But another interpretation can also be suggested.

While sharing in their prestige, the monarchy ensured that the roles and responsibilities of the high nobility were apportioned evenly so as not to offend anyone, but also so as not to seem to privilege one lineage over the others. This first ceremonial staging allowed all the grandees of Spain to get involved in the festivities. In the May 20 procession, the patronage of the main noble families could be seen through the dress of the six other Franciscan saints paraded to Santa María de la Almudena. All things considered, never before had the nobles been so present and visible in beatification and canonization festivals, a sure sign of the considerable political and economic power they had acquired. By associating the high nobility with the celebration of its own glory, the Crown showed that it was in fact forced to rely on the aristocracy to conduct public affairs. The fact that Gregorio de Silva y Mendoza, *sumiller de corps* of King Charles II since 1688 and duke of El Infantado (as well as duke of Lerma, duke of Pastrana, and prince of Mélito), led the May 20 procession, bearing the canonization banner of the four saints, sent out a strong signal of his power and influence.

It's also worth noting that the king's mother Mariana of Austria was responsible for the dress and decoration of the last Franciscan statue in the May 19 procession, and for the decoration of that of Paschal Baylon, which closed the procession of Franciscan saints on the following day. By privileging this form of patronage, she publicly manifested her devotion to and preference for the spirituality of the various Franciscan communities. In a way, she balanced out the Crown's support of the Hospitalers. As a whole, we find a

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tense equilibrium in Madrid's celebrations, which was only achieved thanks to their carefully planned organization, but which could not entirely suppress or shut out the claims and demands of the Franciscan and Augustinian families.[36]

5. Conclusions

The Madrid festivals, like the book that described them and made them accessible in printed form, emanated from a desire to unite and reunite the whole of Spanish society behind the glorification of the same saint. But this multiple canonization, the Spanish Crown's final political and diplomatic victory before the Habsburg dynasty disappeared in 1700, could not hide the difficulties confronting the Monarchy. To a certain point, the abundance of saints actually produced the opposite of the desired exaltation and concord. Throughout the course of the seventeenth century, beatifications and canonizations had in fact always been moments of rivalry between religious orders, a key ingredient of the sanctifications that scholars tend to conceal. As we have seen, the Franciscans and Augustinians were aggrieved that the merciful Saint John of God was chosen by the Crown to represent and embody its glory, to the detriment of their own saints. Furthermore, the pomp of the Madrid celebrations and their ephemeral nature merely served to highlight the urgency of durable political solutions, which seemed nothing short of miraculous at that point. Only the intercession of a poor and humble saint, a saint like John of God, could offer a remedy. Nevertheless, the ephemeral pomp of 1690 allowed for a brief revival of a now-past glory in the hope of better days, like a swan song.

36 Regarding the Augustinians, their claims as well as their presence in the Madrid celebrations were certainly not as vocal or visible as those of the Franciscans, undoubtedly because the Salamanca festivals, which the order was organizing at the same time, focused their attention on the glory of one of "their" saints, John of Sahagun.

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Christian Windler

Comment

Framing Sanctity

If we adhere to the canonical definition of canonization by the early modern papacy, the universal character of sanctity was beyond any doubt its most distinctive trait. The papal decision meant that permission was given for the cult throughout the entire Catholic church. This permission was meant to appear as the outcome of a procedure sheltered against "any semblance of outside interference," in particular through kinship relations, as Birgit Emich argues in her contribution to this book.[1] Yet one might ask whether this image of universality and regularity was any more than a baroque veneer of legitimation.[2]

As the four chapters of this section demonstrate, before and after the ultimate papal decision, narratives about sanctity were far from universal. They were framed and reframed following the circumstances by a variety of actors from the clergy and the laity who each followed their own agendas. Hagiographic text and image production as well as the celebrations marking the outcome of the canonization processes offer a picture far removed from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century images of a centralized and uniform post-Tridentine Catholic church.[3] While sanctity was proclaimed by the papal monarch as an outcome of his *plenitudo potestatis* as the vicar of Christ, it was, in its making and ceremonial enactment, strongly marked by the composite and polycentric nature of the early modern Catholic church as well as of the secular monarchies.[4]

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1 Cf. Birgit Emich, "The Production of Truth in the Manufacture of Saints: Procedures, Credibility and Patronage in Early Modern Processes of Canonization," in *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, Marco Cavarzere, and Steven Vanden Broecke (Scientiae Studies 1) (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 165–190.

2 For the concept of "baroque" see Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "The Baroque State," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Baroque*, ed. John D. Lyons (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 825–846. I'm indebted to Samuel Weber (Bern) for his comments on a former version of this contribution.

3 Hubert Wolf, "Trient und 'tridentinisch' im Katholizismus des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Das Konzil von Trient und die katholische Konfessionskultur (1563–2013). Wissenschaftliches Symposium aus Anlass des 450. Jahrestages des Abschlusses des Konzils von Trient*, Freiburg im Breisgau 18.–21. September 2013, ed. Peter Walter and Günther Wassilowsky (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 163) (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2016), 67–82.

4 On "composite Catholicism," see Christian Windler, "Early Modern Composite Catholicism from a Global Perspective: Catholic Missionaries and the English East India Company," in *Pathways through Early Modern Christianities*, ed. Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, and Birgit Emich (Cultures of Christianity: New Approaches to Early Modern History / Kulturen des Christentums. Neue Zugänge zur Frühen Neuzeit 1) (Cologne:

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Similarly, the fine lines between heresy and sanctity were negotiated between rival powers within the same monarchy as well as between competing actors within the Catholic church, as illustrated by the story of Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda told by Andreea Badea.

It has been rightly pointed out that the papacy justified its claim to the *plenitudo potestatis* by invoking a universal responsibility based on salvation history and natural law in a way that became a model for secular princes claiming absolute power.[5] However, such claims not only collided with the papacy's narrow limits for enforcing norms effectively[6] and its lack of financial resources[7]; in addition to these deficits, the Catholic Church shared a pronounced structural diversity with the secular institutions of the early modern period. The concept of "composite Catholicism," which I am using here, draws the attention, on the one hand, to the jurisdictional diversity of early modern Catholicism and, on the other hand, to the fact that highly autonomous subaltern ecclesiastic actors legitimized their privileges with their services to the *one* Catholic Church and the pope as its monarchical ruler. The concept focuses the attention to the multilateral dependencies of subaltern actors and to their various spaces for action characterized by their often far-reaching autonomy and their simultaneous hierarchical embeddedness.

By the sheer number of canonizations, the Spanish Monarchy stands at the foreground of a history of sanctity in the seventeenth century, as Cécile Vincent-Cassy points out. More than any other secular Catholic ruler, the king of Spain–the *rey católico*–built on the symbolic and material resources of the church. To a varying degree, the king

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Böhlau Verlag, 2023), 55–85. On "uniformity" and "polycentricity," see Birgit Emich, "Uniformity and Polycentricity: The Early Modern Papacy between Promoting Unity and Handling Differences," in: ibid., 33–53.

5 Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice: Un corpo e due anime. La monarchia papale nella prima età moderna* (Bologna, Il Mulino, 1982); Id.: Il 'sovrano pontefice', in *La Chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini and Giovanni Miccoli (Storia d'Italia. Annali 9) (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1986), 195–216.

6 On this, see, using the examples of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, the *Congregatio episcoporum et regularium*, and the *Congregatio immunitatis*: Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *1664: Un anno della Chiesa universale. Saggio sull'italianità del papato in età moderna* (Rome: Viella, 2011). Even Thomas F. Mayer who emphasized Pope Urban VIII's personal control over the Holy Office and his role in erecting an "absolute monarchical state" simultaneously underlined the limits of the tribunal's capacity to act outside the Papal States in cities such as Naples, Venice, and Florence (Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition on the Stage of Italy, c. 1590–1640* [Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014]).

7 On the finances of the Holy Office, see Germano Maifreda, *The Business of the Inquisition in the Early Modern Era,* trans. Loretta Valtz Mannucci (London: Routledge, 2017); on the finances of the *Propaganda Fide,* see Christian Windler, *Missionare in Persien: Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Externa. Geschichte der Außenbeziehungen in neuen Perspektiven 12) (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2018), 39–49.

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exercised rights of patronage over the churches of his territories,[8] while Spanish influence remained strong, if not predominant, at the Roman court even at a time when the Spanish Monarchy struggled to maintain its power in Europe.[9] Through their focus on the Spanish Monarchy, the four chapters illustrate how two different composite structures—those of the monarchy and those of the Church—were entwined and determined the ways sanctity was framed. In both cases, the universal value of sanctity was linked to the "catholic," all-encompassing legitimation of its monarchic ruler who, in practice, had to negotiate with actors at different scales.

The monarchy's composite character as well as its transformations during the seventeenth century have been the topic of numerous studies since John Elliott's seminal 1993 article in *Past & Present*.[10] As Samuel Weber convincingly argues, the framing of Carlo Borromeo's sanctity reflected the transformation of the composite structures of the monarchy, as well as the specific situation of the Church in each of its territories, according to the extent of the royal patronage rights and the social and political circumstances.

In his chapter on the Borromeos, Samuel Weber demonstrates the insights a canonization process can offer into the history of political relations between the Spanish Crown and one of its non-Iberian territories, Spanish Milan. While generations of Italians from the nineteenth century onward have been told the story of the Borromeos as an anti-Spanish, "patriotic" Italian family, Weber shows that in reality this family profoundly refashioned its relations with the Spanish monarchy in the early seventeenth century: from aristocratic and ecclesiastical rebels, the Borromeos turned into close associates of the king and his minister-favorites—Lerma, Olivares, and their successors.[11] As aristocratic clients of the Habsburgs they continued their social ascension beyond the Spanish War of Succession, becoming a leading family in Austrian Lombardy, while they still cultivated close relations with the papal court and other ecclesiastical actors.

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8 On the royal rights of patronage, see Christian Hermann, *L'Église d'Espagne sous le patronage royal (1476–1834): Essai d'ecclésiologie politique* (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez 3) (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988).

9 See Thomas James Dandelet, *Spanish Rome 1500–1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); Wolfgang Reinhard, *Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621): Mikropolitische Papstgeschichte* (Päpste und Papsttum 37) (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2009); Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, eds., *Court and Politics in Papal Rome 1492–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Hillard von Thiessen, *Diplomatie und Patronage: Die spanisch-römischen Beziehungen 1605–1621 in akteurszentrierter Perspektive* (Frühneuzeit-Forschungen 16) (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca Academica Verlag, 2010); Maria Antonietta Visceglia: *Roma papale e Spagna: Diplomatici, religiosi e nobili tra due corti* (Biblioteca del Cinquecento 149) (Rome: Bulzoni, 2010).

10 John H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past & Present* 137 (Nov. 1992): 48–71.

11 On the Borromeos and the Court of Madrid in the seventeenth century, see Samuel Weber, *Aristocratic Power in the Spanish Monarchy: The Borromeo Brothers of Milan, 1620–1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).

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Carlo's cousin, Archbishop Federico Borromeo, played a key role in the beginnings of this transformation. During his lifetime, three distinct narratives of the life of Carlo Borromeo emerged, which corresponded to three different stages of the family's relations with the Spanish Crown. While the Borromeos became royal clients, the family's Saint Carlo, who during his lifetime had been called the Catholic king's "most dangerous rebel," began providing divine protection to the monarch. The radical rewriting of Carlo's vita and the accounts about his intercession as a saint point to the fact that the minister favorites' policy of integrating the non-Castilian nobilities met Italian elite families ready to take advantage of the new possibilities of social promotion within the composite Spanish monarchy. Carlo's refashioning as a servant of the common good rather than as an ecclesiastical rebel was part of the "courtization" of his aristocratic descendants.

Federico Borromeo's uses of the symbolic capital of holiness point also to the relations between the Church of Milan and the papacy. As an ecclesiastical rebel, Carlo Borromeo had been heavily dependent on his relations with the papacy. His cousin Federico eventually became aware of the limits of papal patronage.[12] After the canonization, Federico presented his cousin San Carlo, divine protector of Philip III, as an archbishop who agreed with the king of Castile as duke of Milan on the good governance of the Church of Milan. These Milanese vitae of San Carlo stood in opposition to the Roman ones. As earlier studies have shown,[13] the Milanese iconography which focused on Carlo's role as archbishop and thus as head of the local church differed from the Roman iconography of the saint as a virtuous cardinal, which the Congregation of Rites explicitly preferred but struggled to impose on the Church of Milan.

While the canonization processes were shaped by the agency of promotors at all scales, the ultimate decision by the pope defined sanctity as a universal quality. In this sense, saint-making was an affirmation of the centrality of papal Rome. However, as the analysis of the celebrations of the multiple canonizations of one Venetian, one Neapolitan, and three Spaniards in 1690 by Cécile Vincent-Cassy demonstrates, even in Rome, the framing of sanctity followed a local agenda. While in the Roman celebration of 1690, pride of place was given to the two Italian saints, Lorenzo Giustiniani from Venice and John of Capistrano from Naples, the festivities in Spain established a distinct order of precedence, with the Venetian saint, ranked first in Rome, almost completely obscured in Madrid, Granada, Valencia, and Salamanca.

12 On Federico Borromeo's relations with the Roman Curia, see Julia Zunckel, "Handlungsspielräume eines Mailänder Erzbischofs: Federico Borromeo und Rom," in *Römische Mikropolitik unter Papst Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621) zwischen Spanien, Neapel, Mailand und Genua*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 107) (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004), 427–567.

13 See Katja Burzer, *San Carlo Borromeo: Konstruktion und Inszenierung eines Heiligenbildes im Spannungsfeld zwischen Mailand und Rom* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011).

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While the early modern papacy was Italian,[14] Catholicism within the Spanish Monarchy followed its own local agendas, in consonance with the influence of the Crown and the ecclesiastical and secular elites at different scales. As part of a "package" of five canonizations, the celebrations of the canonization of John of God offer an excellent opportunity to analyze the local dynamics that determined how a successful canonization was put to use. While Valencia privileged the celebration of its very own Paschal Baylon, Salamanca of its John of Sahagun, and Naples of its John of Capistrano, the festivities in Granada were centered on John of God, the city's saint, thus illustrating how holiness could serve rival urban communities, vying for distinction within the Spanish monarchy.

In Madrid, the celebrations reflected the priorities of the Crown and of powerful courtly factions. The king imposed by royal decree that the Hospitalers' John of God should have precedence over the three other new saints of the Monarchy, despite the protests of the Franciscans and Augustinians. By organizing their own procession on the eve of the official one, where the new Franciscan saint, John of Capistrano, dressed by the queen mother, held pride of place, the court town's Franciscan communities were able to display their close association with leading aristocratic families. The double procession—one organized by the Franciscans and the other by the Crown—reflected the factional strife within Madrid's court society as well as the competing aspirations of the religious orders, who tried to accumulate symbolic capital and strengthen their "nobility" through canonizations. The festivities in Madrid reveal the predominance of the grandees under the last Habsburg king of Spain. The procession organized by the Franciscan communities is also testimony to the proximity of mendicants to aristocratic families. Though well-known from many other contexts, this familiarity raises questions: How did the nobility's discourse and practices of distinction interact with the mendicants' discourse on their own specific "nobility"? How did the religious orders convert the symbolic capital of sainthood into distinction within the society of orders?

While sanctity was by definition a universal quality, its framing was not only specific to the promotors at all scales but could even be divisive. In the seventeenth century, the symbolic capital of sanctity was first and foremost associated with the religious orders, of whom more than two thirds of the Counter-Reformation saints had been members during their lifetime.[15] Together with the competition between different secular church patronages, the intense rivalries between religious orders—each with their specific privileges that exempted them to a varying extent from the ordinary ecclesiastic jurisdiction—were a key characteristic of "composite" Catholicism. In the orders' struggle for distinction, sanctity was a resource of prime importance. Reports

14 See Menniti Ippolito, *1664: Un anno della Chiesa universale.*

15 For numbers, see Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62, here 53–54.

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about the saintly way of life of certain members began to be written during their lifetime, as evidenced by the contributions by Jodi Bilinkoff and Andreea Badea. Former pupils and companions then became the first promoters of the canonization of potential candidates to sainthood after their deaths. This was the case of the *discípulos* of John of the Cross, explored by Jodi Bilinkoff. Their writings and transcribed oral accounts are the major source of the author's attempt to reconstruct the relationships of John of the Cross with those whom he had recruited and supervised. These testimonies were mostly recorded at the beatification hearings held in the 1610s and 1620s. Bilinkoff suggests using these sources not for some sort of factual "objectivity" but rather as windows into the values of the devotees who promoted John of the Cross as a candidate to sainthood.

Bilinkoff's contribution provides evidence of the specific value system of an individual community, in this case the Discalced Carmelites. The many travels associated with the organization of the male branch of the order defined John of the Cross as "a mystic on the move." While the travels were potentially in contradiction with the Discalced Carmelites' ideal of a contemplative life, the accounts by the friars who had lived with John of the Cross framed them as a meaningful part of their spiritual life, especially when they referred to the practice of hearing one another's confessions. Thus, framing sanctity meant also integrating into a coherent account those episodes of life which at first view did not conform to the expectations of potential readers.

The testimonies of the *discípulos* defined a culture of moderate leadership. They evoked the ascetic way of life and the "heroic virtues" of John of the Cross in imitation of Christ, but also the care for the health of the friars under his command. These accounts framed the saintly life and death as proper to an exemplary Discalced Carmelite. The descriptions of the interventions of the defunct friar, associated with the use of his relics, became equally part of the campaign for his canonization. With this campaign, the order, starting with the immediate *discípulos* of John of the Cross, promoted the community's own specific values as models for a saintly life, in competition with other religious orders.

Andreea Badea focuses on a canonization cause which was begun in the seventeenth century but remains still pending. While the canonization of María de Jesús de Ágreda was promoted by her immediate entourage, by the Franciscans, the Spanish Crown, and the House of Habsburg, other actors claimed that she was nothing less than a heretic. During her lifetime, María de Jesús de Ágreda had first gotten into trouble with the Spanish Inquisition. After her death, her book *La Mystica Ciudad de Dios* became a bone of contention between the Sorbonne and the Roman Inquisition over the competence to judge the orthodox character of a book. This cause was linked with the disputes over the Immaculate Conception, which opposed ecclesiastics within Spain,

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the Spanish and the French church, and the papacy.[16] María de Jesús de Ágreda's case is not only the fascinating story of a female mystic who was saved from persecution by the Inquisition through protection from the highest level of the monarchy. The story also demonstrates the competition between different actors within early modern Catholicism who struggled for interpretative sovereignty in a case which had its prolongations in key theological disputes, as Badea shows.

During her lifetime, María de Jesús de Ágreda's reports about her bilocation experiences served her order's defense against criticisms of its practice of baptism in the Americas. Within the context of competition with other missionary orders, the Franciscans, to which she belonged, combined both her reports and those coming from North America about the miraculous appearances of a lady in blue preaching to the Indigenous population in preparation for baptism. The publicization of both narratives by the Franciscans led to a first Inquisition trial against María de Jesús de Ágreda in 1635. While the trial was in principle motivated by the Inquisition's suspicions against female mystic practices, its outcome illustrates the ability of the suspect and her background to navigate the persecution. The proceedings ended not with a formal absolution but with a non-sentence, based on the alleged absence of qualificators able to assess the case. The decision of the Inquisition of Logroño is reminiscent of a practice known from Rome: the avoidance of giving potentially contentious answers in cases brought to court.[17]

While the reopening of the case ordered by the Inquisition in Madrid in 1649 announced a harder stance against the nun's manifestations of female mysticism, which focused on a special relationship with God, its outcome showed once again her capacity to navigate the inquisitors' questions and to mobilize protection from the highest level. While she had burned her manuscript of *La Mystica Ciudad de Dios*, which could have gotten her into trouble, the king, with whom the nun was in regular correspondence, withheld the copy she had sent him. As Badea underlines, the formal acquittal by the Spanish Inquisition paved "the way for canonization," as it drew in her favor the fine line between heresy and saintly female mysticism.

In the decades following the nun's death in 1665, the Spanish Crown and the Spanish Franciscans became the main promoters of her canonization. As part of these efforts, the nun's writings were sent to Rome, where they came under scrutiny by the Holy Office. Badea's analysis can be read as a micro-historical account of what I suggest calling "composite" Catholicism. While the pope's supreme prerogative to decide in matters of doctrine remained uncontested in principle, this account shows how even in such matters, Catholicism was composite in nature: with Roman prohibitions of supposedly heretical texts lifted for the territories of the king of Spain, but maintained

16 See Paolo Broggio, *La teologia e la politica: Controversie dottrinali, Curia romana e Monarchia spagnola tra Cinque e Seicento* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2009).

17 See Windler, *Missionare in Persien*, 607–625.

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in the rest of the world; with the Sorbonne pronouncing decisions in competition with other tribunals of faith, in particular the Roman Inquisition; with rival orders following different agendas; with the Spanish Crown and Spanish orders promoting a new doctrine—the Immaculate Conception—"against the theological regime of the Curia."

To conclude, these four contributions illustrate that early modern secular monarchies were not the only bodies that were composite in nature. Canonizations that by essence were universal further illustrate the notion of "composite Catholicism": this was a form of Catholicism where the old debates on conciliar and papal authority were being decided in favor of the papal prince, who asserted the prerogative to have the final word on canonizations. However, this was also a form of Catholicism that remained no less composite than secular monarchies like the Spanish, the papacy's claims to centrality and universality notwithstanding. The narratives on which the Papal decisions ultimately depended were prepared by family clans as well as local secular and clerical bodies that pursued their own agendas. Institutions like the Parisian Sorbonne or the Spanish Inquisition competed with the Roman Curia in doctrinal matters. Certainly, the Curia styled papal decisions on canonizations as independent from nepotistic networks, as Birgit Emich demonstrates in her chapter. However, this made the symbolic capital of sainthood even more valuable and potentially divisive, as Cécile Vincent-Cassy shows in her contribution. The privileges of the orders, the patronages of the Spanish or Portuguese crown, and the Gallican freedoms implied different narratives and specific uses of sainthood. Once decisions had been made at the highest level, subaltern actors competing for distinction appropriated for their own benefit the capital of sanctity.

These four contributions focus on the seventeenth century, when the Spanish and Austrian lines of the House of Habsburg exercised hegemonical influence in Italy in general, and in Rome in particular. It remains open what changed after 1700: it would be interesting to analyze the impact of the reorganization of the geopolitical landscape in Italy—the redistribution of influence between the House of Habsburg and the House of Bourbon—as well as that of the changes in the government of the papal monarchy, especially under Benedict XIV, on the ways sanctity was framed in the eighteenth century. One might ask whether the processes of disambiguation which can be associated with the pontificate of Benedict XIV in other fields (especially the rites controversies) announced a practice of church government which would also effectively limit the possibilities of actors at all scales to frame sanctity following their own agendas.[18] Under Benedict XIV, the departure from nepotism was clearly no longer a mere baroque veneer of legitimation. It is probably not a coincidence that before his election to the papal throne, Prospero Lambertini wrote what would become the most

18 Cf. Windler, *Missionare in Persien*, 625–631.

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authoritative treatise on the procedures of saint-making, *De Servorum Dei*, aiming at guiding the Curia members and demonstrating "the doctrinal authority of the Pope."[19]

19 See the contribution by Maria Teresa Fattori to this book.

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III
Spreading Sanctity

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Simon Ditchfield

Exemplary Lives in the Making of a World Religion

1. What's in a Title?

My choice of the term "exemplary lives" is to be explained by my wish to fully acknowledge the role played by the Holy Office in *both* saint-making *and* heretic-making during the first century or so after the Reformation. Just as saints were exemplary in the sense that they were held up as prime exemplars and models for emulation once Christianity had ceased to be outlawed within the Roman Empire under Emperor Constantine, so heretics also functioned as counter examples, representing beliefs and behaviors to be actively avoided, and being assiduously listed and condemned by early ecumenical Church councils onwards. By adopting this title I therefore want to draw attention to the fact that the claim to enjoy the monopoly over the right to discern true from fake sanctity, orthodoxy from heresy, was integral to the reassertion of papal authority during this period and, furthermore, that this was a power that was projected by contemporaries back onto the very origins of the papacy. Second, I want to revisit the relationship between the particular and the universal within the post-Tridentine Church, which I see as central to the dynamic that made it possible for Roman Catholicism to become this planet's first world religion. I do so because I wish to disassociate these concepts from the more usual geo-spatial dimensions of "center" and "periphery" and, instead, put them back firmly into their proper "sacred place", which could be simultaneously both local and global. I propose to do this using the case study of the resurgence of interest during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the early Christian Roman virgin martyr saints and the revival of their cult in the city of Rome over a period that more or less coincides with the putting in place of regulations for canonization and beatification that remained in force, essentially unchanged, until the issue of the Apostolic constitution *Divinus perfectionis magister* in 1983. Third, I want to consider, albeit briefly, some of the implications of the famous treatise *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Canonizatione* (first edition 1734–1738) by Prospero Lambertini, who not only became Pope Benedict XIV for eighteen years in 1740, but also previously acted as *Promotor Fidei* (Promoter of the Faith, better known as the Devil's advocate) for almost twenty years (1708–27) in the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Lambertini also worked as secretary for a decade (1718–28) to serve the other main curial committee that was designed to reconcile universal precept—as expressed by the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent—with local practice: the Congregation of the Council. For each of these three themes, I have chosen to focus on a particular individual, who might also

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be considered as a case study, or rather an exemplary life in another sense of the word: as a figure in whom one can see in action the several clusters of ideas described above.

Before proceeding further, some clarification of terms is required. First and foremost, it needs to be emphasized that the relationship between particular, local, regional, or even "national" practices of worship and universal, papal precepts lies at the very heart of the reform process after the Council of Trent. There are two ways of seeing this dynamic at work: the first is to study the negotiated, rather than simply imposed, introduction of the revised Roman liturgy, beginning with the new Roman Breviary of 1568.[1] The second is to consider the gradual emergence of a clear distinction between the two categories of officially recognized holy person: the locally, regionally, or even nationally venerated "blessed" and the universally recognised "saint," which was one that emerged remarkably late: out of the work of the special committee first set up in 1603 to consider the so-called "modern blesseds" (*beati moderni*) such as the founder saints of new religious orders like Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Teresa of Avila, and Filippo Neri.[2] The canonization of these four, together with that of the less famous Spanish peasant Isidore the Farmer (1070–1130), patron saint of Madrid, at a single ceremony in March 1622, has been variously interpreted as representing the Spanish conquest of Heaven and, more recently, as but the official seal of approval of cults that had already, in the case of the two Jesuits Ignatius and Xavier, encircled the globe and taken on forms and meanings that had remarkably little to do with the saints as represented at the canonization ceremony in Saint Peter's itself or in their banners processed through the city's streets.[3] Instead, to understand their wider role in the making of Roman Catholicism as a world religion, one had to look inside the Jesuit mother church of the Gesù with its portraits of over one hundred members of the order who had been martyred for their faith across the world; visit the courtyard of the *Collegio Romano* to attend performances of the masque celebrating the global significance of the Society; or meditate upon the frescoes of martyrdom decorating the refectory and elsewhere inside the Jesuit novitiate complex of S. Andrea al Quirinale and the church of Santo Stefano Rotondo.[4] In other words: to understand the role of saints post-Trent one had

1 Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 17–114. I would like to dedicate this essay in gratitude and affection to Giuseppe Finocchiaro, former Assistant Librarian at the Vallicelliana. Without his generous assistance over a period of some thirty years, I would never have been able to find my way around the *carte oratoriane*.

2 Ruth S. Noyes, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis of the Beati Moderni* (London: Routledge, 2018); Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2002).

3 Thomas James Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), ch. 5; Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Jesuit Saints: The Canonization of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier in Context," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9, no. 3 (2022): 327–337.

4 Ditchfield, "Thinking with Jesuit Saints."

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to remember the degree to which even in Rome, the center of Roman Catholicism, particular, local interest groups appropriated and interpreted their cults, so that it might truthfully be said that: "De-centering early modern Catholicism begins at the center."[5]

Moreover, the death of local variations in liturgical practice at the hands of a monolithically Tridentine "Einheitsliturgie" (uniform liturgy) imposed by Rome, beginning in 1568 and ending only with Vatican II (1962–65), has been greatly exaggerated.[6] To begin with, all liturgies that could demonstrate uninterrupted usage for at least 200 years were still permitted, as laid out by Pius V in the prefatory bull *Quod a nobis*. Accordingly, several prominent religious orders maintained their liturgical distinctiveness at this time: there were no fewer than eighty-five editions of the Benedictine breviary and twenty-six editions of its Dominican counterpart between 1568 and 1660.[7] Turning to diocesan breviaries, the same period saw no fewer than ninety-eight editions shared between thirty-nine dioceses in France alone.[8] Moreover, the texts of local offices were printed not in opposition to Roman pressures, but as we shall see below, more often than not in collaboration with Rome, specifically with the Congregration of Rites and Ceremonies, which since 1588 had been tasked with scrutinizing local liturgies and where scholars of the caliber and fame of Roberto Bellarmino and Cesare Baronio, as well as the less well-known Oratorian hagiographer Antonio Gallonio, applied their expertise to the solution of issues raised by individual dioceses that sought to preserve their local liturgical practices in harmony with the unprecedented attempt to regularize devotion according to universally relevant regulations.

2. Re-framing Truth

Anyone who works in the field of early modern Italian hagiography or just plain sacred erudition will be familiar with the disclaimer that prefaced all such works from 1625 onwards. Specifically, this was to make clear that use of the terms "sanctus" and "beatus" in the text which followed was purely a colloquial, informal one, since the men and women being referred to as saint had never been officially canonized. Furthermore, the Holy Office stipulated that any miraculous deeds mentioned within which had been

5 Ibid., 337.

6 The term "Einheitsliturgie" is taken from Theodor Klauser, *Kleine abendländische Liturgiegeschichte: Bericht und Besinnung* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1965), 117. Cf. Simon Ditchfield, "Giving Tridentine Liturgy Back Its History," *Studies in Church History* 35: *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship* (1999): 199–226.

7 The Premonstratensians had twelve editions, and the Franciscans, ten. See Hanns Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Breviere*: 1501–1850 (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1937), 84–85, 92–98, 139, 149–150, with the update by Robert Amiet, *Missels et Bréviaires imprimés: Supplément aux catalogues de Weale et Bohatta: propres des saints (éditions princeps)* (Paris: CNRS, 1990), 145, 150–154, 198.

8 Bohatta, *Bibliographie*, 156–274; Amiet, *Missels et Bréviaires*, 213–306.

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attributed to these "unofficial" saints had not been officially approved by the Church. This text was first mandated under the authority of the Congregation of the Holy Office in March 1625 and was to be found prefacing (and less often closing) them.[9] Every work which made reference to saints—not only more formal hagiographies, but any work of local ecclesiastical history that referred to holy men and women considered to have died in odor of sanctity—was obliged to carry the disclaimer.

It was only with the opening of the central archives of the Roman Inquisition to scholars in 1998 that it became possible to understand why this measure had not been taken under the authority of the Congregation of Rites, which since 1588 had been vested with the responsibility for overseeing canonization. One of the first scholars to publish on this phenomenon was Miguel Gotor.[10] His was a truly game-changing book which followed up a line of inquiry first opened by my own work that had shifted attention away from how to be a Counter-Reformation saint, to borrow the title of Peter Burke's famous article, which was easy enough to explain in terms of who had the greater political and financial muscle.[11] Instead, I looked at what I thought was the more interesting problem of those who failed to be canonized: "How *not* to become a counter-reformation saint."[12] One of the points I made was the general absence of activity during the 1630s and early 1640s with regard not only to the acts of canonization and beatification but also to confirmations of cult. There were no canonizations between those of Andrea Corsini in 1629 and Thomas of Villanueva almost thirty years later in 1658 and only one beatification between those of the founder of the Hospitalers, John of God (1630), and Francis of Sales over thirty years later in 1662. This last beatification was, incidentally, the first such ceremony carried out publicly in Saint Peter's. The lone case between these two was Josaphat Kuncewycz, archbishop of Polotzk in Poland, who had been martyred by an anti-Uniate mob in 1623 and for whom a papal brief of beatification was issued in 1643 (May 16). There was not even a confirmation of cult between those of the fifteenth-century Dominican tertiary Columba of Rieti, the thirteenth-century

9 These regulations were a necessary consequence of the decree issued at the same time—*de non cultu*—which specifically required that to be considered for beatification or canonization candidates should show no evidence of having "jumped the gun" by manifesting signs of a cult, either textual or visual as well as liturgical, before receiving official, papal approval.

10 Miguel Gotor, "L'origine della Congregazione dei Riti: Storia e fonti" (unpublished *tesi di laurea*, University of Rome *La Sapienza*, 1996); "Inquisizione e santità: Geografia e storia dei decreti di Urbano VIII sul culto dei santi (1588–1650)" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Milan, 1999). The latter was published in a revised form as: *I beati del papa* in 2002 (see above n. 2).

11 Though it is more often consulted in Peter Burke's essay collection: Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays in Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62.

12 Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379–422. Cf. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 212–269.

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Mercedarian Raymond Nonnatus in 1625, and that of Bernardo Ptolomei, founder of the Benedictine congregation of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, who died in 1348 and whose cult was so honored in 1644.[13] The *Decretae Liturgicae* from the archives of the Congregation of Rites for the period reveal that between 1635 and 1641 there were only two cases that made any significant progress: those of the Franciscan Francesco Gonzaga, bishop of Mantua, who had only died in 1620, and of the aforementioned Polish martyr Josaphat Kuncewycz.[14] This of course begged the question "*why* not?" and, naturally, directed scholars' attention to the Congregation of Holy Office, which, according to Massimo Firpo, under the leadership of the infamous Gian Pietro Carafa, chief inquisitor since the foundation of the Holy Office in 1542 and pope as Paul IV from 1554–1559, had saved the Roman Church not only from the external but also internal threat of Lutheran heresy by taking control from the very top of the Roman Curia.[15]

The period of the late 1540s to early 1560s, which I refer to here as the "anni di fuoco" (of holy terrorism, a distant cousin, chronologically speaking at least, to the "anni di piombo" of the 1970s), saw high profile individuals put to death, such as in the case of Pietro Carnesecchi, one-time secretary to Clement VII (pope, 1523–1534); or in the cases of Cardinal Giovanni Morone and Bartolomé Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, they were imprisoned and put on trial.[16] In the case of Cardinal Reginald Pole, cousin to King Henry VIII of England and center of the so-called "Viterbo circle"—a group of like-minded reformist Roman Catholics for whom belief in Justification by Faith was not seen as incompatible with the orthodox teaching of the sacraments—it might even be said that had it not been for Carafa's calling into question of Pole's doctrinal orthodoxy at the conclave which followed the death of Paul III in 1549, there might have been a second English pope to follow the twelfth-century Nicholas Breakspear, who took the name of Adrian IV when he was elected in 1154.[17]

13 This information is derived from the Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum, *Index ac Status Causarum* (Vatican City, 1999). From the same source it can be seen that of the 113 candidates who were granted confirmation of cult 1625–1798, only seven were between 1625 and 1660.

14 Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 249; cf. Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 407. Kuncewycz was finally canonized by Pius IX in 1867.

15 Massimo Firpo, *La presa di potere dell'Inquisizione romana, 1550–1553* (Rome: Laterza, 2014).

16 Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto, eds., *I processi inquisitoriali di Pietro Carnesecchi (1557–1567)*, 2 vols. (Vatican City: Archivio segreto vaticano, 2000); Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto, *Il processo inquisitoriale del Cardinal Giovanni Morone*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2011–2015); José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, ed., *El proceso romano del arzobispo Carranza: Las audiencas en Sant'Angelo (1568–1569)* (Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1994).

17 Dermot Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter-Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); Thomas F. Mayer, *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

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It is of course well known that the *de facto* jurisdiction enjoyed by the Roman Inquisition was not even coextensive with the Italian peninsula. Not only did the Republic of Venice closely monitor the activities of tribunals appointed by means of the participation of lay observers, but in the Kingdom of Naples the Holy Office was forced to defer day-to-day oversight of heresy to a "medieval" network of episcopal tribunals. In the city of Naples itself, the archbishop, invariably enjoying the rank of cardinal "seems to have requested the assistance of the central tribunal only on his own terms, and rather infrequently."[18] However, what is less well known is that the papacy claimed for the Roman Inquisition a precedence, jurisdictionally, over both the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, even though both of these had been founded decades before their Roman counterpart.[19] Indeed, as Thomas Mayer showed in impressively granular detail over the course of his trilogy of books on the Roman Inquisition leading up to the Galileo trial, the pontificate of Urban VIII (1623–44) represents something of a "High Noon" in papal attempts to make the Holy Office the true "engine room" of its pretensions to enjoy universal authority in such matters.[20] Of course, that pope had the example before him of his predecessor, the inquisitor-pope Pius V's success in having the trial for heresy of the most senior Spanish cleric, Bartolomé Carranza (1503–1575), archbishop of Toledo, moved to Rome from the jurisdiction of the *Suprema* in 1567.

In this context, the pope's intention that these measures issued on the authority of the Holy Office in 1625 be observed much more widely can come as little surprise. From a letter sent by the pontifical sacristan, Fortunato Scacchi, to Cardinal Antonio Barberini in 1635, we learn that Urban VIII's reissue of the measures in the form of the papal

18 See Peter A. Mazur, *The New Christians of Spanish Naples, 1528–1671: A Fragile Elite* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 57. But for a more positive assessment of the role that could be played by the *ministro* of the Holy Office in Naples, see: Stefania Tutino, *A Fake Saint and the True Church: The Story of a Forgery in Seventeenth-Century Naples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 31, 81–84, 86–91, 143–147, and 151–152. For a useful survey of the geographical distribution of the tribunals of the Roman Inquisition in the first century of its operation followed by a consideration of the latest historiography, see: Katherine Aron-Beller and Christopher Black, "Introduction," in *The Roman Inquisition: Centre versus Peripheries*, ed. Katherine Aron-Beller and Christopher Black (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 1–29.

19 See Kimberly Lynn, "From Madrid to Rome: Communication, Collaboration and Competition between the Roman and Spanish Inquisitions," in Aron-Beller and Black, eds., *The Roman Inquisition*, 60–88.

20 This included Urban placing his own brother, Antonio Barberini, as Cardinal Secretary of the Holy Office (1629–1633). He was succeeded by Urban's nephew, Francesco Barberini, for the rest of his uncle's pontificate. Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and its Laws in the Age of Galileo* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition on the Stage of Italy, c. 1590–1640* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition: Trying Galileo* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015). In this respect, perhaps we need to revisit the geographical scope of the significance of the "presa di potere" effected by the Holy Office in the middle decades of the sixteenth century under the leadership of Giampietro Carafa and Michele Ghislieri, as argued for by Massimo Firpo in his book of that name from 2014 (see n. 15 above).

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brief *Caelestis Ierusalem cives*, in July of the previous year, was motivated precisely by the fact that it was felt that the Holy Office decree of 1625 had not been adequately noticed, particularly by Madrid.[21] Moreover, we now also know, also thanks to the work of Gotor, that although the decree issued in March 1625 was circulated mainly to bishops within the Papal States, letters were also sent to the Patriarch of Venice, as well as to the nuncios of Cologne and Brussels.[22] So the disclaimer may be found also on works printed further afield and on topics beyond the Italian peninsula.[23]

That all this legislation had to be reissued yet again—in 1642—that is to say, less than ten years after their first re-publication, in 1634, by means of a papal brief, reminds us of the importance of not confusing the publication of measures with their application. As with the gradual emergence of the canonical distinction between the status of *sanctus* and *beatus*, changes in saint-making and saint veneration cannot be associated with a specific year. Although the year of the foundation of the Sacred Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, as part of Sixtus V's reform of the Roman Curia, in 1588, continues to be misleadingly regarded as marking the watershed between pre- and post-reformation sanctity, in actual fact the procedure remained recognizably "medieval" for at least the first half century after that date. The real changes, not only the clearer, canonical differentiation between "sanctus" and "beatus," but also the focus on the heroicity of virtue and its clearer definition, do not predate the 1610s.[24]

This need to clarify the meanings of the terms "sanctus" and "beatus" had become a particular issue in the decades immediately following the revival of papal canonization in 1588 when the so-called "beati moderni" became a headache for the papacy, which consistently since the early thirteenth century had vigorously asserted its claim of enjoying the exclusive right to declare who should (and who should not) be considered a "saint."[25] Accordingly, Clement VIII (pope, 1592–1605) had set up a temporary standing

21 Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 308 and note 79.

22 Ibid., 287, note 9.

23 E. g., its inclusion in the second edition of Rocco Pirri, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus, et notitiis illustrata*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Sumptibus Petri Vander Aa, 1723), I, 14. Sicily was not only technically under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Inquisition, but Amsterdam was home to the least regulated press in Europe.

24 Simon Ditchfield, "Coping with the 'Beati Moderni': Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ite inflammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog and Patrick Goujon (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), 413–440. Cf. Noyes, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis*.

25 Although the date usually given for the assertion of papal monopoly in saint-making is 1171–1172 when Pope Alexander III sent the letter to the king of Sweden, *Audivimus*, which declared that only saints proposed by Rome could be given a public cult, it more properly should be given as 1234 when the relevant part of the text of this letter was inserted into the collection of papal decretals known as *Liber extra*, issued in 1234. See, most recently: Donald Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), ad indicem under "Audivimus" and "liber extra." Although Prudlo insists on the fact that "the immemorial practice of local canonization" continued all through the Middle Ages (34).

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committee or congregation of the blesseds which first met in 1602 (but continued to meet up to ca. 1615).[26] However, I think we need to pay more attention to this pope, whom works such as Gigliola Fragnito's *La bibbia al Rogo* (1997) have made us see as an indecisive weakling, when in fact, during his time as pope the office reached perhaps the apogee of its pretensions and power that harks back to the pontificate of Boniface VIII (r. 1294–1303), who allegedly added the second crown to the papal tiara to represent the claims of his office to enshrine temporal as well as spiritual power.

I can think of no more eloquent testimony to this revived sense of the papal *prince* than the imperious depiction of Clement VIII wearing the papal tiara (which by then had had a third crown added during the reign of Boniface's) successor, Clement V, 1305–1314) in a mosaic of hard and soft stone—whose associations with paleo-Christian and imperial majesty are all too clear. This image, now in the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, was commissioned by Grand Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany and sent to Giovanni Bardi, the Tuscan ambassador in Rome, in November 1601.[27]

The term "beati moderni" specifically referred to the recently deceased founders of reformed religious orders such as Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Avila, and Filippo Neri. It also referred to individuals from the "first wave" of the Counter-Reformation such as Francis Xavier and Carlo Borromeo, who had died enjoying *fama sanctitatis* and whose supporters were clamoring that their cult be officially recognized. It was in the course of absorbing these figures into the canon of saints that the distinction between "sanctus" and "beatus" came to be given clear, legal form, with "sancti" enjoying the right to universal veneration and "beati" to particular worship. Although that veneration could be coterminous with not just a town or region but also a country—as was the case for example with Saint Teresa, not only in Spain but also in France, even before her canonization in 1622.[28] It could also be a cult with near global diffusion, but only within the churches associated with the Society of Jesus and with the birth and burial places of Francis Xavier.[29]

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26 See Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 127–252.

27 *Portrait of Pope Clement VIII* (Ippolito Aldobrandini), 1600–1601, marble, lapis lazuli, mother-of-pearl, limestone, and calcite (some covering painted paper or fabric cartouches) on and surrounded by a silicate black stone 97 × 68 cm (38 3/16 × 26 3/4 in.), Object number 92.SE.67, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103RSD (last accessed December 17, 2023).

28 Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2011). Cf. Cornelius Conover, *Pious Imperialism: Spanish Rule and the Cult of Saints in Mexico City* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2019), though this author fundamentally misunderstands the meaning and significance of the *permissive* as distinct from the positive or *enactive* power of papal authority.

29 Pamela M. Jones, "Celebrating New Saints in Rome and Across the Globe," in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692*, ed. Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 148–166. Cf. the articles by Elisa Frei, Rachel Miller, and Alejandro Cañeque in the special issue of

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The remainder of this chapter will now be spent exploring the theme of the reciprocal relationship between the universal and the particular with reference to three lives which are exemplary not for their sanctity or heretical ideas, but for their role in reshaping the cult of saints in relation to the universal imperative and the particular needs of the Roman Catholic church as it expanded to the four parts of the then-known world. In chronological order, the first is the Aragonese canonist Francisco Peña (c. 1540–1612); the second, his effective contemporary, the very slightly younger Oratorian hagiographer and historian Antonio Gallonio (1556–1605); and the third, more than a century later, another lawyer, Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758), who crowned his distinguished career by being elected pope and taking the name of Benedict XIV on the 255th ballot after one of the longest conclaves in early modern times, lasting six months, in 1740.

3. Francisco Peña: Universalizing the Particular in the Making of Saints and Heretics

When papal canonization recommenced in 1588, the person charged with assembling the relevant documentation in support of the candidacy of the fifteenth-century Franciscan friar Diego of Alcalá (c. 1400–1463) by its chief sponsor, the Spanish Crown, was the Aragonese jurist Francisco Peña (c. 1540–1612)).[30] He was the obvious choice, since, besides his Iberian origins, he was one of the most experienced and highly respected canon lawyers in Rome, as he had been trained not only in his native Aragon but also in Bologna. Furthermore, he had been called to work for the commission charged by the Bolognese canon lawyer pope, Gregory XIII (r. 1572–85), with issuing the new, official edition of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*.[31] However, he is perhaps most famous for his bringing to press of a new, significantly expanded edition of what was arguably the most

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the *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9 (2022), to mark the 400th anniversary of the canonization of Xavier and Loyola.

30 For an excellent, up-to-date survey of his career, see: Vincenzo Lavenia, "Peña, Francisco," in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. 3, ed. Adriano Prosperi, John Tedeschi, and Vincenzo Lavenia (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010), 1186–1189, https://edizioni.sns.it/prodotto/dizionario-storico-dell-inquisizione-2/ (last accessed December 17, 2023). For an account of the canonization of Saint Diego which very much emphasizes the "top down" pressures behind it, see L. J. Andrew Villalon, "San Diego de Alcalá and the Politics of Saint-Making in Counter-Reformation Europe," *Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (1997): 691–715.

31 *Corpus juris canonici emendatum et notis illustratum*, Gregorii XIII. pont. max. iussu editum, 3 parts in 4 vols. (Rome: In aedibus Populi Romani, 1582), http://digital.library.ucla.edu/canonlaw/ (last accessed December 17, 2023). See Mary E. Sommar, *The* Correctores Romani*: Gratian's* Decretum *and the Counter-Reformation Humanists* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010). However, the plan to collect together papal decrees, apostolic letters, and bulls issued since the *Liber sextus* (1298)—the so-called *Liber septimus*—was stymied by the Congregation of the Council which wished to maintain its monopoly over the application of canon law to the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent. See Paolo Prodi, *Homo Europaeus* (Bologna: Il

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authoritative Inquisitorial manual composed in the Middle Ages: the *Directorium Inquisitorum* (ca. 1376) by the Aragonese Dominican Nicholas Eymerich (1320–1399).[32] In recognition of this legal prowess, and quite possibly as a direct reward for Diego's successful canonization in a ceremony which took place in Saint Peter's on July 2, 1588, in the presence of Pope Sixtus V, Philip II of Spain nominated Peña in the very same year as one of the twelve judges of the papal Curia's highest court—the Rota, which he joined on October 3 and where he remained until his death in 1612 (as its most senior member, the Dean, starting in 1604).[33] Another factor behind the king's decision was undoubtedly the central role played by the Rota in the newly revived canonization procedure, which was to remain the case even after the innovations brought about by Urban VIII mentioned earlier. According to the author of the most authoritative account of canonization procedure yet written, Prospero Lambertini, this was the norm until the pontificate of Innocent X (pope, 1644–1655).[34] In the opinion of a more recent commentator, Giovanni Papa, the engine room of saint-making during this crucial period was *not* the Congregation of Rites, but the three senior auditors (i. e., judges) of the Rota, who were jointly responsible for assembling and critiquing the evidence from the witness testimony generated by the initial diocesan and then apostolic trials. The format of these trials had been laid down in the thirteenth century and they were located usually in two or more places best placed to collect witness testimony, which is to say, where the candidate had been born, lived, and died. Their resulting report, itemizing details of the candidate's life, virtues, and miracles, was the document which was the basis for scrutiny by the pope and the cardinal members of the Congregation of Rites, and their own objections determined the outcome of canonization trials until the

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Mulino, 2015), ch. III; and Carlo Fantappié, *Storia del diritto canonico e delle istituzioni della Chiesa* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011), ch. IV.

32 Edward Peters, "Editing Inquisitors' Manuals in the Sixteenth Century: Francisco Peña and the *Directorium Inquisitorum* of Nicholas Eymeric," *The Library Chronicle* 60 (1974): 95–107; Agostino Borromeo, "A proposito del 'Directorium Inquisitorum' di Nicolas Eymerich e delle sue edizioni cinquecentesche," *Critica storica* 20, no. 4 (1983): 499–547. This enjoyed no fewer than three editions, 1578, 1585, and 1587, and two further printings during Peña's lifetime (1595 and 1607). Among Peña's additions was that of a comprehensive collection of relevant papal bulls, letters, and briefs issued by popes from Innocent III to Sixtus V: "Litterae apostolicae diversorum summorum pontificum." Separately paginated in the third edition, as reprinted in Venice in 1595, it consisted of 105 such documents (up from 76 in the 1578 edition). In itself, this 144-page collection constituted a partial edition of the aborted *Liber septimus*.

33 On details about Peña's career and his role in successive canonizations during the period 1588–1610, see the very richly documented Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)* (Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi: Sussidi per lo studio delle cause dei santi 7) (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001), ad indicem, 44, note 129. Cf. Hubert Kaufold, *Franciscus Peña und der Inquisitionsprozess nach seiner "Introductio seu Praxis Inquisitorum"* (Sankt Ottilien: EOS, 2014), 79–86.

34 Prospero Lambertini [Benedict XIV], *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*, vol. 1 (Bologna: Formis Longhi, 1738), lib. 1, cap. xvii, §13.

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Promoter of the Faith began successfully to contest their authority from 1631 onwards. The auditors subsequently became straightforward consultors to the Congregation, whose opinion did not have any more weight than those of its other members.[35]

Peña was directly involved not only with the canonization of Diego of Alcalá, but also with all the successful candidates between then and the canonization of the model Tridentine prelate, San Carlo Borromeo, in 1610.[36] In addition, there were: the Polish Dominican Hyacinth Odrovaz (d. 1257), raised to the altar by Clement VIII in 1594; the Catalan Dominican founder of the Mercedarian Order and the distinguished canonist Raymundo Peñaforte (c. 1175–1275), who authored the *Liber extra* collection of decretals which were declared canonical by Pope Gregory IX in 1234 and who was canonized in 1601; and finally the fifteenth-century Roman foundress of the community of Benedictine oblates at Tor de' Specchi, at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani "Romana" (1384–1440).[37]

Each of these canonizations was accompanied by printed accounts in which the lives of the candidates took up a much smaller proportion of the text than did the attention paid to the judicial context, the process of canonization, and the liturgical consequences. For example, in Peña's 236-page treatment of the life, miracles, and canonization of S. Diego, published the year after the event itself, only 32 pages were devoted to the candidate's life (1–32), but a further 83 to his cult and miracles (33–116).[38] These sections were followed by a detailed account of the progress of the case (117–181), whose first two chapters, of six pages (117–122), were given over first to the legal definition of canonization and the pope's monopoly over the process, and second to what was required of the candidate.[39] The beginnings of the cause were dated no earlier than 1563, which is to say a year after Don Carlos (1545–68), the heir apparent to the Spanish throne, was injured in a fall and

35 Papa, *Le Cause di Canonizzazione*, 78–98. Papa provides a useful list of such manuscript *relationi* and their location on p. 86.

36 Angelo Turchini, *La fabbrica di un santo: Il processo di canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo e la Controriforma* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1984); and Simon Ditchfield, "Carlo Borromeo in the Construction of Roman Catholicism as a World Religion," *Studia Borromaica* 25 (2011), 3–23.

37 Ronald C. Finucane, "Saint-Making at the End of the Sixteenth Century: How and Why Jacek of Poland (†1257) Became St. Hyacinth in 1594?" *Hagiographica* 9 (2002): 207–258; and Simon Ditchfield, "Gli Oratoriani e l'agiografia: Filippo Neri, Cesare Baronio, Antonio Gallonio," in *La canonizzazione di Santa Francesca Romana: Santità, cultura e istituzioni a Roma tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli and Giorgio Picasso (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013), 195–214. To the best of my knowledge, there is no dedicated study of Raymundo Peñaforte's canonization, but see, for the wider context: Thomas James Dandelet, "'Celestiali eroi' e lo 'splendor d'Iberia': La canonizzazione dei santi spagnoli a Roma in età moderna," in *Il santo patrono e la città: San Benedetto il Moro. Culti, devozioni, strategie in età moderna*, ed. Giovanna Fiume (Venice: Marsilio, 2000), 183–98.

38 Francisco Peña, *De Vita et Miraculis et actis canonizationis Sancti Didaci libri tres* (Rome: in Aedibus Populi Romani, 1589).

39 "Quamobrem canonizatio re vera est canonica quaedam solemnis et publica per solum Romanum Pontificem constituta definitio." Peña, *De vita ... Sancti Didaci*, 118.

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allegedly healed through the intervention of a relic of Diego's. The testimony consisted of a letter from the king to Pope Pius IV, which is given first in the original Spanish (123–25) and then in Latin translation (125–27). It is followed by a step-by-step account, with the relevant documents transcribed, including the letters delegating authority in a private consistory to six cardinals, who, in turn, charged local Spanish prelates to send relevant documentation to Rome as generated by the two successive trials. One of these was convened under episcopal authority and the other under apostolic authority. The key role of the Auditors of the Rota in determining this material is specifically discussed (139)—though Peña was yet to be appointed, their thirteen meetings at which they considered the trial evidence were listed and briefly summarised (142–150). The remainder of the work—just over 80 pages (158–236)—was dedicated to a blow-by-blow account of the rituals surrounding the canonization itself. These included not only a description of how Saint Peter's was decorated (ch. XVI), and how the solemn procession was ordered (XVII), but also precisely what liturgical form the canonization ceremony itself took, how the pope was dressed and how many cardinals and prelates took part (XVIII–XXII). Next, the complete text of Sixtus V's bull of canonization was reproduced (182–203). This contained not only an account of Diego's life and miracles, but also how he came to be considered for canonization. The bull was succeeded by a list of no fewer than 45 cardinals who witnessed its promulgation. The fact that this was followed immediately by Diego's new liturgical office, complete with its hagiographical readings, (207–217) as well as by the formula of the Mass which now could be said in his honor (218–219), points to the fact that Peña's *Vita* was more of a legal and liturgical document than a hagiographical and devotional work. The volume ended with transcriptions of the speeches given at both the papal private and public consistories.

This emphasis on the rituals involved in canonization together with the attention paid to the procedural *iter* of such trials is also displayed in Peña's other published accounts, such as those recording the canonization of Raymundo de Peñaforte, Francesca Romana, and Carlo Borromeo, published respectively in 1601, 1608, and 1610, in all of which he was directly involved as one of the three senior members of the Rota, and for the trials of Francesca Romana and Carlo Borromeo, as the most senior member as Dean. In each case they were works of legal record rather than for devotional recitation, with almost half of their text given over to transcribing key documents or describing legal procedures.[40] This sense of the importance placed on the legitimacy of process rather than simply the life of the person who had just been canonized is reinforced if one

40 Francisco Peña, *Vita S. Raymundi de Peniaforte a vetusto scriptore olim breviter collecta, nunc a Francisco Penia Rotae Auditore notis illustrata, in duobus libellis aucta* (Rome: Haeredes Nicolai Mutii, 1601); Francisco Peña, *Relatione summaria della vita, santità, miracoli e atti della canonizzazione di santa Francesca Romana ò de Pontiani. Cavata fedelmente dalle processi autentici di questa causa da Monsig Francesco Penia Auditor di Rota* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1608); Francisco Peña, *Relatione summaria della vita, santità, miracoli e atti della canonizatione di S. Carlo Borromeo … cavata fedelmente da i processi*

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looks at the other main text that was published in the immediate aftermath of Diego's elevation to the altar, by that key behind-the-scenes "fixer" for Carlo Borromeo, Pietro Gallesini.[41] As with Peña's text, fully one third of the space is taken up by Gallesini's treatment of the rituals required for canonization. Arguably the details here are even more telling, since the use made by popes of canonization from the very beginnings of the history of the Church to defend the purity of doctrine is emphasized:

> It was the custom begun at the very birth of the church to use the canonization of saints to make it clear that true martyrs were to be distinguished from false ones.[42]

There is also an entire chapter (ch. XII, p. 196–200) devoted to the account and explication of the significance of the final, public consistory, at which the pope gave his assent, guided by the Holy Spirit, to the candidate's canonization.[43] The eager attention with which those present followed the solemn proceedings, including an hour-long prayer, reflected the momentousness of the occasion which was also an expression and exercise of papal infallibility, since guided by the Holy Spirit, the pope could not err.[44] According to a recent study by the American historian Donald Prudlo, the origins of the doctrine of papal infallibility are not to be found in the nineteenth century, but in the struggle of the papacy to overcome Cathar and Waldensian heresy by means of asserting

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autentici di questa causa da Monsig Francesco Penia Decano della Sacra Rota Romana (Rome: Stamperia della Camera Apostolica, 1610).

41 Pietro Gallesini, *La vita, i miracoli e la canonizatione di San Diego d'Alcala d'Henares. Divisa in tre parti et tradotta nella lingua Italiana dal Signor Francesco Avanzi, Venetiano. Dalla Latina di Monsig Pietro Gallesini, protonotario apostolico* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1589). Gallesini was the main ideator and editor of Carlo Borromeo's globally influential *summa* of how to put the pastoral decrees of the Council of Trent into practice: the *Acta ecclesiae mediolanensis*, first published in 1582.

42 "Si cominciò fin nel principio del nascimento della chiesa ad usar la canonizatione de i santi, acciò che i veri Martiri fossero conosciuti fra i falsi." Cap VI, "Dell'istituto e uso delle cause dei santi" (Gallesini. *La vita … di San Diego*, 172). Cf. "… l'autorità di quelli che dovevano scrivere i fatti de' martiri, la diligente inquisitione e le testimonianze de' i setti Diaconi servivano solamente a far descrivere nelle tavole del martirologio i veri martiri e ributtare i falsi. Perciò, nel principio della religione Christiana non mancavano gli'heretici e gli schismatici" (ibid., 173).

43 On this dimension of canonization which has been otherwise neglected in recent literature, see Birgit Emich, "The Production of Truth in the Manufacture of Saints: Procedures, Credibility and Patronage in Early Modern Processes of Canonization," in *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, Marco Cavarzere, and Steven Vanden Broecke (Scientiae Studies 1) (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 165–190. Cf. Tutino, *A Fake Saint*.

44 "Nella quale oratione cominciando della grandezza della cosa, che si trattava, parlò dottamente e divinamente della potestà papale, e dell'autorità data da Dio alla Chiesa, dapoi mostrò per le sacre lettere e con ragioni cavate dall'intimo senos della Theologia e con ogni sorte d'argomenti, ch'el Pontefice Romano vero successor del Beato Piero prencipe de gl'Apostoli … essendo vero capo della Chiesa, ch'è il fondamento, e la colonna della verità et è *guidata e governata dallo Spirito Santo, non può errare, ne esser ingannato nella canonizatione de i Santi*." Gallesini, *La vita … di San Diego*, 198 (emphasis added).

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its monopoly over canonization, which was achieved with the assistance of the new mendicant orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans in the first half of the thirteenth century.[45] Even if I feel unqualified to follow Prudlo all the way to argue from this that the roots of papal infallibility can be located in this struggle, and to the subsequent theological ratiocination of Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, (rather than in Pius IX's famous declaration in Vatican I), I do find it helpful to think how bound together were claims over saint- and heretic-making to the reassertion of papal authority in the post-Reformation Roman Catholic Church as they had been to a papacy battling heresy in the thirteenth century. Francisco Peña's activity as both editor of inquisitorial manuals—aside from Eymerich he was responsible for having several more printed—and as leading judge involved with all the canonization trials at a very important period of transition appears then as emblematic of the quasi-symbiotic relationship between making saints and making heretics. That said, one must not forget the important distinction between forms of doctrinal heresy and the kinds of heresy relating to questions about miracles and sainthood: investigation into the natural order and its limits, thereby preserving the integrity of the miraculous as a category of experience as well as preserving belief in the existence of angels and demons, which is the more specific obverse of the saint-making coin.[46]

4. Antonio Gallonio: Particularizing the Universal by Making Rome Sacred Again[47]

Emblematic in another way is the second of the three exemplary lives explored here: that of the Oratorian hagiographer and historian Antonio Gallonio (1556–1605).[48] He

45 Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood*.

46 I have been guided here by my conversations with Neil Tarrant, whose views I have paraphrased here from email correspondence with him. Dr. Tarrant is author of *Defining Nature's Limits: The Roman Inquisition and the Boundaries of Science* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2022). Tarrant also pointed out to me that by following Eymerich closely, Peña's views of the precise boundaries of superstition—as in the case of chiromancy (palmistry), which, *contra* Aquinas, he considered might be licit—did not enjoy universal acceptance.

47 Rome, in turn, also made particularly the frontiers of Roman Catholicism sacred again both in Europe and beyond, thanks to the export of a prodigious number of bodies from the Roman Catacombs, from their "rediscovery" in 1578 until the nineteenth century. See the important volume: Stéphane Baciocchi and Christophe Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines: Invention et circulation des corps saints des catacombes à l'époque moderne* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2016). Cf. for the extent to which the consumers of the sacred could be themselves producers and creators: Noria Litaker, "Lost in Translation? Constructing Ancient Roman Martyrs in Baroque Bavaria," *Church History* 89 (2020): 801–828.

48 The entry by Simon Ditchfield in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 51, from 1998 available at https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-gallonio_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (last accessed December 20, 2023) should now be supplemented by the acute and extensive analysis of Jetze Touber,

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is best known to those interested in hagiography as author of the first life of S. Filippo Neri (1515–95)—or should I say "lives," as the Latin and Italian versions, published respectively in 1600 and 1601, should really be considered two distinct works.[49] As personal assistant to the saint in his later years, Gallonio was perfectly placed not only to write his *vita* but also to act as chief organizer of Neri's first canonization trial, until his death in 1605.[50] In recognition of this experience, Gallonio was appointed consultant to the Congregation of Rites the year before his death.[51] According to Miguel Gotor, together with Angelo Rocca, who had just published the first treatise on canonization since the Reformation, Gallonio was also appointed as a kind of external consultant to the newly founded Congregation of the Blesseds (*Beati*).[52] It was in the course of his work for these standing committees that it is likely Gallonio came to compose two anonymous manuscript treatises concerning public veneration which could be shown to those not yet canonized.[53] In stark contrast with the position taken by Francisco Peña, the Oratorian was distinctly permissive when it came to his views on whether or not candidates not yet officially canonized could be depicted wearing a halo and referred to in print as "sanctus" or be the subject of public veneration. This can also be seen from the titles to both the Latin and Italian editions of Gallonio's life of Neri which accorded him the honor of "blessed." Indeed, given that these manuscript treatises by Gallonio were bound together with *acta* from three canonization trials that directly involved Peña as auditor of the Rota, those of Diego of Alcalá, Hyacinth Odrovaz, and Raymundo Peñaforte, it is easy to see that they formed part of the conversation that Clement VIII was trying to control by the very act of founding the Congregation of the Blessed 1603.[54]

Law, Medicine and Engineering in the Cult of Saints in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Hagiographical Works of Antonio Gallonio, 1556–1605 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), ch. 1, 2, and 6.

49 Antonio Gallonio, *Vita beati patris Philippi Nerii Florentini Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris in annos digesta* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1600); Antonio Gallonio, *Vita del beato P. Filippo Neri fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1601). Cf. Touber, *Law, Medicine and Engineering*, ch. 4.

50 Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Nello Vian, eds., *Il primo processo per S. Filippo Neri nel Codice Vaticano Latino 3798 e in altri esemplari dell'archivio dell'Oratorio di Roma*, 4 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957–1963).

51 Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 97, where the author refers to him throughout as *"Galloni."*

52 Gotor, *I Beati del papa*, 136. Angelo Rocca's treatise, *De canonizatione sanctorum commentarius*, was published in Rome: (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1601).

53 *De his quae praestari possunt non canonizatis,* and *De veneratione quae prestare potest hominibus eius sanctitatis opinione recens defunctis etiamsi nondum canonizati fuerunt*, Biblioteca Vallicelliana (hereafter BVR), Rome, Cod. H. 14, "Monumenta varia spectantia ad vitas sanctorum … collecta ab Antonio Gallonio," fols. 272r-307r and 378r-85v. For a summary of the content of the latter see Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 49–50.

54 BVR, H. 14, fols 164r seq (Diego); 225r seq (Hyacinth) and 410r–443v (Raymundo). Cf. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 50–51 (and note 121); Ditchfield, "Coping with the '*Beati Moderni*'"; Noyes, *Peter*

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Before being assigned to promoting the cult of the founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, Gallonio had been known almost exclusively for his published work in relation to the cult of female early Christian Roman virgin martyr saints (and by his Oratorian brethren for having assembled so much hagiographical material for Cesare Baronio).[55] This focus can be understood not only with reference to the well-known commitment of Oratorian scholars, most famously, Baronio, to demonstrating the continuity of the existing Roman Catholic Church with its earliest history, *semper eadem*, but also with reference to the particular role played by such Oratorian priests as Gallonio in their function as confessors to the sixteenth-century counterparts of the aristocratic women who laid down their lives during the persecutions of successive pagan Roman emperors. Specifically, in Gallonio's case, these were the (mainly patrician) nuns who belonged to the convent located at the foot of the Capitoline Hill of Tor de Specchi, which had been founded by Francesca de Ponziani, whose cult and canonization the Oratorians supported.[56] However, he also attended to the spiritual needs of female aristocratic virgins who had not yet been professed as nuns.

One such person was Elena de' Massimi, a daughter of one of the leading patrons of the Oratorians during their early years. She died of cancer at the age of thirteen and Gallonio wrote her *vita* which remained in manuscript until it was published in the nineteenth century.[57] As Jodi Bilinkoffy has taught us, such *vitae* of contemporary exemplary subjects functioned as guides for confessors in their dealings with female penitents.[58] Elena had no fewer than six sisters who entered Tor de Specchi and four to other convents, whose names read like a roll call of female saints from the first Christian centuries: Costanza, Caterina, Elena, Cecilia, two Giulias, and a Domitilla.[59] Gallonio went on to write a separately published life of the namesake of this last sister: Flavia Domitilla, niece of one saint, the consul Flavius Clemens, who had come to be associated

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Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis; and Antony Wright, "'La Sua Santità non inclina niente': The Papacy and the Canonization of Ignatius of Loyola," in *Ite inflammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog and Patrick Goujon (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), 441–455.

55 BVR, mss H. 2–14, 16, and 18–20. Cf. Simon Ditchfield, "An Early Christian School of Sanctity in Tridentine Rome," in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, edited by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 183–205, 191, note 29.

56 Ditchfield, "Gli Oratoriani e l'agiografia."

57 The autograph manuscript, entitled *Istoria della divotissima e spiritualissima vergine di Giesu Christo Helena nobilissima Romana di Casa Massimi,* may be found at BVR, ms I. 11. The work was eventually printed in Rome, 1857.

58 Bilinkoff gives the example of the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra's unpublished *vita* of Estefania Manrique. See Jodi Bilinkoff, "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52 (1999): 180–196, 188–189; and her important monograph study: *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450–1750* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

59 Incisa della Rocchetta and Vian, *Il primo processo*, I, 205, note 568.

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with two further saints, her eunuch servants Nereus and Achilleus (who actually lived in the third century CE). All of them were believed (mistakenly) to have been martyred together by Emperor Domitian in the first century CE.[60] They were depicted just a couple of years after Gallonio's death by Rubens in his life-size slate panels which still flank his altarpiece for the High Altar of the Oratorian mother church of S. Maria in Vallicella with, on the other side, the soldier saints Papias and Maurus, whose relics lay under the High Altar, flanking Saint Gregory the Great (who had built the first church on the site).[61] This work by Gallonio was published to coincide with the triumphal procession in 1597 of the relics of Nereus and Achilleus from the church of S. Adriano in the Roman Forum to the dilapidated basilica dedicated to the eunuch saints, located next to the baths of Caracalla, and which Cesare Baronio, recently made a cardinal, had chosen as his titular church.[62]

However, this was no mere *pièce d'occasion*, but only an extract from a much more ambitious project that never came to pass, but which thanks to the patient work of Giuseppe Finocchiaro, we can now identify as nothing less than an illustrated counterpart to what might perhaps be considered Baronio's Baedeker: the cardinal's comprehensive guide to the hundreds of saints, both male and female, mostly martyrs, from all over the Roman Empire, who had died or were buried in Rome during the first three hundred years of the Christian Era. This work is of course better known as the Roman Martyrology, which Baronio had been working on since at least 1580 at the commission of Guglielmo Sirleto, and which was published for the first time with his historical annotations in 1586.[63]

This work was organized day by day, month by month (beginning on January 1), listing briefly which saints had died on that particular day together with the briefest of remarks on how they had died and where (if known). To these bare bones, so to speak, Baronio attempted to add a few details, including some transcriptions of recently discovered inscriptions, or the precise location of their relics, or details about their cults. According to Finocchiaro, as well as the two published volumes by Gallonio, consisting of a heavily illustrated treatise on instruments of martyrdom as described in the acts of early Christian martyrs, which appeared in 1591 (and again in a Latin

60 Antonio Gallonio, *Historia della Vita e martirio de'gloriosi santi Flavia Domitilla vergine, Nereo et Achilleo et più altri con alcune vite brevi dei santi parenti di S. Flavia Domitilla et alcuni annotationi* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1597).

61 Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (London: Phaidon, 1977), ad indicem under S. Maria in Vallicella.

62 Richard Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph in 1597," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon, 1967), 174–178.

63 Cesare Baronio, *Martyrologium Romanum ad novam kalendarii rationem ex ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum … auctore Caesare Baronio Sorano Congregationis Oratorij Presybtero* (Rome: Domenico Bassa, 1586). Cf. Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, "Baronio attraverso il *Martyrologium Romanum*," in *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, ed. Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, Francesco Scorza Barcellona, and Raimondo Michetti (Rome: Viella, 2012), 67–110.

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translation in Rome, 1594; Cologne, 1602; Paris, 1659–1660; and Amsterdam, 1668), and a second volume, also illustrated, on mainly but not exclusively female Roman virgin martyr saints, which finally appeared no earlier than 1593 (rather than the 1591 on the frontispiece), there was also to have been published a third volume, *Historia delle sante Vergini Forastiere* ("History of holy virgin strangers/foreigners").[64] In his close attention to visualising the *acta* of the martyrs, Gallonio was merely following the example of Saint Augustine of Hippo who said: "When the passions of the martyrs are read, I am spectating."[65]

Rome stood here for the global, universal church, since inclusion on the list of those to be remembered in prayers at the office of *Prime* on a particular day was the *sine qua non* for a saint to enjoy universal public cult. Analysis of the Cologne, 1598 edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum*, which also contains a topographical index, reveals that at least one and often several saints had been martyred in Rome itself on 226 days of the year (62 %).[66] In this way, attentive readers (and listeners) to the *Martyrologium Romanum* were transported back to Rome's heroic early Christian past daily as they heard or read the names of those who had suffered martyrdom for their faith. Baronio's Latin notes and Gallonio's vernacular counterpart invited the devout to reimagine Rome as a portal capable of collapsing time altogether. In the words of an English visitor to Rome in the Holy Year of 1575, Gregory Martin:

> And if any where a man stand nigh to these tombs [of the martyrs], he perceaveth his sence by and by ravished with this said force, for the sight of the coffin entring into the hart, pearceth it, stirreth it up, and moveth it in such a maner, as if he that lyeth there dead, did pray with us, and were visibily present to be seen. Besides it commeth to passe, that he which feeleth him

64 Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato degli instrumenti di martirio e delle varie maniere di martoriare usate da gentil contro christiani descritte et intagliate in rame. Opera di Antonio Gallonio romano, sacerdote della Congregatione. Dell'Oratorio* (Rome: Ascanio e Girolamo Donangeli, 1591); Antonio Gallonio, *Historie delle Sante Vergini Romane con varie annotationi e con alcune vite breve de santi parenti loro e de' gloriosi martiri Papia e Mauro soldati romani*, *Opera di Antonio Gallonio romano, prete della congegazione dell'Oratorio* (Rome: Ascanio e Girolamo Donangeli 1591 [1593]). This postdating is based on the fact that the work makes references (p. 342 and 350) to the death of Elena de' Massimi, which took place in 1593. Cf. Giuseppe Finocchiaro: "La dispersa 'Historia delle sante vergini forastiere': Una vicenda editoriale," in Giuseppe Finocchiaro, *Antonio Gallonio scrittore di santi: Agiografia nella Roma di Clemente VIII* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2019), 13–21. This study also lists 396 books which were either owned by Gallonio or in his possession when he died in 1605 (ibid., 52–75). Manuscripts in his possession and now in the Vallicelliana are listed on pp. 75–77.

65 "Quando leguntur passiones martyrum, specto," Augustine, *Sermones*, 301.1 (*Patrologia latina*, vol. 38). Cf. Lucy Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London: Duckworth, 2004), 42.

66 Simon Ditchfield, "*Romanus* and *Catholicus*: Counter-Reformation Rome as *Caput Mundi*," In Jones, Wisch, and Ditchfield, *A Companion to Early Modern Rome*, 131–47, 137.

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> selfe so sweetly moved, is marvellous jocand and gladsome, and being cleane altered after a sort into an other man, in such heavenlie plight departed he out of the place.[67]

For Martin, as the text goes on to say, such material relics: "striketh up the heart, and reneweth our memorie, eftsones fraile and forgetful." Here the places where the martyrs are buried and honored are not only *lieux de mémoires*, but also functioned more like icons on a computer screen do today, which when clicked transport the user to another screen or level. Here "Romanus" and "Catholicus" had become interchangeable, as exemplified by Cesare Baronio's near contemporary note b to the *Martyrologium Romanum* for February 22, where he argued that "Catholicus" came to be joined with the term "Christianus," in order to distinguish the true followers of Christ from false ones, hence the insertion of "Catholicus" into the Apostles' Creed to describe the "Ecclesia Dei."[68]

It is within the context of this discourse that one is to understand, I believe, the shared enthusiasm displayed by Popes Clement VIII, Paul V, and Urban VIII for signaling their universal, apostolic authority by means of sponsoring directly or indirectly carefully staged translations of the bodies of a succession of Roman virgin martyr saints: Cecilia (1599), Agnese (1605), Bibiana (1624), and Martina (1634) in their respective Roman Churches. Cardinal Paolo Camillo Sfondrato, papal nephew for under a year (December 1590 to October 1591 during the pontificate of his uncle Pope Gregory XIV), undertook the restoration of his titular church of S. Cecilia and the reburial of the martyr and also took over from Cardinal Alessandro de Medici, whose titular church was S. Agnese fuori le mura, when the latter died after one of the briefest of pontificates, as Pope Leo XI, for barely a month in April 1605. However, Paul V (r. 1605–1621 then paid 5,000 scudi to restore the high altar of S. Agnese. In the case of S. Bibiana, whose translation coincided with the Holy Year of 1625, Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–1644) paid for the restoration of the church where she was buried, as it was believed to have been built on the site of her family palace. This included commissioning a sculpture of the saint by the young Bernini and frescoes from Pietro da Cortona. The pope also wrote a new hymn in Bibiana's honor to be included in the revised Roman Breviary of 1631.

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67 Gregory Martin, *Roma sancta (1581)*, ed. George B. Parks (Rome: Edizione di storia e letteratura, 1969), 27.

68 Baronio, *Martyrologium romanum*, February 22, note b, 95. This was also discussed at greater length in Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 1 (Rome: Ex Typographia Vaticana, 1588), an. 43, 297–299. Here he argued anachronistically that "Catholicus" was the natural adjective (*cognomen*) to describe the noun (*nomen*) "Christianus," before going on to assert that the terms "Romanus" and "Catholicus" were: "synonyms used since antiquity to describe those who loyally adhered to the universal Church led by the Pope." See Giuseppe A. Guazzelli, "Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church," in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance*, ed. Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 52–71, 60.

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Finally, in the case of S. Martina, Urban VIII) visited her recently rediscovered body in the church SS Luca e Martina on the edge of the Roman forum on November 28, 1634, i. e., barely a month after its discovery on October 25, in the company of a dozen cardinals, and proclaimed a plenary indulgence for those who visited her tomb.[69] By doing this performatively rather than solely by means of print, these popes championed the particularization of the universal in the most concrete way possible, in precisely the period when saint-making took on the shape and norms that continued to be in force until the publication of the Apostolic constitution on the revised procedure for the canonization of saints, *Divinus perfectionis magister*, issued on January 25, 1983.[70]

5. Benedict XIV: Performing the Particular and the Universal in the Cult of Saints

My third choice of exemplary life to illustrate my argument, Prospero Lambertini, is undoubtedly the one which, on one level, requires least explanation. As holder of the office of Promoter of the Faith for no fewer than two decades (1708–1728) and then as author of the most extensive treatise on canonization and beatification ever written, whose first edition was published in four volumes (and five parts) between 1734–1738, he effectively created the field (and indeed made it possible).[71] If one also considers

69 Key primary sources for these initiatives are: Antonio Bosio, *Historia passionis sanctae Caeciliae* (Rome: Stephanus Paulinus, 1600); Domenico Bartolini, *Gli Atti del martirio della nobilissima vergine Romana S. Agnese* (Rome: Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, 1858); Domenico Fedini, *La vita di S. Bibiana vergine e martire romana* (Rome: Francesco Corbelletti, 1627); Marsilio Honorato, *Historia di santa Martina vergine, martire Romana* (Rome: Francesco Cavalli, 1635). Cf. Jörg Merz, "Le Sante Vergini Romane: Die Repräsentation frühchristlicher Jungfrauen und Märtyrerinnen in ihren restaurierten Titelkirchen in Rom im späten 16. und im 17. Jahrhundert," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 57 (2008): 133–164.

70 https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_25011983_divinus-perfectionis-magister.html (last accessed December 20, 2023).

71 Lambertini, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione*. There were two further editions during the author's own lifetime: Padua, 1743, and Rome, 1747–1751. A new edition of the original Latin text with facing Italian translation, published under the auspices of the Congregation of the Causes of Saints is now complete: Benedetto XIV (Prospero Lambertini), *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione/La Beatificazione dei Servi di Dio e la Canonizzazione dei Beati*, 4 vols in 9 parts (Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2010–2022). It should be said that this is not a critical edition with the usual critical apparatus. The text is based on the third edition but with the documentary appendices reintegrated at the end of the books they directly relate to. Cf. Maria Teresa Fattori, ed., *Le fatiche di Benedetto XIV: Origine ed evoluzione dei trattati di Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758)* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2011); and Maria Teresa Fattori, ed., *Storia, medicina e diritto nei trattati di Prospero Lambertini, Benedetto XIV* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2013). As well as the useful introduction and chronology given by the editor in the first, I draw particular attention to the two essays by Riccardo Saccenti: "La lunga genesi dell'opera sulle canonizzazioni," in *Le fatiche*, ed. Fattori, 3–47, and "Le fonti del *De Servorum Dei* e il loro uso nel trattato lambertiniano," in *Storia, medicina e diritto*, ed. Fattori, 247–275.

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that as early as 1694, fresh from graduating with a degree in Canon and Civil Law at the Sapienza, when Lambertini was not even twenty years old, he went to work for Alessandro Caprara, judge of the Rota (a court whose involvement in canonization procedures had been central, as we have seen, and was still not insignificant even by the early eighteenth century), we can appreciate the career-long nature of his commitment to the study and practice of canonization procedure. I want to draw attention here to one dimension of Lambertini's study which tends to get neglected both by students of sanctity, who are generally speaking more interested in his treatment of miracles or his discussion of the heroicity of virtue, and by students of the papacy, who are preoccupied by a disappointed sense of what might have been, had this most intelligent and cultured of popes not been "distracted" by a messy political reality which forced him to sign a succession of "humiliating" concordats with the great European powers.[72]

I am referring to the cult of saints as enshrined in the liturgy of daily worship and prayer, saint-making at its most concrete level of cult-making. First of all, each saint was accorded a different rank of feast day, whether it be a single or double, with the most important requiring a full week's commemoration (known as an Octave). To be officially canonized, a candidate's name had to be included in the canon: the list of names read out daily in the *Martyrologium Romanum* at Prime. Moreover, saints' names might be sung in the litany: have their lives read out in services on their feast days either as specially composed lessons found in the Roman Breviary or as representatives of types, such as martyr or confessor, for each of which there was a set of generic readings (also available in the breviary). Closely related to this were the required rituals to accompany the proper movement and reburial (translation) of saints' bodies as well as to determine the distribution of relics. Also important, as we have seen, was the permitted conventions of their visual representation. Finally, saints (but not blesseds) might be elected as patrons of towns and cities. These, and closely related subjects, made up the second part of the final book of *De servorum Dei* (and take up the final volume 4, part 3 of the 2010–2022 edition). They also formed an integral part of the various ways in which Lambertini as pope expressed the universal authority of his office as successor to Saint Peter.[73] Within this broader context, Benedict's single canonization ceremony, at which he raised five saints to the altar, and his six beatifications, conducted between 1741 and 1753 (which

72 Mario Rosa's magisterial entry for the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (1966, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-benedetto-xiv_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (last accessed December 20, 2023), reprinted unchanged except for an updated bibliography for the *Enciclopedia dei Papi* (2000, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benedetto-xiv_%28Enciclopedia-dei-Papi%29/, last accessed December 20, 2023) is a classic statement of this orthodoxy, which more recent literature on the pope has not substantially altered. E.g., Rebecca Messbarger, Christopher M. S. Johns, and Philip Gavitt, eds., *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment: Art, Science and Spirituality* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2016).

73 For what follows, see the section: "Benedetto XIV e gli usi dell'erudizione" in Anna Benvenuti, Sofia Boesch, Simon Ditchfield, Roberto Rusconi, Francesco Scorza Barcellona, and Gabriella Zarri, *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale* (Rome: Viella, 2005), 317–321.

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henceforth were both to be performed exclusively in Saint Peter's, a practice which was to continue until the pontificate of John Paul II), represented but the tip of the iceberg.

Further, to enhance the prestige of Saints Peter and Paul, Benedict coincided their canonization ceremony with the feast day of these co-patron saints of Rome, declaring at the same time that their feast was to enjoy the privilege of being celebrated over a full week (as an Octave). In addition, by means of papal briefs, Benedict had the virtues of the Carlo Borromeo of Naples—the Theatine archbishop Paolo Burali (d. 1578)—declared "heroic"; and the Jesuit Polish missionary to Lithuania Andrea Bobola (d. 1657) officially recognized as a martyr. The pope also granted the petition of the Portuguese king to make Francis Xavier patron saint of overseas missions and recharged the cults of Xavier and Ignatius Loyola by granting new indulgences for those who publicly venerated them. Above all, Benedict promoted the cult of the Virgin Mary, not only by commissioning a magnificent new facade with related, extensive restoration of the entire exterior of the Roman basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore together with inaugurating a new ceremony specifically to commemorate the Feast of her Immaculate Conception, but he also granted extensive, related privileges to Marian congregations throughout Roman Catholic Christendom.

However, ever the pragmatist, having drafted the necessary papal bull, Benedict held back from proclaiming her Immaculate Conception a dogma of the Church for fear of breaking the fragile peace which existed at the time between Dominicans and Jesuits on this topic. The pope expressed similar caution when deciding not to alienate the French by beatifying the Jesuit controversialist Roberto Bellarmino (d. 1621), since he was regarded as an indefatigable enemy to the Gallicans, an influential movement within French Catholicism, which believed in the inalienable rights and traditions of the native Gallic Church. In such a way, Benedict can be seen as refurbishing papal authority by means of that age-old instrument: papal letters written in response to particular requests to resolve conflicts of interests or to harmonize specific rights with more general principles. Although they date back to the late fourth century (that from Pope Siricius to Himerius bishop of Tarragona dated 385 CE is generally regarded to have been the first such letter), they were not collected together by the papacy, where they were referred to as decretals, until the thirteenth century, as we have seen in the case of the so-called *Liber Extra*, which was promulgated by Pope Gregory IX, though compiled by Raymundo de Peñaforte in 1234. To borrow the phrase of the British medievalist David d'Avray, papal jurisprudence from its very origins had therefore been primarily "demand driven" and written in response to particular problems, often to bishops.[74]

74 For what follows, see David d'Avray, "Stages of Papal Law," *Journal of the British Academy* 5 (2017): 37–59. https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/publishing/journal-british-academy/5/stages-papal-law/ (last accessed December 17, 2023). Cf. David d'Avray, *Papal Jurisprudence c. 400: Sources of the Canon Law Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

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It is with this perspective in mind that one is to understand, I believe, the numerous letters to such bodies as the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, whether it be cathedral canons asking if there might be manuscripts in Rome which confirm that the first bishop of their city actually had died a martyr, as the broken inscription ending with the letters "BM" seemed to imply, or a local historian asking whether saint X venerated in their city was the same as one of the same name who also enjoyed a cult in the city of Y?[75] The answers to such questions made by the Roman Congregations, at least in theory, had the force of law—and many of the more important ones came to be referred to in the footnotes to the Codex of Canon Law, which was finally issued in 1917. Here the pope was essentially acting as a referee rather than as a policeman, a fact which students of Confessionalization need to bear in mind when contemplating the mountain of papal decretals from this period.

6. Conclusion

It is a well-known fact, at least to those working in the field of saint-making, that the Council of Trent said very little and legislated not at all about the cult of saints and images.[76] All was left up to the pope and specifically to the Congregations of the Holy Office, of the Index, and of Rites and Ceremonies. However, a further Congregation which was also extensively involved has until very recently been largely overlooked. This is the Congregation of the Council.[77] The decision made by Pius V (r. 1566–1572) not to publish the acts of the Council of Trent so as to make it easier for the papacy to exercise a monopoly over its subsequent interpretation is well enough known, not least for the impact it had on delaying their publication until the twentieth century.[78] However, what it meant more precisely has yet to be studied systematically. When it

75 See Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, part 1.

76 See, most recently, Wietse de Boer, *Art in Dispute: Catholic Debates at the Time of Trent with an Edition and Translation of Key Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2021); and Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters* (1564), ed. Michael Bury, Lucinda Byatt, and Carol M. Richardson (Texts and Documents Series) (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2018).

77 See the project, led since 2014 by Benedetta Albani, at the Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory, Frankfurt: "Governance of the Universal Church after the Council of Trent: Papal administrative concepts and practices as exemplified by the Congregation of the Council between the Early Modern Period and the Present," https://www.lhlt.mpg.de/research-group/governance-of-the-universal-church-after-the-council-of-trent (last accessed December 17, 2023).

78 *Concilium tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatuum nova collectio*, 13 vols. in 19 parts (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1901–2001); Klaus Ganzer, "La conclusione dell'edizione degli atti del concilio di Trento," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico* 29 (2003): 389–403, 389–391; and Umberto Mazzone, "L'esperienza di edizione del 'Concilium Tridentinum,'" *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico* 29 (2003): 469–492.

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is, perhaps it will lead to a new chapter in our appreciation of the intellectual acuity and diplomatic skills of Prospero Lambertini, who, as has been already noted, for a decade (1718–1728) was secretary of this Congregation (of the Council), duties which overlapped with the second half of his twenty-year service to the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies as Promoter of the Faith.

By focusing on a trio of protagonists, this chapter has sought to redescribe a corresponding number of dimensions to the cult of saints and its uses in the post-Tridentine Church. First, my choice of the canon lawyer, Francisco Peña, was made in order to argue that saint-making (and heretic-making) were, at base, expressions of the same universalist, papal legal claims, and that both were central to the reassertion of papal authority after the Council of Trent. Second, the figure of the Oratorian hagiographer and collector of testimony for saint-making, Antonio Gallonio, was chosen in order to show how significant the cult of saints was to the assertion of the universal significance of a particular place and time: early Christian Rome.[79] Finally, Prospero Lambertini was selected to show how his masterpiece, *De Servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, offers a still unrivaled conspectus not only of the mechanism of saint-making, but also of how saints' cults shaped the daily practices of worship in ways that enabled the reconciliation of universalist, globally applicable precepts with particular, local liturgical and related practices. Put simply, its pages show us how "glocality" might be negotiated and achieved: surely the *sine qua non* for the making of Roman Catholicism as the first world religion?

79 Nicola Denzey Lewis, *The Early Modern Invention of Late Antique Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

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Christophe Duhamelle

Roman Saints Scattered All Over the World

Catacomb Martyrs: Materiality and Networks

1. Introduction

In 1578 some Roman workers uncovered a new access to the old catacombs beneath Rome. In the context of the Counter-Reformation, this event was swiftly framed as providential evidence of the precedence of Rome and its traditions: whereas Protestantism used many innovations and "wrongdoings" of the papacy to present itself as the restoration of the true meaning of the original Christianity, the alleged presence of martyrs from the early ages of the Church in the bowels of the very city of the Holy See echoed a broader effort to reaffirm the Catholic Church as the real and only holder of the Apostolic transmission—the vertical superposition of past and present being then considered proof of the chronological continuity.[1] The discovery in 1578 therefore triggered an enduring search for human remains in the catacombs, from the end of the sixteenth century until well into the nineteenth century. Almost every bone found underground was considered to be the relic of a martyr, even if it did not bear any name, even if it had no history, no *vita*. These "extractions of holy bodies" at times reached an outstanding scale.

Therefore, this chapter will not deal with the making of one saint, but with the making of tens of thousands of saints. On the matter of catacomb martyrs, the word "making" bears its full signification. The mere numbers of these relics and their fragile status, which had been contested, and increasingly over time, since the beginning, the vanishing traces they left in all parts of the world they were sent to—all these features are real challenges for historians. The approach I am going to follow has been used to meet these challenges by working collectively, and by conducting a social and material history of the diffusion of the "holy bodies" of the Roman catacombs: only a collective approach was able to bring together a shared knowledge of the Roman core of the diffusion of these relics and the expertise required by the exploration of the various local contexts

1 Among many other works: Gérard Labrot, *L'Image de Rome: Une arme pour la contre-Réforme, 1534–1677* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1987), 266–285; Simon Ditchfield, "Text Before Trowel: Antonio Bosio's *Roma sotterranea* Revisited," in *The Church Retrospective: Papers Read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Robert Norman Swanson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 343–360; Massimiliano Ghilardi, "Baronio e la 'Roma sotterranea' tra pietà oratoriana e interessi gesuitici," in *Baronio e le sue fonti: Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi, Sora 10–13 ottobre 2007*, ed. Luigi Gulia (Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 2009), 435–487.

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of their reception, in order not to restrain the inquiry to the "logistical" aspects of the distribution nor to the religious aspects of the local cults. As a matter of fact, everything this chapter broaches is based on some collective research I had the privilege to carry out with Stéphane Baciocchi. It would be only fair to name the many colleagues who participated in this common enterprise that spanned more than a decade and has resulted in a book, published in Rome in 2016 and amounting to 775 pages—and I will try to do them justice in the footnotes.[2]

The initial data this inquiry dealt with consisted of more than 38,000 items listed in various registers spanning from 1657 to 1791 and documenting the distribution, in Rome, of "holy bodies from the catacombs" that were subsequently carried away throughout the whole Catholic world, in Europe and beyond. Day by day, every item that was listed indicated at least which part of a skeleton had been given to whom, with more or less accurate information about the origin of the recipients. The goal we set ourselves at the outset was to find out how each of these "holy bodies" was received locally and whether each had possibly led to a public cult. Most frequently, this goal turned out to be a disappointment. Many bones and skulls documented in the Roman registers seemed to have vanished, and we could not trace them with certainty to their destinations within France, Poland, or Spain. To make our case worse, some of the "Roman martyrs" still to be found in churches throughout Europe or dealt with by the literature in these many countries had been brought there before the Roman lists had been written up. But we discovered that there was much more to learn from the registers themselves, from the social groups they helped to uncover, from the mechanisms, fluctuations and connections at work for the circulations of the relics—in short: from the social framework of the making of saints between Rome and the Catholic world.

Although every one of us studied a particular territory, we closely worked together in order to identify comparable patterns and, in return, to raise new questions. I will not summarize the full scale of our results, but it would not be fair to concentrate on my own research within this collective work. I will endeavor to walk a middle way by providing the main lines of argument in a nutshell and by selecting a few examples. I will proceed along three main paths: the institutional and material making of Roman saints; the social networks at work in the distribution of the holy bodies; and the many ways Roman relics thrived or, more frequently, vanished in the many places they were settled.

2 Stéphane Baciocchi and Christophe Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines: Invention et circulation des corps saints des catacombes à l'époque moderne* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2016). As far as I intend to summarize many aspects of the book, the chapter is based on a vast range of literature and sources I did not always read myself. Therefore, it seems more appropriate to cite the various contributions of the book and to invite the readers to check them for more precise references—except when a precise example brings up the necessity of a precise quotation.

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2. Materiality of Catacomb Saints

First, it is important to understand how the extraction and distribution were organized in Rome. Ancient bones had to be unearthed and stockpiled in order to avoid a dearth of relics when people came from the whole Catholic world and requested them. They had to be certified: a document (a "certificate of authentication") was attached, which proved their origins. They had to be placed in a box (the "capsula") and to be provided with a name, as far as most unearthed bodies were anonymous. All this required staff and administrative procedures. At the beginning, the whole process depended on some individuals or groups who had a direct access to the catacombs and a papal authorization to collect bones: the Jesuits, some cardinals, or more obscure persons such as the Venetian noble Tommaso Candido, a scarcely documented provider of relics whom we collectively encountered on the many fields of our inquiry, or "the Toccafondo," half artist and half thug.[3] The voyage in the bowels of Rome was indeed an adventure, performed by fishy figures.

The Roman administration progressively strengthened the criteria of the extraction and the process of the distribution. A decree issued in 1668 and the constitution *Ex Commissae* in 1672 enumerated the signs that had to be found in the "loculi" in the catacombs in order to certify the martyrdom of the remains. The Roman authorities also entrusted two institutions with the task of scouring the catacombs and collecting, conserving, and distributing the "holy bodies": the custody of the Vicar of Rome, and the Sacristan of the Pope—this institutional evolution marked the beginning of the registers on which our collective inquiry has been based, and initiated a growing formality. The certificates of authentication, for example, were now pre-printed with blank spaces to be filled in by hand, mirroring the institutionalization of the procedure.

Therefore, the whole process of the distribution evolved in the long run. But some important characteristics remained unchanged. The Roman relics were Roman not only because they came from Rome, but also because they were made by Rome, where they were prepared, certified, and obtained, and this characteristic strengthened with the consolidation of the institutional apparatus. Marcantonio Boldetti's book *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri de' santi martiri et antichi cristiani di Roma …*, published in Rome in 1720, illustrates some aspects of this evolution. This was not the first book dealing with the sacred bones beneath Rome. Antonio Bosio's *Roma sotterranea*, published in 1634, was definitely a milestone for popularizing the "martyrs of the catacombs." But the *Osservazioni* provide good information on how things worked for visitors asking for some relics in Rome. Indeed, Boldetti was a learned man appointed at the custody of

3 Gianvittorio Signorotto, "Cercatori di reliquie," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 21 (1985): 383–418; Massimiliano Ghilardi, "Giovanni Angelo Santini, dit le *Toccafondo*, et l'invention des reliques: Aperçus d'une recherche en cours," in Baciocchi and Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines*, 147–173; Christophe Duhamelle, "Candide, ou les voyages immobiles," in ibid., 751–760.

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the sacred relics in 1700.[4] His position was, so to speak, at the heart of the system and he was able to rely on the archives of the custody.

Unsurprisingly, he summed up the relics brought from the catacombs to the custody in 1672—one of the first working years at the institution.[5] The numbers are indeed striking: 428 "holy bodies" had been unearthed that year; among them, 394 (that makes up more than 90 %) were "senza nome," without a name. They had to be "baptizati," given a name before they could be handed over to those who desired to get one—so that the registers of the Roman martyrs feature a great amount of "Victor," "Constantia," "Generosus," "Fortunatus," "Felicissima," "Placidus," "Felix," and other names labeling the supposed virtues of the unknown saints and imitating names already present in the *Martyrologium Romanum*, which was published for the first time in 1583.[6] Only a handful were found in places ("loculi") where it was possible to associate a body with a name, engraved in stone. This means that the overwhelming majority of the distributed relics were, to an extent, inventions of the Roman administration.

The Roman institutions strived to ensure a seamless chain of trust from Rome to the destination of the relics. At the end of the road, in Italy, France, Germany, or India, a new ceremony was therefore necessary, and named the recognition. The sealed box (the "capsula") was opened in the presence of an ecclesiastical authority, and the certificate of authentication was read carefully. According to some accounts, unpleasant surprises were possible: the bones in the box did not correspond to the bones listed on the document, or they had been smashed into pieces during the exacting travel. Generally, however, the box sealed in Rome, its companion made of paper, and the procedure of the recognition all succeeded in providing the relics with a value certified by Rome and acknowledged locally.

The very form of the relics also derived from choices made by the Roman authorities. In some rare cases, "whole bodies" were discovered underneath the city, or at least enough bones to reconstruct a credible skeleton. A whole body bearing a "real" name was therefore a very seldom case, and those who had the privilege to be given one of them had also the obligation to provide them with a proper and public worshipping. But the vast majority of the "holy bodies" were mere fractions of bodies, sometimes tiny particles of bones, and some documents describe them as fragile and smooth, similar to cardboard. A testimony written and published later, in the nineteenth century, expressed the astonishment of a French pilgrim who had been invited to visit the catacombs and had the opportunity to touch the remaining bones: "it's very striking to feel, by touching

4 Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Jean-Marc Ticchi, "Marcantonio Boldetti ou l'apologétique souterraine," in ibid., 131–146.

5 Marcantonio Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri de' santi martiri ed antichi christiani di Roma […]* (Rome: Salvioni, 1720), 248–249.

6 Baciocchi and Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines*, 764–770, features an index of all the names of "saints of the catacombs" encountered, in many languages, by our collective inquiry.

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them, that centuries have made these bones smooth and limp like a damp sheet of paper; it's like human paste yielding to the pressure of the fingers."[7]

The Roman institutions of the distribution not only took part in establishing the hierarchy among relics; they even created it. In order to meet demand, they did not hesitate to dismantle a body to increase the number of the relics. We find a very telling example in the registers, in September 1681: a "martyr" called Candidus appears again and again. On September 9, Gerard Tellini (all names are here spelled as they were in the original source) received some teeth of Candidus. On September 20, Lamberto Maret was given an arm, J. B. Angelini some ribs, and Peregrino, a canon in Lateran, some vertebra. On September 21, Antonio Riva got an unspecified fragment, as did Maria Angela Miletti and Andrea Eschenberger. On September 22, numerous parts of the remains of Candidus were distributed: Petro de Parmes received a tibia, Prospero Ciogni a thigh, Ludovico Pfyfer an arm, and unspecified fragments went to Antonio Thomas, "Joanni," Sebastiano Baldazzi, J. Domenico Cozzardi, and Domenico Tirio. On September 28, Franc. de Abreu received two fragments. Eventually, on October 3, Gabrieli Cail took an arm of Candidus away, and an abbot, "Candido," received two clavicles.

As it were, a pile of bones found in the catacombs had been baptized as "Candidus, martyr" and then cut up and given to many people residing in many countries, although the writers of the lists tended to italianize the names of the recipients. Some of them received prestigious parts of the body, like a bone of the thigh, while others were granted only fragments. Nevertheless, each of them received official relics of "saint Candidus." I'll come back to this fragmentation at the end of this chapter, when I examine the various locations and different fates of the relics: this Candidus was scattered across all directions; moreover, he was only one among a fair number of "Candidus," a name obviously favored by those who had "baptized" the bones, so that the Roman institutions themselves were first and foremost responsible for this proliferation of Candidus.

Other lessons can be drawn from this extract of our Roman registers. On October 3, for example, one piece of Candidus was handed over to an abbot, "Candido," who had certainly asked for a saint bearing his own name. This is by no means an outlier. In 1662, the priest of Crescentino in Northern Italy obtained a "Crescentius" who locally became "San Crescentino," a transformation that significantly increased the appeal of the new saint for the inhabitants of Crescentino,[8] and other edited lists concerning Switzerland suggest that an abbot of Einsiedeln named Placidus and an abbot of Saint-Gall named

7 Edmond Lafond, *Rome. Lettres d'un pèlerin*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Bray, 1864), 158.

8 Gianpaolo Fassino, "Reliquie di martiri e nuovi culti di santi in Piemonte (secoli XVII–XIX)," *Studi di museologia agraria* 51 (2011): 125–140, 127.

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Cœlestin purchased relics of a "Placidus" and a "Cœlestin," respectively.[9] Clearly, the distribution in Rome tried to meet the needs and preferences of the customers, whenever possible. Although it was quite rare, we found within the registers some written requests for a holy body, and they offer an insight into the motivations of those who required relics. For example, the Dominican monastery of Bagnolo, in the Kingdom of Naples, explained that they needed a relic in order to protect the region against the frequent earthquakes that climaxed in July 1784, urging the Dominicans to add an "auxiliary" saint to the already present relics that, clearly, were not efficient enough.[10]

Even if we are considering the way Rome and its institutions organized the extraction and distribution of Roman relics, we should also consider how these relics were used outside of Rome. Each spatial context determined the other. This draws our attention into a central aspect of the Roman distribution. The relics were never sent out; they were always carried away by those who wanted them or by their representatives. These people had to knock on the right door, and, literally, go to a counter where a little box with some bones and a piece of paper testifying of their origins were handed to them—or to those who had accepted the role of a go-between between Rome and some other place in the wide world. In other words: the relics existed only through a social network initiated in Rome along which the relics reached their destinations. I will now tackle this issue.

3. Distribution and Social Networks

The main conundrum we struggled with during our inquiry concerned the identification of the social networks that not only structured the diffusion of the Roman relics throughout the world, but also benefited from this diffusion and, just as they shaped it, were also shaped by it. For example, after having scrutinized the Roman registers, we had to carry out a thorough inquiry on Switzerland, then go back to the registers, in order to understand that some names on the lists, labeled as "Romans" and often italianized, were indeed the names of the Pope's Swiss Guards, acting at the counters of the distribution as the first link in a complex chain that not only determined the distribution of catacomb saints throughout Switzerland at large, but also provided a huge social benefit to a small number of upper-class families of Lucerne who had managed to establish a monopoly over the chain of command of the Swiss Guards, as well as on the early diffusion of "holy bodies" in their homeland. The family Pfyffer von Altishofen

9 Ernst Alfred Stückelberg, *Geschichte der Reliquien in der Schweiz*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Verlag der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1902–1908), vol. 2. This very complete collection of summarized sources is outstanding evidence of how local scientific literature proved useful for our research.

10 Françoise Le Hénand, *La Diffusion des corps saints des catacombes* (Paris: Prépublications du Centre d'anthropologie religieuse européenne [EHESS], 2006), 8.

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achieved undisputed success in both fields.[11] And, incidentally, there is a "Ludovico [Ludwig] Pfyffer," commander of the papal guard from 1658 to 1686, among those who took away one of the pieces of Candidus that, as explained previously, were chopped and scattered in September 1681.

Princes, nobility, and upper clergy made up the greatest part of those who received the most prestigious relics: the "whole bodies." They also accounted for the majority of those we were able to trace back to a social network. Moreover, the very structure of our Roman registers enhances their role: roughly 1,400 items are present from 1738 until 1790 in the registers of the Custody, crowded with more common pilgrims (in 1737, a blaze in Boldetti's house destroyed all archives), whereas various registers of the Sacristan of the Pope, prone to welcoming more distinguished guests, gather over 35,600 items with a slight overrepresentation of the whole bodies. The nobility and upper clergy traveled more frequently than other social groups and had good reasons to go to the papal court, whether for ecclesiastical ("ad limina" visits) or diplomatic functions—moreover, Rome was at the time an almost inevitable stopover during the various European versions of the Grand Tour, and many young members of the nobility received relics from the catacombs on this occasion, directly at the institutional counters, or from the many Roman receivers who were often the first step of the redistribution, using relics to maintain and develop social networks throughout the Catholic world.[12] The cardinals, especially, played an important and long-lasting role in establishing connections between Rome and the world.[13] We were therefore able to identify prominent names and uncover networks that were documented by the successive names on the certificates of authentication, which, like bills of exchange or payment checks, were endorsed at every step of the process. Connecting the dots was not always easy, but was quite often rewarding, as the two following examples will demonstrate.

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11 Christophe Duhamelle and Stéphane Baciocchi, "Des gardes suisses à la frontière confessionnelle: Apothéose et banalisation des corps saints des catacombes (Suisse, XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles)," in idem, *Reliques romaines*, 371–411.

12 See, in particular, Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux, "'Propager la gloire des saints dans des provinces si éloignées de Rome': L'Expansion des reliques des catacombes en Europe centrale et orientale," in ibid., 287–370, 335–345. Other examples include Dominique Julia and Stéphane Baciocchi, "Le Moment Mabillon: Expérience archéologique, vérité historique et dévotion collective," in ibid., 535–574, 538; Albrecht Burkardt, "'Zu aller antiquitet lieb und naigung': La Dynastie des Wittelsbach et les débuts du culte des saints des catacombes en Bavière," in ibid., 629–659, 643. Meanwhile, Marie Lezowski, "Les Reliques des catacombes romaines sous le regard du juge: L'Authenticité comme configuration sociale (Milan, XVII^{e} siècle)," in ibid., 597–627, 618–619, points out the large number of relics sent by some young patricians of Milan at the beginning of their Roman careers, in order to both assert their position in Rome and to consolidate it at home.

13 Two examples: Jean-Marc Ticchi, "Mgr Sacriste et la distribution des reliques des catacombes dans l'espace italien," in ibid., 175–223, 200–201; Mickaël Wilmart, "La Distribution des reliques romaines à Meaux par le cardinal de Bissy (1721–1723): Contexte, réception et mise en récit," in ibid., 519–534.

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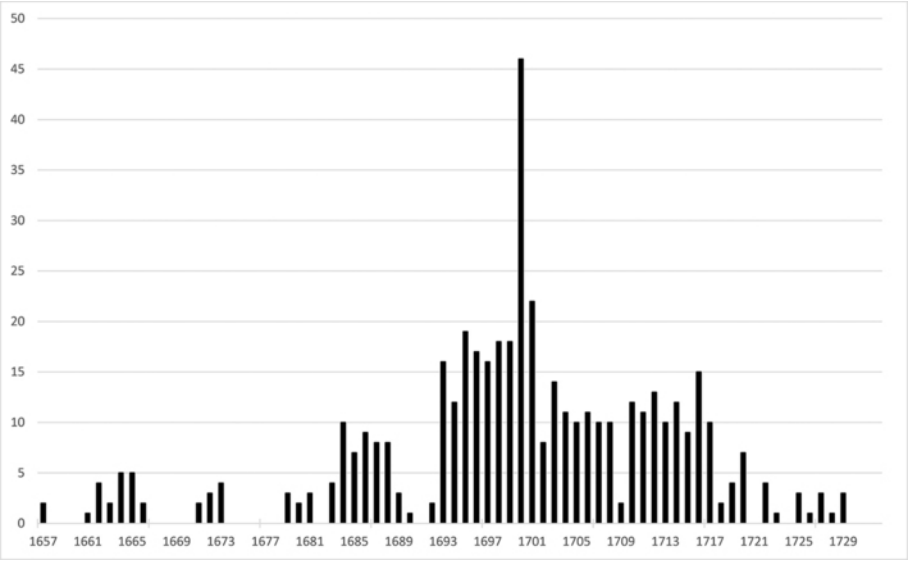


Fig. 1 Chronological repartition of the requests from the Southern Netherlands and the principality of Liège in the lists of the Sacristan of the Pope, 1657–1732.

The first case epitomizes the importance of the Roman component of any of these networks. The figure shows how the number of "holy bodies" of the catacombs attributed to individuals living in present Belgium dramatically increased from 1693 to 1717 (Fig. 1). As a matter of fact, a high tide of Roman relics had swept in almost a century before, when Jesuits provided their colleges with many Roman martyrs—this occurred at a time when the Jesuits had a privileged access to the catacombs and, as documented in the sources they produced, used it to aggressively promote the Counter-Reformation in the Southern Netherlands; but there were then no Roman lists to register this first high tide. However, the revival (from 1693 to 1717) can be precisely linked to a new circumstance: at the end of 1692 Pierre-Lambert Le Drou was appointed a Sacristan of the Pope and a bishop *in partibus* of Porphyreon, the titular See traditionally associated with this function, that he held, as the first Belgian ever, until his death in 1721. As such, he became head of one of the two institutions supervising the distribution of Roman relics, and thanks to him many members of the clerical elites in his homeland, especially canons of Liège, gained a good reason to undertake the travel and a better access to the "holy bodies," while Le Drou himself gained a powerful device for strengthening his own networks at home.[14]

14 Annick Delfosse, "Les Reliques des catacombes de Rome aux Pays-Bas: Acteurs, réseaux, flux," in ibid., 263–286.

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So, a little group, or even a single individual, could trigger a flood of relics into a region of the Catholic world. Epitomes of this phenomenon are Cardinal Philip Thomas Howard, who after 1676 was living in Rome and provided the priests who had studied in the *English College* in Rome, and who were returning to their dangerous mission in England, with relics of martyrs,[15] Jesuit Nicolaus Lancicius to whom the Pope gave a personal permission to extract relics in Rome, and who from 1606 onward conveyed dozens of holy bodies throughout Eastern Europe,[16] and Johann Rudolf, the first Pfyffer von Altishofen to become commander of the papal guards—this function stayed in this family from 1652 until 1847 continuously, with only one interruption between 1696 and 1712—and who was a successful and richly rewarded broker for the arrival of many holy bodies in Switzerland by the middle of the seventeenth century.

But the networks were sometimes broader and more complex. The Roman relics were a clue to the emergence and distinction of a new social group, and a device for the members of the group to merge into this new category. The second example sheds some light on this point. Let us consider how many attributions of relics documented by the Roman registers and concerning the German nobility can fit on a single genealogical tree. At the center stands Philipp Ernst von Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst. He received a "whole body," in Rome, four times during his long life, in 1684, 1695, 1700, and 1752. That is quite impressive. But even more impressive is the host of other aristocratic travelers whom I was able to associate with him, sometimes loosely, through the links of descent or marriage—so impressive indeed that I felt compelled to sketch four figures (Fig. 2).

15 Stéphane Baciocchi and Christophe Duhamelle, "Les Reliques romaines 'hors la ville, en quel lieu que ce soit du monde,'" in ibid., 1–100, 42–43.

16 Ducreux, "'Propager la gloire,'" 297–306.

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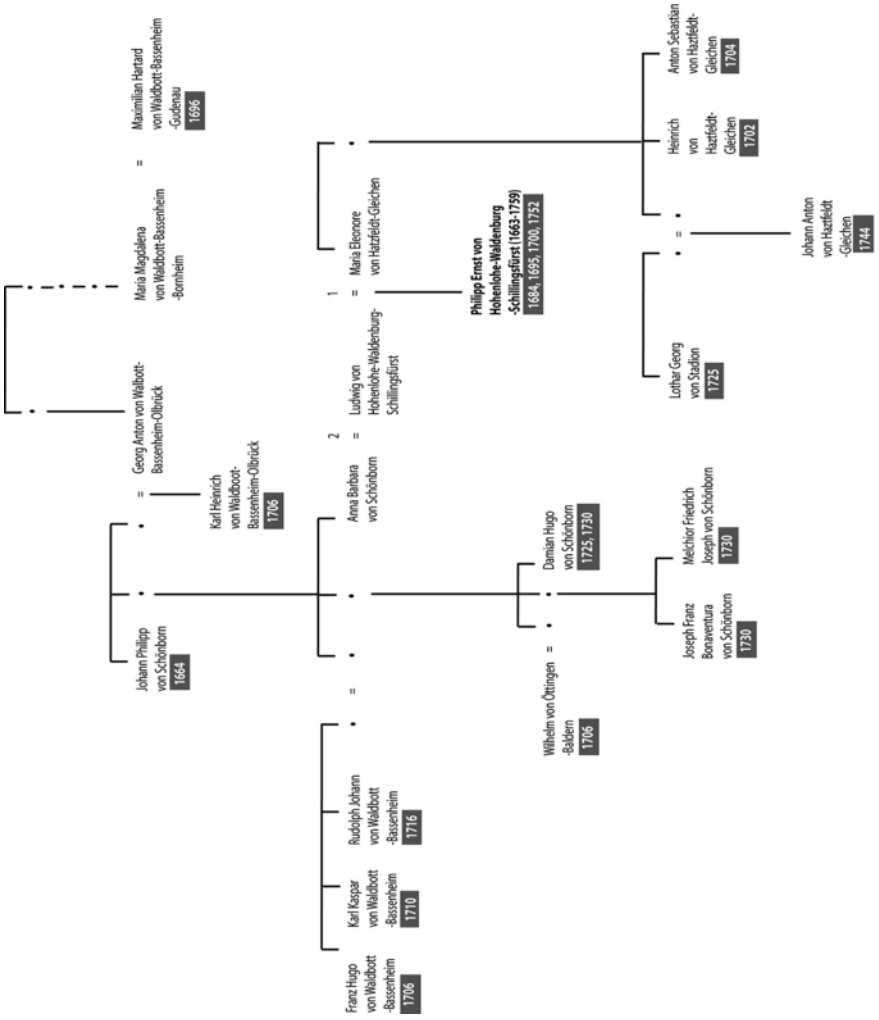


Fig. 2a Philipp von Hohenlohe and his kinship in the Roman lists (with indication of the year of each attribution of a relic from the catacombs): Philipp's father's both wives' kin

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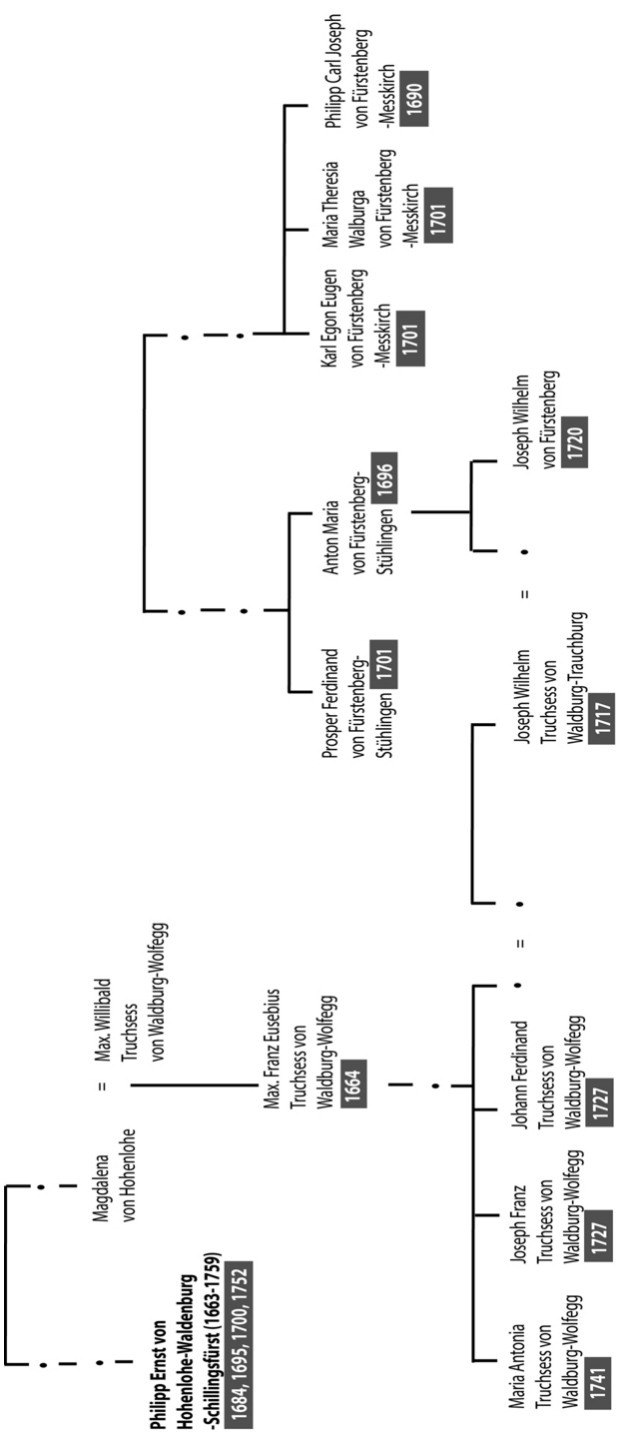


Fig. 2b Philipp von Hohenlohe and his kinship in the Roman lists: Philipp's 1st cousin's once removed kin.

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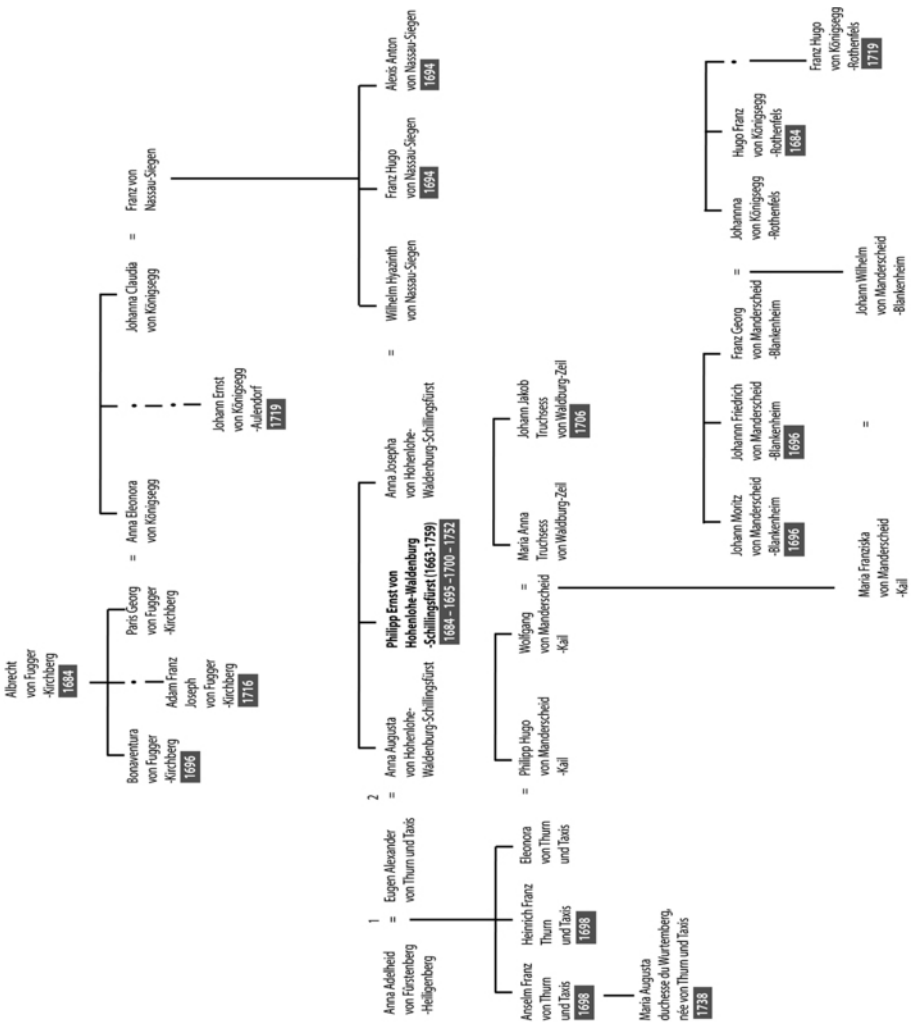


Fig. 2c Philipp von Hohenlohe and his kinship in the Roman lists: Philipp's sisters' husbands' kin.

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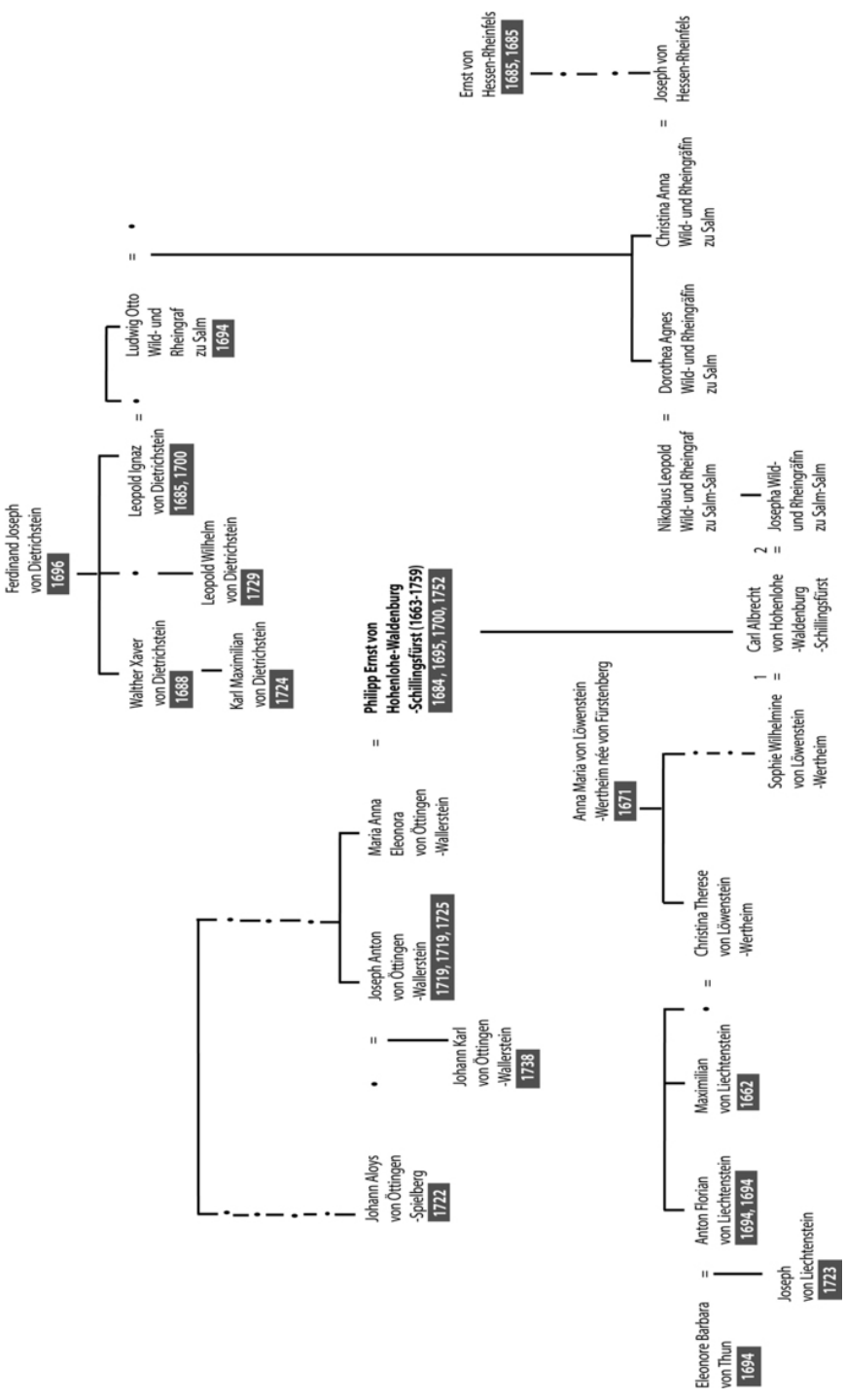


Fig. 2d Philipp von Hohenlohe and his kinship in the Roman lists: Philipp's wife's and son's kin.

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Every date indicates an item in the Roman registers, that is to say: the individual was in Rome, and he was handed some relics.

All these people came from different groups inside the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire. Some families were Imperial Knights, well established in the ecclesiastical principalities, especially along the Rhine, like the Schönborn or the Hatzfeld-Gleichen; many of their sons were educated at the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome and received relics at that time. This Jesuit-run institution had been founded in 1552 and had become a hotspot for the German nobility longing for the highest positions in the Catholic Church of the Holy Roman Empire (these positions were partly granted, or at least confirmed, by the pope), so that between 1700 and 1749, 31 % of all elected archbishops and bishops in the Empire were alumni of the Collegium Germanicum.[17] Others were old families of Imperial Counts and Princes, recently converted to Catholicism—as was Philipp von Hohenlohe himself, or the Nassau-Siegen; a significant increase in conversions took place among counts and princes in the Empire after 1648, partly because these conversions were, from then on, devoid of any consequence on the confessional geography, and like all converted Germans, they were welcome in Rome.[18] Others were newcomers in the imperial nobility, like the Fugger or the Thurn und Taxis, and entertained close connections to the Habsburg. But all of them shared one feature: they all were at a tipping point in the history of their social status, be it because of their success, or because of their conversion, and they were all using Catholicism and a closer relationship with the Habsburg emperor, in Vienna, in order to overcome these various transitions. Precisely in that period, they were merging into a new and composite category of nobility, less rooted in the old and multi-confessional hierarchy of the nobility of the Holy Empire, and more associated with the Court of the emperor and with the highest positions in the ecclesiastical principalities within the Empire. Undoubtedly, the Roman relics were, alongside marriage, one of the devices for this new group to effect and show its new unity.[19]

The making of Roman saints was, therefore, also the making of social groups based on Roman networks. The concurring trends entangling the monopoly of power established by a narrow elite in Lucerne (Switzerland) with, on the one hand, the privileges acquired by some families of this elite in the Swiss Guard of the Pope, and, on the other hand, the making of leading networks in Swiss Catholicism, showed a similar intertwined

17 Peter Schmidt, *Das Collegium Germanicum in Rom und die Germaniker: Zur Funktion eines römischen Ausländerseminars (1552–1914)* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1984); Erwin Gatz, "Das Collegium Germanicum und der Episkopat der Reichskirche nach 1648," *Römische Quartalschrift zur Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 83 (1988): 337–344, 343.

18 Christophe Duhamelle, "*Cujus regio ejus religio?* Le Prince converti dans le Saint-Empire moderne," *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine* 68, no. 4 (2021): 162–182.

19 Christophe Duhamelle, "La Noblesse germanique et la réception des reliques romaines, XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles," in Baciocchi and Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines*, 721–747, 740–746.

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social evolution shaping and benefiting from the diffusion of the Roman relics and the beginning of their cult. The massive surges in numbers of relics, organized by conquering elites, emphasize the social value of the "holy bodies" of the Roman catacombs. This combination of connections with Rome and local struggles for an enhanced social status can be pointed out in many other, even less prestigious cases. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, for instance, Gaspard Chappe, the son of a wealthy innkeeper, and himself a surgeon elevated in the Roman knighthood, used his close relations in Rome with Cardinal Ottoboni (a prelate we found 25 times in our Roman lists) to consolidate his family's position in his hometown of Saint-Marcellin, in the French Alps, by transferring relics of a dozen of "Roman martyrs" and establishing them in many ecclesiastical venues of the area of Saint-Marcellin. However, only parts of these relics were prestigious enough to guarantee an enduring cult and some letters from Chappe show how anxious he was to secure the devotional future of the modest bones he brought from Rome and therefore the social gain for his family.[20]

Indeed, such surges were not everlasting. And such people requested prestigious relics, specifically "whole bodies" if possible, and wanted to bring them home in a way that would enhance their own prestige. Not every relic, by far, achieved so glorious a fate.

I have suggested, in the first part of this chapter, that the Roman distribution produced a hierarchy among the relics, and, in this second part, that the social networks at work in the diffusion of the Roman saints produced geographical and chronological clusters of prestigious relics. In the forthcoming part, I would like to connect these two features together while returning to a global perspective and raising once again an issue that was a real challenge for our collective inquiry, as I pointed out at the beginning of the chapter: What happened to thousands of "Roman saints" after their departure from Rome?

4. Acclimatization, Depreciation and Social Evolution

Very few Roman relics, even prestigious ones, enjoyed public display and worship immediately after their arrival in their new home. Among the well-documented cases, Dorothea is an exception. This "holy body" had been purchased by nuns in Munich, Bavaria, through a Capuchin network. The solemn ceremony of translation took place on September 2, 1663, less than a year after the departure of the relic from Rome. In this case, conflicts about the fact that these Franciscan nuns had sought help from

20 Stéphane Baciocchi, Anne Bonzon, and Dominique Julia, "De Rome au royaume de France: Patronages, inscriptions spatiales et médiations sociales (XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} s.). Introduction au dossier France," in ibid., 413–458, 450–454.

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Capuchins urged them to accelerate the whole process.[21] But it was seldom that hasty a process.

More frequently, Roman relics were, at first, stockpiled in rich treasures of relics. Some of them were princely collections. They had already existed in the Late Middle Ages, had benefited from other abundant sources of sacred bones, like the "11,000 virgins of Cologne," and had welcomed, in the wake of the Counter-Reformation, the pro-Roman feature of the saints of the catacombs.[22] But the secondary distribution of Roman relics was carried out by monasteries even more, especially when they could rely on Roman connections and go-between travelers. The prominent monasteries of Einsiedeln, in Switzerland, and Saint-Antoine-de-Viennois, in the French Alps, exerted a particular impact in bringing in and distributing Roman relics—also because their previous treasuries of relics had suffered considerable devastation through fire in Einsiedeln in 1577, and in the turmoil of the French Wars of Religion in Saint-Antoine-de-Viennois in 1562, so that the seemingly never-ebbing flow of Roman relics came at the right time in order to refurbish the treasuries and to trigger an active policy of spatial influence by distributing sacred bones.[23] Milan under the Borromeo bishops was also an important center for the circulation and cult of catacomb saints; Italy, in general, accounted for roughly half of the primary distribution of all Roman relics.[24] Last but not least, the Jesuits, whose special connections with Rome and the papacy in general and eminent role in the early removal of bones in the catacombs are well known, were also instrumental in the primary accumulation of Roman relics and further distribution overseas, for example to and from Lisbon.[25]

In most cases, the relics were put into circulation again after some years, or decades. In the meantime, they acquired local citizenship, so to speak. These Roman saints had a fake name, no personal history, and no relationship with their new home. They were

21 Sabine John, "'... mit Behutsambkeit vnd Reverentz zu tractieren': Die Katakombenheiligen im Münchner Pütrichkloster – Arbeit und Frömmigkeit," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1995): 1–34. The Roman relics caused other conflicts between various religious orders, intertwined with social conflicts: Anne Bonzon, "La Relique des faubourgs: Les Augustins déchaussés de Rouen et le corps de sainte Colombe," in Baciocchi and Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines*, 501–517.

22 Burkardt, "'Zu aller antiquitet.'" Cécile Vincent-Cassy, "Les Reliques des saints des catacombes romaines en Espagne avant et après les Habsbourg: À propos des Déchaussées royales de Madrid," in ibid., 695–720. See also the role of "private" treasuries of relics and kinship transmission among the nobility of the Southern Netherlands: Delfosse, "Les Reliques," 272–275.

23 Duhamelle and Baciocchi, "Des gardes suisses," 384–389. Baciocchi, Bonzon, and Julia, "De Rome au royaume," 428–431. See also the dearth of relics lamented by the monastery of Aniane, near Montpellier, deprived of sacred bones by the Wars of Religion: Anne Bonzon, "Autour de Montpellier: Reliques romaines et reconquête catholique aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles," in ibid., 459–484, 478–480.

24 Lezowski, "Les Reliques des catacombes."

25 Jean-Pascal Gay, "Collectionner les reliques et collectionner les authentiques: Les Jésuites de Lisbonne et les reliques romaines à São Roque," in ibid., 661–693.

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devoid of roots and had to be implanted. Many other relics or images that were popular among Catholics at that time were supposed to choose their own place miraculously: an image departed from a church to return to its initial shrine, for example. Roman saints were also more likely to become "local" saints after having waited years in a monastery and being subsequently translated into a local church—making research on the fate of relics all the more difficult by multiplying the losses of seamless documentation about them. This waiting room of sanctity is well instanced by some Roman relics which were conveyed to Mexico at the end of the sixteenth century. As a matter of fact, they did not land there directly. The Mexicans were told that the ship bringing them across the ocean had been wrecked on the American shores, and that the relics had been recovered, afterwards, miraculously—being "born again" locally in order to be true Mexican saints.[26]

The making of the Roman saints therefore also took place through local translation, marked by a local ceremony during which the new identity of the saint was solemnly presented to the public and to the already present relics and worshipped saints: in 1659 in Einsiedeln, these saints were impersonated by actors who welcomed home the "Roman martyr" Placidus, offering a very concrete image of the acclimatization that the ceremony was supposed to accomplish.[27] Hyacinthe provides a good example of the personality often given to the saints of the catacombs. The featured engraving (Fig. 3) was released on May 12, 1673, during the ceremony of translation of Saint Hyacinthe in Paris.[28] The palm, handed over by an angel, exhibited the supposed martyrdom. His clothes heralded the Roman origins. More precisely, Hyacinthe was represented as a Roman soldier, donning a helmet and weapons.

The outfit of a Roman soldier was often chosen to give the new saint an identity—and simultaneously an ancient identity, rooted in the glorious times of the primitive Church. Skilled nuns and jewelers harnessed the challenge of turning a bundle of brittle bones squeezed in a little box into a holy warrior. Photographs of Cœlestin, still lying in the Franziskanerkirche in Lucerne, Switzerland, are good illustrations of the theatrical attribution of meaning and identity to an undefined skeleton (Fig. 4). Brought from Rome in 1731 and installed in the church in 1736 (a comparatively quick journey to the public display), the holy body had been adorned by nuns of Santa Clara, in

26 Pierre-Antoine Fabre, "Reliques romaines à Mexico (1575–1578): Histoire d'une migration," in ibid., 575–593.

27 Hansjakob Achermann, "Translationen heiliger Leiber als barockes Phänomen," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 4 (1981): 101–111, 107. See also Albrecht Burkardt, "Les Fêtes de translation des saints des catacombes en Bavière (XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles)," in *Les Cérémonies extraordinaires du catholicisme baroque*, ed. Bernard Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2009), 79–98.

28 Baciocchi, Bonzon, and Julia, "De Rome au royaume," 419. A very precise analysis of the reception, recognition, translation, and cult of another catacomb saint (Épiphane) can be found in: Isabelle Brian, "Paul Beurrier et les reliques à Saint-Étienne-du-Mont," in Baciocchi and Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines*, 485–500.

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Fig. 3 Saint Hyacinthe: engraving distributed in Paris during the ceremony of translation on May 12, 1673.

Stans, Switzerland. The solemn translation ceremony took place in 1738, after a Baroque upgrading of the interior of the church.[29] The personification of the skull through jewelry and the association of the palm (martyrdom) and the sword (soldier of the faith) are typical of the semantics frequently associated with the Roman relics, especially in a town closely associated with the Swiss Guard of the Pope and central for the spiritual—and actual: the last war between Catholic and Protestants cantons in Switzerland took place in 1712—combat against Protestantism.

29 Clemens Hegglin and Fritz Glauser, eds, *Kloster und Pfarrei zu Franziskanern in Luzern: Geschichte des Konvents (vor 1260 bis 1838) und der Pfarrei (seit 1845). Baugeschichte der Kirche* (Lucerne: Rex, 1989), 105–106, 276–279, 379–381.

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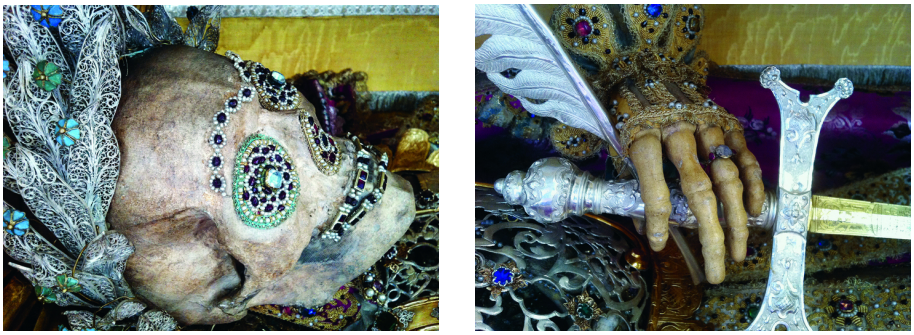


Fig. 4 Two photographs of Cœlestin, Franciscan Church, Lucerne, Switzerland; photo: Christophe Duhamelle.

There were other ways to display the holy bodies of the catacombs. Lifelike bodies of wax, featuring the supposed wounds of martyrdom and displaying the accurate location of the bones, for instance, were quite popular in Italy.[30] However, the Cœlestin type of decorated skeleton prevailed in Germany and in Switzerland. They illustrate a striking signification given to the holy bodies: the Roman soldiers came from the first ages of the Tradition, but they arrived in an age of confrontation with the Protestants. In Switzerland, but also in the Upper Palatinate[31] and in the South of France,[32] the Roman relics were placed near the confessional border, or in regions that had been Protestant (and therefore stripped of all relics) and had been recently recovered by the Catholic Church. Their new local identity was entwined with the Counter-Reformation. Beside this specific identity as "frontier saints," the *vita* forged for many of them are a tribute to the vivid imagination of clergymen who adorned the virtues and adventures of the "saints" they tried to link with other prestigious and well-known local saints. For instance, in 1601 Bishop Sancho Davila y Toledo published the life of "his" Vitalis (extracted from the Roman catacombs in 1594), featuring him as one of the evangelizers of Toledo and as one Parisian companion of Saint Denis, among other—completely imaginary—trials and tribulations.[33]

30 Good examples can be found in Massimiliano Ghilardi, "Paolino e gli altri martiri: Il culto dei 'corpi santi' nella prima età moderna," *Quaderni per la ricerca* 17 (2013): 101–125, 118-125; Fassino, "Reliquie di martiri."

31 Trevor Johnson, "Holy Fabrications: The Catacomb Saints and the Counter-Reformation in Bavaria," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47, no. 2 (1996): 274–297

32 Bonzon, "Autour de Montpellier." The implantation of catacomb saints seems to have been related to the conquests of Prince Eugene against the Turks: Ducreux, "'Propager la gloire'," 315–316.

33 A. Katie Harris, "A Known Holy Body, With an Inscription and a Name: Bishop Sancho Dávila y Toledo and the Creation of St. Vitalis." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 104 (2013): 245–271, 260–266.

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Some catacomb saints entered a new and lengthy life in their new homes. They performed miracles on their own, and gained a reputation of warding off bad weather, as did Donatus in Münstereifel, or of soothing sore eyes, as did Synesius in Bremgarten.[34] Paulina enjoyed exceptional popularity in Olomouc (Moravia) and replaced Saint Maurice as a patron saint of the city after having supposedly freed Olomouc from the plague in 1623.[35] Few of them had an enduring influence on the Christian names in the neighborhood, as did Leontius in the region of Muri, in Switzerland, or enjoyed a solemn jubilee testifying to their enduring local influence, like Marianus and Getulius in Wettingen.[36] But none of all catacomb saints was as successful and predominant in the stock of first names as other new saints of the early modern period, for instance the Jesuit saints, Ignatius, Aloysius and Francis Xavier, and John of Nepomuk.[37]

I have shown many examples from Germany and Switzerland, not only because it is my own field of research, but also because the cult of catacomb saints has been studied by a lively tradition of *Volkskunde* and has in few cases survived until now. As a matter of fact, historians tend to discard saints whose value is no longer recognized: the learned specialists of the catacombs admit that no one, or maybe very few of the "Roman martyrs," were in fact martyrs or even Christians.[38] Besides, the sheer number of "Donatus" or "Victor"—a name given over and over again in Rome to bodies scattered again and again—seemed confusing and discouraging. This skepticism stretches far back into the very period of the rediscovery of the catacombs. Protestants mocked the baptized bones. Members of the Catholic Church expressed a growing concern about their authenticity, especially after the publication in 1698 of Jean Mabillon's book *De sanctorum ignotorum cultu*.[39] After the above-mentioned rush for relics ebbed, the

34 Beate Plück,"Der Kult des Katakombenheiligen Donatus von Münstereifel," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 4 (1981): 112–126; Heinz Koch, "Synesius, der Augenheilige in Bremgarten," *Bremgarter Neujahrsblätter* (2000): 43–54.

35 Ducreux, "'Propager la gloire'," 307.

36 On Switzerland, an unchallenged standard book dealing with the catacomb saints: Hansjakob Achermann, *Die Katakombenheiligen und ihre Translationen in der schweizerischen Quart des Bistums Konstanz* (Stans: Historischer Verein Nidwalden, 1979). On Leontius in Muri, see Ernst Baumann, "Die Wallfahrt zum Katakombenheiligen Leontius in Muri," in *Kultur und Volk: Beiträge zur Volkskunde aus Österreich, Bayern und der Schweiz. Festschrift für Gustav Gugitz zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Leopold Schmidt (Vienna: Selbstverlag des Österreichischen Museums für Volkskunde, 1954), 25–51. On Marianus and Getulius in Wettingen: Peter Felder, "Die hundertjährige Translationsfeier der beiden Wettinger Katakombenheiligen Marianus und Getulius," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 58 (1962): 65–90.

37 Christophe Duhamelle, "Le Prénom catholique masculin dans le Saint Empire à l'époque moderne," *Annales de l'Est, no.* 1 (1998): 159–178.

38 Éric Rebillard, "Historiographie de l'origine des catacombes depuis De Rossi," in Baciocchi and Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines*, 103–118.

39 Julia and Baciocchi, "Le Moment Mabillon." Jean Mabillon, from the Benedictine order, is regarded as the founder of modern erudition in France. His critical inquiry about the "signs of martyrdom" supposedly found with the remains in the catacombs and about the whole process of the distribution stripped their

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Catholic elites increasingly disregarded the catacomb saints as no longer capable of granting them social distinction. Many relics were removed from public display, fell into oblivion, were separated from their certificates of authentication, and therefore were forever lost for public worship and inquiry by historians.

But although clerical and lay elites had been turning their backs on the catacomb saints, many clues indicate that their popularity did not fade among more humble Catholics during the eighteenth century—not to mention a later revival in the nineteenth century, epitomized by the success of Saint Philomena, probably the only catacomb saint to achieve an enduring popularity throughout the Catholic world.[40] Concerning France, for example, the information provided by the Roman lists has been broken down along spatial, chronological, and social categories, resulting in maps and tables that show how over the course of the eighteenth century, despite the continued supply of distinguished relics (whole bodies), the diffusion of Roman relics increasingly attracted recipients who were more humble and less prestigious (with less demand from members of the nobility or prominent ecclesiastical institutions). Lay people, monks, and secular priests who received a Roman relic were present in a growing number of places.[41] This evolution took place in other countries as well: local priests or common pilgrims were still fond of the Roman saints in the eighteenth century, even more than at the beginning of their diffusion.

Two Bavarian ceremonies of translation provide an interesting outlook on this evolution, because they were in stark contrast to one another. The first one was organized for the Roman martyr Amantius in Frontenhausen, in 1708; the second for Faustina in Dingolfing in 1770. Both ceremonies enjoyed a great success and drew an enthusiastic crowd. But all the local elites, be they temporal or ecclesiastical, attended the ceremony in 1708—in contrast, none of them did so in 1770. Faustina had been purchased by a local confraternity and was clearly the people's saint.[42] This example epitomizes the social differences that we must take into account in order to understand the chronology of the catacomb saints.

This social contrast mirrored the wide differences among the Roman relics. As I have already pointed out, the number of the most humble relics—fragments, and even dust—far outstripped the number of "whole bodies" which busy nuns dressed up as precious warriors of sanctity. Most of the catacomb bones were doomed to a much

"sanctity" of almost every bit of certainty. *De Sanctorum ignotorum cultu*, threatened with a Roman condemnation, was soon republished in a very tempered version, but the book summarized and enhanced wider doubts held against the way unknown bones were styled as baptized saints.

40 Philippe Boutry, "Les Corps saints des catacombes," in Baciocchi and Duhamelle, eds., *Reliques romaines*, 225–259

41 Baciocchi, Bonzon, and Julia, "De Rome au royaume," 422–426.

42 Fritz Markmiller, "Die Übertragung zweier Katakombenheiliger nach Niederbayern im 18. Jahrhundert: Ein Vergleich," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 4 (1981): 127–159.

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grimmer fate. The numerous, but not so prestigious relics of Rome were often used as "attributes," in order to reinforce the value of a more important relic.[43] Other tiny fragments of bones ended up enclosed in a new altar—one had to provide relics in order to sanctify a Catholic altar, and during the early modern period a huge quantity of altars were built or re-built. The dust produced by the decay of bones in the moisture of the Roman catacombs was used in multiple ways, resulting in an amazing variety of second-class devotional objects, devotional souvenirs, and devices of a low-sacrality cult of relics that could assume a therapeutic aspect. In Rome, a great number of Agnus Dei were churned out on almost an industrial scale and purchased by even the humblest of pilgrims for their own private devotion. An Agnus Dei was made of wax mixed with the dust of bones from the Roman catacombs. Such items were mass-produced in Rome, bathed into holy water by means of wheel-cranked machinery, and blessed by the Pope—or so, at least, were told thousands and thousands of pilgrims who brought an Agnus Dei back home from Rome. These were fragile; very few have remained undamaged until today, unless an Agnus Dei was displayed as an attribute of a "real" relic. Even more bizarre uses of the dust of relics are documented: in 1777, a report written by an ecclesiastical judge in the bishopric of Passau detailed the composition of the "Breve de Marcha" that some Capuchins in Styria had produced with 3,542 ingredients, one of them being a "pasta de martyri" made of wax and the dust of Roman martyrs; this devotional sausage was sliced and proposed as medication.[44]

But these second-rate byproducts of the Roman catacombs were not the only ones to enjoy an enduring popularity. Whereas the nobility and the upper clergy entered a process of disdaining the "martyrs of the catacombs" in the wake of the Catholic Enlightenment, there continued to be a robust demand for whole bodies and prestigious relics in Rome, even though more obscure parish priests or pilgrims outnumbered others in the Roman lists. Moreover, the mere presence of Roman relics in the neighborhood possibly fueled a continued desire for them among the rural clergymen and parishes, in spite of the recent scorn in which they were held by the elites. When Joseph Schmautz, the priest of the village of Hofweier in the Black Forest, wrote in 1779, when in Rome, in order to obtain a "holy martyr of Rome," he expressed his desire to refurbish the

43 Walter Pötzl, "Katakombenheilige als 'Attribute' von Gnadenbildern," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 4 (1981): 168–184.

44 Wolfgang Brückner, "Christlicher Amulett-Gebrauch der frühen Neuzeit: Grundsätzliches und Spezifisches zur Popularisierung der Agnus Dei," in *Frömmigkeit: Formen, Geschichte, Verhalten, Zeugnisse. Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Ingolf Bauer (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1993), 89–134, especially 115–117. Barbara Schleicher, Eleonore Roskamp-Klein, and Andrea Rothe, "'Pasta di reliquie' – eine liebenswerte Form der Reliquienverehrung," in *Mosaics of Friendship: Studies in Art and History for Eve Borsook*, ed. Ornella Francisci Osti (Florence: Centro Di, 1999), 267–285. A good example of the fragments of relics and Agnus Dei that a common pilgrim would carry back home from a journey in Rome: Dominique Julia, *Gilles Caillotin, pèlerin: Le retour de Rome d'un sergier rémois, 1724* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2006), 39.

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prestige of his village church that was devoid of relics, whereas the neighboring villages had some, and he underlined the importance of reaffirming the cult of relics against the mockeries of the surrounding Protestants.[45] In other words: the catacomb saints were still participating in a local economy of religious distinction long after they had been demonetized by the elites who, about a century earlier, had contributed so vividly to their acclimatization.

5. Conclusions

What is at stake in this inquiry is the possibility of tangling together social, religious, and material history. The value of the relics was made of a special relationship with Rome, whether a connection with the institutions surrounding the Pope, or the one-time experience of a pilgrimage; of the participation in networks that enabled recipients to obtain and carry away sacred bones, to provide expertise and relocate the relics at some place in the Catholic world; and of the new roots the relics acquired at that place—whether an enduring cult, a private devotion, or the humble and concealed presence in an altar. All these aspects were intertwined and must be taken into account. The "relics of Roman martyrs" were in many ways genuinely Roman, but their full identity resulted from being removed from the womb of the catacombs, named, registered, distributed, conveyed, passed along a social chain of actors, finally installed at a certain place, reinvented, acclimatized, and transformed into a local saint. The whole process was inescapable for turning them into saints—or some humble sacred dust.

The history of the catacomb saints is also a history of social distinction followed by downward mobility. The mindset of lay elites and ecclesiastical authorities evolved toward skepticism, sometimes contempt for these saints who were too numerous, too dubious, too uncertain. This contempt was also a social one, for "the populace […], concerning the quality of the cult, is not able to establish enough distinction," as a German prelate wrote in 1743.[46] The new avatar of the Roman martyr was the saint of the village, despised by many as such, lost in the tides of enlightened Catholicism and revolution, with his traces remaining in the humble corner of a reliquary or inserted into the stones of an old altar.

This social evolution of the worship of catacomb saints hints at a history of the specific materiality of Catholic devotion. The mere number of the possible devotional

45 Request addressed to the Roman Custody, quoted by Urs Amacher, *Barocke Körperwelten: Wie Ritter Heinrich Damian Leonz Zurlauben die Katakombenheilige Christina von Rom nach Zug brachte* (Olten: Selbstverlag, 2010), 12–13. Schmautz obtained the whole body of Justina.

46 Quoted by Andrea Polonyi, "Römische Katakombenheilige – Signa authentischer Tradition: Zur Wirkungsgeschichte einer Idee in Mittelalter und Neuzeit," *Römische Quartalschrift für Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 89, no. 3–4 (1994): 245–259, 255.

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devices, their abundance and constant renewal, may have nourished forms of fashion and competition—a devotional market not without parallels to the emergence of popular consumption. Throughout our inquiry, we could not help but observe that the surge of Roman "holy bodies" had been preceded, was accompanied, and was followed by other types of material and devotional supply, like the 11,000 virgins of Cologne, the Theban legion, the Jesuit saints, and so on. When the nuns of Rathausen obtained the right to scale down all the ceremonies dedicated to their Roman martyrs to only one festival in 1783, they expressed no scorn and made it clear that the catacomb saints were "still honored by the greatest devotion of humble ones," but they explicitly wanted to make room in their calendar for the many new devotions and celebrations that had been introduced since they had obtained the right of worshipping Venantius in 1714.[47] The history of Catholic devotion is also a history of material competition and turnover, mirroring the social processes of distinction and providing the faithful with a certain power of demand, choice, and varying infatuation.

I will not advocate for the prioritization of one perspective over another and for the reduction of a devotion to a social transaction, but there are advantages to be drawn from braiding together various approaches. One could and should not separate the religious value of the Roman relics from the social value produced by the whole making of their semantics and, eventually, of their demonetization. These shaky bones offer an interesting outlook on the various and changing social spaces of the early modern Catholic world.

47 Duhamelle and Baciocchi, "Des gardes suisses," 401.

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Philipp Zwyssig

From the Alps to Rome

Cult and Miracles of Saint Aloysius (Luigi) Gonzaga in the Valtelline in the Context of his Canonization

1. Introduction

Earlier than other courts, the Papal Curia formed centralized procedures for enforcing claims even across territorial borders by using the potential inherent in the dualism of secular rule and spiritual primacy.[1] Historical research over the past 30 years has been able to show that personal networks were an important factor in this institutional expansion beyond Rome.[2] Furthermore, it came to light that institution-building and the efforts towards increased centralization of decision-making were accompanied by an intensified communication between actors in the Roman center and actors in the outposts of the Roman Catholic Church. The "long arm of Rome"—to use a metaphor by Markus Friedrich—was at work in bureaucratic procedures for gathering information and in the claim of central authorities—in this case the Jesuit curia—to be informed as precisely as possible about incidences on the periphery. However, as Friedrich himself has shown, the "long arm of Rome" had its limitations.[3] This idea has been further developed by other scholars. As Christian Windler has demonstrated using the example of missionaries in Persia, Roman Congregations were only able to assert their claim to supremacy in decision-making if they were *de facto* approached by actors in the periphery.[4] The "long arm of Rome," to stay with Friedrich's metaphor, was only able to extend into the church provinces if subaltern actors—be they bishops, missionaries, parish communities, or individual believers—reached out to it. The present chapter

1 Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice: Un corpo e due anime. La monarchia papale nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982).

2 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Burocrazia, mobilità sociale e patronage alla Corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento: Alcuni aspetti del recente dibattito storiografico e prospettive di ricerca," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 3 (1995): 11–55; Wolfgang Reinhard, ed., *Römische Mikropolitik unter Papst Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621) zwischen Spanien, Neapel, Mailand und Genua* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 2004); and Birgit Emich, *Territoriale Integration in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ferrara und der Kirchenstaat* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2005).

3 Markus Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms? Globale Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenorden 1540–1773* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2011).

4 Christian Windler, *Missionare in Persien: Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Externa. Geschichte der Außenbeziehungen in neuen Perspektiven 12) (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2018).

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elaborates on this thesis, using the example of the veneration of Blessed Luigi Gonzaga in the Valtelline to illustrate that the social logics of personal networks prevailing in court society also played a decisive role in the increasingly standardized and centralized procedures of canonization[5] and cult regulation starting with the founding of the Congregation of Rites in 1588. The case study points out that the centralization and standardization in the veneration of saints did not diminish the scope for action of ordinary believers far away from the Roman center; on the contrary, laypeople were able to reinterpret and practice cults of saints conveyed to them by actors of the Catholic Reform in such a way that they perfectly met their spiritual needs. And this, in turn, could have an influence on the canonization procedure controlled from Rome, as the case study shows.

Luigi Gonzaga was born in 1568 as hereditary prince of Ferrante Gonzaga (1544–1586), marquis of Castiglione. After renouncing the succession, he entered the Jesuit Order in 1585. He died of plague in Rome on June 21, 1591. As early as 1605, he was beatified by Pope Paul V (1605–1621),[6] and only two years later, in 1607, the pope instructed the Sacred Congregation of Rites to initiate a process of investigation into Luigi's reputation for sanctity,[7] after the Roman Curia had heard of several ordinary informative processes in various dioceses, initiated due to the fact that stories about the miraculous intercession of Luigi had spread "among the entire Christian population."[8] Thereafter, from 1612 to 1618, the Congregation of Rites examined and recognized a total of fifteen miracles that Luigi was said to have performed and which were taken as proof of his sanctity.[9] One of these miracles took place in Castiglione delle Stiviere, two in Florence, four in Rome, one in Poland, and no less than seven in the Valtelline, the Alpine valley in the diocese of Como that had been a subject territory of the Three Leagues since 1512.[10] This fact requires explanation: in the Valtelline, unlike in most of

5 Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei riti, 1588–1634* (Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi: Sussidi per lo studio delle cause dei santi 7) (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001); Miguel Gotor, "La fabbrica dei santi: La riforma urbaniana e il modello tridentino," in *Roma, la città del papa: Vita civile e religiosa dal giubileo di Bonifacio VIII al giubileo di papa Wojtyła*, ed. Luigi Fiorani and Adriano Prosperi (Turin: Einaudi, 2000), 679–727; Clare Copeland, "Sanctity," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 225–241.

6 Silvano Giordano, "Luigi Gonzaga, santo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 66, 2006, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/santo-luigi-gonzaga (last accessed December 17, 2023).

7 Virgilio Cepari, *Vita del B. Luigi Gonzaga della Compagnia di Giesù, scritta dal P. Virgilio Cepari: Riveduta, e corretta in questa nuova Edizione, e dedicata all Ill.mo Sign.re Abbate Domenico Consalvi, Segretario della Sag. Penitenzieria* (Rome, 1727), 362–363.

8 Ibid., 362: "per tutta la Cristianità ed il Popolo Cristiano."

9 Angelo Galluzzi, *Vita di S. Luigi Gonzaga Della Compagnia di Gesù: Descritta da una religiosa della medesima Compagna. Coll'Aggiunta degli Atti della sua Canonizzazione, cavati dalla Segretaria delle Sacra Congregazione de' Riti* (Rome, 1727), 165.

10 Ibid., 165–176.

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the other places where miracles of the Jesuit took place, no biographical, familial, or seigneurial ties to Luigi and the Gonzaga family existed. So, how did it come about that Blessed Luigi enjoyed such great worship in the Alpine Valley? And how did the miraculous events in the Valtelline find their way to Rome? To answer these questions, the chapter will first show which persons spread, promoted, and investigated the veneration of Luigi Gonzaga. In the second part, it will point out what role miracles and the religious practices associated with them played in the spread of the cult of Luigi in the Valtelline.[11]

2. Networks of Persons and Things

In the canonization process of Luigi Gonzaga (1568–1591) , who died with a reputation of sanctity, the more than 130 miracle stories that Prospero Peranda, the investigating judge appointed by Rome, had collected in the Valtelline[12] from 1612 to 1614 played an important role. Seven of them belonged to those fifteen miracles that were examined in more detail by the Roman Congregation of Rites from 1612 to 1618.[13]

The fact that Blessed Luigi Gonzaga became known in the Valtelline at all can firstly be attributed to ecclesiastical networks. In September 1607, two years after the beatification of Luigi, Prospero Peranda, archpriest of Bormio, went on pilgrimage to the Sanctuary of Tirano accompanied by Scipione Carrara, rector of the Jesuit College of Como. On this occasion, the Jesuit donated to Peranda the vita of Luigi Gonzaga written by the Jesuit Virgilio Cepari.[14] On his way back to Bormio, Peranda passed by Ponte in Valtellina,

11 The paper reproduces part of my dissertation, published as Philipp Zwyssig, *Täler voller Wunder: Eine katholische Verflechtungsgeschichte der Drei Bünde und des Veltlins (17. und 18. Jahrhundert)* (Affalterbach: Didymos Verlag, 2018).

12 Witnesses were heard in Sazzo, Ponte, Chiuro, Talamona, Buglio, Teglio, Poschiavo, and Tirano, cf. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (ARSI), Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], Aloysius Gonzaga, vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi. Copia Processum […] Vallis Tellinae in Causa S. Aloysii, fol. 1–132; Archivio di Stato di Mantova (ASMa), Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 164, fol. 46r–53v: Copie alle gr[ati]e e favori concesso da Dio à diverse persone per intercessione del Beato Luigi Gonzaga nella Chiesa di Sazo Comune di Ponte di Valtellina incominciato anno 1608; *Acta Sanctorum Iunii, ex Latinis et Graecis aliarumque gentium Monumentis, servata primigenia veterum Scriptorum phrasi, Collegta, Digesta, Commentariisque et Observationibus Illustrata, a Godefrido Henschenio P. M., Daniele Papebrochio, Francisco Baertio, et Conrado Janningo, e Societate Jesu Presbyteris Theologis* (Tomus IV, Antwerp 1707), 1090–1121.

13 Vgl. Galluzzi, *Vita di S. Luigi Gonzaga*, 165–176.

14 Virgilio Cepari, *Vita del Beato Luigi Gonzaga della Compagnia di Giesu. Primogenito di D. Ferrante Gonzaga, Prencipe dell'Imperio, Marchese di Castiglione, &c. Scritta dal P. Virgilio Cepari della medesima Compagnia. Et dal Marchese Francesco dedicata alla Santità di N[ostro] S[ignore] Papa Paolo Quinto* (Rome, 1606).

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where he gave the book to the parish priest Giovanni Maria Quadrio.[15] Quadrio in turn passed it on to Nicolò Longhi, curate of Sazzo near Ponte, who was so enthusiastic about the life and miracles of the Jesuit Gonzaga that he made handwritten copies of the vita and distributed them among his parishioners. Longhi himself read from it on several occasions to the assembled parish and advised the people of Sazzo to turn to the blessed with their prayers.[16]

It was no coincidence that Prospero Peranda had given the impetus for the worship of Luigi in the Valtelline. He himself was in possession of a relic[17] of the blessed and seems to have particularly venerated him. Furthermore, correspondence in the archives of the Gonzaga di Castiglione shows that both Prospero Peranda and his father, Giovanni Antonio Peranda, maintained a direct relationship with the court in Castiglione delle Stiviere and served the Gonzaga as clients. Giovanni Antonio Peranda owed Francesco Gonzaga (1577–1616), marquis of Castiglione della Stiviere and brother of Blessed Luigi, a post in the service of an aristocrat.[18] In his letters to Gonzaga, he always recalled this generosity of his "patron" and recommended himself and his son Prospero to the marquis.[19] When Prospero Peranda died unexpectedly in 1615, his father, Giovanni Antonio Peranda, wrote to Gonzaga) asking for the "shadow of your most gracious protection"[20] and more specifically for an annual pension. He did so citing his son's merits in the canonization process for Luigi Gonzaga. His son Prospero, Giovanni

15 Virgilio Cepari and N. N., *Vita di San Luigi Gonzaga della Compagnia di Gesù scritta dal Padre Virgilio Cepari Con la Terza Parte nuovamente composta da un altro Religioso della medesima Compagnia, Dedicata all' Eminentiss[mo], e Reverendiss[mo] Signore il Signor Cardinale Benedetto Odescalco Arcivescovo di Milano* (Milan 1728), 352–353. Cf. Gisi Schena, "La precoce diffusione del culto di San Luigi Gonzaga in Valtellina," *Bollettino Storico Alta Valtellina* 16 (2013): 145–172.

16 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 36v: "[…] io sentendo a legger tal volta dal Rev[erendo] M[onsignore] Pre[te] Nicolo Curato nostro libro della vita, et miracoli del B[eato] Luigi Gonzaga feci un gran concetto della sua santità."

17 Cepari and N. N., *Vita di San Luigi Gonzaga*, 353.

18 ASMa, Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 245: Giovanni Antonio Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Bormio March 28, 1614: "[…] vengo nelle presenti righe à inchinarmele devot[issi]mo et à rendere humiliss[im]e gratie dell'havermi si benignam[en]te ammesso al servitio della Sig[no]ra Prencipessa di Venosta, com' ho veduta nella l[ette]ra […]." Prior to this, Peranda had first held a ministerial post at the Bavarian court and then moved to the imperial court as a member of the entourage of Friedrich von Fürstenberg, cf. Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Dissertazioni critico storiche intorno alla Rezia di qua dalle Alpi, oggi detta Valtellina: Al Santissimo Padre Benedetto XIV P. O. M. dedicate dall'Abate Francesco Saverio Quadrio,* vol. 3*: in cui degli uomini illustri di essa valle è trattato* (Milan, 1756), 435–436.

19 ASMa, Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 245: Giovanni Antonio Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Venice September 9, 1613; Giovanni Antonio Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Brescia May 11, 1614.

20 ASMa, Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 245: Giovanni Antonio Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Bormio March 22, 1616: "[…] e di però poter profittevolmente ricorrer all'ombra della gratiosiss[im]a protettione di V[ostra] E[ccellenza] con supplicarla, come humilm[en]te faccio, d'alcuno annuo sollevamento, ò di qual altro parrà più opportuna alla generosità sua […]."

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Antonio Peranda wrote, had always put "his own interests"[21] aside and devoted himself entirely to the investigation of the miracles of the Blessed in the Valtelline.[22]

In fact, Prospero Peranda frequently informed his "patron" in Castiglione delle Stiviere about the progress in the Valtelline informative process, for which he had been appointed judge by the Congregation of Rites in 1610.[23] The challenges Peranda encountered in this function were formidable: since the Valtelline was a subject territory of the Three Leagues, a judicial process conducted in public required the Three League's assent—an assent that, in view of the Protestant majority, could only be obtained with great effort. Prospero Peranda, who was familiar with the political culture of the Three Leagues, therefore advised Francesco Gonzaga) to contact the French Ambassador in Rome or, even better, the French king himself, and ask them to give instructions to their envoys in the Three Leagues to exert political pressure on this matter.[24] These political efforts did not lead to success until 1612, two years after the official opening of the informative process: in September 1612, Peranda was allowed to go ahead with the first interrogations of witnesses.[25] But as early as October 1612, the judicial examination stalled: Paolo Quadrio, Valley Chancellor of the Valtelline, who had been appointed by the Congregation of Rites as leading notary in the informative process, was arrested on the orders of the Three Leagues because he had called a Valley Assembly to oppose the ban on the settlement of Jesuits in Bormio and Chiavenna, which the Three Leagues had decreed that year.[26] Since at this assembly the idea of seeking help from foreign Catholic powers had allegedly been considered, Quadrio and his fellows were accused of treason. Quadrio was able to escape, but an immediate continuation of the informative process was out of the question.

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21 Ibid.: "[…] e per gli stenti, et per molti sofferti danni, e travagli, co' quali abbandonandi i proprÿ interessi, egli s'impiegò di pronta ottima volontà gli anni adietro nel processo del B[eato] Luigi […]."

22 The Roman Curia had initiated the informative process in the Valtelline in 1610, cf. ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 1–132.

23 ASMa, Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 245: Prospero Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Bormio March 13, 1610; idem to idem, Bormio December 15, 1610; idem to idem, Bormio October 17, 1612; idem to idem, Ponte December 17, 1612; idem to idem, Villa di Valtellina February 10, 1613; idem to idem, March 19, 1613; idem to idem, Bormio March 30, 1614.

24 ASMa, Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 245: Prospero Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Bormio December 15, 1610: "[…] considerai il far capo in Roma all'Ambasciator di Francia, overo per più siccurezza, al medesimo Re, acciòche desse ordine espresso all'Ambasciator suo presso gl'Ill[ustrissi]mi Sig[no]ri delle Tre Leghe d'ottener licenza, per formar il processo […]."

25 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 30r.

26 Quadrio, *Dissertazioni critico storiche*, 81–82. For the history of the Jesuits in the Valtelline, see Albert Bruckner et al., eds., *Helvetia Sacra*, vol. VII: *Die Gesellschaft Jesu in der Schweiz* (Bern: Francke, 1976), 415–436; Richard Bösel and Herbert Karner, *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien (1540–1773), Teil 2: Die Baudenkmäler der mailändischen Ordensprovinz* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 63–69, 314–321.

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In view of this difficult situation, Prospero Peranda played an important role in the further course of the informative process. His formulations in the letters to the court of the Gonzaga di Castiglione suggest that he was able to persuade the decisive protagonists to resume the judicial proceedings[27] at great expense in terms of time[28] and money[29]. Finally, in March 1614, he was able to report that the examination of witnesses had been completed and that he would send the investigation report to the Congregation of Rites in Rome as soon as possible.[30] Thanks to Peranda's attempts, a total of 134 miracles of Blessed Luigi were collected in the Valtelline—almost twice as many as in Rome and Castiglione delle Stiviere combined.[31] Predictably, the Valtellinese miracles stood front and center in the canonization procedure led by the Congregation of Rites.

This must certainly have been completely in the interests of the Gonzaga family, since—as numerous studies on Italian noble families show[32]—having one's own saint in the family translated into symbolic capital that could be used for the religious legitimation of claims to power and validity. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the Gonzaga di Castiglione had actively promoted the cult of Blessed Luigi and the investigation of miracles in the Valtelline. On the one hand, they did this by means of patronage politics: the archpriest Prospero Peranda and his father Giovanni Antonio were not the only ones to be in the Gonzagas' good graces; Paolo Quadrio, the notary in the informative process who had been expelled from the Valtelline, also received protection

27 On December 19, 1612, the examination of witnesses continued, with Paul Valthier acting as notary instead of Quadrio, cf. ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 44v–45r.

28 This led to conflicts with his parish. A great "scandal" arose because he could not be in Bormio during Easter 1613, but had to travel to Poschiavo "for this business"; cf. ASMa, Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 245: Giovanni Antonio Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Bormio March 19, 1613.

29 ASMa, Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 245: Giovanni Antonio Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Bormio March 19, 1613: "Non hò io mancato mai ne perdunato [sic] a fatica, o spesa, anco con particola dispiacere, et esclamat[ion]e del mio popolo […]."

30 ASMa, Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 245: Giovanni Antonio Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Bormio March 30, 1614.

31 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale (Santi), Aloysius Gonzaga, vol. 92: Beatificazione e Canonizzazione fase postulazio e informatione, Nr. 7: Compendio di tutti gli atti fatti nella Causa di S. Luigi Gonzaga dalla sua morte fino all'azione dell'elegio del Beato nel Martirologio Romano: Ex Sommario Approbatori, in Rota §3 de Miraculis.

32 Several of Italy's most important aristocratic families such as the Borromeo, Borgia, Pazzi, and Corsini successfully attempted to canonize a family member, cf. Peter Burke, "Wie wird man ein Heiliger der Gegenreformation?" in *Städtische Kultur in Italien zwischen Hochrenaissance und Barock. Eine historische Anthropologie* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1988): 54–66, 60; Clare Copeland, *Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi: The Making of a Counter-Reformation Saint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); and Samuel Weber, "Pining for Stability: The Borromeo Family and the Crisis of the Spanish Monarchy, 1610–1680" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Universität Bern and Durham University, 2019).

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from Francesco Gonzaga and stayed in the marquis's court for a time.[33] On the other hand, Marquis Francesco was keen to promote the religious veneration of his brother in the Valtelline, and to that effect in 1609 he had donated a relic of Blessed Luigi to the church of Sazzo in the Valtelline.[34] This transfer of a relic was a way of promulgating the cult far from Castiglione delle Stiviere, which increased the chance of canonization, for which widespread veneration was necessary. With this in mind, the donation of relics as well as the promotion of the informative process in the Valtelline can be interpreted as the Gonzaga family's policy to increase their symbolic capital.

Nevertheless, the example of Luigi's veneration in the Valtelline shows particularly well that despite some social rationality in terms of family and patronage policy, religious cults could take on unintended dimensions, and this because—according to the Catholic conception—celestial or divine powers were at play in connection with persons, objects, and practices of worship. It is therefore worth taking a closer look at the miracles attributed to Blessed Luigi Gonzaga and at the dynamics with which the miracle stories spread in the Valtelline.

3. Networks of Miracles

As seen above, in the autumn of 1607, a printed vita of Luigi Gonzaga reached (via Prospero Peranda and the parish priest of Ponte) Nicolò Longhi, the curate of Sazzo. Longhi made the Jesuit's saintly life and the miracles attributed to his intercession known among the people of Sazzo and praised Luigi Gonzaga as a miracle-working heavenly patron. As a result, it did not take long for reports about miraculous events that were attributed to the adoration and veneration of the blessed to start circulating in the Valtelline.[35]

In December of 1607, the 18-year-old Caterina della Briotta was dying, and curate Longhi administered the last sacraments to her. On that occasion he advised the dying woman to promise to pray five Our Fathers and five Hail Marys daily for six months in honor and devotion of Luigi Gonzaga. After taking this vow, Caterina got well within

33 ASMa, Gonzaga di Castiglione, b. 245: Giovanni Antonio Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Venice September 9, 1613; Prospero Peranda to Francesco Gonzaga, Bormio March 30, 1614.

34 ASMa, b. 164, fol. 203r–206v: Instrumento di consegna della Sacra Reliquie del Beato Luigi Gonzaga mandata in Valtelina per disposizione del Sig[no]r Franc[esc]o Gonzaga Marchese di Castiglione October 31, 1609; *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, 1090–1121: Processus Formatus in Vulturena Valle a die XXIV Septembris MDCXII ad XXII Februarii MDCXIV, 1091.

35 The early miracles in the Valtelline are described in: Cepari and N. N., *Vita di San Luigi Gonzaga*, 352–379; Galluzzi, *Vita di S. Luigi Gonzaga*, 154–171; and Alessandro Manieri, *Vita di S. Luigi Gonzaga della Compagnia di Gesù: Accresciuta di nuove, e memorabili notizie specialmente intorno a suoi Miracoli, ancor più moderni. Data in luce da Alessandro Maineri della Medesima Compagnia* (Lucca, 1742), 259–263. Cf. Schena, "La precoce diffusione."

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a short time.[36] The following February, a second miracle took place, and in March a third, both also under the spiritual care of curate Longhi. Seeing that worship to Luigi was growing among the population as a result of these miracles, he turned to Scipione Carrara, the Rector of the Jesuits in Como, and asked him for a picture of the blessed to exhibit in public for devotions.[37]

In response to this request, in the early summer of 1608, Carrara transferred a painting of Blessed Luigi Gonzaga, which had been realized for the students at the Jesuit College of Como but had not found their favor, to Sazzo. In Sazzo, it was initially kept in the house of curate Longhi until a suitable frame and a lamp to illuminate it could be found. Yet on the very day before the planned translation into the church on June 24, 1608, another miracle occurred: Orsina Moretti had been suffering from scrofula for nine months when curate Longhi, together with the sick woman and one of her confidants, asked the blessed for help in front of the painting. Orsina vowed to donate a votive offering of wax as well as to recite a certain number of prayers; at the same time Longhi blessed the sick woman with a silver cross in which a relic of Blessed Luigi was embedded. Immediately, Orsina's rigidity caused by the scrofula began to resolve; she was able to move her arms and neck again and return to her house without help.[38] Also due to this story of a miraculous healing, many people made a pilgrimage to the church of Sazzo on the following Saint John's Day for the solemn exposition of the painting (Fig. 1).

The chronology of the beginning of the cult clearly indicates that the initiative for the devotion of Blessed Luigi in Sazzo came from ecclesiastical actors. Obviously, curate Longhi and presumably also archpriest Prospero Peranda tried to establish a veneration along the lines of the post-Tridentine worship of saints. These included, first, the emphasis that Blessed Luigi, as intercessor in heaven, could convey God's grace in the form of healing miracles, second, the vows of prayer (Our Father and Hail Mary) by which this intercession was to be brought about, and third, a cult figure or image which, as an object of devotion, was to promote the inner dialogue with the blessed. The fourth element of worship was the relic donated in 1609 by Luigi's brother, the marquis of Castiglione delle Stiviere.[39] From this ecclesiastical conception, the painting and the relic of the blessed should be at the center of religious devotion and practice. And indeed, according to witnesses, during those first years, processions with hundreds of people had already made their way to the church of Sazzo in order to pray in front of the painting and the

36 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 17r; Cepari and N. N., *Vita di San Luigi Gonzaga*, 354–355.

37 Ibid., 356.

38 Ibid., 357.

39 See above.

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Fig. 1 Side chapel dedicated to Luigi Gonzaga in the church of San Michele in Sazzo with the painting of Blessed Luigi; photo: Philipp Zwyssig.

relic.[40] Nevertheless, the cult of Blessed Luigi in Sazzo progressively took on a form in which both the relic and the painting began to recede into the background.

The starting point for this development was given by curate Longhi himself. The health of Orsina Moretti, who was suffering from scrofula, had improved considerably since the act of devotion in front of the Luigi painting, but some tumidities had not disappeared. Longhi, however, assured the sick woman that she would recover completely if she had strong faith in Luigi's intercession. And at the same moment as he was saying this, he heard a silent but clearly audible voice beside his right ear telling him: "Now test the oil from the lamp and you will see."[41] So the curate anointed the sick Orsina

40 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 31r: Witness statement by Caterina della Briotta: "[…] q[ues]to loco di Sazzo vedo ogni dì concorrer gente assai huomini, donne Religiosi et altri è pigliar la perdonanza a q[ues]ta n[ost]ra immagine e sante reliquie del d[ett]o Beato in q[ues]ta n[ost]ra Chiesa si trovano et ho visto ancora venirvi diverse processioni di diverse terre di d[ett]a Valle […]." Ibid., fol. 88v: Witness statement by Pietro Moschetti: "[…] tutto il Popolo nostro di Teglio, nel quale erano quasi 1000 anime, andò alla detta devotione con la croce […]." See also the list of those parishes that went on pilgrimage to Sazzo with an approximate indication of the number of participants, compiled by curate Longhi; ibid., fol. 30r.

41 Cepari and N. N., *Vita di San Luigi Gonzaga*, 358–359: "E in quel medesimo tempo mi sentii all'orecchio destro una voce, distinta bensì, ma dimessa, che articolava queste formali parole: 'Prova adesso l'Olio della lampana, e vedrai.' Attonito a tali parole, raccontai quel, che aveva udito alla predetta Margeritha [Madre di Orsina], e determinai di farne prova quella stessa sera segretamente nella medesima Orsina."

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with the oil from the lamp that burned in front of the painting of Blessed Luigi, and "immediately the tumidity, inflammation and pain disappeared."[42] This example set a precedent. Shortly afterwards, sick people from all over the Valtelline made a pilgrimage to Sazzo to anoint themselves with oil from the lamp hanging in front of Luigi's image.

Other miracle stories, such as that of Carlo Quadrio from Chiuro, suggest that the worship of Luigi in the Valtelline spread throughout the region primarily because of the healing power of the lamp oil, whose effectiveness was seemingly proven by countless healing miracles: according to his witness statement, Quadrio had merely a "slight devotion" to the blessed, until he was freed from severe pain after having been rubbed with oil by a servant on the advice of a friend.[43] Like Quadrio, who particularly admired Blessed Luigi after his healing experience, the many other Valtellinese who made use of the oil from Sazzo must also have had similar insights. Thus, in the emerging tradition of miracle stories, there are several indications that the devotional practice of applying the lamp oil soon became the most important part of the cult and worship of Blessed Luigi in the Valtelline: a majority of witnesses interviewed in the informative process explained the reported miracles as a result of the healing power of the oil; the icon played a rather subordinate role in this regard, the relic, donated by Marquis Gonzaga, played almost no role at all.[44]

The demand for the oil was so great that the lamp often burned out and the bishop of Como therefore felt compelled in 1646 to appoint a special supervisor controlling the oil.[45] Other reports tell of pilgrimages "almost from all over Europe"[46] who came to Sazzo to experience the healing power of the oil. All this evidence suggests that the oil was considerably more important for the long-term development of the church of Sazzo into a sanctuary than the painting or the relic that the clergy had initially tried to place at the center of the cult of Blessed Luigi in Sazzo. Although curate Longhi himself had launched the oil as a miraculous remedy and undoubtedly also wished for such a dynamic spread of the veneration of Blessed Luigi, the lamp oil—according to the initial intention—was to play only a secondary role in the setup of the place

42 Ibid., 359: "Il che feci: e subito si partì da lei l'enfiagione, l'infiammazione, e il dolore."

43 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 51r: "[…] consigliato a prevalermi dell'oglio del B[eato] Luigi al qual per sin' al hora haveva havuto poco div[ozion]e […]. […] poi fui onto con d[etto] sant' oglio da Lucia, serva del Sig. D[ottore] Lavizari […]. […] ho poi sempre tenute grande dev[ozion]e al d[ett]o B[ea]to et la riceva [sic] per una gratia grande del Sig[no]re per intercessione del d[ett]o Beato […]."

44 There is no evidence in the investigation reports (ibid.) that any miraculous power was attributed to the image per se. If the image appears in the miracle reports at all, then it is either as an object of devotion or in connection with the vow to visit the image and the relic in case of granted celestial favors.

45 Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Como (ASDC), Visite pastorali, cart. 43, fasc. 2, 453–459: Decreti per la Visita di Ponte […], 458.

46 Galluzzi, *Vita di S. Luigi Gonzaga*, 141: "[…] frequentemente vie da quasi tutta Europa ricercato: sanandosi coll'unzione d'esso [olio] molte incurabili infermità."

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of worship centered around the painting and the relic (Figs. 1 and 2).[47] What Longhi doesn't seem to have taken into consideration is that a remedy as substantive as the oil would so quickly and perfectly meet the laity's needs. The reason for this was that the oil responded to the people's demands for salvation and healing more directly and accurately than religious practices centered on a relic or an icon: oil could be used in everyday life to cope with mundane problems and could be handled in the same way as a medical remedy, as the following examples illustrate.

Since Maria Delei da Fontanina from Ponte could not nurse her own child, she made a pilgrimage to the church of Sazzo, where she anointed her breasts with oil from the lamp burning in front of the painting of Blessed Luigi. Thereafter, on the way home, she was able to breastfeed the child.[48] Magdalena Zanoni, for her part, took a little oil from Blessed Luigi's lamp home to rub it on her two-year-old son who had fallen ill from an infected wound. Previously, she had visited the painting of the blessed in Sazzo more than ten times with the child, hoping for a healing miracle. And since, despite the priest's advice, she refused to have her son treated by a surgeon, the curate of Sazzo anointed the child with oil from the lamp—and a short time later, the wound began to heal.[49] Riccadonna de Briotta from Sazzo, who nearly died from a stillbirth, said during the informative process: "immediately after rubbing my belly with the oil from the Blessed Luigi's lamp, I felt the dead creature turning [...] and without further pain I was able to give birth to it."[50] Fourteen-year-old Giovanni Fontanina told how his terrible earache, which made him think his "head was going to burst into pieces," stopped "immediately and without further ado" the moment his mother put a drop of the oil of Blessed Luigi in his ear.[51] And Luigi Sertore's eldest son was tending a herd of cattle on a Valtellinese alp when a stone suddenly hit his leg. Carried home by his

47 Initially, the lamp was to only burn on holidays; cf. ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 18v. A letter from Longhi to Scipione Carrara, dated December 17, 1608, also suggests that Longhi intended to establish the painting as a miraculous image: it was, according to Longhi, "divine providence" that had brought the painting to Sazzo. Longhi thus saw a divine power at work, which would have predestined the painting for miracles; cf. *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, 1094.

48 Cepari and N. N., *Vita di San Luigi Gonzaga*, 453–454.

49 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 43v: Testimony of Magdalena. See also the testimony of her husband, ibid., fol. 60v.

50 Ibid., fol. 32r/v: "Sono duoi anni passati q[uest]o genaro, che ritrovandomi nei dolori dei parto per giorni 3, l'ultimo giorno mi sorti la creatura morta adesso, et era attraversato al ventre havendo la testo verso la mia man[o] dritta, et i piedi alla sinistra di modo che mi trovava vicina a morte e tosto che mi contato il ventre [con] l'oglio della lampada del d[ett]o Beato mi senti sub[it]o drizzare la creatura nel ventre e di lungo m'aiutai, e parti senz' alcuna dolore la […] creatura morta."

51 Ibid., fol. 59v–60r: "Fu vero, che l'anno passato Aprille una sera ala sprovista mi venne un gran dolore nell'orecchia dove mi [viene] a gridare assai, […] che pareva mi andassi in pezzi la testa [...] e tosse del oglio del d[ett]o Beato e me fece andar dentro nell'orrecchia dove sub[it]o senz' altro mi passo il dolore […]."

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mother and a cousin, his father rubbed the leg with lamp oil from the church of Blessed Luigi in Sazzo, whereupon the pain subsided.[52]

Motivated by such miracle stories, many inhabitants of the Valtelline preventively took a little bit of the lamp oil from Sazzo home to use it in case of injuries or illnesses by dripping it on a piece of cloth[53] and then rubbing it in or swallowing it together with a nut.[54] Packaged into bottles, the oil from Sazzo was exported as far as Como[55], Turin[56] and even Germany[57]. A kind of market developed through which the oil, which was considered particularly effective, was distributed against payment or as a gift.[58] The religious practices that led to a miraculous experience of God's and Blessed Luigi's grace therefore increasingly took place outside the primary place of worship in the church of Sazzo and often without the spiritual care of a clergyman. To ensure that laypeople attributed the miraculous power not to the oil itself, but to the conception of holiness and intercession behind it, was hardly possible under these circumstances.

Therefore, miracles were both an opportunity and a challenge for the post-Tridentine Church, which pursued greater regulation of worship and devotion. In their curial approved form they were an opportunity because miracle stories—whether recited orally or disseminated through writings—could quickly bring certain forms of worship and cults closer to the people. In the case of Luigi Gonzaga, this seemed desirable because, as a Jesuit who was said to have had a profound ascetic spirituality during his lifetime, he was considered to be the ideal type of the "modern saint"[59] whose pious way of life should serve as a model for all the faithful. Furthermore, in the Valtelline the specifically Jesuit cult may even have prepared the ground for the institutional settlement of the Society of Jesus, which took place in 1621 with the foundation of the Jesuit College

52 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale (Santi), Aloysius Gonzaga, vol. 95 (unfol.): Grazie e miracoli in vari luoghi: Report of pilgrimage and miracles of Luigi Sertore.

53 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale [Santi], vol. 72: Processum Canonizationis S. Aloysi, fol. 60r.

54 Ibid., fol. 61v.

55 Cepari and N. N., *Vita di San Luigi Gonzaga*, 374, 444–445.

56 Ibid., 374.

57 Ibid., 373. For a miracle story from Germany, see: Jakob Bidermann, *Wahrhafte Geschichte der herrlichen Gutthaten, welche Wolfgang von Asch, ehemaliger Chorherr zu Landshut in Baiern durch die Fürbitte des heil[igen] Aloys von Gonzaga erhalten* (Augsburg, 1785).

58 Unfortunately, there is no written evidence for the sale of the oil of B. Luigi. Other examples of trades of healing oil are better documented, e. g., for the oil of Saint Walburga, see Zwyssig, *Täler*, 198. On the economic aspect of religious practices, see ibid., 297–336.

59 On the "modernity" of the post-Tridentine saints, see: Peter Burschel, "'Imitatio Sanctorum': Oder: Wie modern war der nachtridentinische Heiligenhimmel?" in *Das Konzil von Trient und die Moderne*, ed. Paolo Prodi and Wolfgang Reinhard (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2001), 241–259; Gabriella Zarri, "'Affettata santità': Heiligkeit von unten oder eine Erfindung der Inquisition?" in "*Wahre*" *und* "*falsche*" *Heiligkeit: Mystik, Macht und Geschlechterrollen im Katholizismus des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hubert Wolf (Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2013), 47–58, 56.

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in Ponte.[60] On the other hand, miracles and miracle stories were a challenge as their (often spontaneous) spread could hardly be controlled. As events brought about directly by divine powers, miracles occurred outside all human rationality and thus they also eluded the control of the church. Personal experiences of salvation were often interpreted as miracles, regardless of whether ecclesiastical authorities approved and classified them as such. That they might suddenly take place in unforeseen fields and with objects or substances not intended for such purposes could never be completely excluded. In this practical realm of religiosity, the attribution of holiness and salvific efficacy was a pragmatic question of usefulness rather than a question of ecclesiastical legality.

The sanctuary of Sazzo is also a striking example of the influence of the laity on the shape of saints' cults as the worship practiced there was not officially recognized by the ecclesiastical authority for decades. Probably under the impression of Urban VIII's strict regulations for the canonization of venerated persons of 1625, the Roman Curia hesitated with the canonization of Luigi Gonzaga until 1726.[61] To be sure, the evolution of a sanctuary, to which hundreds, even thousands of Catholics made pilgrimages to venerate a pious member of a reform order, may have dovetailed with the priorities of those ecclesiastical actors who were working towards the enforcement of post-Tridentine forms of piety. Nevertheless, the cult of Luigi in Sazzo, strictly speaking, contravened Roman requirements: at the time the cult in Sazzo was launched, Luigi Gonzaga had only been beatified, which meant in the sense of the decrees of Urban VIII that worship of his images and relics was only permitted in certain specified and defined churches and dioceses.[62] For the diocese of Como or even for Sazzo, there was no such an approval of cult practices for a long time—it was not until 1662 that Pope Alexander VII (1655–1667) allowed the erection of an altar devoted to Blessed Luigi in Sazzo with a painting being placed on it and a mass celebrated on Luigi's feast day. Two years later, Nuncio Federico IV Borromeo consecrated the newly built church of Sazzo in the name of Blessed Luigi, underlining Rome's endorsement of the worship of Blessed Luigi in the Valtelline (Fig. 3).[63]

Until then, however, the cult of Luigi in the Valtelline occupied a gray area of ecclesiastical legality. The painting could not be displayed permanently on an altar or in a side chapel for devotion but had to be hung on the side wall.[64] The veneration of Luigi at

60 Bruckner, *Helvetia Sacra*, 419–421.

61 Other possible reasons for the delayed canonization should be examined in further studies.

62 Pope Paul V allowed his image to be exhibited for veneration in the church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale in Rome, in the Jesuit College of Brescia, and in Castiglione delle Stiviere; cf. Cepari and N. N., *Vita di San Luigi Gonzaga*, 316–321; Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2002), 210.

63 Cf. Cepari and N. N., *Vita di San Luigi Gonzaga*, 367; Maria Aurora Carugo, *Tresivio: Una pieve valtellinese tra Riforma e Controriforma* (Sondrio: Società Storica Valtellinese, 1990), 312.

64 ASDC, Visite pastorali, cart. 43, fasc. 2, 48–49: Eccl[esia] B[eati] Aloÿsÿ in loco Saggi, Die 4 Julÿ 1629.

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Fig. 2 Painting of Luigi Gonzaga with the oil lamp in the church of San Michele in Sazzo near Ponte in Valtellina; photo: Philipp Zwyssig.

Sazzo was beset with a latent cultic ambiguity that even the episcopal administration did not know exactly how to deal with. Thus, in the visitation decrees of 1629, it is stated that the church of Sazzo had hitherto been consecrated to the Archangel Michael, but henceforth "to Blessed Luigi,"[65] but in the visitation protocol of 1638, the church is again mentioned as "Sancti Michaelis."[66] The fact that regardless of these legal uncertainties the worship of Luigi in Sazzo did not subside over the years was most likely also because of the people who visited the sanctuary in large numbers—above all due to the miracle-working oil. The formal sanction of the cult in 1662 with the officially approved erection of an altar was thus tantamount to the recognition of a cult that had de facto been practiced by the laity for years.

As the preceding reflections may have indicated, the worship and cult of Blessed Luigi Gonzaga in the Valtelline developed a remarkable momentum of its own. Initially conceived as icon worship, a local practice of devotion evolved, driven by the everyday needs of the laity and focused on the seemingly miracle-working oil from the lamp.

65 ASDC, Visite pastorali, cart. 43, fasc. 2, 9: [Decreti] per la Chiesa V[ice] Par[rocchiale] altre volte di S. Michele hora dedicata al B[eato] Luigi.

66 ASDC, Visite pastorali, cart. 43, fasc. 2, 315.

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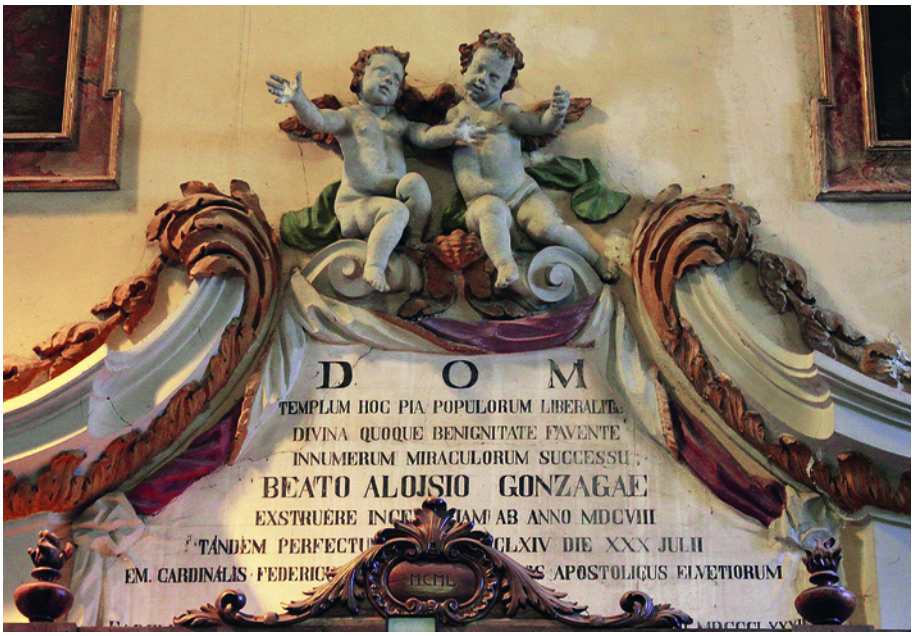


Fig. 3 In 1664, Nuncio Federico Borromeo consecrated the newly built church in Sazzo in the name of Luigi Gonzaga. The inscription also mentions numerous miracles that were said to have occurred at Luigi's intercession; photo: Philipp Zwyssig.

Luigi Gonzaga's veneration modified in this way took account of the people's desire for tangible remedies: the oil from Sazzo was a "medicine for all ills" and Blessed Luigi "the surgeon above all surgeons," as Luigi Sertore remarked both succinctly and significantly around 1734.[67] It was precisely for this reason that the worship of Blessed Luigi became known throughout the Valtelline and even far beyond, so that the miracles that occurred in the Valtelline would eventually play an important role in the canonization at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It must remain open whether the experience with the veneration of Luigi Gonzaga in the Valtelline did not also even influence the Roman procedures of saint-making in a more general sense. After all, a few years after the conclusion of the Valtellinese informative process 1614, stricter rules for the veneration of persons were introduced under Urban VIII and thereafter the canonization of Blessed Luigi was put on hold until 1726.

67 ARSI, Archivio della Postulazione generale (Santi), Aloysius Gonzaga, vol. 95, unfol.: Grazie e miracoli in vari luoghi: Report on pilgrimages and miracles by Luigi Sertore: "[…]. [L'Olio del santo] è l nostro medicamento in ogni male […]. […] lo metterò in mano à S[an] Luigi, Chirurgo sopra ogni Chirurgi."

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4. Conclusion

The example of the diffusion of the worship of the Jesuit Luigi Gonzaga in the Valtelline clearly brings to light some essential aspects of saint-making in the confessional age: since the elevation to sainthood in the post-Tridentine period had also become a question of procedure and formality, and since officially initiated and approved investigations were required for canonizations, there was a need for a well-connected network of actors who were able and willing to promote the informative processes to examine the fame of sanctity not only in Rome but also in each individual diocese. In the case of Luigi Gonzaga, the impetus for the spreading of his sanctity and the examination of its fame in the Valtelline seems to have come initially from a reform order, namely the Jesuits of Como, who, through the archpriest of Bormio and the parish priest of Ponte , made the vita and miracles of the Jesuit Luigi Gonzaga known and actively promoted the devotion and veneration of Blessed Luigi with a donation of an icon for the church of Sazzo. And since soon afterwards miracles were said to have occurred, and thus the worship grew among the people, Prospero Peranda, the archpriest of Bormio, was put in charge of the informative processes. It is remarkable that Peranda not only cultivated relations with the Jesuits but was also well connected at the court of Francesco Gonzaga, the marquis of Castiglione and brother of Blessed Luigi: his father, Giovanni Antonio Peranda, seems to have been a Gonzaga protégé, and later he seems to have received a pension from the marquis, mainly due to Prospero's merits in the Valtellinese informative process. This shows first that ecclesiastical and secular actors could have common interests in "creating" a saint. Second, it becomes clear that the social logics of court society (*do-ut-des*, patron-client relationships, etc.) also had their effect on saint-making: thus, for example, in return for the "grace" they had distributed, the Gonzaga di Castiglione could expect the Peranda family and other protagonists to work toward the canonization of their family member out of gratitude. Also, the donation of books, pictures, and relics could be used as a social resource to strengthen personal ties, all while promoting ordinary people's worship through them.

In the context of the increasingly formalized canonization process, social networks seem to have been a necessary but not sufficient condition for the elevation to sainthood. The fame of sanctity was still strongly determined by people's worship, their devotional practices, and the miraculous events attributed by them to a potential candidate for sainthood. And this veneration of the laity was able to take on a dynamic all of its own, as the Valtelline example shows: while the Jesuits and the Gonzaga family had tried to place the relic and the icon of Blessed Luigi at the center of the cult in Sazzo, many devotees associated the miracles that had occurred not with these cult objects but with the oil that burned in the lamp in front of the painting. This oil was considered by the laypeople to have healing properties, was poured into bottles, taken home, and used there like medicine. In this way, however, the oil had made a decisive contribution to the spread of Luigi Gonzaga's *fame of sanctity* among the "entire Christian population,"

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because, with this oil, miracles of Blessed Luigi could now take place everywhere in the Valtelline and far beyond, since it was exported throughout Europe. Therefore, it must be concluded that saint-making in the confessional age required not only a formal ecclesiastical procedure but also certain cult practices that met the everyday needs of the people.

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Raphaèle Preisinger

The Global Itineraries of the Martyrs of Japan

Early Modern Religious Networks and the Circulation of Images across Asia, Europe, and the Americas

1. Introduction

Three paintings found in the private quarters of the *Casa Professa* of the Roman Gesù by Father Georg Schurhammer, SJ, in the years leading up to World War II, are astonishing in several respects (Figs. 1–3).[1] Their formal characteristics and the materials they are made of—watercolors applied to paper, some of which was varnished and later glued to canvas and possibly silk—would surprise anyone familiar with contemporary early modern European artworks.[2] But perhaps the most intriguing aspect of these paintings is their subject, which lets us partake in the dreadful deaths of the victims of the early modern persecution of Christians in Japan. In the early modern period, images of the martyrs of Nagasaki were widely disseminated. Visual representations of them began to circulate between the continents shortly after the martyrdoms took place, setting in motion diverse locally influenced processes of appropriation.

Missionary activity on the Japanese archipelago began in 1549 when the Jesuit Saint Francis Xavier reached the shores of Kagoshima.[3] During a relatively peaceful first era

1 These paintings are on display in the sacristy of the Gesù today. This publication is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement no. 949836). Views and opinions expressed are, however, those of the author only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council Executive Agency. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them. This project was also funded by a Swiss National Science Foundation PRIMA grant.

2 On the three Gesù paintings as a group of artworks, see Mia M. Mochizuki, "Shock Value: The Jesuit Martyrs of Japan and the Ethics of Sight," in *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, ed. Sally M. Promey (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); and Hitomi Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines aux scènes des collèges: Les reflets des martyrs de la mission japonaise en Europe (XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle)* (Studia Oecumenica Friburgensia 101) (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2020), 386–395.

3 On the history of Christian mission in Japan, fundamental studies are Charles R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1951); Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991); Reinier H. Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki: World Trade and the Clash of Cultures 1560–1640* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016); Hélène Vu Thanh, *Devenir japonais: La mission jésuite au Japon (1549–1614).* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2016).

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Fig. 1 Anonymous, *Martyrdom of Leonardo Kimura SJ, and Companions in Nagasaki*, 17th century (1619–), watercolor on paper attached to canvas, Rome, Church of the Gesù; from: Mochizuki, "Shock Value," 376.

of proselytization, Nagasaki was established by the Jesuits as a strategic stronghold dedicated to monopolizing the China trade brought by the Portuguese merchants, and the missionary enterprise proved quite successful for several decades. However, the climate changed with the invasion of Kyushu in 1587 by the ruler Hideyoshi. After hearing of the destruction of Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples wherever the Jesuits managed to convert Japanese people to Christianity, Hideyoshi prohibited the missionaries' religion. This affected the work of the religious orders, but did not end it.

At the same time, the Spanish secular authorities at Manila, driven by political and commercial jealousy, were anxious to crush the monopoly of the Macao Portuguese over the incredibly lucrative China–Japan trade. The Spanish ambitions were paralleled by the aspirations of the mendicant friars, especially by those of the Franciscans settled in the Philippines. The mendicants, who had arrived in East Asia via Mexico and the Philippines, where they provided ideological support for Spanish rule, weren't aware

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Fig. 2 Anonymous, *The "Great Martyrdom" of 1622, 1622–1623*, watercolor on paper attached to canvas, 135 x 155 cm, Rome, Church of the Gesù; photo © Zeno Colantoni.

of the very different situation they would face in Japan. For their part, the Jesuits, rightly fearing complications resulting from the presence of Spanish friars arriving from the Philippines, tried by all means to maintain their monopoly on missions in Japan. However, in 1593, a pseudo-diplomatic Spanish mission led by the Franciscan Pedro Bautista reached Japanese shores. In Japan, the Franciscans were generally much less cautious and less ready to adapt to local circumstances than their Jesuit counterparts. The wreck of the great galleon San Felipe on Japanese shores in 1596 led to a series of events that, in the eyes of the Japanese, confirmed their fears of conquest by the Spaniards. The ruler Hideyoshi reacted swiftly and with decisive action. He sentenced several Franciscans to death by crucifixion at Nagasaki, accusing them of violating the law of the realm and disturbing the public peace. On February 5, 1597, a group of 26 Christians was crucified in Japanese fashion at Nagasaki. It was composed of six Franciscan missionaries, among whom were four Europeans, one *novohispano* and one Indian *mestizo*, and seventeen of their Asian, mostly Japanese, acolytes, as well as three Japanese Jesuit lay brothers who were included by mistake. Many more executions were to follow this first major execution of Christians in Nagasaki.

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Fig. 3 Niccolò School, *Saint Francis Xavier SJ, and the Jesuit Martyrs of Japan*, 17th century (1633–), watercolor on paper attached to fabric, Rome, Church of the Gesù; from: Mochizuki, "Shock Value," 377.

Veneration of the victims of Christian persecution in Japan began early in Asia with the cult of their relics. European sources of the time use the term "martyrdom" in connection with the violent deaths of Christians in Japan. I retain this term throughout the present essay, because the images at the center here reflect the perspective of these sources. However, one should always keep in mind that, from the perspective of the Japanese rulers, the Christians who were put to death were lawbreakers.[4]

The Franciscan Marcelo de Ribadeneira, who was present in Nagasaki at the time of the crucifixion of 1597, describes the public reaction to this event, which was characterized by wailing crowds. His *Historia de las Islas del archipiélago filipino y reynos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón* is one of the earliest accounts of the martyrdom of the 26 Christians crucified in Nagasaki, published in Barcelona in 1601.[5] After the death of the martyrs, Portuguese and Japanese Christians rushed to the crosses to collect relics. A discourse of miraculous incorruptibility developed around the bodies of the deceased, which remained visible on the heavily guarded crosses. The incipient veneration by Christians was fueled by other signs of supposed divine intervention, such as the blood which began flowing out of the Franciscan commissary's body on Good Friday—almost two and a half months after his execution! This event led to an uproar within Nagasaki's population over the alleged

4 On the European concept of "martyrdom" applied to the death of Christians in Japan, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 23–82.

5 Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las Islas del archipiélago filipino y reynos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón*. Barcelona 1601 (Madrid: La editorial católica, S.A., 1947), lib. V, ch. XVIII–XXI.

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miracle. In the end, the example set by Hideyoshi backfired, as the 1597 crucifixion of Christians in Nagasaki increased the Christian fervor of its inhabitants. Thereafter, executions of Christians in Japan were witnessed by crowds of spectators attesting to the fame of the martyrs—estimates range from thirty thousand to an impossible one hundred thousand spectators.

A cult of the Nagasaki martyrs, based on relics, pictorial representations, narratives, hero worship, miracle reports, and testimonies, also developed in Macao. Macao had initially served as a base for missionaries and Japanese priests before it became a home in exile for Japanese Christians. While witnesses were questioned in Macao and Manila as part of the formal procedure necessary for the martyrs to become saints,[6] artworks depicting the crucifixion of 1597 were produced in Macao, and then shipped across the oceans.[7]

Numerous reports about the events culminating in the 1597 crucifixion of Christians in Nagasaki and images of the 26 martyrs soon reached Rome, where the beatification process advanced at unusual speed. In 1604, while the Franciscans were busy propagating the news of the martyrdom in Europe, Japanese Christians sent a petition to Pope Clement VIII asking for the martyrs to be beatified, which stressed the number of conversions achieved by their martyrdom. Another similar document was handed to the pope personally a few years later by Japanese Christians participating in the Hasekura embassy.[8]

All these efforts met with success, as in 1627, only 30 years after their deaths, the 26 crucified Christians of Nagasaki were proclaimed *beati* by Pope Urban VIII in two separate briefs, one for the 23 martyrs affiliated with the Franciscan order, the other for the Jesuit martyrs. A new missionary ideal was sanctioned in this process, as attested by the characterization of the martyrs in one of the official documents: it is the number of conversions achieved through their martyrdom that is put to the fore.[9] While their crucifixion and transfixion with lances in faraway Japan, understood as acts of martyrdom, as well as the miracles worked through them, are all stressed in the papal

6 Cornelius Conover, *Pious Imperialism: Spanish Rule and the Cult of Saints in Mexico City* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2019), 38–41.

7 Ribadeneira, *Historia de las Islas*, lib. V, ch. XXVIII, 506.

8 The Hasekura embassy was headed by Hasekura Tsunenaga, who traveled on behalf of the lord Masamune Date, and reached Rome in 1615. Its principal objective was to establish trade relations between the northern provinces of Japan, Manila, and Mexico. It can be considered a Franciscan response to the 1585 embassy, which had been organized by the Jesuits. As Masamune was not a Christian, it is questionable whether the mentioned request reflected an actual desire on the side of the Japanese petitioners. On the Hasekura embassy and this petition, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 138–142.

9 Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)* (Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi: Sussidi per lo studio delle cause dei santi 7) (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001), 90.

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briefs,[10] their death on the cross provided a strong visual argument that made pictorial renderings of them apt tools in promoting their veneration. The 26 crucified martyrs of 1597, who weren't canonized until the nineteenth century, would remain the only victims of the Japan mission to be beatified in the early modern period. Their beatification represented a turning point, as for the first time, inhabitants of the territories encountered by European polities in the early modern period were acknowledged in the Roman hierarchy of saints—the vast majority of the beatified martyrs were Japanese.[11]

While some images of the victims of the Japan mission had already been created previously, the beatification of the 26 martyrs triggered the production of a veritable flood of images, presumably not least with the aim of promoting their canonization. Numerous prints, paintings, sculptures, medals, and other artworks were made, many of which were sent to regions outside Europe. These works, disseminated across different continents, in turn stimulated local interpretations, some of which were highly idiosyncratic.

In what follows, I will give an overview of the production and transcontinental circulation of images prompted by the death of the 26 crucified martyrs of 1597 in the decades following the event. Some light will be shed on the reasons for the great popularity of this pictorial subject across the globe, and for its wide circulation and dissemination in the early modern period. Images of the martyrs of Japan were, I argue, particularly suited to establish and propagate a new ideal of sainthood connected to the transcontinental missionary enterprise, an ideal linked to martyrdom abroad. In a very general way, this ideal promised participation in the ranks of the saints to newly Christianized populations, opening up possibilities of inclusion for groups of people whose ability to reach spiritual achievement was questioned at the time.[12] Their

10 See the transcription of the briefs in Leo Magnino, *Pontificia nipponica. Le relazioni tra la Santa Sede e il Giappone attraverso i documenti pontifici. Parte Prima (secc. XVI–XVIII)*. (Rome: Officium Libri Catholici, 1947), 146–148; a translation into French is provided in D. Bouix, *Histoire des vingt-six martyrs du Japon crucifiés à Nangasaqui, le 5 février 1597*. (Paris: Librairie catholique de Périsse Frères, 1862), 178–183. In 1586, another group of Christians had already been crucified publicly in Sakai, but silence was maintained about them by the Jesuits who were at first reticent to recognize "new martyrs." Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 91–94.

11 On the beatification of the 26 martyrs of Nagasaki, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 149–169; on their unique status, ibid., 170 f.; on the question of Indigenous martyrs in particular, ibid., 217–222. As explained by Boxer, *The Christian Century*, 344, note 14, crucifixion was abandoned early by Japanese authorities when European missionaries were concerned but continued to be used to execute Japanese converts.

12 As explained by Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 117–122, the Franciscans accepted Japanese people in their ranks much more willingly than the Jesuits, among whom this question was a point of controversy. On the new ideal of sainthood represented by the 26 martyrs of the Japan mission beatified in 1627, see Hitomi Omata Rappo, "How to Make 'Colored' Japanese Counter-Reformation Saints: A Study of an Iconographic Anomaly," *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 4, no. 2 (2017): 203–204; interestingly, she does not discuss the consequences of the officialization of the Japan martyrs' cult for newly Christianized

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participation and inclusion proved of utmost importance to the newly Christianized populations concerned.

Because the pictorial subject lent itself to the creation of visual analogies with the existing European artistic tradition, it proved a particularly effective channel through which this ideal of sainthood could be expressed and disseminated. Paradoxical though it may sound, this visual analogy, which guaranteed conformity to tradition and eluded suspicion of heterodoxy, proved an apt channel for Christians of non-European origins to express their active participation in "global Catholicism."[13] At the same time, the reception of the martyrs of the Japan mission in Europe, as seen in the visual discourse which developed there, downplayed the non-European origins of those concerned, instead integrating them into a vision in which Catholics dying for their faith were sharply contrasted with "foreign tyrants" and executioners. The latter were constitutive elements in the formation of a concept of martyrdom linked to the perils arising from participation in the early modern transcontinental missionary enterprise.[14]

The global dimensions of the incipient veneration of the victims of Christian persecution in Japan have been the focus of little research; where they have been studied, textual sources are at the center of attention.[15] Though many of the artworks discussed in this chapter have been examined individually—some only marginally, some more extensively—by scholars before, they haven't, as an iconographically defined corpus of objects, hitherto been considered from a perspective transcending oceanic and continental confines focusing specifically on circulations and the artifacts' roles in an evolving

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populations. Though she is certainly right in observing that the non-European origin of most of the 26 beatified martyrs didn't provide the reason for their beatification (ibid., 202), it also didn't prevent it from happening.

13 On the notion of a "global Catholicism," see, e. g., Klaus Koschorke, *Etappen der Globalisierung in christentumsgeschichtlicher Perspektive / Phases of Globalization in the History of Christianity* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012).

14 On the European reception of the Japan martyrs, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*; on the concept of martyrdom and its constitutive elements in the context discussed here, see in particular 185–204.

15 Niccolo Steiner, "Globales Bewusstsein und Heiligenverehrung: Spuren eines weltweiten Kults der japanischen Märtyrer von 1597 / Global Consciousness and Veneration of Saints: Vestiges of an Universal Cult of the Japanese Martyrs," in Koschorke, ed., *Etappen der Globalisierung*; Reinhard Wendt, "Global-lokale Wechselwirkungen. Von den Feierlichkeiten zum Gedenken an die Japan-Märtyrer in Manila zur nationalphilippinischen Verehrung von San Lorenzo Ruiz / Global-Local Interchanges: From the Celebrations in Manila Commemorating the Martyrs of Japan to the National Philippine Veneration of San Lorenzo Ruiz," in *Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity / Polyzentrische Strukturen in der Geschichte des Weltchristentums*, ed. Klaus Koschorke and Adrian Hermann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014); Rady Roldán-Figueroa, *The Martyrs of Japan: Publication History and Catholic Missions in the Spanish World (Spain, New Spain, and the Philippines, 1597–1700)* (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 195) (Leiden: Brill, 2021). I do not agree with Steiner, 135, and Wendt, 182, regarding the characterization of the Jesuit martyrs' physiognomies as "foreign," i. e. evidencing a stark contrast with the rendering of Europeans, in the painting of the crucifixion scene of 1597 located in Saint Michael in Munich.

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global devotion to these martyrs.[16] Such a perspective reveals the variety of functions attributed to these artworks within an emerging discourse on sanctity, martyrdom, and inclusion, observable across the globally dispersed dominions of the Iberian empires.

2. The Migration of Images from Asia via New Spain to Rome

Ribadeneira, who was forced to stay in Macao for some time after having witnessed the 1597 crucifixion from a carrack, describes the brisk production of images that took place in Macao shortly thereafter. Many paintings of the events surrounding the crucifixion of 1597 were made in Macao with the stated purpose of spreading the news of the martyrdom. These were then sent to New Spain and Spain and later served Ribadeneira as models for prints commissioned in Rome.[17] Unfortunately, none of these early works from Macao have survived. Also, emblems were produced for the procession in honor of the new martyrs organized in Macao by the Franciscan father Antonio de la Madre de Dios from the Convent of San Francisco in Goa, who was visiting Macao at that time.[18]

Only four early modern paintings of the martyrs of Japan created in Asia are extant. A painting formerly in the *Museu Luis de Camões*, kept in the *Paço Episcopal* of Macao today (Fig. 4), on which little is known, shows the 1597 crucifixion in a typically Franciscan version omitting the Jesuit martyrs.[19] The three other ones are the already mentioned paintings that are now in the sacristy of the Roman *Gesù* and that showcase later executions of Christians in Japan (Figs. 1–3). Based on their compositions and the

16 Koichi Koshi, "Die 26 Märtyrer von Japan in der Kunst: Ein Werkkatalog," *Bulletin annuel du Musée national d'art occidental* 8 (1974): 16–72, provides a very brief overview of the iconographical developments until the 20th century and useful catalogue entries for most of the known artworks showing the 26 martyrs of Nagasaki. Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 247–404, extensively discusses pictures of the martyrs, but mainly analyzes European artworks. The only exception dealt with at some length is the painting providing an overview of the Jesuit victims of the Japan mission until 1633 in the Gesù, for which the inscriptions identified in older literature are provided. Omata Rappo, "How to Make 'Colored' Japanese Counter-Reformation Saints," contextualizes artworks depicting the Japan martyrs created in Europe within early modern discourses centering on ethnic attributions, but does not deal with artworks created outside of Europe.

17 Ribadeneira, *Historia de las Islas*, lib. V, ch. XXVIII, 506: "Y para dar a entender el martirio se hicieron pintar unos lienzos de todo lo sucedido en el martirio, de los cuales se sacaron muchos y se enviaron a Nueva España y a España, y después yo los hice estampar en Roma."

18 Ribadeneira, *Historia de las Islas*, lib. V, ch. XXVIII, 505–506; he mentions the emblems in the context of the procession as follows: "se compusieron muchas jeroglíficas y versos en honor de los gloriosos mártires."

19 On this painting, see John E. McCall, "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East IV: In China and Macao before 1635," *Artibus Asiae* 11, no. 1/2 (1948): 55–56; Koshi, *Die 26 Märtyrer von Japan in der Kunst*, 40, cat. nr. 12.

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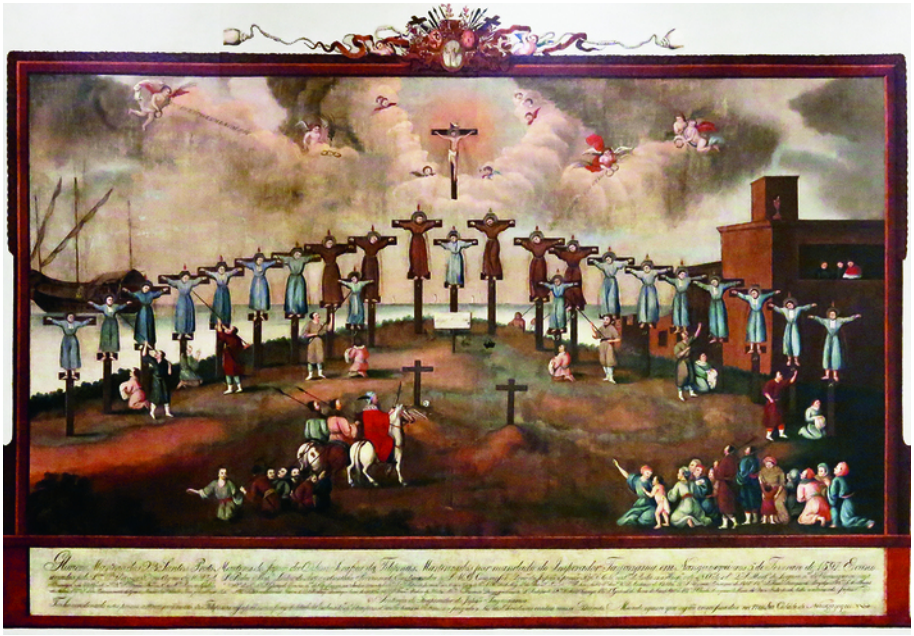


Fig. 4 Anonymous, *The Crucifixion of the 23 Franciscan Martyrs of 1597 in Japan*, 1640(?), oil on canvas, 176 x 254 cm, Macao, Paço Episcopal; reproduced with the permission of Departamento Diocesano de Arquivos Históricos e Património Cultural (DDAHPC), Macau SAR.

materials used to create them, it has long been believed that they were made by Japanese artists of the Niccolò School in Macao. This workshop was founded by an intrepid Neapolitan Jesuit, Brother Giovanni Niccolò, at the end of the sixteenth century in Japan. It furnished all the Jesuit missions in the East—a territory stretching from India to Japan, which, at its height, harbored some six hundred thousand Catholics—with devotional art, books, musical instruments, and clocks. The Niccolò School was forced out of Japan in 1614 in the wake of the increasingly rigorous persecution of Christians, and thenceforth pursued its work in the safety of the Jesuit Church and College of Saint Paul in Macao. New findings suggest that at least one of the Gesù paintings was likely produced in Japan.

Even though they do not focus specifically on the 26 martyrs of 1597, the artworks in the Gesù are relevant in the present context, as they reveal important characteristics of the martyr images that reached Europe from Asia. Two of the paintings show events at which Christians died a torturous death by burning at the stake: while the large painting containing innumerable figures depicts the so-called Great *Genna* martyrdom of 1622 (Fig. 2), the other painting shows the martyrdom of Leonardo Kimura SJ, and four of his companions in Nagasaki in 1619 (Fig. 1). A seventeenth century source indicates that such paintings were executed in the immediate aftermath of the depicted events by local

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artists in Japan. The passages on the Great *Genna* martyrdom of 1622 in García Garcés' chronicle, written in Manila in January of 1623, help us understand the functions of such paintings that were likely created by eyewitnesses right after the represented events had occurred. Not only does this source reveal that the Gesù painting of the Great *Genna* martyrdom was only one among a multitude of paintings showing this martyrdom, at least two of which traveled to the Philippines, and several of which were brought to Rome; we also learn that one such painting present in Manila at that time was used by the Jesuit Garcés as a source of information for his written report on the depicted event.[20]

The creation of Christian artifacts in Japan and the circulation of such objects in and out of Japan after 1614 challenges the notion of a successful persecution of Christians on the archipelago after the expulsion of the missionaries in 1614. A certain production of such objects and a clandestine circulation of Christian items might even have existed until well into the 1630s and come to an end only with the Shimabara rebellion of 1637–1638. After this uprising of Japanese Roman Catholics, which ultimately failed, the Shogunate government enforced its proscription of all things Christian more vigorously than ever before.[21]

The two Gesù paintings of the 1619 (Fig. 1) and the 1622 (Fig. 2) martyrdoms by fire confound viewers accustomed to European pictorial conventions to this day. In the painting dedicated to the "Great Martyrdom of Nagasaki of 1622" in particular, the surprising elements are easily identifiable. While the European medium of the framed picture acts as the "Trägermedium des Bildes" (Hans Belting) enabling the image to appear, the overall composition of this artwork does not even attempt to comply with the laws of perspective: regarding its proportions, the rendering of the landscape is completely subordinated to the depiction of the represented event, which also determines the spatial arrangement of the surfaces. Also, the scale of the figures is

20 In his chronicle, the Jesuit García Garcés refers repeatedly to a 1622 martyrdom painting. If it is the Gesù painting of the 1622 martyrdom that the author refers to, then this painting reached Manila as early as January 1623 and was thus executed between September 1622 and January 1623. On this painting, see José Blanco Perales, "La imagen del martirio japonés en el periodo namban: el cuadro del Gesù representando el Gran Martirio de Nagasaki y su función en la propaganda jesuítica de la misión." (Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Oviedo, 2019); José Blanco Perales, "La Pintura como Testimonio: La intertextualidad entre el cuadro de los martirios de Nagasaki de 1622 y la crónica de 1625 de García Garcés," *Mirai, Estudios Japoneses* 1 (2017); the mentioned source is García Garcés, "Relacion copiosa de los muchos y atroces Martyrios que este año passado de 1622 uuo en el Reyno del Iapon, collegiada principalmente de las cartas de los P. de la Comp. de Iesus que alli residen y de los que refieron los que de aquel reyno han venido en los duos nauios que aqui han llegado. En Manila 15 de Henero de 1623." JapSin 29. ARSI, and García Garcés, *Relacion de la Persecucion que huvo en la Iglesia de Iapon y de los insignes Martires que gloriosamente dieron sus Vidas en Defensa de Nuestra Santa Fe, el año de 1622*. (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1625).

21 On the aftermath of the Shimabara rebellion, see Boxer, *The Christian Century*, 383–397.

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subject to so-called "status perspective" ("Bedeutungsperspektive")—to name only the most obvious deviations from the conception of the image, formulated by Leon Battista Alberti, the principal initiator of Renaissance art theory, in *Della Pittura*, that a picture reproduces the "view from an open window."[22]

But supposing this painting lived up to Alberti's expectations—what would we see from the window? In the center of the painting, Christian missionaries and their followers are depicted in a row tied to stakes, all about to fall victim to the fire surrounding them, while below them, a group of people of different ages, most of them in Japanese clothing, are being consecutively beheaded with swords. The countless historically accurate details of the depiction, as well as the historical context of the image's production, reveal that this painting was made to document the events it shows. Created several centuries before the invention of photography, this painting provided an "authentic image" of the shown event, a characterization that presupposes a historical notion of authenticity. The fact that the names of all the missionaries and their followers who died in the fire are noted on their habits attests to the painting's claim to bear witness to the unheard-of events.[23] This places the painting, which was presumably, from the outset, produced for reception by a Roman audience, in the larger context of efforts that were aimed at obtaining the beatification of those depicted. The artist's compositional choices, which are clearly influenced by Japanese artistic traditions, contribute to creating the impression that the painter was a direct eyewitness of the events recorded in the image. Also the sheer number of details, which suggests the artist's presence at the event, can be considered part of the rhetorical strategy aimed at producing an aura of authenticity.[24]

The third painting offers an overview of the members of the Jesuit order who died in Japan (Fig. 3). It is the largest of the three Gesù paintings and is probably the latest of these artworks. The uppermost section of the image includes a depiction of the three Jesuit martyrs beatified in 1627 with their instruments of martyrdom, in the heavenly realm. Above these three, Saint Francis Xavier appears as their spiritual mentor. In this painting, the different ethnic origins of those depicted are clearly distinguishable: the physiognomic features of Francis Xavier visibly differ from those of the three Japanese victims of crucifixion (Fig. 5).

22 For an in-depth analysis of the perspective used in this painting, see Blanco Perales, "La imagen del martirio japonés," 133–136.

23 The victims' names are listed in Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, 204, note 16. In the painting showing the martyrdom of Leonardo Kimura, S. J., the names of the victims are also provided: they are written in hardly discernible letters beneath the respective figures. For biographical information on the martyrs produced by the Japan mission in the early modern period, see Juan Ruiz de Medina, *El martirologio del Japón, 1558–1873*. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1999).

24 The innumerable details of this painting are analyzed in Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, 201–207, and Blanco Perales, "La imagen del martirio japonés," 109–196.

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Fig. 5 Detail of Fig. 3.

Despite the apparent reference to actual events in the two lower registers of the painting, these in fact offer a synoptic overview of the Jesuit victims of the Japan mission between 1614 and 1633, presumably aiming at also promoting these persons to a saintly status. Indeed, this painting also provides the names of the martyrs depicted.[25] It should thus be viewed in the context of the Jesuit tradition of martyrological portrait series known in Europe starting in the early seventeenth century. Prints such as an engraving published by Matthäus Greuter and Paul Maupin in Rome in 1608 offer tabular overviews of the members of the order having suffered a violent death: the work, labeled *Effigies et*

25 Interestingly, only the names of the martyrs shown in the middle register are rendered in this painting—inscribed mostly on the bar separating the middle and the lower registers—with the exception of the person depicted lying under a shack on the left side of the bottom section of the painting, P. Diogo de Mesquita. Except for this last figure and an unidentified body depicted in the coffin beneath it (the replication of this figure, dead from sickness and abandoned?), the lower register exclusively shows the victims of different forms of hanging. These bodies cannot be identified for lack of names; however, it is possible that they were more anonymously included in the picture, because the method of torture known by the name of *ana-tsurushi* led to apostasies. For an identification of the persons depicted in this Gesù painting based on early transcriptions of the inscribed names, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 387–392. The figures Omata Rappo describes as "erased," those of Matheus de Couros, Ambrosio Fernandes, and Antonio Francisco Critana, are all visible today.

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nomina quorundam ex Societatis Iesu qui pro fide vel pietate sunt interfecti ab 1549 ad 1607, shows one hundred and two Jesuit martyrs, beginning with Antonio Criminali, who died in 1549, and concluding with Vicente Alvares, martyred in 1606. The three crucified Jesuit martyrs of 1597 are included to the lower right in the middle register (Fig. 6).[26]

Such prints provide eloquent testimony to the recently acquired recognition of Christians who died in the name of their faith in early modern Catholic Europe, following a period of heated controversy over the status of these martyrs. Although popular piety spontaneously attributed sainthood to such individuals and prayers were addressed to them, the Curia had initially struggled to recognize new martyrs following the footsteps of the early Christian martyrs. Only after the Council of Trent, that is, at a time of fierce conflicts with the Protestants—who produced martyrs of their own—did a widespread appreciation of these persons emerge. The discovery of the Roman catacombs in the late sixteenth century led to a revival of the early Christian cult of the martyrs in the Catholic parts of Europe, in the tradition of which the veneration of the new martyrs came to be understood.[27]

Overall, relatively few extant images refer to martyrdoms other than the 1597 crucifixion in Nagasaki. This applies to representations of any practice that aimed at provoking apostasies, which ultimately would become a method of execution if it failed. Besides burning at the stake, one such method was the practice of *ana-tsurushi*, shown in the lower register of the synoptic Gesù painting (Fig. 3).[28] Despite various attempts on the part of the religious orders involved in the missionary enterprise in Japan, the victims of such execution practices were not beatified in the early modern period, meaning that the 26 Christians crucified in 1597 would remain the only Japan martyrs granted papal recognition during that period.

The Franciscan Ribadeneira, who had witnessed the crucifixion of 1597, boarded a Manila galleon bound for Europe in 1598. His journey to Rome, where he was appointed *procurator* of the cause of the beatification of the martyrs later that year, first took him to New Spain. He presumably distributed some relics of the martyrs he had brought with him there, as well as paintings from Macao, and printed icons of the events and of the execution sign. These paintings and prints could have inspired the fresco cycle showing

26 On the Greuter and Maupin engraving, see Grace Harpster, "Illustrious Jesuits: The Martyrological Portrait Series circa 1600," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9 (2022): 381–382.

27 Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Harvard Historical Studies 134) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 252–314.

28 The first case of a missionary apostatizing in Japan was that of Cristóvão Ferreira, along with Giuseppe Chiara and other European priests, in 1633. Ferreira's apostasy was brought about by *ana-tsurushi*. Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 392 and 173.

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Fig. 6 Matthäus Greuter and Paul Maupin, *Effigies et nomina quorundam è societate Jesu qui pro fide vel pietate sunt interfecti (…)*, 1608, engraving, middle section, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Français 15782, fol. 423r.

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Fig. 7 Anonymous, The Story of the Martyrdom of the 26 Crucified Martyrs of 1597 in Japan, late 16th–17th century, fresco cycle, south wall, Cuernavaca, Cathedral. Photo by the author.

the events culminating in the crucifixion of 1597 located in the former Franciscan church and present-day Cathedral of Cuernavaca near Mexico City (Figs. 7–11).[29]

This cycle, which is painted on the walls of the nave and unfortunately only survives in a fragmentary state, presents the most important stages of the story in question. The individual scenes cannot be well seen from any single vantage point, making it necessary to wander along the nave. The cycle culminates in the martyrdom on the cross of all 26 Christians, a scene of which unfortunately only parts have survived (Fig. 9). Close observation of its composition suggests that the cycle was meant to be viewed in a mode reminiscent of the stations of a Way of the Cross, as individual scenes are delimited by either vertical lines or changes in the geographical setting of the events depicted. This invites one to stop and contemplate, opening up the possibility that the cycle was inspired by the "jeroglíficas" created in Macao mentioned by Ribadeneira. These were most likely large-scale paintings of the events with verses, which adorned the streets during the procession prompted by Antonio de la Madre de Dios. Some of these could have been brought to New Spain by Ribadeneira.[30]

29 Conover, *Pious Imperialism*, 37–57.

30 On the Cuernavaca cycle, see Rie Arimura, "Nanban Art and its Globality: A Case Study of the New Spanish Mural *The Great Martyrdom of Japan in 1597*," *Historia y Sociedad* 36 (2019); and María Celia Fontana

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Fig. 8 Anonymous, *The Story of the Martyrdom of the 26 Crucified Martyrs of 1597 in Japan*, late 16th–17th century, fresco cycle, north wall, Cuernavaca, Cathedral; photo: Raphaèle Preisinger.

What is remarkable about this fresco cycle is that it shows all the Christians crucified together in the great martyrdom of 1597, regardless of their religious affiliation, united in the picture; such works would remain rare, as will be explained. Moreover, in this cycle, only the six Franciscan missionaries are depicted wearing their habits, whereas the three Jesuits aren't visibly identifiable among the other victims of crucifixion. This reflects Franciscan reports describing the martyrdom of the 26 that were published in the years immediately after the events, most of which do not mention Jesuits among the victims.[31] What is also surprising is that, among the martyrs, Felipe de Jesús, who in the nineteenth century was to become Mexico's first canonized saint and an important figure of identification for the young Mexican nation, is not particularly highlighted.

Calvo, *Las pinturas murales del antiguo convento franciscano de Cuernavaca.* (Cuernavaca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos, 2010), 111–133; on its possible connection with paintings created in Macao in particular, see Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, "Los protomártires del Japón en la historiografía novohispana," in *Los pinceles de la Historia: De la patria criolla a la nación mexicana, 1750–1860*, ed. Jaime Frost Soler (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2000), 72–91.

31 On these early Franciscan texts, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 118–119.

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Fig. 9 Anonymous, *The Crucifixion of the 26 Martyrs of Japan in 1597*, late 16th–17th century, fresco cycle, detail of *The Story of the Martyrdom of the 26 Crucified Martyrs of 1597 in Japan*, Cuernavaca, Cathedral; photo: Raphaèle Preisinger.

All this indicates that this is one of the earliest works depicting the martyrs of Japan and that it was executed well before their beatification.

In the Cuernavaca cycle, the martyrs are characterized as largely anonymous actors imperiled by the hostility of a despotic ruler. The far-away location where the events take place, in contrast, is clearly named in the inscription on the south wall, which still shows the word "Iapon" today. While the moustache and headdress distinguishing the Japanese executioners accompanying the martyrs on the way to their crucifixion are shared by a few of the Asian martyrs only, the latter are characterized as "Japanese" by their colorful garments with long, wide sleeves. As these are also worn by the soldiers

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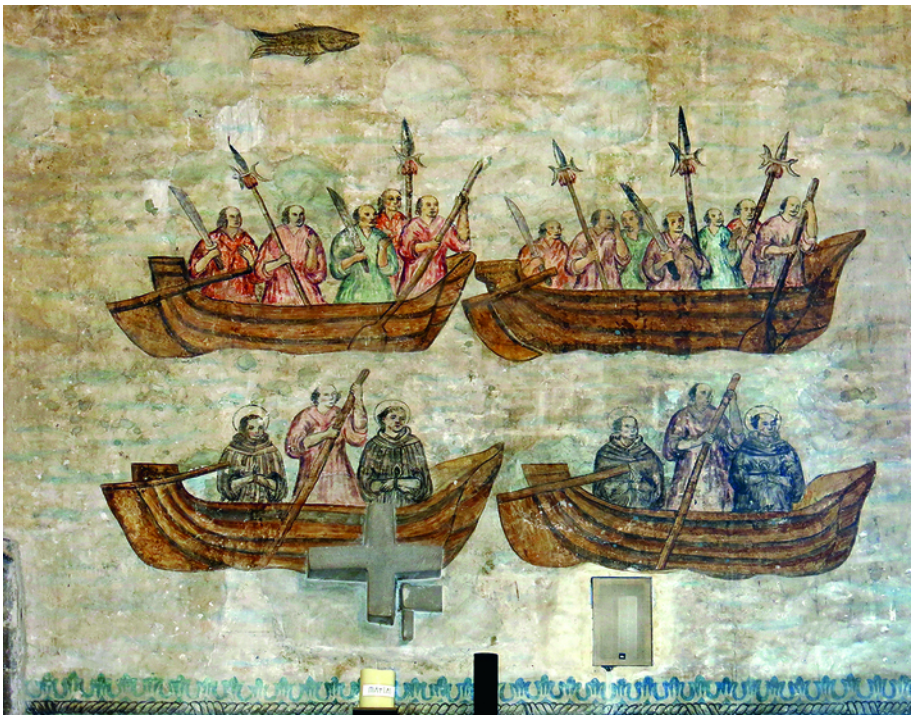


Fig. 10 Anonymous, *The Martyrs on Their Way to the Execution Ground*, late 16th–17th centuries, fresco cycle, detail of *The Story of the Martyrdom of the 26 Crucified Martyrs of 1597 in Japan*, Cuernavaca, Cathedral; photo: Raphaèle Preisinger.

guarding them, the Japanese martyrs, in order to be recognizable, are shown haloed and visibly handcuffed. Even the six Franciscan missionaries are seen wearing their habits only up to their depiction aboard the boats headed to the execution ground (Fig. 10). After this episode, they are practically unidentifiable among the martyrs, as they are also shown wearing Japanese garments, apparently thought to be better suited pictorially for their imminent death on the cross (Fig. 11). This is an interesting detail, because the affiliation of the martyrs as expressed by their habits would later become a standard element of martyrdom schemes.[32]

The scene of their crucifixion (Fig. 9) stresses the devotion that took place on the spot, as the collection of relics by the local population is clearly shown: we see figures

32 As noted by Arimura, *Nanban Art and its Globality*, 45–46, the participation of a Japanese artist in the execution of the cycle is unlikely due to inaccuracies regarding the depiction of the story's local setting. However, the correct rendering of the male figures' Japanese garments could indeed point to local Indigenous artists who had witnessed members of the Hasekura embassy travel through New Spain on their way to Rome or back again.

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Fig. 11 Anonymous, *The Martyrs Arriving at the Execution Ground*, late 16th–17th century, fresco cycle, detail of *The Story of the Martyrdom of the 26 Crucified Martyrs of 1597 in Japan*, Cuernavaca, Cathedral; photo: Raphaèle Preisinger.

under the crosses hoping to catch some drops of blood flowing from the martyrs' bodies and corpses with missing limbs—a reference to the months following their display on the crosses—in the lower part of the picture. All these details emphasize the martyrs' effectiveness in strengthening the faith of the local population and possibly in producing new converts, thus stressing their role as propagators of the Christian faith.

It may have been decisive for the creation of this cycle in Cuernavaca that almost all of the Franciscan missionaries crucified in 1597 had belonged to the first Franciscan mission in the Philippines, and that most of them had traveled via Cuernavaca before setting out for Asia. Thereafter, all missionaries in New Spain who wished to reach Manila or Japan would travel through Cuernavaca.[33]

33 On Cuernavaca as an important station for the missionaries headed to Asia, see Fontana Calvo, *Las pinturas murales*, 132.

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3. The Reception and Articulation of the Pictorial Subject in Europe

In Europe, news of the Christians who died in Japan sparked an extensive production of images. The earliest surviving depiction of the crucifixions of 1597 known today is found in the German translation of the earliest printed report on the subject (Fig. 12). The text is authored by the governor of Luzon Francisco Tello de Guzmán, and was first published in Spanish in Seville and Granada in 1598. It was widely circulated and immediately translated into many European languages. The 1599 German translation of Guzmán's *Relacion* explicitly mentions the "six spiritual brothers from Hispania of the Order of Saint Francis of the Observance" on the title page, while the other 20 victims of the crucifixion are mentioned only in passing: "along with 20 others, Japanese recently converted by them."[34] Throughout the brochure, there is no explicit mention of the three victims affiliated with the Society of Jesus among the "Japanese." Two narrative scenes refer to the events leading up to their deaths. The first shows the six tied-up Franciscan missionaries being brought to the execution ground on a horse-drawn flat chariot (Fig. 13). The second is fascinating in terms of the efforts made to visually approximate the crucifixion of the martyrs to that of Christ (Fig. 12). The analogy to images of Christ crucified amidst two thieves is evident at first glance. Visual convergence is achieved primarily by the fact that instead of six—or 23, or even 26!—only three bodies are shown affixed to crosses. But also the way in which the crosses and bodies appear turning towards and away from each other, and the way the blood spurts from the wound of the body depicted in the center, follow European pictorial conventions for the crucifixion of Christ. Only two of the three bodies tied to the crosses are shown tonsured and can thus be identified as Franciscans. As the four other brothers mentioned in the text are depicted arriving at the site and being freed from their ropes in the lower part of the scene, the martyr on the right cross can only be one of the Japanese victims. Just like the Franciscan missionaries under the cross, the crowd of captives seen standing next to them—the rest of the Franciscan brothers' Japanese followers—is about to share the fate of those already crucified. The question of why the artist chose to leave the cross on the right to one of the Franciscans' followers is quickly answered: in an image so clearly modeled on the crucifixion of Christ, whoever was depicted on the right cross—the one

34 The German translation was published by Adam Berg in two versions in the same year; they only differ with respect to the quality and number of images: Tello de Guzmán, Francisco. *Relation, Auß befelch Herrn Francisci Teglij Gubernators, vnd general Obristens der Philippinischen Inseln, inn welcher kuertzlich angezeigt wirdt, welcher Gestallt sechs geistliche Brüder auß Hispania, deß Ordens S. Francisci von der Obseruantz, sambt andern 20, newlich von jnen bekehrten Japonesern, im Königreich Japon den 14. Martiij deß verschinen 1597. Jars*. München: Adam Berg, 1599. Both versions can be found in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich: Res/4 H.eccl. 870,49 (more complete version) and Res./4 H.eccl. 873,30. For a somewhat different interpretation of the images in the German translation of Guzmán's *Relation* than the one presented here, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 263–271.

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reserved for the so-called Bad Thief in depictions of the Crucifixion of Christ—could have borne negative connotations, making it necessary to avoid showing any Franciscan in this position at such an early stage of experimentation with this visual scheme.

What is not shown here is of particular interest. Although the shape of the Japanese crosses on which the 26 martyrs died was known through publications that appeared in the same year, it wasn't conformed to pictorially. The descriptions and depictions in the letters and reports of the missionaries who were present at the events attest to four planks arranged in the shape of a cross, with a short plank supporting the dying body at hip height and a slightly longer one supporting the feet. In his 1597 account of the crucifixions, the Jesuit Luis Frois describes how the bodies of those being executed were attached to the crosses with ropes and metal clasps: the hands, feet, necks, and waists of the condemned were fastened to the corresponding beam of the cross, resulting in the presentation of the bodies in a cruciform shape. Indeed, the tethered bodies of the martyrs were attached to the crosses with their legs spread wide apart, a detail rarely seen in images of the 26 crucified martyrs. An engraving by Aritoshi Ishida depicting the martyrdom of the 26 crucified in 1597, inserted as an illustration in a Japanese account of the events printed in Kyoto in 1887, clearly shows this evident deviation from European representations of Christ's crucifixion (Fig. 14).[35] Only women were crucified with their legs together! Frois also describes the method of piercing the bodies attached to the crosses with one or two lances. Yet other nineteenth-century Japanese depictions of this method of execution—which was considered a degrading method of punishment and was reserved primarily for traitors—confirm that two lances would typically pierce the condemned persons' torsos consecutively in an x-shape. Furthermore, the clothes of the condemned were torn and used to stabilize their torsos.[36]

The image of the three crucified martyrs in Tello de Guzmán's report clearly testifies to the intention to visually assimilate the execution of the martyrs of Japan to the crucifixion of Christ—against better knowledge. For followers of Christ, crucifixion opened up the possibility of literally "dying with Christ on the cross," as formulated by Saint Paul in his epistle to the Galatians (Galatians 2:19), a notion which had come to deeply determine the understanding of Christian mysticism. Imitation of Christ crucified, understood in terms of an inner process of progressive assimilation with Christ, was indeed the ideal

35 The illustration reproduced here is one out of two listed as cat. nr. 43 in Koshi, *Die 26 Märtyrer von Japan in der Kunst*, 54. The other one, which complements the former, shows a missionary and a Japanese child crucified with joint legs. Thus, the illustrator of this book chose to pictorially reserve the traditional Japanese method of crucifixion for the Japanese adult men.

36 Luis Frois, *Relación del Martirio de los 26 cristianos crucificados en Nangasaqui el 5 febrero de 1597*. (Rome: Tipografía de la Pontificia Universidad Gregoriana, 1935), ch. XVI, 99–101. On the Japanese method of crucifixion, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 251–255 and 260–263. Her figs. 12 and 13 on p. 262 reproduce the drawings taken from a Japanese nineteenth-century description of past methods of chastisement.

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Fig. 12 *The Crucifixion of 1597 in Nagasaki*, 1599, engraving; from: Francisco Tello de Guzmán, *Relation, Auß befelch Herrn Francisci Teglij Gubernators, vnd general Obristens der Philippinischen Inseln. [...]* (München, Adam Berg: 1599), fol. B ii r. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/4 H.eccl. 870,49, 14, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/ (last accessed December 15, 2023).

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Fig. 13 *The 26 Japan Martyrs of 1597 on the Way to their Crucifixion*, 1599, engraving; from: Francisco Tello de Guzmán, *Relation, Auß befelch Herrn Francisci Teglij Gubernators, vnd general Obristens der Philippinischen Inseln. [...]* (München, Adam Berg: 1599), fol. A iv r. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/4 H.eccl. 870,49, 10, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/ (last accessed December 15, 2023).

on which the entire tradition of Christian devotional practice and of leading a saintly life was based. The basic anthropological assumption at the core of this tradition was that humanity, as stated in Genesis (Genesis 1:26–27), was "created in the image of God," but that humanity's relationship of likeness to God was profoundly impaired by the Fall. Accordingly, from the High Middle Ages and well into the early modern period, the conviction was held that the path to salvation lay in following Christ crucified, the perfect image of God.[37] Members of religious orders crucified as a consequence of Christian persecution could be integrated into this Christian "image logic"; by dying as martyrs in this way, they could be visually represented as modern embodiments of Christ's renunciation of the world.

37 On the "imago Dei" and its paradigmatic role in Christianity, see Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter*. (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2000), 252–254.

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Fig. 14 Aritoshi Ishida, *The Crucifixion of the 26 Japan Martyrs of 1597*, engraving, 15.2 x 20.4 cm; from: Kako, *Japanese Saints' Fresh Blood Wills*.

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Fig. 15 Wolfgang Kilian, *Drey Seelige Martyrer der Societet Jesu (...)*, 1628, engraving, 14.5 x 27 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Einbl. VII, 24 l; photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.

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Fig. 16 Jacques Callot, *The Crucifixion of the 23 Franciscan Martyrs of 1597 in Japan*, 1627 or later, etching, 11.4 x 16.8 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, object number RP-P-1925-15; CCO 1.10, https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/deed.en (last accessed January 17, 2024).

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Fig. 17 Guido Cagnacci, *Tre martiri del Giappone*, 1635, oil on canvas, 250 x 140 cm, Rimini, San Francesco Saverio. Reproduced with the permission of Commissione Diocesana per l'Arte Sacra e i Beni Culturali, Diocesi di Rimini.

Despite the multitude of pictorial formulations that developed over time, the crucifixion of Christ would remain the paradigmatic matrix governing visual representations of the crucified martyrs of Japan—in fact, most European images deliberately ignored many known peculiarities of Japanese crucifixion practice. The visual parallel to the Crucifixion of Christ was instrumental in constructing and propagating the new saintly ideal which was ecclesiastically sanctioned by the beatification of the 26 crucified martyrs in 1627.

After the 1627 beatification of the martyrs, a flood of depictions emerged, especially in Europe. An edifying broadsheet printed in Augsburg in 1628 (Fig. 15) is remarkable for including the Franciscan martyrs, even though rendered on a smaller scale, in a composition that aimed primarily at showcasing the Jesuit martyrs. For indeed, as stated clearly by the uppermost line of its title, the engraving kept in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich today is dedicated to the three prominently depicted Jesuit martyrs shown in the foreground.[38] With only very few exceptions, the iconography of the Jesuit and Franciscan martyrs of Japan would develop separately from the moment of their beatification until at least the late eighteenth century, in accordance

38 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: Einbl. VII, 24 l. On this print, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 364.

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with the tensions and the rivalry between these two orders resulting from the Japan mission.[39]

Even though first efforts geared toward obtaining the beatification of the martyrs were undertaken immediately after their deaths, most forcefully by the Franciscans,[40] the official process didn't start until after the Hasekura embassy in 1616. In its immediate aftermath, at the request of the Society and the Franciscans, Pope Paul V asked auditors of the Rota to start the necessary procedures. The promotion of the cause was assigned to the Franciscan Alonso Muñoz of the province of Saint Gregory the Great in the Philippines, who was soon replaced by Pedro Bautista Porres Tamayo. The latter was to organize the entire process of beatification of the 26 martyrs. As the Jesuits had a lesser part in the concrete process leading to beatification than the Franciscans, scholars have commented that the Society in fact owes the beatification of its three martyrs to the Franciscans.[41] The tensions between these two orders led to the decision by the cardinals, headed by Tiberio Muti, in 1627, to grant the two groups of martyrs separate rights of worship, meaning that the Franciscans would honor "their" 23 martyrs and the Society of Jesus the three martyrs affiliated with the Jesuits. Correspondingly, the Franciscan and the Jesuit martyrs were beatified in two distinct briefs, granting the celebration of their cults by each of the respective orders on two consecutive days.[42] Their separate iconographical treatment after their beatification in September 1627 mirrors the measures taken by the Roman Curia to disentangle the devotion to them.[43]

After their beatification, the martyrs of Japan became a central element of these orders' visual propaganda and contributed to shaping their respective corporate identities. Jacques Callot's idiosyncratic version of this pictorial subject features the 23 Franciscan martyrs alone (Fig. 16). A tripartite structure determines the composition of Callot's etching, which presumably dates from shortly after the beatification.[44] Artists in charge of creating the Franciscan versions of the subject were confronted with the difficulty of pictorially representing 23 crucified bodies at once. Although it would appear almost

39 See the catalogue of the Japan martyrs' iconography provided by Koshi, *Die 26 Märtyrer von Japan in der Kunst*.

40 The Franciscans started gathering the evidence necessary to prove a martyrdom had occurred right after the events. Starting in June 1597, preliminary hearings took place in Manila and Macao. Partially as an answer to the Franciscan efforts, the Jesuits started doing the same in Nagasaki in August 1597. Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 90–91.

41 See ibid., 152, where authors expressing this opinion are cited.

42 On the process leading to the beatification of the martyrs, see ibid., 131–163.

43 Some visual representations of the Nagasaki martyrs showing only the victims from one of these two orders predate their beatification. Examples include the now-lost painting that was on display in the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome until 1626. On this painting, see ibid., 353–354.

44 On this print, see Koshi, *Die 26 Märtyrer von Japan in der Kunst*, 34–35, cat. nr. 3 and Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 269–271.

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impossible to subordinate 23 crucified bodies to the pictorial scheme of Christ's crucifixion, the division of the crosses into three rows in Callot's etching, which was achieved by the staggering of the crosses arranged in central perspective, can be interpreted as an attempt in this direction.

The crucified martyrs of the Japan mission were particularly suitable as an artistic subject to promote the missionary work of the religious orders involved. This was true for the Franciscans as well as for the Jesuits, who at first did not support the beatification of their three martyrs. But the Society of Jesus very soon realized the potential for religious propaganda that the ecclesiastical recognition of these three victims held.[45]

Although the Franciscans had produced a larger number of martyrs than the Jesuits, it was precisely in having just three crucified victims that there lay a visual argument of great advantage to the image-based propaganda of the *Societas Iesu*. The visual parallels to the crucifixion of Christ between the two thieves are so pronounced in a painting like Guido Cagnacci's rendering of the three Jesuit martyrs in San Francesco Saverio in Rimini of 1635[46] (Fig. 17) that one wonders whether certain discrepancies from the tradition of depicting Christ on the cross were not quite deliberately retained. For example, in this picture, the centrally placed martyr does not turn to his right, the place traditionally occupied by the penitent thief Dismas in depictions of Christ between the two criminals; also, the crossed lances and the chains of the crucified—elements specific to the iconography of the martyrs of Japan—are conspicuous. Presumably, an overstated *christiformitas* of the martyrs would have created doctrinal difficulties, which were to be avoided at all costs. Also, too great a visual parallel could prompt questions about the saintly status of the martyr occupying the position of the bad thief.

In Cagnacci's painting, the physiognomic characterization of the three Jesuit martyrs is striking. In fact, these three—like the vast majority of the beatified martyrs—were Japanese. Nevertheless, Diego Kisai, Paulo Miki, and Juan Goto were deliberately depicted with European features, suggesting that the painter may have perceived the process of Christianization of geographically remote areas as a process of Europeanization. Was the characterization of the Japanese martyrs as Europeans really done with

45 A variety of factors determined the different attitudes of the Jesuits and Franciscans toward the recognition of the victims of the 1597 crucifixion as martyrs and toward obtaining a beatified status for them. For instance, the Society of Jesus at that time was much more reticent to accord the status of "martyr" to its members than the Franciscan order, insisting strongly on the danger of conflating martyrdom and suicide. Also, the Jesuits questioned the assumption that the 26 had died for religious, rather than political, reasons. Furthermore, the status of the three Jesuit victims within the Society was a matter of debate. On the Jesuits' initial reticence and their later embrace of the cause, see ibid., 83–183.

46 On this painting, see Koshi, *Die 26 Märtyrer von Japan in der Kunst*, 46, cat. nr. 24 and https://www.beweb.chiesacattolica.it/benistorici/bene/5231822/Cagna (last accessed December 17, 2023).

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a conscious intent? Yes, because European artists were quite capable of characterizing non-Europeans as "exotic" when they were concerned with marking difference. Indeed, in an engraving by Schelte Adamsz Bolswert (Fig. 18), one sees the Japanese tormentors clearly characterized as "Asians" through their hairstyle, while the three Jesuit victims of Christian persecution of the same origin bear clearly European features.[47]

As pointed out by Omata Rappo, early modern European representations of the martyrs of Japan depicted the martyrs of Asian origin in the same way they would portray Europeans at that time, a rare exception being the now lost representation in painting of the three Jesuit martyrs in the novitiate of the Jesuits in the Quirinal in Rome described by Louis Richeome in his *Peinture spirituelle* of 1611. Indeed, Richeome characterizes the faces of Jacob Kisai and Paul Miki shown in the paintings in the *salle de récréation* as small-eyed and displaying a skin color qualified by him as *olivâstre*.[48] But apart from this early exception that speaks of a time before the beatification of the 26 martyrs of 1597, European images of the Japan martyrs generally show the Asian victims among them as white-skinned people with European features, confirming that the perception of skin color and even origin acted as a projection of faith and morality.[49]

47 On Schelte Adamsz Bolswert's engraving, see Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines*, 366–369 and Koshi, *Die 26 Märtyrer von Japan in der Kunst*, 46–48, cat. nr. 27.

48 Louis Richeome, *La peinture spirituelle ou l'art d'admirer, aimer et louer Dieu en toutes ses oeuvres, et tirer de toutes profit salutere* (Lyon: Pierre Rigaud, 1611), livre III, tableau VII, section III, 135 (should be 235).

49 See Omata Rappo, "How to Make 'Colored' Japanese Counter-Reformation Saints," 205, on the Quirinal paintings, and ibid., 220–224, on the iconographic tradition of visually assimilating the Asians among the martyrs of Japan to Europeans. I do not agree with Omata Rappo's description of the oil painting by Pedro García Ferrer in the *Museo de Bellas Artes* in Valencia as another exception to the rule, as the Japanese Jesuit martyrs are clearly shown with lighter skin tones than the "Asian" person stabilizing the cross of the central figure, and they are not exoticized like some of the other figures, using different conventions of "otherness" to mark non-Christians, such as a turban.

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Fig. 18 Schelte Adamsz Bolswert, *The Crucifixion of the Three Jesuit Martyrs of 1597*, 1628 or later, engraving, 27.1 x 43 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, object number RP-P-BI-2563; CCO 1.0, https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/deed.en (last accessed January 17, 2024).

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4. The Migration of Iconographies from Europe to other Areas of the World?

In South America, especially in Peru, many early modern artworks depicting the 1597 Nagasaki martyrs have survived. European renderings of this pictorial subject reached Peru as early as the first half of the seventeenth century. They include the *azulejos* decorating the pillars of the main cloister of the Convento de San Francisco in Lima, which show the 23 Franciscan martyrs crucified in Nagasaki in 1597, among other martyrs of the Franciscan order.[50] In the Jesuit church of San Pedro in the same city, the three Jesuit martyrs can be seen on the *azulejos* decorating the sacristy (Fig. 19). These same martyrs are also depicted in the painting located in the room adjacent to the sacristy, possibly dating to the late seventeenth century.[51]

In addition to the easily transportable medium of *azulejos*, engravings were also well suited for trans-Atlantic travels. It is generally assumed that European prints such as the 1627–1632 engraving by Raphaël Sadeler (II) showing the 23 Franciscan martyrs, kept in the *Rijksmuseum* today (Fig. 20),[52] served as a model for the two fascinating paintings created by the native Peruvian artist Lázaro Pardo de Lago in 1630 (Figs. 21–22). These paintings were commissioned by the Franciscan convent of La Recoleta in Cuzco for the festivities celebrating the beatification of the martyrs in Peru in 1630. The *Rijksmuseum* engraving and the two paintings share the exclusive depiction of the 23 Franciscan martyrs and the emphasis on the reward for their merits in the afterlife, which is expressed above all through the motifs of the crowns of laurel leaves and the martyrs' palms brought to them by angels.[53]

A great difference, however, lies in the pictorial rendering of the martyrs themselves: in the Flemish engraving, the six Franciscan missionaries among the victims of crucifixion are emphasized by their scale, and their co-crucified Asian followers are depicted in comparatively small size in the background. While the two paintings in Cuzco also show the six Franciscan missionaries, in groups of three, as the largest figures in the foreground, here the other crucified martyrs are not only placed much closer to the viewer than in the Flemish print, but also their scale is, with a few exceptions, practically equal to that of the missionaries. Additionally, if one closely observes the hairstyle and physiognomies of the Asian victims of crucifixion, a local appropriation of the pictorial subject becomes evident, as the characterization of these seventeen martyrs follows the

50 On the *azulejos* of the martyrs in the convent of San Francisco in Lima imported from Seville in 1638–39, see Koshi, *Die 26 Märtyrer von Japan in der Kunst*, 39–40, cat. nr. 11.

51 On the *azulejos* and the painting in San Pedro, see ibid., 62 cat. nr. 60 and 49 cat. nr. 30.

52 This print holds the object number: RP-P-1926-631; see http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.169168 (last accessed December 17, 2023).

53 On the Cuzco paintings, see Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Lázaro Pardo de Lago, Franciscan Martyrs of Japan (Cat. Nr. VI-71)," in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 419.

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artistic conventions of the time for depicting *mestizos* or Indigenous people converted to Christianity. These are the same conventions that one finds in pictorial representations of the local population, as known, for example, from the drawings of Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala.[54]



Fig. 19 a, b, c Anonymous, *The Three Jesuit Martyrs of 1597*, late 17th century, azulejos, Lima, Iglesia de San Pedro, Sacristy; photo: Raphaèle Preisinger.

A careful examination of the framed inscriptions in one of the two paintings (Fig. 22) confirms a local appropriation of the pictorial subject. While the inscription on the left side of this painting contains the death sentence pronounced against the martyrs in Spanish, the one on the right side recounts two posthumous miracles, also narrated in Ribadeneira's *Historia*,[55] in a synthesized form. This text closes with a statement in Latin naming the artist and the year of the painting's execution, 1630; it also mentions the

54 On the physiognomy and hairstyle of the Asian martyrs in the Cuzco paintings, see ibid.

55 Ribadeneira, *Historia de las Islas*, lib. V, ch. XXV, 498–501. Ribadeneira, on the respective pages, refers to information provided by witnesses during the interrogations carried out with the aim of obtaining the beatification of the martyrs. Ribadeneira, *Historia de las Islas*, lib. V, ch. XXV, 499: "Y por que se vea, sin

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date on which the martyrs were crucified.[56] The first miracle reported by the inscription revolves around many lights—referencing a "column of fire" (*columna de fuego*), which is a conflation with yet another account of miraculously appearing lights mentioned by Ribadeneira in the same chapter—appearing on Fridays over the heads of each the crucified martyrs; the text adds that over the Franciscan commissary Fr. Pedro Bautista, there appeared two such columns of fire. These lights "left in a procession" (*partian en procession*) to the hospital of San Lazaro, where the friars had dwelt, and from there to the hermitage of Nuestra Señora where the lights came to a halt. The second miracle relates to the appearance of many stars of different colors, showing a great variety of shades, over this hermitage on Friday, March 14. This spectacle is said to have lasted for more than four hours and "was seen by many Spaniards and Indians" (*a vista de muchos españoles y indios*). While the inscription claims the painting's ability to "declare" these miracles (*se ponen aquí dos que pudo declarar la pintura*)—an allusion to the multiplicity of colorful stars illuminating the sky and the two pairs of ignited columns each laterally flanking the group of martyrs—what seems most striking here are the terms used to refer to those witnessing the miracle, "españoles y indios." In his *Historia*, Ribadeneira writes much more believably about Portuguese and Japanese people reporting this miracle instead. While this detail speaks of an effort to translate the narrated events into more familiar terms, making them more accessible to the local population, it can also be interpreted as attesting to a perspective determined by Iberian imperialism, one in which local populations of geographical areas as remote from each other as Peru and Japan share an identity as "inhabitants of the Indies," or, more simply, "indios."

The widely held notion that in the early modern era, Christian iconographies radiated outward from Europe, and not the other way around, is challenged by artworks such as the already mentioned painting by an unknown artist in the *Paço Episcopal* in Macao, which was most likely created there (Fig. 4). Although it clearly adheres to an iconographical scheme shared by the Sadeler engraving, the possibility that artworks created outside of Europe had a decisive impact on the iconographies hitherto thought of as European inventions—which indeed written sources suggest[57]—should be kept in mind. Should it be possible to prove that now-lost paintings such as the ones made in Macao immediately after the crucifixion of 1597 were of crucial importance for the creation of artworks produced in Europe, then the European contribution to the global spread of Christian iconographies would need to be fundamentally reconsidered.

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sospecha de mentira, lo que en este artículo sucedió, pondré aquí las palabras formales que los testigos que fueron tomados en la información jurídica (hecha sobre esta artículo) dijeron, que son éstas."

56 The year in which the depicted events took place, 1597, is erroneously noted as 1697. This points to a later modification of the inscription, an intervention still visible today, as the "6" appears slightly smudged.

57 The first and foremost reference is to Ribadeneira, *Historia de las Islas*, who speaks about the paintings made in Macao after the 1597 crucifixion in lib. V, ch. XXVIII, 506: "(…) y se enviaron a Nueva España y a España, y después yo los hice estampar en Roma."

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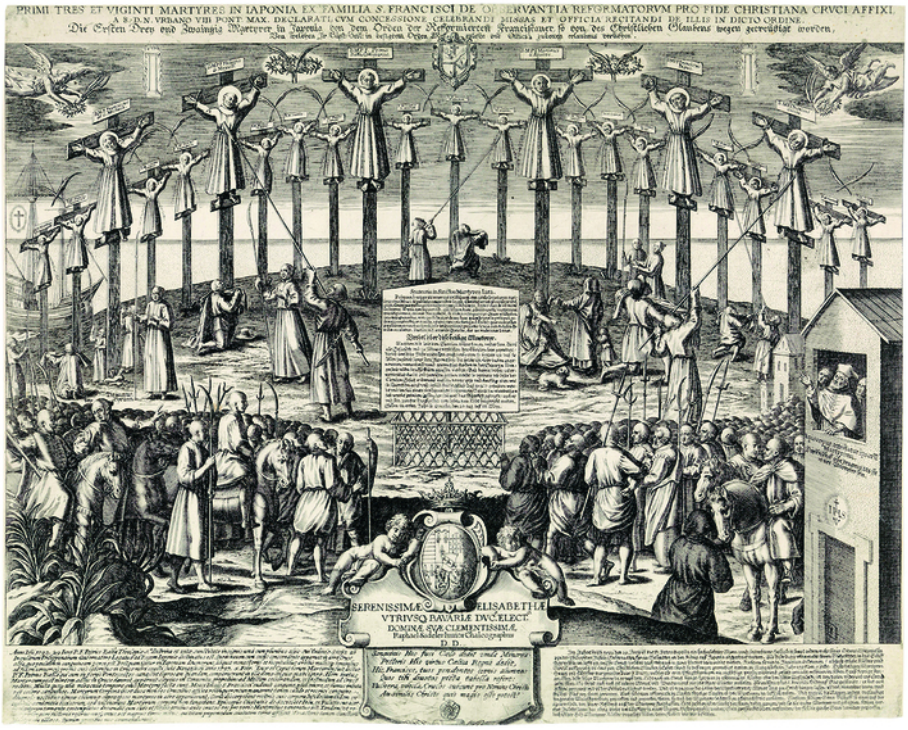


Fig. 20 Raphaël Sadeler II, *The Crucifixion of the 23 Franciscan Martyrs of 1597 in Japan*, 1627–1632, engraving, 39 x 48.9 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1926-631. CC0 1.0, https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/deed.en (last accessed December 15, 2023).

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the global resonance of the pictorial subject of the martyrs of Japan can be derived from its potential for establishing and propagating an ideal of sainthood tied to the transcontinental missionary enterprise, a potential that was based on the fact of the crucifixion of a group of victims of Christian persecution in Japan and the centrality of the pictorial subject of crucifixion within the Christian tradition. In his publication history of the martyrs of Japan in the Spanish empire, Roldán-Figueroa claims that the Japanese among the Christians persecuted by Japanese authorities were "eclipsed" in the perception of the martyrs, while the European missionaries were celebrated as heroes of the faith.[58] This is congruent with my findings regarding the European reception of the martyrs, insofar as the non-European parentage of the martyrs of Asian

58 Roldán-Figueroa, *The Martyrs of Japan*, 257–264.

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origin among the victims of Christian persecution was visually erased to the point of visual interchangeability with their European counterparts, and often the Asian martyrs were shown at a relatively smaller scale than the missionaries. However, this notion of eclipsing does not correspond with my conclusions in relation to artworks created outside of Europe. In particular, the Asian martyrs' appropriation by the local Andean population in Cuzco, evidenced by two large paintings discussed in the last part of this essay, shows a genuine interest in the martyrs of non-European origins outside of Europe. This interest was most likely triggered by the promise of spiritual participation and achievement that the 1627 beatification had opened up for individuals from newly Christianized territories across the globe.



Fig. 21 Lázaro Pardo de Lago, *The Franciscan Martyrs of Japan of 1597 I*, 1630, oil on canvas, 300 x 500 cm, Cuzco, Convento Franciscano de La Recoleta. Image from Wuffarden, "Lázaro Pardo de Lago," 419.

The two paintings from Cuzco reveal how well the Christian notion of a restoration, by means of *imitatio Christi*, of the adulterated *similitudo* to God could be transferred from Europe to other regions of the world via artistic formulations of this pictorial subject. The saintly ideal propagated by the pictures of the martyrs of Japan offered hope of salvation not only to the missionaries operating in intercultural contact zones, who often risked their lives, but also to newly converted populations. Inclusion was particularly significant in the context of early modern missionary work because Christianity, as an "export religion," initially lacked saints tied to the local contexts of newly established Christian

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communities. In Japan, Christians forced to practice their religion underground due to the increasingly harsh persecution of their faith conflated the veneration of these martyrs with their ancestral cults.[59] The exact contours of the veneration of the martyrs of Japan in other newly Christianized regions of the world, such as the Americas, remain yet to be studied in depth. Ironically, the Christian mission in Japan, which ended in a fiasco, turned out to provide an important argument for the worldwide missionary enterprise and the universal significance of the Roman Church in the post-Tridentine context of the time by means of the creation of martyrs.



Fig. 22 Lázaro Pardo de Lago, *The Franciscan Martyrs of Japan of 1597 II*, 1630, oil on canvas, 300 x 500 cm, Cuzco, Convento Franciscano de La Recoleta; photo: Raphaèle Preisinger.

59 On the veneration of the martyrs in Japan, see Cristina Osswald, "On Christian Martyrdom in Japan (1597–1658)," *Hipogrifo* 9, no. 2 (2021): 934–936.

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Nadine Amsler

Converging Cultures of Sainthood

Catholic Saints and Chinese Concepts of Holiness in the Jesuit China Mission (ca. 1580–1700)

1. Introduction

Sainthood is an integral part of Chinese Catholicism's remembered past and of its early modern myth of origin. The first Jesuit missionary who had reached the Chinese shore, Francis Xavier (1506–1552), was canonized by Pope Gregory XV in 1622, only seven decades after his death on the island of Sancian (Shangchuan 上川). He thus became one of the five "model heroic saints of the counter reformation" canonized in the early seventeenth century and one of the most important patron saints of the Jesuit China mission.[1] After this promising beginning, however, the Catholics in China moved out of sight of those who, back in Rome, were involved in the saint-making processes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. When, in 1671, a non-European Catholic was canonized for the first time, it was the Peruvian tertiary Isabel Flores de Oliva, alias Rosa de Lima (1586–1617), who ascended to the official heaven of Catholic saints.[2] In general, canonized non-European saints remained the exception throughout the early

1 On Francis Xavier's death on the island of Sancian and on Chinese Catholic practices of venerating and commemorating it, see Thierry Meynard and Gerd Treffer, eds., *Sancian als Tor nach China: Kaspar Castners Bericht über das Grab des heiligen Franz Xavier* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2019). On the role of Francis Xavier's uncorrupted body in the process of him becoming a Catholic saint, see Liam Matthew Brockey, "The Cruelest Honor: The Relics of Francis Xavier in Early-Modern Asia," *Catholic Historical Review* 101, no. 1 (2015): 41–64. On the broader ecclesiastic context of Francis Xavier's canonization, see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540–1770,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005), 134–135. I would like to thank Tobias Oswald (Basel) for his help in creating the index lists for this contribution.

2 On Rosa de Lima's canonization in context, see Gabriella Zarri, "Female Sanctity, 1500–1660," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, 6: Reform and Expansion 1500–1660,* ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 180–200. For a recent study on hagiographic writing on Rosa de Lima, see Stephen M. Hart, "The Biographical Fashioning of the Americas' First Saint: Santa Rosa de Lima (1586–1617)," *The Modern Language Review* 114, no. 2 (2019): 230–258. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Rosa de Lima became a popular saint in the Dominican China mission in the southern Province of Fujian, with a hagiography translated into Chinese. See Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 321.

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modern era.[3] It was only in the most recent past, in 2000, that the Roman Curia decided to canonize some heroes of the early modern China mission. Again, the saints were no Chinese Catholics, but five Dominican missionaries who had died as martyrs after the Manchu had invaded the southern province of Fujian in 1648.[4]

In spite of this long-lasting low tide in the making of official Chinese Catholic saints, the Jesuit mission in seventeenth-century China is an interesting case study for those who wish to analyze localized forms of sainthood. In particular, it shows how Catholicism interacted with the rich indigenous tradition of sainthood that the Jesuits encountered in China, and how missionaries and Chinese Catholic communities constructed sainthood by combining Roman with Chinese local elements. It can thus contribute to a multi-faceted history of practices of holiness that not only focuses on "official" saints who were canonized by the Roman Curia, but also looks into local practices in places where Catholicism existed alongside other religious traditions as a localized minority religion.[5]

The present article can build on a growing body of research that, in the recent past, has shown how the Catholic religion, from its arrival in China in the late sixteenth century onwards, gradually became a localized religion that nevertheless remained integrated into world-spanning religious networks.[6] Simultaneously, it can also profit from vibrant

3 It is difficult to decide whether the absence of non-European saints in early modern Catholicism was due to the fact that non-European Christianities lacked networks that helped to promote their local saints in Rome, or whether prejudices harbored by the Roman Curia against the orthodoxy of non-European saints also prevented non-European canonizations. It is striking that the Catholic Church remained reluctant towards ordaining non-European priests throughout the early modern era, something that might have been paralleled by a reluctance towards canonizing non-European saints. On the discussions on ordaining Chinese priests, see Gianni Criveller, "The Chinese Priests of the College of Naples and the Promotion of the Indigenous Clergy (18th–19th Century)," in *Silent Force: Native Converts in the Catholic China Mission*, ed. Philip Vanhaelemeersch and Lu Yan (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2009), 147–182.

4 The five canonized Dominican missionaries were Francis Capillas, Peter Sanz, John Alcober, Francis Serrano, Francis Diaz, and Joachim Royo. They were canonized along with 165 other Chinese martyrs, most of them Chinese Christians, who had died in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: See Anthony E. Clark, *China's Saints: Catholic Martyrdom During the Qing (1644–1911)* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2011). The most recent chapter in the history of China's Catholic saints has been written by the founding father of the Jesuit mission, Matteo Ricci, whose beatification cause was received by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints in Rome in January 2014. [n. a.], "Matteo Ricci One Step Closer to Sainthood," *La Stampa: Vatican Insider*. Last modified January 11, 2014. https://www.lastampa.it/vatican-insider/en/2014/01/11/news/matteo-ricci-one-step-closer-to-sainthood-1.35933850 (last accessed December 15, 2023).

5 On Catholicism as a local religion in China, see Eugenio Menegon, "Popular or Local? Historiographical Shifts in the Study of Christianity in Late Imperial China," in *Dongxi jiaoliushi de xinju: Yi jidu zongjiao wei zhongxin* 東西交流史的新局: 以基督宗教為中心 (New developments of the history of exchange between East and West: Focusing on Christianity), ed. Ku Wei-ying (Taipei: Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2005), 247–307.

6 Scholars such as Erik Zürcher, Nicolas Standaert, and Eugenio Menegon have decisively shaped the field. Key publications include Erik Zürcher, "The Jesuit Mission in Fujian in Late Ming Times: Levels

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research on sainthood in early modern Europe that has, among many other things, studied the embeddedness of local cults into translocal dynamics, the gendered and embodied models of sainthood, the role of hagiography in the dynamics of saint-making, and the negotiations over the thin line that separated veneration from the demonization of charismatic religious people.[7] These perspectives can be fruitfully employed for reflections on constructions of sainthood and practices of holiness in China, a field that has, up to now, only received little attention by historians and sinologists.[8]

In the following, I will first introduce Chinese concepts of sainthood and reflect on the ways Catholic concepts of sainthood and saintliness resonated with these emic concepts. I will then show how Jesuit missionaries introduced the Catholic concept of sainthood, models of saintliness, and the veneration of saints in seventeenth-century China. Finally, I will analyze how Catholic and Chinese models of saintliness shaped

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of Response," in *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, ed. Eduard Boudevijn Vermeer (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 417–457; Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe* (Seattle, WA: Washington University Press, 2008); and Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars*. For a study that focuses on the "global" in Chinese Christianity, see Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Entanglements of a Man Who Never Travelled: A Seventeenth-Century Chinese Christian and His Conflicted Worlds* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018). The *Handbook of Christianity in China* is still an indispensable working tool for any historical research on early modern Catholicism in China: see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, vol. 1: 635–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 309–321.

7 On early modern Swiss local cults and their embeddedness into translocal networks, see Philipp Zwyssig, *Täler voller Wunder: Eine katholische Verflechtungsgeschichte der Drei Bünde und des Veltlins (17. und 18. Jahrhundert)* (Affalterbach: Didymos Verlag, 2018); and Daniel Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln: Katholische Reform und lokale Glaubenspraxis in der Eidgenossenschaft (1560–1790)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2017). On gendered and embodied models of sainthood, see Zarri, "Female Sanctity"; and Gianna Pomata, "Malpighi and the Holy Body: Medical Experts and Miraculous Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (2007): 568–586. On hagiography, see Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450–1750* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005). On "pretended sainthood," see Gabriella Zarri, *Le sante vive: Profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra '400 e '500* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990); and, more recently, Monika Frohnapfel-Leis, *Jenseits der Norm: Zauberei und fingierte Heiligkeit im frühneuzeitlichen Spanien* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2019).

8 In the past decades, studies on Catholic sainthood in China focused mainly on textual analysis of the Chinese biographies of saints promulgated by the Jesuits: see, for instance, Sher-shiueh Li, "Shengren, mogui, chanhui: Gao Yizhi yi 'Tianzhu shengjiao shengren xingshi'" 圣人·魔鬼·懺悔：高一志譯《天主圣教圣人行實》 (Saints, demons, and penance: Alfonso Vagnone's "Biographies of the Saints of the Lord of Heaven's Holy Doctrine"), in *Yishu: Mingmo yesuhui fanyi wenxuelun* 譯述: 明末耶穌會翻譯文學論 (Transwriting: Translated literature and late-Ming Jesuits), ed. idem (Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 2012), 205–253; and Matteo Niccolini-Zani, "The First 'Life of Saint Benedict' in Chinese: An Exemplary Biography Contained in Alfonso Vagnone's Shengren xingshi (1629)," *Monumenta Serica* 64, no. 2 (2016): 361–388. An important contribution to the study of practices of holiness in modern China is Henrietta Harrison, "Rethinking Missionaries and Medicine in China: The Miracles of Assunta Pallotta, 1905–2005," *Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 1 (2012): 127–148.

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the piety of Chinese Christians, and how some of them acquired a reputation of sanctity for themselves.

2. Forms of Chinese Sainthood

Although there is no exact Chinese equivalent to the Catholic concept of sainthood, China has a rich tradition of veneration for people who "have obtained an extraordinary access to the divine and thus [are] a model to be imitated, a valid source of guidance and instruction, and a source of blessings."[9] In China's different religious traditions, a broad variety of terms expressed different nuances of saintliness. The Confucian tradition venerated "saints" (*sheng* 聖) and "sages" (*xian* 賢) for their moral perfection; the Daoist tradition honored ancient masters of self-cultivation as "immortals" (*xian* 仙), and the Buddhist tradition revered "bodhisattvas" (*pusa* 菩薩) who had vowed to follow the path towards enlightenment and to show compassion to all sentient beings. Furthermore, local communities used to worship heroes and models of virtue as "gods" (*shen* 神) in local temples. Taken together, all these different types of venerated religious figures can be understood as the 'saints' of the Chinese religious landscape. Due to the strong penchant towards syncretism in early modern Chinese society, most ordinary people were familiar with and worshipped saints of all religious traditions. Furthermore, one single temple often served as a space where Confucian sages, Buddhist bodhisattvas, Daoist immortals, and local heroes were venerated simultaneously.[10]

Many aspects of this variegated culture of making and venerating saints show an astonishing resemblance with aspects of the Catholic culture of sainthood. Buddhism contributed the model for hagiographic writing that also became common in the Confucian and Daoist traditions; furthermore, it also introduced the veneration of relics in China.[11] The Confucian and Daoist traditions developed rather sophisticated processes of "canonization," which transformed previously local saints into officially recognized

9 David Ownby, Vincent Goossaert, and Ji Zhe, "Introduction," in *Making Saints in Modern China*, ed. David Ownby, Vincent Goossaert, and Ji Zhe (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1–30, 3.

10 See Adam Yuet Chau, "Efficacy, Not Confessionality: On Ritual Polytropy in China" in *Sharing the Sacra: The Politics and Pragmatics of Intercommunal Relations around Holy Places*, ed. Glenn Bowman (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 79–96; Timothy Brook, "Rethinking Syncretism: The Unity of the Three Teachings and Their Joint Worship in Late-Imperial China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 21 (1993): 13–44.

11 On Buddhist hagiographic traditions, see John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu, HI: Hawaii University Press, 1997). On the similarities between Buddhist and Catholic veneration for relics and the Catholic reactions the discovery of these similarities triggered, see John S. Strong, "'The Devil Was in That Little Bone': The Portuguese Capture and Destruction of the Buddha's Tooth-Relic, Goa, 1561," *Past & Present: Supplement* 5 (2010): 184–198. On the two religious traditions' veneration for uncorrupted (or mummified) bodies, see Harrison, "Rethinking Missionaries and Medicine."

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ones. The core of these processes, in which local elites collaborated with central bureaucracies, were rituals during which the central authorities bestowed titles and ranks to the local saints.[12] Finally, another similarity between Catholic and Chinese cultures of sainthood was that the majority of local cults was never officially recognized, and that this did not hinder them from remaining alive and vibrant in local communities.[13]

In early modern Chinese society, sainthood was not only something attributed to outstanding religious heroes of the past, but something that could be attained by living people as well. However, as in Catholic Europe, religious and secular authorities did not always show favorable attitudes towards women and men venerated for their saintliness. An outstanding example of such a de-/construction of saintliness was Tanyangzi 曇陽子 (1558–1580).[14] This daughter of a renowned literati family lived in a village close to the city of Suzhou in the Jiangnan region. She had followed the Confucian model of a "chaste widow" (*jiefu* 節婦) after her fiancé had died shortly before their marriage in 1574. The freedom that this role granted her allowed her to follow her religious vocation. Tanyangzi spent her days meditating, fasting, and instructing a growing number of followers with religious teachings that she received through visions.[15] Her biography—a sixty-page-long hagiographic manuscript—reports that she realized immortality after a visit to the Daoist goddess Queen Mother of the West in the year of her death, a transformation testified by corporeal signs.[16] According to the sources, her final and literal "ascent to heaven" was witnessed by a large crowd and created great religious fervor in the region. However, imperial authorities, alarmed by the social unrest they

12 For a comparative reflection on the Catholic and Chinese processes of canonization, see Vincent Goossaert, "The Heavenly Master, Canonization, and the Daoist Construction of Local Religion in Late Imperial Jiangnan," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 229–245, 230 (note 4). On the interplay of local elites and central bureaucracies, see ibid., 235.

13 However, as in Catholic societies, accusations of heterodoxy and official prosecution sometimes also threatened Chinese unofficial cults. On Chinese "heterodoxy," see Liu Kwang-Ching, ed., *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2004). On the encounter between early modern Jesuit missionaries and Chinese local cults, see Anthony Hu, "Encounters between Catholic Missionary Activities and Popular Deities Worshipped in Fujian during the Late Ming and Early Qing Periods: A Study Based on the *Kouduo Richao*," *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 31 (2019): 35–53.

14 On Tanyangzi, see Ann Waltner, "T'an-Yang-tzu and Wang Shi-chen: Visionary and Bureaucrat in the Late Ming," *Late Imperial China* 8, no. 1 (1987): 105–127; and Daria Berg, "Der Kult um die Unsterbliche Tanyangzi: Biographie als Bestseller im China der späten Kaiserzeit," in *Schreiben über Frauen in China: Ihre Literarisierung im historischen Schrifttum und ihr gesellschaftlicher Status in der Geschichte*, ed. Jianfei Kralle and Dennis Schilling (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 285–310. For a comparison between Tanyangzi and Chinese Catholic "chaste widows," see Nadine Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs: Domestic Worship in Early Modern China* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2018), 137.

15 On "chaste widows," see Lu Weijing, *True to Her Word: The Faithful Maiden Cult in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

16 On Tanyangzi's "luminous body" after her realization of immortality, see Waltner, "T'an-Yang-tzu," 116.

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thought the movement could potentially cause, were fast to intervene. In the following year, they accused Tanyangzi of witchcraft (*yaowang* 妖妄) and her close relatives of heterodoxy. They ordered the destruction of a temple that had been newly erected for her worship and an orderly burial of her body. The intervention was successful. Although a collection of scriptures and a contemporary image of Tanyangzi attest to the attempt of her followers to consolidate her veneration as a saint, no formal cult of Tanyangzi survived after the imperial crackdown.[17]

The story of Tanyangzi not only exemplifies how complicated and potentially dangerous attempts at saint-making could be in early modern China, but also points towards some striking similarities of the practices and representations that saintly women used both in China and Catholic Europe to build religious charisma. Virginity, religious self-cultivation that resulted in visions of the divine, asceticism that stressed the abstinence from food, and extraordinary bodily signs were important ingredients for the representation of female sainthood both in Catholic Europe and in China. Building a corpus of scriptures and pictures were also common ways of consolidating a reputation of sainthood in both China and Europe. The example of Tanyangzi shows that in the plurireligious, polytheistic setting of early modern China, patterns of sainthood developed that were strikingly similar to those in European Catholic societies.

Such similarities greatly puzzled the Jesuits when they arrived in China. However, the way they responded to them depended on the genealogy and religious affiliation that they attributed to the Chinese saints. Due to their great sympathy towards Confucian teachings, the missionaries readily accepted the saintliness of Confucian saints, comparing them to the pagan, yet morally perfected philosophers of Roman Antiquity.[18] In contrast, they strictly rejected the worship of Buddhist bodhisattvas as idolatry, and they interpreted its sometimes astounding resemblances with Catholic worship of saints as the result of the "devil counterfeit[ing] the ceremonies of the holy Catholic Church." This is, at least, how Michele Ruggieri and Antonio de Almeida interpreted the devotional images of the Buddhist bodhisattva Guanyin and the votive offerings presented to her when visiting a Buddhist temple in the province of Zhejiang in the winter of 1585–1586.[19] In spite of such negative views of non-Confucian repertoires of making and venerating saints, the Jesuits profited greatly from their resemblance to Catholic repertoires of sainthood. For, as will be shown in the following, the Buddhist, Daoist,

17 See Waltner, "T'an-Yang-tzu," 108–109; Berg, "Der Kult um die Unsterbliche," 287.

18 On these comparisons, see Nadine Amsler, "Constructing the Literati: The Jesuits' Attempt to Understand China's Confucian Elite by Dint of Comparison," in *Contact, Conquest, and Colonization: How Practices of Comparing Shaped Empires and Colonialism Around the World*, ed. Eleonora Rohland, Angelika Epple, Antje Flüchter, and Kirsten Kramer (New York: Routledge, 2021), 38–56, 42–43.

19 See "M. Ruggiero Relaciones 1577–1591," Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Rome), Jap. Sin. 101 I, fol. 44. Translation into English in Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Matteo Ricci and the Catholic Mission to China: A Short History with Documents* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2016), 59–60.

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and local traditions of sainthood helped to make the concept and cult of Catholic saints understood and accepted more readily by the Chinese audience.

3. The Jesuits and Catholic Sainthood in China

At first, however, Catholic sainthood as introduced by the Jesuits became connected with Confucian terminology. The Italian missionary Matteo Ricci's (1552–1610) decision to adopt the language, dress, and social habits of the Confucian elite set the course for the distinctively "Confucianized" Catholicism that also had consequences for the terminology used for Catholic saints.[20] In Ricci's first catechism, "The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven" (*Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義, 1610), he referred to Catholic saints using the term *sheng*, which, in the Confucian tradition, referred to morally perfected men or "sages." Due to Christian influence in China over four centuries, "saint" has become an established secondary meaning of *sheng*. In the early seventeenth century, however, the distinctiveness of Catholic *sheng* needed explanation.[21]

Ricci set out to explain Catholic sainthood in the last section of his catechism. Here, he explained that "in the West, the rules governing the bestowal of the title 'saint' (*sheng*) are even more strictly applied than they are in China." According to Ricci, the main difference lay in the necessary preconditions for sainthood. Thus, "a prince who governs a territory of a hundred *li* square in size, who is able to command tribute from feudal lords, and who gains the whole world would not be called a saint in the West, even though he may never do anything unjust and never put the innocent to death." Mundane moral perfection was thus not enough to become a Catholic saint, said Ricci:

> But if a man's astounding actions and virtue are equal to [the actions and virtue required in] creation; if he cures incurable diseases without medicine, brings the dead back to life, and

20 A vast literature exists on the Jesuits' accommodation to the Confucian literati elite in China. For an overview, see Claudia von Collani, "Jesuits," in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1: *635–1800*, ed. Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 309–321. The contrasting example of sixteenth-century Japan also shows the consequences of the Jesuits' accommodation strategy on their vocabulary for sainthood in non-European languages. Because the Jesuits in Japan adapted to Buddhist monks, they were initially inclined to translate the Japanese term *hotoke* (Buddhas) as "saints." Later, they started to translate this very term as "idols." See Linda Zampol D'Ortia, Lucia Dolce, and Ana Fernandes Pinto, "Saints, Sects, and (Holy) Sites: The Jesuit Mapping of Japanese Buddhism (Sixteenth Century)," in *Interactions between Rivals: The Christian Mission and Buddhist Sects in Japan (c. 1549–c. 1647)*, ed. Alexandra Curvelo and Angelo Cattaneo (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021), 67–106, 73–75.

21 On the problems generated by the translation of "saint(hood)" as *sheng*, see Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, "Introduction" (rev. by Thierry Meynard), in Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven,* rev. edition by Thierry Meynard, trans. Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen (Boston, MA: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2016), 1–31, 21–22.

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> performs other similar deeds, which cannot be done by human power but only by a power that comes from the Lord of Heaven, then my humble country calls such a person and others like him a saint.[22]

After giving this definition, Ricci hastened to warn his audience against pretended and false sainthood. People who boasted their saintly virtues, showed no reverence for the Lord of Heaven, and instead relied on witchcraft were a great evil, he said, against whom people of the West tried to protect themselves. Ricci's explicit warning against "witchcraft" was doubtlessly directed against Chinese religious specialists, and especially Buddhist monks, whose claim for religious authority the missionaries vehemently rejected.[23] His emphasis of divine power that is involved in a saint's deeds was, in turn, necessary to delineate the difference between the Confucian "sages" and the Catholic "saints."

When Ricci died in 1610, the concept of sainthood had thus already been introduced into Chinese Catholicism. However, Chinese Catholics had to wait for two more decades before they were able to read the biographies of a number of Catholic saints in their language. In 1629, the Italian Jesuit Alfonso Vagnone, like Ricci a prolific writer well versed in the Chinese language, published the voluminous "Biographies of the Saints" (*Shengren xingshi* 聖人行實) that reunited 74 biographies of Catholic saints in seven scrolls (*juan* 卷).

Vagnone's work divided saints in seven categories that roughly followed a chronological order. He started with the lives of the apostles in the first scroll and then moved to the church leaders and *doctores ecclesiae*—among them Augustinus and Martinus of Tours—in the second. The third scroll was dedicated to male martyrs of the early church, and scroll four recounted the lives of six "active or non-monastic religious" (*xianxiu* 顯修)—among them the recently canonized Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier. Scroll five moved backwards in time, recounting the lives of six biographies of "contemplative or monastic religious" (*yinxiu* 隱修), who had lived, with the notable exception of Bernardus of Clairvaux, during the first five or six centuries of Christian history. Finally, scrolls seven and eight were dedicated to female saints, recounting the lives of twelve virgins and twelve exemplary widows, respectively.[24]

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22 大西法稱人以聖, 較中國犹嚴焉[...。]夫以百里之地君之, 能朝諸侯, 得天下, 雖不行一不義、不殺一不辜以得天下, 吾西國未謂之聖。[...]若有神功絕德, 造化同用, 不用藥法, 醫不可醫之病, 復生既死之民, 如此之類人力不及, 必自天主而來。敝國所稱聖人者, 率皆若此。Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, 367 (Chinese text 366).

23 On Ricci's interactions with Buddhist monks, see Iso Kern, *Buddhistische Kritik am Christentum im China des 17. Jh.* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1992).

24 For a detailed overview on the content of "Biographies of the Saints," see Ad Dudink and Nicolas Standaert, *Chinese Christian Texts Database (CCT-Database)*. http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/sinology/cct (last accessed December 15, 2023).

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The "Biographies of the Saints" offers interesting material for an analysis of the ways Vagnone and his anonymous Chinese helpers presented European saints to a Chinese audience. Scholars have analyzed the vocabulary used by the authors, the strategies according to which they skipped paragraphs to make the text more readable in Chinese, and the adaptations they made to cater to Confucian moral feelings.[25] Interesting as these findings are, hagiographic writing alone does not offer material for analyzing the ways in which the missionaries promulgated the actual cult of saints and the ways in which Chinese Christians received it.

Annual letters written by the Jesuits show that the missionaries promoted the veneration of and recourse to Catholic saints in Chinese Christian communities from an early date. An especially telling example is the cult of the founder of their order, Saint Ignatius, who was canonized together with Francis Xavier in 1622. Beginning as early as the 1610s and onwards, the Jesuits started to distribute consecrated objects (*sacramentalia*), especially names (*nomina*), images (*imagines*), or signatures (*firma*) to promote the founder of their order as a saint in China. Of all the different uses, the most important seems to have been to secure divine assistance during difficult childbirths.[26]

A story recounted by Manuel Dias Sr. (ca. 1560–1639) in the Annual Letter of 1619 can shed some light on this devotional use of Ignatian sacramentals even before Ignatius's canonization. "I will," wrote Dias, "end this letter with a memorable thing that God wanted to work through the intercession of our Father, Saint Ignatius."[27] Dias explained how a pagan woman, having been in labor for three days and in danger of death, was convinced by Christian neighbors to make a vow to receive baptism after delivery and in turn use an image of Ignatius. The presence of the image showed an effect as soon as the "idols" that were in the birth chamber had been removed:

> [The neighbor] put the holy image on the body of the suffering woman and invoked the names of Jesus, Mary, and Saint Ignatius, and the woman gave birth so quickly and easily that she was able to rise from bed after three days although she had already thought that the cruel torments would kill her.[28]

25 For a general analysis, see Li, "Shengren, mogui, chanhui." For a detailed analysis of the Vagnone's "Biography of Saint Benedict" with its Spanish original in Pedro de Ribadeneira's *Flos Sanctorum* (1616), see Niccolini-Zani, "The First 'Life of Saint Benedict.'" For a study on the ways female saints' biographies were adapted to Confucian moral sentiments, see Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 129–131.

26 For the following analysis of the use of Ignatian birth sacramentals, see also Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 95–98.

27 "[Je vais finir] par une chose mémorable, que Dieu a voulu opérer par l'entremise de notre Père Saint Ignace." Manuel Dias Sr., "Litterae Annuae 1619, Macao," in *Histoire de ce qui s'est passé és Royaumes de la Chine et du Japon, Tirées des lettres escrites és années 1619, 1620 & 1621, adresées au R. P. Mutio Vitelleschi, General de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1625), 1–95, 52.

28 "[E]lle mit derechef la sainte image sur la malade, invoquant les très-saints noms de Jésus, de Marie, et de saint Ignace ; et la femme enfanta soudain, & avec tant de facilité, que celle qui s'attendait à toute heure de

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As this story shows, their specifically Christian narratives of divine intervention and evangelical success make annual letters a difficult source for historians interested in Chinese Christian communities' pious practices and their interactions with their non-Christian environment.[29] In the cited story, it remains unclear which elements were added or embellished by the author. Nevertheless, the story is useful to assess how Chinese Christians should ideally use the Ignatian sacramentals: they should make a vow, get in physical contact with the consecrated object, and perform invocations and prayers. Whether these practices were always performed in the desired way, and whether they produced as many positive results as the Jesuits' letters suggest, remains an open question.

In addition to showing how Ignatian sacramentals were used in China, the annual letters also testify to the frequency of this use. We find an especially massive number of edifying stories about successful applications of Ignatian birth sacramentals in the annual letters in the years after his canonization, with several mentions of successful interventions in the letters of 1631, 1633, and 1639.[30] At the same time, a look at Jesuit hagiographic writings outside of China shows, furthermore, that this phenomenon was embedded into a larger development within global Catholicism. By promoting the cult of Saint Ignatius, the missionaries followed their European confreres, who had started to promote the use of Ignatian sacramentals for birthing women from the early seventeenth century onwards.[31] From there, missionaries brought the cult not only to China, but, over the seventeenth century, also to many other countries, including Tenerife, Persia, and the Philippines.[32]

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mettre fin par la mort à ses cruels tourments, se leva dans trois jours […]." Dias Sr., "Litterae Annuae 1619," 54. Saint Ignatius was canonized in 1622, shortly before Dias's letter appeared in print. However, we already find references to Ignatius as a "saint" well before 1622 in manuscripts of annual letters. For instance, the letter of 1616 mentions a "relique de nosso Sto Pe Ignaçio." This is a wording that we also find frequently in letters after 1622. See Manuel Diaz Jr., Litterae Annuae 1616, Macao December 30, 1616, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 113, 394r-420r, 394r.

29 For a general overview on the source type, see Markus Friedrich, "Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*: Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 77 (2008): 3–39. For reflections on the use of the Chinese annual letters as sources, see Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 10–11.

30 See João Froes, Annua da Provincia da China do anno de 1631, s.l., s.d., Biblioteca de Ajuda (Lisbon), Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-10, 1r–32v, 24v; João Froes, Annua da V[ice]Provincia da China do anno de 1633, [Hangzhou?], September 20, 1634, Biblioteca de Ajuda, Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-11, 1r–99v, 25r and 91v; Alfonso Vagnone, Annua da Caza Kiam cheu de 1639, s.l., s.d., Biblioteca de Ajuda, Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-12, 431r–438r, 434r.

31 See Georg Schreiber, "Heilige Wasser in Segnungen und Volksbrauch," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 44 (1934): 198–209.

32 See Vigilio Nolarci, *Compendio della Vita di S. Ignatio di Loiola, Raccolto con fedeltà, e con brevità da quanto n'hanno provatamente stampato in un secolo gravi Autori, per opera di don Vigilio Nolarci, e con maggior diligenza corretto in questa nuova impressione* (Venice: Presso Combi e La Noù, 1680), 528–537.

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If hagiographic writing testifies to the spread of the cult of Saint Ignatius, it can hardly be cited as the main reason for the positive reception of the cult in China. The seventeen-page-long "Biography of Saint Ignatius" (*Yinajue shengren xingshi* 意納爵聖人行實), included in Vagnone's 1629 "Biographies of the Saints," remained the sole hagiographic writing on Ignatius in Chinese throughout the seventeenth century. In this text, Vagnone depicted the founder of the Society of Jesus primarily as a person of outstanding morality and devotion, thus staying in line with the Confucianized representation of the Company of Jesus that the missionaries promoted in China.[33] Of the seventeen pages, fifteen recounted the different stations of Ignatius's life and his deeds. Only the last two pages mentioned Ignatius's power as a mediator of divine assistance. In these final paragraphs, Vagnone made a brief reference to the Saint's efficacy in helping "women who meet with difficult delivery" (*nü zao chan nan* 女遭產難), without, however, elaborating further on it.[34] For Vagnone, it was apparently much more important to foreground Ignatius's qualities as a perfected man than his thaumaturgic qualities.

The spread of the cult of Saint Ignatius in Chinese Christian communities was therefore probably the result of converging cultures of sacred objects in early modern China and Europe rather than the effect of promotion in written texts. Just like early modern Catholics liked to rely on sacramentals to cope with everyday problems such as illness and misfortune, Chinese people relied on a large variety of powerful objects that were freely accessible to devotees and could be used without priestly assistance.[35] People often did not care whether these objects were associated with a Buddhist, Daoist, or popular Chinese "saint." Instead, what mattered was the "effectivity" (*ling* 靈) of the objects. It seems highly probable that, in the Chinese context, Ignatian and other Catholic sacramentalia were understood in the framework of "effective objects." The Confucianized written tradition of Chinese Catholic sainthood was thus complemented by cultic forms that clearly hinged on Chinese religious traditions rejected by the Jesuits as "idolatrous."

33 On this, see Amsler, "Constructing the Literati."

34 See Alfonso Vagnone, *Tianzhu shengjiao shengren xingshi* 天主聖人行實 (Biographies of the saints of the holy teaching of the Lord of Heaven) (Hangzhou (Wulin): Chaoxing tang, 1629), juan 4, 45a.

35 On Catholic sacramentals, see Hillard von Thiessen, *Die Kapuziner zwischen Konfessionalisierung und Alltagskultur: Vergleichende Fallstudie am Beispiel Freiburgs und Hildesheims 1599–1750* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2002), 428–429. On corresponding "powerful objects" in China, see Harrison, "Rethinking Missionaries and Medicine," 138–139. On Chinese and Catholic concepts of "efficacy" and their convergence, see Nadine Amsler, "Zwischen Ritualkulturen: Die Taufe in der frühneuzeitlichen Chinamission," *Historische Zeitschrift* 314 (2022): 312–339.

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4. Chinese Catholics and Their Strive for Sanctity

Popular forms of saint veneration such as the use of Ignatian sacramentals, however, were not the only way Catholic saints were honored in seventeenth-century China. Instead, we also find other, more elitist and interiorized forms of saint veneration that consisted of practices such as silent prayer and meditation. While the use of consecrated objects connected to a patron saint was aimed at an immediate divine response, this manifestation of saint veneration was a form of spiritual self-cultivation.[36] In late-Ming China, this sort of self-cultivational saint veneration was widespread among educated Christians, many of whom were probably familiar with Chinese equivalents such as Buddhist meditation, Confucian "quiet sitting," or Daoist "inner alchemy."[37] In this section, I will suggest that, in contrast to the efficacy-based use of sacramentals, this cultivational modality of saint veneration probably relied more strongly on Chinese Christian texts in general and hagiographic writing in particular. Although church-based congregational forms of veneration existed in China from the early seventeenth century onwards, my focus will be on the domestic veneration of saints in elite families, which some of the Jesuits' annual letters describe with intriguing detail.[38]

The role of saints in domestic piety is especially well documented in the case of the noble Xu family of Shanghai, who were the descendants of the illustrious scholar-official convert Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562–1633). As domestic religiosity was, in China, primarily organized and overseen by women, female family members played an especially prominent role in this veneration.[39] The veneration included, for instance, the practice of selecting "saints of the month."[40] Candida Xu (1607–1680), one of Xu Guangqi's four

36 For a conceptual framework for analyzing Chinese religion with the help of different "modalities of doing religion," see Adam Yuet Chau, "Modalities of Doing Religion and Ritual Polytropy: Evaluating the Religious Market Model from the Perspective of Chinese Religious History," *Religion* 41, no. 4 (2011): 547–568.

37 On the cultivational modality of doing religion in China and the different practices developed by the big religious traditions, see Chau, "Modalities of Doing Religion," 550–551. On the convergence of Chinese and Christian self-cultivational practices, see Erik Zürcher, "Confucian and Christian Religiosity in Late Ming China," *Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (1997): 614–653, 618.

38 Congregational devotion to saints can be reconstructed through the congregational rules that have come down to us. In particular, several confraternities dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier existed in seventeenth-century China (see Dudink/Standaert, CCT-Database). On pious brotherhoods for men in early modern China, see Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 370–382. On women's congregations, see Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, ch. 6.

39 See Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*.

40 See Philippe Couplet, *Histoire d'une dame chretienne de Chine, par occasion les usages de ces peuples, l'etablissement de la Religion, les manieres des Missionnaires, & les Exercices de piété des nouveaux Chrétiens sont expliquez* (Paris: Estienne Michalet, 1688), 79.

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granddaughters and the head of a large Christian household in Songjiang from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, practiced this devotion. It consisted of all members of the household "draw[ing] slips of paper from a bowl, each bearing the name of a saint" who served as a personal patron during the following month.[41] Such venerations certainly relied on the Chinese calendars of saints, the first of which was published by Gaspar Ferreira in 1627 under the title "Annual Calendar of Patron Saints" (Zhounian zhubao shengren dan 周年主保聖人單).[42] It might also have relied on Vagnone's hagiographic writing and/or on images of saints.[43]

While a comparably large number of devotees probably participated in the practice of selecting saints of the month, sources show that a small number of especially pious Xu women also practiced special personal devotions related to their favorite saints. Candida, for instance, possessed an image of Saint Francis that had the power to heal people from evil influences.[44] Her sister Monica Xu, in turn, showed special devotion to Saint Catherine of Siena. She kept a painting of the Sacred Heart of Jesus next to her bed, which probably reminded her of Saint Catherine's mystical exchange of hearts with the Savior.[45] Monica's veneration of Saint Catherine was so great that it resulted in her having pious visions. She once reported to the missionaries that she had observed how the painting had started to radiate mysteriously, illuminating the whole house—a vision

41 See Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 383; Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 125.

42 See Dudink/Standaert, CCT-Database.

43 For examples of Chinese embroideries of Catholic saints, see the online collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O106897/panel-unknown/ (last accessed December 15, 2023) and http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1139675/panel-unknown/ (last accessed December 15, 2023). According to the description given by the museum, the two panels were probably also produced in Guangzhou during the eighteenth century. They depict the saints (rather clumsily) according to European visual conventions, while simultaneously placing them in a genuinely Chinese landscape depicted in the Chinese tradition of "mountain-water" (*shanshui* 山水) painting. Seventeenth-century sources do not, to my knowledge, make mention of women embroidering motifs showing single Catholic saints. However, the annual letter of 1640 mentions a woman who embroidered the mysteries of the Rosary on four curtains which subsequently decorated two local churches; see Gabriel de Magalhães, Littera Annua [1640], s.l. [Beijing], s.d. [30 September 1641], Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon), Cód. 722, 79r–108r, 88v. The pictures may have been modeled upon the illustrations of João da Rocha's "Rules for Reciting the Rosary" (*Song nianzhu guicheng* 誦念珠規程, 1619).

44 See Francesco Brancati, Annua do anno 1643. De Cum Chim da Residencia de Xam Hay, Shanghai, March 1644, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon), CÓD 722, 237r–252v, 242r–242v.

45 See Francesco Brancati, Annua da Residencia de Xam Hai do anno de 1659 Xun Chi ano 16, BA, Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-14, 551r–565v, 561v. Pictures of "The Heart Consecrated to the Loving Jesus" seem to have been quite popular in China. A series of pictures on this theme was, for instance, described in Li Jiubiao's "Diary of Daily Admonitions" (see Eugenio Menegon, "Jesuit Emblematica in China: The Use of European Allegorical Images in Flemish Engravings Described in the *Kouduo Richao* [ca. 1640]," *Monumenta Serica* 55 (2007): 389–437, 395–417).

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that greatly invigorated her religious fervor.[46] Although the letters remain silent about the relation of these devotions to saints with devotional texts, it seems highly probable that Vagnone's "Biographies of Saints" played an important role in their development. The "Biography of Saint Catherine," for instance, underlined the female Saint's intimate relation with Jesus. It related how Catherine was finally accepted by Jesus after harsh penance—including abstinence from food, rest, and speech—and was then praised for her steadfastness before subsequently having her heart taken to heaven in order to "please it with indescribable joy and consolation."[47] Women like Candida and Monica were part of a small group of Chinese Christian religious *virtuosae* who not only showed special reverence to saints, but also strived for sanctification of their own lives. In very rare cases, such intense religious devotion could result in a local cult developing around a saintly Christian.

The development of such a local cult is documented for a group of Catholic vowed virgins and chaste women based in Nanjing during the 1640s and 1650s. This group of religious women had been formed in the household of a rich Christian widow who encouraged daughters and female servants to embrace the Catholic ideal of religiously vowed virginity in order to form a sort of a temporary "domestic convent" in her house. The Jesuits supported such initiatives and served as these women's confessors.[48] Although we only know very little about the devotions these women practiced in their ad-hoc convent, the Jesuits' writings suggest that the group attained local fame for their spirituality. Annual letters reported that Christians and non-Christians asked to be included in the women's prayers.[49] Furthermore, the Christians of Nanjing cherished the memory of one vowed virgin whose body was found without signs of decomposition in 1652, fourteen years after her death—a clear sign of a person's sanctity in both seventeenth-century China and Europe.[50] Given the important role attributed to Christian virgin saints in Catholic religious culture, and to Chinese virgin deities in

46 As stated by Eugenio Menegon, devotional images "had at least three important functions in the China mission: they were important catechetical tools, they sustained devotional practices, and finally possessed intrinsic powers to do miracles." (Menegon, "Jesuit Emblematica in China," 392). This story shows that in practice, these different functions were sometimes intrinsically interconnected, and sustained each other.

47 次夜耶穌臨格嘉其高志。以天上異樂慰愜其心。并使此後七情平和。不抗理命矣。 See Vagnone, *Tianzhu shengjiao shengren xingshi* 天主聖教聖人行實, juan 6, 38v. On St Catherine's penance, see 36v–38v.

48 See Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 134–137.

49 See loc. cit.

50 See Thomas Dunyn-Szpot, Historia Sinarum Imperii, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Rome), *Jap. Sin.* 103, 90r-90v. On intact dead bodies as a sign of sanctity both in China and Europe, see Harrison, "Rethinking Missionaries and Medicine."

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Chinese popular religious culture, the veneration of the chaste women of Nanjing and Hangzhou by both Christians and non-Christians is not surprising.[51]

The cult of the saintly virgin of Nanjing seems to have remained strictly local, and one that lasted only for a short time. It did not leave any traces beyond the few, short mentions in the Jesuits' annual letters. Nevertheless, seventeenth-century Chinese Christianity did see one of its religious heroes promoted for sainthood beyond a local scale. Candida Xu, the above-mentioned granddaughter of the converted scholar-official Xu Guangqi, was honored with a spiritual vita for her saintliness. Candida's last confessor, the Flemish Jesuit Philippe Couplet, wrote this hagiographic text after her death and published it under the title *History of a Christian Woman in China* (Histoire d'une Dame chrétienne de Chine) in 1688.[52] He thus followed the example of other Jesuit confessors, many of whom acquired fame as the editors or authors of hagiographical accounts of female penitents, especially from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries.[53] His book was comparably successful, as subsequently published translations in Spanish, Flemish, and Italian show.[54]

At first sight, it might seem surprising that the only spiritual vita written in the context of the early modern Jesuit mission in China was dedicated to a woman. The history of the mission is full of prominent, exemplary male Christians—among them the so-called "four pillars" of Christianity, four converted scholar-officials of the early seventeenth century (among them Xu Guangqi). These scholar-officials were especially powerful protectors of the missionaries because they held offices of the highest rank in the imperial bureaucracy.[55] However, none of these towering figures was honored with a spiritual vita. The fact that this privilege was granted to Candida Xu can be partly explained by the fact that she became the most important benefactor of the mission in the second half of the seventeenth century.[56] Additionally, her religious virtues and visions fit perfectly into a pattern of female saintliness that the spiritual vitae of her time promoted in Catholic Europe and in the Americas.

Couplet's *History of a Christian Woman in China* was not purely hagiographic writing. Instead, it combined hagiography with the proto-ethnographic ingredients that were so typical for the Jesuits' writing on China, and apologetic passages in which Couplet defended the Jesuit position in the theological controversy on the Chinese rites that

51 On powerful virgin deities in China, see P. Steven Sangren, "Female Gender in Chinese Religious Symbols: Kuan Yin, Ma Tsu, and the 'Eternal Mother'," *Signs* 9, no. 1 (1983): 4–25.

52 See Couplet, *Histoire d'une dame chretienne*.

53 See Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, 8–9.

54 See Gail King, "The Four Editions of Couplet's Biography of Madame Candida Xu," *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 31 (2009): 56–63.

55 On the "four pillars," see George H. Dunne, *Generations of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1962).

56 See Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 147–151.

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was in full swing in the late eighteenth century.[57] Hagiography, however, remained a core concern of the Jesuit's book. In the dedication of the book, he explained that Candida's "many virtuous deeds" were "worthy to be held up for imitation to all Christian women,"[58] and that this inspired him to write the biography of his spiritual daughter. Throughout the text, he used comparisons to female saints of early Christian history to underline Candida's saintliness. Thus, Candida resembled Saint Monica in how she converted her gentile husband to Christianity and Saint Mathilde in how she donated land to the Catholic Church. Furthermore, comparisons with the Bible also served to show how Candida remained steadfast in her faith, even in the face of considerable pressure.[59]

While Couplet was unambiguous about Candida's religious virtues and modesty, he was more cautious in mentioning her visionary gifts. Although he mentioned her many visions—"sometimes she saw Jesus Christ, who extended his arms […], sometimes it was the Holy Virgin with her beloved son who consoled her"[60]—he stated that it was "difficult to determine whether they were true visions or mere effects of her imagination." For Candida was "so much filled with God that dream and sleep were for her like visions."[61] Although it is unclear why Couplet remained undetermined about Candida's visionary gifts, it is clear that the way he wrote about them allowed for a later re-interpretation of her "dreams" as "visions." In any case, her ability to foresee events such as the day of her death suggested that Candida was in possession of real visionary gifts.[62]

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57 See Nadine Amsler, "Fromm, aber unfrei? Weibliche Tugenden und *agency* in der jesuitischen Darstellung der chinesischen Christin Candida Xu (1607–1680)," *Saeculum* 66, no. 2 (2016): 289–309.

58 "[…] tant d'actions vertueuses qui meritent qu'on la propose à toutes les Dames Chrestiennes comme un modele à imiter." Couplet, *Histoire d'une Dame chrétienne*, 1–2.

59 Couplet, *Histoire d'une Dame chrétienne*, 15 (Saint Monica), 127 (Saint Mathilda), 57 (mother of the Maccabbees).

60 "[…] tantôt il luy sembloit qu'elle voyoit JESUS-CHRIST, qui étendoit les bras […], tantôt c'étoit la sainte Vierge avec son Fils bien aimé qui la consoloit […]". Couplet, *Histoire d'une Dame chrétienne*, 130.

61 "[…] il seroit difficile de bien determiner, si c'étoient de veritables illustrations, ou de simples effets de l'application de son esprit. Car, Madame, elle étoit si remplie de Dieu que le songe même & le sommeil étoient pour elle comme autant de visions [...]." See Couplet, *Histoire d'une Dame chrétienne*, 130–131. With this distinction between true visions and mere imagination, Couplet referred to Aristotelian dream theory, which Giulio Aleni expounded in a Chinese work called "Song of the Holy Dream" (*Shengmeng ge* 聖夢歌, 1637): "There are three kinds of dreams: dreams as such, evil dreams, and holy dreams. Dreams as such arise from thoughts during daytime, from our emotions, habitual sights and sounds. If by chance an image or two things combine to form a strange image, this is not virtuous, nor is it sinful. […] As for holy dreams, they are used occasionally by the Creator to inspire us, and are more advantageous for our spiritual discipline and progress." (Passage translated by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Dreams and Conversions: A Comparative Analysis of Catholic and Buddhist Dreams in Ming and Qing China: Part I," *Journal of Religious History* 29, no. 3 [2005]: 223–240, 231).

62 Couplet, *Histoire d'une Dame chrétienne*, 138–139. On how Candida's dreams and visions were embedded into a family culture of dream interpretation, see Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 122–126.

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5. Conclusion

As Jodi Bilinkoff has shown, the authors of spiritual vitae were potential "saint-makers" who positioned their spiritual daughters as potential future canonized saints of the Catholic Church.[63] Candida Xu never came close to the initiation of such a process. Nevertheless, in the late seventeenth century, this Chinese woman served as a model of saintliness well beyond her own country. With a European audience reading her virtuous deeds in several European languages, Candida Xu's saintly life embodied the universal presence of God and the global aspirations of the early modern church. However, her memory did not last. When, in the eighteenth century, European noble women started to become active as benefactors of the Jesuit China mission, they did not refer to the example of the saintly Chinese woman. Instead, they perceived China as a country in need of help by Catholic Europeans to tackle social problems, such as the exposure of infants.[64] In the context of the eighteenth century, during which Europeans started to increasingly look at non-European societies with a feeling of cultural superiority, the window of opportunity for a global culture of Catholic sainthood, it seems, had already closed again.[65]

Couplet's biography of Candida Xu was fashioned according to Catholic norms and ideals. Therefore, it does not reveal traces of Chinese models of sainthood to untrained readers. Nevertheless, it was precisely the converging cultures of sainthood that made biographies such as that of Candida Xu possible. For Candida and other Chinese Catholic women, their strive for sanctity was rooted not only in their firm Catholic faith, but also in a pre-existing, Chinese understanding of sainthood as a desirable aspiration for a human being. The main similarity of the two cultures consisted of the fact that they both stressed the possibility of mediation between the human and the divine realm. Saints were, in both cultures, people—dead or alive—who could mediate between these realms due to their special religious gifts. They served as exemplary models, religious teachers, and divine intercessors. After their death, writings, images, objects, or relics could represent them.

63 See Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, 38.

64 On European noble women's hope to rescue exposed infants in China with their donations, see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Noble Patronage and the Jesuit Missions: Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690–1762) and Jesuit Missionaries in China and Vietnam* (Rome: Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 2006), 42, 47. On Couplet's failure to establish Candida Xu as a model for European Catholic women, see Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 153.

65 Jürgen Osterhammel has described this development as a transition from an "inclusive" to an "exclusive Eurocentrism" (see Jürgen Osterhammel, *Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment's Encounter with Asia* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018], 480–517). Although Osterhammel sees this shift happen in the late eighteenth century, my impression is that the process had already started earlier in the eighteenth century.

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The converging cultures of sainthood made it easy for the Jesuits to make Catholic concepts of sainthood and saintliness acceptable to a Chinese audience, but it also encouraged the emergence of "sinicized" versions of Catholic sainthood, with sometimes unexpected results.[66] It produced situations in which Catholic *sacramentalia* were used alongside Chinese "effective objects." It caused Chinese "idolaters" tormented by demons to become Christian visionaries. It added Chinese interpretations to pre-existing Catholic cults. And it sometimes resulted in Jesuits adding elements of Confucian morality to hagiographies of Catholic saints.

66 For the following examples, see Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 95–97 (*sacramentalia* and "effective objects"), 106 (Chinese "idolator" becoming a Christian visionary), 90–95 (adding new interpretation to the cult of the Holy Virgin), and 130–131 (Confucian elements in Chinese Catholic hagiographies).

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Markus Friedrich

Comment

Saint-Making between the Local and the Global, the Particular and the Universal

1. In recent scholarship, saint-making has been transformed into something like "Exhibit A" for discussions of the nature of early modern Catholicism and the Roman Church. Together with related aspects, including the discussion of miracles or visions, sanctity has proven a highly fertile object of investigation. While previous generations catapulted the Holy Roman Church onto center stage of historical scholarship by analyzing institutional innovations—often in the wake of Paolo Prodi—or social history and networks (following Wolfgang Reinhard), Catholicism's formative influence on, and lasting relevance for, the early modern world is nowadays often discussed by drawing on examples from saint-making and saint-veneration. This is due not least to the fact that the study of saints and sainthood, as reimagined by historians working in the wake of Peter Brown or Simon Ditchfield, has succeeded in recombining a classic topic of religious and Church history with (at least) three major recent trends in historiography, the history of knowledge and scholarship, the history of (religious) media, and the history of globalization. Just as the papers assembled here, this commentary focuses primarily on the last dimension.[1]

As questions of globalization have become more and more important in recent historiography, scholars increasingly explore the mechanisms with which regionally anchored states, religions, or institutions projected their reach to new geographical regions. Questions of communication and infrastructure have become crucial in studying how increasing globality became possible. Moreover, with growing sophistication, historians are investigating the conceptual implications of these processes.[2] In the case of Roman Catholicism, this includes the question of how the traditional notion of "universality"—that is, that the Christian faith claims relevance for each and every

1 For the first two perspectives, see, e. g., Simon Ditchfield, "'Historia magistra sanctitatis?' The Relationship between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent (1540–1742 ca.)," in *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores: Storici e storia in età postridentina*, ed. Massimo Firpo (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2005), 3–23; Adrian Hsia and Ruprecht Wimmer, eds., *Mission und Theater: Japan und China auf den Bühnen der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2005); Bernhard Jahn and Claudia Schindler, eds., *Maria in den Konfessionen und Medien der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

2 Often, this is captured by the rubric of "worldmaking"; see, e. g., Giuseppe Marcocci, *The Globe on Paper: Writing Histories of the World in Renaissance Europe and the Americas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

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human being regardless of chronological or geographical location—might transform into "globality," that is into actual veneration in numerous locations across the globe.

While global expansion to most corners of the earth drove home the challenges of redefining geographical universality with special urgency, closer to home, in Europe, some of the same problems resurfaced, too. With "national" variants of Catholicism becoming ever more pronounced, with minority Catholicism in Protestant realms becoming an everyday reality, and with growing internal pluralization of Catholic milieus, institutions, and pious practices, the notion of exceptionless, uniform universality was challenged even at home. Reimagining universality, and finding new ways to implement it, became key questions for the Catholic authorities.

(Early) modern Christianity struggled with this challenge, sometimes on a conceptual level, more often on a practical level. Missionaries experimented with (limited) alterations of traditional forms of Catholic behavior in contexts where European standards would prove counterproductive or simply did not make sense—a highly contested practice, as evidenced by the Rites Controversies. Despite post-Tridentine initiatives to homogenize (some parts of) Catholic liturgy, enormous "liturgical pluralism" on the local and regional level persisted.[3] A complex set of legal strategies—*facultates*, dispensations, etc.—allowed for individual forms of religious practices to be pursued despite generalized prohibitions. Catholic scholars and antiquarians also grappled with the idea of universality in a chronological sense. Claims to the trans-epochal stability of the Catholic religion became more complex to maintain once historical research had made it clear that Christianity had undergone significant changes over the centuries, at least with respect to external features and institutional structures.[4]

While most of these manifestations of pluriformity in Catholic religious life were only sparsely theorized in pre-modern times—fully articulated concepts of missionary "accommodation," for instance, emerged only in the twentieth century—everyday behavior nevertheless betrayed this ongoing fascination and constructive interaction with the local and the particular. Just as in natural science, the 'religious indigenous' was only truly invented in the first age of globalization.[5]

2. Sainthood fits this general picture, and it makes these ongoing early modern conversations about the global and the local, as well as the universal and the particular, especially

3 Benedikt Kranemann, "Liturgischer Pluralismus als Herausforderung liturgiewissenschaftlicher Forschung," *Jaarboek voor liturgie-onderzoek* 22 (2006): 29–47.

4 For one classical contribution, see Anthony Blunt, "The Triclinium in Religious Art," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2, no. 3 (1939): 271–279.

5 Alix Cooper, *Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). On accommodation, see Markus Friedrich, "Accommodation: A Twentieth-Century Idea and its Role in the History of Catholic Missions," *History of the Interaction of Religious Cultures* 1 (2024): 146–170.

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visible. The five papers of this section help to illustrate this point. Taken together, they provide ample empirical data to discern how early modern saints oscillated between local and global, particular and universal relevance. On the one hand, it becomes obvious that the 'ideal' case of universal *and* global impact was not the norm and not easily achieved. On the other hand, it is equally clear that exclusively local interest in a putatively saintly figure would never make this individual into a recognized saint.

At the same time, the scales on which particular versions of Catholicism made themselves visible multiplied, too. As Simon Ditchfield notes in his paper with reference to Saint Teresa, the particular could be local, regional, or even national, not to mention particularities that were not geographical at all, for instance when particular forms of religious life emerged around certain trans-regional institutions, such as the Franciscan or Jesuit orders. All these levels of particularity intersected in complex and often unpredictable ways with claims to Christianity's universalism.

3. Sainthood started locally, as all these papers demonstrate. It usually began with individual humans leading their peculiar lives in particular circumstances, attracting religious attention first of all in their immediate environment. The Christian idea of saintliness relied on the notion of real lives lived in specific and local contexts. Saints differed from angels in this crucial respect because the latter were not the product of a specific time and place in this world. Angels have no biography. The saints' concreteness and embeddedness in real-life scenarios gave them their special appeal. Saints were anchored in time and space, if often only in the vaguest of terms; they had lived in one place and one historical moment—and not others—and they led particular and often very peculiar lives. With all their specificity, they helped make the abstract rules of Christian life practical and concrete. This is where their power lay as ascetic role models: they had been "good" or "brave" or "pious" or "devout" *in particular, local circumstances*. It was the biographic plot of their lives, highlighting concrete places and times, *hic et nunc*, which gave the saints their mobilizing power. This made them into role models that individual believers could incorporate into *their* own lives. As the spiritual writers of the period insisted, saints—or, rather, their media representations in text, image, and sound—served as "mirrors" for believers who were encouraged to detect either similarities or dissimilarities between their everyday life and that of the saints' and who could improve their own religious conduct accordingly. The saints' exemplary lives "provide a law, where no explicit rules are available," as one of them wrote.[6] The saints unpacked abstract virtues and values for specific contexts—Christian piety could either translate into a young nobleman's ascetic reclusiveness (as with Luigi Gonzaga,

6 Giulio Negrone, *Tractatus Ascetici, qui ab auctore recogniti, et aucti, nunc primum in unum collecti, in gratiam Magistrorum Spiritualium, omniumque profectus spiritalis amantium, prodeunt in Germania, cum Indice quadruplici* (Cologne, 1624), 218 (with further classical and early modern references).

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canonized 1726) or into a lowly farmer's charity (as with Isidore of Madrid, canonized in 1622).

As social diversification grew, such religious role models needed to multiply. They had to be context-specific and locally relevant, and they had to speak to particular environments.[7] All of human life, every situation, was meant to be suffused with piety. The "new self," which the Catholic religion aspired to shape, was to show itself in a myriad of different everyday situations.[8] It needed, hence, a casuistry of exemplary behavior in diverse social contexts. The saints' lives showed what a good pious life could look like, not *in abstracto*, but *in concreto*. The saints' connection to particular sociocultural contexts made them into a valuable resource for Catholic authorities. Saintly lives allowed for particularizing abstract Christian goals and values.

Hagiographical concreteness was, of course, not the same as historical correctness. Despite a growing focus on factual accuracy and empirical grounding, no one would mistake a "saint" as depicted by the Church for a real-life figure. And yet, even the most stereotypical hagiographical narratives required a minimum of local context and biographical specificity—the bones distributed as "catacomb saints" needed at least a name and a historical context, even though that "context" was only a generic image of persecuted Christians living underground, as Christophe Duhamelle explains. If biographical information was not readily available, a saint's everyday life might as well be imagined creatively so as to speak to local audiences. The best example to demonstrate this is the case of Mary, mother of God, the most important saint of all. In order to turn her into a role model that could be meaningful for believers, writers imagined the Holy Family's everyday life in ever-growing detail. Time and again, rhetorically amplified depictions of the Holy Family targeted highly specific, local audiences.[9] One Swiss commentator, for instance, used a lengthy sermon on the Holy Family to discourage young men in the audience from taking up mercenary service in Europe's armies.[10]

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7 This also becomes obvious *ex negativo*: in the numerous cases of forged saints, several of which have recently been analyzed in depth, the forgers' inventive creation of individuals, biographies, related documents, and material evidence usually happened in the context of local histories; Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); Stefania Tutino, *A Fake Saint and the True Church: The Story of a Forgery in Seventeenth-Century Naples* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

8 Moshe Sluhovsky, *Becoming a New Self: Practices of Belief in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

9 Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Penguin Books, 2010); Klaus Schreiner, *Maria: Jungfrau, Mutter, Herrscherin*, rev. ed. (Cologne: Anaconda, 2006).

10 This was Rudolf Gwalter; see Markus Friedrich, "Ideale frühneuzeitlichen Gehorsams: Maria und die Heilige Familie," in *Maria in den Konfessionen und Medien der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Bernhard Jahn and Claudia Schindler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 157–184.

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4. Yet saints could not remain only local; they had to shed at least some of their particularity. While we may question whether universal and global veneration was per se a primary motive for local pressure groups promoting a putative saint for canonization, elevation to the altars nevertheless by necessity catapulted a local role model onto a larger stage. Universality and globality may not have been targeted primarily and for their own sake in many or even most cases of sainthood, yet these were the new parameters in which a case had to be framed and which simply could not be, and were not, overlooked. Sainthood in early modern Europe conceptually implied universality: saints needed to be potentially relevant for every human, independent of special local or other particular preferences. Finding elements of universal relevance in a future saint's biography (and miraculous afterlife) was a most delicate process, and it involved sophisticated institutional maneuvering by local pressure groups and the papacy. The intricate procedures and activities at play in getting an individual officially declared a saint are in many respects the best-studied element of saint-making.

The creation of universality—canonization—was in itself a highly local process. It happened in one place, papal Rome, which was highly specific in its decision-making routines and sociopolitical environments. Declaration of saintly universality often enough resulted from context-sensitive ecclesiastical power politics. As all lobbyists for sainthood knew, one needed to have expert knowledge about how the Roman bureaucracy functioned and how to turn the wheels of that bureaucratic apparatus. For saint-making was a largely bureaucratic procedure. And bureaucratic activities, no matter how universal or global their reach may be, always have a strong local grounding—hence, local, Roman, interests impinged significantly on the decision of who was, and who wasn't, universally venerable.

Rome, for all its importance as the main locus of Christian universalism, remained a specific, particular location very much, too, in terms of its own cityscape of saints and saintly cults. The city's rich tapestry of relics and saint-related cults had come into existence thanks to multiple processes of localizing foreign saints. Well-studied mostly for late antiquity and the earlier Middle Ages, the tradition of "importing" select saints from far-away regions into the Eternal City continued into later periods, too.[11] Shaping the local portfolio of saintly venerations in Rome, just like everywhere else, was a process full of context-specific choices and contingent developments, rather than of abstract planning and conceptual projections.

The highly context-specific nature of Roman canonization also emerges from the few cases where Church authorities eventually withdrew saints from veneration, thereby

11 The classic study is Emile Donckel, *Außerrömische Heilige in Rom: Von den Anfängen unter Liberius bis Leo IV. (847). Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des stadtrömischen Festkalenders* (Luxembourg, 1938). For a more recent treatment, see Adrian Bremenkamp, Tanja Michalsky, and Norbert Zimmermann, eds., *Importreliquien in Rom von Damasus I. bis Paschalis I.* (Palilia, 36) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2023).

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acknowledging implicitly that earlier sanctification had not followed timeless and universal standards. Well known are the numerous saints who were found to have never existed once Catholic scholars such as the Bollandists applied rigorous truth criteria to the extant hagiographic corpus.[12] At least *ex negativo*, Catholic ritual and pious practice were thereby marked as time- and context-sensitive, despite sainthood's conceptual linkage with universal relevance. Even more prominently, the suppression of the antisemitic cult of Simon of Trent in 1965 marked this early modern cult as a centuries-long aberration that had to be overturned. A cult that had been allowed for almost 400 years—Sixtus V had approved it officially in 1588—had come to an end, and a "saint" had been unmade.[13]

5. For saintly universality to become global reality, multiple local acts of implementation were required. It is important to distinguish the declaration of a saint's universal venerability from actual global veneration in everyday religious life. Simon Ditchfield's focus on the *cult* of saints in addition to canonization is crucial here. Veneration happens locally; ritual is one of the most powerful vectors of localization in pre-modern and modern Catholicism, as recent scholarship has argued. Despite strong attempts to standardize more and more elements of Catholic ritual life in the wake of the Council of Trent, liturgical practice remains inherently pluriform in positively accepted ways.[14]

This also concerns the liturgical and para-liturgical rituals that make saints relevant for large groups of believers. Saints, once officially declared, became the focus of day-to-day pious ritual only in some contexts, not in others. Luigi Gonzaga was unusually popular in one Alpine region, as shown by Philipp Zwyssig, but not nearly as successful in otherwise comparable next-door regions. The thriving of saintly cults—as distinguished from the universal possibility to establish such cults—is often the result of local history. In sinister ways, this is made evident by the spread of the antisemitic cult of Simon of Trent, officially declared venerable in 1588, whose veneration spread widely throughout Europe and found new homes especially in places where Christian–Jewish strife was frequent.[15] But even in less abominable cases, local appropriation of a saint was a contextual affair; a universal saint had to become popular locally. Christophe Duhamelle's examples illustrate the need for localization in striking fashion: some of the originally unnamed

12 See, e. g., Jan Marco Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert: Zum Werk der Bollandisten. Ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009).

13 For a few details concerning the suppression of (various) antisemitic cults, including that of Simon of Trent, see Iginio Rogger, "In margine al caso Simonino di Trento: Aspetti istituzionali e morali della questione," *Laboratoire italien* 11 (2011), 221–230.

14 Jürgen Bärsch and Benedikt Kranemann, eds., *Geschichte der Liturgie: Rituelle Entwicklungen, theologische Konzepte und kulturelle Kontexte in den Kirchen des Westens*, 2 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2017).

15 Magda Teter, *Blood Libel: On the Trail of an Antisemitic Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020).

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catacomb saints were given locally significant names to insert them into local pious agendas.

Seen in such light, the process of saint-making in Rome—that is, the canonical process of canonization—hardly created global religious charisma per se; rather, it created only the potential for global meaning. By no means did all saints achieve the same global prominence, and that is precisely the point to observe. Declaring a particular, locally embedded human being a saint meant crediting that person with spiritual universality, but not automatically with global reach. Transforming universality's potential into actual globality of veneration was something completely different. Questions of chronology inevitably play an important part here. While canonization happens in a single moment in Rome, trans-regional or even global diffusion of a saint's cult often takes time. As Christophe Duhamelle's example demonstrates once again in particularly focused ways, even a time lag of many centuries between a saint's putative life and their local veneration did not diminish enthusiasm.

6. Pointing out the difficulties of transforming a saint's universality into global veneration does not mean, of course, that such globalization of the saints' universality did not happen. Quite to the contrary, the papers under discussion here provide several striking examples where globalization of saint-veneration worked very effectively in a rather short time. Sometimes, the range of global popularity may have had to do with the nature of the saint's "specialization." Patron saints of popular and common human activities may have had better chances of being received favorably in many places by many people. Isidore of Madrid (the Laborer), for instance, as patron saint of farmers and fieldhands, found a wide audience in a still largely agricultural world, making almost the entire world his stage.[16]

Elsewhere, the vector of global spread was connected to a saint's miraculous power in pre-defined contexts. Some saints were positioned as thaumaturgic "specialists" for certain problems. As Nadine Amsler mentions, Ignatius of Loyola easily traveled to China in his saintly function as a helper in difficult pregnancies—a role that is attested for Loyola in numerous other places worldwide as well.[17] Material religious culture was another vector for exporting European saints in a global range of locations. Again,

16 For illustration, see the English Wikipedia entry for Isidore, which ends with an impressive, though eclectic, list of local feasts and patronages worldwide, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isidore_the_Laborer (last accessed December 16, 2023).

17 It also appears, for instance, on almost every page of *Litterae annuae: Die Jahresberichte des Neusser Jesuitenkollegs 1616–1773*, trans. and annot. Peter Stenmans (Neuss, 1966).

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Amsler's cases from China provide illustration. As she points out, practices of saint-veneration hinged on certain Christian objects that fit local religious expectations.[18]

Especially when connected to pious objects and their enthusiastic local acceptance, such practices of popular adoption of incoming saints and saint-related objects often raised concerns from Church authorities. Rome was often skeptical of how people on the ground incorporated such objects and practices into their local cultures, as they feared the subversive power of local agency, which was often disqualified as "superstition."[19] Localizing a saint's cult, thus, often incited new rounds of debate about what was, and what was not, acceptable in "local religion."[20]

Another example for the complexities of transforming universality into actual globality of cult is provided by Raphaèle Preisinger's reconstruction of the 1597 Nagasaki martyrs' global reception in visual media. In this case, a bewildering variety of images emerged, many of them locally anchored. Images, though, hardly carried the work of globalizing local events all by themselves. As several papers indicate, in addition to pictures, texts were among the most powerful media for the globalization of saints and their cults. The production of successful saint-related media, whether images or texts, however, was far from trivial. It implied some form of re-translating saintly lives for intended audiences. Even the media-savvy Jesuits found it challenging to provide authoritative and uniform—that is, universal—textual representations of their saintly founding generation. The difficulties of creating a coherent, unobjectionable *Life* of Ignatius are well known. Yet Loyola was not the only one to end up with two (potentially competing) *Lives*, those by Maffei and Ribadeneyra; Francis Xavier and Peter Canisius similarly ended up with two parallel, not well-coordinated biographies each.[21]

Preisinger's example demonstrates the strong need to re-localize—or, in this case, rather, re-particularize—the saints in creating cultic practices of veneration in yet another way. Twenty-six men had died in Nagasaki in 1597. That group—collectively known as the "Martyrs of Nagasaki"—however, was frequently fragmented into various subgroups that were the focus of different particularizing forms of memory and veneration. Tellingly, the martyrs could be divided according to different criteria. Urban VIII had issued two briefs, one for the 23 Franciscans and one for the three Jesuits. The Jesuits,

18 For a parallel study, see also Paul Nelles, "Devotion in Transit: Agnus Dei, Jesuit Missionaries, and Global Salvation in the Sixteenth Century," in *Connected Mobilities in the Early Modern World*, ed. Paul Nelles and Rosa Salzberg (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022), 185–214, esp. 205–209.

19 For one classic study, focusing on Europe, see Trevor Johnson, "Blood, Tears, and Xavier-Waters: Jesuit Missionaries and Popular Religion in the Eighteenth-Century Upper Palatinate," in *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800*, ed. Robert W. Scribner (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 182–202.

20 The classic work remains William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).

21 Markus Friedrich, "Constructing a Saint's Life Between Rome and the Provinces: Jesuit Hagiographical Literature on Peter Canisius," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 20 (2023): 419–437.

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thus, frequently spoke of three Jesuits and 23 Franciscans. Other representations only mentioned 23 Franciscans, but left the three remaining individuals—whether identified as Jesuits or Japanese—undescribed. Other writers, though, distinguished a group of six Europeans and a group of 20 Japanese, following a very different logic. Activating sainthood's universal potential, thus, was inherently connected to particular interests, which may have been local in nature (Japanese vs. European groups) but may also have been tied to other not specifically local social criteria, e. g., of an institutional nature (Franciscan vs. Jesuit groups).

7. No believer could have overlooked that the martyrium of the 26 individuals at Nagasaki in 1597 had happened in highly specific social and cultural contexts. Considerable amounts of exoticism accompanied depictions of such missionary martyrdoms, whether in Japan or elsewhere. The fascination for the situational uniqueness of missionary martyrdoms is evident, not least in the gruesome depiction of the (from a European perspective) particularly brutal torture and execution practices. And yet, the local and exotic contexts notwithstanding, images about these events traveled widely, to New Spain and Europe. This could happen only because different contexts of pious life, i. e. Japan and Europe, were blended and superimposed onto each other—it is through the assimilation of highly diverse circumstances that believers and Church authorities enacted the universal.[22] Such blending of situations in the search for universal relevance, often resembling typological argumentation, was crucial in the process of globalizing saintly cults. It is important to note that this included not only geographical transpositions, but also those across time. Rudolfo Acquaviva, another near-contemporary Jesuit martyr, shortly after his death in Salcete, India, in 1583, received a glorifying literary monument in the form of a six-book epic, depicting his life and death in Latin hexameter. The poetic biographer, Francesco Benci (1542–1594), used most of his first book of 638 verses to describe how young Rudolfo, in a series of ecstatic visions, drew inspiration from a sequence of martyr scenes that included episodes from antiquity as well as from the very recent European past. Ancient, victimized Christians as well as Edmund Campion from England came together to form a paradigm for his own, later death in far-away India.[23]

Not only the saints to be globalized, but also the globalizing agents themselves retained some local background. Different Jesuit missionaries, coming from different European backgrounds, brought different local preferences for saints and saintly sacramentals with them to their new stations. Globalizers globalized different saints, objects,

22 For a classic study, see Frank Lestringant, *Une sainte horreur ou Le voyage en eucharistie: XVI^e^–XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996).

23 Francesco Benci, *Francesco Benci's* Quinque Martyres, introduction, translation, and commentary by Paul Gwynne (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

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and rituals, based upon their own local backgrounds. Jesuit missionaries from Switzerland or other Alpine regions habitually felt strongly about the global effectiveness of their local saints and sanctuaries, thus importing devotional objects from their native homelands such as replicas of the regionally famous "Salzburger Kindl" or other locally produced sacramentalia, including coins or medals, to the new worlds.[24] Their Spanish or Portuguese confrères would probably not even have heard of these peculiar devotions and would instead have chosen different rituals for export from Europe. If universal sainthood was to be implemented globally, it needed to affect locally—a process that hinged on locally grounded promoters.

8. In all these ways briefly mentioned here, saint-making reflects the basic challenge of early modern and modern Christianity with special clarity: how could one argue that a religion that had taken shape in highly local and specific cultural contexts was transposable to other, equally specific and unusual contexts? The problem had plagued Christianity from early on and was not specific to the early modern era, but, perhaps, the confrontation with new, non-European cultures from the mid-fifteenth century onward brought these structural questions to the fore with new vigor. Christianity's claims of all-encompassing universality faced new empirical challenges, as the geographical reach and the cultural plurality of what could fall under its purview radically expanded. The resulting conflicts and debates about how best to stretch and expand the theological and liturgical as well as the conceptual and institutional practices to fit this enlarged and diversified world gave early modern Christianity its peculiar shape. Saint-making, sitting at the crossroads of many core elements of Catholicism, crucially shaped and was shaped by these developments. This makes holiness such a fascinating topic for today's scholarship on pre-modern and early modern Catholicism, as witnessed by the papers under discussion here.

24 *A Jesuit Missionary in Eighteenth-Century Sonora: The Family Correspondence of Philipp Segesser,* ed. Raymond H. Thompson (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 133.

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Birgit Emich

"Glocal" Saints in a Polycentric World

Conclusion and Outlook

A "glocal" religion: what the contributions to this volume show over and over again is that early modern Catholicism can only be understood as a "glocal" phenomenon. Reading the contributions, there can be no doubt about Rome's, the pope's, and the Curia's claim to hold the keys to universal truth and to play a central role in decision-making on a global scale as well. But the contributions to this volume also leave no doubt about the observation already made in the introduction that the local situation has always played a key role in shaping religious phenomena. This by no means involved a mere submission to Roman directives: in the domain of the canonization and veneration of saints, as in other domains, stimuli "from below" interacted with reactions "from above"—and vice versa. What happened in the center was thus also co-created by the periphery; what was decided in Rome as universally valid had to be brought to life on a local level first and then implemented on the spot.

The analysis of these dynamics between Rome and the individual particular churches and historical agents on the local level lies at the heart of most of the studies presented in this volume. Some take a comparative look at different places (such as Cécile Vincent-Cassy on the 1690 celebrations in Spain) or entire regions (such as Daniel Sidler and Philipp Zwyssig on the Swiss Confederation and the Grisons or Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux on the Habsburg territories). What is still missing, however, is a look at the overall system, at the Roman Church in a world that is not only "glocal" but also polycentric. The present commentary takes this perspective, which combines a top-down view of the overall system with the identification of a terminological-conceptual problem and a suggestion for a possible solution. Instead of addressing specific relationships that linked individual historical places, agents, and regions to Rome, the aim here is to weave together the diversity of these relationships into an overall picture. This picture can, of course, only show aspects of the historical reality and must necessarily remain abstract. Yet perhaps the concept of polycentricity can be used to aggregate the findings of the volume into some basic patterns. If this succeeds, the "glocal" interpretative framework offered in this volume could be directly expanded to include a polycentric view.

The concept of polycentricity, as it is being discussed within the Frankfurt-based DFG research group "Polycentricity and Plurality of Premodern Christianities,"[1] holds on to

1 For more information and resources, visit our webpage at https://www.poly-unifrankfurt.de (last accessed December 17, 2023).

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the concept of the center, but understands it in a more interactive and dynamic way than traditional concepts of center and periphery have done in the past. Three aspects need to be emphasized here: First, centers are understood as places that provide a certain coordinating function for their surroundings, but can only become centers if their offer in terms of coordination also meets a demand. Centers emerge where the interplay of supply and demand leads to a concentration of interactions and thus generates centrality. Second, as the name suggests, the concept assumes that there are a multitude of centers: competing centers operating within one and the same functional domain (Rome, Geneva, and Wittenberg, for instance), centers within different functional domains (political, economic, or religious centers, for instance), and centers at very different levels (that is, local, regional, supraregional centers, etc.). And third, the concept of polycentricity invites us to take a look at the complex interplay between these centers. This does not just mean relating the functional domains more closely to one another. The concept of polycentricity also invites us to analyze the phenomena at different scales and to link the findings across the various levels and domains. Only then, the reasoning goes, does the polycentric matrix, which also sheds light on the dynamics and structures in the domain of the veneration of saints, become clear.

If one understands Rome as the ecclesiastical-institutional center of the Catholic world, the institutions and procedures that were established at the Curia to facilitate its decision-making come into focus. The Curia's offer to provide centralized decisions had its origin in the papacy's and its own self-image to uphold the universal truth through universally valid decisions. Whether people accepted this offer, however, was another story and could only be gauged in terms of the outside demand it was actually able to stimulate. Consequently, it was necessary for the Curia to meet the needs of the local communities without giving up Rome's claim to centrality. And it was precisely this function that the canonization procedure of the early modern period fulfilled. If one considers all the individual cases discussed in the contributions to this volume, not only does a great variety of local cults of saints become apparent; it also turns out that the bureaucratized, centralized Roman procedure was an attempt not to eliminate or harmonize this diversity of the universal Church, but to administer and navigate it.[2] By drawing the diversity of forms and desires to Rome through administrative processes

2 See Birgit Emich, "Uniformity and Polycentricity: The Early Modern Papacy between Promoting Unity and Handling Diversity," in *Pathways through Early Modern Christianities*, ed. Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, and Birgit Emich (Cultures of Christianity: New Approaches to Early Modern History / Kulturen des Christentums. Neue Zugänge zur Frühen Neuzeit 1) (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2023), 33–53. The fact that the canonization procedure, precisely because it served this purpose, had to be protected from damage and loss of reputation through papal nepotism, is already alluded to in Birgit Emich, "The Production of Truth in the Manufacture of Saints: Procedures, Credibility, and Patronage in Early Modern Processes of Canonization," in *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, Marco Cavarzere, and Steven Vanden Broecke (Scientiae Studies 1) (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 165–190.

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and channels, the Curia was able to assert its central role. In order for it to be flexible enough to respond to local needs, however, various forms of gradation emerged.

A closer look at these gradations allows us to systematize the diversity of phenomena. At the same time, the aforementioned terminological problem becomes clear: it is closely connected to the conceptual pair "universal" and "particular," which—and that is the proposed solution offered here—should be expanded to include the aspects of centrality, polycentricity, and scaling mentioned above.

But what exactly is the problem in the first place? At first glance, the notion of particular churches, in which and from which (*in quibus et ex quibus*, as canon no. 368, CIC puts it) the one and only Catholic Church exists, seems ideally suited for mapping our field. With its universal claims, the Curia in Rome can be seen as the universal or central layer of hierarchy, while its local or regional counterparts are to be understood as specific particular churches with their own centers. How closely these hierarchical levels are intertwined with one another in the domain of saint-making is already indicated by the basic structure of the procedure: due to its subdivision into an informative process on the ground and an apostolic process in Rome, the canonization procedure always took place on these two levels. And regarding its outcome, the distinction between a universal and a particular level also finds expression in the differentiation between *sancti* and *beati*. Sancti are to be venerated liturgically throughout the entire Church and can therefore be considered universal saints, whereas beati, whose veneration Rome only granted for certain regions or groups like the religious orders and their sacred places, represent particular manifestations of the universal, so to speak.

By limiting the realization of the universal principle of sanctity to a specific place or region, the demand for Roman decisions could be both stimulated and managed. With the introduction of a papal approval that limited the cult of a given saint to a certain region, the church, in the mid-fifteenth century, initially resolved the tension between the spatially limited effectiveness of the cults and its own universal claim: with its new focus on particular (regional) interests, the canonization procedure, which was already quite elaborate at the time, received more attention than it had previously, transforming Rome, more than ever before, into the central place of decision-making.[3] The procedural differentiation between these two stages of veneration in the early seventeenth century, on the other hand, can probably be understood as a response to the wave of new cases brought on by the resolution of the canonization crisis that had followed the Protestant Reformation: when the canonizations, which had come to a halt in 1523, finally resumed again in 1588 with the canonization of Diego of Alcalá, religious orders in particular, but also cities and regions, became increasingly interested in venerating some of their own as saints. And the expansion of ecclesiastical structures in the so-called New World

3 Otfried Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung: Die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation. Ein Handbuch* (Archiv für Diplomatik, Beiheft 9) (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 1060.

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also fostered the need for particular manifestations of the notion of universal holiness. Even when the candidates in question were not eligible for global veneration precisely because of their particular idiosyncrasies, the Curia was still able to satisfy these local wishes in the form of beatification. In other words, the diversity of the increasingly globalized world could be taken account of considerably better with the admission of the beati into the cosmos of saints than with the universal sancti alone. The beati catered to particular interests without compromising Rome's universal claims: they are particular saints.

Of course, particular interests were not only acknowledged in Rome in the form of particular saints, the beati. The wishes of individual groups and regions were also incorporated into the arrangement of the cosmos of universal saints. On the one hand, initiatives for a canonization usually came from outside Rome, while on the other, there was also a desire in Rome itself to see the new spheres of influence of the Roman Church being represented in the flock of universal saints. Thus, when Sixtus V tasked Cesare Baronio with expanding the previous register into a *Martyrologium universale*, it was not only a matter of recording the witnesses to the faith from all times, but also of explicitly including all countries and regions.[4]

But it was not only in the selection of saints that Rome's efforts to manage diversity without abandoning its own central role became evident. In the procedure itself, too, various rules were geared towards combining the claim to a monopoly with flexibility. With the procedural rule "de non cultu," which declared cultic veneration of a candidate prior to Rome's stamp of approval to be a reason for the exclusion of the said candidate from any procedure, Rome ensured that there would be no autonomous canonizations "from below." At the same time, however, the dimension of time provided a loophole that kept this strict regulation somewhat flexible: for if the veneration of a prospective saint took place before Rome's official approval, but provably harkened back to "since time immemorial" (which was another way of saying to at least one hundred years), then recognition of the said person as a saint was possible in the "de cultu" procedure.

In addition, there were further possibilities for gradation and fine-tuning. For example, the papal indulgences that came with the official recognition of a saint's cult varied considerably, both in the canonization bull and later in the granting of indulgences for privileged altars dedicated to individual saints.[5] At the altars of the Premonstratensian chapter of Schlägl, for instance, the saints Vitus and Nepomuk were venerated in addition to the founder of the order, Saint Norbert, according to the altar privileges, apparently in strong competition against one another and also with quite different

4 Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, "L'immagine del *Christianus Orbis* nelle prime edizioni del *Martyrologium Romanum*," *Sanctorum* 5 (2008): 261–284.

5 On the differences in the canonization documents, see, for instance, the example of Benno of Meissen and Antonius of Florence discussed in Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 1029.

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phases of popularity.[6] Moreover, the organization of the liturgical veneration also allowed for a number of gradations, for example by granting longer or shorter periods of celebration throughout the year or different forms of invocation. For studying the veneration of saints on the local level, it might be worthwhile to look at these different local arrangements even more closely than has been the case so far.

From the perspective of the local churches, such gradations can be interpreted as indications of an appropriation from below, wrested from the far-off Curia and its regulatory efforts. This view is certainly not wrong, but it should be complemented. Thus, in my admittedly somewhat centralist perspective, these gradations present themselves as differentiations of a system that was able to maintain its core claim precisely due to such concessions in detail. Phenomena such as the organization of the liturgical activities surrounding the cults of saints may well have allowed local forces to establish their own emphases on the veneration of these saints. But as long as the local forces called upon Rome to weigh in on these issues and asked for its approval, such gradations also had centralizing effects.

However, all these creative options the center had at its disposal did not change the fact that the success of a universal saint hinged on their local acceptance. The catacomb saints, whose relics were distributed from Rome all over the world, from the discovery of the ancient tombs in 1578 until the eighteenth century, are a prime example of this. The relics from "Roma sotterranea" were exhumed, sorted, and authenticated in the Eternal City; on the local level, however, the cults of these saints, which were "made" in Rome in every sense of the word, only gained a foothold when people were able to relate to them in some way, and that meant only when the newcomer saints from Rome became indigenized in the province (Christophe Duhamelle). Thus, one could argue that not only were the beati particular manifestations of the universal, but also that the official saints from Rome always appeared in particular local versions. This, however, calls for a terminological distinction: following Pamela M. Jones, one could perhaps speak of particular saints on the one hand and particularized saints on the other.[7] Particular saints were the beati who, although canonized in Rome, were only allowed to be venerated within a specific region (thus being particular in the sense of a geographical limitation) and can therefore be considered particular manifestations of the universal; particularized saints, on the other hand, may be seen as specific appropriations of saints whose veneration was mandatory throughout the universal Church, but was always practiced in local ("particularized") forms.

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6 Stift Schlägl, Stiftsarchiv, Urkunden: Breven 1–40. On the veneration of Saints in Schlägl, see the detailed analysis in Petrus A. Bayer, *Konfessionalisierung im klösterlichen Umfeld: Die Entwicklung frühneuzeitlicher Religiosität in den Pfarreien des Stiftes Schlägl (1589–1665)* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2016), 176–190.

7 Pamela M. Jones, "Celebrating New Saints in Rome and across the Globe," in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692*, ed. Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 148–166, 150 and passim.

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A comparison of the celebrations of one and the same saint in different places shows how great the creative latitude of this particularization could be: the more distant these places were, the more clearly the visualizations and stagings differed, as, for instance, in the case of the saints canonized in 1690 in Spain (Cécile Vincent-Cassy), or the reception of the Nagasaki martyrs of 1597, who, as it happens, had been venerated as beati of their respective religious orders across the globe since 1627, yet were depicted very differently in different parts of the world (Raphaèle Preisinger). Incidentally, it was not only individual saints who were locally appropriated and indigenized: the entire concept of sainthood could also undergo cultural hybridizations and, as Nadine Amsler's contribution on China and the "sinicized santità" shows, could merge with local notions to form quite distinct variants. The particularization of the universal thus encompassed both holiness and holy persons at the same time.

As the contributions to this volume show, the particularization of saints could take place in various ways: in addition to the regional restriction of cultic veneration in the case of the beati, there was ethnicization (Raphaèle Preisinger), as well as the appropriation of the cults by cities, regions, or even "nations," which only emerged over the course of time and in this way rediscovered "their" saints (Alexandra Walsham). And finally, some saints met their appropriation by their association with religious orders, which had a preference for promoting their founders and other exposed members as universal saints, but sometimes also had to be satisfied with the approval of a certain cult only within their religious order (Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux, Philipp Zwyssig).

Obviously then, the particularization of the universal could also take place beyond geographic classifications. The demand made by Simon Ditchfield in this volume also points in this direction: the categories of the universal and the particular ought to be liberated from geo-spatial notions such as center and periphery and brought back to their proper, that is, "sacred place."[8] Both the universal and the particular, as Ditchfield further notes, can be encountered on a global scale as well as in the local space. This means, however, that "universal" is by no means synonymous with "global," just as the particular is not limited to the local. As Markus Friedrich also points out in his commentary, universality aims at the absolute, unlimited validity of truth through space and time; it is the *semper eadem* of the Roman Church. The particular, by contrast, sees itself as an expression of this truth, but as such, as a concrete form, it can be subject to historical change.

8 Cf. Simon Ditchfield's chapter in this volume, p. 309: "Second, I want to revisit the relationship between the particular and the universal within the post-Tridentine Church, which I see as central to the dynamic that made it possible for Roman Catholicism to become this planet's first world religion. I do so because I wish to disassociate these concepts from the more usual geo-spatial dimensions of 'center' and 'periphery' and, instead, put them back firmly into their proper 'sacred place,' which could be simultaneously both local and global."

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Evidently, the conceptual pairs universal–particular and global–local describe different perspectives on the same domain: the conceptual pair universal–particular provides a view that focuses on theological-ecclesiological matters and inquires about the role truth played in the church organization. The conceptual pair global–local, meanwhile, refers to a geographic, spatial perspective that addresses questions of scope and scaling, while emphasizing the "glocal" interplay between the various levels across these spectrums.

This understanding of the conceptual pair universal–particular raises further questions. For if Rome determines what the universal truth is, there cannot be a particular church or churchdom without Rome. Even today, the papacy is unlikely to disagree with this reasoning. For historians, however, Rome's stance on this matter cannot be the yardstick for the development of analytical categories. In studying the veneration of saints, Rome's view of things must be complemented by the perspective of other social agents, which is precisely the working hypothesis of our present volume. Saint-making goes beyond Rome; in addition to the particular beati and the particularized saints, there are always saints without Roman certificate, too.

But how are these non-official saints, who are mostly referred to as "local saints" in the literature, to be grasped, if the descriptions as universal or particular saints presuppose Rome's approval (which in their case did not exist, after all), while "local" tends to be understood as the counterpart of "global" and points to the interplay between the various levels of scale? Let us take a closer look at the group of non-official saints.

There were, in fact, quite a number of saints who were venerated on the local level without opposition from the Church, even though Rome had never given its official approval. This applies, for example, to the *Vielseligen* of the Swiss Confederation: their cults had existed and flourished long enough to warrant a recognition *de cultu* in at least some cases. Yet such recognition failed to materialize since a petition that would have had initiated the procedure for the official recognition of these de facto saints was never filed. And so these saints remained "under the radar" (Daniel Sidler), without Rome being bothered by this practice. As long as not all the faithful attached as little importance to Rome's opinion as the Swiss Confederates did, the Curia's claim to centrality did not seem threatened by such local saints.

The situation was similar regarding the numerous *beatas* of the so-called New World and other saints, who although they remained without an official label, were nevertheless tolerated, which is why scholars usually count them among the venerated without hesitation. However, the toleration could quickly come to an end: as soon as formal complaint was filed against the venerated, the saints could no longer remain "under the radar." As a rule, calling upon Rome served the historical agents as an instrument for resolving local disputes. For the cults that were being challenged in this way, however, the initial complaint often marked the end of their toleration. But Rome did not always wait for a petition from outside. Thus, one can definitely recognize a certain ebb and flow of curial activity, with phases in which the Curia vigorously asserted its claim

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to decision-making authority by means of the ecclesiastical apparatus. It would be quite interesting to find out the story behind these changing phases, which of course requires further investigation. That they existed, however, is already evidenced by the fact that *affettata santità* constituted an offense that the Inquisition started prosecuting, not coincidentally, during the final stages of forming the canonization procedure in the 1630s. Moreover, the overwhelming number of female victims of this persecution of self-arrogated sainthood underscores how important the category of gender is for capturing the world of the veneration of saints in all its diversity and idiosyncrasies (Andreea Badea). Here, too, there is still plenty of research to be done.

What is particularly important in our present context, however, is this observation: whether it was the Congregation of Rites or the Inquisition that was called upon, the demand for a ruling by Rome played an important role in the domain of the veneration of saints. The offer of the Curia to make decisions in matters of holiness met a demand for such decisions. The interplay of supply and demand formed what is referred to as centrality in the concept of polycentricity. The *Vielseligen* of the Swiss Confederation show that centralization could be circumvented—here, centrality was low, due to a lack of demand. The victims of the Inquisition, however, are a painful reminder that Rome's claims to centrality had to be reckoned with, at least when inquiries about sainthood were requested from outside. Even though referring to these non-officials as local saints has become commonplace, one could perhaps be more specific in that these saints remained local as long as there were no inquiries about their status filed in Rome.

With this, however, the category of centrality proves to be another building block for structuring the field. The conceptual pair universal–particular retains its meaning: it captures a core category of the Church's self-image and with it the basis of Rome's claim to watch over the universal truth and its concrete manifestations in the form of the particular. Moreover, the conceptual pair helps to distinguish particular blessed (beati) from particularized saints (sancti). It calls attention to various forms of particularization and thus meets Simon Ditchfield's demand to think of the particular not only in purely geographical terms.

Ultimately, however, this is a theological-ecclesiological perspective that needs to be enhanced. The category of centrality as the interplay of supply and demand on an administrative-legal level does not ask what Rome held to be true. Instead, it asks for whom Rome was central, that is, who sought and requested a decision from the Curia, and what the consequences of the level of demand for Roman decisions were. From a top-down perspective, the concept of centrality symbolizes Rome's efforts to assert its own position, not by eliminating the diversity of the church, but by flexibly managing it. From a bottom-up perspective, the concept of centrality also helps to further qualify the "local" saints, who officially are precisely not considered particular manifestations of the universal, through their relationships to Rome.

For even if the local saints, unlike the particularized blessed and the particularized saints, lacked official recognition from the Curia, they were subject to similar rules. Both

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the nature and extent of their veneration were always a matter of intense negotiation processes. These negotiation processes took place between different levels, for example between the local community, their bishop, and the Roman Curia. And there were not only religious interests, but also social, political, and economic interests involved. If one asks about supply and demand, about interactions and their consolidation, it is easy to identify and map various kinds of centers in the global landscape of the cults of saints. And it is only in the interplay of this twofold polycentricity—the multitude of centers both on all levels and across all domains—that the local, the particular, and particularized saints find their respective manifestations.

Let me stress once again: the concept of polycentricity is not intended to inspire a search for rigid entities such as *the* center, or even lead to the establishment of hierarchical relationships following the motto "centers here, peripheries there." Rather, polycentricity should be seen as an analytical tool, a methodological invitation to be attentive to where the historical agents chose to turn to with their various concerns—and what consequences this had. If one understands centers simply as points of contact, where the interplay of supply and demand leads to a concentration of interactions and thus generates centrality, one thing becomes clear very quickly: in the domain of canonization, it was not only Rome on the one side and the local level on the other that faced each other. Rather, a multitude of places can be addressed as—sometimes only short-lived—centers, which contributed in a specific way to how the veneration of saints was organized and thus gave each particular case its individual character. To continue with the ecclesiastical domain for a moment longer, in this field alone, the contributions to the present volume have brought to light a variety of centers at different levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy: the chapel, whose miraculous oil attracted prospective buyers in large numbers and which, by means of the oil, spread far and wide the reputation of holiness of the person venerated there (Philipp Zwyssig); the parish church or monastic church, which as the center of a local cult was already consecrated to a saint, but could also take on new candidates for veneration and thus help both the new cult and itself gain popularity (Daniel Sidler); the episcopal see, which appears as Rome's counterpart in the informative process, but at the same time also consolidated the central role of this layer of church hierarchy on the local level precisely because of this; and of course Rome itself, whose apparatus, on closer inspection, was by no means monolithic, but in itself consisted of various centers and points of contact.

One could also add the ecclesiastical centers of the colonial world—such as Goa and Lima, to mention just two prominent examples—which were increasingly incorporated into the diocesan structure of the universal Church. And one could also mention transregional organizations such as the religious orders, which established centers precisely by and through the veneration of saints, especially by choosing burial places for "their" saints.

The ecclesiastical centers, however, are only one part of the polycentric matrix. There are also centers of a non-ecclesiastical nature, and they, too, can be found at all levels.

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The political centers at the global level are easy enough to identify: first and foremost Madrid, whose influence over canonizations made the seventeenth century a "Spanish" age. In the territories of the Austrian Habsburgs, the influence on the veneration of saints was more indirect: here, shifts of emphasis in the political arena sometimes led to the redrawing of diocesan boundaries, and even if these interventions on the ecclesiastical map were genuinely politically motivated, they could still cause a migration of local saints (Marie-Élizabeth Ducreux).

Matters of social centrality also had an impact on saint-making. The fate of the catacomb saints, for example, not only unfolded between Rome and the petitioners who requested the relics, picked them up in the Eternal City, and then tried to promote them on the local level. Nor was it solely a matter of religious interests and hopes. What the promoters of these cults expected to gain in return for their efforts was not only religious help in the form of heavenly intercession, but also social status and political capital for the inner-municipal power struggle back in their homelands. From a social point of view, it was neither Rome nor the Kingdom of Heaven that was their central point of concern or reference, but their respective hometown (Christophe Duhamelle).[9]

This list could easily be extended. However, the aim here is not to provide a complete inventory of all possible centers—the question of centrality is rather an observational perspective that is meant to draw attention to the complexity and dynamics of the historical phenomena. And it is precisely for this reason that one observation is crucial here in particular: the centers on the various domains and levels not only form a polycentric matrix, they also interacted with one another in manifold ways. This is why our main focus should be on the dynamics and interdependencies between all these centers.

The spread of the cult of the Nagasaki martyrs is a perfect example of this (Raphaèle Preisinger). On the missionaries' way to Japan, the centers, structures, and rivalries of the patronage areas (*patronato*) were already of utmost significance. However, cities also played a role as cultic-cultural centers that provided a stage for processions, funneled demand for religious objects, and were home to the workshops that produced the corresponding banners, images, and figurines. The churches of the individual religious orders, by contrast, served as religious centers: whether in Cuzco or Rome, the cults and their visualizations were concentrated in these churches. The global spread of the cults, however, would have been unthinkable without economic centers: not only the missionaries, but also the images and imaginations of the universal Church traveled via the hubs of the trade routes.

9 Conversely, access to the Roman holdings of catacomb saints already depended on social networks, and the spread of the cult also took place along the clientelist networks within the local community (Christophe Duhamelle). Since social networks also have centers in the form of a patron, and centrality can thus also be thought of in interpersonal terms, this important phenomenon can also be explored by searching for centers and centrality.

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Such an interconnectedness between the domains, levels, and their centers might not reach global dimensions in every case. But the polycentric matrix can also be observed on a small scale—if one is willing and open to doing so—which is why scaling is all the more important for research.

This also refers to the "glocal" character of the phenomena. But the polycentric dynamics cannot be fully grasped just by looking at the interplay between the global and the local. What is also necessary is to connect the various levels of scale from the global to the local and to connect all the in-betweens with one another. In much the same way that a close look at the province can reveal the universal in the particular in addition to the local, and every inquiry to the Curia appealed to Rome's claim to centrality, so, too, should the analysis of the Roman system integrate other scalings. Rome, for instance, is by no means just the center of the Catholic Church that claims decision-making authority in all matters of holiness. The city of Rome is also a local church in which the particularization of the universal takes place—for example, in the form of a specific, genuinely Roman variant of the representation of the Nagasaki martyrs (Raphaèle Preisinger). And of course the city on the Tiber also has its own fair share of local saints, who were not officially recognized by the pope and his cardinals (Simon Ditchfield). Rome is a center and decentralized at the same time—and this, too, fuels the polycentric dynamic.

Centrality, polycentricity, and scaling: when these building blocks are put together, a complex landscape of saints comes into view that is harder to describe than just in terms of a tension between universal claims and particular manifestations. Not only the particularization of the universal, but every form of saint-making takes place within a polycentric matrix. This is precisely what the title of this commentary suggests: "Glocal" Saints in a Polycentric World.

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