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## Proving Stigmata: Antonio Daza, Saint Francis of Assisi and Juana de la Cruz

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*The Franciscan Antonio Daza, a native of Valladolid, published his Historia de las Llagas de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco in 1617. He intended to demonstrate that the stigmata of Francis of Assisi were miraculous and unique. Daza referred to Juana de la Cruz (d. 1534), a Poor Clare, whom he identified as providing evidence of the veracity of Francis's stigmata in her sermons, which had been collected by one of the nuns in her convent in a manuscript known as El Conhorte. Juana's sermons were defended as divinely inspired and thus her defence of the miracle of Francis's stigmata was regarded as based on information received directly from God. Yet Juana herself had, according to another work by Daza, the Historia, vida, y milagros, extasis, y revelaciones de la bienaventurada virgen Santa Iuana de la Cruz (1611 and 1613) received painful marks on her hands and feet in 1524. This paper will consider the tensions evidenced in Daza's work and his tactics in attempting to demonstrate the unique nature of the stigmata of Francis of Assisi whilst at the same time apparently acknowledging a similar miracle experienced by Juana de la Cruz.*

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The reception of the wounds of Christ through miraculous means has always been controversial. After the death of St Francis of Assisi on 3 October 1226 a number of voices were raised doubting the miracle of the stigmata so enthusiastically proclaimed by Brother

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Elias, vicar general of the Franciscan Order, as unique.<sup>1</sup> With Dominican promotion of Catherine of Siena (d. 1380) as a stigmatic from the end of the fourteenth century, the issue of the singularity of the miracle experienced by Francis came to the fore. Catherine's stigmata, received at the church of Santa Cristina in Pisa in 1375 and rendered invisible at her request,<sup>2</sup> were treated with suspicion by the Franciscans, who insisted that their founder was the only true stigmatic.<sup>3</sup> Four centuries after the stigmatization of St Francis, and despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that an increasing number of holy women were reputed to have received the stigmata during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, members of the Franciscan Order still perceived a need to demonstrate that the miracle experienced by their founder was *sui generis*. In 1617 the Spanish Regular Observant Franciscan Antonio Daza (or Daça) (d. 1640) added to the writings which aimed to dispel any doubt on this front with the publication of his *Historia de las llagas de nuestro seráfico padre San Francisco (The History of the Stigmata of our Seraphic Father St Francis)*.<sup>4</sup> During his career Daza held various posts within the order, and was in Rome between 1621 and 1625, where he met the Franciscan historiographer

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<sup>1</sup> On early reactions to Francis's stigmata, see Jacques Dalarun, Michael F. Cusato and Carla Salvati, *The Stigmata of Francis of Assisi: New Studies: New Perspectives* (Saint Bonaventure, NY, 2006); Cordelia Warr, 'Visualizing Stigmata: Stigmatic Saints and Crises of Representation in Early Modern Italy', in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, eds, *Saints and Sanctity*, SCH 47 (Woodbridge, 2011), 228–47. On those who doubted the stigmata, see André Vauchez, 'Les Stigmates de Saint François et leurs détracteurs dans les derniers siècles du moyen âge', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome: Moyen âge et temps modernes* 80 (1968), 595–625.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Catherine of Siena* 2.6.195 (transl. and intro. Conleth Kearns [Washington DC, 1994], 186).

<sup>3</sup> Arnold I. Davidson, 'Miracles of Bodily Transformation: Or how Saint Francis received the Stigmata', *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009), 451–80, at 455–6.

<sup>4</sup> Antonio Daza, *Historia de las llagas de nuestro seráfico padre San Francisco, colegida del Martirologio y Breviario Romano y treynta bulas y dozientos autores y santos* (Valladolid, 1617).

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Luke Wadding. He published on a number of subjects, including two books promoting the Immaculate Conception and the final instalment of Mark of Lisbon's chronicle of the history of the Franciscan Order, both of which demonstrate his careful search for historical sources.<sup>5</sup> Daza also wrote a life of the sixteenth-century Spanish Franciscan mystic and stigmatic Juana de la Cruz (d. 1534), the *Historia, vida y milagros, éxtasis y revelaciones de la bienaventurada virgen Santa Juana de la Cruz (History, Life, and Miracles, Ecstasies and Revelations of the Blessed Virgin Santa Juana de la Cruz)*.<sup>6</sup> This essay considers the *Historia de las llagas* and the *Historia, vida y milagros* within the context of doubt and proof relating to different stigmatic experiences.

Dominican authors were comfortable with, and indeed actively promoted, the idea of multiple types of stigmatic experience. For the Franciscans, however, that anyone other than Francis claimed to have received stigmata cast doubt on the unique miracle experienced by their founder, a miracle which had been carefully crafted in the years following Francis's death.<sup>7</sup> These opposed reactions reflect contrasting ways of dealing with the doubt engendered by miraculous stigmatization. The model used by the Dominicans was one

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<sup>5</sup> For an introduction to Daza's life, see Benedict Mertens, 'Antonio Daza's "Esercitii Spirituali"', *Studies in Spirituality* 11 (2000), 212–53, at 213–19.

<sup>6</sup> I shall refer to Antonio Daza, *Historia, vida y milagros, éxtasis y revelaciones de la bienaventurada virgen Santa Juana de la Cruz* (Madrid, 1614) throughout this essay. Daza originally published the *vida* in 1610 but later had to revise the work after it was reviewed by the Inquisition. For a brief discussion of the publication of Daza's life of Juana, and the changes required by the Inquisition, which centred not on Juana's stigmata but on the beads which Christ was said to have blessed for Juana, see Stephen Haliczer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy: Female Mystics in the Golden Age of Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 69–70. The different versions of the *vida* are also discussed by Inocente García de Andrés, *El Conhorte: Sermones de una mujer. La Santa Juana, 1481–1534*, 2 vols (Madrid, 1999), 1: 28–41.

<sup>7</sup> Chiara Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate* (Turin, 1993), 51–104.

whereby a prospective saint did and experienced things accepted as ‘saintly’. The more often often a particular type of miracle could be said to have occurred, the less doubt it attracted.<sup>8</sup> In the case of stigmata, the Dominicans allayed doubts by arguing for a broad spectrum of stigmatic experiences. The Franciscans, by contrast, focused on a model in which certain aspects of the saint’s life were projected as new or unique.<sup>9</sup> The very singularity of the miracle of Francis’s stigmata as promoted by the Franciscans engendered doubt, which in turn prompted Franciscan authors to support their claims through glosses on the description of the physical appearance of the stigmata as well as increasing recourse to authoritative sources, even when these were not cited accurately.

By the time that Daza wrote the *Historia de la llagas* it was no longer so easy to say, with Elias, that Francis’s stigmata were ‘a great joy and a novelty amongst miracles’, since a number of holy women had been claimed as stigmatics. Many of these were either Dominican or closely associated with the Dominican order, such as Osanna Andreasi of Mantua (d. 1505), Stefana Quinzani of Soncino (d. 1530), and Lucia Brocardelli of Narni (d. 1544). Dominican authors writing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sometimes made great play of the number of stigmatics they could list, and in particular of the number of stigmatics within or attached to, the order in some way, such as through having a Dominican confessor. Miguel Llot de Ribera (d. 1611) composed a life of Maria Raggi, a Dominican tertiary originally from the island of Chios, who died in Rome in 1600, having received the stigmata in 1585; this included the names of other people who were believed to have borne the stigmata, including Lidwina of Schiedam (d. 1433), Gertrude the Great (d. 1301/1302), Elizabeth of Spalbeek (d.

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<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the typology of miracles, see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, transl. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), 466–75.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of these types of sanctity, see Aviad Kleinberg, ‘Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages’, *Viator* 20 (1989), 183–206, at 187.

1304), Stefana Quinzani, Helen of Hungary (d. c.1270), Francis of Assisi and Catherine of Siena.<sup>10</sup>

Dominicans such as Tommaso Caffarini (d. 1434) in the fifteenth century and Gregorio Lombardelli (d. 1613) in the seventeenth emphasized a wide-ranging definition of stigmata which extended from wounds which were self-inflicted to those imposed through a supernatural or divine medium.<sup>11</sup> Lombardelli defined eight different types of stigmata: those that a person inflicted on themselves with chains of iron, or with whips, or with any other type of instrument which gave cause to a wound; the second type was that received from the devil; the third that given by a religious superior; the fourth was inflicted by a heretic or enemy of the cross on someone who remained firm in the faith; the fifth that in which a wound or scar appeared miraculously without the recipient's seeing God, an angel, a demon or a human being; the sixth was when the Lord, an angel, a saint or God appeared and left a sign by striking the person to whom they had appeared; the seventh type was when God, taking human form, beat someone with some kind of instrument without leaving any external sign, although the person who received the blow felt pain; and the eighth type was when Jesus Christ allowed himself to be seen in various ways in order to place his five wounds in a person's body as he, Christ, had received them.<sup>12</sup> For both Caffarini and Lombardelli it was this last type of stigmata which was the most prestigious, giving greatest evidence of God's

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<sup>10</sup> Michele Llot de Ribera, *Vita della venerabile sor Maria Raggi da Scio, tradotta della latina alla volgare lingua italiana dal padre F. Paolo Minerva da Bari* (Naples, 1609), 65–7. On Llot de Ribera, see Thomas James Dandeleet, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2001), 178–80.

<sup>11</sup> For Caffarini's discussion of different types of stigmata, see 'Tommaso Caffarini' [Thomas Antonii de Senis], *Libellus de Supplemento: Legende prolixie virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, ed. Iuliana Cavalli and Imelda Foralosso (Rome, 1974), 121–211.

<sup>12</sup> Gregorio Lombardelli, *Sommario della disputa a difesa delle sacre stimate di Santa Caterina da Siena* (Siena, 1601), 63–4.

favour. Both writers were nonetheless concerned to demonstrate the variety of stigmatic experience, ranging from the non-miraculous to the miraculous, and also to show that there was no exclusivity attached to any of the types of stigmata. Lombardelli gave four examples of those who received the most noteworthy, eighth type of stigmata: Francis of Assisi, Walter of Strasbourg (d. before 1260), Helen of Hungary and Catherine of Siena.<sup>13</sup> Three of the four were Dominican: an expansion of those deemed to be stigmatics focused, for the Dominican author, on members of the order to which he belonged.

Franciscan reaction to claims that there were stigmatics other than Francis had habitually consisted of a combination of doubt, disbelief and rejection, such as that expressed by Samuele Cassini (d. after 1510) in his *De le sacre stimate de Sancto Francesco; como femina non puo hauere stigmata* (*On the Holy Stigmata of Saint Francis; how Women cannot have Stigmata*) (Pavia, 1508).<sup>14</sup> Cassini claimed that God did not give stigmata to women, as he believed that their weaker nature made them unsuitable vessels for the reception of such a miracle.<sup>15</sup> His particular concern probably stemmed from the increasing reports of female stigmatics, far outweighing the number of males. However this was easily countered. The Spanish Dominican Vicente Justiniani (d. 1599) pointed out, in his *Pro Divae Catharinae Senensis imaginibus disputatio*, that there was no room for doubt since ‘with God, all things

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 64. For a discussion of the representation of these stigmatics, see Warr, ‘Visualizing Stigmata’; Carolyn Musessig, ‘The Stigmata Debate in Theology and Art in the Late Middle Ages’, in Celeste Brusati, Karl E. E. Enenkel, and Walter S. Melion, eds, *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden, 2012), 481–504, at 487–501.

<sup>14</sup> On Cassini, see *DBI* 21, 487–90.

<sup>15</sup> Romeo de Maio, *Rinascimento senza toga* (Naples, 1999), 108.

are possible' (Matt. 19: 26) and '[t]here is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3: 28).<sup>16</sup>

Against the background of increasing numbers of people claimed as stigmatics, Daza marshalled as much evidence as possible in order to dispel any doubt as to the singularity of the miracle experienced by Francis. The first chapter in the *Historia de las llagas*, 'Of the great favour which God did to the world in giving to our father Saint Francis his most holy wounds',<sup>17</sup> begins by detailing the pre-eminence of the miracle. According to Daza, during an ecstatic vision the Blessed Amadeus of Portugal (d. 1482), was informed by the archangel Gabriel that God could show no greater favour to Francis than that of giving him his most holy wounds.<sup>18</sup> Daza also observed that St Bonaventure (d. 1274) had called the reception of the stigmata 'a stupendous miracle'; Pope Alexander IV (d. 1261) had referred to it as 'a singular and great miracle' and Cardinal Baronio (d. 1607) as 'an immense miracle'; Cardinal Bellarmino (d. 1641) had insisted on its singularity and called it 'almost the greatest of all God's miracles'; and Roberto Caracciolo of Lecce (d. 1495) had written that 'amongst all the great miracles of the faith the stigmatization held first place'.<sup>19</sup> Daza lists his sources in order

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<sup>16</sup> Giustiniani's work was published as an addition to Johannes Nider, *De Reformatione religiosorum libri tres*, ed. Joannes Boucquet (Antwerp, 1611), 403–65, at 452–3. On Giustiniani, see Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, 'Un trattatello cinquecentesco in difesa delle stimmate di Caterina da Siena', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 26 (2013), 177–226, at 179–80. Bible quotations are taken from the New International Version.

<sup>17</sup> Daza, *Historia de las llagas*, fols 1<sup>r</sup>–14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> '[Q]ue fue merced tan singular la que Dios hizo al Serafico Padre san Francisco en darle sus sacratissimas llagas, que no tiene semejante': *ibid.*, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> '[U]n milagre estupendo' (St Bonaventure), 'singular y grade milagro' (Pope Alexander IV), 'milagro immenso' (Cardinal Baronio), 'singular maravilla, y casi el mayor de todos los prodigios de Dios' (Cardinal Bellarmino), 'entre los milagros grandes de nuestra Fè, tiene el principal lugar la impression de las llagas de nuestro Padre S. Francisco' (Roberto Caracciolo): *ibid.*, fols 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>f</sup>. For more

of rank within the Church, from archangel, to saint, pope, cardinal and (finally) bishop. He is clear that the miracle of the stigmata, as experienced by Francis, is a miracle of the highest order and also unique, a theme to which he returns throughout the *Historia de las llagas*.

Daza also explores other aspects of Francis's stigmata, such as how he received them and their exact appearance, both of which underline the exceptional nature of the miracle. Daza's final chapter deals with the institution of the Feast of the Stigmata. This returns to a subject raised at the beginning of the work: in the section addressed to the vicar general of the order, Antonio de Trejo (d. 1635), Daza recalls the recent decision of Pope Paul V, in 1615, to allow the celebration of the Feast of St Francis's stigmata throughout the Catholic Church. The feast had originally been placed in the Roman Calendar in 1585 but had been suppressed in 1602.<sup>20</sup>

Daza's main strategy in allaying any possible doubts about the singularity and miraculous nature of Francis's stigmata is to refer to as wide a range of sources as possible. He is careful to include not only Franciscan authors, who might reasonably be expected to have supported this line of argument, but also writers who belonged to other religious orders.<sup>21</sup> So focused is Daza on his aim that he sometimes, apparently wilfully, misreads his sources.<sup>22</sup> One source cited by Daza is *El Libro del Conhorte*, which contained the sermons of

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information on Caracciolo and the stigmata of St Francis, see Carolyn Muessig, 'Roberto Caracciolo's Sermon on the Miracle of the Stigmatization of Saint Francis of Assisi', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 42 (2012), 77–93.

<sup>20</sup> On the history of the Feast of the Stigmata of St Francis, see Regis J. Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann and William J. Short, eds, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, 3 vols (New York, 1999–2001), 3: 661–4; see also *Calendarium Romanum ex Decreto Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani II Instauratum* (Rome, 1969), 139.

<sup>21</sup> Daza gives a long list of those who dealt with Francis's stigmata: *Historia de las llagas*, fols 16<sup>v</sup>–24<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Cordelia Warr, 'Changing Stigmata', in Anne Kirkham and Cordelia Warr, eds, *Wounds in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2014), 43–62, at 46.

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Juana de la Cruz (d. 1534). Juana Vázquez Gutiérrez had entered the *beaterio* of Franciscan tertiaries of Santa Maria de la Cruz, just outside the village of Cubas (between Madrid and Toledo) in 1496. She became abbess in 1509.<sup>23</sup> Juana benefitted from the protection of Cardinal Cisneros (d. 1517), which provided her with a relatively supportive environment compared to some female Spanish mystics of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who had to deal with the effect of the reaction against the *alumbrados* and the religious climate after the Council of Trent.<sup>24</sup> During a period of thirteen years from 1508 Juana delivered sermons while in a state of visionary ecstasy.<sup>25</sup> They were collected in *El Libro del Conhorte* by her companion Sor María Evangelista.<sup>26</sup> These *sermones*, designated as such in the first manuscript,<sup>27</sup> were attended both by the nuns in Juana's convent, who were the primary recipients, and by supporters such as Cardinal Cisneros.<sup>28</sup> Despite the biblical prohibitions on women teaching (particularly 1 Tim. 2: 12-13), early saints such as Mary Magdalen and Catherine of Alexandria were reputed to have converted their listeners to

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<sup>23</sup> For brief details on the life of Juana de la Cruz, see Jessica A. Boon, 'Mother Juana de la Cruz', in *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Renaissance and Reformation*, <<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0197.xml>>, accessed 12 January 2015; Ronald E. Surtz, *The Guitar of God: Gender, Power and Authority in the Visionary World of Mother Juana de la Cruz (1481–1534)* (Philadelphia, PA, 1990), 3–8; Elizabeth A. Leffeldt, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain* (Aldershot, 2005), 169–72.

<sup>24</sup> Haliczzer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy*, 292–3.

<sup>25</sup> Daza, *Historia, vida y milagros*, fols 70<sup>v</sup>–76<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 74<sup>v</sup>. See also García de Andrés, *El Conhorte*, 1: 69–80; Jessica A. Boon, 'Mother Juana de la Cruz: Marian Visions and Female Preaching', in Hilaire Kallendorf, ed., *A New Companion to Hispanic Mysticism* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2010), 127–48, at 133–6.

<sup>27</sup> Jessica A. Boon, 'Christ in Heavenly Play: Christology through Mary's Eyes in the *Sermones* of Juana de la Cruz', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 102 (2011), 243–66, at 245.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 243–4.

Christianity with the power of their words.<sup>29</sup> Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298), author of the widely read *Legenda Aurea* (*Golden Legend*), justified women's preaching on the basis that it was a gift given by the Holy Spirit.<sup>30</sup> The legitimization of women's sermons by claiming the gift of prophecy or divine inspiration was a strategy commonly used by women and by their male supporters, immediately sidestepping issues of their ability to understand and explicate the word of God.<sup>31</sup>

Daza, who also refers to Juana's ecstatic utterances as *sermones*, is clear that they were not composed by Juana herself: rather, God had struck her dumb and spoke through her, 'sometimes every eight days, or fifteen days, other times every four days, other times every third day, other days one time after another, and some days twice, more or less, as it pleased our Lord'.<sup>32</sup> Mention of Francis's stigmata in 'Juana's' sermons thus represented direct corroboration of the miracle from God. Daza refers to Juana de la Cruz in Chapter 5 of the *Historia de las llagas*, which deals with how Jesus himself impressed his holy wounds on St Francis without any mediation.<sup>33</sup> He quotes Juana's sermon 58, given on the Feast of St Francis:<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> On the debates about women and preaching between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Alcuin Blamires, 'Women and Preaching in Medieval Orthodoxy, Heresy, and Saints' Lives', *Viator* 26 (1995), 135–52. For female Franciscan preaching, see Bert Roest, 'Female Preaching in the Late Medieval Franciscan Tradition', *FS* 62 (2004), 119–54, especially 150–3 for Juana de la Cruz.

<sup>30</sup> Blamires, 'Women and Preaching', 148.

<sup>31</sup> Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, 'Negotiating Sanctity: Holy Women in Sixteenth-Century Spain', *ChH* 64 (1995), 373–88, at 386.

<sup>32</sup> Daza, *Historia, vida y milagros*, fol. 71<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Daza, *Historia de las llagas*, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>–47<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> García de Andrés, *El Conhorte*, 1: 78–80, notes that *El Conhorte* was written towards the end of the period of thirteen years from 1508 during which Juana preached. Precise dates for the individual sermons cannot be ascertained.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, seeing the most profound humility and obedience of the glorious father St Francis, was so attached to him [Francis] in that hour that he impressed his most holy wounds in the same manner that his majesty received them on the cross, going through not only the hands and the feet but also breaking through his side and making blood come out, and he [Francis] gave out great cries, ... and the pain that the Seraphic Father had in that hour was so great, that he fell on the ground as though dead after having received them [the stigmata] ...<sup>35</sup>

Juana here forms part of a long list of people, including the Dominicans St Antoninus of Florence (d. 1459) and St Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419) and the Franciscan St Bernardino of Siena (d. 1444), all of whom are brought into play as providing evidence that Christ himself impressed the stigmata on Francis. Daza returns to Juana de la Cruz in Chapter 7 of the *Historia de las llagas*.<sup>36</sup> Here he first explains that God allowed Francis to descend into purgatory each year on the anniversary of his death in virtue of the wounds which Christ had given him.<sup>37</sup> Each year Francis would be able to grant immediate salvation to some members of his order who were in purgatory. Those associated with the order could be recognized through their habit. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that the Franciscan habit was favoured by many as burial clothing. Indeed, in sixteenth-century Madrid it was the most popular form of burial attire.<sup>38</sup> According to Daza, that God had allowed Francis to free his followers from purgatory was the occasion for especial bile and scorn in Erasmus Alber's *Alcoranus*

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., fols 39<sup>v</sup>–40<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., fols 57<sup>r</sup>–64<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., fol. 62<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (rev. edn; Cambridge, 2002), 105–7.

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*Franciscanorum* (*The Franciscan Qur'ān*).<sup>39</sup> Alber (c.1500–53), who had studied under Luther at Wittenberg, wrote this satirical work in response to the Franciscan Bartholomew of Pisa's late fourteenth-century *Liber de conformitate vitae Beati Francisci ad vitam domini Iesu* (*Book of the Correspondence of the Life of St Francis to the Life of the Lord Jesus*), which promoted St Francis as a second Christ, and which Alber used as a basis from which to attack Francis and his order.<sup>40</sup> It appeared in numerous editions and languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>41</sup> For Protestants such as Alber, the power to free souls was one which should have been exercised only by God.<sup>42</sup> Luther, in his preface to the *Alcoranus*, had pointed out that beliefs such as this decreased the importance of Christ so that he became one amongst the prophets, as was the case in Islam.<sup>43</sup> Albers's address to the readers, placed at the end of the *Alcoranus Franciscanorum*, rails against the way in which he perceived Francis to be placed above Christ, noting that, according to the *Liber de conformitate*, 'Christ felt the pains of his wounds for a short time. But Francis suffered the pains of his wounds for a full two years. ... And, to say it briefly, Christ did not do anything which Francis did not also do, and many more times.'<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Daza, *Historia de las llagas*, fol. 63<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> On the *Liber de conformitate*, see Carolly Erickson, 'Bartholomew of Pisa, Francis exalted: *De Conformitate*', *MedS* 34 (1972), 253–74.

<sup>41</sup> Élisabeth Labrousse, 'Bayle et Saint François', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 70 (1984), 149–55, at 150–3.

<sup>42</sup> On early Protestant views concerning purgatory, see Jerry L. Walls, *Purgatory: The Logic of Total Transformation* (Oxford, 2012), 35–42.

<sup>43</sup> Michael J. Heath, 'Islamic Themes in Religious Polemic', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 50 (1988), 289–315, at 291. Luther's short preface is contained in most editions of the *Alcoranus*.

<sup>44</sup> Erasmus Albers, *Alcoranus Franciscanorum* (Frankfurt, 1542), unpaginated.

Seeking to allay any doubts regarding Francis's ability to free certain souls from the cleansing torments of purgatory, in Chapter 7 of the *Historia de las llagas* Daza again appeals to *El libro del Conhorte* and, in particular, to Juana's sermon 58, which goes on to describe how, on the day of Francis's death each year, the heavens open and two sets of stairs appear which reach from heaven to purgatory. One set of stairs is the colour of rubies and coral whilst the other is as white as pearls. Red signifies the passion; white the purity of the Virgin. Francis and Christ descend to purgatory on these stairs. Although the two sets of stairs are clearly differentiated, the text implies that Francis and Christ descend using both. Francis greets all those souls who are wearing his habit. Only those who are able to identify both Christ and Francis are freed from the torments of purgatory.<sup>45</sup> A further important aspect of sermon 58 is the repeated return to Christ's wounds and Francis's stigmata: the habit is in the shape of the cross; those who wear the habit imprint on themselves the wounds of the crucified Christ.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, once St Francis has assured Christ that he will obey him as a wife obeys her husband, Christ imprints his wounds on Francis as he himself had received them on the cross.<sup>47</sup> Ronald Surtz argues that both the importance and the singularity of Francis's stigmata are demonstrated when 'the Lord emphasises that while other martyrs suffered at the hands of the infidels, Francis was martyred by God himself when he was given the stigmata'.<sup>48</sup> Daza could use Juana's sermons to dispel any doubts about the pre-eminence of Francis's miraculous stigmata and stigmatization because of their authority: Christ spoke

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<sup>45</sup> Daza, *Historia de las llagas*, fol. 64<sup>r</sup>, provides a considerably abbreviated version of the material provided in the *Libro del Conhorte*; for the full text, see García de Andrés, *El Conhorte*, 2: 1248–9 (§14).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 1244 (§5).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 1245–6 (§8).

<sup>48</sup> Surtz, *Guitar of God*, 45–6; García de Andrés, *El Conhorte*, 2: 1245 (§7).

directly through Juana.<sup>49</sup> He provides evidence of this by noting that, during this period, Juana was able to speak in different languages ‘of which she never had any former knowledge, especially in Latin, Arabic and others’, here appealing to another common trope when writing about religious women who advised or taught others.<sup>50</sup>

Despite the legitimacy established for her sermons, Juana may seem a curious choice of authority in a work aimed at dispelling doubts about the extraordinary nature of Francis’s stigmata, since she herself had received painful marks on her hands and feet in 1524.

According to Daza’s *vida*, Juana had, from the time in which she first entered the convent of Santa Maria de la Cruz, imposed on herself an extremely harsh discipline which was designed to allow her to experience Christ’s pain during the passion. Sometimes she would tie herself, naked, to a pillar leaving her arms free so that she could whip herself until she bled with an iron chain at the end of which she had attached a large iron ball; at other times she knelt and struck herself repeatedly on the breast with a flint so hard that the blood which spurted out reached as far as the walls of the cell. As she did this she circled the cell on her knees.<sup>51</sup> Daza details a number of other extremely painful practices in which Juana engaged as part of her quest to experience Christ’s suffering. For example, Juana had driven some nails into a wall so that she could push her hands on to them and hang without her feet touching the ground for up to an hour.<sup>52</sup> Such penitential practices were not uncommon amongst holy women of the

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<sup>49</sup> Boon, ‘Mother Juana de la Cruz’, 127–8.

<sup>50</sup> Daza, *Historia, vida y milagros*, fol. 72. Umiltà of Faenza (d. 1310) was also credited with being able to speak in Latin despite never having studied the language: see Carolyn Musessig, ‘Prophecy and Song: Teaching and Preaching by Medieval Women’, in Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker, eds, *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity* (Berkeley, CA, 1998), 146–58, at 148.

<sup>51</sup> Daza, *Historia, vida y milagros*, fols 22<sup>r</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 24<sup>r</sup>.

period. Luisa de la Ascensión (d. 1636) was reported to have punished her body through the wearing of iron chains.<sup>53</sup> Catalina de Jesús y San Francisco (d. 1677) was regularly whipped on the order of her confessor.<sup>54</sup> However, at the age of forty-three, on Good Friday, Juana received marks on her hand and feet in the places where Christ had been nailed to the cross. Daza recounts that she had been praying, in rapture, with her body set in the shape of a cross. Because she remained in her rapture for longer than was normal the nuns carried her into her cell and left her there so that they could go to the choir for holy office. Whilst they were there Juana entered the choir walking with great difficulty: she was leaning on the walls and allowed only her heels and her toes to touch the ground. The nuns asked to see what had happened and discovered that Juana had the signs of the crucifixion in her hands and feet. Daza describes the marks as being round, the size of a coin, and red, of the colour of fresh roses; they were like this both on the tops and soles of Juana's feet and on the backs and palms of her hands.<sup>55</sup> The marks caused Juana great pain, but a fragrant smell emanated from them. In a reflection of the words spoken by the apostle Thomas (John 20: 25), the nuns saw 'with their eyes and felt with their own hands'. Daza of course intended these words to clear away doubt for the reader of the *vida*. Having carried Juana back to her cell, the nuns asked how she had received the marks. She replied that her guardian angel had taken her to a place where she had seen Jesus crucified. He touched her with his wounds and left her with dreadful

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<sup>53</sup> Haliczzer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy*, 133. On painful penitential practices carried out by male and female Spanish mystics, see Maureen Flynn, 'The Spiritual Uses of Pain in Spanish Mysticism', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64 (1996), 257–78.

<sup>54</sup> Jodi Bilinkoff, 'Confession, Gender, Life-writing: Some Cases (mainly) from Spain', in Katharine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer, eds, *Penitence in the Age of Reformations* (Aldershot, 2000), 169–183, at 171–2.

<sup>55</sup> '[D]el tamaño de un real de plata, de color de rosas muy frescas, y coloradas; y de la propia figura y color correspondian igualmente en los empyenes y plantas de los pies, y de las manos': Daza, *Historia, vida y milagros*, fol. 77<sup>v</sup>.

pains in her hands and feet, and when the vision was over she found herself in her cell with the marks which could be seen, on Fridays and Saturdays, from then until Ascension Day, when, at the time that the Lord ascended, both the pains and the marks disappeared as though they had never been there. Juana had prayed for the marks to be removed but the Lord replaced them with the pains of the passion in every part of Juana's body to a greater extent than she had ever felt them before.<sup>56</sup>

Daza's account of Juana's reception of the wounds claims that God gave her the 'pains and signs of the most holy wounds' but does not address how her experience should be interpreted in relation to Francis's stigmata.<sup>57</sup> Given that Daza's later publication on the *Historia de las llagas* specifically aims to demonstrate the unique nature of Francis's stigmata and stigmatization, a desire to sidestep direct discussion of the issue is understandable. Responding to the question of Juana's wounds as stigmata in either the *vida* or the *Historia de las llagas* would have opened a Pandora's box of doubts in relation to the Franciscan understanding of the miracle experienced by their founder. Yet Daza appears to have been aware of the debate about different types of stigmata, since he dedicated a chapter of the *Historia de las llagas* to discussing the way in which Jesus gave Francis his wounds, emphasizing the lack of any intermediary, a key part of the definitions of both Caffarini and Lombardelli of the most prestigious, eighth type of stigmata.

Daza avoids the question of whether stigmata could be placed on a spectrum of stigmatic experiences, with self-inflicted marks or wounds at one extreme and Francis of Assisi's miraculously imprinted wounds at the other thus demonstrating God's greatest favour. His approach contrasts with that of Dominican writers such as Caffarini and Lombardelli, discussed above, and Luis de Granada (d. 1588), who, in the 'Prologue' to his *Historia de Sor María de la Visitación*, states that God had honoured two women from Lisbon, María de la

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., fols 77<sup>r</sup>–78<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., fols 76<sup>v</sup>–77<sup>r</sup>.

Visitación,<sup>58</sup> a member of his own order, and Ana de las Llagas, a member of the third order of St Francis, singling them out with the signs of the passion. María received the wounds of the nails and the lance, and Ana had Christ crucified sculpted over her breast and the name of Jesus on her side, made out of her own flesh.<sup>59</sup> Luis de Granada was concerned to demonstrate that varying types of stigmata could be experienced by a range of holy people, in this case both Dominican and Franciscan. Juana's experience, as described by Daza, had similarities to that of contemporary or near-contemporary Dominican female stigmatics whose stigmata appeared, or became more pronounced or painful, during Holy Week or on Fridays. Francesco Silvestri described Osanna Andreasi's stigmata during Holy Week as sometimes appearing 'rosy as though there was blood underneath the skin'.<sup>60</sup> Lucia Brocadelli's stigmata bled on Wednesdays and Fridays.<sup>61</sup> As early as the thirteenth century the Franciscan Margherita Colonna (d. 1280) was recorded as having physical symptoms which would have been recognized as stigmata by Caffarini and Lombardelli.<sup>62</sup> Yet whilst the Dominicans acknowledged and celebrated stigmatics both within and outside their order in order to emphasize the importance of meditation on the passion, the Franciscans could not do the same without opening the door to doubts about the unique nature of Francis's

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<sup>58</sup> On María de la Visitación, see Ian MacInnes, 'Stigmata on Trial: The Nun of Portugal and the Politics of the Body', *Viator* 31 (2000), 391–8.

<sup>59</sup> Luis de Granada, *Historia de Sor María de la Visitación* (Barcelona, 2011), 11.

<sup>60</sup> Francesco Silvestri, *La vita e stupea di miraculi della gloriosa vergine Osanna Mantovano del Terzo ordine de' Frati Predicatori* (Milan, 1507), bk 3, ch. 6.

<sup>61</sup> Giacomo Marcianese, *Vita della B. Lucia da Narni dell'Ordine di San Domenico* (Viterbo, 1663), 12–113.

<sup>62</sup> Attilio Cadderi, *Beata Margherita da Colonna (1255–1280). Le due vite scritte dal fratello Giovanni, senatore di Roma e da Stefania, monaca di San Silvestro in Capite* (Palestrina, 2010), 8, 169. Margherita received a wound in her side which bled and which she bore until her death. It is mentioned in both her early *vitae*.

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stigmatization and stigmata. Nonetheless, by the early eighteenth century, just over a century after Daza had published the *Historia de las llagas*, the Franciscan Pietro Antonio da Venezia, in his revised and expanded version of the *Leggendario Francescano* authored by his co-religionist Benedetto Mazzara, was able to say, as he recounted the life of the Sicilian Poor Clare Arcangela Tardera (d. 1599), that ‘the Lord wanted to give her [Arcangela] another most singular grace and that was to imprint on her the signs of his most holy wounds’. He quickly followed this, however, by noting that Arcangela had not experienced the stigmata in the same way as St Francis had done.<sup>63</sup>

Daza could not – or at least did not – articulate this acceptance of different types of stigmata, but his description of Juana’s reception of marks on her hands and feet is a tacit acknowledgement of the legitimacy of stigmatic experiences that differed in type and importance from those of St Francis of Assisi, and evidence that the existence of stigmatics such as Juana need no longer be perceived uniformly by Franciscans as casting doubt on the unique nature of their founder’s stigmata. Throughout the *Historia de la llagas*, Daza uses his sources to argue for the singularity of Francis’s stigmata, both in relation to the method in which he received them and their physical symptoms during the two years between the stigmatization and the death of the saint. To use Juana’s divinely inspired sermons as corroborative evidence is consonant with the ways in which Daza uses other sources. However, to use Juana’s stigmata as part of the proof that Francis had received stigmata would have gone against centuries of Franciscan thinking, as doing so might have seemed to contain a tacit acknowledgement that Francis’s stigmata were not unique. Yet Daza did dwell on Juana’s stigmata in the *vida*, and he did so in spite of the relatively recent examples of

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<sup>63</sup> ‘Un’altra singolarissima grazia volle concederle il Signore, e fu imprimerle i segni delle sue sagratissime Piaghe, non però nel modo, che l’ebbe il Padre S. Francesco’: Benedetto Mazzara and Pietro Antonio di Venezia, *Leggendario Francescano*, 12 vols (Venice, 1721–2), 2: 138–43 (8 February), at 142.

faked stigmata by a Poor Clare from Córdoba, Maria Magdalena de la Cruz (d. 1560), and the Portuguese Dominican María de la Visitación, whose fraud had been discovered in 1588.<sup>64</sup> His reasons for this may lie in the papal sanction for the celebration of the Feast of the Stigmatization of St Francis throughout the Church in 1615 and the growing tide of stigmatics. The former implicitly acknowledged the primacy of Francis's stigmata and thus may have allowed some Franciscans to relax their opposition to other types. The latter was symptomatic of the importance of meditation on the passion in the lives of religious women, especially those in Spain.<sup>65</sup> Holy women who received the stigmata in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain also had visions of St Francis.<sup>66</sup> Against this background, it would have been increasingly difficult to deny either that women like Juana could have received physical marks in some or all of the places where Christ was wounded on the cross, or that these marks proved the influence of Francis rather than casting doubt on his stigmata. However, Juana's stigmata as described in the *vida* do not appear to have bled and she did not have the wound in the side. The differences between Juana's (partial) stigmata and those of Francis allowed the Franciscan claim that Francis was the only true stigmatic to stand. Nonetheless, by implicitly acknowledging Juana as a stigmatic, Daza moved closer to an acceptance, shared by some other Franciscans, that the existence of different types of stigmatic experience did not ineluctably cast doubt on the unique nature of Francis's stigmata.

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<sup>64</sup> On Maria Magdalena de la Cruz, see Jesús Imirizaldu, *Monjas y beatas embaucadoras* (Madrid, 1977), 41–62.

<sup>65</sup> Haliczzer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy*, 216, 267.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* 216.