

Wounds on Trial: Forensic Truth, Sanctity, and the Early Modern Visual Culture of Ritual Murder

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From the twelfth century onwards, the accusation of ritual murder levelled against Jewish communities spread across Europe. The mechanics of these accusations were quite simple: as soon as a child went missing or was found dead, the nearby Jewish community was accused of ritual murder. In its fully developed form, the charge spread by Christians alleged that Jews crucified and murdered Christian children and performed magical rites with their blood and hearts in an attempt to destroy Christianity. With or without incriminatory material evidence, Jewish communities had to defend themselves against the accusation of ritual murder in secular and ecclesiastical courts, and in the majority of cases the Jewish defendants were condemned and burnt at the stake.¹ Manuscript accounts and gruesome drawings propagated the accusation of ritual infanticide across medieval Europe. But above all, it was the advent of early modern print culture that helped disseminate the myth of ritual murder and helped convey the idea that the murdered children were innocent and holy. Eventually, some of these infants became the object of religious cults and were increasingly venerated in sacred spaces throughout Europe.² In some cases, the weapons allegedly used to torture and kill the children were also venerated as relics along with the children themselves.³ Material evidence of the purported crime thus became an important part of these cults.

Despite the fact that the cults of children allegedly murdered by Jews gained widespread popularity, they were recurrently contested by Church hierarchies and princely authorities. One of the main reasons why Church and regional rulers rejected the cults was because they were sceptical about the veracity of the ritual murder accusations. Judicial truth, however, was not the only problem. Giving the murdered infants a saintly status was also problematic because as children their intellect was considered undeveloped and they were therefore unable to consciously face martyrdom.⁴ Nevertheless, the promoters of this specific form of infantile sanctity established alternative grounds to obtain support for their cause. The clearest and most convincing argument was the precedent of the Holy Innocents, the group of babies under the age of two that Herod ordered to be murdered in his attempt to kill the Infant Jesus. Proponents of infantile sanctity thought that victims of ritual murder ought to be venerated as martyrs because, like the Holy Innocents, the murdered children had suffered Christ's passion in the flesh.⁵ Indeed, whether or not the dead children had suffered Christ's passion had to be demonstrated in court. To some extent, then, the evidence for making these children holy martyrs was often initially presented in a criminal court rather than in an ecclesiastical court, as was customary. To what extent did the judicial origins of these religious cults affect the ways in which the sanctity of the boys was visually established? In this chapter, I attempt to answer this question by exploring the relationship between legal norms and visual conventions.

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in notions of evidence and truth in early modernity, particularly in terms of how these notions were revealed in, and produced by, images. Scholars have broadened our understanding of the role of images as evidence in early modern ecclesiastical and lay trials. Although only a few images have survived in archival collections, sources indicate that they were often used to sustain criminal

cases dealing with murder and other crimes. A remarkable case is that of sacred images on trial. As Chiara Franceschini shows, religious paintings and sculptures were at times the centre of inquisitorial inquiries, both as the object under indictment and as evidence for the judicial cause.⁶ Made by physicians, artists, and other expert witnesses, drawings could be considered as legal evidence and as the correct representations of the facts under examination. The notion of an image as evidence and truth was not confined to the legal sphere. Recently, Felipe Pereda has demonstrated how painters in seventeenth-century Spain frequently used forensic rhetoric to transform their sacred images into conveyors of religious and sacramental evidence.⁷ In my view, the visual representation — and religious veneration — of victims of ritual murder is an interesting phenomenon that opens the door to further exploration of the ways in which early modern sacred images conveyed both legal and religious truth.

In ritual murder trials involving a criminal accusation, which was also a charge of crime against Christianity, material evidence was examined both as evidence of criminal actions and as a sign of divine intervention. It is true that accusations of ritual murder were not always based on incriminatory material evidence. In many cases, popular belief in this anti-Jewish legend was evidence enough to condemn the nearby Jewish communities.⁸ Nevertheless, whenever a child's wounded corpse was discovered in or near a village, the authorities involved had to provide scientific and religious interpretations of the physical evidence. Reading the corpse's gruesome 'cryptography of wounds', as Mitchell B. Merback has perceptively put it, was fundamental in formulating the accusation of ritual murder that contributed to the creation of religious cults of murdered children.⁹ In addition, there were theological grounds to investing this forensic practice with religious authority. The ability to decipher the nature of the wounds inflicted on infantile corpses was related to the belief that Christians possessed a spiritual discernment that Jews lacked.¹⁰ Reading the body as a script and finding evidence of a ritual crime on it was thus invested with an additional layer of religious insight.

Surely, the practice of forensic examination was inextricably linked to the processes of sanctity and canonization, which were carried out by religious institutions. At least since the early fourteenth century, physicians performed autopsies on the corpses of pious people and assessed wounds and stigmata in search of evidence of their alleged supernatural qualities.¹¹ The bodies of sick people that saints had purportedly miraculously cured were also examined for signs that evinced divine intervention.¹² Throughout the late medieval and early modern period, physicians were thus often chosen as expert witnesses in a variety of legal cases. In criminal trials, forensic examinations were used to trace evidence of human involvement in criminal actions. Physicians analysed bodies, both dead and alive, in search of relevant information, and carefully measured, described, and inventoried wounds and lacerations.¹³ To some extent, then, physicians acting as experts in ritual murder trials were expected to perform a double function as witnesses both of criminal and divine intervention.¹⁴ The forensic examination of the wounded corpse thus appears as a point of connection between the sets of norms regulating the creation of saints and those regulating criminal proceedings in early modernity.



What was the relationship between the notions of forensic truth and religious truth in the examination of ritual murder victims, and how was this dual truth visually established? This chapter is built on the assumption that the autopsies of the children allegedly murdered by Jews in the late medieval and early modern period were a driving force in their visual representations as saints. It interrogates the sacred images of child martyrs and the forensic information collected from their wounded corpses in order to understand the process through which the wounds found on the dead body of a child were transformed into evidence of holiness. Interpreting images of child martyrs in light of the boys' contested sanctity, which was largely dependent on establishing a Christological resemblance, may offer new insights into the relationship between forensics, sanctity, and images in the early modern period. I will delve into this

question through the analysis of two overlooked images of two boys: Michael of Sappenheim (d. 1540), and Simon — or Simonino — of Trent (d. 1475). Although different, these two images display the children's wounds in a similar orderly arrangement. Insights into Michael's case will illuminate an earlier, newly discovered miniature of Simon of Trent.

Michael Pisenharter was three and a half years old when he was found dead in a forest near his home village of Sappenheim in the diocese of Eichstätt, in 1540. As was the practice at the time, the Jewish community was immediately deemed responsible for the murder. This time, however, the authorities refused to pursue the inquiry any further. Otto Henry (1502–59), Count of Palatinate-Neuburg and prince-elect of the Palatinate, who had recently converted to Lutheranism, forbade Michael's father from continuing the investigation and accusation. Otto Henry's refusal to investigate the Jews caused a strong reaction in the community. As Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia demonstrates, the accusation that Michael of Sappenheim had been the object of ritual murder emerged at a moment of scholarly debate on the veracity of blood libel accusation in mid-sixteenth century Germany. In fact, Michael's legend was included in the *Ains Judenbüchchens Verlegung*, a systematic defense of blood libels published in 1541 by the Catholic theologian Johann Eck.¹⁵ It was in this context that the murder ballad 'Ein hübsch new lied von Zweyen Juden und einem Kind, zu Sappenfelt newlich geschehen', illustrated with a woodcut **FIGURE 1** and recounting the ritual crime, was printed and disseminated.¹⁶ The woodcut shows Michael tied to a column with his naked body covered in lacerations and is reminiscent of Christ's flagellation. The boy is being tortured by a Jew recognizable by his caricatured features.¹⁷ Despite Otto Henry's rejection of the case, the child's body was carried to the Jesuit church of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist and was displayed there as a martyr. Nevertheless, sources evince that the child's shrine in Eichstätt received only temporary fame, and that his veneration was concentrated in the decades immediately following his death.

FIGURE 1. *Martyrdom of Michael of Sappenheim, 1540; detail of the frontispiece of 'Ein hübsch new lied von Zweyen Juden und einem kind, zu Sappenfelt newlich geschehen'.*

The cult of Michael of Sappendorf received new attention in the early seventeenth century with the inclusion of the story of the boy's martyrdom in the large hagiographical compilation *Bavaria Sancta*, written by the Jesuit Matthäus Rader (ca 1561–1634). This richly illustrated hagiographical compilation was commissioned by Maximilian I Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria (r. 1597–1651), in 1614. It included saints, blessed, and venerated from the lands ruled by the dukes, but also from the *terra Bavarica* — nearby territories that had been part of the Bavarian patrimony in the early Middle Ages. The collection was first published in Latin, and later translated into German as *Heilige Bayerland*. Based on a thorough use of primary sources, Rader reconstructed ancient and modern Bavarian sanctity to promote Catholic piety and to enhance Maximilian's political aspirations.¹⁸ Four cases of alleged ritual murder of Bavarian children emphasized the compilation's anti-Jewish leaning.¹⁹ In this context, it seems clear that part of Rader's interest in the story of Michael of Sappendorf was rooted in his interest in promoting local martyrs and specifically those connected with the Jesuit Order.

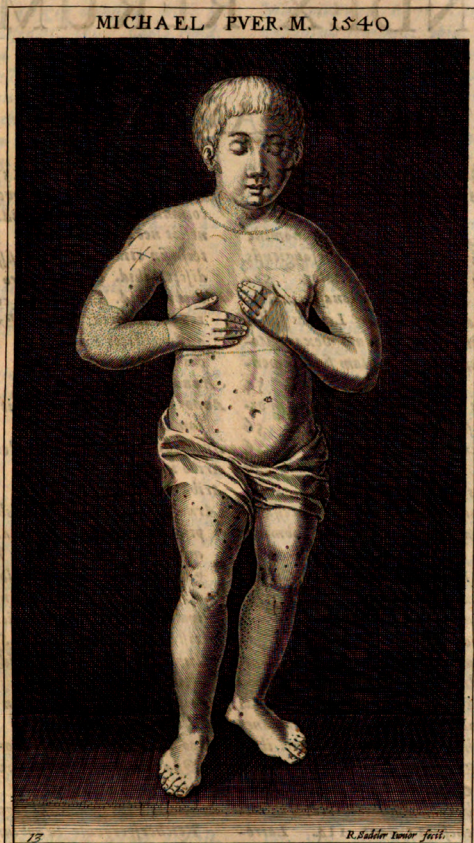
The legend of the martyrdom of Michael of Sappendorf was included in the third volume of *Bavaria Sancta*, published in 1627.²⁰ Following the structure used throughout the compilation, his life was illustrated with a sheet-size copper engraving of his martyrdom **FIGURE 2**. The engraving was done by Raphael Sadeler the Younger, possibly after sketches by the court painter Mathias Kager.²¹ The composition departs from the woodcut that illustrated the song 'Ein hübsch', and shows the boy tied with ropes to a column. This image does not conform to Michael's legend, as his proportions are those of a ten- or twelve-year-old boy, whereas Michael was three and a half at the time of his death. Moreover, the wounds are represented in a very distinctive way. The mutilation of the hands and feet are anatomically unrealistic, as is the blood that pours from them. Elegiac couplets at the bottom of the page praising Michael and establishing analogies between Jews and beasts complete Sadeler's engraving. All in all, this image appears as a recreation of the legend of Michael's martyrdom according to visual conventions of early seventeenth-century art, which are used throughout this compilation. And yet, Rader's account of Michael of Sappendorf's martyrdom is quite different from that of the lives of most saints and blessed people, and quite different from that of the victims of ritual murder.

Rader did not present Michael's life following the usual succession of anti-Jewish tropes and rhetorical strategies, but instead relied on a long, detailed, and documented account of the purported historical facts surrounding the boy's murder.²² In the margins and throughout the text, Rader points



FIGURE 2. Raphael Sadeler the Younger (engraver), *Martyrdom of Michael of Sappendorf*, in Matthäus Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, Munich: Sadeler, 1627, p. 177.

Submissa est mihi forma & magnitudo corporis S. hujus pueri Eyftadio per Nob. & Excell. D. Doct. Thomam Thiermair Medicum, quam placuit hic ad nonam proportionem propter magnitu-



Forma et modus corpusculi S. Pueri et M. Michaëlis trimuli et semestris in Hietingensi pago ab Iudæis crudelissime excarnificati et interfecit ex nona proportione iuxta staturæ.

dinem imaginis redactam, representare. Interim in 3. Vol. Bav. S. p. 176. v. ult. pro Titingensi, l. Hietingensi. Et p. 179. v. 5. eand. vocem eodem modo corrige. Martyrium ipsum habes p. 173.

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out that his study is based on manuscripts, poems (probably including the ballad ‘Ein hübsch’), legal documents preserved in the archive of Eichstätt, and on Eck’s study of the blood libel accusation. Rader further emphasizes the historical authority of his sources by pointing out that Eck himself had obtained forensic information on Michael’s body from the physicians and surgeons involved in the case. As we shall see in what follows, this emphasis on forensic truth is also present in a second engraving of Michael of Sappendorf included in Rader’s work.

In the fourth volume of Rader’s hagiographical compilation, entitled *Bavaria Pia* and finished in 1628 (though published only in 1704), an image of Michael’s wounded corpse engraved by Sadeler the Younger is included as an appendix **FIGURE 3**. This image of Michael is radically different from the one included in the third volume of *Bavaria Sancta*. Before delving into the reasons that led to the creation of this image, let’s take a closer look at what it represents. Michael’s corpse is shown against a black background, and his proportions correspond to those of a toddler. His eyes are closed, and his open mouth shows a faint smile. In this depiction, the wounds are carefully delineated and correspond to those described by Rader as per Eck’s firsthand forensic information. Michael has a cross-shaped wound on his right shoulder, orderly prick wounds on his stomach, legs, and feet, and various parts of his body have been flayed. The inscription below emphasizes the truth conveyed in this image. Instead of the couplets that accompany the rest of the engravings, Rader included the following sentence: ‘The image and proportions of the holy child’s body, who was savagely tortured and

killed in Hietingen by the Jews when he was three years and six months old, reduced here to a ninth of its actual size.’²³

A measurement line indicating the exact proportion of Michael’s body is engraved between the image and the inscription, allowing future replications of the boy’s image to be made according to his actual size. This engraving is meant to be a forensic presentation of the holy body, Michael’s true image. The purported forensic quality of the child’s image filters through Christological imagery, in this case the Man of Sorrows. This allusion was a common visual strategy used by artists to increase the perceived holiness of the alleged martyrs of ritual infanticide.²⁴

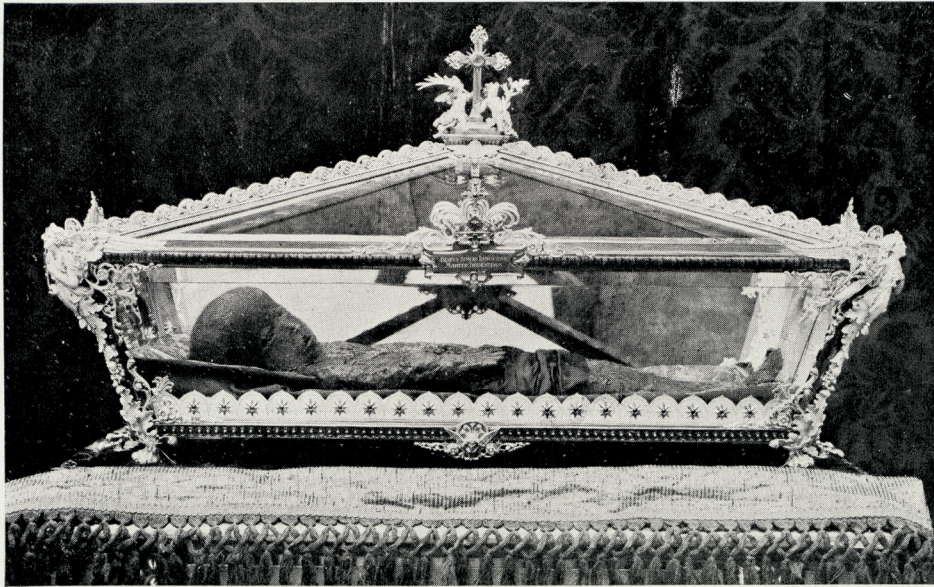
A physician’s intervention can be found in the representation of Michael’s corpse. In the text placed just above the engraving, Rader writes: ‘The image and measures of this child’s holy body have been sent to me from Eichstätt by the most noble and excellent Dr. Thomas Thiermair, physician.’²⁵

FIGURE 3. Raphael Sadeler the Younger (engraver), *Body of Michael of Sappendorf*, 1628, in Matthäus Rader, *Bavaria pia*, Dillingen, Augsburg: Bencard, 1704, p. 189.

A resident of Munich, Thiermair was particularly interested in venesection, phlebotomy, and other medical areas related to veins and blood.²⁶ In his dissertation, published in 1608, he even paid close attention to the practice of phlebotomy on the bodies of children.²⁷ Thiermair's involvement in the hagiography of Michael of Sappenfeld was no coincidence as his family had been closely involved in the accusation of ritual murder against the Jews in Michael's case. Thiermair's grandfather was the secretary and notary for Eichstätt's bishop for twenty years, which likely coincided with the years in which the boy's body was found. Though Rader does not elaborate on this fact any further, it is possible that Thiermair's grandfather was personally involved in the early stages of the blood libel accusation. What is certain is that his uncle Hildebrand Thiermair was one of the fiercest prosecutors of the Jews in this case. In fact, the Count Palatine condemned Hildebrand for writing a poem in which he accused the Jews of Michael's death and, according to Rader, the count even commanded that Hildebrand's tongue be cut off.²⁸ Without additional evidence, it is impossible to know if Thiermair reconstructed Michael's body from Eck's description or if he copied it from an existing image. However, the obvious stylistic difference between the engraving included in the third volume of *Bavaria Sancta* and the engraving of Michael's corpse in the *Bavaria Pia* strongly suggests that the latter was engraved after a drawing made by the physician Thiermair, and not after sketches of Bavarian court artists.

In order to find the last piece of this story, we must return to Rader's hagiography of Michael of Sappenfeld in the third volume of *Bavaria Sancta*. There, Rader states that five weeks after the body was placed in the church, an artist began to draw an image of his corpse. As the artist depicted the corpse, Michael's bodily wounds started to bleed in what was interpreted as a sign of its incorrupted innocence. Written in a marginal gloss, Rader emphasized the importance of this miraculous event, lamenting, 'Oh! If we could have or find this image of the child!'²⁹ With this episode, Rader did more than make the artist into the most privileged witness of the miracle; he provided a narrative that invested all representations of the boy's corpse with sacred authority. Personally involved in the case of Michael of Sappenfeld, and with family connections in Eichstätt, Thiermair quickly responded to Rader's call and did not hesitate to provide him with visual evidence of the boy's ritual murder. By declaring that the physician Thiermair had provided the new image which was included in the subsequent *Bavaria Pia*, Rader infused the engraving of the corpse with forensic truth, and consequently gave Michael's sanctity religious authority. Rader's decision to engrave the alleged forensic image of Michael's wounded body and include it in the last volume of his hagiographical compilation was connected to his desire to support the cult that had been created around a child who had been — an maybe still was — displayed in a Jesuit church.³⁰ The image of the wounded corpse was key evidence of the ritual crime, and thus proof of Michael of Sappenfeld's sanctity.

In my opinion, insights gained from the analysis of the forensic-like engraving of Michael, though produced in the early seventeenth century, can serve as a frame for looking anew at earlier representations of child martyrs with similar judicial origins. Indeed, the connection between an image of an infantile



Urna ove si conserva il corpo del Beato Simonino

corpse, a physician, and a claim of sanctity is also present in the case of Simon of Trent, which is arguably the most notorious and the most illustrated account of a ritual murder accusation. Simon was two and a half years old when he was found dead in the water cellar of Samuel, the leader of the Jewish community in Trent, on 26 March 1475. The very next day, Simon was placed at the altar of the church of San Pietro in Trent and venerated as if he were a saint **FIGURE 4**. Popular

accusation and strong support of Bishop Johannes Hinderbach (r. 1465–86) prompted the immediate condemnation of the Jews of Trent. In the following months, a group of Jews were tortured, beheaded, and burnt.³¹ Images played a crucial role in the success of this accusation. Soon after Simon's body was found, Bishop Hinderbach promoted the production and circulation of texts and images depicting the ritual murder and the boy's sanctity. Later, following the quick establishment of Simon's saintly cult in the region, parish churches throughout Trent and the Valcamonica area decorated their walls with frescoes and paintings of their new martyr. Some images showed the boy standing and holding the symbols of his martyrdom, while others displayed the cruel martyrdom he had suffered. A smaller group of images presented his dead body as a divine relic, an iconography that some scholars call *Simon victima*.³² In my opinion, this iconography carries a persuasive message about Simon's holiness and miraculous powers.

The image of Simon's bodily relic is the only visual typology that seems to be inspired by the boy's corpse as it was displayed in the church of San Pietro in Trent.³³ This iconography shows Simon's body lying on a flat surface, with his head turned to the right; however, parallels with his actual corpse end here. Artists enhanced the intensity of the image by representing Simon's dead body on the Jewish liturgical table — *almemar, bima* — where he was allegedly murdered, and with his eyes half open **FIGURE 5**. Moreover, the boy's body appears covered with unrealistic and gruesome drops and splashes of red blood aimed to emphasize the ritual bleeding and his suffering. The number and disposition of Simon's lacerations varies greatly from one image to the next, though for the most part artists tend to represent smaller drops of red blood covering his body, a larger bloody wound on his right cheek, and another wound on his penis. The viewer is immediately struck by the presence of red blood and by the instruments of martyrdom that surround his lacerated body. Similar to what we just saw in Michael's image, the form in

FIGURE 4. Simon's body in its crystal procession reliquary, 1935. Trent, Biblioteca e Archivio Storico, T II i 676.



which all these elements are assembled is again rooted in Christological imagery. Contrary to Michael's sanctity, however, Simon's is clearly manifested through a halo of rays of light, and the words *Beatus Simon Martir*.

The forensic accuracy with which Simon's wounds are depicted in a newly discovered Milanese miniature of Simon *beatus* dated 13 October 1475, now preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, merits further examination **FIGURE 6**.³⁴ This image shows details that were not included in the hagiographical texts and descriptions of the crime that circulated in the period. As we shall see in what follows, this drawing introduces details that are only present in the two forensic examinations of Simon's corpse that took place immediately after his body was found. Since Simon appears to be the only venerated child martyr whose forensic examination has been preserved, his case enables further elaboration on the relationship between physicians and the creation of sacred images that we discussed in the first part of this chapter.

The first forensic examination of Simon was done by Giovanni de Sali, the *Podestà* of Trent, and took place in a room of Samuel's house. The trial records describe four groups of wounds: a deep wound between the right cheek and the chin that looked like an abrasion, a second deep wound on the right leg near the shin, a perforation the size of a carpenter drill was recorded at the tip of Simon's penis, and lastly, many small red marks similar to mosquito bites on the chest, right arm, legs, and thighs.³⁵ The second forensic examination of Simon's body took place on the following day. The

FIGURE 5. *Beatus Simon Martyr*,
ca 1475. Munich, Staatliche
Graphische Sammlung, 118239D.



BEATVS · SIMON · M^r ·
 INCOMENZA LI LAMENTI
 DEL BEATO SIMONE DA
 TRENTO VIRGINE ET
 MARTYRE ET INNOCENE

Il son quel bel putin Simon da Trento
 Da zudei occiso la sancta septimana
 Nel setantacinque: e mil quattrecento

Al diti Signori di fe Christiana
 Crudelta grande: et inaudita fare
 Che non po quasi intrar in mete huana

FIGURE 6. *Beatus Simon Martyr*, 13
 October 1475. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
 de España, MSS/9769, f. 14r.

physicians Arcangelo Balduini and Giovanni Mattia Tiberino along with the surgeon Cristoforo de Fatis from Terlago were called to examine the corpse. After examining Simon's body, Balduini argued that the wounds might have been the result of human intervention, but that it was difficult to establish exactly what caused the wounds. On the other hand, Tiberino argued that the round shape of the wounds and their orderly position demonstrated that they were inflicted in an organized and careful way.³⁶ Tiberino's testimony was important because it suggested that Simon's death was the result of an intentional ritual crime carried out by the Jews of Trent, which consequently transformed Simon's body into a crucial

piece of judicial evidence. What makes the Milanese miniature exceptional is that it appears to be the only preserved example in which the wounds clearly correspond with the small marks on the chest, right arm, legs, and thighs, as they were described in these two forensic examinations **FIGURE 7**. What does this coincidence mean in terms of the relationship between forensic examination and sanctity in the cases of children allegedly murdered by Jews?

In the case of Simon of Trent, the answer seems to lie in the involvement of the physician Giovanni Mattia Tiberino (ca 1420–ca 1500), a close agent of Bishop Hinderbach and fundamental actor in the promotion of Simon's sanctity. After acting as expert forensic witness during the trial, Tiberino authored numerous texts about Simon's sanctity and the guilt of the Jews of Trent.³⁷ As it happens, the miniature under analysis here is part of an illuminated copy of a compilation of early texts by Tiberino. The compilation contains two illustrations and manuscript copies of three different texts on the martyrdom and sanctity of Simon of Trent, all of which are in Italian. The whole volume was created by the Milanese presbyter Tommaso Curzio for his patron the Duchess of Milan, Bona of Savoy, whose stemma and motto are represented in the frontispiece.³⁸ The first text is a copy of the narration of Simon's martyrdom (better known as Tiberino's 'Letter to Brescia'), expanded with an account of the condemnation and execution of the Jews which was carried out from 21 to 23 June 1475.³⁹ Here, Tiberino enhanced Simon's holiness by making a connection between the description of his wounds to Isaiah's (1:6) description of the Man of Sorrows, covered with wounds 'From the sole of the foot even unto the head'.⁴⁰ In 1476, a revised version of Tiberino's 'Letter to Brescia' was published as the *Hystoria completa de passione et obitu pueri Simonis*.⁴¹ In the Madrid volume, Tiberino's 'Letter' is followed by a short account of the miracles that occurred because of Simon's saintly intercession between March and August 1475, and by a poem *in terza rima*



FIGURE 7. *Beatus Simon Martyr*, 13 October 1475. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS/9769, f. 14r (detail).



entitled *Li lamenti del beato Simone da Trento*, written in the first person as if it was sung by Simonino himself.⁴² The image of Simon's body is depicted on the first page of this poem.

The original texts on Simon's martyrdom, which were copied by Tommaso Curzio, must have arrived at the court of the dukes of Milan after August 1475. That is, around the time that Bishop Hinderbach increased his efforts to stimulate and popularize the cult of Simonino. In July 1475, and thus after the execution of some of the accused Jews, Pope Sixtus IV della Rovere (r. 1471–84) ordered that the trial be suspended. On 2 September 1475, the pope sent the Dominican theologian Giovanni Battista de' Giudici to Trent in the role of apostolic commissioner to investigate the recent execution of the Jews and the growing cult around Simon. In order to neutralize papal opposition to the cult, Hinderbach sought support for his cause by sending open letters and envoys to the princes of the Holy Roman Empire. Hinderbach also commissioned, printed, and circulated images and texts of Simon's martyrdom in an extraordinary propaganda operation. The earliest known cycle of images of Simon's martyrdom, included in the *Geschichte des zu Trient ermordeten Christenkindes* and printed by Albrecht Kunne in September 1475, was in fact part of this operation.⁴³ Bishop Hinderbach sent another early image of Simon, which has since been lost, to the humanist and poet Raffaele Zovenzoni of Trieste. In a letter sent on 7 October 1475,

FIGURE 8. *Pilgrims Visiting Simon's Body*, ca 1475. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 338.

Zovenzoni thanked the bishop for the ‘bellissima immagine’ and praised the impressive likeness of the image.⁴⁴ The emotional effect of the visual and textual accounts of Simon’s martyrdom on the people of the region was so intense that on 10 October 1475, Pope Sixtus IV sent a letter to all the princes of Italy in which he prohibited calling Simon beato, preaching about his sanctity and his ritual murder by the Jews, and also from writing, representing, printing, selling, and/or possessing images and/or texts about Simon’s martyrdom.⁴⁵ Curzio’s manuscript compilation on Simon of Trent for the Duchess of Milan is dated only three days later.

The date of this volume, 13 October 1475, pushes back the traditional date given to a group of prints representing *Simon victima* (Simon’s bodily relic surrounded by the instruments of his martyrdom). One of these is the woodcut possibly printed in Nuremberg, which can be found today in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich **FIGURE 5**. The inscription *Beatvs Simon Martir* and the boy’s halo pushed David S. Areford to date the Munich woodcut around or soon after 20 May 1479, when a formal (and unsuccessful) request for Simon’s canonization was submitted to Rome.⁴⁶ The clear formal relationship between this woodcut and the Milanese drawing of Simon, however, makes it now possible to suggest that the woodcut was made around October 1475. It also establishes October 1475 as a possible *post quem* date for the production of a woodcut of Simon’s body surrounded with *ex-votos*, and approached by pilgrims, which was printed in Nuremberg by Friedrich Creussner **FIGURE 8**. In the miniature and in these two prints, Simon’s proportions and the spatial relationship between his body and the needle pricks, the knife and the other instruments of his martyrdom are identical or very similar. This raises the complicated question of whether the authoritative model was the drawing, one of the prints, or a now lost image.

One element that may point to the fact that the Milanese drawing was based on an existing woodcut is the relationship between text and image. Some of the Latin and German versions of *Li lamenti del beato Simone da Trento* that circulated on printed broadsides were illustrated with woodcuts comparable in proportion and structure to the Milanese miniature. The *Epithafium gloriosi pueri Simonis Tridentini novi martyris*, dated around 1476, is illustrated with an image of Simon sitting on a throne and crowned by angels, set in a square frame.⁴⁷ A German broadside dated around 1498 is decorated with a woodcut of Simon represented with a halo and surrounded by the initials *BS* (*Beatus Simon*) and the symbols of his martyrdom **FIGURE 9**.⁴⁸ These poems were similar to the popular Italian poetic ephemera in *terza rima* defined as ‘murder ballads’, which were also often illustrated with woodcuts. Usually written in the form of a lamentation spoken from the perspective of a crime victim, murder ballads were as much a form of entertainment as a vehicle for propagandistic and didactic messages.⁴⁹ The proportions of Simon’s miniature and the fact that it is on the first page of the poem rather than on the frontispiece to the whole volume may indicate that the Milanese artist copied the image from a coloured woodcut printed on a broadside that was unfortunately lost over time.

The Milanese drawing of Simon, which is the second earliest dated image of Simon preserved today, prompts a reconsideration of the early stages of his visual construction as a holy child. The early date of this drawing

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Simon ain kind bin ich genant
 zu triende wol in dem walschen lant
 Mein vater mit der woungs as
 auß teitschen landen er gebien was
 andreas so was er genant
 Mein mäter von art ain wälhin was
 vnd sy zu triende mit wesen sas
 Maria so was sy genant
 sy erzoch mich symon wol on alle schant
 Nach meines vater vnd mäter sagen
 so han ich gehabt nach den tagen
 Zway iar vnd fünf monat
 als es doch hie geschriben stat
 Drey vñ zwainzig tag ym oerober sy mich gebat
 nach ir bayder sagen das ist war
 Vnd als man hüt die weysen sagen
 sol nyemant sein layd zu vast klagen
 Wann dem vnbilligen geschicht gewalt
 er sey iung oder alt
 Als mir armen symon geschehen ist
 ch ewiger güttiger got vnd crist
 Was habe die vngetrawe iuden an mir gerochen
 Das sy mir mein iungtag haben ab gebrochen
 Der mir ist gewesen vngezelt
 als ich vor oben han aemele

ich doch nit verschuldet han
 oder dem ich ain layde doch het gethan
 Als man zalt aufer vier hundert vnd lxxviii
 da namen mein die vngetrewen iuden war
 Vor meines vaters thür ich
 an ainem biot ich do as
 Das gab mir die liebste mäter mein
 dar nach kam ich in schwere peim
 Zainen thet ich nymmer mee
 wann mir geschach da ach vnd wee
 Der vlsche iud thobias
 der kam vnd nam mich da ich saß
 Mit ainem kreutz er sich gegen mir pog
 Da mit mich der walsche iud betrog
 Er schickt es an nach seinem füng
 vnder seinem mantel er mich trüg
 Bisß das er kam zu samueles hauß
 der stünd vnder der thür vnd lügt her auß
 Verborgen er mich ym da gab
 Das geschach an dem reichspingtag
 In der marter noch vmb die vesper zeyt
 Das kam mir armen symon wol züleyt
 Drey vnd zwainzig tag ym merzen als man list
 Das mir der gewalt geschehen ist
 Samuel hielt mich bisß die nacht her bruch
 vnd er zu dem vngetrewen thobias sprach
 Du waisß wol was wir haben zeschaffen
 das wir nit dar über solen schlaffen
 Des wir vns haben angenommen
 vor der schäl sy all zesamen komen
 Samuel mit mir ine klayder ab ziehen thet
 hie nit me zleyde mäter an gelegt het
 Was stünd ich vor in nacktet vnde plas
 ich gedachte vñ vñ thün sy das
 Den in einen hals sy mir da verbunde
 mit ainem rüchlein das ich nit schreyen kunde



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Da hab ich an mein erst peim
 da gedacht ich an die erben mäter mein
 Da mit da siengen sy in ein marter an
 kain erbarmung wolten sy fiber mich han
 Der alt moyses mich in die schoß nam
 er plicte mich gar grimlich
 Zum andern mal sy wir mein gemacht anstheten
 fiber mich sy kain erbarmung heten
 Da mit das das plät vast von mir schoß
 das was die drit marter groß
 Die vierd marter was mit ainem zangen
 da mit zeruffen sy mir mein gerecht wangen
 Zum fünfften mal stupften sy mich all gemain
 wol vmb die pußt vnd vmb die bain
 Mit nadlen vnd mit glusen staches an
 da mit das plät vast von mir ran
 In ain schißel theten sy es vaben
 die sechst marter begund mir nahen
 Mit der zangen auß dem gerechten bain
 da rüffen sy mir ain stücklein klain
 Das thet mir armen kind so wee
 der marter müß ich leyden mee
 So lang bisß das ain plätz tropff in mir was
 die weyl so trügen mir die iuden has
 Do ich schier nit mit mer macht
 an mein liebste mäter ich gedacht
 Das sy mir nit zehülff mochte komen
 mein vater het dennoch nit vernomen
 Mein leyden vnd mein grose not
 mein sterben vnd mein pietern tode
 Den ich da von den iuden müß leyden
 mein sel thet sich von dem leib scheid
 Die empfalch ich got dem schöpffer wein
 da het ain end mein grose peim
 Die sy mir nacktet hetten gethan
 meine klayder legten sy mir wider an
 Das theten sy all wol vmb den list
 das man es von mir nit so te haben gewisß
 Da nun ir mütwill ward an mir verpacht
 Jelic her ain besundern spot erdacht
 Den sy got vnd mir an theten
 auff ainem stül sy mich gelegt hetten

Da triben sy auß mir den irn spot
 Sy sprachen das thie wir dir zelayd vnd gott
 Vnd der cristen hayt zu schmach
 an dir haben wir den iuden vnserm rachs
 Die iuden alle sam gemein
 die trügen mich in die schäl hin ein
 Also lag ich die nacht bisß an den morgen
 an de karfreytag symich in ain hew vaporgen
 Do mocht ich nit verdeckt beleyden
 got wole wunder zeichen mit mir treyden
 Wann sein göselich genad zu der selben sarr
 nach der zeyt auch gemartart ward
 Dar nach trügen sy mich in ain wasser
 da geschach den iuden angst vnd schwer
 Das ich nit rinen mochte vor star
 got das wunder durch mich gewürcket hat
 In dem vnd ich als verlor in was
 mein vater vnd mein mäter sprachen das
 Wa ist vnser liebes kind symon
 solten wir in darn also verloren hon
 So künden wir nit gewisßen wol
 wer in genomen hat
 In dem was also verborgen
 bisß an den oster montag zu morgen
 Vnd als es got wann wolte han
 das ich mit seinen gaden frölich
 Zwen iuden giengen da gen he
 vnd sagten es dem bischoff
 Die selben newen mere
 wie das das kind gefunden wa
 Wie das es wer versunken
 vnd in dem wasser ertruncken
 Der bischoff schickt die iuden wider haim
 vnd sprach nun halter diese wor in ghaym
 Da mit das kain auf lauff nit werd
 so legt man das kind in die erd
 Das thet er als mit symen
 da mit die iuden nit solten entrinnen
 Also schiff der bischoff mit dem haube man
 das er solt die iuden nemen an
 Vnd auch mit ym der potestat
 vnd dar zu die heren von dem rae
 Die kamen in des samuels hauß gegangen
 da mit so wurden die iuden gefangen
 Da ward in gegeben der lon
 als sy mir armen symon haben gethon
 Dar vmb ir werden cristen leste
 mein grose marter ich eich bedelite
 Die ich vmb vnschuld erlitten han
 nun lat eich die zu hertzen gan
 Vnd gedencket an das sterben mein
 so wil ich ewer trewer verspacher sein
 Wol gegen dem almechtigen got
 der mag vns wol helffen auß aller not
 Vnd maria die heylig unckfraw klar
 die helff vns an der engel schar
 Das wir vns dou frölichen samen
 in dem ewigen hymelreich sprecht amen

FIGURE 9. Triumphant Simon, in *Historia S. Simonis Tridentini*, Ulm: Johann Zainer, ca 1498. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, GWM42241.

strongly suggests that the iconography of Simon's dead body was not derived from the cycle of prints included in Kunne's *Geschichte des zu Trient*,⁵⁰ but was instead produced as an autonomous invention probably modelled on the boy's wounded corpse. Notwithstanding the specific model used by the Milanese artist in this case, the accurate replication of the dimensions and extent of the prick wounds on Simon's corpse clearly indicate that the image of Simon as a saintly martyr that was circulating at the time came from the child's forensic examination. Most compellingly, this miniature is a specific visual argument for Simon's sanctity since, as I have already noted, Tiberino's interpretation of the wounds as 'orderly' was key forensic evidence in the accusation of ritual murder against the Jews of Trent. In my opinion, the forensic accuracy with which the wounds are depicted strongly suggests that Bishop Hinderbach or the physician Tiberino, two of the few people involved both in the judicial records and in the promotion of the child saint, intervened in the creation of Simon's holy image.

Although the images of Michael of Sappenheim and Simon of Trent analysed in this chapter were produced in different European regions and at different times, the objective was similar: serving as evidence to support the boys' religious cults and to support their promotion to sainthood. Indeed, Simon's and Michael's cases are two of the very few in which the body of a murdered child was found, examined by physicians, and later venerated as a miraculous bodily relic. In my view, part of the function of the forensic aesthetic of their images must be understood from the scepticism that existed around giving sanctity to the victims of ritual murder. The fact that physicians, expert witnesses who had the legal authority to discern the criminal and divine nature of the wounds, contributed to the creation of the images only reinforced their purported authenticity. We do not know if sketches of the corpses were indeed produced during the development of the trials, but the aesthetic value of the images we have analysed here suggest that they were produced with the intention of functioning as conveyors of the forensic evidence that was key for the development of the religious cult. The images of the children's orderly arranged wounds bear the true evidence of Simon's and Michael's sanctity.

Notes

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1 There is vast literature on ritual murder. Fundamental studies are the following: Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008, pp. 135–204; *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook of Anti-Semitic Folklore*, ed. by Alan Dundes, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988. On the parallel legend of host desecration, see Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

2 The most complete compendium of images of ritual murder remains Eric Zafran, "The Iconography of Antisemitism: A Study of the Representation of the Jews in the Visual Arts of Europe", PhD diss., New York University, 1973, see esp. pp. 30–118.

3 Mitchell B. Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Violence, Memory, and Visual Culture at the Host-Miracle Shrines of Germany and Austria*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012, pp. 125–31.

4 Building on these arguments, the Dominican friar Giovanni Battista de' Giudici refused to accept the sanctity of Simon of Trent. André Vauchez, "La nascita del sospetto", in *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. by Gabriella Zarri, Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991, 39–51; Diego Quaglioni, "Il procedimento inquisitorio contro gli Ebrei di Trento", in *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento (1475–1478)*, ed. by Anna Esposito and Diego Quaglioni, Padova: CEDAM, 1990, 1–52 (pp. 26–29); André Vauchez, *La santità nel Medioevo*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009 [1st ed., Rome, 1981], pp. 104–6. On the broader relationship between infancy and sanctity, see *Bambini santi: Rappresentazioni dell'infanzia e modelli agiografici*, ed. by Anna Benvenuti Papi and Elena Giannarelli, Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991.

5 Anna Esposito, "Lo stereotipo dell'omicidio rituale nei processi tridentini e il culto del 'beato' Simone", in Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*, 53–96 (pp. 73–76).

6 See Chiara Franceschini, "Arti figurative e Inquisizione: Il controllo", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, 4 vols, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010, I, 102–5, and her essay in this volume, chapter 2.

7 This is one of the main arguments explored in Felipe Pereda, *Crimen e ilusión: El arte de la verdad en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2017, see esp. chaps. 4 and 7.

8 Vauchez, *La santità*, p. 104.

9 Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom*, pp. 139–40.

10 Uri Z. Shachar, "Inspecting the Pious Body: Christological Morphology and the Ritual-Crucifixion Allegation", *Journal of Medieval History*, 41:1 (2015), 21–40 (here p. 35).

11 Katharine Park, "Holy Autopsies: Saintry Bodies and Medical Expertise, 1300–1600", in *The Body in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010, 61–73; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medicine and the Italian universities, 1250–1600*, Leiden: Brill, 2001, pp. 356–80; Katharine Park, "The Criminal and the Saintry Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47:1 (1994), 1–33; Vauchez, *La santità*, pp. 489–510.

12 Fernando Vidal, "Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making", *Science in Context*, 20:3 (2007), 481–508; Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries", *Social History of Medicine*, 12:2 (1999), 191–225.

13 Among others, see Joanna Carraway Vitiello, *Public Justice and the Criminal Trial in Late Medieval Italy: Reggio Emilia in the Visconti Age*, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 127–32; Silvia De Renzi, "Medical Expertise, Bodies, and the Law in Early Modern Courts", *Isis*, 98:2 (2007), 315–22; Alessandro Pastore, *Il medico in tribunale: la perizia medica nella procedura penale d'antico regime (secoli XVI–XVIII)*, Bellinzona: Ed. Casagrande, 1998, pp. 25–65.

14 Gianna Pomata defines 'double vision' as the observation by which physicians simultaneously assessed the corporeal and the spiritual in canonization

processes; see Pomata, "Malpighi and the Holy Body: Medical Experts and Miraculous Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Italy", *Renaissance Studies*, 21:4 (2007), 568–86 (p. 585).

15 Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, pp. 125–31.

16 'Ein hübsch new lied von Zweyen Juden und einem Kind, zu Sappenfelt newlich geschehen', s.l., ca 1540. See also Charles Zika, "Violence, Anger and Dishonour in Sixteenth-century Broadsheds from the Collection of Johann Jakob Wick", in *Violence and Emotions in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Susan Broomhall and Sarah Finn, London: Routledge, 2015, 37–58 (pp. 45–46); and Zafran, "The Iconography of Antisemitism", pp. 98–99.

17 On the violent use of images of Jews in Christian art, see Zafran, "The Iconography of Antisemitism", esp. pp. 5–28.

18 Howard P. Louthan, "Imagining Christian Origins: Catholic Visions of a Holy Past in Central Europe", in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. by Katherine Elliot Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard P. Louthan, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 145–64 (pp. 153–58); Alois Schmid, "Die 'Bavaria sancta et pia' des P. Matthäus Rader SJ", in *Les princes et l'histoire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle: Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université de Versailles – Saint-Quentin et l'Institut Historique Allemand, Paris (Versailles, 13–16 mars 1996)*, ed. by Chantal Grell, Werner Paravicini, and Jürgen Voss, Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1998, 499–522; Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, p. 218.

19 Matthäus Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen alterum*, Munich: Sadeler, 1624, pp. 313–15 (anonymous child of Munich) and 331–33 (Heinrich of Munich); and Matthäus Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, Munich: Sadeler, 1627, pp. 172–75 (six children of Regensburg) and 176–80 (Michael of Sappenfeld). On the engravings of the Munich cases, see Mitchell B. Merback, "Cleansing the Temple: The Munich Gruktkirche as Converted Synagogue", in *Beyond the Yellow Badge Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. by Mitchell B. Merback, Boston: Brill, 2014, 305–45 (pp. 334–39).

20 Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, pp. 176–80.

21 Matthias Mayerhofer, *Kupferstiche im Dienst politischer Propaganda: Die "Bavaria Sancta et Pia" des Pater Matthäus Rader SJ*, Munich: Komm. für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, 2011,

pp. 31–39. The engravings of Bavaria Sancta were carried out by Raphael Sadeler the Elder and his son. Isabelle de Ramaix gave the engravings of the first and second volumes and one of the engravings in the third volume to Raphael Sadeler I the Elder. See Isabelle de Ramaix, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Raphael Sadeler I*, vol. 71, part 2: Supplement, Norwalk, CT: Abaris Books, 2007, pp. 93–122. The Hollstein refers to Raphael Sadeler II in the *Bavaria Sancta* only briefly, and fails to recognize the image of Michael as a relic as part of it. See *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, ed. by Friedrich Hollstein, 71 vols., Amsterdam: Van Gendt & co., 1980, vol. 21: Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer, *Aegidius Sadeler to Raphael Sadeler II*, pp. 267–84.

22 Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, pp. 176–80.

23 Matthäus Rader, *Bavaria pia*, Dillingen, Augsburg: Bencard, 1704 [finished in Munich, 1628], s.f.: 'Forma et modus corpusculi S. Pueri et M. Michaelis trimuli et semestris in Hietingensi pago ab Iudaeis crudelissime excarnificati et interfecti ex nona proportione iustae staturae'.

24 Other Christological iconographies frequently used are the Circumcision, the Flagellation, and the Crucifixion. See Zafran, "The Iconography of Antisemitism", pp. 30–18.

25 Rader, *Bavaria pia*, s.f.: 'Submissa est mihi forma & magnitudo corporis S. huius pueri Eystadio per Nob. & Excell. D. Doct. Thomam Thiermair Medicum'. This text varies slightly in the 1714 German edition, but the references to and measurement of the child's proportions are maintained.

26 See a biography of Thiermair in Erich Rudolf Stockbauer, "Ärztbiographien (Thomas Thiermair – Franz Ignaz Thiermair) aus dem Elenchus quorundam Bavariae medicorum des Münchener Hofbibliothekars Andreas Felix von Oefele", PhD diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1968, pp. 8–17.

27 Thomas Thiermair, *Conclusiones medicae de phlebotomia seu venae sectione*, Ingolstadt: Ederiano, 1608, p. 9.

28 Rader, *Bavariae sanctae volumen tertium*, p. 180.

29 *Ibid.*: 'O si possit haberi, aut reperi ista imago pueri!'

30 Sources examined do not indicate the whereabouts of Michael's bodily relic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

31 Two fundamental readings on this case are Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Trent 1475:*

Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992; and Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*.

32 The imagery of Simon of Trent has been studied by Jeanette Kohl, "A Murder, a Mummy, and a Bust: The Newly Discovered Portrait of Simon of Trent at the Getty", *Getty Research Journal*, 10 (2018), 37–60; Valentina Perini, *Il Simonino: Geografia di un culto* (Studi trentini: 91,2, Suppl.), Trent: Società di Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche, 2012; David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, pp. 194–27; Dana E. Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, pp. 119–57. Also see the essays by Laura dal Prà and Dominique Rigaux in *Il principe vescovo Johannes Hinderbach (1465–1486) fra tardo Medioevo e Umanesimo: Atti del convegno promosso dalla Biblioteca comunale di Trento: 2–6 ottobre 1989*, ed. by Iginio Rogger and Marco Bellabarba, Trent: Istituto di scienze religiose, 1992.

33 On this specific iconography, see Urte Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam: Bilder neuer Heiliger im Quattrocento*, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012, pp. 260–69; and Areford, *The Viewer*, pp. 199–208.

34 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter BNE), MSS/9769: Giovanni Mattia Tiberino and Tommaso Curzio, *Passione dil beato innocente et martyre Simone* (ff. 1–13v) and *Li lamenti del beato Simone da Trento, virgine et martyre et innocente* (ff. 14–16v), 13 October 1475. Previously, it was part of the manuscript collection of the Marquis de Cambis-Velleron (1706–22), in Avignon. See Raymond Étaix, "Le cabinet des manuscrits du marquis de Cambis-Velleron", *Scriptorium: Centre d'Étude des Manuscrits*, 37 (1983), 66–91 (p. 77). This manuscript has been overlooked by scholars working on Simon of Trent and is not included in Stephen D. Bowd and J. Donald Cullington, "On everyone's lips": *Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent*, Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2012. Wolfgang Treue mentioned the manuscript but did not address the contents nor the illustrations; see Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozess: Voraussetzungen, Abläufe, Auswirkungen (1475–1588)*, Hannover: Hahn, 1996, p. 343.

35 Quaglioni, "Il procedimento inquisitorio", pp. 33–34; Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*, pp. 112–15, doc. 5. The small red marks covering Simon's body were described as 'Item cum magna rubedine circa umbilicum et circa brachium sinistrum, et cum multis parvis signis rubeis in pectore, tibiis, coxis, in brachio dextro, que videbantur puncture

pulicum, licet essent aliquanto minores; ac etiam cum multis maculis rubeis sive sanguinolentis ad magnitudinem unius manus circa corpus, videlicet in spatulis, pectore in coxis'.

36 Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*, pp. 116–18, doc. 7: 'Item dicit quod vulnera que sunt in dicto cadavere, credere suo, sunt manufacta, quia si fuissent vulnera facta ab aqua per collisionem ad lapides, dicta vulnera non essent vulnera, sed essent contusiones, et non essent in eorum rotunditate in qua sunt, quia aqua dum abduceret dictum cadaver non servasset ordinem in percutiendo precise illa vulnera, [...]'. Also see Pastore, *Il medico in tribunale*, pp. 60–64.

37 A short biography in Bowd and Cullington, "On everyone's lips", pp. 24–26.

38 The numerous laudatory references to the duchess incorporated at different parts throughout the entire manuscript suggest that Curzio translated and modified Tiberino's original Latin text, at least in part. In a transition between different sections, Curzio writes that 'li ho reduti tuti in uno volume: & al vostro felice nome consecrato', BNE, MSS/9769, f. 10. References to the few Italian texts on Simonino can be found in Bowd and Cullington, "On everyone's lips", pp. 215–18. Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozess*, pp. 290–91.

39 An English translation of the Latin text can be found in Bowd and Cullington, "On everyone's lips", pp. 41–57. For a precise chronology of the inquisitorial procedure, see Esposito and Quaglioni (eds), *Processi contro gli ebrei di Trento*, pp. 467–76.

40 BNE, MSS/9769, ff. 5v–6v: '& comenzando da la pianta del pie: fina a lo capo: trapassavano quello con spessi colpi'.

41 Giovanni Mattia Tiberino, *Hystoria completa de passione et obitu pueri Simonis*, Trent: Albrecht Kunne and Hermann Schindeleyp, 1476.

42 Latin printed versions where circulating as early as 9 February 1476. See Tiberino, *Hystoria completa*, ff. 10v–11v. A textual analysis and an English translation of the poem can be found in Bowd and Cullington, "On everyone's lips", pp. 64–69 and 217–18.

43 Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam*, pp. 239–58; Hsia, *Trent 1475*, pp. 69–80.

44 Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozess*, p. 357 (note 24); Anna Esposito, "Il culto del 'beato' Simonino e la sua prima diffusione in Italia", in *Il principe vescovo*

Johannes Hinderbach (1465–1486) fra tardo Medioevo e Umanesimo: Atti del convegno promosso dalla Biblioteca comunale di Trento: 2–6 ottobre 1989, ed. by Iginio Rogger and Marco Bellabarba, Trento: EDB, 1992, 429–43 (p. 438, note 47).

45 Areford, *The Viewer*, pp. 166–68; Esposito, “Lo stereotipo dell’omicidio rituale”, pp. 80–81.

46 *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, ed. by Peter W. Parshall and Rainer Schoch, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, in association with Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2005, p. 209.

47 Areford, *The Viewer*, pp. 199–200; Christine Magin and Falk Eisermann, “Two Anti-Jewish Broadsides from the Late Fifteenth Century”, *Studies in the History of Art*, 75 (2009), 190–203.

48 Triumphant Simon, coloured woodcut, Giovanni Tiberino, *Simon ain Kind bin ich genant* (Ulm: Johannes Zainer the Younger, ca 1498), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Unter den Linde, Inc. 2605.5; see Areford, *The Viewer*, pp. 201–3.

49 Rosa Salzberg and Massimo Rospocher, “Murder Ballads: Singing, Hearing, Writing and Reading about Murder in Renaissance Italy”, *Murder in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Trevor Dean, and K. J. P. Lowe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, 164–85.

50 Areford, *The Viewer*, p. 204.