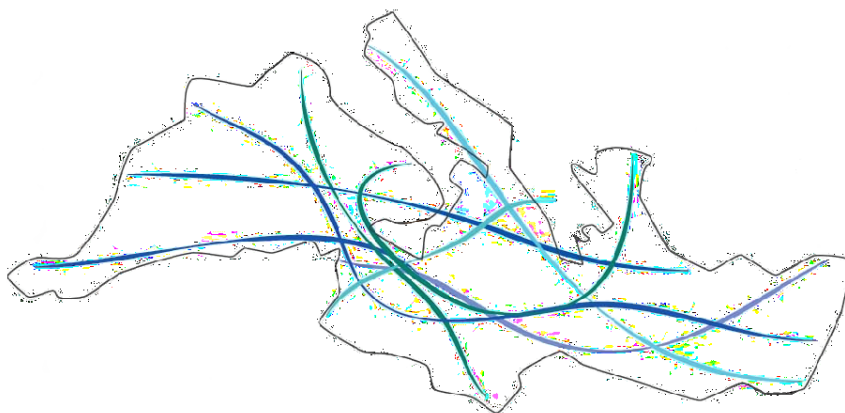


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***Heroes of a Different Gen(Der)(Re).
The Waldensian Women***



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Heroes of a Different Gen(Der)(Re). The Waldensian Women

Abstract

The paper highlights some of the numerous acts of heroism that Waldensian women performed from the late Middle Ages to the Modern Era. In the second part, instead, the famous text by Reformed pastor Jean Léger will be analyzed, which highlights the condition of Waldensian women as “prey of war”, during the notorious Piedmontese Easter massacres of 1655.

Keywords: Waldensians, Waldensian women, heroines, persecution, heretics, Inquisition

Héroes de diferentes géneros. Mujeres valdenses

Resumen

El artículo destaca los numerosos actos de heroísmo realizados por las mujeres valdenses desde la Baja Edad Media hasta la Edad Moderna. La segunda parte examina el conocido texto del pastor reformado Jean Léger, que se centra en la condición de las mujeres valdenses como “presas de guerra” durante las tristemente célebres masacres de las Pascuas piamontesas de 1655.

Palabras Clave: Valdenses, Mujeres valdenses, Heroínas, Persecuciones, Herejes, Inquisición

Eroi di genere diverso. Le donne valdesi

Sinossi

L'articolo evidenzia i numerosi atti di eroismo che le donne valdesi hanno compiuto dal tardo Medio Evo all'Età Moderna. Nella seconda parte si prende in esame il noto testo del pastore riformato Jean Léger, che si sofferma sulla condizione delle donne valdesi come “prede di guerra” durante i famigerati massacri delle Pasque piemontesi del 1655.

Parole chiave: Valdesi, Donne Valdesi, Eroine, Persecuzioni, Eretici, Inquisizione

Heroes of a Different Gen(Der)(Re). The Waldensian Women¹

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The marginality of the Waldensian female component misguidedly shown by the best-known historiography of heresies² (Volpe, 1997) was recently readdressed by Marina Benedetti, on the basis of research thereof undertaken some time ago by both Grado Giovanni Merlo and Peter Biller. In her previous studies, the historian argued for the need to reexamine the complicated topic of female preaching, and, specifically, the role played by female Waldensian preachers (Benedetti, 2004), also recalled by Herbert Grundmann in the volume *Religious Movements of the Middle Ages* (Grundmann, 1970). Said *preacheresses*, as shown by Benedetti, were the object, by the medieval Inquisition, of an intense propaganda aiming at the debasement of both their human and social profile — a true, collective character assassination. In this regard, the case of Guglielma da Milano appears emblematic (Benedetti, 2018). The active involvement of the *mulieres valdenses* in preaching, as documented by the Limousin Stephen of Bourbon (Merlo, 2010), and, therefore, their being preachers on a par with the male community³ (Molnar, 1974), had them go down in Catholic history under the well-known sobriquets of “dangerous testimonies of heterodoxy” (Valente, 2013) and “Sin-burdened silly little wives” (Benedetti, 2017). Such definitions originated in the unquestionable Pauline prohibition — a veritable cornerstone of medieval society explicitly banning women from all sorts of public preaching (O’ Connor, Militello & Rigato, 2006). All this gets further complicated if we take into account that Pope Alexander III, on the one hand, had in 1179 acknowledged the Waldensian ideas about

¹ Translation into English by Alfonso Mauro.

² With the exception of a reference to the seamstresses and female textile workers involved in some 14th-century Piedmont trials, the part of Volpe’s work here analyzed seems to make no direct references to the role of late-Middle-Age Waldensian women. Cfr. R. Manselli, *Studi sulle eresie del secolo XII*, (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1953), 75. Manselli indirectly presents the role played by Waldensian women as “preachers”, when he clarifies that, according to Waldensian faith, every believer had the right to preach.

³ According to Waldensian beliefs, anyone could wield the role of preacher (women included) and spread the real evangelical message.

voluntary poverty, but had on the other confirmed a denial of concession regarding the ministry of preaching; it is not therefore effortful to imagine what was the opinion of the Catholic clergy towards the laity and especially women who “made themselves preachers” (Merlo, 1989). The issue of the historiographical marginality of this borderline subject hasn’t found recognition in the aforementioned research only; in an article appeared on *Sintesi*, after reaffirming the presence of *marginal heroines* — especially with reference to 19th- and 20th-century Waldensian historiography and studies thereof, conducted by Alfonso Tortora (Tortora, 2004) — Claudia Pingaro moved on to an analysis of the real and *concrete* role played by the *mulieres* within their community and in their close-family nucleus. A few interesting results seem to have emerged from this initial research — not only because of some of the acts of womanly heroism cited by the historian, but also because of the ability of Waldenses to be custodians of their community’s historical memory, which would be passed down from generation to generation (Rochat, 2018 & Pingaro, 2017). The recent studies by Alfonso Tortora shed light on the transmission of behavioral and social models and patterns, along with the more specifically moral and denominational ones, that were passed down from mother to daughter. The reference is here to the remarkable examination of the “Waldensian bonnet”, about which the historian from Salerno presented first intriguing results at a recent international conference of studies dedicated to fashion between the 11th and 21th centuries (Tortora, 2019). Another work by Benedetti, *Donne Valdesi nel Medioevo (Waldensian Women in the Middle Ages)*, is able to break through the thick curtain of silence of women living during the 14th century, who, rather than recanting before the inquisitors, spontaneously embraced the sentence to the stake (Benedetti, 2007). Among these, the unique heroism of Margherita Latoda stands out; not only would her hanging (so sentenced in 1387, for religious reasons) bear significance for her own figure, celebrated as she was as heroine of the Waldensian valleys, but it would affect her son Giovanni and future generations too. Latoda, however, is but one of many late-Middle-Age “Waldensian heroines”. Leafing through the initial forty pages of Teofilo Gay’s *Eroine Valdesi* booklet, there stands out a detailed summary of those *mulieres* who, from the 13th to the 15th century, distinguished themselves for their perseverance in spreading the Waldensian faith and standing up to Inquisition agents — be here remembered the issue of Waldensian women’s preaching. Among these (a majority of whom voluntarily walking up the martyrdom pyre) the significant cases of Rosamonde De Foix, who was silenced by the friar Stefano Minia during a religious dispute; Katharina Henzlin; the beautiful Alasia, Grite Wegenerin; Els Feur; Catherine de Saube; and Anna Weiler need be recalled (Gay, 1906). Waldensian women’s steadfastness in showing firmness in faith strengthened by

preaching fervor, seems to undergo a radical change in the Modern Era following the famous meeting between the medieval Waldenses and representatives of the Swiss-Strasbourg Reformation (Chanforan 1532). From this moment on, in imitation of the Church of Geneva, the *mulieres* saw their role in the community progressively reduced (Hugon, 1980)⁴. This being the outcome of the contact between Reformation ideologies and Waldensian women, it is not possible to overlook the protests some of the latter raised; in particular, thanks to Toti Rochat's research, we come upon the story of a former Augustinian prioress named Marie Dentière. After learning about the real consequences of the Swiss-Strasbourg Reformation, she, not without rancor, wrote: « [...] And even though we are not permitted to preach in public assemblies and churches, forbidden to write we are not» (Rochat, 2018). Furthermore, Teofilo Gay writes about a group of Waldensian noblewomen continuing to defend their religious convictions since the 16th century — among whom Françoise De Foix, Countess of Tende, and remembered as first Protestant princess of the House of Savoy; Blanche de Levis, who singlehandedly tried to negotiate with the Savoyard soldiers during the 1545 crusade; and Filippo Morglia's wife, who sacrificed herself acting as a shield and falling under the Spanish soldiers' arquebus shots. Lastly, the heroic and moving sacrifice of Margherita Garner must be remembered; during the 1655 siege of Rorà (Piedmont, Italy), already wounded in her breast, she kept beseeching her husband Giuseppe Garnier not to recant his faith, while a second arquebus shot knocked her down over her little son's body she was trying to protect (Gay, 1906).

We can attain a broader understanding of the subject with Roland H. Bainton's famous volumes *Women of the Reformation*. These works present themselves as a mapping of the unusual cases of female personalities characterizing the years of the Protestant Reformation. It is worth pointing out that these profiles have often been presented in a marginal way, as parts of a story whose foreground was however occupied by male figures of high caliber: Luther, Erasmus, Zwingli, Calvin, Melancthon, Bucer, Oecolampadius — fragmented and marginalized, the women of the Reformation represented a safe *fallback point*, if not a real support, for their spouses. Such is the case of former nun and then wife to Luther Katharina von Bora (1499-1550), mentioned by Bainton as having been an unquestionable point of reference for the Augustinian monk in the moments when he felt assailed by *sin, death and the Devil* (Prosperi,

⁴ In Hugon's text: «it is known that, in its ecclesiastical organization, the Reformation left no room for women, neither ministry nor diaconate being granted to them. Clearly the Pauline verse in which it is said that women should be silent in assemblies became a dominant factor. Obviously, the Waldensian church (strongly linked to the Calvinism of Geneva) adapted to this general condition».

2017). Katharina Zell (1497-1562) may be added too, having played, as she did, a leading role, alongside her husband Matthew Zell, in the failed attempt to quell the spirits leading to the peasants' revolt in Germany. Furthermore, she's mentioned as both performing the ministry of preaching (on her husband's death she was indicated as *doctress*) and as granting hospitality to all those fleeing French territories during the wars of religion (Crespi & Ruspini, 2014). But more attention is due to the extraordinary figure of Argula Von Grumbach (1492-1563), for she had the courage to challenge, through a dense correspondence in German, those students and doctors of the Ingolstadt University who had condemned the then only 18-year-old Arsacio Seehofer. According to our sources, this interference cost her ridicule from the theologians and her own husband — all obstinately rebuked⁵ (Bainton, 1992).

Nevertheless, Argula's criticism and preaching campaign would continue until her death in an extreme act of heroism.

Turning to Modern-Era sources, this brief research will now focus on heroic acts (not necessarily military) that were carried out by some Waldensian women — especially between the 16th and 17th centuries. A first reference point is Scipione Lentolo's *Historia delle Grandi e Crudeli Persecutioni fatte ai tempi nostri, in Provenza, Calabria e Piemonte, contro il popolo che chiamano Valdese (History of the great and cruel persecutions of our times, perpetrated in Provence, Calabria and Piedmont against the people they call Waldense)*. Premising from the massacre of Cabrières (April 20th 1545), in which the main victims were indeed the women of the city, Lentolo reports that they chose to “die burned inside a grange” rather than disavow the real evangelic message. From this first example we come to a further act of heroism — Giovanna's, wife to the Waldense Maturino⁶ (Comba, 1923); the testimony of Lentolo, later repropounded in the research of Ernesto Comba, reports that she was the first of the two to walk up the pyre, and that she remained very adamant (*costantissima*) during the torture, while encouraging her husband not to abandon his faith. Furthermore, during the campaign against the Waldenses in Piedmont carried out by the Truccetto brothers, those who were most outraged after the capture of the Minister of Rioclarretto were the townswomen themselves: «women especially became so outraged that

⁵ We know that, at first, the members of Ingolstadt University wouldn't reply to the woman's letters, except for a document signed by a man who, in a few couplets, urged Argula to rather return to the silence becoming her gender «Frau Argula though being thy name, / thou ornery and without shame / forgettest thou art but a maid...» — to which Argula replies «he telleth me to mind my knitting. / Obedience is to husband fitting, / but if he driveth from God's word / in Matthew Ten we are thus spurred: / abode and child must we forsake / whene'er God's honor is at stake.»

⁶ Comba defines her as a heroine. Not only did she decide to share death with her husband, but she was the first to walk up the pyre.

they almost strangled Truccetto» (Lentolo, 1906). The non-marginality of Waldensian women in military actions (a characteristic they shared with the Hussite women⁷ — Tealdo, 1887) can actually be literally interpreted, according to Hugon, in their being real companions-in-arms. To this fact, hardly negligible, must be added their perseverance and obstinacy in not giving in to abjuration before the enemy. All this is confirmed in various studies and, in particular, in the account of the military campaign waged by Count Costa della Trinità in 1561. Hugon writes:

«The count of Trinità, commander of the troops dispatched by the Duke of Savoy to quash the Waldensian heresy, thus wrote to the latter, on 5 May 1561: In this case, may your highness show no mercy to women, for they are more radicalized than men. » (Hugon, 1980)

In another work by Hugon, *Storia dei Valdesi, dal Sinodo di Chanforan all'Emancipazione (History of Waldenses, from the synod of Chanforan to emancipation)*, relating the bloody conflict waged by said count against the inhabitants of the *valleys*, the representation of the *mulieres* seems to shift. Historiography portrays them here as war victims and being used as bargaining chips. But the situation was different in Villar and Rorà: in 1620, the Waldenses of these towns were the first to react against the interference of the Capuchin friars pushing with continuous preaching of conversion on some territories of the Alps; as confirmed by Ernesto Comba's studies, the women «would carry the friars on their shoulders, thus forcing them out of the municipal territory» (Hugon, 1984). The Waldensian pastor's report, though possibly exaggerated it be, stands out in importance precisely because it relates an extraordinary heroism pertaining not men only but, unexpectedly, *robust Waldensian husbandwomen* too. Such feat is also reported in the renown *Historia Breve & Vera de gl'affari de i valdesi delle valli (Brief & truthful history of the affairs of the Waldenses in the vales)* by Gerolamo Miolo (Miolo, 1971) — precisely during the defense of the borders of Val d'Angrogna (besieged by Charles I of Savoy), when, as related by Gilles and Jean Jalla, «Women and children would provide stones for those able to hurl them» (Gilles, 1881 - Jalla, 1904).

The 17th century shows a rather more stereotyped image of Waldensian women — for we find them more precisely identified with women as such *because war preys*. This characteristic emerges, moreover, in the most recent investigations “on the war of Spain against the Waldenses in the early Modern Era”, in which the massacre of the Calabrian Waldensian communities by Spanish and Roman Catholic imperialism between 1560 and 1561 is treated. In these new studies, based on unpublished

⁷ It is well known that, during the conflict between Jan Žižka (leader of the Taborites) and emperor Sigismund, Hussite women would not only join the fight but were also able to repair the fortifications.

documents from the State Archives of Naples,⁸ it is attested that the Spanish soldiers «murdered many women», while Gilles confirms the terrible fate befalling some women prisoners from Guardia and Fuscaldo: «Several greatly perfidious women remained in prison, and, being all instrument of the devil, would be thence thrown into the fire» (Tortora, 2020).

Fundamental for the subject here proposed is Jean Léger's *Histoire Generale des Eglises Evangeliques De Piemont ou Vaudoise* (*General History of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont and Vaud*), written by the Waldensian pastor with the precise aim of informing the whole of Protestant Europe of the brutal slaughter perpetrated in the *valleys* in the middle of the 17th century (Comba, 1923). During the infamous Piedmontese Easter (an event that Comba remembers as «full of horrors»), even though they got subjected by the Savoyard soldiers to unspeakable abuse and torture, the *mulieres* remained adamant in their religious convictions. Being an obvious, graphic confirmation of this, the detailed iconographic apparatus reported by Léger deserves careful scrutiny in order to grasp, understand the attitude of fear but also of endurance the victims bore throughout the most varied and gruesome tortures — as recently analyzed by Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi relatively to the *Histoire Des Martyrs di Jean Crespin*. Said sufferings can be compared to the definitions that Agostino Ceccaroni gave in his *Piccola Enciclopedia Ecclesiastica* for the entries: *martyr*⁹ and *martyrdom*¹⁰ (Ceccaroni, 1953). Equally interesting is the similarity between the iconography proposed by Léger and that which Ceccaroni himself provided regarding the execution methods of the first Christian martyrs.

Chapter XII of the *Histoire Generale*, after an introduction listing the questionable reasons that led to the dramatic massacre, opens with the testimony of Sir Thomas Ghiot (presented as a surgeon) and a certain François Pra (whose profession is not specified); from these individuals we learn of some of the gruesome abuses inflicted on Waldensian women, and especially on those of Pinerolo. Protagonist of the first scene is a sixty-year-old woman from Lucerne, Sara Rostagnol, being forced on her knees by the Savoyard soldiers in order to pray as they impose — a sad story closing, probably after the woman's refusal, on her death by dismemberment before the eyes of her daughter hidden in the snow. So

⁸ It is interesting to observe how, in these researches' documents, women are presented as pleading, for the salvation of their children, before the local feudal lords and/or the enemy, revealing an intimate degree of human vulnerability towards the cruel behavior of soldiers. Cfr. appendix I, 84-85.

⁹ Greek name meaning *witness*, bestowed par excellence to those who suffer death bearing witness to the truths of the Gospel.

¹⁰ The definition for this entry better suits the comparison with the Waldensian vicissitudes — particularly when martyrdom is defined as “torment or death endured in the name of religion”.

atrocious an execution — performed with a sickle in Rostagnol’s case — would stay in use until the first half of the 19th century (Di Bella, 1961). But the fate of Martha Costantina of St Jean would be even more dreadful: after raping her, the soldiers mutilated some parts of her body, breasts included, and eat them — «they cut into her privates, split the abdomen open, and chopped her breasts off» (Léger, 1980). George Ryley Scott, through meticulous research in his *A History of Torture*, has shown how the practice of female mutilation (especially breasts and genitalia), in the rare cases of survival, aimed at *branding* them, leaving a permanent mark. Ryley Scott also wrote about the Waldenses, via his studying Morland’s work; and Léger’s report reminds us of Ryley Scott’s, when the latter (also quoting sources in Grafton, 1809) relates the devastating consequences of the Turkish raids in Austria during the 16th century. Scott writes: « [...] they committed unprecedented cruelties and atrocities: some had their noses and ears cut off, others their private parts. They cut off women’s breasts, raped virgins, and ripped open pregnant women’s wombs and burned the fetuses» (Riley Scott, 1999).

These two dramatic examples are followed by the finding of Marie Raymond Vesve’s and Magdeleine Vesve’s corpses — both having probably found shelter in the caves of Villar Pellice, and died of hardship and frostbite, and eventually been defleshed by rats. The spiral of horror of the Piedmontese Easter¹¹ continued with the murder of Anna, daughter of Jean Charbonnier, raped and then impaled on a pike, through her sex, by Catholic troops: «empalée par la nature a une pique» (Léger, 1980). This practice, also documented in Assyrians and Persians, got re-popularized in Europe by the Ottomans Turks, and for Waldensian women employed as a “spectacularization of punishment” (Moore, 2017); and it is thoroughly treated in Michel Foucault’s research — as in *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*, where «le grand spectacle de la punition physique» is cited (Foucault, 1976). Here we can’t but interpolate a comparison with Adriano Prosperi’s important volume *Delitto e Perdono (Crime and forgiveness)*, in which, with a reference to Cesare Beccaria, the Italian historian re-proposes the condemnation of the «horrors perpetrated by the Inquisition» and of capital punishment being unjust not only per se but also in light of its being a public deterrent¹² (Prosperi, 2013).

¹¹ As Ernesto Comba explains, said definition includes the horrors perpetrated by the marquis di Pianezza and his garrison in the Piedmont valleys. The massacre that went down in history as the “Waldensian St. Bartholomew” started in April 24th 1655; the Savoyard soldiers, together with Bavarian, Irish and French contingents, indulged in all sorts of abuses and tortures on Waldensian men, women, and children (Comba, 1923).

¹² We thus read in Beccaria’s invective against the horrors of the Inquisition: «the reader will perceive that I have omitted speaking of a certain class of crimes which has covered Europe with blood, and raised up those horrid piles, from whence, midst clouds of whirling smoke, the groans of human victims, the crackling of their bones, and the frying of their still

Proceeding with our perusal of Léger, more tortures inflicted to the *mulieres* can be found. Magdeleine, Pierre Fontaine's daughter, died at only ten years of age due to a heinous sexual assault described in dramatic tones by Léger: «...having been seized by some of these monsters, who could not rape her like the others, for being still too young, she was violated in a way that I do not dare tarnish the paper with» (Léger, 1980). The agony of Marguerite Revel and Marie Pravillelm (the latter being 90 years old) is worth considering — they were both burned alive in a place called Les Vignes, and, observing the iconography left to us by Léger, we see the stoic resistance of the two women, entirely enveloped in flames and yet turning their faces upwards in prayer (Léger, 1980). It is clear, therefore, that the majority of Waldensian women were subjected to continuous and brutal sexual violence by Savoyard soldiers — the phenomenon being a constant attributed to mercenary soldiers, and increasingly disapproved of from the 1630s, as Georges Vigarello pointed out. This bore a dramatically symbolic significance: the notion of «*possessing* a territory along with everything within it»¹³ (Vigarello, 1998).

In conclusion, returning to the subject of Waldensian women's heroism, let us recall the excellent relation that Hugon gave of their conduct from the late Middle Ages to the Modern Era. The crux of the matter seems to lie in the way Waldensian mothers and wives educated and forged themselves first, and then their own families — both moments being excellent points of reference in understanding not only the stoic resistance these “silent heroines” showed during the dramatic circumstances cited above, but also the role that Waldensian women played in actively collaborating in the reorganization of their communities after the most gory and dire devastations. If in every circumstance the Waldenses were always able to resist, defend themselves, and face punishment and torture of every kind while always demonstrating a tenacious and unshakeable faith, this is due in large part to the education they received within the family. And here the importance of women appears — those who, in addition to being collaborators in toiling away in the fields, inspired and instilled in their children the values of faith, the importance of freedom of conscience, the ardor of a tradition which one must never fail» (Hugon, 1984).

panting bowels, were a pleasing spectacle and agreeable harmony to the fanatic multitude». Beccaria, Cesare *An Essay on Crimes And Punishments*, trans. Anonymous. London: F. Newbery, 1775

¹³ As highlighted by Vigarello, after the conquest of a certain territory, the soldiers would often give in to every form of violence, especially towards women and children: «kids were kidnapped and infants snatched from their parents' arms, mothers were left at the ferocious mercy of men-at-arms».

Iconographic appendix

The narrating body — the scars of History. The case of Waldensian women



1

Sara Rostagnol, des vignes de Lucerne, âgée de 60.ans, surprise au lieu nommé "Eyrat, les massacreurs luy commanderent de faire la priere, & puis de dire Jesus Maria, & ne voulant dire que Jesus, allegant mémes le passage qui dit, qu'il n'y a autre nom sous le ciel donné aux hommes, par lequel il nous faille estre sauvez, et devant lequel tout genoüil se ploye, que le nom de Jesus, un des soldats luy ayant enlevé une faucille qu'elle portoit, & la luy ayant plantée au bas de ventre, de la maniere que vous le represente cette figure, la fendit toute vivante jusque au nombril. Et l'ayant laissée agonizante, un autre soldat luy cupa la tête; sa belle Fille, qui s'estoit enfoncée & cachée dans les neiges, où elle a demeuré deux jours sans autre substance, a vû de ses yeux ce pitoyable spectacle, & a juré la Deposition presente. (Legér, 1980, p.117)



Martha Constantina, de S. Jean, Femme de Jacques Barral, fut attrapée & saisie par les massacreurs, apres en avoir vû cruellement massacrer plusieurs autres devant les ses yeux; ils couperent ce qu'ils pûrent des parties honteuses, & luy fendirent le ventre; ils luy couperent aussi les mammelles qui leur paroissoient, disorient- ils, extraordinairement belles; c'est porquoy ils les porterent jusques à Macel en Piémont où ils les firent fricasser, & les ayant mises dans un plat à table, d'autre Soldats y furvenus à l'impourveüe, comme on leur saisoit accroire que c'estoient des emplûres, ils en mangerent avidement une partie, & comme les autres leur dirent que c'estoient les mammelles des femmes des Barbets qu'ils mangeoient, l'un d'eux prenant mal de coeur alla rendre gorge, & les autres querelloient ceux qui les leur avoient presentées. Ce qui aussi esté attesté par le Sieur André Jouel, Ancien de l'Eglise de Pinache, sur terre du Roy, qui vit encores, & qui en a oui le recit de les oreilles, d'un de ceux qui avoient assisté à ce funeste banquet. (Legér, 1980, p.117)



3

Deux autres Femmes de la Tour réfugiées au lieu nommé la Sarsena, surprises dès le 22. d'Avril, par le Capitaine Paul de Pancalier, il leur fendit le ventre, & en ayant fait fortir les entrailles, les laissa dans cet état étendues sur les neiges: en presence du signeur Pierre Gros, Pasteur alors prisonnier, encore plein de vie. (Léger, 1980, p.120)



Anne Fille de Jean Charbonnier de la Tour, après avoir est violée, comme presque toutes les autres Femmes ou Filles, fut enfilée ou empalée par la nature à une pique. Et en c'et état portée quelques tems en tête de l'Escadre de ces bourreaux, qui distoient que c'estoit leur Enseigne, & puis fatiguez de la porter de cette façon, planterent leur pique en terre sul le

grand chemin, laissant cette nouvelle forte de Croix pour spectacle à tous les passans. (Léger, 1980, p.121).



Marguerite Revel due lieu de la Cartera, Village de S. Jean, belle Mere du vaillant Capitaine Paul Genolat, & Marie de Pravillelm, âgée de 90.ans, & aveugle, aussì de S. Jean, furent brûlées au lieu qu'on appelle les Vignes, de la façon que vous le represente cette figure. (Léger, 1980, p.128).

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