

Introduction

The Other Voice

In 1508, Mother Juana de la Cruz (1481–1534) began a thirteen-year preaching career.¹ She was then abbess of a third order Franciscan convent in the Castilian village of Cubas, near Toledo. She went into visionary rapture each Sunday for five or more hours, during which periods Christ purportedly used her as a medium to preach to an audience that included at times bishops, army captains, and even the emperor Charles V. Her regal and religious audience heard a low-register voice issue forth from her unconscious, prone body, using the first person to narrate elaborate additions to biblical episodes. The voice then detailed the complex pageants and festivals the rapt Juana was observing in heaven during the many hours she lent her voice to Christ.² These ecstatic episodes were termed *sermones* by Juana's contemporaries, and seventy-two were transcribed in a manuscript called *El libro del conorte* [The Book of Consolation].

Here begins the book called *Conorte*, which was made through the voice of the Holy Spirit who spoke through a woman religious as she was enraptured in contemplation. This speech was made in the person of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is he who enlightens our hearts and is wont to speak in parables and similes.³

1. The surviving manuscripts consist of the visionary sermons in *El libro del conorte* (Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, El Escorial J-II-18, hereafter *Conorte*; a second copy in Archivo Segreto Vaticano, Congregazione Riti, MS 3074); a “semiautobiography” *Vida y fin de la bienaventurada virgen sancta Juana de la Cruz* (El Escorial, K-III-13, hereafter, *Vida y fin*); and a convent record book of devotions and visions, *Libro de la casa y monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Cruz* (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 9661, hereafter, *Libro de la casa*). Only the sermons have been published, and references to sermons not translated in this volume cite the sermon by volume, sermon number, section, and page as found in Juana de la Cruz, *El Conhorte: Sermones de una mujer; La Santa Juana (1481–1534)*, ed. Inocente García de Andrés, 2 vols. (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1999). We will refer to this work as *Conorte* in accordance with the title used in the Escorial manuscript, even when referring to pagination from the published edition.

2. Her raptures took the form of “the body as though dead and the eyes closed” [el cuerpo como muerto y los ojos cerrados] (*Vida y fin*, fol. 27v), the prominent members of the audience are listed on fol. 27v, and the duration of the raptures is described on fol. 28r.

3. “Comienza el libro que es llamado Conhorte, el cual es hecho por boca del Espíritu Santo que hablaba en una religiosa elevada en contemplación, la cual habla se hacía en persona de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, el cual es el que alumbrá los corazones y acostumbra a hablar en figuras” (*Conorte I*, prologue, 227, translated in this volume, 35).

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In her lifetime and beyond, Juana was revered as a local saint.⁴ The life story of “santa Juana” was extensively dramatized and embellished by those involved in compiling her semiautobiography (*Vida y fin*, co-composed by Juana and several amanuenses), as well as a late-sixteenth-century record book from her convent which includes her visions, a religious play, and devotions practiced by the nuns at Juana’s instigation (*Libro de la casa*). Further instances of her readership can be found in the marginal annotations of a century’s worth of Franciscan readers of the *Conorte* manuscript.⁵ In the seventeenth century, Tirso de Molina and other playwrights staged her life and visions.⁶ A case for her beatification was opened in 1621 but closed without result a century later for lack of original documentation.⁷

Little information is available about Juana’s life beyond the three manuscripts that document her sermons and visions, however. Born in 1481, Juana came from a family of modest means.⁸ Her mother had an affinity for the Marian devotions (devotions to the Virgin) that occurred at the *beaterio* (house of devout women, *beatas*) of Santa María de la Cruz, one of about fifty *beatarios* founded in Castile between the late Middle Ages and the late sixteenth century.⁹ This particular *beaterio* had been established in the village of Cubas in response to the 1449 series of Marian apparitions received by a young girl, Inés Martínez.¹⁰

4. In the late Middle Ages, “living saints” gained local and sometimes national credence based on their ability to work miracles and foretell historical events. In Italy at the turn of the sixteenth century, such women who had the ear of prominent politicians and ecclesiastics were generally devout laywomen; in Spain, they were more likely to be *beatas* (semi-religious women) or nuns. Gabriella Zarri, “Living Saints: A Typology of Female Sanctity in the Early Sixteenth Century,” in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 219–304; and María del Mar Graña Cid, “En torno a la fenomenología de las santas vivas (algunos ejemplos andaluces, siglos XV–XVI),” in *Responsabilidad y diálogo: Homenaje a José Joaquín Alemany Briz, S.J. (1937–2001)*, ed. Xavier Quinzá Lleó and Gabino Urizarri Bilbao (Madrid: Comillas, 2002), 415–53, at 448.

5. Both manuscripts of *Conorte* have a series of marginal annotations recording approbation and periodic censorship that was then disputed. See section three, Author’s Works, below.

6. The most famous play is the trilogy by Tirso de Molina, *La Santa Juana, trilogía hagiográfica, 1613–14*, ed. Agustín de Campo (Madrid: Editorial Castilla, 1948). Other plays remain unpublished in the modern era, for example, Bernaldo de Quirós, *La luna de la sagra y vida de Santa Juana de la Cruz* (1644), and José de Cañizares, *El prodigio de la sagra, Sor Juana de la Cruz* (1723).

7. See note 58 for bibliography. The beatification process was reopened in 1986.

8. Daza identifies her as Juana Vázquez Gutiérrez, born to peasant parents in the village of Azaña (now Numancia) near Toledo, presumably based on *Vida y fin*, fol. 5v. Antonio Daza, *Historia, vida y milagros, éxtasis, y revelaciones de la bienaventurada virgen Sor Juana de la Cruz* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1613), fol. 67v.

9. Ángela Muñoz Fernández, *Beatas y santas neocastellanas: Ambivalencia de la religión y políticas correctoras del poder (ss XIV–XVII)* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1994), 21.

10. The documents concerning the apparitions are translated in William A. Christian, Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 57–86.

Although Juana's mother died when Juana was five and her father did not share his wife's piety, Juana selected the same *beaterio* as her destination when fleeing an arranged marriage, a flight she accomplished by donning men's clothing to travel safely through the countryside.¹¹ Professing in 1497, she was elected "abbess" in 1509, a year after she began preaching publicly and the year that the *beaterio* was enclosed under the secular Third Order Franciscans.¹² Juana held the post of abbess until her death, except for one year after accusations circulated that she had wasted conventual funds by seeking a papal bull to confirm her privilege to appoint the convent's chaplain, a post held at the time by her brother. The nun who brought the charges (the assistant superior, elected abbess in Juana's place) withdrew the accusation on her deathbed. Juana was restored to office, which she held the rest of her life despite suffering severe illnesses that kept her bedridden.¹³ Buried in the convent after her death in 1534 and disinterred in 1541, her body reputedly remained uncorrupted and sweet-smelling, a sign of sanctity periodi-

11. A relatively common medieval hagiographical topos, but one affirmed by Juana in the *Vida y fin*, fols. 10v–12r. For discussion of cross-dressing in saints' lives, see among others, Vern L. Bullough, "Cross Dressing and Gender Role Change in the Middle Ages," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2000), 223–42.

12. Ronald E. Surtz, *The Guitar of God: Gender, Power, and Authority in the Visionary World of Mother Juana de la Cruz (1481–1534)* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 3. While Inocente García Andrés provides a useful five-page narrative timeline of Juana's life, reception, and beatification process ("Introduction," in *El Conhorte*, 64–69), the dates for Juana's profession are clearly almost a decade off, as otherwise she would have fled her arranged marriage at the age of five, whereas fifteen is much more likely. Those around her called her abbess, even though technically the term only applied to the leader of a Benedictine convent. All *beaterios* were enclosed and integrated into the second or third orders in Castile in the first decades of the sixteenth century, most often due to a growth in numbers. Ángela Muñoz Fernández, *Acciones e intenciones de mujeres en la vida religiosa de los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Horas y Horas, 1995), 119; and *Beatas y santas neocastellanas*, 54, 68. For the origins of the Third Order Regular in Castile, see Salvador Cabot Rosselló, "Un marco para el estudio de la tercera orden regular de San Francisco en España," in *El franciscanismo en la península ibérica: Balance y perspectivas; I Congreso internacional, Madrid, 22–27 de septiembre de 2003*, ed. Felice Accrocca and María del Mar Graña Cid (Barcelona: Griselda Bonet Girabet, 2005), 349–72. Recently, hispanists have begun examining women's religious experience during this era, but either for provinces other than Juana's, or for Clarisan nuns rather than *beatas*. Most helpful are María del Mar Graña Cid, *Religiosas y ciudades: La espiritualidad femenina en la construcción sociopolítica urbana bajomedieval (Córdoba, siglos XIII–XVI)* (Córdoba, Spain: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2010); Elizabeth A. Leffeldt, *Religious Women in Golden-Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); and Susana Molina Domínguez, *Conventos de monjas franciscanas en Madrid en la Baja Edad Media*, vol. 5, *La querrela de las mujeres y las fundaciones religiosas femeninas* (Madrid: Almadayna, 2011).

13. Interestingly, the accusation intertwines profligacy and nepotism. The dating of this episode is difficult: the papal bulls have problematic dating—either 1514 or 1519—yet Daza's biography suggests this episode occurred in 1527. See Surtz, *Guitar of God*, 4, 11 n. 22. For Juana's visionary assurance about her right to appoint her brother, see *Vida y fin*, fols. 75v–76v; for her choice to pursue the issue by contacting Rome, see fols. 77v–78r.

cally reaffirmed over decades in the course of local devotion and as part of the official processes of beatification.¹⁴

Only a few brief documents survive that mention Mother Juana directly.¹⁵ Two are letters from 1510 by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, first granting and then ratifying the privilege to appoint the chaplain. Such authority was not entirely unique, as Cistercian abbesses had enjoyed similar privileges in earlier centuries and the abbess of Las Huelgas (Burgos) retained such rights up through the nineteenth century; yet to grant it to a newly incorporated Third Order convent was remarkable. The third surviving document testifies to Juana's local fame as preacher and holy woman, as well as to her own choice to position herself under obedience to the Franciscan order and to the church. In a letter dated 1512, Father Antonio de Pastraña records that a friar had written Juana asking her to be the mother of his child, as he believed that as parents they would produce the next Messiah. Juana responded by denouncing the friar for heresy. Her rejection of the messianic scheme not only indicates her loyalty to the church but also proves that she saw her role as vessel for the divine not in terms of maternity, but rather as mediator for Christ's voice through the sermons.

Given the scant archival record, the principal testimony to Juana's preaching career is thus the *Conorte*, which survives in two sixteenth-century manuscript copies and fills 1,250 pages in the first published edition (1999). This extraordinary record of seventy-two instances of a woman's public teaching is arranged to follow the liturgical year (purportedly that of 1509) like many late medieval sermon compilations.¹⁶ Yet contemporary scholars consistently rename Juana's *sermones* as visions because the texts do not follow the classic medieval structure for sermons, that is, partitioned into strict subdivisions as in a scholastic dispute.¹⁷ This recategorization ignores the broader definition of preaching applied to arenas beyond the church pulpit by medieval authors. To quote the twelfth-century theologian Alain of Lille, "Preaching is the public and open instruction in faith and morals or good conduct."¹⁸ It was certainly much more common for women to evoke visionary experience rather than the charism of preaching, for this rhet-

14. For discussion of her incorrupt body, see Muñoz Fernández, *Acciones e intenciones*, 98.

15. These texts are documented and summarized in Surtz, *Guitar of God*, 4–5.

16. For an overview of genres from late medieval thematic sermons through humanist and Counter-Reformation sermons, see Thomas Worcester, "The Catholic Sermon," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 3–34.

17. The medieval subdivisions included *thema*, *invocatio et prothema*, *introitus thematis*, *thematis divisio*, *partium declaratio et confirmatio*, and *dilatatio*. Félix Herrero Salgado, *La oratoria sagrada en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1996), 99–100.

18. "Summa de arte praedicatoria," *Patrologia Latina* 210, col. 111, quoted in Darleen Pryds, "Proclaiming Sanctity through Proscribed Acts: The Case of Rose of Viterbo," in *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 159–72, at 161.

oric allowed women to influence a male-dominated church by evoking “direct contact” with “the presence of God” rather than through the mediating presence of a priest.¹⁹ Although Juana’s experiences do fulfill the classic understanding of visions, the scholarly reframing of her oral discourses as visions rather than sermons undermines the most distinctive aspect of Juana’s charismatic authority, for it transforms the public performativity of a sermon (and the immediate impact of its liturgical and theological implications) into a traditionally private visionary experience. While the other two manuscripts associated with Juana transcribe numerous visions not conveyed publicly, it is Juana’s many years as a preacher that make her unique in the history of Christianity.

Recent work on medieval preaching proposes that women, while prohibited from church pulpits, nevertheless had access to two acknowledged arenas in which they could exercise the charism of preaching, “sacred conversation” and “prophecy.”²⁰ Among enclosed nuns, abbesses regularly interpreted the *lectio divina* (spiritual readings) provided during refectory meals, termed sacred conversation. Outside the walls of the convent, the prophetic preaching conveyed during ecstasy or rapture of *beatas* and laywomen reached a more varied audience, including officials of the church and royalty.²¹ Reputedly first preaching at the request of her guardian angel, Laruel, Juana’s thirteen years spent channeling Jesus’s voice combined the two acceptable forms of medieval female preaching that were usually differentiated by audience (nuns versus laity) and sources of authority (biblical reflection versus divinely induced ecstatic experience).²² In the process, Juana went beyond scriptural interpretation to produce what might be termed “scriptural interpolation,” in which the voice of Jesus provided signifi-

19. These phrases echo McGinn’s influential 1991 definition of Christian mysticism: “the mystical element in Christianity is that part of its belief and practices that concerns the preparation for, the consciousness of, and the reaction to what can be described as the immediate or direct presence of God.” Bernard McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, vol. 1, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* (New York: Crossroads, 1991), xvii. For a brief overview of the extensive scholarship on medieval women and visionary authority, see Amy Hollywood, “Gender, Agency, and the Divine in Religious Historiography,” *Journal of Religion* 84, no. 4 (2004): 514–28.

20. Gabriella Zarri, “Places and Gestures of Women’s Preaching in Quattro- and Cinquecento Italy,” in *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching, 1200–1500*, ed. Katherine L. Jansen and Miri Rubin (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), 177–93, at 178.

21. María de Santo Domingo of the neighboring province of Avila was also known for her public, prophetic ecstasies, influential on Cisneros and King Fernando of Aragon. Jodi Bilinkoff, “Establishing Authority: A Peasant Visionary and Her Audience in Early Sixteenth-Century Spain,” *Studia Mystica* 18 (1997): 36–59. A recent book situates her in the broader European context of women visionaries: Rebeca Sanmartín Bastida, *La representación de las místicas: Sor María de Santo Domingo en su contexto europeo* (Santander, Spain: Propileo, 2012).

22. For Laruel’s request, see *Vida y fin*, fol. 20v. Note that the name Laruel seems to be unique to Juana—it is found nowhere in the biblical or imaginative traditions of Christianity, Judaism, or Islam before her.

cant expansions or alterations of known biblical episodes (such as the Fall or the Crucifixion).²³ It was the ecstatic aspect of Juana's preaching that authorized her explication of the biblical narrative, for only Jesus, not a woman, could so radically rewrite scriptural history.²⁴

In addition to renarrating key biblical episodes, the voice of Jesus also provided extensive description of the events occurring in heaven that Juana witnessed while in rapture. In other words, Jesus *spoke* what Juana *saw*, transforming her visionary experience into an oral record seemingly authorized through the second person of the Trinity rather than through the abbess. These celestial events were termed *figuras* (allegorical pageants) whose symbolism Jesus then explicated detail by detail. In most of the sermons, the extensions of the biblical narrative were embedded in the midst of accounts of heavenly festivities occurring on that liturgical feast day; thus the sermons of *Conorte* are filled with scenarios of lengthy and luxurious meals capped off with games and dancing.²⁵ Jesus explicitly justifies this festive view of the afterlife: "all the entertainments and pleasures and dancing and music and songs that are being performed in heaven are without sin and for the great glory and praise of God."²⁶ The allegorical pageants not only add a theatrical element to the celebrations, but convey comprehensive information about the afterlife by depicting the everyday life and play of the Trinity, Mary, angels, devils, the beatified, and the damned. This combination of biblical narration and allegorical pageants in Juana's sermons results in a rich and expansive history of the daily life of the Trinity in the heavenly realm, while elaborating captivating new episodes about the lives of Jesus and various saints when on earth.

The sermons of *Conorte* form a fascinating window into Christian religiosity in the first decades of the sixteenth century in Castile, a window all the more critical for occurring just after the religious unification of the Iberian peninsula

23. It is worth noting that biblical commentary was available in the vernacular during Juana's preaching career. First Gonzalo García de Santa María (1493), then Ambrosio de Montesinos (1512) translated William of Paris's *Postillas super epistolas et evangelia*. Ronald E. Surtz, *Writing Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain: The Mothers of Saint Teresa of Avila* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 14.

24. In the final sermon, Jesus not only affirms that he is speaking through Juana by means of the Holy Spirit, but compares the process to that experienced by Solomon, i.e., the divine inspiration that produced the Song of Songs. *Conorte* II, 72.25, 1472. Juana defends the elaboration of the biblical narrative several times, see Ronald E. Surtz, "La Madre Juana de la Cruz (1481–1534) y la cuestión de la autoridad religiosa femenina," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 33, no. 2 (1984): 483–91, at 489–90.

25. The centrality of feasting in heavenly life was more often elaborated in vernacular writings than in scholastic theology, as the latter limited heaven to a state of incorporeal bliss or defined it simply as including the orthodox while barring heretics. See the various articles in the collection by Carolyn Muessig and Ad Putter, *Envisaging Heaven in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2006).

26. "[L]os juegos y placeres y bailes y danzas y tañeres y canciones que se hacen en el cielo, todo es sin pecado y en gran gloria y alabanza de Dios." *Conorte* II, 72.18, 1470.

and during the first decades of the Inquisition. There is much to reap from these sermons concerning Spanish Renaissance culture, theology, mysticism, gender roles, and interreligious interactions.²⁷ However, the sermons remained unpublished until 1999, while two other manuscripts that collect private visions and information on devotional practices in her convent have never been edited. Only a handful of scholars have worked on Juana extensively; the only ones to publish full books and articles on her in English are the editors of this volume. The purpose of this translation is thus straightforward: to provide initial access to an extraordinary author for readers unfamiliar with Spanish, in the expectation that Juana as preacher, Juana as visionary, Juana as theologian will prove to be of especial interest for the study of Renaissance and Reformation Christianity, given that such studies so often relegate both Spain and the female gender to the sidelines.

Ronald E. Surtz and Nora Weinerth have translated six of the seventy-two sermons in *Conorte*, chosen as representative of Juana's combination of biblical narrative and allegorical pageantry. All six relate to principal episodes in Jesus's life and/or to major feast days: no. 1 Incarnation, no. 2 Nativity of Jesus, no. 13 losing Jesus in Jerusalem, no. 19 Good Friday, no. 20 Resurrection, and no. 22 discovery of the Holy Cross. This choice highlights Juana's contributions to ecclesial thought on some of the most essential liturgical and theological concerns addressed on a regular basis by preachers. Not included are the most titillating sermons, such as the retelling of Genesis 3 to place the blame on the serpent rather than Eve (no. 72) or the nude dance by Mary to prove her virtue (no. 50), which have been extensively summarized in the existing scholarship due to their implications for gender studies.²⁸ The ones provided in this volume are instead representative of the mix of orthodoxy and originality that pervades the majority of Juana's sermons.

27. "Spanish Renaissance" is a term used by a few scholars, but not with great abundance and with varying time frames, usually mid to late fifteenth century to mid to late sixteenth. It seems useful, however, to use the term primarily for the period between the end of the medieval pluri-religious era in 1492 and the strong movement of Catholic reform after the Council of Trent in 1563, as most of the principal developments characterizing the Italian Renaissance were imported during these seven decades but found themselves cheek by jowl with late medieval religious enthusiasms that would then be curbed by Tridentine decree. In other fields, literature scholars date the shift to Nebrija's 1492 publication of the first Spanish grammar as the beginning of the influence of humanism, while art historians designate the Spanish Renaissance as the era when Italian influence began competing with Hispano-Flemish influence in the early sixteenth century. Otis H. Green, *The Literary Mind of Medieval and Renaissance Spain: Essays* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 99–100; Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain, 1500–1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 32–33.

28. Surtz opens his monograph on Juana with a chapter, "The Beard and the Apple," on the Genesis sermon (*Guitar of God*, 15–35). He focuses on the Nativity of Mary sermon in the chapter on Juana in *Writing Women*, 104–26.

This introduction addresses several audiences in an effort to make Mother Juana's sermons accessible to a wide range of scholars. It is our hope that this volume will expand the canon of medieval visionary literature currently centered on England (Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe, Richard Rolle), Italy (Angela of Foligno, Catherine of Siena), and northern Europe (Mechthild of Magdeburg, Heinrich Suso, Hadewijch of Antwerp, Marguerite Porete) to include these Renaissance Castilian visionary sermons from the 1510s. In addition, this introduction proposes Juana as a preacher and theologian who was particularly creative and productive on topics such as Jesus's nature, Mariology (theological debates about Mary), and the afterlife. A main theme for exploration is the dual source of Juana's authority, as identified by the name of her convent, "María de la Cruz" (Mary of the Cross): Juana's local authority was related to Mary based on both her embodied and visionary engagement with the Virgin, while Juana's regional and national authority was related to Christomimesis (her embodiment imitating Jesus) due to her channeling of Jesus's voice through her sermons and her suffering.²⁹

By giving Juana higher visibility among those who study the Spanish "Golden Age" of Christianity, it is hoped that her entire corpus—all seventy-two sermons and the two additional manuscripts concerning her life and visions—will become a critical resource for scholars whose understanding of Spanish "gender and religion" questions usually begins much later with Teresa of Avila rather than with this charismatic woman preacher, Mother Juana. In order to address these various constituencies, this introduction will first examine Spanish Renaissance religion as an era during which Castilians reimagined their Christian identity in a post-pluri-religious society, then consider the specific terrain Juana navigated as author and theologian. The complex production and dissemination history of the three texts attributed to Juana needs careful reconstruction, and only then can the three be mined in tandem to construct a coherent view of her doctrinal and devotional contributions to Renaissance religious thought and practice.

Religion during the Spanish Renaissance: Under the Influence of Cardinal Cisneros

Shortly after ending political rule by Muslims internal to the peninsula and requiring that all Jews emigrate or convert in 1492, the monarchs Isabel and Fernando designated the Franciscan friar and newly appointed archbishop of

29. Such a double source of authority mirrors the founding narrative of her convent. During the 1449 apparitional experiences that confirmed Inés Martínez as a Marian seer, Mary both paralyzed Inés's hand into the form of a cross during the fourth apparition, then during the fifth apparition took a processional cross from Inés and planted it in the ground to indicate where she wanted a church to be built. See documents translated in Christian, *Apparitions*, 62–63.

Toledo, Cisneros, to reform the Spanish church.³⁰ He was asked to reconfigure the grassroots reform known as the Villacrecian movement that the Castilian Franciscan order had been undergoing since the 1420s and adapt it to the Spanish church as a whole.³¹ Cisneros focused on bringing the ideals of the Observants (those who privileged poverty and asceticism above study) to all religious orders and clergy, as well as founding a number of *beaterios* and hermitages to promote sanctity.³² Well-known for his commissioning of the first Polyglot Bible (published 1517–20), in the long term Cisneros's most effective institutional reform was the establishment of a new theological university, Alcalá de Henares (outside Madrid), for which he developed an innovative curriculum that integrated the separate scholastic theological approaches, Thomism, Scotism, and nominalism.³³ Although his concern with education was in the interests of producing a more adequately trained clergy, it seemed to some to run counter to the Villacrecian rejection of education in favor of a focus on spirituality and liturgy.

However, Cisneros's third reforming project contributed significantly to the availability of spiritual resources in the vernacular. Inspired by the Villacrecian

30. As noted in a recent review article, scholarship on the Observant trend in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is scattered and unsystematic. James D. Mixson, "Religious Life and Observant Reform in the Fifteenth Century," *History Compass* 11, no. 3 (2013): 201–14. A recent book on Franciscan missionary spirituality in New Spain provides an important overview of their Spanish background. Steven E. Turley, *Franciscan Spirituality and Mission in New Spain, 1524–1599: Conflict beneath the Sycamore Tree (Luke 19:1–10)* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 11–28. Scholarship on the Observants in Spain most often focuses on Cisneros himself. The classic studies are José García Oro, *La reforma de los religiosos españoles en tiempo de los reyes católicos* (Valladolid: Instituto Isabel la Católica, 1969); Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, *La siembra mística del Cardenal Cisneros y las reformas en la iglesia* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1979); and Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999).

31. Pedro de Villacreces (ca. 1362–1422) inaugurated the internal reform of the Spanish Franciscan order in the 1420s by founding a series of small hermitages known as *casas de retiro*. The movement's ideals were circulated through the writings of the friar Lope de Salinas y Salazar, collected in Fidel (de) Lejarza and Angel Uribe, eds., *Las reformas en los siglos XIV y XV: Introducción a los orígenes de la Observancia en España*, Archivo Ibero-Americano, vol. 17 (Madrid: J. Costa, 1957).

32. The bull *Exponi nobis* (1495) gave Cisneros the authority to reform existing convents. Molina Domínguez, *Conventos de monjas franciscanas*, 5, 46. For Cisneros's establishment of *beaterios*, see Muñoz Fernández, *Beatas y santas neocastellanas*, 58. For discussion of the Observants versus the Conventuals and the eventual ascendance of the Observants in Spain, see Turley, *Franciscan Spirituality and Mission*, 14–15. For discussion of the role of Isabel and Fernando in the reform of Spanish monasticism, see Elizabeth A. Leffeldt, "Gender, Order, and the Meaning of Monasticism during the Reign of Isabel and Ferdinand," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 93 (2002): 145–71.

33. Cisneros termed this approach "the three ways" (*las tres vías*), and unified them on the principle that if divine truth is unitary, then all three approaches must ultimately reveal the same truth. Melquiades Andrés, *La teología española en el siglo XVI*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1977), 1:35.

emphasis on mental prayer (silent, meditative) rather than standardized vocal prayers typical of monastic devotion, in 1502 Cisneros established a printing press in Alcalá that not only served the needs of the Franciscan Order but also a wide range of readers both monastic and lay.³⁴ This press in particular, and patronage by both Queen Isabel and Cisneros more generally, produced a great number of translations of church fathers and the classics of medieval spirituality from Italy and northern Europe, including women's visionary texts. With authors ranging from Gregory the Great and Ludolph of Saxony to Angela of Foligno and Catherine of Siena available in the vernacular for the first time, the Cisnerian reform provided access to an extensive range of spiritual models in very short order. The two imported genres that had the most impact on Spanish Christianity post-Reconquest were, on the one hand, the *Vita Christi* (*Life of Christ*) tradition, particularly its focus on Passion spirituality, and on the other hand, women's visionary literature.

In all of medieval Europe except Castile, imaginative meditation filling in the visual and visceral details of Jesus's life and death beyond those given in the Gospels, particularly concerning the extensive torture he suffered throughout Holy Week, reigned supreme in devotional practice.³⁵ Pedro Cátedra and Cynthia Robinson have argued persuasively that focus on Jesus and Mary's suffering did not gain currency in medieval Castile on the same timeline as the rest of Europe, due in large part to a greater need for instructive or polemical texts aimed at potential converts from Judaism or Islam rather than for devotional texts for practitioners.³⁶ Texts and artwork emphasizing Jesus's torture and death only began to be translated or commissioned in the mid-fifteenth century and only achieved wide circulation starting in the 1480s, both due to patronage by

34. For the extended devotions both external and internal recommended by Lope de Salinas y Salazar, see "Memorial de la vida y ritos de la Custodia de Santa María de los Menores," in *Las reformas en los siglos XIV y XV*, ed. Lejarza and Uribe, 727–29; for discussion, see Jessica A. Boon, *The Mystical Science of the Soul: Medieval Cognition in Bernardino de Laredo's Recollection Mysticism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 34–36. For Cisneros's printing press, see, among others, Anthony Levi, *Renaissance and Reformation: The Intellectual Genesis* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 226. For the impact of Cisneros's printing press on the readings available to women religious, see Elizabeth Teresa Howe, *Education and Women in the Early Modern Hispanic World* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 63–64.

35. Even Catalonia had a strong focus on the Passion, as seen in their extensive altarpiece and textual tradition. Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350–1500* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 133–58, 167–80; and Albert G. Hauf i Valls, "La *Vita Christi* de Sor Isabel de Villena y la tradición de las *Vitae Christi* medievales," in *Studia in honorem prof. M. de Riquer II* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1987), 106–64.

36. Pedro M. Cátedra, *Poesía de pasión en la Edad Media: El Cancionero de Pero Gómez de Ferrol* (Salamanca: Seminario de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2001), 191–297; Cynthia Robinson, *Imagining the Passion in a Multiconfessional Castile: The Virgin, Christ, Devotions, and Images in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

the Catholic Monarchs and to the impact of the printing press. Several influential devotional poems focusing on the Passion of Christ were composed in the vernacular for Isabel's court.³⁷ Yet it was with the 1502–3 translation of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* at the behest of Queen Isabel—but published in Cisneros's press—that Passion spirituality (e.g., the entire fourth volume of the translation of Ludolph's work) began to make significant inroads on daily devotional practice in Castile.³⁸ Coming so late in the development of Spanish Christianity, however, vernacular endeavors in Passion spirituality naturally integrated the “new” emphasis on Jesus's humanity with the long-standing Castilian devotion to the Virgin Mary as premier in battles and conversions (see section 5). As a result of the new interest in *Life of Christ* treatises fomented by Cisneros's press, Castilians dedicated to Mary developed a new version of the genre: The Passion of the Son and the Mother, also known as the “Passion of Two.”³⁹

The other genre that proved formative for post-Reconquest Christian spirituality was visionary literature. In addition to publishing translations of Angela of Foligno and Catherine of Siena, Cisneros's interest in women's visionary experience was sufficiently important for him to offer it explicit protection, putting him firmly on one side of the long-standing debate as to whether visionary experience was a trustworthy mode of accessing the divine. From Augustine to Jean Gerson to contemporary scholars, the principal concerns have either been the theological impossibility of visions, assuming that an infinite, eternal God cannot be engaged by means of the physical sensory organs of the human body, or the untrustworthiness of visions, since while God could choose to engage the senses, the devil likewise has power to manipulate them.⁴⁰ Visionaries and their supporters, including

37. Although none can be dated exactly, Iñigo de Mendoza's *Vita Christi*, Commendador Roman's *Coplas de la pasión con la resurrección*, and Diego de San Pedro's *La pasión trobada* all had their first editions within a decade of the introduction of printing (1482). For discussion, see Keith Whinnom, “The Supposed Sources of Inspiration of Spanish Fifteenth-Century Narrative Religious Verse,” *Symposium* 17 (1963): 268–91.

38. On the dissemination of Ludolph's work, see Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías, “Repertorio de traductores del siglo XV: Segunda veintena,” in *Literatura y transgresión: En homenaje al profesor Manuel Ferrer Chivite*, ed. Fermín Sierra Martínez (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 89–114, at 99–100.

39. The first treatise on this topic is the *Fasciculus myrrhe: El qual trata de la passion de nuestro redemptor Jesu Christo*. The first surviving edition dates to 1517, but there are records of a first edition in 1511. For discussion of the genre, see Jessica A. Boon, “The Agony of the Virgin: The Swoons and Crucifixion of Mary in Sixteenth Century Castilian Passion Treatises,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 38, no. 1 (2007): 3–26, at 11–19.

40. For Augustine's influential categorization of types of visionary experience, see Bernard McGinn, “Visions and Critiques of Visions in Thirteenth-Century Mysticism,” in *Rending the Veil: Concealment and Secrecy in the History of Religions*, ed. Elliot R. Wolfson (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 1999), 87–113; for a survey of the modern debate, see Hollywood, “Gender, Agency, and the Divine,” 514–28. For discussion of mysticism versus demonic possession in medieval Europe generally, see Nancy Caciola,

theologians, counteracted these two critiques both by pointing to the Incarnation as the divine decision that validated the human senses as appropriate access to the divine, and by requiring visionaries to submit their experiences in writing to be judged on their orthodoxy (God-given) or heterodoxy (manipulation by the devil). In late medieval Castile, the fiery Dominican preacher from Valencia, Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419), had critiqued visions as demonic, and Jean Gerson's denunciation of them was well known on the peninsula.⁴¹ Cisneros, however, shifted away from this critique, though in a manner intended to avoid not instigate debate. Rather than dispute Ferrer directly, he simply published under his own imprimatur the first Castilian translation of Ferrer's *Tratado de la vida espiritual* (*Treatise on the Spiritual Life*, 1510), but omitted the entire chapter that addressed the controversial nature of visions.⁴² By refusing to make an authoritative critique available in the vernacular to the reading public, he essentially suppressed lay debate over the validity of visionary experience.

It is worth noting that women visionaries in Spain, some with a particularly apocalyptic bent, first gained considerable fame in the last two decades of the fifteenth century, much later than elsewhere in Europe.⁴³ Spanish Renaissance clergy commented on the dramatic increase in the spiritual influence of women starting in the late fifteenth century; for example, the anonymous author of the 1537 *Excelencias de la fe* [*Excellences of the Faith*] suggested that “holy women who perform miracles” had held great authority in Castile for fifty years, though he himself thought their sanctity highly suspect.⁴⁴ The most recent comprehensive survey of Spanish religion from 1450 to 1650 likewise identifies the detailed narratives written by Castilian female visionaries as the “vital” link between the late fifteenth-century importation of spiritual works from the North and Italy, and the first Castilian prescriptive guides to mystical contemplation that began to appear in the 1520s.⁴⁵ Cisneros's openness toward female visionary and prophetic author-

Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 207–14; for the sixteenth-century Spanish context, see Moshe Sluhovskiy, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 137–44.

41. Jean Gerson, “On Distinguishing True from False Revelations,” in *Early Works*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 334–64.

42. Sáinz Rodríguez, *La siembra mística*, 43–50.

43. Sharon Faye Koren, “A Christian Means to a *Conversa* End,” *NASHIM: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues* 9, no. 1 (2005): 27–61, at 29.

44. Quoted in Jane Tar, “Flying through the Empire: The Visionary Journeys of Early Modern Nuns,” in *Women's Voices and the Politics of the Spanish Empire*, ed. Jennifer L. Eich, Jeanne Gillespie, and Lucia G. Harrison (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2008), 263–302, at 264 n. 5.

45. Eulogio Pacho, *Apogeo de la mística cristiana: Historia de la espiritualidad clásica española, 1450–1650* (Burgos, Spain: Monte Carmelo, 2008), 217. Unfortunately, Pacho often subsumes these writings under Illuminism, the heresy of the *alumbrados* that inquisitors began to denounce in 1525 (see note

ity seems to have been a leading cause for the belated (in comparison to the rest of Europe) yet dramatic attention paid to Spanish Renaissance women who claimed divine inspiration for their oral and written reflections.⁴⁶

Not only did the Cisneros-sponsored translations of Angela of Foligno and Catherine of Siena appear in 1510 and 1512 respectively, but the years 1508–12 saw him intervene directly on behalf of both Juana and the other principal female charismatic visionary of the era, María de Santo Domingo.⁴⁷ In Juana's case, Cisneros's insistence on her privilege to appoint the confessor to her house (by sending two letters on the subject) not only underscores his own commitment to her role but also indicates that not all Castilian prelates were equal proponents of the visionary. Yet Juana, who received vocal support but evidently also had her detractors, was never brought before the Inquisition personally, nor is there evidence that the compilers of the 1559 Index of Prohibited Books censored her writings (see next section). Having a protector such as Cisneros early in her career thus allowed Juana to preach semipublicly and to direct her convent as she saw fit.⁴⁸ However, Cisneros's death in 1517 did not end her preaching, nor, apparently, leave her particularly vulnerable to outside criticism concerning her preaching or the compilations of her teachings and sermons.⁴⁹ In other words, Cisneros's expansive approach to reinvigorating Catholic devotion in Castile was influential beyond his death. Indeed, it was only fully curtailed in the second half of the six-

69). Since neither woman he cites was ever accused of Illuminism, Pacho's rhetoric serves to diminish the women writers' authority by implicitly associating them with heterodoxy. In Castile, the first generation of original mystical writers were the "recollection mystics" Francisco de Osuna, Bernardino de Laredo, and Bernabé de Palma, writing in the 1520s and 1530s. See note 51 for bibliography.

46. The Spanish scholar Pablo Maroto associates Cisneros's interest in the apocalyptic with his interest in visionaries, devoting a single chapter to the twin topics of "feminine mysticism and messianic context" [mística femenina y ambiente mesiánico]. Daniel de Pablo Maroto, *Espiritualidad española del siglo XVI, Vol. 1: Los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2012), 249–75. The influence of Savonarola on Juana's contemporary, María de Santo Domingo, goes far to justify this combination (187–88).

47. The translation of Angela of Foligno was published with Cisneros's coat of arms on the title page (Surtz, *Guitar of God*, 2). For letters to Cisneros both supporting and critiquing María de Santo Domingo, as well as his reaction, see Mary E. Giles, "The Study," in *The Book of Prayer of Sor María of Santo Domingo: A Study and Translation* (Albany: Albany State University of New York Press, 1990), 40–54.

48. Graña Cid takes the intervention around Juana's authority to appoint the prelate as evidence that she was controversial principally due to her seeming usurpation of sacramental authority, rather than for her theological interventions. María del Mar Graña Cid, "Terciarias franciscanas, apostolado y ministerios: Juana de la Cruz y el sacerdocio femenino," in *El Franciscanismo en la península ibérica. Balance y perspectivas. I Congreso Internacional, Madrid, September 22–27, 2003*, ed. María del Mar Graña Cid (Barcelona: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2005), 601–22, at 611.

49. If her preaching began in 1508 and lasted thirteen years, she continued for some four years after his death.

teenth century when Philip II became the first ruler to disseminate the conservative Tridentine decrees of 1563 in his kingdom and to require their enforcement.⁵⁰

While the 1520s and 1530s have been repeatedly characterized as the origins of the Golden Age of Spanish mysticism due to the appearance of the first prescriptive guides to a form of mystical prayer known as *recogimiento* (recollection) unique to Spain, these techniques were formulated too late to have any impact on Juana's ecstatic preaching or her autobiographical reflections on her raptures.⁵¹ Rather than continuing to sketch the history of early sixteenth-century Castilian Catholicism, then, it is now time to turn to the specifics of Juana's career. Throughout the next sections, the various manners in which Juana's sermons and visions reflect Renaissance Castilian spiritual concerns (for example, the popularity of Marian devotion or the late medieval concern with purgatory) will be a continuing theme.

Author's Works

In 1610, Franciscan friar Antonio de Daza wrote the first official biography of Juana, then reworked it extensively in 1613 after censure by the Inquisition.⁵² Most Spanish scholars narrate Juana's life history by combining the brief archival documentation extant, the episodes she provides in her semiautobiography, and Daza's biography. However, given that Daza added much corroborating detail at the behest of the Inquisition but does not cite his sources, the best information for assessing Juana's contribution to Renaissance Christianity remains the three manuscripts collecting her sermons, visions, and life history. Yet it is highly problematic to assume that these three manuscripts represent direct access to Juana's "own" authorial voice, and therefore the question of authorship must be examined with care before turning to Juana's life "history" in the manuscripts through which she and her contemporaries carefully crafted her persona.

50. For discussion, see Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 86–88.

51. For a comprehensive overview of recollection (*recogimiento*) as Spain's unique contribution to mystical discourse, see Melquiades Andrés, *Los recogidos: Nueva visión de la mística española, 1500–1700* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1976); for revisions to his views, see Pacho, *Apogeo de la mística*. These works can be usefully supplemented with Armando Pego Puigbó, *El Renacimiento espiritual: Introducción literaria a los tratados de oración españoles (1520–1566)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2004); and Rafael M. Pérez García, *La imprenta y la literatura espiritual castellana en la España del Renacimiento, 1470–1560* (Gijón, Spain: Ediciones Trea, 2006). For scholarship in English, see Elizabeth Rhodes, *The Unrecognized Precursors of Montemayor's "Diana"* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), chap. 1; and Boon, *Mystical Science*, introduction.

52. Daza, *Historia, vida y milagros*. An English translation can be found in *The Historie of the Blessed Virgin, Sister Joane* (1625), trans. Francis Bell (Ilkley, UK: Scholar Press, 1977).

While modern understandings of authorship expect that authors personally write and edit the draft that is then published, many “writers” in the Middle Ages produced their texts by dictating to scribes. (Aquinas, famously, employed several scribes at once, each recording a different work.) In addition, public presentations by teachers and preachers were often transcribed by auditors and circulated in manuscript, sometimes but not always after editing by the speaker. Crafting a book that others eventually read required access to the means of production, not necessarily employing them oneself.⁵³ This collective approach to authorship is particularly pertinent to our retrieval of women’s authorial voices, as most of the texts by women authors surviving from the medieval and early modern periods were written or dictated at the behest of their confessors or inquisitors, only circulating after editing and revision by the (male) authorities that solicited them.⁵⁴ In such cases, authorship also carries a different weight; rather than being an emblem of creativity, composition becomes the ultimate act of obedience, whether to confessors, the Inquisition, or in Juana’s case, toward Christ and her guardian angel who asked her to preach.⁵⁵ For that matter, the “means of production” of a sermon goes beyond writing implements and vellum or paper to include receptivity to the “sacred performance,” for the genre always presupposed engagement with an audience.⁵⁶

Juana’s sermons and visions have a particularly complex dissemination history. Unlike Teresa of Avila, who wrote extensively at the behest of her confessors and fellow nuns, it is unlikely that Juana could write, and indeed, the circumstances of being enraptured (and therefore apparently unconscious) while preaching would have made the act of writing impossible. At first prohibited from going into rapture in public and consigned to her cell, starting in 1508 the local prelates permitted her to go into ecstasy before the nuns and an outside audience.⁵⁷ At this point, several

53. For discussion of women’s literacy—reading, writing, and compositional ability—in the Spanish Golden Age with specific reference to Juana, see Nieves Baranda, “Mujeres y escritura en el siglo de oro: Una relación inestable,” *Litterae: Cuadernos sobre Cultura Escrita* 3–4 (2003–4): 61–83, at 61–63, 67–68; and Surtz, *Writing Women*, 5.

54. Co-authorship of women’s autobiographies was common in medieval Europe generally and early modern Spain in particular. For case studies, see John W. Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); for Spain, see Darcy R. Donahue, “Writing Nuns’ Lives: Nuns and Confessors as Auto/biographers,” *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 13, no. 3 (1989): 230–39.

55. Thus obedience empowers by leading to authorship, a point made by Surtz, *Guitar of God*, 26.

56. Mary A. Suydam, “Beguine Textuality: Sacred Performances,” in *Performance and Transformation: New Approaches to Late Medieval Spirituality*, ed. Mary A. Suydam and Joanna E. Ziegler (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 169–210, at 196.

57. *Vida y fin*, fol. 30v. They granted permission when Juana was discovered preaching to a flock of birds that had miraculously filled her cell after she was put in solitary confinement (fol. 31r). This miracle evokes the well-known description of Francis preaching to the birds, expanded by Bonaventure

nuns collaborated to transcribe the sermons. The principal amanuensis, María Evangelista, was supposedly illiterate before miraculously receiving the ability to transcribe the sermons in *Conorte*.⁵⁸ In addition to the nuns' work on the text, the convent's confessor collaborated in the production of *Conorte* by taking material collected over a thirteen-year timespan and collating (sometimes combining) the sermons into a collection that covered one liturgical year, putatively that of 1509.⁵⁹ The two surviving manuscripts of *Conorte* are organized slightly differently, with the later Vatican copy more closely aligned with the liturgical year than is the Escorial original. Both, however, end the collection with a sermon whose principal intent is to defend the divine inspiration of the sermons.⁶⁰

Beyond her involvement in *Conorte*, María Evangelista collaborated with Juana to produce the *Vida y fin de la bienaventurada virgen sancta Juana de la Cruz (Life and End of the Blessed Holy Virgin, Juana de la Cruz)*.⁶¹ The text includes first-person narrations of the visions and Marian miracles that began even before Juana's birth and continued throughout her life, and, if organized by Juana, would certainly represent her understanding of her career trajectory. However, the manuscript also describes Juana's death and funeral, at which point Juana could no longer have been the author, thus leading some to characterize it as a "semiautobiography." According to the secondhand testimony provided by nuns from Cubas during the seventeenth-century beatification process, the con-

into a series of events during which Francis ministered to animals, including a room full of them. Bonaventure, *The Soul's Journey into God, The Tree of Life, The Life of St. Francis*, trans. Ewert H. Cousins (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), chap. 8, esp. 259–60. Thanks is due to the anonymous manuscript reviewer for this reference.

58. This miracle was part of the convent's tradition concerning Juana, relayed in the witness documents collected at the start of the beatification process in the seventeenth century. Archivo Vaticano, C. de Ritos, MS 3.072–3.076, quoted in García Andrés, "Introduction," 24. Other women religious — both previous to María Evangelista and among the later disciples of Teresa of Avila — claimed miraculous literacy, either acquaintance with Latin or capacity to write fluently. See Darcy R. Donahue, "Wondrous Words: Miraculous Literacy and Real Literacy in the Convents of Early Modern Spain," in *Women's Literacy in Early Modern Spain and the New World*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Rosilie Hernandez (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 105–22, at 111–12. The *Libro de la casa* emphasizes the miraculous nature of the *Conorte* as book in a different way: it transcribes a nun's vision of María Evangelista holding the *Conorte* and receiving Jesus's approval of it, claiming that the book could cast out demons and calm thunderstorms (fol. 204r).

59. The Escorial manuscript ends with the statement that it was copied out in 1509, while the *Vida y fin* states that *Conorte* covers two years (fol. 31r), possibly a reference to the fact that the liturgical year covers two calendar years. Yet the *Libro de la casa* states that the two years came at the end of the thirteen year preaching period (20r). Likewise, internal references to later historical events indicate that some sermons were preached in the late 1510s, see María Victoria Triviño, ed., *Inspiración y ternura: Sermones marianos de la Santa Juana (1481–1534)* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2006), 22.

60. For discussion, see Surtz, *Guitar of God*, 27 n. 1.

61. For the full citation, see note 1.

ventual tradition revered María Evangelista for both taking dictation from Juana (*escribir al dictado*) and writing down the events she witnessed in Juana's life and at her death (as an eyewitness, a *testigo de vista*).⁶² In other words, the mix of first-person and third-person narratives may be intentional and in response to an angelic directive at a certain moment, if the justification provided by the text is to be believed. Yet the shifts in register in the text could just as easily be a result of compiling various short pieces dictated by Juana at different moments which were later arranged, perhaps by María Evangelista, in an apparent chronological order.⁶³

The notion of authorship is complicated even further in the third manuscript pertaining to Juana, the *Libro de la casa y monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Cruz* (*Book of the House and Monastery of Our Lady of the Cross*), a late sixteenth-century compilation from the Cubas convent.⁶⁴ The text transcribes some visions found in the *Vida y fin*, various visions and miracles not attested to in either *Conorte* or *Vida y fin*, and devotional traditions presumably initiated by Juana but still practiced nearly a century later, such as the Marian confraternity based within the convent.⁶⁵ The *Libro* also includes a play based on the Assumption sermon in *Conorte* that may have been performed on a regular basis. Unfortunately, the manuscript provides no indication of how the visions and traditions were collected nor whether it was Juana or a follower who dramatized the Assumption sermon.⁶⁶

In both the *Vida y fin* and the *Libro de la casa*, the narrator of the visions and miracles is not consistently Christ, as it is in the sermons. For the most part it is instead the Holy Spirit or Juana's guardian angel Laruel who describe the pageants or other mystical experiences, such as the nun's reception of the stigmata, her direct intervention in purgatory, and her reception of a special rosary

62. Sor María Purificación's testimony for the beatification process, quoted by García Andrés, "Introduction," 24–25.

63. Bilinkoff reviews a number of cases in which confessors collaborated with women religious to produce the texts of their "lives." Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450–1750* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 46–75. In the case of Juana, the episode is unusual for being a collaboration with a woman lower than she was in the convent's hierarchy rather than a male confessor with more authority. One nun also claimed that the convent's confessor again took part in editing the manuscript, but most of the witness testimonies indicate that the confessor's role was limited to permitting the semi-autobiography's composition after the angel directed her to write it (García Andrés, "Introduction," 225).

64. For citation, see note 1.

65. *Libro de la casa*, fols. 40v–42r. See next section for discussion.

66. For discussion of the relationship between the sermon and the play, see Ronald E. Surtz, *El libro del conorte (1509) and the Early Castilian Theater* (Barcelona: Puvill, 1982).

devotion.⁶⁷ For that matter, many of the events described are Marian miracles that confirmed Juana as Mary's delegate within her convent even before she became Christ's voice to audiences within and without. Thus the authority for Juana's life narrative rested as much on her relationship with the Virgin as on her role as Christ's voice or as a result of her interaction with her guardian angel.⁶⁸ In the end, our access to Juana's sermons and visions is through a dense web of transcriptions produced by nuns who copied out utterances they ascribed to Jesus, the Holy Spirit, or an angel, some of which were then edited by a priest or recopied in the convent's records as part of the day to day life of the convent at Cubas. Given these circumstances, designating the author as "Juana" is evidently more a matter of terminological expediency than it is an accurate designation.

Nor does the composition history end there, for the reception history as evidenced by the marginal comments throughout the *Conorte* is as indelibly a part of the collective authority for this manuscript as the first-person narratives found in the *Vida y fin*. Since the sermon collection was never published, it would be easy to assume that its readership, if any, was limited to the nuns of Cubas; *Conorte* would then come down to us as a fascinating document that had no discernible effect on its era as a *written* text, its origins in Juana's oral charisma as inaccessible as is all historical oral culture. Fortunately, however, a series of Franciscan readers, presumably male, annotated the Escorial manuscript in its margins, providing evidence of an on-going readership and a debate over her authority and theological orthodoxy that was in the most part favorable. The first reader to approve various aspects of her innovative narrations has been tentatively identified as Francisco Ortíz, one of the most prominent Franciscans to be accused and condemned for the heresy of Illuminism (thus dating his reading of the *Conorte* prior to his arrest and trial in 1534).⁶⁹ The second reader, probably an in-

67. For stigmata that lasted three days, see *Vida y fin*, fol. 39r, and discussion in the "Juana and Jesus" subsection of this introduction. For Juana's intervention in purgatory, see *Vida y fin*, fol. 101v. For analysis of the rosary vision, see Stephen Haliczer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy: Female Mystics in the Golden Age of Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 269–70; further discussion in Ronald E. Surtz, "Las cuentas de Santa Juana: Un ejemplo de adaptación cultural en el Japón del siglo XVII," in *Actas del Tercer Congreso de Hispanistas de Asia* (Tokyo: Asociación Asiática de Hispanistas, 1993), 819–27.

68. Marian devotion was often paired with an elaborate angelology, due to the important place the Annunciation had in Mariology. For discussion in the medieval Spanish context, see José Manuel Marín Ureña, "Estelas de los ángeles celestiales en la literatura medieval española," *Lemir: Revista de literatura española medieval y renacimiento* 8, no. 2 (2004): 1–8.

69. Illuminism, or the heresy of the *alumbrados*, was a central focus of Inquisitorial condemnation from the 1520s on, but no clear picture has emerged of its adherents. According to the edict issued against it, the inquisitors were principally concerned with an antisacramental approach and the belief that once mystical *unión* was achieved, it was a permanent state. Recent scholarship includes Alastair Hamilton, "The *Alumbrados*: *Dejamiento* and Its Practitioners," in *A New Companion to Hispanic*

quisitor and possibly Juana's close relative, left a record that is primarily negative, arguing with some points in the margins, crossing out sections of sermons, and attempting to black out nearly the entire sermon on the Trinity.⁷⁰ In 1567–68, Father Francisco de Torres, likewise in marginal annotations, vehemently disagreed with the inquisitorial censure, emphasizing the validity of Juana's voice and the acceptability of her theological discussions as appropriate vernacular renditions of complex theological concepts.⁷¹

The introductions provided for each individual sermon throughout this volume will comment on the censored passages to indicate which ideas seemed problematic to a minority of readers, but this general introduction will take up the proposition by Ortíz and Torres that Juana's preaching was a valid theological exposition in line with Christian thought and tradition. The visions and miraculous experiences described throughout the *Vida y fin* and the *Libro de la casa* must be taken seriously, not as representative of biographical "fact," but rather as cues toward understanding Juana's manipulation of her public persona and the modes of authority that accrued to her based on her reputed and extraordinary direct connection with both Mary and Jesus.⁷²

Mysticism, ed. Hilaire Kallendorf (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 103–26; Mercedes García-Arenal and Felipe Pereda, "A propósito de los alumbrados: Confesionalidad y disidencia religiosa en el mundo ibérico," *La corónica* 41, no. 1 (2012): 109–148. For Ortíz's biography and trial, see Angela Selke, *El santo oficio de la Inquisición: Proceso de Fr. Francisco Ortiz (1529–1532)* (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1968).

70. The Vatican copy is of use to complete the illegible portions of the Escorial manuscript. In the case of the Trinity sermon (no. 26), the attempt at blacking it out was unsuccessful. For analysis of the Trinity sermon's theology, and particularly Juana's unique representation of Jesus as birthing God the Father, see Ronald E. Surtz, "The Privileging of the Feminine in the Trinity Sermon of Mother Juana de la Cruz," in *Women's Voices and the Politics of the Spanish Empire*, ed. Jennifer L. Eich, Jeanne L. Gillespie, and Lucia Harrington (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2008), 87–107.

71. For more extensive discussion of the debates recorded in the margins of *El Conorte*, see Annie Fremaux-Crouzet, "Alegato en favor de 'las mugeres e idiotas': Aspectos del franciscanismo feminista en la Glosa de Francisco de Torres a *El Conorte* (1567–1568) de Juana de la Cruz," in *Homenaje a José Antonio Maravall, Vol. II*, ed. María Carmen Iglesias, Carlos Moya, and Luis Rodríguez Zúñiga (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1985), 99–116. Surtz uses the marginal commentary as a partial key to analysis throughout all his publications on Juana. In this volume, we have noted in the introduction to each sermon which sections were fully or partially censored. The introduction to the modern edition of *Conorte* transcribes numerous comments from the margins, but it is of note that García de Andrés devotes not a word to the second, hostile reader, instead reiterating at length the (nearly) unqualified approval of the first and third readers as part of his argument for her beatification. García Andrés, "Introduction," 86–116.

72. While women were denied access to education and to the priesthood throughout medieval and early modern period, they were sometimes hailed as particularly well-suited for direct communion with God due to the lack of formal training. Bynum's work is pivotal in this regard, see for example Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 21. Surtz examines a myriad of ways that

Analysis of the “Conhorte” in Relation to Juana’s Other Writings

Juana and Mary

Juana’s spectacular life history, exemplified by her visionary connection to the Virgin Mary and by her public mimesis of Jesus’s pain on behalf of those suffering in purgatory, is an essential framework for imagining the audience reception of her sermons, during which Jesus elaborates on the festive life in heaven and in particular on Mary’s role in heaven and on earth. This section will begin as Juana’s *Vida y fin* did, by examining her designation of the Virgin Mary as miraculous source for and lifelong aid to Juana’s vocation, followed by consideration of the Virgin’s role in the sermon collection as a whole.

Medieval Spanish Christian devotion was lived out in a multireligious arena of conflict and coexistence, which contributed to the heightened devotion to the Virgin Mary characteristic of late medieval Iberian piety. During the Christian Reconquest of Iberia from the Muslims, narratives repeatedly cited the Virgin Mary as appearing in battle to aid the Christians. The principal rhetorical move after conquest was carried out in her name as well, as nearly all mosques in reconquered territory were repurposed as Marian churches.⁷³ For that matter, Christian authors interested in converting Jews and Muslims consistently advocated the Virgin Mary as miracleworker and protector of converts.⁷⁴ By representing Mary’s power and glory with far more frequency than they did the suffering and death of Christ, medieval Castilian authors not only played to the overlap in devotion to the Qur’anic Maryam among Muslims, but also avoided overemphasizing to a

Castilian women’s putatively direct connection to the divine provided authority in the transition from the medieval to the early modern period, including both Juana and María de Santo Domingo as case studies (*Writing Women*, chaps. 4–5).

73. Amy G. Remensnyder, “The Colonization of Sacred Architecture: The Virgin Mary, Mosques, and Temples in Medieval Spain and Early Sixteenth-Century Mexico,” in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society; Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 189–219. See also her monograph, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

74. The obverse of Mary’s protection of converts was her reputed persecution of those who resisted conversion. She was repeatedly represented as inflicting physical harm on “intransigent” Jews, or consigning them to hell. For examples, see Gonzalo de Berceo, *Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, in *Obras completas II*, ed. Brian Dutton (London: Tamesis Books, 1971). For discussion of Mary as converter and punisher of Jews in medieval Europe more broadly, see Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 228–42; Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 13–41; and in Spain specifically, see Paulino Rodríguez Barral, *La imagen del judío en la España medieval: El conflicto entre cristianismo y judaísmo en las artes visuales góticas* (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2009), 12, 57.