INTRODUCTION

Saints Textual: Embodying Female Exemplarity in Spanish Literature

María Morrás

también se pueden imitar los santos
Teresa of Ávila, *Libro de la vida*, cap. 13

The interplay between gender, sanctity, and exemplarity has received little attention in regard to literary production in the Iberian Peninsula. However, the way they intertwined was crucial not only for the evolution of spirituality and social values in the medieval and early modern period, but also for the construction of the female subject and a distinct women's literary tradition. From Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) right up to the seventeenth century, these three vectors upheld a model of *auctoritas* and authorship that in large measure shaped the role and aspirations of both religious and lay women across Europe. Hence religious exemplary discourse in life-accounts mediated heavily in women's conduct, experiences, and writings. These latter subjects and their satellites—power, identity, women's history—have provoked an avalanche of studies in the last half century, on religion and gender on one side and women's writing on the other; yet comparatively few studies have explored the place of exemplarity in female literary writing, or its role in developing and shaping social and cultural identities and conduct both within and also beyond the religious sphere.[1] In the medieval and early modern period women who read or listened to pious life-accounts formed a textual community that transcended not only the walls of convents and courts, but also geographical

1 Exceptions are Aragüés Aldaz 2007, Gatland 2011, Weber 2013, and various studies by Sanmartín Bastida, specially 2012 and 2016; important also are Surtz 1995 and 2010, Piera 2019 (to keep bibliographical lists to a manageable length, references in this Introduction are by author-date; full details are to be found under "Works Cited", pp. 18–30, below). For the methodological approach of these pages I am greatly indebted to Suydam 1999 and 2004; Riches and Salih 2012. Also valuable have been Jost 1998; Warren 2010; Cotter-Lynch and Herzog 2012; De Rentiis 1996; Contzen and Bernau 2016, especially Contzen's "Introduction", pp. 1–17, and Barr 2016 in the same volume. The ground-breaking work was done by Caroline W. Bynum; of special interest here is Bynum 2001.

and linguistic barriers.[2] Life-accounts of historical figures in chronicles and romances, collections of *exempla*, and (auto)hagiographies configured a *continuum*, a family of related genres (in Wittgenstein's sense) sharing the same horizon of expectations.[3] Not by chance, the *Book of Margery Kempe*, the first autobiography in English, has also been entitled the first vernacular autohagiography (Kieckhefer 1984: 6). The studies in this book show that by ranging beyond the restricted category of hagiography (a generic term, besides, of quite recent invention), we can enrich our interpretation of both spiritual and lay biographies. A transversal consideration of women's (auto)hagiographies and secular (auto)biographies under the more general label of "life-accounts informed by religious discursive practices" may open up new perspectives on women's writing and spirituality, despite these fields being so well-trodden in the last decades.[4]

Contamination between the sacred and the profane in narrative has been noted in all medieval Western literature, not only in that which can be considered female-gendered (Newman 2013a). The motto *utile dulci*, "to teach *and* entertain", applied to both secular and religious audiences; adventure (including the supernatural and the marvellous) clothed in exemplarity was a requirement for both literary and didactic success. In Hispanic medieval literature the footprint of the legend of St Eustace in *Libro del caballero Çifar* (*Book of the Knight Zifar*) illustrates how what was apparently a chivalric romance could become a hagiographical work (or maybe the other way round).[5] Two centuries

2 The term "textual community" was coined by Stock (1983) and defined as a reaction to protect and control the community against heresies; for a broader context see Stock 1993. The notion has since been applied to many other spaces and periods of literary production and reception (20,700 hits on google), and yielded a number of important studies on Hispanic female conventual writing (n. 14, below).

3 On "family resemblance" see Wittgenstein 2009: 66–69; on the "horizon of expectations", Jauss 1970: 31 (Thesis VII). In this approach I have been inspired by Gilmore 1994 on Julian of Norwich and Teresa of Ávila; Schenck 2008: 20–25; and Ashley 2007. For the concept of autohagiography see Greenspan 1996 and Fleming 2014.

4 Contemporary terms for saint's lives were "legend", "life/*vita*", "passion", "miracle" (Strohm 1975, Philippart 1994, Mendes 2013). A major expert on this field in Spanish literature changed the title of his thesis from *La hagiografía como género literario en la Edad Media* to *Las vidas de santos en la literatura medieval española* (Baños Vallejo 1989, 2003); nevertheless, the anachronism, "hagiography" (a term created by the Bollandists) is still useful as a category of historical and religious analysis; see A. Taylor 2013. From a literary point of view, "biography" in its broad sense (life-accounts) remains the generic literary frame, though it has not wholly displaced "hagiography" in scholarship; see Heffernan 1988, or the monumental work of Philippart and others 1994–2017.

5 This was pointed out by its first editor, Wagner (1903); see now Talbotier 2009; Valero Moreno 2010. For a parallel text, Baranda 1997; on hybrid works, Gómez Redondo 1999: 1339–461 and

later, the famous anecdote of a young Teresa of Ávila (1525–1582) wanting to die with her brother Rodrigo as a martyr in "Moorish lands" like heroes in a chivalric romance (told in her *Libro de la vida*, cap. 1) confirms that both genres shared readers with a common horizon of expectation (Slade 2002). In the context of these pages, however, the most meaningful case is the early fifteenth-century compilation of life-accounts of holy women and queens preserved in Esc. MS h-I-13, which has been related to a textual community of women.[6] Containing both romances (mainly pious) and *vitae sanctae*, it offered women—presumably of noble estate—ideal exemplars of the refined lady as saint.[7] The influence could also, of course, migrate in the opposite direction; the deployment of courtly love imagery to describe her desire for and union with the Divinity by Hadewijch of Antwerp (d. 1248), or the inclusion of love songs in Margaret Porette's *Mirouer des simples âmes* (d. 1310), are well known examples.[8] A genre so embedded in ecclesiastical culture as the *exemplum* was taken over to teach courtesy.[9] Likewise, in fifteenth-century Castile certain powerful noblewomen established literary coteries that mirrored conventual religious communities. For instance, in her palace in Plasencia, Leonor Pimentel y Zúñiga (1437?–1485) gathered a circle of ladies-in-waiting and collected pious books under the guidance of her confessor, fray Juan López de Salamanca, who wrote for her a dialogue between himself and the Virgin and some *Evangelios moralizados*. This helps explain why most known poetry on Christ's Passion copied in courtly *cancioneros* ("song-books") in the late Middle Ages was addressed to lay noblewomen.[10]

1914–2000; and for the adoption of hagiographic narrative patterns in other genres in medieval and Golden Age texts, Gómez Moreno 2008.

6 For women as its main addressees see Francomano 2003: 131–37; and for other evidence of textual communities in similar collections, Francomano 2004.

7 For a parallel see Cazelles 1991. In the *Legenda aurea* by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (1230–68) most of the female saints are of noble lineage, a trait maintained in the successive Iberian adaptations initiated at the end of the thirteenth century (Catalan 1290–1320, Portuguese 1380–1425, Castilian 1440 *ad quem*), a fact overlooked in the valuable essays by Beceiro Pita (1999) and Hernández Amez (2004).

8 For instance, Reynaert 1994; further examples in Lindgren 2009; Newman 1995 and 2013b. In general see Vauchez 1987: 288–325, and Fudgé 2016.

9 Heneveld and Uhlig 2012. It is interesting to note Gower's rewriting of the legend of St Eustace along these lines (Robins 1997).

10 See Juan López de Salamanca 2004 and 2009 (Leonor Pimentel), and the other cases in Surtz 2002; for a later period, Barbeito Carneiro 2007. The phenomenon was not exclusive to women: Pedro Fernández de Velasco (1399–1470), count of Haro, founded the Hospital de la Santa Cruz, a house for old retired knights, endowing it with a large library of both secular and religious texts (Lawrance 1984); Leonor's son, Juan de Zúñiga, following in his mother's footsteps, founded a convent in Villanueva de la Serena (Badajoz), where he

The cloister was indeed permeable, and so was the court. With their self-contained lifestyle and opportunities to access culture, convents presented an archetype for women's secular communities; but the court brought to convents its hierarchy and an extended network of political influences and cultural contacts. It was in the convent of La Santísima Trinidad of Valencia where Queen María of Aragon (1401–1458) spent her last years; to her entourage belonged writers like Isabel de Villena, Jaume Roig, and Joan Roís de Corella. In the following two centuries the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid would become a refuge for widows and single women from the Habsburg family, and a formidable centre of political power and cultural patronage and production. The influence between court and convent was mutual, and the interplay of secular and religious no less two-way. Leaving aside the probable competition for the same audience, thematic and formal elements shared between religious narrative and secular lyric and prose literature were a natural consequence of the common cultural and literary context, especially in texts addressed to women. Attendance at what might now be called literary functions was part of daily life in religious communities. Reading or listening was a form of prayer, and putting in writing the deeds and words of the outstanding members of the community often became a collaborative, collective, and institutional effort; its actual configuration depended on their level and forms of literacy.[11] It was the text which performed as the connecting membrane between the sacred and the profane, male and female literary genres.[12] At the centre of

professed with three other monks and three knights, and established a reputed literary court, albeit of a humanist bent (Villaseñor Sebastián 2013). For female dedicatees of religious poems in profane collections see García-Bermejo Giner 2004.

11 Women's literacy and education in the medieval period is less known than in the Golden Age, which has led to some speculative generalizations, as observed by Ferrante (1984). For medieval Iberia see Segura Graíño 2007, Zaragoza 2017, Howe 2008, Cruz 2017. Seminal guides to the large bibliography on women and religious writing and reading are Cátedra and Rojo 2004; Cátedra 2005; Zarri and Baranda Leturio 2011; Baranda Leturio and Marín Pina 2014; Baranda and Cruz 2018; Garí 2017; Garí and Jornet-Benito 2017. For an approximate idea of the number and status of female writers the database BIESES is indispensable. On autobiographies see Poutrin 1995, Durán López 2007; for life-accounts, *Catálogo de santas vivas*; further bibliography, *Hagiographia Hispanica*; transnational views at *Feminae*, *Matrix*, *Donne e cultura scritta nel Medioevo*, *Perdita Project*, and *Early Women Writers*, among others.

12 On historical and social aspects of convent writing see Rucquoi 2000; Lehfeldt 2005; Mestre Navas 2018. Male readers were not alien to this interest in exemplarity, albeit of a different character: B. Taylor 2010.

liturgical and devotional practices in their communities, all religious women had contact with texts, aurally or visually.[13]

From this perspective female readers and writers formed a "textual community" that shaped their identities through the medium of written life-accounts and spiritual writings, often of transnational character circulating across Europe. It goes without saying that, being fully aware of the power of textual exemplarity, church and secular authorities contended fiercely with its producers about its configuration, and with its consumers about its interpretation (without always getting their way). For that reason, at the local level texts were often interpreted for the female communities and co-composed with them by individuals with institutional authority—confessors, and in lesser measure the rest of the conventual community, the abbess or other literate nuns.[14] Evidence about the performative effect of life-accounts, especially of "living saints", is widespread but scattered, and we still lack an overview focused on the circulation of their writings across Europe. For instance, Catherine of Siena (1348–1370) became the model of sanctity to be followed by female Dominicans, as formulated in her biographies and her own writings.[15] Bridget of Sweden (1303–1373)

13 The intensity and modes of female conventual literacy varied in time and place. First Cistercians, then Dominicans (especially in German-speaking territories) seem to have engaged actively with scriptural culture; the example of St Teresa of Ávila explains the wealth of materials produced by Carmelites in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, most practised what Ong (1982, 1984) termed "oral literacy", a concept supplemented by that of "aural literacy" (Coleman 2007; also pertinent are Gill 1994, Coleman 1995 and 2005). There are important observations about kinds of readers/listeners in Green 2007: 84–115; and on oral and aural literacy in conventual culture in Smith and Taylor 1995; Blanton, O'Mara, and Stoop 2013, 2015, and 2018. For analyses of the role and function of aurality for religious women see Atherton 1993 and Jeay 2012.

14 The role of confessors as mediators in the composition of these texts has been extensively studied, but mostly for the early modern period (Coakley 2006 and 2010; Griffiths and Hotchin 2014); for Spanish cases see the studies in n. 11 above, especially Poutrin and Durán López. The conventual community's collaboration in drafting life-accounts was also extensive, but has not been studied systematically except for German sister-books (Winston-Allen 2004, Van Engen 2010); some relevant cases outside the German-speaking area are examined in Field 2007. Cases in the Hispanic world are well known for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Arenal and Schlau 2006; Malena 2012); examples from the late medieval period show it was an extended practice, for instance, the *Libro del conorte* of Juana de la Cruz (1481–1534), put into script by a "María Evangelista" among other nuns, or the life of María de Silva/Marigómez in the *Libro Becerro* of the monastery founded by her, by at least two different writers, edited in Sanmartín Bastida and Morrás 2018: 266–67.

15 To mention just two salient cases, the life-account of María de Silva, founder of the Dominican convent of Madre de Dios (1482) in Toledo, attributed to her miraculous deeds based on those experienced by St Catherine that deeply modified the historical character

enjoyed remarkable popularity in Spain due to the nationality of one her confessors, Alfonso de Jaén, and her journeys to Santiago de Compostela and Rome; her influence was lasting, and may have been one of the models for St Teresa of Ávila.[16] Besides Catherine and Bridget, whose works were translated and imitated throughout Europe, writings by or about visionaries who lived far away in time and space such as Mechthild of Hackeborn (1240/41–1298), abbess of the famous house in Helfta (Saxony), were also notably popular in the Iberian Peninsula, as both a partial Catalan translation of her *Liber specialis* and its publication in 1505 under the patronage of the powerful Cardinal Cisneros suggest.[17] Evidence points to the text, the written word, as central to communal identity, affecting also the non-literate through its dissemination and acceptance by the members of religious communities and beyond.

Thus the concept of a "genealogy of spiritual female writers" from Leonor López de Córdoba (*c.* 1360–1430) to St Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), forged in the wake of Surtz (1995), though appealing, turns out to be too narrow. Because readers of hagiographies were not only *mulieres sanctae* but also laywomen and "ordinary" religious women in search of a guide or reference, nor all women's life-accounts—even (auto)biographies rooted in religious hermeneutics and written in the image and likeness of hagiographies—can be categorized as mystical, or even spiritual or devotional.[18] Nonetheless, the concept of a "genealogy" is fruitful if understood as the soil in which a new literary field and social habitus would grow: that of female exemplary textuality. Devotional

---

of her activities; and the *beata* María de Santo Domingo imitated the same saint to self-fashion her image and public activities (Sanmartín Bastida 2013a; Sanmartín and Morrás 2018: 259–62, with bibliography). Overviews of the parallelisms between European and Spanish visionaries are given in Sanmartín Bastida 2012, 2016, and 2017: 33–36. For critical perspectives on Judith Butler's model of the transference of performance and its capacity to analyse religious identity see Biddick 1993, Hollywood 2002, the editors' introduction to Riches and Salih 2005: 15–22, and Salih 2007. Obviously the imitation/recreation could be a fiction, a simulation of sanctity (Zarri 1991); and the same can be said of the narrative that delineated the model (Peters 1988).

16 Giles 2016, Rychterová 2019. The fullest study of the reception and circulation of the foundational visionary models and texts is still Voaden 1996.

17 Howe 2002; Martínez Romero 2017 and 2019; Sanmartín Bastida 2013b.

18 This fact is sometimes skirted in studies of female mysticism; elision of the distinction between mystical discourse and mystical experience has led, for instance, to Teresa de Cartagena being categorized as a mystic (Cortés Timoner 2004 and 2016; Navas Ocaña and Torre Castro 2011: 104 n.19). Wogan-Browne (2001: 31) acknowledges hagiography as a way of empowering exemplary biography, but only mentions mystics (Margery Kempe, Christina of Markyate); *cf.* Chance 1999.

hermeneutics provided a method that could be creatively interpreted by individual women for purposes that often transcended religious practice, including those of a literary, political, and social nature. Imitating holy women's writings was the flip-side of following their devotional practices; if the latter provided a master narrative for women's "right" behaviour, the former offered a viable way to build literary discourse. Pragmatic reasons—the fact that women were perforce more familiar with such readings than men—explain the ubiquity of life-accounts of female saints. The genre supplied a common language for readers and writers, lay and ecclesiastical, literate and illiterate, male and—above all—female. That women writers would resort primarily to devotional language, neither excluding nor exclusively that of mystical experience, was almost inevitable, since it was also practically the only female authorial model they had at hand. Furthermore, women writers could use the symbolic capital of "holiness" to overcome their lack of social and cultural capital in the literary field.[19]

Female textual communities constituted not only a creative matrix for the production and interpretation of texts but also a frame in which their performative dimension was regulated in social and devotional practices. Both dimensions went hand in hand, and can only be isolated for analytical purposes. The strength and durability of this model has been observed in relation to female religious houses:

> the relationship between the oral and the written, and the relationship developed between text and life, word and deed, in the interpretive models that developed out of texts and came to be applied to the lives of the readers or auditors, are two areas which are not the exclusive preserve

19 Bourdieu (1977: 78) defines *habitus* as "the set of acquired patterns of thought, behaviour and taste that result from internalizing culture or objective social structures that shapes the parameters of people's sense of agency and possibility". The concept sprang from his seminal essay on the "champ religieux" (1971), where he defined holiness as an ideology perpetuated in embodied practice, *champ* "field" referring to the formal and informal norms governing a particular social sphere of activity (family, school, higher education, art, politics, economics) organized around specific forms or combinations of capital that are "both the process within, and product, of a field" (Bourdieu 1996). The concept harks back to Aristotle and is closely related to the training in virtue, which makes it specially appropriate: Breen 2010 (esp. Ch. 2). For other applications of Bourdieu's theory to medieval spirituality and literacy see Beckwith 1993: 1–20 "The Transcendent and the Historical: Inventing the Discourse of Mysticism", and 104–11 "'Dyverse Imaginaciouns of Crystes Lyf'"; Krug 2002: 4–8; and for Spain, Beresford and Twomey 2018.

> of eleventh- and twelfth-century France, but are continuing concerns throughout the Middle Ages.[20]

The role of texts, and especially life writings, in shaping nuns' lives "transcended those of authorizing particular forms of spirituality by providing examples of recognized female holiness, or even of enabling *imitatio*. Textual accounts of past holy lives played quite literally formative roles" for all kinds of women—not just nuns—, and intensified after the Reformation (Warren 2010: 3, referring to eighteenth-century Carmelites). The extraordinary impact of textual culture on medieval *mentalités* goes back to classical *paideia*, but it became prevalent due to the father of medieval mysticism, St Bernard of Clairvaux. As Mary Carruthers points out, meditative reading was a "craft of thought", a mechanism to explore and create one's identity by memorizing and meditating on *dicta et facta memorabilia*, exemplary deeds and words, by which the soul and judgment were shaped and character formed. Between real experience and bookish recreation in the imagination there was hardly any difference, given that the "medieval understanding of the complete process of reading [did] not observe in the same way the distinction we make between 'what I read in a book' and 'my experience'".[21]

The link between reading (aurally or visually), experience (imagined or lived), social identity and—in a few cases—composing texts (alone or in collaboration) was especially intense among women, and encompassed genres well beyond hagiography, though it had its roots in devotional practices. The mental operation that led from word to deed and from deed to word was the foundation of Christianity, and the conception of exemplary life-accounts

20 Grisé 2002a: 149. See also Krug 2002: 153–212 "Reading at Syon Abbey"; Warren 2010; and the analytic differentiation between lay, religious, and "semireligious" female readers in Green 2007: 115–76. The exemplary value of reading aloud is underlined in Grisé 2002b, Poutrin 2003, Henneau 2006; for important methodological precisions see Contzen 2015. The assumption there were no women readers in Spain before St Teresa overlooks the existence of "aural/oral literacy" and the way textual communities worked in liturgical and other devotional activities (Sanmartín Bastida 2017: 32–33).

21 Carruthers 1990: 71; see also 156–88 "Memory and the Ethics of Reading", and Carruthers 1998; Minnis 2005; for Spanish literature, Dagenais 1994: 8–29. Bynum (1982a) focuses on the multiplicity of female roles, while the transfer of meditative reading from the religious to the profane sphere and the practical ethics it entailed have been traced by Stock (1995, 2011). The role of discursive practices in the construction of individual identity and character is recognized as central by Foucault (1988); he starts by mentioning its roots in medieval religious spirituality and monastic principles, an idea explored more fully by Clark (2001) and Morgan (2013). The tension in life-accounts between practising textuality to explore and shape the inner self, and then as a way to externalize behaviour through performance—a requirement for being recognized as a saint—is explored in Minnis 2010.

stemmed from it. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God", and "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us" (Jn 1:1, 14): these verses make it the Christian's prime duty to follow Jesus's words and life, contemplated as a unity from a theological and ontological point of view. To follow Christ means to enact His life in one's own, to replicate his suffering and his scars in the same way that He embodied Godhead. Christianity's ideological power lies in textuality, and manifests itself in the centrality of reading aimed at achieving an emotional identification with and participation in Christ's humanity and divinity; the ultimate goal is to *perform* the book of Jesus's life, which is not exactly the same as mimicking it. In this light, saints were looked upon as sequels and figural echoes of Christ.[22]

Since the central message of Christian doctrine was to become "followers" of Jesus—that is, to imitate Him—it may seem platitudinous to remark on the importance of examples and exemplarity in life-accounts of the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Some, indeed, may consider it preposterous to "think with exemplarity" instead of thinking, for instance, with gender when exploring religious and female identity, so deviating from the "example" of previous scholarship.[23] However, "exemplarity is too obvious and too subtle to fall within the range of most literary scholarship" (Lyons 1989: p. ix). To approach female religious life-accounts as instances of the exemplary mode is not as banal as it might seem, since the exemplary function of female hagiography has often been challenged. How could the virgin martyrs' frequent defiance of their parents' wishes be imitated by young women? How could supposedly meek and subservient female readers be expected to make such anti-social behaviours as extreme fasting, enclosure, and self-harming part of their "normal" life? Some have gone so far as to argue that the role of hagiographies even as models for sanctity was null.[24]

---

22 Constable 1998; on the equivalence between ἀκολουθεῖν *sequi* "follow" and μιμεῖσθαι *imitari* "imitate" see n. 27, below. The extension of this model was due to reforms introduced by the Lateran Council of 1215 to extend lay religiosity, a mandate of which the Mendicant Orders were the main agents (Füser 1999).

23 Brown (1988: 153–55) was the first to "think [holiness] with gender". He was also the first to underline the "exemplarity" of holy men, which he traced back to Greco-Latin *paideia* (Brown 1983 and 1998). The idea's limits for understanding female holiness in Late Antiquity are pointed out by Clark (1998); and for medieval and early modern Spain, by Morrás (2015). The bibliography on gender and hagiography is too extensive to cite here; for a summary see Riches and Salih 2012. There are insightful cautions in Bennett 1993, much expanded and updated in Bennett 2006; Frantzen 1993; McNamara 1999.

24 For Hayward (1999: 123), the "vast majority of saint's *Lives* are difficult to construe as serious attempts to provide instruction for would-be saints". The issue is raised in an interfaith context in the Introduction to Hawley 1987: pp. xii–xvi; for an excellent summary of

However, most recent scholars grant, at least to some extent, that exemplarity was the axis around which the representation of women in religious life-accounts and its performative dimension revolved. This provides the modern reader with a standpoint to judge how far religious exemplarity and gender identity intersected.[25] The exemplary angle illuminates how the reception of female life-accounts shaped authorship, authority, and self-construction and representation in medieval and early modern women writers. As the chapters in the first Part of this volume show, it was precisely a consciousness of the power and dangers of exemplarity that led to the writing and rewriting in Spanish of the lives of St Mary the Egyptian or Mary Magdalene, Angela of Foligno or Catherine of Siena. Likewise, as those in the second Part bring out, it is the references—overt or elusive, textual or ethical—to saintly exemplars and their narratives in Leonor López de Córdoba, Teresa de Cartagena, Isabel de Villena, and St Teresa of Ávila which set apart these pre-modern texts from their modern and post-modern counterparts. The crisis of exemplarity that has been detected in the early modern period—*tout exemple cloche* ("every example is lame"), in Montaigne's famous phrase (*Essais* III.13 "De l'expérience")—has often misled modern readers, and alas also critics, into taking *exemplum* in a negative sense as a reductive didactic concept whose truth lies in its reality, when in fact it might better be regarded as "a way of taking beliefs about reality and reframing them into something that suits the direction of a text". *Exemplum* may therefore "qualify as the most ideological of figures, in the sense of being the figure that is most intimately bound to a representation of the world and that most serves as a veil for the mechanism of that representation" (Lyons 1989: p. ix). In the case of female life-accounts, their protagonists could embody a lesson in morality and virtue, but, as mentioned above, the imitation could be eschatological and spiritual, and saintly figures could function as a catalyst or epitome for the revelation of God's love. All in all, life-accounts presented to the reader other possible lives that might or might not appeal to the imagination, and with or without perlocutive effect, as will be remarked below.

A detailed account of current theories on the ethical function of literature lies beyond the scope of these pages, but some remarks may be helpful. The pedagogy of exemplarity goes back to Antiquity, but it underwent a profound change with the coming of Christianity. Imitating the behaviour, virtues, or

---

the controversy see Cunningham 1992; on female exemplarity in particular see the studies cited in the next note.

25 See Bynum 1999; Mooney 1999; Graham 1999; Wogan-Browne 2001 and 2003; Kinane 2005; Sanok 2007; Winstead 2007 and 2017; Ashton 2012.

reactions of a person was already commended by the great Roman rhetoricians; the distinction between *exemplum* as a narrative form and as a term to describe a person who serves as an example was already present in Cicero and Quintilian. Seneca, in turn, elaborated on the interweaving of story and ethics; in *Letters to Lucilius* 95, 98, and 104 he remarks on the necessity of inscribing the individual in a text in order to turn them into an exemplary figure, for a person who serves as an example becomes exemplary precisely by the transformation of his or her actions into a moral narrative. Seneca also acknowledged that an exemplar could be either historical or a product of imagination, and that the intensity of imitation of a given exemplar could be of diverse kinds.[26] In Christian doctrine God himself, incarnated in the historical *persona* of Jesus, is proposed to humankind as the exemplar of exemplars. Citing as doctrine Jesus's exhortations to be taken as an example and the call for universal perfection preached by St Paul, "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ" (1 Cor 11:1)—*quid est enim sequi nisi imitari?* ("For what is to follow but to imitate?"), commented Augustine, in words directed to women—, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) appealed to the laity to participate in this process, a mission that became the main goal of Dominican and Franciscan preachers, who included a deluge of *exempla* in their sermons.[27]

The result of this process was to present human history as a sequence of exemplars, male and female, who made real, in varying degrees and ways, the potentiality of Christ. "Dios es el autor primero de los ejemplos" ("God is the first author of examples"), and Jesus was the first of them to incarnate His words, in turn using parables and examples to persuade others to follow (Aragüés Aldaz 1999: 13). History thus became a sum of paradigms, both before Jesus (biblical, classical figures) and after Him (saints, real or legendary); all could be models for historical (literal), moral, eschatological, or spiritual imitation, according to the exegeses they underwent, or simply symbols of God's

26 Barchiesi 2009, Langlands 2018. On the medieval *exemplum* as a specific literary genre the standard reference remains Welter 1927; see also Brémond, Le Goff, and Schmitt 1982.

27 Jn 1:43 "[Jesus said:] Follow me", Mt 5:48 "Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect", and 16:24 "If any want to become my followers, let them deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me" (also Mt 9:9, 2:14, 8:14, Lk 14:27, 1 Pet 2:21, etc.); the quotation from Augustine, *De sancta virginitate* 27 (*PL* XL, col. 411). The Vulgate translates Paul's words μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε as "Imitatores mei estote", but *imitatores* is rendered in other versions as "followers" (e.g. Douay-Rheims); for the history of the equipollence *imitari/sequi* see Constable 1998 (on Augustine's dictum, p. 144 n. 4). On the subsequent "novelization" of the *exemplum* see Tubach 1962, and on the adoption of exemplarity as a narrative device in secular literature, Goldberg 1999; for female hagiography and exemplarity, n. 25, above. Stierle (1979) adds valuable theoretical concepts on the role of context.

love. To track down the real intentions of the life-accounts may be an impossible task, but to discern their function from the point of view of reception is feasible in some cases. Of course, many critics have pointed out the difficulties of interpreting the moral lessons offered to noblewomen and nuns in life-accounts of females distant in time, class, and circumstance, from Biblical heroines to virgin martyrs or visionaries. Nonetheless, there was a link between the models and their followers: what Paul Ricœur called a "hermeneutic arc" between the original meaning and its reception, between the world of the readers and the world of the text.

> The sense of a text is not behind the text, but in front of it. It is not something hidden, but something disclosed. What has to be understood is not the initial situation of discourse, but what points towards a possible world [...]; to understand a text is to follow its movement from sense to reference: from what it says, to what it talks about.[28]

This surplus of meaning was provided by readers' imagination, which recognized in the text a possible world to be re-enacted, performed, in their own words and deeds. As Garber concludes in her comparison of the sister-books by the Dominicans Margareta Ebner (1291–1351) and Adelheid Langmann (1306–1375), there is a double exemplarity in which text and figure mirror each other, composing a sequence of chained imitations:

> Imitation forms the core of these texts: the protagonists both imitate a particular exemplary model of behavior within the works, and are themselves considered by their contemporaries worthy of imitation by those reading the texts. There exists then a doubled layer of imitability: that performed by the authors (Ebner and Langmann) of the texts, who inscribe the lives of Margaretha and Adelheid into accepted and acceptable patterns; and that expected from the audience, who find in the written record of the women's *Leben* models to recreate in their own lives.[29]

28 Ricoeur 1976: 71–88 "Explanation and Understanding" (87). The objections posed by some scholars regarding the unfeasibility of saints' lives as examples betray a limited understanding of how analogical imagination and the hermeneutics of imitation function; on this controversial issue see Benvenuti Papi 1991, Scorza Barcellona 1994, Kinane 2005; and now Barr 2010. The dichotomy proposed by Vauchez (1991) between saints to admire and saints to imitate, with the Council of Trent as boundary, turns out to be questionable when medieval texts and their aftermath are examined.

29 Garber 2003: 206; and for some of the ideas in the following paragraph, p. 158. See also Contzen 2015.

Both employ religious images, literary motifs, and inscribed structures to compose a model familiar enough to their audiences to confirm their claims to exemplarity, and yet distinct enough from the original to accord with their own personalities. In so doing, they reveal that women religious claimed the authority to appropriate and alter literary models in accordance with their conceptions of exemplarity. Caroline Walker Bynum has observed that "twelfth-century religious discourse generally was characterized by an intense interest in roles, stimulated in part by new possibilities for making life choices". She points out not only that the twelfth century created a "stunning array of new religious roles, many of them hybrid (the military orders, the quasi-religious status only a little later called 'beguines', and so on), but also that many of the 'reforms' of older roles and statuses were a kind of hybridizing as well", a conclusion that may easily be applied to later centuries.[30]

Compared to this plastic notion of exemplarity, the terms "women", "gender", and "religion" are inherently unstable, and less useful for this reason. Any attempt to fix their meanings has to take into account political, institutional, and material variables; being semiotic objects constructed historically and discursively, each term represents "a powerfully 'troubled' category".[31] The approach advocated here avoids any *a priori* position on gender or religion beyond their cultural status/semiotic value, posing instead such questions as: How were narratives about holy women rewritten, and why? To what extent did they represent not just sanctity, but also virtue (that is, an ideal of female conduct for the laity)? Were they used for apologetic purposes, as arguments of defence or rhetorical shields? How did the pre-existing exemplar of a figure determine its *aggiornamento*? Were Biblical and legendary characters such as the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, or Mary of Egypt treated differently from contemporary "living saints" such as Angela of Foligno, Catherine of Siena, or Bridget of Sweden? Or in broader terms, to paraphrase Peter Brown (1998: 371), what sort of "imaginative alchemy" could transform a historical or literary person into an exemplary holy women? The approach that takes saintly textuality as a "generic imitation in expansion" is a useful lever, since examining exemplarity as a literary trope disposes of the divide between the sacred and the profane, and bridges the gap between the narrated example and its uses by analysing texts in which women are simultaneously subjects and authors.

Taking exemplarity as a central axis does not imply, however, ignoring the gender factor. The two categories are linked; indeed, it would appear that

30 Bynum 2001: 147–48; see also *eadem* 1982a and b.

31 Castelli 2001: 3. For critical views of the use of gender as a category of analysis in pre-modern history and literature see n. 23, above.

distinguishing female from male models of sanctity is necessary. After 1200 there was a notable rise in the overall percentage of recognized female saints, which suggests a shift in the way in which sanctity was being conceived and understood.[32] The fact that women were excluded from the clergy, and therefore could not be considered alongside clerical saintly types, limited the ways they could display—or learn and teach—saintly behaviour. From Antiquity onwards, mimesis and affective identification were specially recommended as didactic tools for the rude and simple, a group which for clerics prominently included women.[33] *Exempla* were favoured over doctrinal instruction or abstract paradigms as the ideal narrative and didactic form to educate the moral imagination of children and *illiterati*. The combination of the exemplary first-person narrative of autohagiography and the fact that most women accessed texts aurally bolstered the vividness of the acts, gestures, and emotions depicted, increasing their performative dimension and perlocutive effect. As Gregory Snyder (2000: 36) observes, "reading aloud may contribute to the idea that the person whose text is read is present", thus enhancing the ethical impact on the listener.[34] Moreover, saints' lives were the object of communal readings, usually in the convent refectory, designed to entertain, to create a sense of collective memory, and to induce meditation on the community's founder figures. Since women were barred from exercising as priests or formal teachers, they had to resort to other forms of instruction. Presenting themselves as exemplars, abbesses and other outstanding *mulieres religiosae* could surmount the prohibition against teaching and speaking in public; but for that goal they needed the authority of previous models sanctioned in texts. By collating her life with an existing canon, the author established such authority by showing precisely that she was not an original creator, but one who upheld pre-existing models of *traditio* and *auctoritas*.[35] Because medieval views of authorship and authority differed so substantially from our own, what modern readers may take as marks of inauthenticity became the means of legitimating the text.[36] The process was circular: it was only by being inscribed in a text that women could become exemplars to be imitated and replicated; but "iterability" in Derrida's sense was in turn only possible if the model was already fixed and authorized in a narrative written or recorded in the collective memory. Thus, observes Minnis, women could only gain spiritual and moral authority

32 See Weinstein and Bell 1982: 62–63, 220.

33 Petitfils 2016: 17–51; Roller 2018: 265–89.

34 On affective reading's effects see also Stock 1994 and 2001.

35 Summit 2003: 98, referring to Margery Kempe; Vauchez 1981.

36 See Foucault 1969; Minnis 1988.

by becoming textualized or through "live performance", because "flesh exemplarity was the only permissible way to teach". The paradox, then, lies in the fact that to attain authority women had to veil their *magisterium*: to make it public, their texts had to be supervised and perhaps also written down by male clerics, and their discourse passed off as private forms of communication, either confessions or letters.[37] By becoming public gestures—to use Minnis's felicitous expression—, even if the audience was reduced to an enclosed community, the lives narrated, the miracles performed, the words professed were more akin to theatre than to any doctrinal treatise or devotional form of prayer. This does not imply that female sanctity would not be used to model male holiness, or that male saints were not the object of imitation by women; some features of St Francis of Assisi's life (casting off his clothes, stigmata) were almost universally replicated by Franciscans and *mulieres religiosae* from the thirteenth century onwards.[38] Social (and religious) identity took form and expressed itself both in textual and bodily performance: reading, writing, and enacting the examples experienced on the page.

To be sure, textualization was not the only factor involved in becoming exemplary. Throughout the history of Christianity sanctity has required institutional and social sanction to be accepted as an ideal. Under the blanket protection of already sanctioned saints' authority, women could construct spaces for agency both within the Church and in society at large; hence, while social values relating to gender and class determined the definition of sanctity and exemplarity, the exemplary lives of saints in turn influenced how gender and class roles were conceived. However, while communities projected their values onto saints, holiness could be identified either in individuals who showed the professed values in the highest degree, or in those others who excelled so far above the average as to display qualities that made them *extra*-ordinary, at the margins of the conventional or the imitable. These two types, the "common" and the "exceptional" saint, constituted the two poles of a continuum that allowed for a variety of profiles according to age, social extraction, regional traditions, and historical period. In other words, sanctity, especially when female, did not stick to a static pattern. On the contrary, models of sanctity evolved according to paradigms tightly linked to social and devotional trends, and in their turn the former reciprocally influenced and shaped the latter. The

37 Minnis 2005 and 2010: 48–50, 62; Minnis and Voaden 2010. See also Elliott 1998, and Poor 2014.

38 Gelber 1987 and 2000; Coakley 2014b. Sanmartín Bastida (2012: 271–89) labels the charismatic actions of some visionaries a "teatro del trance" ("theater of rapture"); see also *eadem* 2016.

dynamics of sanctity oscillated between stressing the admirable traits of exceptionality—what made the saint unique—and the exemplary conjunction of imitable virtues; that is to say, hagiography sometimes served as a *speculum populi* providing examples to be followed, sometimes as a map of what was to be regarded as abnormal behaviour. The lives of the saints signalled the boundaries of the admirable; if "common saints" were models to be imitated, "exceptional saints" were unique, to be identified with emotionally, touchstones of other forms of life that might authorize one's own exceptionality (Leonor López de Córdoba), one's texts (Teresa de Cartagena, St Teresa), or one's thought (Villena's narrative theology). Reconciling the exceptionality of the unique individual with the conventionality of the ordinary community was essential to becoming exemplary, since an example is a "figure which [is] set apart (*ex-emplum*), and yet stimulates imitation and generalization".[39] Nonetheless, this exceptionality could also be used to justify actions on the margins of the conventional norm, from Leonor López de Córdoba presenting herself as a typological figure of the Virgin Mary to Teresa de Cartagena modelling herself alternately as a strong biblical women and virgin martyr. Charisma was the common factor that identified its possessors as holy, but equally, it could attract suspicions of fraud or demonic possession; virtue alone was difficult to detect. Holiness had to be externalized in words and deeds, for without public gestures it was reduced to a private experience; a record of conspicuous, even flamboyant, performance became vital to claim sanctity, but might also bring alienation from the rest of the community.

The fluctuation between the two models of sanctity, exceptional and common, and the practical problems posed by performing one or the other, first became noticeable in the thirteenth century, and increasingly so during the fourteenth and fifteenth, the main focus of the studies here gathered. To become a saint demanded conforming to an established set of traits recognized by the communities that controlled the process: the ruling class of nobility and royalty, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the religious orders. The aforementioned problems of definition were the main reason that led in the Counter-Reformation to the establishment of specific regulations on the veneration of saints at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which brought about a radical shift in the way saints were sanctioned and created, removing many hundreds from the official Roman calendar. But earlier, as we see in Leonor López de Córdoba and Isabel de Villena, there was a tendency to transform the Virgin Mary into a female counterpart of Jesus as a model of saintly life and figure to identify with in His suffering. In writers such as Juana de la Cruz (1481–1534), María

39 Starobinski 1985: 15. *Exemplum* derives from *ex-ĭmo* "take out, remove (as a sample)".

de Santo Domingo (1480/86?–1524), and St Teresa, Mother and Son became, alternatively or simultaneously, figures to be imitated in their divine *personae* and in their humanity. As a consequence, gender as a decisive aspect of exemplarity became blurred or eclipsed. On the other hand, the humanization of Christ and the Virgin resulted in a perception of the Sacred Family as feasible models of perfection for lay men or women. This very fact, together with the emergence of lay sisterhoods of religious women living outside the Church's regular control, led to a need to distinguish the virtuous from the saint. Charisma became not *a* mark of sainthood, but *the* aspect that made visible the fact of having been elected, touched by God's hand. However, stigmata, visions, and miracles were ambivalent, since they could be the result of demonic temptation or sheer hoaxes. In a period when women enjoyed a growing degree of freedom, to dispel suspicion and be considered virtuous they had to act according to acceptable and accepted models. The series of saints provided a whole set of them: exemplary in chastity, humility, wisdom, courage, and even in exceptionality and liminality. To avoid accusations of witchcraft or charlatanism, charismatic women had to conform as closely as possible to these accredited forerunners.

Both charismatic and virtuous women, then, had to perform—that is, to act and to project themselves textually—in accordance with a set of conventions that defined their authenticity, rendered them admissible, and protected them from being pointed at as unruly, arrogant, or deceitful. Their authority was established by negotiation between the self-representation of the individual and the social and religious requirements of the particular interpretative community in which the performance took place, since it was in this context that its authenticity was proven. Hence, as the cases examined in this book demonstrate, there was no fixed model valid across all periods, places, and cultures. As I have already mentioned, gender, social class, and condition (as nun, *beata*, laywoman) were decisive for the success of those aspiring to sainthood, or even just to be accepted within society; enjoying the protection of powerful patrons, lay or ecclesiastical, and the ability to claim authority while still showing humility, submission, and conformity to the code were important as well. In short, to remain on the safe side of the line that divided real sainthood from fraud, holiness from devilry, exemplarity from heresy, exceptionality from abnormality, women had to adjust their behaviour, their words, and their deeds, even radically innovating ones, to certain patterns so as not to be accused of being impostors, fake or defective copies of the archetype.

In the medieval and early modern age, then, performing virtue and sanctity (i.e. exemplarity) correctly by choosing the right model for the right occasion and purpose and thus creating a paradoxically unique model that guaranteed

its authenticity—mechanical or too deviant imitations rapidly attracted suspicion—became crucial for exceptional women to forge agency. Any loss of legitimacy—that is, of authority to play a role model—would involve any women not conforming to the correct kit being condemned as marginal, a dangerous outsider to be neither imitated nor admired. Hence the long-term popularity of any saint—legendary, biblical, or historical—involved constant shifting of their image. This also explains why some saints were particularly popular in certain periods, or among distinct social groups or communities. For women, especially those of humble origins, fallen from grace, or cast out from the circles of power, learning to negotiate between communal convention and personal innovation was essential to the difficult enterprise of standing out and exercising agency and influence.[40]

•••

The present volume aims to contribute to the debate on gender, sanctity, and exemplarity with a sustained focus on Hispanic literary texts from the late Middle Ages and early modern period by, for, or about women. The first Part examines how women were construed as saintly examples through narratives, mostly composed by male writers; the second focuses on the use made of exemplary life-accounts by women writers in order to fashion their own social identity and their role as authors. By taking exemplarity as a pivotal concept and as an historical rather than regulatory hermeneutic, the texts examined allow us to delve into questions about the poetics of self-construction, the place of gender in vernacular literary culture, female textual practices, and the continuities and discontinuities of the *fonction-auteur* from the Middle Ages to the early modern period along lines drawn up by scholarship on other European literatures. The eight case studies range from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century; ordered chronologically, they share the premise that there was no unique exemplar of holy women, but rather examples. Even when incarnated in a name and a story, examples are dynamic; but to be effective as models they have to be fixed in a text. The successive versions of an exemplar were, then, stories in which authority and authorship sustained each other. Hence both the conduct itself and its literary expression may be understood as

40 Though, following Bynum's lead, most scholars agree on the "empowerment" thesis of female charismatic sanctity, the evidence is subject to controversy: Coakley (2014a) now believes the charismatic events (stigmata, miracles, etc.) were usually inserted by male collaborators who forced the "exceptional" model on women in order to control them. For different interpretations see the chapters in this volume by Pablo Acosta-García and Rosa Vidal Doval.

performances. "Performing" the book meant following the pattern established in the text, translating into action the ethics conveyed through the exemplary woman; but also inscribing it *in* a performance to acquire a religious, gender, social and cultural identity.

Under the heading "Rewriting Models", the first Part offers a set of cases that show the dynamic nature of the exemplar of the *mulier sancta*, displayed in a variety of paradigms inscribed in successive rewritings that cannot be reduced to a unique textual version or a unique ideal. The diversity reflects the different ways in which the ideal of the holy woman was adapted to successive times and audiences, secular or religious, female or male. Male authors chose to develop or repress certain potential aspects of the model, trying to control performative effects that—in their view—might result in bad or mistaken examples. While it is difficult to measure the extent to which hagiographies and other didactic stories modelled the actual behaviour of their female readers, their success is evident from their persistence in new contexts; that is, in the successive rewritings of a *vita* and its imitations in other genres, as testified by the endurance of stories such as the life of St Mary of Egypt, the increasing devotion to the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene in the fifteenth century, or the dissemination throughout Europe of the letters, visions, and biographies by Angela of Foligno, Catherine of Siena, and Mechthild of Magdeburg, to name but a few. These examples functioned as a point of departure for many women to forge their own identities and craft their own texts, capturing their literary imagination. Iterability being paramount in exemplarity, the bygone figures functioned as a sanction and a mirror—sometimes a distorting one—for women's self-representation. Exemplarity, or "exemplarization" as it is termed by Bruno Gelas (1981, cited by Lyons 1989: 21–24), occurs within discourse, not outside it. Hence the interest of some women in inscribing themselves in the text: to claim authority for themselves as exemplars. More often than not, however, these same figures and works were also taken up by male authorities for their own purposes, promoting exemplars of female mysticism embodied in one or more holy women at the service of political and religious reforms. Cardenal Cisneros, studied in two of the chapters included in this volume, was by no means a unique case.

The poem *Vida de Santa María Egipciaca* (*Life of St Mary of Egypt*), composed in the thirteenth century and preserved in a single copy of the mid-fifteenth, is an apt example of how a performative model of exemplarity assumed a model of cultural authority that was equally performative. As Andrew Beresford shows in his analysis, the authority that the heroine of the poem enacts—in this case incarnated by the eremitic penitent and Desert Father St Antony—is not a static, self-contained entity defined by some abstract proposition, nor

a gendered one. On the contrary, it is defined, at least in part, by her performance as delineated by the gaze of the characters and of readers. Through the gaze of others she rejects her own narcissistic self-contemplation of her body; by looking at the image of the Virgin as in mirror, Mary of Egypt is converted to an act of imaginary union with it. However, Beresford rejects the standard critical view of this as a potentially homoerotic union; leaving aside "precipitously sexualized interpretations [of] texts that were composed originally as catalysts for the exercise and display of exemplary ascetic piety", he reads it as a queer medieval image of religious devotion. He argues that Mary embodies an eremitic model which transcends the gendered body, as opposed to the coenobitic mode of asceticism embodied by Zosimas. His interpretation underlines the fluidity of gender identity in sanctity. Mary becomes a figure covered in hair and so tanned by the sun that it is impossible to distinguish her sex. By collapsing the boundaries she transcends the societal constructions of gender.

Blurring gender was not the option taken by Álvaro de Luna in his depiction of the most famous sanctified repentant prostitute, Mary Magdalene. On the contrary, I argue that he placed her under suspicion. Among the host of exemplary women in his *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mugeres* (*Book of Virtuous and Illustrious Women*) of 1446, Mary Magdalene stands out from the other traditional holy harlots there included (Pelagia, Mary of Egypt, Thaïs of Alexandria); only she is the object of authorial comments, which highlight her hypersexuality and insinuate an anti-exemplary character. To understand why Mary Magdalene was refused her recognized status as an exemplary figure, the social, political, and literary context of the book is considered. It was written as part of the *querelle des femmes* initiated at the behest of Queen María of Castile, the major opponent, along with her brothers the Infantes of Aragon, of the king's favourite Álvaro de Luna in his endeavours to fortify royal power. In the rarefied atmosphere of the Castilian court, casting suspicion on Mary Magdalene, Christ's advisor and favourite, might be construed as an oblique attack on María's pretension to exercise influence over King Juan II, her husband. Magdalene's ambiguous nature enabled Luna to include her as suspicious case in his catalogue of illustrious and virtuous women; the political angle suggests an answer to the thorny riddle of why he did not just leave her out.

Records of the perlocutive effect of these kinds of texts are sporadic, but we do at least have evidence of authorial intentions. Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros's religious reforms and his interest in promoting female sanctity are well known and much studied, but his motives for the latter were complex, as the next two articles show. Rosa Vidal Doval examines the implications of including the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* (*Treatise on the Spiritual Life*), attributed to St Vincent Ferrer, alongside the translations he commissioned of

life-accounts of visionary women, in order to analyse Cisneros's view on the place of female mystics in a reformed Christianity. In the *Tractatus* visions and revelations are placed within the frame of the cultivation of humility and obedience favoured for monastic communities. However, conjoining this with women visonaries' lives drew attention to the topic of female mystics' subjection to male authority. For Vidal, the key to understanding Cisneros's intention lies in the *Tractatus*'s stress on the necessity of basing spiritual authority on strict observance of monastic rules. The point was originally addressed to men; Cisneros's purpose was precisely to place the process of *discretio spirituum* in the hands of male theologians. Vidal concludes that the aim of focusing on the need for obedience and humility was to take the authority to interpret and validate visions and other extraordinary religious experiences out of the hands of women. Female mystics could be accepted only if controlled by the patriarchal Church; spiritual, social, or cultural authority was to remain under male tutelage.

Another side of Cisneros's enterprise is examined by Pablo Acosta-García. His study traces how the publication (1505) and then translation (1510) of the "living saint" Angela de Foligno's autohagiography commissioned by the Cardinal defined "new collective models to be remembered and imitated by communities in search of reform". This fixing of the image of Angela as a propheteess in the Castilian collective memory coincided with Cisneros's profound involvement in the crusade to conquer and evangelize North Africa and the continent of America; its aim was to stimulate and authorize other charismatic female prophets directly involved in that enterprise such as María de Santo Domingo. In line with Vidal, however, Acosta also perceives a certain scepticism towards feminine language and ideas, a distrust that can be related to the emergence of heterodox groups in Castile. Nevertheless, his study shows clearly how the continuity between late medieval and early modern spirituality was maintained and enhanced through texts.

Following on from this point, Jimena Gamba Corradine's study shows how, in parallel with the growing presence of women in written culture in Reformation countries, reading became the main channel for the construction of a new female spirituality in sixteenth-century Spain. In contrast to immediately preceding models of female mysticism such as Juana de la Cruz and María de Santo Domingo or women pertaining to the early *alumbrado* movement (Francisca Hernández, Isabel Ortiz), who were illiterate, the new female religiosity, strongly associated with heterodox currents outside the control of the Catholic Church, is characterized by Gamba as "intellectual"; it arose in literate circles where cultivated women shared texts and ideas. Cases exhumed from Inquisitorial archives reveal how the urge to experience new forms of spirituality and

the appetite for intellectual activity went hand in hand. In parallel to the Northern countries, at the forefront of these activities lay the discussion and interpretation of texts, including the Bible, displacing the personal, private charismatic experiences of earlier *beatas* and aspiring saints. The forbidden written texts circulating among these women became emblematic guardians of truth, elements of ideological transformation. "The absence of mystical experiences and a form of spirituality based instead on reading were the characteristics most apparent among 'Lutheran' women in the Spanish context", observes Gamba; though this, she adds, did not extend to any such ultra-radical Protestant "transformation" as the marriage of nuns or the abolition of women's convents.

Even before the sixteenth century, and increasingly during it, however, women not only participated in culture as readers and patrons, but also put into practice what they learned in order to fabricate their own texts. They were few, and belonged by rank or lineage to a privileged elite with access to texts; even so, in search of the protection of a familiar and accepted discourse they often turned to the religious sphere. These first female writers are the subject of the second part of this volume, "Inscribing Models". Though the bibliography on them is now extensive, our approach aims to be innovative. By tracking down the uses of religious discourse in fifteenth and sixteenth-century women writers, it seeks to analyse how their reading aroused their literary imagination. The authors here studied all vied to "in-scribe" themselves and their voices in their life-accounts, presenting themselves in one way or another as examples by reshaping and transforming the images they read, heard and learned from previous models; a process which culminated in the writings of the first female Doctor of the Church, Teresa of Ávila. The texts document the fertile reception and recreation of the exemplary female ideal directed at them. Female hagiographies, however, were not their only source; other modes of exemplary life-accounts in the Bible, sermons, visions and revelations, *vitae Christi* and *vitae Mariae* provided early Hispanic women writers with a language to express themselves, a point of view to explore their feelings and their beliefs—to construct their self, and represent it. So equipped, and with the endorsement of a genealogy of precedents, they could not only depict their own actions as exemplary but also introduce themselves into the public sphere through the authority of the written word. Though in the first instance our medieval and early modern female writers addressed their works to a close textual community in their immediate entourage (convent or court, or convent *and* court), most went beyond it, intentionally or not. The way female writers used their models also varied greatly: from Leonor López de Córdoba's notarial pseudo-autohagiographical memoirs to Teresa de Cartagena's treatise-cum-sermon

or Isabel de Villena's theological doctrine cloaked in biblical narrative, the almost always hybrid generic approach of the texts and the truth of the portrayed character's actions or nature differed greatly, despite being always cast in autobiographical terms. What all shared was that they represented themselves as followers or figural projections of a previous archetype which they had renewed so as to become, in turn, exemplars to be imitated in deeds or in words, in behaviour and in virtue. The fact that virgin martyrs, holy sinners, and the Virgin Mary herself were read as models to be imitated, as the respective chapters on St Mary of Egypt, Luna's *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mugeres*, and Leonor López de Córdoba's *Memorias* show, indicate that the gap between the sacred and the profane could quite easily be bridged when dealing with authoritative models rooted in past history and fixed in textual narratives. To replicate the behaviour of a saint and adapt it to a new time and space through typological or figural interpretation, or to transfer the qualities embodied in an exemplary figure to new historical, biographical, or social circumstances, necessarily implied writing a new narrative; it was in action that the imitator displayed her conduct and her qualities.

Leonor López de Córdoba's brief *Memorias* (*Memoirs*), the first female autobiography in Castilian, are a salient example of how *exempla*, hagiographic accounts, and identification with the Virgin Mary could be used as powerful tools for moulding her own identity and sanctioning her life. Ryan Giles's article expounds Leonor's Marian strategies to explain her adoption and conversion of a Jewish child, Alonso, which led to the cruel sacrifice of her own biological son, Juan Fernando, by exposing him to the plague. Her motive, to gain not only personal redemption but also royal pardon, is revealed in the care she takes to link her actions to devotional stories about the Virgin of Guadalupe, whose shrine was closely associated with the Crown. However, Giles suggests her strategy was "irremediably complicated and confuted by the problem of the convert's contagiousness", which caused Juan Fernando's death. It is interesting to compare Leonor with the most famous medieval writer in Castile, Teresa de Cartagena (c. 1425–after 1478). Like Leonor, whose family suffered persecution after the death of Pedro I, Teresa, deaf and from a family of recently converted Jews, might be considered a marginal or liminal figure. Yet Leonor was to become the favourite of the Queen Dowager Catalina, regent of Castile, and Teresa had the protection of the powerful García de Santa María family. The differences are also obvious: while Leonor aspired to live at court and was an illiterate noblewoman, Teresa was raised under the wing of her uncle, the bishop of Burgos Alfonso de Cartagena, a brilliant scholar and writer, and though we know little for certain about her education or circumstances, she became a nun and writer.

Context and women's difficult position as teachers in the Church explain the similarities in their way of confronting theological themes in Constanza de Castilla (d. 1478), Teresa de Cartagena, Isabel de Villena (*c.* 1430–1490), and Teresa de Jesús (1515–1582). Lesley Twomey takes as a point of departure the analysis of how these writers from diverse linguistic areas, periods, and religious orders envisioned salvation as a journey to God. For all of them, sight seems the crucial sense for representing Heaven as the end of that journey, and beauty as the element that allows them to discern it. Using their own judgement in visions and relying on their bodily experience, they acquired the self-authority to form personal, though orthodox, theologies.

The final study by Christopher van Ginhoven Rey focuses on Teresa of Ávila. It is a fitting closure to this compilation on the correspondence between words and deeds, flesh and text, in female exemplary life-accounts. In a complex and detailed analysis van Ginhoven Rey examines the stunning frequency with which Teresa's *Libro de la vida* (*Book of Her Life*) imagines its own destruction. This feature has received scant attention, and is routinely explained as the result of self-censorship. But, as van Ginhoven Rey argues, it can be interpreted in other much more creative and convincing ways. It sprang not so much from fear of being heterodox, but from Teresa's struggle to express the ineffable of human and mystical bodily experiences—bodily disintegration due to illness, her desire for annihilation in Christ—and from the actual process of composition, which required the destruction of all the component pieces in the unstable unity of a book.

The studies here included present a diversity of critical methodologies; but taken together, they reveal the function of imagination and exemplarity, in both its ethical and literary dimension, in texts for and by women. Our theoretical and comparative framework owes a large debt to concepts and methodologies developed by scholars working beyond the Pyrenees on the construction of female identity and the role of sanctity in that process, as I have sought to show in the first section of this Introduction. Our hope is that these chapters will contribute to setting the texts, authors, and figures studied in a wider transnational context, and at the same time stimulate an interest in them by scholars from beyond the Hispanic field. The comparative approach should broaden our understanding of life-accounts and their relationship with the exemplary mode, both in their divergences and peculiarities and also in their shared traditions and mutual influences; and hopefully, beyond that, illuminate the nature of exemplary discourse about women, for women, and by women—and hence of their self-representation as women and as authors.

Works Cited

Aragüés Aldaz, José, 1999. *"Deus concionator". Mundo predicado y retórica del "exemplum" en los Siglos de Oro* (Amsterdam: Rodopi).

Aragüés Aldaz, José, 2007. "Fronteras de la imitación hagiográfica: una retórica de la diferencia", in *Modelos de vida en la España del Siglo de Oro*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Marc Vitse, 2 vols (Madrid: Iberoamericana), II: *El sabio y el santo*, pp. 275–302.

Arenal, Electa, and Stacey Schlau, 2006. "'Leyendo yo y escribiendo ella': The Convent as Intellectual Community", *Letras Femeninas* 32.1, 129–47.

Ashley, Kathleen, 2007. "Accounts of Lives", in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c. 1350–c. 1500*, ed. Peter Brown (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 437–53.

Ashton, Gail A., 2012. *The Generation of Identity in Late Medieval Hagiography: Speaking the Saint* (London: Routledge).

Atherton, Mark, 1993. "The 'Visions of Hildegard' and the 'Silent Period': A Case Study of Language Acquisition through Aural and Visual Memory", *System: An International Journal of Educational Technology and Applied Linguistics* 21.4, 503–08.

Baños Vallejo, Fernando, 1989. *La hagiografía como género literario en la Edad Media. Tipología de doce Vidas individuales castellanas* (Oviedo: Departamento de Filología Española).

Baños Vallejo, Fernando, 2003. *Las vidas de santos en la literatura medieval española*, Arcadia de las letras 17 (Madrid: Laberinto).

Baranda, Nieves (ed.), 1997. *Chrónica del rey Guillermo de Inglaterra. Hagiografía, política y aventura medievales entre Francia y España,* Medievalia Hispánica 4 (Madrid: Iberoamericana).

Baranda, Nieves, and Anne J. Cruz (eds), 2018. *The Routledge Research Companion to Early Modern Spanish Women Writers* (London: Routledge).

Baranda Leturio, Nieves, and Mª Carmen Marín Pina (eds), 2014. *Letras en la celda. Cultura escrita de los conventos femeninos en la España moderna* (Madrid: Iberoamericana).

Barbeito Carneiro, María Isabel, 2007. *Mujeres y literatura del Siglo de Oro. Espacios profanos y espacios conventuales* (Madrid: Orto). <https://eprints.ucm.es/14525/>.

Barchiesi, Alessandro, 2009. "Exemplarity: Between Practice and Text", in *Latinitas Perennis*, II: *Appropriation and Latin Literature*, ed. Jan Papy, Wim Verbaal, and Yanick Maes, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 178 (Leiden: Brill), pp. 41–62.

Barr, Jessica, 2010. "Creative Imagination and Didactic Intent in Medieval Visions of the Other World: A Response to Fritz Kemmler", *Connotations: A Journal for Critical Debate* 20.1 (Nov.), 1–11. <https://www.connotations.de/issue/vol-20/>.

Barr, Jessica, 2016. "Modelling Holiness: Self-fashioning and Sanctity in Late Medieval English Mystical Literature", in *Sanctity as Literature in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. Eva von Contzen and Anke Bernau (Manchester: Manchester UP), pp. 80–95.

Beceiro Pita, Isabel, 1999. "Modelos de conducta y programas educativos para la aristocracia femenina (siglos XII–XV)", in *De la Edad Media a la Moderna: mujeres, educación y familia en el ámbito rural y urbano*, ed. Mª Teresa López Beltrán, ATENEA Estudios sobre la mujer 30 (Málaga: Universidad), pp. 37–72.

Beckwith, Sarah, 1993. *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge).

Bennett, Judith M., 1993. "Medievalism and Feminism", in *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism*, ed. Nancy F. Partner (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America), pp. 7–29. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.04426>.

Bennett, Judith M., 2006. *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Benvenuti Papi, Anna, 1991. "La santedat en àmbits femenins: funcions i representacions entre l'Edat Mitjana i l'Edat Moderna", *Revista d'Història Medieval* 2, 9–28.

Beresford, Andrew M., and Lesley K. Twomey, 2018. "Introduction: Reading Religious Subjects", in *Christ, Mary, and the Saints: Reading Religious Subjects in Medieval and Renaissance Spain*, ed. Andrew M. Beresford and Lesley K. Twomey, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 66 (Leiden: Brill), pp. 1–34.

Biddick, Kathleen, 1993. "Genders, Bodies, Borders: Technologies of the Visible", *Speculum* 68.2, 389–418.

BIESES (= *Bibiografía de Escritoras Españolas*), dir. Nieves Baranda <http://bieses.net>.

Blanton, Virginia, Veronica O'Mara, and Patricia Stoop (eds), 2013. *Nuns' Literacies: The Hull Dialogue* (Turnhout: Brepols).

Blanton, Virginia, Veronica O'Mara, and Patricia Stoop (eds), 2015. *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Kansas City Dialogue* (Turnhout: Brepols).

Blanton, Virginia, Veronica O'Mara, and Patricia Stoop (eds), 2018. *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Antwerp Dialogue* (Turnhout: Brepols).

Bourdieu, Pierre, 1971. "Genèse et structure du champ religieux", *Revue française de sociologie*, 295–334.

Bourdieu, Pierre, 1977. "Structures and the Habitus", in *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), pp. 72–95.

Bourdieu, Pierre, 1996. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP).

Breen, Katharine, 2010. *Imagining an English Reading Public, 1150–1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).

Brémond, Claude, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, 1982. *L'Exemplum*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 40 (Turnhout: Brepols).

Brown, Peter, 1983. "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity", *Representations* 2, 1–25.

Brown, Peter, 1988. *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia UP; repr. 2008).

Brown, Peter, 1998. "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971–1997", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6.3 (Fall), 353–76.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 1982a. "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" [1980], in her *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 82–109.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 1982b. "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing" [1977], in her *Jesus as Mother* (see 1982a), pp. 110–69.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 1999. "Foreword", in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine C. Mooney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. i–xi.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 2001. *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books).

Carruthers, Mary, 1990. *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).

Carruthers, Mary, 1998. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).

Castelli, Elizabeth A., 2001. "Women, Gender, Religion: Troubling Categories and Transforming Knowledge", in *Women, Gender, Religion: A Reader*, ed. Elizabeth A. Castelli (New York: Palgrave), pp. 3–25. <https://www.academia.edu/1863035/>.

Catálogo de santas vivas, dir. Rebeca Sanmartín Bastida <http://catalogodesantasvivas.visionarias.es>.

Cátedra, Pedro M., 2005. *Liturgia, poesía y teatro en la Edad Media: estudios sobre prácticas culturales y religiosas*, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica II.444 (Madrid: Gredos).

Cátedra, Pedro M., and Anastasio Rojo, 2004. *Bibliotecas y lecturas femeninas: siglo XVI* ([Salamanca]: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura).

Cazelles, Brigitte (ed.), 1991. *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Chance, Jane, 1999. "Speaking *in propria persona*. Authorizing the Subject as a Political Act in Late Medieval Feminine Spirituality", in *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality: The Holy Women of Liège and Their Impact*, ed. Juliette Dor, Lesley Johnson, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 269–94.

Clark, Elizabeth A., 1998. "Holy Women, Holy Words: Early Christian Women, Social History, and the 'Linguistic Turn'", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6.3 (Fall), 413–30.

Clark, Robert L.A., 2001. "Constructing the Female Subject in Late Medieval Devotion", in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Robert L.A. Clark (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), pp. 160–82.

Coakley, John W., 2006. *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia UP).

Coakley, John W., 2010. "Women's Textual Authority and the Collaboration of Clerics", in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden, Essays in European Culture 1 (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 83–104.

Coakley, John W., 2014a. "Afterword: Ordinary Life and the Gendered Imagination", in *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, ed. Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 401–12.

Coakley, John W., 2014b. "The Conversion of St. Francis and the Writing of Christian Biography, 1228–1263", *Franciscan Studies* 72, 27–71.

Coleman, Jane, 1995. "Interactive Parchment: The Theory and Practice of Medieval English Aurality", *Yearbook of English Studies* 25, 63–79.

Coleman, Jane, 2005. *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).

Coleman, Jane, 2007. "Aurality", in *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm, Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature (Oxford: Oxford UP), pp. 68–84.

Constable, Giles, 1998. "The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ", in his *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), pp. 145–248.

Contzen, Eva von, 2015. "Why Medieval Literature Does Not Need the Concept of Social Minds: Exemplarity and Collective Experience", *Narrative* 23.2, 140–53.

Contzen, Eva von, and Anke Bernau (eds), 2016. *Sanctity as Literature in Late Medieval Britain* (Manchester: Manchester UP).

Cortés Timoner, Mª Mar, 2004. *Teresa de Cartagena, primera escritora mística en lengua castellana* (Málaga: Universidad).

Cortés Timoner, Mª Mar, 2016. "« Fue levado mi entendimiento »: Teresa de Cartagena y la escritura mística en femenino", *Scripta* 8, 148–63. <https://ojs.uv.es/index.php/scripta/article/view/9292>.

Cotter-Lynch, Margaret, and Brad Herzog (eds), 2012. *Reading Memory and Identity in the Texts of Medieval European Holy Women* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan).

Cruz, Anne J., 2018. "Women's Education in Early Modern Spain", in *The Routledge Research Companion to Early Modern Spanish Women Writers*, ed. Nieves Baranda and Anne J. Cruz (London: Routledge), pp. 27–40.

Cunningham, Lawrence S., 1992. "A Decade of Research on the Saints: 1980–1990", *Theological Studies* 53.3, 517–33.

Dagenais, John, 1994. *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the "Libro de buen amor"* (Princeton: Princeton UP).

De Rentiis, Dina, 1996. *Die Zeit der Nachfolge: zur Interdependenz von "imitatio Christi" und "imitatio auctorum" in 12.–16. Jahrhundert*, Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 273 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer; digital edn 2012).

Donne e cultura scritta nel Medioevo, dir. Luisa Miglio and Marco Palma <http://edu.let.unicas.it/womediev/framinten.html>.

Durán López, Fernando, 2007. *Un cielo abreviado: introducción crítica a una historia de la autobiografía religiosa en España* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española).

Early Women Writers (licensed access only) <https://www.wwp.northeastern.edu/>.

Elliott, Dyan H., 1998. "*Dominae* or *dominatae*? Female Mystics and the Trauma of Textuality", in *Women, Marriage, and Family in Medieval Christendom: Essays in Memory of Michael M. Sheehan,* ed. Constance M. Rousseau and Joel Thomas Rosenthal (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute), pp. 47–77.

Feminae: Medieval Women and Gender Index <http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/>.

Ferrante, Joan, 1984. "The Education of Women in the Middle Ages in Theory, Fact, and Fantasy", in *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, ed. Patricia H. Labalme (New York: New York UP), pp. 9–42.

Field, Sean L., 2007. "Agnes of Harcourt, Felipa of Porcelet, and Marguerite of Oingt: Women Writing about Women at the End of the Thirteenth Century", *Church History* 76.2, 298–329.

Fleming, John V., 2014. "Medieval European Autobiography", in *The Cambridge Companion to Autobiography*, ed. Maria DiBattista and Emily O. Wittman (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), pp. 35–48.

Foucault, Michel, 1969. "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?", *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie* 63.3 (juillet-septembre), 73–104. <http://1libertaire.free.fr/MFoucault349.html>.

Foucault, Michel, 1988. "Technologies of the Self", in *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, ed. Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton (Amherst: University of Massachusets Press), pp. 16–49.

Francomano, Emily C., 2003. "'Lady, you are quite a chatterbox': The Legend of St Katherine of Alexandria, Wives' Words, and Women's Wisdom in MS Escorial h-I-13", in *St Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 131–52.

Francomano, Emily C., 2004. "Manuscript Matrix and Meaning in Castilian and Catalan Anthologies of Saints' Lives and Pious Romance", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* (Liverpool) 81.2, 139–54.

Frantzen, Allen J., 1993. "When Women Aren't Enough", in *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism*, ed. Nancy F. Partner (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America), pp. 149–63. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.04426>.

Fudgé, Thomas A., 2016. "Sensuality, Spirituality, and Sexuality in the Religious Experience of Female Mystics", in his *Medieval Religion and its Anxieties. History and Mystery in the Other Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 157–81.

Füser, Thomas, 1999. "Vom *exemplum Christi* über das *exemplum sanctorum* zum „Jedermannsbeispiel". Überlegungen zur Normativität exemplarischer Verhaltensmuster

im institutionellen Gefüge der Bettelorden des 13. Jahrhunderts", in *Die Bettelorden im Aufbau: Beiträge zu Institutionalisierungsprozessen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum*, ed. Gert Melville and Jörg Oberste, Vita regularis 11 (Münster: LIT), pp. 27–105.

Garber, Rebecca L.R., 2003. *Feminine Figurae: Representations of Gender in Religious Texts by Medieval German Women Writers, 1100–1475* (London: Routledge).

García-Bermejo Giner, Miguel, 2004. "Las destinatarias de la poesía cancioneril castellana pasional del siglo XV", *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* neue Folge 45, 57–70.

Garí, Blanca, 2017. "What Did Catalans Nuns Read? Women's Literacy in the Female Monasteries of Catalonia, Majorca and Valencia", in *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Antwerp Dialogue*, ed. Virginia Blanton, Veronica O'Mara, and Patricia Stoop (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 125–48.

Garí, Blanca, and Núria Jornet-Benito, 2017. "El objeto en su contexto. Libros y prácticas devocionales en el Monasterio de Sant Antoni i Santa Clara de Barcelona", in *Clarisas y dominicas. Modelos de implantación, filiación, promoción y devoción en la Península Ibérica, Cerdeña, Nápoles y Sicilia*, ed. Gemma Teresa Colesanti, Blanca Garí, and Núria Jornet-Benito, (Firenze: Firenze UP), pp. 487–507. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/154815441.pdf>.

Gatland, Emma, 2011. *Women from the "Golden Legend": Female Authority in a Medieval Castilian Sanctoral*, Colección Támesis A296 (Woodbridge: Tamesis).

Gelas, Bruno, 1981. "La fiction manipulatrice", in O. Ducrot and others, *L'argumentation*, Linguistique et sémiologie 10 (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon), pp. 75–90.

Gelber, Hester G., 1987. "A Theater of Virtue: The Exemplary World of St. Francis of Assisi", in *Saints and Virtues*, ed. John Stratton Hawley (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 15–35.

Gelber, Hester G., 2000. "Revisiting the Theater of Virtue", *Franciscan Studies* 58, 19–36.

Giles, Ryan, 2016. "'Mira mis llagas': heridas divinas en las obras de Brígida de Suecia y Teresa de Jesús", *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* 32 (= *Santa Teresa, quinientos años después*, ed. María Morrás and Rebeca Sanmartín Bastida), 34–49. <https://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/32>.

Gill, Katherine, 1994. "Women and the Production of Religious Literature in the Vernacular, 1300–1500", in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, ed. Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 64–104.

Gilmore, Leigh, 1994. "Genders, Bodies, Identitites: Representing Gender in Medieval Mysticism", in her *Autobiographics: A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-Representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP), pp. 131–62.

Goldberg, Harriet, 1999. "Imitation as a Narrative Function: Anything You Can Do I Can Do Better", *Romance Philology* 52.2 (Spring), 23–36.

Gómez Moreno, Ángel, 2008. *Claves hagiográficas de la literatura española* (*del "Cantar de mio Cid" a Cervantes*), Medievalia Hispanica 11 (Madrid: Iberoamericana).

Gómez Redondo, Fernando, 1999. *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana*, II: *El desarrollo de los géneros. La ficción caballeresca y el orden religioso* (Madrid: Cátedra).

Graham, Elaine, 1999. "Words Made Flesh: Women, Embodiment and Practical Theology", *Feminist Theology* 7.21 (May), 109–21.

Green, Dennis H., 2007. *Women Readers in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).

Greenspan, Kate, 1996. "Autohagiography and Medieval Women's Spiritual Autobiography" [1991], in *Gender and Text in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Jane Chance (Gainesville: UP of Florida), pp. 216–36.

Griffiths, Fiona J., and Julie Hotchin (eds), 2014. *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500* (Turnhout: Brepols).

Grisé, C. Annette, 2002a. "The Textual Community of Syon Abbey", *Florilegium* 19, 149–62. <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/flor/article/view/12510>.

Grisé, C. Annette, 2002b. "Women's Devotional Reading in Late-Medieval England and the Gendered Reader", *Medium Ævum* 71.2, 209–25.

Hagiographia Hispanica, dir. Fernando Baños and Marinela Garcia Sempere <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/hagiografia_hispanica/>.

Hawley, John Stratton, 1987. "Introduction", in *Saints and Virtues*, ed. John Stratton Hawley (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. i–xxxii.

Hayward, Paul Antony, 1999. "Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom", in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward (Oxford: Oxford UP), pp. 115–42.

Heffernan, Thomas, 1988. *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford UP).

Heneveld, Amy, and Marion Uhlig, 2012. "Pour une poétique de l'*exemplum* courtois", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 23, 21–27. <https://journals.openedition.org/crm/12804>.

Henneau, Marie-Elisabeth, 2006. "Vivre et écrire son histoire en clôture: de la relecture du passé à l'édification du présent", in *Histoires d'historiennes*, ed. Nicole Pellegrin (Saint-Étienne: Université), pp. 47–66.

Hernández Amez, Vanesa, 2004. "Las vidas de los mártires: modelos para imitar", *Archivum. Revista de filología, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* (Oviedo) 54, 315–30. <https://www.unioviedo.es/reunido/index.php/RFF/issue/view/6/>.

Hollywood, Amy, 2002. "Performativity, Citationality, Ritualization", *History of Religions* 42.2 (Nov.), 93–115.

Howe, Elizabeth Teresa, 2002. "Cisneros and the Translation of Women's Spirituality", in *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, ed. Renate

Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York: Palgrave), pp. 283–95.

Howe, Elizabeth Teresa, 2008. *Education and Women in the Early Modern Hispanic World* (Aldershot: Ashgate; online repr. London: Routledge, 2016).

Jauss, Hans Robert, 1970. "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory" [= *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation*, 1970, Chs 7–12, trans. Elizabeth Benzinger], *New Literary History* 2.1 (Autumn), 7–37. DOI: 10.2307/468585.

Jeay, Madeleine, 2012. "La transmission du savoir théologique. Le cas des femmes mystiques illettrées", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 23, 223–41. <https://journals.openedition.org/crm/12835>.

Jost, Jean E., 1998. "Reconstructing a Medieval Feminine Aesthetic", *Christianity & Literature* 47.2 (March), 229–39.

Juan López de Salamanca, 2004. *Evangelios moralizados*, ed. Arturo Jiménez Moreno, Textos recuperados 24 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca).

Juan López de Salamanca, 2009. *Libro de las historias de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Arturo Jiménez Moreno (San Millán de la Cogolla: CiLengua).

Kieckhefer, Richard, 1984. *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and their Religious Milieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Kinane, Karolyn Ann, 2005. "Sanctity Deferred: The Problem of Imitation in Early English Saints' Lives" (PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota). <https://search.proquest.com/docview/305463938>.

Krug, Rebecca, 2002. *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP).

Langlands, Rebecca R., 2018. *Exemplary Ethics in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).

Lawrance, Jeremy N.H., 1984. "Nueva luz sobre la biblioteca del Conde de Haro: inventario de 1455", *El Crotalón. Anuario de filología española* 1, 1073–111.

Lehfeldt, Elizabeth A., 2005. *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Aldershot: Ashgate; repr. Routledge, 2017).

Lindgren, Erika L., 2009. *Sensual Encounters: Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany* (New York: Columbia UP).

Lyons, John D., 1989. *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP).

Malena, Adelisa, 2012. "Ego-documents or 'Plural Compositions'? Reflections on Women's Obedient Scriptures in the Early Modern Catholic World", *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 1, 97–113. DOI: 10.13128/JEMS-2279-7149-10637.

Martínez Romero, Tomàs, 2017. "*De les revelacions de santa Melchides*, a Partial Translation of Mechtild of Hackeborn's *Liber specialis gratiae*", *Aevum: Rassegna di Scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche* 91.2, 585–610. <http://aevum.vitaepensiero.it/>.

Martínez Romero, Tomàs, 2019. "La feminització d'una miscel·lània espiritual medieval", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 96, 1–15.

Matrix. A collection of resources for the study of women's religious communities 500–1500 <https://monasticmatrix.osu.edu/>.

McNamara, Jo Ann, 1999. "An Unresolved Syllogism: The Search for a Christian Gender System", in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray (New York: Garland), pp. 1–24.

Mendes, Paula Almeida, 2013. "«Vidas», «Histórias», «Crónicas», «Tratados»: sobre a escrita e a edição de hagiografias e de biografias devotas em Portugal (séculos XVI–XVIII)", *Lusitania Sacra* 28, 173–214. <http://portal.cehr.ft.lisboa.ucp.pt/LusitaniaSacra/index.php/journal/issue/view/8>.

Mestre Navas, Pablo Alberto, 2018. "Espacios femeninos de escritura en la Edad Media", in *Voces de mujeres en la Edad Media: entre realidad y ficción*, ed. Esther Corral Díez ([n.p.]: De Gruyter), pp. 514–24. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvbkjv2x.42>.

Minnis, A.J., 1988. *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* [1984], 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; online edn 2010).

Minnis, Alastair, 2005. "Medieval Imagination and Memory", in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, II: *The Middle Ages*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), pp. 239–74.

Minnis, Alistair, 2010. "Religious Roles: Public and Private", in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden, Brepols Essays in European Culture 1 (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 47–81.

Minnis, Alastair, and Rosalynn Voaden, 2010. "Introduction", in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden, Brepols Essays in European Culture 1 (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 1–12.

Mooney, Catherine M., 1999. "Voice, Gender, and the Portrayal of Sanctity", in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine C. Mooney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 1–15.

Morgan, Ben, 2013. *On Becoming God: Late Medieval Mysticism and the Modern Western Self* (New York: Fordham UP).

Morrás, María, 2015. "Ser mujer y santa (Península Ibérica, siglos XV–XVII)", *Medievalia* 18.2 (= *La construcción de la santidad femenina en la Península Ibérica*, ed. María Morrás), 9–24. <https://revistes.uab.cat/medievalia/article/view/v18.1-morras>.

Navas Ocaña, Isabel, and José de la Torre Castro, 2011. "Prosistas medievales castellanas: autorías, auditorios, genealogías", *Estudios Filológicos* (Universidad Austral de Chile) 47, 93–113. <https://scielo.conicyt.cl/pdf/efilolo/n47/art06.pdf>.

Newman, Barbara, 1995. "*La mystique courtoise*: Thirteenth-Century Beguines and the Art of Love", in her *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,), pp. 137–67.

Newman, Barbara, 2013a. "Theorizing Crossover: Principles and Case Studies", in her *Medieval Crossover: Reading the Secular against the Sacred* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press), pp. 1–54.

Newman, Barbara, 2013b. "Conversion: The Literary Traditions of Marguerite Porete", in her *Medieval Crossover* (see 2013a), pp. 111–66.

Ong, Walter J., 1982. *Orality and Technology: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen).

Ong, Walter J., 1984. "Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization", *New Literary History* 16.1 (Autumn: *Oral and Written Traditions in the Middle Ages*), 1–12.

Perdita Project (*Manuscripts: Women Writers, 1500–1700*) <https://web.warwick.ac.uk/english/perdita/html/>.

Peters, Ursula, 2011. *Religiöse Erfahrung als literarisches Faktum: zur Vorgeschichte und Genese frauenmystischer Texte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1988; online edn De Gruyter).

Petitfils, James, 2016. *Mos Christianorum: The Roman Discourse of Exemplarity and the Jewish and Christian Language of Leadership* (Münster: Mohr Siebeck).

Philippart, Guy, 1994. "Hagiographes et hagiographie, hagiologes et hagiologie: des mots et des concepts", *Hagiographica* 1, 1–16.

Philippart, Guy, and others (eds), 1994–2017. *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, Corpus Christianorum HAG1–7, 7 vols (Turnhout: Brepols).

Piera, Montserrat, 2019. *Women Readers and Writers in Medieval Iberia: Spinning the Text*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 71 (Leiden: Brill).

Poor, Sara S., 2014. "Women Teaching Men in the Medieval Devotional Imagination", in *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, ed. Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 339–65.

Poutrin, Isabelle, 1995. *Le voile et la plume: autobiographie et sainteté féminine dans l'Espagne moderne*, Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez 11 (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez). Open access edn 2019 <https://books.openedition.org/cvz/2409?format=toc>.

Poutrin, Isabelle, 2003. "La lecture hagiographique comme pratique religieuse féminine (Espagne, XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* nouvelle série 33.2, 79–96. DOI : 10.4000/mcv.262.

Reynaert, Joris, 1994. "Hadewijch: Mystic Poetry and Courtly Love", in *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context*, ed. Erik Kooper (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), pp. 208–25.

Riches, Samantha J.E., and Sarah Salih (eds), 2005. *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge).

Riches, Samantha J.E., and Sarah Salih, 2012. "Gender and Holiness. Performance and Representation in the Later Middle Ages", in *The Generation of Identity in Late*

Medieval Hagiography: Speaking the Saint, ed. Samantha J. E Riches and S. Salih (London: Routledge), pp. 1–8.

Ricoeur, Paul, 1976. *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian UP).

Robins, William, 1997. "Romance, exemplum, and the subject of the *Confessio Amantis*", *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 19, 157–81. DOI: 10.1353/sac.2017.0004.

Roller, Matthew B., 2018. *Models from the Past in Roman Culture: A World of Exempla* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).

Rucquoi, Adeline, 2000. "Lieux de spiritualité féminine en Castille au XV^{e} siècle", *Via Spiritus. Revista de História da Espiritualidade e do Sentimento Religioso* 7, 7–29. <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00530879>.

Rychterová, Pavlína, 2019. "The *Revelations* of St Birgitta in the Holy Roman Empire", in *A Companion to Birgitta of Sweden and Her Legacy in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Maria H. Oen (Leiden: Brill), pp. 247–68.

Salih, Sarah, 2007. "On Judith Butler and Performativity", in *Sexualities and Communication in Everyday Life: A Reader*, ed. Karen E. Lovaas and Mercilee M. Jenkins (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE), pp. 55–68.

Sanmartín Bastida, Rebeca, 2012. *La representación de las místicas: Sor María de Santo Domingo en su contexto europeo* (Santander: Real Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo; repr. [n.p. (Gran Bretaña)]: SPLASH, 2017).

Sanmartín Bastida, Rebeca, 2013a. "La construcción de la santidad en María de Santo Domingo: la imitación de Catalina de Siena", *Ciencia Tomista* 140, 141–59.

Sanmartín Bastida, Rebeca, 2013b. "Santa Teresa y la herencia de las visionarias del Medievo: de las monjas de Helfta a María de Santo Domingo", *Analecta Malacitana* 36.1–2, 257–87. <https://www.academia.edu/8760927/>.

Sanmartín Bastida, Rebeca, 2016. "Sobre las categorías de santa, beata y visionaria: el género performativo", *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales* 39, 183–208. DOI: 10.3917/cehm.039.0183.

Sanmartín Bastida, Rebeca, 2017. "Castilian Visionary Women, Books and Readings before St. Teresa of Ávila", *Journal of the School of Languages, Literature and Culture Studies* (New Delhi) 21, 30–49. <https://www.academia.edu/38857491/>.

Sanmartín Bastida, Rebeca, and María Morrás, 2018. "Las hermanas Silva: la santidad de unas fundadoras nobles", *Hagiographica. Rivista di agiografia e biografia* 25, 251–81.

Sanok, Catherine, 2007. *Her Life Historical: Exemplarity and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Schenck, William Casper, 2008. "Reading Saints' Lives and Striving to Live as Saints: Reading and Rewriting Medieval Hagiography" (PhD Dissertation, Boston College). <http://hdl.handle.net/2345/1368>.

Scorza Barcellona, Francesco, 1994. "Dal modello ai modelli", in *Modelli di santità e modelli di comportamento: contrasti, intersezioni, complementarità*, ed. Giulia Barone and others (Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier), pp. 9–19.

Segura Graíño, Cristina, 2007. "La educación de las mujeres en el tránsito de la Edad Media a la modernidad", *Historia de la Educación* 26, 65–83. <http://revistas.usal.es/index.php/0212-0267/article/view/740>.

Slade, Carole A., 2002. "'Este gran Dios de las cavallerías' [This Great God of Chivalric Deeds]: St. Teresa's Performances of the Novels of Chivalry", in *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, David Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York: Palgrave), pp. 297–316.

Smith, Lesley J., and Jane H.M. Taylor (eds), 1995. *Women, the Book, and the Godly. Selected Proceedings of the St Hilda's Conference, 1993*, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer).

Snyder, H. Gregory, 2000. *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World: Philosophers, Jews, and Christians* (London: Routledge).

Starobinski, Jean, 1985. *Montaigne in Motion* [from *Montaigne en mouvement*, 1963], trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Stierle, Karl-Heinz, 1979. "Story as Exemplum—Exemplum as Story: On the Pragmatics and Poetics of Narrative Texts", in *New Perspectives in German Literary Criticism: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Richard E. Amacher and Victor Lange, trans. David Henry Wilson and others (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP), pp. 389–417.

Stock, Brian, 1983. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton UP).

Stock, Brian, 1993. "Reading, Community and a Sense of Place", in *place/culture/representation*, ed. James Duncan and David Ley (New York: Routledge), pp. 314–28.

Stock, Brian, 1994. "The Self and Literary Experience in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages", *New Literary History* 25.4 (Autumn), 839–52.

Stock, Brian, 1995. "Reading, Writing, and the Self: Petrarch and his Forerunners", *New Literary History* 26.4 (Autumn), 717–30.

Stock, Brian, 2001. *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Stock, Brian, 2011. "Self, Soliloquy, and Spiritual Exercises in Augustine and Some Later Authors", *The Journal of Religion* 91.1 (January), 5–23.

Strohm, Paul, 1975. "*Passioun*, *Lyf*, *Miracle*, *Legende*: Some Generic Terms in Middle English Hagiographical Narrative", *Chaucer Review* 10.1 (Summer), 62–75.

Summit, Jennifer, 2003. "Women and Authorship", in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing*, ed. Carlyn Dinshaw (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), pp. 91–108.

Surtz, Ronald E., 1995. *Writing Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain: The Mothers of Saint Teresa of Avila* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania).

Surtz, Ronald E., 2002. "Female Patronage of Vernacular Religious Works in Fifteenth-Century Castile: Aristocratic Women and Their Confessors", in *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, David Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York: Palgrave), pp. 263–82.

Surtz, Ronald E., 2010. "Iberian Holy Women: A Survey", in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden, Brepols Essays in European Culture 1 (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 499–525.

Suydam, Mary A., 1999. "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), pp. 169–210.

Suydam, Mary A., 2004. "Visionaries in the Public Eye: Beguine Literature as Performance", in *The Texture of Society: Medieval Women in the Southern Low Countries*, ed. Ellen E. Kittell and Mary A. Suydam (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 131–52.

Talbotier, Catherine, 2009. "La légende d'Eustache-Placide. Hagiographie cléricale ou récit populaire en Castille (XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles)", *e-Spania* 7. DOI: 10.4000/e-spania.18413.

Taylor, Anna, 2013. "Hagiography and Early Medieval History", *Religion Compass* 7.1, 1–14.

Taylor, Barry, 2010. "Los libros de materia predicable: ¿obras de referencia o lectura privada?", *Revista de Poética Medieval* 24, 211–24. <http://hdl.handle.net/10017/10608>.

Tubach, Frederic C., 1962. "Exempla in the Decline", *Traditio* 18, 407–17.

Valero Moreno, Juan Miguel, 2010. "La vida santa de los caballeros: camino de perfección, flor de santidad. Reflexiones en torno al manuscrito 1877 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca", *Revista de Filología Románica* 27, 327–57. <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/RFRM/article/view/RFRM1010110327A>.

Van Engen, John, 2010. "Communal Life: The Sister-Books", in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden, Brepols Essays in European Culture 1 (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 105–31.

Vauchez, André, 1981. "L'influence des modèles hagiographiques sur les représentations de la sainteté dans le procès de canonisation (XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)", in *Hagiographie, cultures et societés: IV^{e}–XII^{e} siècles. Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris, 2–5 mai 1979* (Paris: Études augustiniennes), pp. 585–90.

Vauchez, André, 1987. *Les laïcs au Moyen Âge: pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris: Le Cerf).

Vauchez, André, 1991. "Saints admirables et saints imitables: les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge?", in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^{e}–XIII^{e} siècle). Actes du colloque de Rome, 27–29 octobre 1988*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 149 (Rome: École française de Rome), pp. 161–72. <https://www.persee.fr/doc/efr_0000-0000_1991_act_149_1_4194>.

Villaseñor Sebastián, Fernando, 2013. "La corte literaria de Juan de Zúñiga y Pimentel (Plasencia, 1459–Guadalupe, 1504)", *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23.2 (= *VI Jornadas complutenses de Arte Medieval. Palacio y génesis del estado moderno en los reinos hispanos*), 581–94. <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/ANHA/article/view/42857>.

Voaden, Rosalynn (ed.), 1996. *Prophets Abroad: The Reception of Continental Holy Women in Late-Medieval England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer).

Wagner, Charles Phillip, 1903. "The Sources of *El cavallero Cifar*", *Revue hispanique*, 10, 5–104. <https://archive.org/details/sourceselcavalloowagngoog/>.

Warren, Nancy Bradley, 2010. *The Embodied Word: Female Spiritualities, Contested Orthodoxies, and English Religious Cultures, 1350–1700* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press).

Weber, Alison, 2013. "Literature by Women Religious in Early Modern Catholic Europe and the New World", in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allyson Poska, Jane Couchman, and Katherine McIver (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 33–51. DOI: 10.4324/9781315613765.ch2.

Weinstein, Donald, and Rudolph M. Bell, 1982. *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Welter, J.-Th., 1927. *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Guitard; repr. Genève: Slatkine, 1973).

Winstead, Karen A., 2007. "Saintly Exemplarity", in *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm, Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature (Oxford: Oxford UP), pp. 335–51.

Winstead, Karen A., 2017. "Hagiography", in *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain*, ed. Siân Echard and Robert Rouse, 4 vols (Chichester: Wiley), III, 955–64.

Winston-Allen, Anne, 2004. *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: Penn State UP).

Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 2009. *Philosophische Untersuchungen/Philosophical Investigations*, trans. Gertrude Elizabeth M. Anscombe, rev. Peter M.S. Hacker and Joachim Schulte (Chichester: Wiley).

Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, 2001. *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c. 1150–1300: Virginity and its Authorizations* (Oxford: Oxford UP).

Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, 2003. "Powers of Record, Powers of Example: Hagiography and Women's History", in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowalski (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP), pp. 71–93.

Zaragoza, Verònica, 2017. "Lectores, escriptores i sàvies en el temps de Jerònima Galés. La cultura escrita femenina a València en el pas del segle XV al XVI", in *Pasiones bibliográficas II*, ed. Josep Daniel Climent Martínez and others (València: Societat Bibliogràfica Valenciana Jerònima Galés), pp. 147–64.

Zarri, Gabriella (ed.), *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Sacro/santo 7 (Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991).

Zarri, Gabrielle, and Nieves Baranda Leturio (eds), *Memoria e comunità femminili: Spagna e Italia, secc. XV–XVII / Memoria y comunidades femeninas: España e Italia, siglos XV–XVII* (Firenze: Firenze UP – UNED, 2011).