ATW 2018/Workshop Proposal

1. Title of workshop.
   The Gendered Religious Imagination: Selfhood and Agency in Early Modern Spanish Women’s Culture

2. A two-to-three sentence summary of its focus and its relevance to a particular conference theme or themes.
   The workshop will focus on the religious imagination as a vehicle for women to construct selfhood and assert agency. Written within the context of a Church orthodoxy that structurally and ideologically curtailed female authority (intellectual, spiritual, and authorial), Spanish religious women’s texts offer a fascinating lens through which to investigate the expansiveness and investments of a gendered religious imagination that refers to women’s distinct experiences and spatial contexts, and reveals their singular aspirations. Workshop participants will consider religious women as producers of theological, artistic, and cultural knowledge whose imaginary positionality within and outside their religious communities leads to specific and often unexpected forms of spiritual identity.

3. Name, institutional affiliation, disciplinary specialization, and email address of each organizer.
   The participants are members of GEMELA, Grupo de estudios sobre la Mujer en España y las Américas.

   Rosilie Hernández, Associate Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago.
   Early Modern Spanish Literature and Visual Cultures
   rosieher@uic.edu

   Anne J. Cruz, University of Miami
   Professor of Spanish and Cooper Fellow Emerita
   Early Modern Spanish Literature
   ajcruz@miami.edu

   Teresa Hancock Parmer, Visiting Assistant Professor, Roanoke College
   Early Modern Spanish Literature
   hancock@roanoke.edu

4. Name of one organizer who will act as the contact person. This organizer must provide his or her home and institutional addresses, email address, and telephone numbers.
   Rosilie Hernández, Associate Professor
   University of Illinois at Chicago
   College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
   601 South Morgan Street (MC 228)
   UH 400
   Chicago, Illinois 60607

   Rosilie Hernández
   1214 West Grenshaw
   Chicago, Illinois 60607

   rosieher@uic.edu
   (773) 314-3382
5. 1 1/2 – 2 page description of the workshop, including the key questions to be posed to participants, how the pre-circulated readings (or other materials such as pictures, slides, recordings, films, or dramatic presentations) will facilitate discussion, and how the organizers will foster other means of interaction. Organizers should indicate how the workshop will help us think in new ways about important issues and/or raise new questions about one or more of the conference themes, and how the workshop will facilitate conversations across academic disciplines, national cultures, or eras.

The critical corpus has discussed at length the social and spatial conditions in which early modern religious women wrote, with convents and other religious spaces alternatively deemed as environments that afforded oppression or liberation, as well as the strategies that women employed to legitimize and authorize their visions, devotions, hermeneutical practices, and the forms of writing. While for some the early modern Catholic cultural and religious framework overwhelmingly subjected religious women—physically, intellectually, and spiritually—to the authority and supervision of men (mostly confessors), for others convents and religious communities provided sites that facilitated a degree (at times substantial) of intellectual and spiritual autonomy within the auspices of a supportive, or at least a like-minded and similarly inured, female community; or, what Ángela Muñoz Fernández identifies as, "webs of thought that support the notion, never univocal, of a religious feminine culture" (72, my translation). Sylvia Evangelisti extends this type of analysis by focusing on the formation of female religious conventual communities that, as she explains, were forged on the conviction and authority tendered by having been chosen as "interlocutors" of God, who "embarked on an adventure that implied the possibility to address an audience inside and outside the convent made up of their sisters, confessors, and other devout associates who, in listening to their words and hearing of their visions, found a means to reach the Divine" (75). Despite the tutelage of confessors and other male Church officials and relatives, religious women—whether by design or as a consequence of their beliefs—produced texts and other cultural products in which their singular interpretation of doctrine, scriptures, visions, and spiritual practices was elaborately articulated. Religious women, as noted by Sylvia Brown, thus produced their texts through "a dynamic, fluid, and often contradictory discursive system, operating both to challenge and re-inscribe orthodoxy" (2). Similarly, Muñoz Fernández describes how these women exerted their authority and power to re-signify common cultural symbols, values, and experiences, in turn generating new sets of meanings anchored in female religious culture (78; my translation). One could generalize these statements to religious men who likewise molded, within the limits of orthodoxy, their specific imaginative response to the same. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that women’s carving out of a religious selfhood—whether as a visionary or as a textual or visual interpreter of the Scriptures and Christian doctrine—is, inevitably, what Brown has called a "gendered procedure" fashioned in favor of "individual or communal purposes," which are marked as female (2).

The participants of the workshop will share their perspectives on the texts of several early modern Spanish religious women, examining the mechanisms through which a gendered religious imagination leads to self-definition within the limits of orthodoxy. At stake in this discussion is the risk of eliding these women and their intentions, which we already access through texts subject to misinterpretation. If we locate agency predominantly in originality, resistance, and subversion, we risk obscuring religious goals that may have primarily motivated these women in their search for self. Conversely, if we attribute too much significance to orthodox goals, we risk overlooking these writers’ strategic self-construction, and we may confuse individual women with conventional models. The workshop will reconsider the ways in which we may locate the construction of selfhood and the possibility of agency within the practice and (re)production of orthodoxy. We will also consider whether—and to what extent—their agency could be manifested outside the confines of orthodoxy and what kinds of repercussions might result.

Key questions will, therefore, include:
How do we discern when nuns invoked models for rhetorical purposes, and when they considered the model intrinsic to themselves?

Nuns often drew on established discourse and individual experience to compose didactic spiritual texts. These works shaped convent communities and directed other nuns’ religious paths. Do we privilege texts that communicate original insights, or do we recognize agency in texts that relate seemingly-conventional practices?

What exegetical strategies and sources do writers such as Juana de la Cruz, Isabel de Villena, Valentina Pinelo, and María de Ágreda deploy and take in order to authorize their production of theological discourse? And is their positionality as women reflected in the exegesis of the Scriptures?

How did religious women—both professed and secular—manifest their own spirituality beyond orthodox practices? Intersectionality suggests overlapping or interdependent relations of categories that coalesce into systems of oppression, yet these same intersections share in identity formation. How did women’s spiritual practices converge or interconnect with other categories such as gender and social class in positive or advantageous methods of expression? What were the social ramifications of heterodox practices?

The workshop will facilitate interaction by showing a number of images (paintings of Teresa de Ávila, María de Ágreda, and Luisa de Carvajal), as well as brief translated segments of texts that speak to religious women as “interlocutors” of God and producers of theological and spiritual discourses. The circulated readings will offer the fundamental set of premises that will allow the participants together with the audience to share a common conceptual framework and begin to build a new approximation to the relationship between the gendered religious imagination, orthodoxy, and identity formation among early modern religious women. The resulting insights will have the potential to enrich our study of religious subjects and agents in other eras and geographical locations as well.

6. A preliminary list of readings (no more than 15-20 total pages, or 30 minutes reading per workshop) with the number of pages or other materials for prior circulation indicated, if applicable. You may include a list of additional SUGGESTED readings.

Evangelisti, Silvia. *A History of Nuns*. (Short selection from this book)


‘No institution in Europe has ever won for the lady the freedom of development that she enjoyed in the convent . . . The impulse toward leadership which kept the men in the world sent women out of it.’¹ Writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, the American historian Emily James Putnam described in these powerful terms the impact of convents on the history of women. Removed from society, convents acted as catalysts for female freedom and individual development. No other institution could be compared to them. They were unique. Putnam’s forthright view may have drawn on her own personal, professional experience. A distinguished scholar, she worked in some of the most prestigious academic institutions in her country, including Barnard College, and the New School for Social Research. She probably had a clear understanding of what it meant for a woman to pursue an intellectual career in a predominantly male world, and how attractive a separated place, free from the challenges and constraints of this world, could be.²

A century after Putnam, our greater knowledge of convents complicates the picture, though confirming her early insights. Female monastic communities offered women opportunities for spiritual leadership roles, and favourable conditions to develop their education, creativity, intellectual, and writing skills. From the late Middle Ages until the early eighteenth century nuns have been abundantly represented amongst women writers all over Catholic Europe and the New World.³ Nor were nuns’ efforts limited to writing: many women musicians, singers, painters, and sculptors of the past were to be found inside the cloister. Let us trace the lives of these women, beginning with the writers. What prompted them to write, which audience were they addressing, and how did they projected onto the printed page their individual and collective sense of self?

Silences and Words

Those nuns who took up the pen in order to write did so in defiance of the long-standing assumption that women should be silent: ‘Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression.’⁴ Created after Adam, and out of his body, women were spiritually weak, they easily felt victim to deception and sin, and were more prone to transgress the order of things than their male counterparts. If they were to learn they should do so under male supervision, and they were not to teach or speak in public. Early modern intellectuals distanced themselves only partially from Saint Paul’s assertions. Humanists, such as Leonardo
Bruni, Thomas More, and Juan de Vives, maintained that women might be encouraged to learn and develop their intellectual talent. They discussed the possibility of women studying in order to acquire basic literacy, or even an education which, for some of them, might include the study of Latin and the classics. All of them agreed that Christian readings were to be given preference over all other texts, and that learning should be foremost addressed to religion and devotion, devoid of practical purpose. Women did not need to be trained for public offices, political responsibilities, or university positions, because they were excluded from all of these roles. The main purpose of their lives was marriage, childbearing, and family responsibilities. Education served to improve them spiritually, and enabled them to teach their children to read and write, and maybe also help out with family business affairs when their husbands were not around. This discrimination was applied to all women including— to a certain extent— queens and princesses, whose political authority was perceived to be unnatural, a ‘monstrous regimen . . . the subversion of good order’.  

Like politics, intellectual activity was an exclusively male domain. Of all women, nuns had a further reason for keeping the Pauline silence. Silence was required by monastic regulation as it fostered contemplation and full dedication to God. It was therefore the natural condition for religious women whose main task was to pray and interact with God on behalf of all human beings. Precisely in these silent and cloistered environments, however, nuns found the means to write. Female religious communities, in particular older convents serving the aristocratic and wealthy classes, provided education for boarders and nuns: reading, in some cases writing, sewing, good manners and behaviour. Particular emphasis was placed on moral and spiritual education but also literary knowledge. Collected in the libraries of some aristocratic and wealthy convents, were books of prayers and devotional texts of various kinds, lives of saints, as well as handbooks for learning how to read and write. Nuns copied and illuminated manuscripts, and some of them wrote a remarkable variety of works of their own. They wrote spiritual tracts and letters describing their own mystical experiences and inner conversations with God, and those of their sisters. Some turned their prophetic abilities into advice for kings and princes, to whom they offered their thoughts and political ideas. Others wrote about the foundation and history of their communities, and chronicled the lives of exceptionally pious or learned nuns. Very few of them contributed to the Querelle des femmes, the major polemic on the nature of the sexes. Inevitably, they often faced obstacles in gaining access to material for their writings, but managed to cope with such difficulties. Unlike monks, nuns could not travel to other convent libraries or archives, and they mostly relied on the books and documents owned by their own religious houses. Their contacts with outsiders were tightly controlled by the doorkeeper or the abbess. Notwithstanding these limitations, they were able to acquire books and materials from relatives and patrons that gathered in their parlour, and they learned about the world though conversations with their visitors. Most importantly, they found a major source of information about the spiritual and material dimensions of their individual and collective life inside their convent, through their own direct experiences and those they witnessed, or from the oral tradition preserved by the oldest sisters, which survived though generations of nuns. Being part of a monastic community, therefore, might work to the advantage of women: they gained education and a spiritual identity, as well as the authority to break the silence and
engage with the written word. Whether their works were published or not—and most of them were not—their writings represented an extraordinary testimony of their inner and social world, as well as a tangible sign of their intellectual aspirations and familiarity with written culture.

**Messengers of God**

While I was beseeching Our Lord to-day that He would speak through me, since I could find nothing to say and had no idea how to begin to carry out the obligation laid upon me by obedience, a thought occurred to me which I will now set down, in order to have some foundation on which to build. I began to think of the soul as if it were a castle made of a single diamond or of very clear crystal, in which there are many rooms, just as in Heaven there are many mansions.  

In 1577 Teresa of Avila began work on *The Interior Castle*, a presentation of her spiritual experience and relationship with God. Considered as one of her masterpieces, the *Castle* was an act of obedience to her confessor, Jeronimo Gracian, who had ‘commanded’ her to put on paper her extraordinary inner life and her way of praying, for the benefit of other nuns. As Teresa explained, ‘the nuns of these convents of Our Lady of Carmel need someone to solve their difficulties concerning prayer, and as . . . women best understand each other’s language, . . . anything I might say would be particularly useful to them’.  

Teresa is perhaps one of the best-known figures in the female Western intellectual tradition, and in particular in the female mystical tradition. Her charismatic gifts, leadership, and incursions into the dangerous territory of religion and theological meditations, gained her fame as well as controversy. Backed by aristocratic families, influential ecclesiastics, and other eminent men, including King Philip II, she nevertheless faced direct attacks on her ideas about monastic reforms, spirituality, and forms of contemplative prayer, which were seen as too close to Protestant practices and heterodoxy. She was placed under scrutiny, the Inquisition examined her works, and seven years after her death theologians urged all her writings to be burnt. In spite of all this she was canonized—not without debate—in 1622, and more recently proclaimed Doctor of the Church (1969). An eclectic spirit, Teresa composed a number of mystical works including the *Castle, The Way to Perfection, The Book of her Life*, the *Meditations on the Songs of Songs*, the *Book of Foundations* of the Discalced Carmelite convents, and a vast corpus of letters, all of them published inside and outside Spain. The first Spanish edition of her complete works was printed in 1588, only six years after her death, and thirteen further editions came out between 1588 and 1636 in Spain, Italy, and France. This amounted to an extraordinary level of public impact for the work of a cloistered nun.

Admittedly, Teresa was an exceptional woman, who lived an unusual existence in comparison to that of other nuns of her time. But she was certainly not the only one to describe her spiritual life and make it available to those around her. Indeed drawing on the tradition of their late medieval predecessors—such as Mechtilde of Magdeburg, Brigid of Sweden, Catherine of Siena—many early modern nuns, and some Tertiaries, wrote spiritual
autobiographies and mystic tracts, and exchanged spiritual letters with male and female acquaintances outside the cloister. These literary nuns came from a variety of different religious orders, such as Poor Clares, Capuchins, Carmelites, Dominicans, but also Ursulines and Visitandines, and often contributed to the spiritual and learned tradition of their order or community. They were particularly active in the most Catholic countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, and the New World, though a few of them came from religiously divided areas like Germany or the Low Countries. Given the extraordinary nature of the mystical experience, it is hardly surprising that these exceptional women were sometimes venerated as saints. They were also religious reformers, or the founders and mother superiors of convents. Their numbers should not be underestimated. In Spain—one of the most studied cases—113 nuns wrote spiritual autobiographies in the period between the end of the sixteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century.11

Some female mystics were laywomen who lived in the family home or in communities of Tertiaries. The Spanish Dominican Tertiary Maria de Santo Domingo (c.1470–1524) from Piedrahita, near Avila, dictated her book of prayers to her confessor and other clergymen she knew. Agnes van Heilsbach (1597–1640) and Joanna van Randenraedt (1610–84), both from the Dutch city of Roermond, were kloppen—pious laywomen who dedicated their life to the service of God. They lived outside the convent, under the guidance of the local Jesuit fathers, and left thousand of pages of notes written on their confessors’ orders, in which they described their mystical dreams, visions, and voices. Although these lay mystics continued a well-established medieval tradition of spiritual writers, the nuns proper were the great protagonists of early modern mysticism, and a distinctive feature of female creativity.12

As Isabelle Poutrin has suggested, early modern convents were ‘ateliers of autobiographical writing’.13 Within these monastic ateliers writing could become a collective act, it developed as collaborative work, and the notion of the individual author blended with that of collective authorship. The Spanish Tertiary Juana de la Cruz (1481–1534) dictated her revelations to one of the sisters of the Franciscan convent where she lived; the result was the Libro del Conorte containing her sermons of the year 1509.14 Similarly the Carmelite saint Maria Maddalena de Pazzi (1566–1607) engaged in an elaborate writing process. This aristocratic nun from Florence was blessed by almost daily mystical raptures that could last several hours. During these raptures she was able to work, sew, and paint, and her physical behaviour verged on the bizarre: strange gestures, great agility, and rapid movement alternating with complete immobility. While she was in this ecstatic state she talked to an invisible interlocutor. Her fellow sisters put her words on paper as soon as she pronounced them, some repeating her words, others transcribing them. When the ecstasy was over the nuns would compare their written texts, edit them, and the saint would clarify the most obscure points.15 The five manuscript books collected in her convent archive, containing her visions and her advice to her sisters, are the result of this curious ‘division of labour’. Her works were published in 1611, soon after her death.

One of the most interesting aspects of female mystic writing is that it was the expression of the complex spiritual relationship between women and their confessors.16 Claiming to be
inspired by God, women wrote their spiritual autobiographies in response to requests or even orders from their confessors or other clergymen in their circles of acquaintance. They narrated their visions, divine favours, doubts, battles with the Devil, and turmoil in their souls, sometimes openly calling for the confessors’ help in interpreting their extraordinary experiences. They found in their directors a male authority that guided them in their spiritual travels and search for a complete union with God. ‘My most reverend . . . Father’, wrote the Italian Camilla Battista Varano (1458–1524), in her autobiography, ‘I am letting you know that all of this month of February I have been in great agony and mental turmoil, and the reason is this, that I have had a vehement . . . and fervent inspiration, to which I have opposed great resistance, as if it were the temptation of the Devil’.\(^{17}\) Camilla—who also composed a spiritual tract published in 1490, and other spiritual works in verse and prose—would indeed consult her confessor and tell him about her spiritual life, in the hope of discovering—amongst other things—whether her mystical ‘inspiration’ was a manifestation of the Devil or the will of God.

The confessors, in turn, by guiding their ‘spiritual friends’ also submitted them to their control, vouching for the authenticity of their mystic experience and their religious orthodoxy. In extreme cases, confessors assumed the role of vehemently repressive censors.\(^{18}\) The confessor of Maria de Agreda, claimed that ‘writing is not women’s work’ and ordered her to burn the only copy of her spiritual and intellectual masterpiece, *The Mystical City of God*. Maria did as she was told and destroyed her manuscript. Years later, a subsequent confessor ordered her to rewrite it. Again she obeyed, and her work was finally completed. It was published in 1670, five years after her death. In spite of her vicissitudes with her different confessors, this visionary nun was amazingly prolific. On top of the *City of God* she wrote a variety of texts including her autobiography, some spiritual works, and a collection of correspondence with Philip IV of Spain over twenty-two years. The confessor of Maria de San José (1656–1719) from Puebla, Mexico, subjected her to an exhausting writing discipline. As she reported, ‘[My confessor] commanded me to write during every minute of the time I had at my disposal, taking no more than one hour at night and sleeping only for that hour’. He repeatedly tormented her, first ordering her to stop writing, and then to start again; secondly demanding she give up all the books in her cell; thirdly taking away the papers she had written, leaving her aghast: ‘he determined that he could neither read nor know what was written in the papers I delivered to him, and he sealed as they were when he received them, as he took them to his confessor, a priest of the Society [of Jesus]. I do not know what has become of those papers’.\(^{19}\) Ruthless confessors could do even worse, as in the case of the Italian Capuchin Clare, Maria Maddalena Martinengo (1687–1737). The author of a tract on humility, poetry, letters, and advice for her sisters, Maria Maddalena had her autobiography burnt directly by her confessor. A few years later, she manifested her intention to replicate the fire herself, allegedly ‘because she took care not to leave memory of herself in the world’.\(^{20}\) Narratives of self-censorship such as this, attest to the tensions nuns faced between submission to authority and the desire to exert their control over their writings by destroying them.

The spiritual demand made by their superiors made nuns acutely aware of their lack of appropriate training and their inadequate resources for textual creation. Some of them suffered
crippling insecurity and begged their confessors to let them stop writing. Veronica Giuliani (1660–1716) perfectly illustrates this condition. Locked up in the Capuchin Clares’ convent of Città di Castello, Veronica had daily visions, which she was told to report on paper. Soon her writing became a very stressful duty that she fulfilled under strict supervision. Veronica was illiterate, and had barely learned to write when she began to fill pages and pages of notes that she handed in to her superiors, without any opportunity to revise or correct them. She was not allowed to see any of this work again. She wrote in quite punitive conditions, usually at night, sitting uncomfortably on the bed in her cell using a small wooden surface placed on her knees. During her life she endured heavy penitence and, suspected of heresy, was denounced to the Holy Office, put on trial, and subjected to invasive physical examinations. Finally she was rehabilitated and declared a saint in 1839. Against all odds, she remained one of the most productive authors in the whole history of female mysticism, her autobiographical essays amounting to around 6,000 printed pages.

This is, however, only one side of the story. Whilst nuns often celebrated in their works exemplary piety, chastity, and austerity, they also explicitly asserted their spiritual authority and privileged role as interlocutors with God. In recording their life they embarked on an adventure that implied the possibility to address an audience, inside and also outside the convent, made up of their sisters, confessors, and other devout associates, who in turn—in listening to their words and hearing of their visions—found a means to reach the Divine.

If we look closely at convent mysticism, we are presented with a multitude of examples that point at the different empowering opportunities of spiritual writing for nuns. Thus we encounter Caterina Vigri (1413–63), one of the protagonists of the religious Observant reform of convents in northern Italy. Born to a patrician family, she grew up and was educated at the court of Ferrara as a lady-in-waiting of Margherita d’Este. Deeply influenced by Franciscan spirituality, Caterina embraced religious life at the age of 13 as a lay nun. She was then involved with other women in the founding of a Poor Clare convent in Ferrara, where she professed the solemn vows and lived until she was 43. Subsequently she moved to the nearby city of Bologna to found the new convent of the Corpus Domini, becoming, despite her humble resistance, its first abbess. Throughout her life, Caterina had visions and ecstasies, and was venerated as a living saint. One of the few mystics to take up her pen freely without the insistence of her confessor, she composed spiritual lauds, letters, a breviary in Latin and Italian, and in 1438 her best-known work, the spiritual tract *The Seven Spiritual Weapons*. For Caterina, writing was not only a means of reaching God herself, but also a way of teaching her sisters how to do so, thus asserting her influence over her community. Indeed, she wrote *The Weapons* whilst acting as mistress of novices, in order to share her spiritual experience with her sisters: ‘I write, with my own hand, only for the fear of divine reprehension if I would keep silent about all the things that might improve other people,’ she declared before spelling out her teachings and recommendations: to be diligent, to mistrust oneself, to trust God and imitate him, to study the Gospel, and to resist the temptations of the Devil. Based on her own life, which she intended to be an example for all sisters, her work was an act of self-celebration, in which she described her own piety and perfection thus enhancing her role as spiritual leader. Although she claimed to have kept her written work secret, she gave precise
instructions for multiple copies to be produced after her death, revealing how keen she was for her teachings to circulate among her sisters. As she wrote ‘I by myself have written for divine inspiration this little book in the convent of the Corpus Christi in the cell where I was living . . . and in my life I have never manifested it to anyone’, adding that

Any person who will come to possess this book should give it to our father confessor and he should copy it, or have it copied by somebody else . . . and then he should give it to . . . my mothers and sisters of the Corpus Domini in Ferrara and the above said book should remain in [the convent] where I will end my pilgrimage. . . . The father confessor should do this as soon as possible. I impose this on behalf of our Lord, for the consolation . . . of all the poor and devoted sisters who willingly incarcerated themselves for him.23

Her prayers were heard. The Weapons circulated amongst the Poor Clares in manuscript form, and the text was published in 1475. Caterina’s work became widely known some time after her death, cementing her posthumous fame and spiritual authority. She was canonized in the eighteenth century.

Surely, the claim for spiritual authority asserted by many nuns found its supporters above all, amongst their sisters and within their community. The closest companions of Teresa de Avila wrote to her and about her, contributing to spreading the fame of the saint, and her authority within their convent and religious order, although their relationship with her was not without its contradictions. Ana de San Bartolomé (1549–1626), an illiterate Castilian peasant who learnt how to write in the convent of San José, founded by Teresa, became the saint’s personal assistant, secretary, confidante, and nurse. She travelled and founded convents in France and Flanders, where she eventually died. Under Teresa’s tutelage, she developed visions, foreseeing Francis Drake’s defeat of the Spanish Invincible Armada. After the saint’s death, she compiled a number of letters to clerics, regents, princesses, and commanders, and a spiritual autobiography which circulated in manuscript form in Spain, and was first published in Flemish six years after her death in 1632. She depicted Teresa as a trustworthy guide, more reliable than her own confessor, about whom she clearly had her doubts:

when my confessor saw that my zeal and love for the other souls was lasting such a long time, he told me . . .: ‘Beware, my child, for this charity is of the Devil, and he is trying to deceive you.’ I went to our Saint [Teresa], to ask her if this were true, and I told her all that had happened. And she told me not to worry, that it was not the Devil, for she had gone through that same way of prayer, with confessors who did not understand it. With that I was comforted and I believed that just as the Saint told me, it was of God.24

Ana de San Bartolomé regarded Teresa as her spiritual mother, and saw herself as the only true heiress of the saint. She wrote the Defence of the Teresian Legacy in support of Teresa and her monastic ideas, a work that she completed in 1621–3. In the case of Saint Teresa and her faithful companions it was almost inevitable that female and male spiritual authority would

23

The Weapons circulated among the Poor Clares in manuscript form, and the text was published in 1475. Caterina’s work became widely known some time after her death, cementing her posthumous fame and spiritual authority. She was canonized in the eighteenth century.

Surely, the claim for spiritual authority asserted by many nuns found its supporters above all, amongst their sisters and within their community. The closest companions of Teresa de Avila wrote to her and about her, contributing to spreading the fame of the saint, and her authority within their convent and religious order, although their relationship with her was not without its contradictions. Ana de San Bartolomé (1549–1626), an illiterate Castilian peasant who learnt how to write in the convent of San José, founded by Teresa, became the saint’s personal assistant, secretary, confidante, and nurse. She travelled and founded convents in France and Flanders, where she eventually died. Under Teresa’s tutelage, she developed visions, foreseeing Francis Drake’s defeat of the Spanish Invincible Armada. After the saint’s death, she compiled a number of letters to clerics, regents, princesses, and commanders, and a spiritual autobiography which circulated in manuscript form in Spain, and was first published in Flemish six years after her death in 1632. She depicted Teresa as a trustworthy guide, more reliable than her own confessor, about whom she clearly had her doubts:

when my confessor saw that my zeal and love for the other souls was lasting such a long time, he told me . . .: ‘Beware, my child, for this charity is of the Devil, and he is trying to deceive you.’ I went to our Saint [Teresa], to ask her if this were true, and I told her all that had happened. And she told me not to worry, that it was not the Devil, for she had gone through that same way of prayer, with confessors who did not understand it. With that I was comforted and I believed that just as the Saint told me, it was of God.24

Ana de San Bartolomé regarded Teresa as her spiritual mother, and saw herself as the only true heiress of the saint. She wrote the Defence of the Teresian Legacy in support of Teresa and her monastic ideas, a work that she completed in 1621–3. In the case of Saint Teresa and her faithful companions it was almost inevitable that female and male spiritual authority would
enter into conflict. Teresa directed her teachings not only at her sisters, but also at her male superiors, whom she felt could benefit equally from her insights into God’s will: ‘There is one thing that I want to say’, she wrote in her *Life* addressing her confessor, ‘if Your Reverence thinks it well that I should do so, as in my opinion it is important. It will serve as what may be necessary advice.’

Here we see how spiritual power, mediated through writing, served to legitimize the actions of a leader and a group, acquiring particular importance for reformed religious orders, as in the case of Teresa and the Carmelite nuns, and for new orders too. The example of the Visitandines reinforces this point. Founded by the mystic Jeanne de Chantal in the early seventeenth century, the order of the Visitation maintained a high profile in seventeenth-century France, mainly thanks to Jeanne’s influence and her numerous and powerful friends outside the cloister. She entertained many ‘spiritual relationships’ with religious and laymen and -women, with whom she exchanged spiritual advice by letter. Another mystic writer of this order contributed to its visibility: Marguerite Mairie Alacoque (1647–90). ‘I want you here’, God had apparently told her when she visited the Visitation convent, in Paray, for the first time, at the age of 24. She went on to profess the solemn vows, and lived in monastic retreat for the rest of her life. She wrote her autobiography and letters describing her spiritual ascent and visions. Extremely devoted to the cult of the sacred heart of Jesus, a symbol of spiritual comfort and a talisman against physical danger, Marguerite recalled that she once saw it ‘inside a throne of flames, blazing like a sun and clear as crystal . . . And he showed me the ardent desire that he had to be loved by men and to lead them from the path of perdition’. One of the great mystics of seventeenth-century France, she became a key figure in the establishment of this major cult, and her visions—publicized by her writings—later played an important part in the development of a French nationalistic, Catholic political culture.

Writing about their spiritual journeys offered religious women yet another opportunity: that of reaching an audience that transcended the cloistered space. Many of them exchanged letters with well-known protagonists of the religious and state affairs of their times: political rulers, important aristocratic men and women, and powerful ecclesiastics. In Italy we encounter a number of examples of this type. The Milanese Paola Antonia Negri (1508–55) acquired fame as a ‘divine mother’, within circles of devout men and women inspired by ideals of religious and spiritual renewal. Active as a religious reformer, she was involved in the foundation of the Angelic convent of San Paolo in Milan. Although she was unable to read and write she dictated her *Spiritual Letters*, addressed to her fellow Angelics and their associated Barnabite fathers, as well as to illustrious men and women of her times, such as Pope Julius III and the Venetian poet Gaspara Stampa. She was persecuted by the Church authorities for her actions, and sorely missed the pleasure of creative writing. Her letters were printed in Rome in 1576, under the name of one of her former supporters, Giovanni Pietro Besozzi, who was later to become one of her persecutors. In Tuscany, Caterina Ricci (1522–90) from the Dominican convent of San Vincenzo in Prato, outside Florence, was a locally well-known mystic followed by many Medici women and powerful men. An energetic woman who reformed her convent, she provided charitable support to poor girls, and epistolary advice to her group of ‘spiritual brothers’. In the turbulent years of the Council of Trent, she shared her
opinions about the reform of the Church with high ecclesiastics such as Carlo Borromeo and Filippo Neri. A century later, the discalced Paola Maria di Gesù (1603–70) of Florence exchanged letters with her spiritual daughter outside the convent, Maria Maddalena Giacomini, the lady-in-waiting of the Great Duchess Vittoria della Rovere. An aspirant nun, Maria Maddalena needed someone to guide her in her vocation and introduce her to the joy of monastic life. The spiritual influence of Paola Maria inspired other female conversions in the Great Duchess’s circle—something of which she was well aware: ‘It is a good thing’, she wrote, ‘to see that in the court of our Most Serene [Great Duchess] there are many souls [who want] to be brides of Christ’. 28

Besides, having a charismatic daughter, sister, aunt, or relative could also be useful for the prestige and position of the family, a particularly important consideration in elite circles. In Sicily, the ducal family of the Tomasi benefited from the raptures of Maria Crocefissa (1645–99). Enclosed in the Benedictine convent of SS. Rosario in Palma di Montechiaro, near Agrigento, which was founded by her brother in one wing of the family palace, this nun consigned her visions and prophecies to posterity through her own writings. From an early age Maria Crocefissa was devoted to long orations. Soon she also engaged in self-punitive actions including tough and dirty physical work, physical mortification, and the use of a hairshirt. At the age of 23 she experienced her first ecstasies. During these periods of trance—lasting well over a week—she regressed to a childlike state which left her completely paralysed, with empty eyes, pale skin, and grey lips. ‘She could not speak, nor move, she looked at everybody without recognising anyone’, narrated one of the sisters of her convent. She sometimes briefly recovered from this torpor, and would laugh and weep as if a child, unable to take food in her mouth, and ‘the nun who fed her had to open her own mouth and pretend to chew, and she would look at her with great attention and do exactly what the other nun was doing’. 29 The doctors stared helplessly at each other without knowing what to do. The presence of Maria Crocefissa within the walls brought about a series of supernatural episodes which the nuns, and some of their associates, interpreted as diabolical manifestations: mysterious and invisible individuals knocking on the door of the convent in the middle of the night, ringing bells, a black stone thrown by- allegedly- the Devil, and a letter containing indiscernible signs which he dictated to her. It was her father who pressed the bishop of Agrigento to allow three Jesuit fathers to examine her ‘interiors’ and analyse her extraordinary revelations, in order to decide whether or not she was an impostor. While Maria Crocefissa was still alive her papers were widely copied. After her death, they became important documents for the process of canonization, carefully and actively pursued by her family, the Tomasi, new nobility anxious to climb the social ladder.

For some nuns, spiritual influence, and the social and political networks which came with it, opened the door to paths of social mobility. Since a large portion of the convent inhabitants came from privileged and wealthy social groups, it is reasonable to assume that a number of mystics had aristocratic or patrician origins. The few data available support this assumption. In Spain, for instance, between 1471 and 1770, three-quarters of the mystics—77 per cent—came from noble families. 30 However, for women from humble origins, charismatic fame won through mystical writings could contribute to redefining and reinforcing their social position.
The visionary Caterina Paluzzi (1573–1645)—the daughter of a humble family from Morlupo, near Rome—brought together a group of followers in her paternal house, who lived under the Tertiary Dominican rule. With her companions she divided her life between textile work and contemplation. Initially illiterate, she learned to write and wrote her autobiography, as her confessor ordered. Her charisma brought her fame and put her in contact with very high-powered members of the Church, in particular Cardinal Federigo Borromeo. Always attracted by female sanctity, Federigo invited her to Rome, where apparently she was transported in a litter, and frequently exchanged epistles with her. Eventually, Caterina’s Tertiary community became a proper convent, subject to strict enclosure, and Caterina became the prioress in 1610.31 The life of Isabel de Jesús (1586–1648) followed a similar pattern. An illiterate peasant, who spent her childhood tending flocks on wild mountains, Isabel had always been driven by mystical enthusiasm and had early visions. Reluctantly married to an older man, she soon became a widow, and happily retired to the convent of San Juan Baptista in Arenas, as a servant nun. Here she dictated her life story and visions to a learned and richer sister, Inés del Santissimo Sacramento. The two provided each other with mutual assistance: the learned Inés transposed Isabel’s extraordinary life and mystical experience onto paper, while the illiterate Isabel enlightened Inés with her spiritual teachings, prayed for her, and cared for her in illness. Isabel contributed to speeding up Inés’s convent career, since the latter became abbess soon after having completed Isabel’s Life. Isabel, for her part, was upgraded from humble servant nun and admitted to profession, Inés being in charge of the licences for professing.32

Finally, there is a further aspect of female monastic mysticism we need to consider. Nuns’ spiritual influence extended not only within the Old Catholic world, but also to a much broader geographical context. Some of them were active travellers and founders of new religious houses in Europe. Others joined the colonial enterprise in faraway lands where Europeans exported Catholicism. Others were actually born in the New World. Indeed, nuns were well represented amongst early native writers in Mexico and Peru, the two viceregal centres though which Spain governed its colonies. Madre Maria Magdalena de Lorravaquio Mugnoz (1576–1636), a Hieronymite nun in Mexico, wrote the first mystical text to emerge from New Spain, describing her ‘suspensions’, or mystical raptures. Bedridden for forty-four years of her life, she became an adviser for lay and religious women and men in the capital. Francisca Josefa de la Concepción de Castillo (1671–1742), who lived in the convent of Saint Clare in Tunja (now Columbia), wrote her autobiography on her confessor’s orders, as well as some poems and a collection of mystical pieces. Sor Paula de Jesú Nazareno (1687–1754) was a poet and writer from the Lima elite, who professed in Nuestra Segnora da las Mercedes; she composed her biography and some rhymes (both under her confessor’s supervision). Sor Catalina de Jesús Herrera (1717–95), from Guayaquil (now Equador), lived in the Dominican house of Santa Catalina, where she held the office of abbess and mistress of the novices, and wrote about her spiritual experiences.33

Living in the newly created Catholic societies, these colonial ‘apostolas’ reproduced in their narratives the main motifs of the Western European hagiographical tradition, but embellished it with images of the new religious, and ethnically mixed, American culture: ‘as I passed the staircase I encountered the Devil, who was seated on the bottom step in human
form, like a naked mulatto’, wrote the Mexican Maria de San José (1656–1719) in her autobiography, remembering an episode of her early childhood:

Just as I saw him, he raised a finger as if to threaten me, and he said to me: ‘You are mine. You will not escape my clutches.’ I saw this more with inward vision than with my bodily eyes. The words he said to me sounded in my ears; I heard them spoken. But, comforted and aided by Him who can do everything, who is God, I managed to enter the chamber where my mother was.34

In both the New and the Old worlds, nuns presented themselves to their audience of faithful as spokeswomen for God, religious leaders, and living proof of the successful exportation of the Catholic faith to transatlantic societies. In many different ways, mystical writing provided them with an opportunity to shape and define the contemplative dimension of their lives, and their spiritual role in the world in which they lived.

**Writers of Lives and Historians**

As well as their spiritual meanderings, nuns also recorded much more factual matters. They threw themselves into historical writing, describing past and present times. They mostly concentrated on the histories of their own convents, which they knew by direct experience, and about which they could write as authoritative insiders. They wrote biographies—or ‘lives’ as they were more appropriately called—and a variety of chronicles, annals, and foundation histories.35 They worked individually and also collectively, efficiently maintaining continuous historical records. Unlike spiritual autobiographies and letters, historical writing was not a task required by the confessor, although some wrote about their past as part of their monastic duties. Most of these works remained unpublished, or else were published posthumously.

Mystic or saintly nuns, abbesses, and founders, and very learned or skilled nuns, were the key figures in this collective memory, and were portrayed as images of unblemished perfection in many biographies. These exceptional holy protagonists ennobled their convents, and served as role models and sources of inspiration for their present and future sisters, a guide and help against spiritual weakness and devilish temptations. Illuminata Bembo (d. 1483), a Poor Clare from the Corpus Domini in Bologna, opens the *Life* of her mystic sister Caterina Vigri as follows:

In the name of our eternal and glorious God, of our Seraphic Father Saint Francis . . . I have wished to write and note what I have seen with my own eyes in the years lived here and in her company, narrating with truth and certitude as briefly as I am able . . . I only intend this for my own contemplation, so that when I tread the lake of tepidity or the tedium of doing things properly, seeing with my own eyes these things written down, may I see more easily . . . the great power of God . . . and ruminating on the excellent life of our great Mother, may I more joyfully fight off my enemies and temptors.36
Bembo celebrated Caterina’s holiness by describing a number of episodes of her life: the saintly visions and miracles, her love for poverty and humble duties, her desire to found a new and reformed convent. Both nuns did indeed fulfil this latter aim when they moved together from Ferrara to Bologna—in a short though adventurous trip by carriage—to found a new Observant Franciscan house.

The holy and perfect women portrayed in the biographies could also be presented as ordinary nuns, who had shared important moments in the lives of the authors. Bound to Caterina by love and spiritual affinity, Bembo depicted her as a woman who was as ‘feeble flesh like me’. A similar human portrait of holiness can be found in the biography of Catalina de San José written by Marcela de San Felix (1605–87), a Discalced Trinitarian nun from the convent of San Idelfonso in Madrid. Catalina’s life had been a mixture of greatness and humility. She had been a privileged woman, and ‘one of the most richly bejewelled and elegant women of Madrid, . . . who had not been raised in some little corner but rather among people of good taste and fine conversation’. She had left all this behind, ‘the village of her birth and the house of her father’, in order to become a bride of Christ and a champion of holy perfection. Her virtues included humility, obedience, prudence, devotion to holy poverty, and industriousness, and she had a powerful positive influence on her sisters: ‘all I could do’, wrote Marcela, ‘was marvel, and often, I was simply baffled . . . And this was true with me: merely at the sight of her, I became calm both within and without’. This holy nun, however, was also ‘entirely and essentially a woman’, her life being in many respects simply ‘uneventful’. In these cases, writing grew out of the personal relationships and spiritual friendship which ran through the religious family.

Convent history was not reserved exclusively to holy nuns: unusually learned nuns, rich and aristocratic nuns with generous families, and exceptionally courageous nuns who endured painful deaths, all gained a special place in the collective memory of the community, and were portrayed in very detailed fashion. Fiammetta Frescobaldi (1518–86) was an aristocratic Florentine woman who died in the convent of San Jacopo di Ripoli in Florence. Afflicted by an illness lasting thirty-eight years, she was bedridden and consequently exonerated from administrative duties. But her physical ailments did not affect her mind: she was sharp, learned, and blessed with an extraordinary memory:

Mother . . . Fiammetta Freschobaldi passed from this life to a better life as we believe on the sixth of July, Sunday, at 20 hours in 1586 and was 68 years old . . . she was a very spiritual nun . . . endowed by God with great intelligence and a sharp memory and could talk about anything and understood so well that it seemed that she had been in so many faraway places and countries and it was to the marvel and amazement of the people who had been in those places that she could describe all things as they were.

Fiammetta spent her time reading and writing about a variety of things. Her creative drive produced an impressive opus: as well as a diary covering her life from 1575 until her death, Fiammetta wrote a range of historical works: a history of the Dominican order in Florence, a
four-volume history of the East and West Indies, a history of the kings of Persia, a work on the patriarch of Venice, a compendium to Guicciardini’s *Storia d’Italia*, and a five-volume history of the world focusing on extraordinary events and disasters. History had always interested her: ‘because I have always enjoyed, as you know, reading and investigating the things of the past times that have been written by historians, a few years ago I had the whim of taking from these histories all the prodigious things, the calamity of the world, the malignity of men, the oppression of the just, and similar things like that’. Fiammetta was also a restless translator and turned 118 saints’ lives by Lippomano and Surio from Latin into the vernacular. Her genius was probably also fuelled by the desire to let her mind move with a freedom that was denied her body. She set an extraordinary example for the nuns, who could observe her achievement of perfection not simply by championing chastity, poverty, and obedience, but also by means of intellectual passion. Women like Fiammetta fitted the familiar spiritual feminine model which was extensively reproduced in the religious literature and in the lives of saints, but also uncovered a further dimension, associating nuns with virtuous and learned women.

In some cases, lives of nuns celebrating their individual merits, virtues, and actions, served the purpose of defending the community from external threats and criticism. One such text was written by Jacqueline de Saint Euphémie Pascal (1625–61), the sister of the philosopher Blaise Pascal and a nun in the Jansenist convent of Port-Royal, near Paris. A very productive author who wrote poetry, letters, and a *Rule* for the spiritual education of girl boarders, she recorded short memoirs of her mother superior, the controversial reformer Mère Marie Angélique, who had imposed on the convent a rigorous and ascetic discipline. One of Pascal’s main aims was to report conversations she had with Mère Angélique in order to attest her orthodoxy, at a time in which anti-Jansenist forces had called it into question. Indeed, when Jacqueline entered Port Royal the community was in the midst of one of the most debated religious and political polemics of the time, and the nuns were overwhelmed by the attacks of the Jesuits and political authorities, who accused them of being in opposition to royal absolutism and sympathetic towards Calvinism.

If nuns wrote many biographies of their sisters, they were also very keen to celebrate and preserve the collective memory of their community. They compiled chronicles and histories of their convents in which they recorded the names of all the sisters who entered their community, and the dates of their profession and death. These works mainly addressed a convent audience, and some of them may well have been read out loud to all the nuns gathered together in the refectory, or in the chapter. While reading or listening to these rather monotonous narratives, the sisters would pray for the souls of their ancestors in purgatory, to win them entry to paradise. They would also learn who their ancestors were, and what they had achieved. These texts allowed nuns to extend their sense of collective self through history, acquiring a permanent spiritual family inside their convent, to add to their biological families outside.

In this context, the chronicling of the origin and the foundation of convents played an important part in their narratives. For instance, narratives of foundation were produced by the Poor Clares who—sponsored by wealthy families—founded many religious houses—in the wake of the Franciscan Observant reform in fifteenth-century Italy. They celebrated the lives
of their sisters and companions, such as that of the blessed Eustochia da Messina (1434–90).  

Another Poor Clare nun, ‘sister Caterina’ was the anonymous author of the chronicle of the convent in Foligno, near Assisi. She described the arrival of the ‘ancient’ foundling mothers in the city, and their immediate success in recruiting many patrician women to religious life:

[1425] As the . . . holy women lived a holy life according to observant principles, the fame of their sanctity spread throughout the country, and [patrician] women, . . . left the world and submitted to the yoke of the holy religion, so that in a short time they grew in number and quantity; . . . and many of them performed miracles during their life and talked to God.  

Caterina’s task as a chronicler was continued by a long series of nuns for over three centuries, until 1733.  

The Spanish Discalced Carmelites followed a similar path and the companions of Saint Teresa wrote of her as lifelong friends with great esteem and affection, narrating the foundation of the many convents headed by the saint, and her sisters, in Spain and in Europe.  

In Mexico and Peru, Josefa de la Providencia and Mariana de la Incarnación took the pen to compile volumes containing triumphant descriptions of their foundations’ adventurous histories.  

Aimed at glorifying the community and instilling the sisters with courage and strength, these narratives celebrated their achievements, advertising convents as earthly paradises. At more or less the same time, Visitandines and Ursulines in France wrote biographies of their founders, collections of lives of their past and present sisters, and chronicles of their orders. They hoped to disseminate their spirituality, social influence, and success, in order to attract protectors and affluent sponsors.  

Furthermore, by praising the founders of the convents these narratives enhanced their legitimacy while encouraging future sisters to perpetuate the spirit of their origins.  

More rarely, nuns collected and translated ancient documents founded in their convent archive, in order to include them in their histories. Angelica Baitelli (1588–1650), from the northern Italian city of Brescia, included a long collection of imperial and papal documents in her Annali Historici dell’edificazione Erettione et Dotazione del Serenissimo Monasterio di S. Salvatore, et S. Giulia (published in 1657). These documents attested to the many privileges, exemptions, and freedoms enjoyed by her community. As she explained in the introduction of Annali, the translation from the Latin was her own work.  

Compiled and published at a moment in which the centralizing plans of the Roman Church sought to place convents under the jurisdiction of their bishop, her annals were clearly aimed at supporting her convent’s claim for autonomy from episcopal authority.  

In spite of the emphasis on the individual community, nuns’ historical works also evoked the external world, and their close involvement in events outside their cloister. New kings and emperors, the election of popes, and natural calamities such as plagues, earthquakes, floods, and wars filtered through the grilles of the parlour and found their place in the nuns’ historical texts. Nuns were naturally aware of the most violent, cruel, and dangerous developments for society outside, and therefore of the limits of convents’ isolation. And they dreaded war, more
than anything else. They described the arrival of soldiers, the horror of pillaging and destruction, forcing them to flee and abandon their cloisters. Nuns escaped death by becoming refugees, moving in with other nuns, or returning to their relatives’ houses. Convent chronicles dedicate a good deal of attention to the tragic events during the sack of Rome in the sixteenth century, the Thirty Years War (1618–48) in Germany, or the Napoleonic invasion in late eighteenth-century Italy. Unfailingly the same litany is presented: pillage, theft, profanation of sacred objects and relics, fear of being raped or killed: ‘We lost everything, lots of wheat, flour, oil, wood, and every good that was in our convent, . . . but because we did not lose our honour we could say that we lost nothing’, wrote the Roman Orsola Formicini (c.1548–1615) describing the Sack of Rome in 1527, and the arrival of German soldiers in the city. In Germany, the prioress Clara Staigher (1588–1656), in the convent of Marienstein near Eichstatt, described how Swedish soldiers attacked her convent in December 1633: ‘In the morning . . . as the day broke we heard shots in the darkness and screaming in the alleyways. The enemy broke in through the doors . . .; the mother superior ran away immediately with a sister’; not all of the nuns were able to escape and those unfortunates that remained had to face the soldiers. Other German nuns witnessed and described this war. These historians wanted to record for posterity the troubles they had gone though, and their heroism in never betraying their duties as faithful and cloistered brides of Christ.

Nuns’ historical works also addressed the political and religious changes of their times. The example of the advent of the Protestant Reformation in Germany is just one such event. It is not surprising that the nuns’ writings reflected the powerful impact it had on their lives. Caritas Pirckheimer was the abbess of the Poor Clare convents in Nuremberg, who gave voice to the nuns’ vehement resistance against the Protestants’ attempt to close down the convent. She chronicled these events in great details and with strong emotional participation. Caritas reported the exact words of the nuns, describing a quite dramatic chain of events. The city authorities had allowed nuns to be released from their vows, and their parents to remove them from the convent. Three young nuns from Caritas convent, all in their early twenties, were taken away, against their will. She painted the picture of a battle between opposing forces: on one side the mothers and families arriving in their carriages to remove their children and on the other the children taken away screaming and crying. As abbess, Caritas found herself caught in the middle, like a powerless arbiter. She was determined to defend her nuns—her ‘children’—but did not want to confront the families. Above all she wished to ensure that all this was not hidden from public view. She insisted that the parents who wanting to remove their girls were to use the front door of the chapel, where many people had gathered, packing the nearby streets and the churchyard. ‘I did not want the matter dealt with secretly. I said that if they were in the right, then they should not be ashamed. I would not give the sisters back at any other spot than where I had taken them in, that was, the chapel door.’ Having described the terrible morning in which all this happened, she added a laconic note on the difficulty of returning to ordinary life:

What later happened to the children among the wild she-wolves [i.e. the mothers] we cannot know, for four days later we were told that Klara Nutzel had not yet
eaten a bite in the world, and that others wept without ceasing. They had done everything they could, I give witness to this before God and men. Afterward they never spoke ill of the convent, rather, on the contrary, when given the occasion, they said the best of us, and bore within them a great yearning and desire to return to the cloister. God help us to be reunited in joy! Each of us parted with great pain in our hearts. We truly had a sorrowful eve on Corpus Christi; it was afternoon before the convent went in to the midday meal.\textsuperscript{54}

Holy nuns, intrepid founding mothers, the echoes and implications of main events of public life, do not represent however the full range of topics which nuns contributed to historical memory, but only a part of them. Their biographies and chronicles are crammed with detailed descriptions of the day-to-day routine of life. So we read about their religious celebrations which took place in their cloister, such as the translation of precious relics of holy mothers,\textsuperscript{55} the visits of important ecclesiastic or princesses who came to the convent, the distribution of monastic offices, and sometimes even of murder mystery stories involving the drunken lay servants who worked for them. Interestingly we also learn a great deal about economic and material aspects of life. Chronicles are full of notes regarding the restructuring of the convent building, the acquisition of works of art and breviaries, the donations and gifts received by the nuns from their patrons and protectors. Behind the everyday material concerns of the community we can discern not only financial difficulties but also the symbolic importance of material objects in forging the memory of the community.

**Defenders of their Sex**

If the past and present history of their communities drove nuns to write, those who felt the irrepressible urge to put their thoughts on paper could venture into another territory, that of the much-debated nature of the sexes, later known as the *Querelle des femmes*. A very small number of nuns authored tracts in defence of the female sex, praising women’s strength, moral virtues, and intellectual skills, challenging the widespread belief that they were morally and physically inferior to men. Here nuns were not writing for the convent audience; instead they particularly addressed their writings to learned male scholars outside, often authors of polemical works against women. By doing this, they were participating in what is universally considered as the Western intellectual tradition leading to modern feminist thought.

Texts in defence of women usually took the form of biographical collections of illustrious women, describing the merits of female heroines taken from classical and Christian literature, often opposing them to the failings of men. The subjects of such works included mythological figures, saints, and other exceptional women celebrated for their courage, strength, or learning.\textsuperscript{56} Nuns openly speculated on the position of women in the world: ‘Lord,’ wrote Teresa,

\begin{quote}
you did not abhor women . . . when you were on earth, instead you favoured them with great piety and found in them such love and more faith than in men . . . Is it not enough, Lord, that the world keeps us enclosed and incapable of doing
\end{quote}
anything useful for You in public or daring to state truths that we weep in secret, for You to hear our rightful plea? . . . Yes, one day my King, we must all learn to know each other. I am not speaking of myself, since anyone knows my own unworthiness, and I am happy that it be public, but because I can see that in these times no virtuous and strong souls should be wasted, even if they are women.57

These lines from Teresa’s Way to Perfection were actually censored and did not appear in the published version of the work. But less than a century later, another nun, the Venetian Arcangela Tarabotti, presented a similarly lucid analysis of women’s lives and constraints. ‘God’, she wrote, ‘loves all creatures, particularly the woman and then the man’.58 A bright young woman who professed the sacred vows in 1620 at the age of 16, she spent her life in the Benedictine convent of Sant’Anna in the Castello neighbourhood of Venice. She dedicated herself—self-taught—to study, and kept books in her cell borrowed from friends outside. Well read, she was familiar with religious and profane literature, including major Italian authors such as Dante, Ariosto, and by her own admission ‘most of my time . . . I use to read vain books’.59 Although she may have always read many of the books she quoted, it is likely she also drew on published collections of quotations from various authors, which were widely used by scholars at that time. Lacking any interest in a monastic career, she never held the most important offices, and from her earliest times in the convent wanted only to write. She mostly wrote at night by candlelight, or when she was ill, keeping her rough notes in a box which was placed in her cell. From the beginning of her writing career Tarabotti was quite productive and managed to have some of her works published: Monastic Paradise in 1643, Antisatire in 1644, Familiar Letters in 1650, Women Are No Less Rational than Men in 1651, and Simplicity Deceived printed posthumously in 1654. Two other works—Monastic Hell and Paternal Tyranny—remained unpublished and circulated in manuscript form amongst her friends and acquaintances. Her literary success was complemented by her ability to develop social networks and maintain connections with powerful and learned cosmopolitan elites; her friends and protectors included Nicolò Bretel de Gremonville, the French ambassador in Venice from 1645 to 1649; Giovan Francesco Loredan, a politician and founder of the Academy of the Incogniti; and members of the ecclesiastical body, to whom she dedicated some of her works. Her intellectual originality resided in her skills as a polemicist as well as in her devotion to the early women’s cause. In this she was almost certainly influenced by the Venetian literary tradition, and the proliferation of Venetian writers who wrote in defence of women, including such female names as Moderata Fonte and Lucrezia Marinelli.60

As has been underlined, Tarabotti spoke in the name of womankind.61 Of course she was deeply concerned with spiritual matters, but these were addressed in the light of her insightful analysis of the female condition, which remained her main interest. Criticism of patriarchal society and the disadvantages faced by women, from their exclusion from education to their subjection to male guardianship, were central to her discourse. Patriarchy strictly constrained the opportunities open to women, forcing upon them a simple choice between marriage and the cloister. The economy of the marriage market, and in particular the ever-increasing value of marriage dowries, provided ruthless fathers with a good reason to shut up their daughters in
convents: convent dowries were a cheaper alternative, and this was an effective strategy for safeguarding family financial interests, keeping their wealth intact for their male heir.

Grounding her observations in her own times, Tarabotti aspired to a range of improvements for women, in particular equal shares of inheritances between male and female siblings, and the right for women to be partners in their husbands’ businesses, and to act on their behalf. And following earlier polemicists—above all the just-mentioned Moderata Fonte, the author of *The Worth of Women*—she argued that unmarried women should also have the chance of a life of chaste spinsterhood in the paternal house, thus escaping the binary decision between the wall or the husband. Access to educational institutions, according to Tarabotti, was also crucial for women. The denial of education, she contended, was a major constraint ‘in prejudice of women’, deliberately engineered by men ‘who keep them far from the world of study in order to make them unwilling or unable to defend themselves when the need arises’. Without education women would be lost and incapable of responding to paternal control, whilst through learning, on the contrary, they might acquire self-awareness and even challenge paternal authority.

Tarabotti’s articulate arguments went a step further. In *Monastic Hell*—written before 1643—she advocated women being able to act according to their own will. Placing particular emphasis on the issue of female monasticism, she argued that the convent was a desirable place only for those souls blessed by true vocation and genuine desire to become brides of Christ; for the unwilling, in contrast, convent life would be a life of immeasurable pain: ‘It should be then known that just as enforced nuns experience in their life all the pains of hell, . . . voluntary nuns feel inside themselves all the sweetness of paradise’. Indeed, if fathers were often guilty of forcing their daughters into the convent against their will, they were equally to blame in the opposite scenario, where they dissuaded their virgin daughters from taking the veil, sending them off instead to unwanted husbands. These were the truths that she was delivering to her readers, mostly men, through her sharp pen: ‘The father must not and cannot marry off the daughter who wants to be a virgin; nor should she be obliged to respect his determination, and he cannot oblige her with violence to profess the vows against her own free will.’ As well as denouncing fathers, Tarabotti also laid bare the complicity of the state and ecclesiastical authorities, who tolerated this system of sacrificing daughters in the economic and political interests of the wealthy ruling classes and political elites. In her view, the duty of the prince was to care for the wellbeing of his subjects, including nuns, and for the salvation of their ‘souls’. Too often they focused on the interests of their states, at the expense, amongst others, of women.

Tarabotti’s tract *Women Are No Less Rational than Men*, published in 1651, continued this line of argument. It was written as an answer to the writer Orazio Plata who had published, four years earlier, in 1647, a poisonous attack on women. On the basis of the Holy Scriptures, Plata had argued that women—amongst their other defects—had no human soul, and were as lacking in rationality as animals. Tarabotti answered by considering each section of his treatise, refuting his statements one by one in order to demonstrate that the opposite was the case. She drew on the Holy Scriptures, but on her own interpretation of them, a rather unusual exercise for a nun. As she wrote in the short introduction to her work:
a modern heretic—who believes himself very knowledgeable—wanted with the testimony of the Holy Scriptures . . . to make people believe that women are less rational than men and that consequently they do not save themselves and God has not died for them and humanised them. . . . I will do a brief survey of the thorny field of this impious composition only in order to cut off the malicious twigs of slander and heresy with the scythe of reason, knowing well that in questions of controversy words to words, reasons to reasons, concepts to concepts, must serve as answers.  

The polemical nature of Tarabotti’s work meant that she was treading a delicate path between intellectual success and the dangers of censorship. Indeed she was subject to a good deal of criticism, her detractors dismissing her as a frivolous ‘high society’ nun, and having some of her works banned and listed in the Index of prohibited books. Of course, she was well aware of the potential scandal that her written words might cause. She declared of two of her unpublished works that if ‘they were to see the light of day, I protest before God and my superiors that this would greatly mortify me, not because I know that they contain scandalous or less than pious claims, but because I believe that men care more for politics than for observing the divine teachings’.  

Like Tarabotti, the Mexican Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648–95) penned rhymes to amuse her sisters, but also placed her intelligence at the service of the probably more complex and difficult task of defending women. ‘Sor Juana’ was born in San Miguel de Nepantha, two days’ travel from Mexico City. The illegitimate daughter of a low-ranked Spanish nobleman and a Mexican mother, Juana grew up on her maternal grandfather’s large farm, in strict contact with the multi-ethnic cultural and linguistic environment of the countryside. Educated at home and in an amiga local school for girls, she benefited from the books collected in her grandfather’s library, and was exposed, from her early years, to music, art, and magic, and to Spanish and Indian languages, as well as the rural, ranchero, dialects. Her stay in the country did not last long, and a major change in her life occurred when she was sent to live with relatives in Mexico City. She was introduced to the court of the viceroy, and became the lady-in-waiting of the vicereine. In the following years she came into contact with the privileged and learned society of the capital and had the possibility to pursue further education. Apparently the young Juana soon became a prodigy. At the age of 14 she had already written her first poem, soon followed by a few sonnets and plays, and she had also begun learning Greek and Latin. Illegitimate daughters were not highly valued in the marriage market, and anyway Juana felt ‘aversion’ towards matrimony. Entering a convent was the obvious option. In 1669 she professed the vows in the Hieronymite convent of Mexico City, a rather large community which hosted forty-nine nuns, from criolla and mestiza families, and at least 150 servants and slaves. She had a cell of her own and benefited from servants and a mulatto slave given to her by her mother. The Hieronymite house was not a particularly strict institution as far as religious discipline was concerned, and Juana managed to maintain many contacts outside the cloister, receiving visitors and corresponding with them. She remained here for the rest of her life. In the convent she was also able to satisfy her intellectual hunger, maybe more
than her spiritual vocation, and found the time and means to express her multifaceted creative
talents. She wrote and became well known, maintaining the protection of the viceroyals and
developing many ties with secular and religious illustrious patrons, with whom she engaged in
learned conversations.

Juana composed an astonishingly varied corpus of texts, amongst which we find sixty-five
sonnets, sixty-two romances, a number of plays, and a treatise entitled the Answer to Sor
Filotea de la Cruz, which she completed in 1691, though it was printed posthumously.
Perhaps her best-known work, the Answer was written as a response to an attack by the bishop
of Puebla. Juana, during a conversation with guests at her convent grilles, had dared to
criticize one of the sermons of the very influential Portuguese Jesuit Padre Antonio Vieira,
which had been published forty years earlier. Amongst the guests was the bishop of Puebla,
Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, who was visiting Mexico City. Shocked and annoyed by her
self-confidence in criticizing the theological work of a known author, the bishop decided to
react. He invited her to put her criticism on paper. Juana accepted the invitation—her only
written venture into the slippery domain of theology. It was a great mistake. Without her
permission he published her theological critique, choosing the title The Athenagoric Letter
(or Letter Worthy of Athena), and adding a preface in the form of a letter, which he wrote
himself under the pseudonym of Sor Filotea de La Cruz. In this preface he declared that
women should renounce all but divine knowledge, and that in particular they should renounce
theology, because it produced disobedience and inclination towards presumptuousness. Juana
was hurt, angry, and perhaps fearful. She quickly responded to his attack, and three months
later completed the Answer. In this work, she contradicted his assertions point by point, and at
the same time described how her immense love for learning had led her to embark on a life of
study. Her work was autobiographical, but she spoke in the name of all women—similarly
to Tarabotti—claiming for them the possibility of learning and practising erudition, eloquence,
and ‘the queen of sciences’ that was theology:

I went on in this way, always directing each step of my studies, as I have said,
toward the summit of Holy Theology; but it seemed to me necessary to ascend by
the ladder of the humane arts and sciences in order to reach it; for who could
fathom the style of the Queens of Sciences without knowing that of her
handmaidens? Without Logic, how should I know the general and specific methods
by which Holy Scripture is written? Without Rhetoric, how should I understand its
figures, tropes, and locutions?

Juana saw no limits to the knowledge women could access, from physics and natural sciences,
to music, arithmetic, geometry, architecture, history, and law. Far from subscribing to the
Pauline silence, which in her opinion relied on an erroneous interpretation of the Scriptures,
she redefined it. The Church never had forbidden women to write, she claimed. Indeed if it had
done so, how could there have been so many nuns amongst women writers? She explained that
Paul’s famous passage ‘Let women keep silence in the churches’ must have been intended as a
prohibition of public preaching but not writing:
how is it that we see the Church has allowed . . . a Teresa, a Brigid, the nun of Agreda, and many other women to write? . . . And in our own time we see that the Church permits writing by women saints and those who are not saints alike; for the nun of Agreda and María de la Antigua are not canonised, yet their writings go from hand to hand. Nor when St. Teresa and the others were writing, had they yet been canonised. Therefore, St. Paul’s prohibition applied only to public speech from the pulpit; for if the Apostle were to prohibit all writing, then the Church could not permit it . . . If my crime lies in the ‘Letter Worthy of Athena’, was that anything more than a simple report of my opinion, with all the indulgences granted me by our Holy Mother Church? For if She, with her most holy authority, does not forbid my writing, why must others forbid it? 73

The Answer defended the female intellect—which Juana shared with the whole of womankind—and connected her argument to the tradition of famous and illustrious heroines of the Western past:

I confess . . . I had no need of exemplars, nevertheless the many books that I have read have not failed to help me, both in sacred as well as secular letters. For there I see a Deborah issuing laws, military as well as political, and governing the people among whom there were so many learned men. I see the exceedingly knowledgeable Queen of Sheba, so learned she dares to test the wisdom of the widest of all wise men with riddles, without being rebuked for it; indeed, on this very account she is to become judge of the unbelievers. I see so many and such significant women: some adorned with the gift of prophecy, like an Abigail; others, of persuasion, like Esther; others, of piety, like Rahab; others, of perseverance, like Anna [Hannah] the mother of Samuel; and others, infinitely more, with other kinds of qualities and virtues. 74

Because of the nurturing nature of women, Juana saw them as particularly appropriate for educating girls:

For what impropriety can there be if an older woman, learned in letters and holy conversation and customs, should have in her charge the education of young maids? Better so than to let these young girls go to perdition, either for lack of any Christian teaching or because one tries to impart it through such dangerous means as male teachers . . . . Indeed, I do not see how the custom of men as teachers of women can be without its dangers, save only in the strict tribunal of the confessional, or the distant teachings of the pulpit, or the remote wisdom of books; but never in the repeated handling that occurs in such immediate and tarnishing contact. 75

Juana’s disquisition on the appropriateness of women’s teachers had little to do with their intellectual capacities, which she took for granted, but instead focused on the moral and sexual
risks of leaving girls in the hands of older male teachers.

The Answer is one of Juana’s last works. Although it was circulated widely on both sides of the Atlantic, and increased her fame, gaining her the name of the Minerva of America, it also brought her problems, and certainly did not make her life any easier. In Mexico, where the Jesuit she had criticized was highly respected, she was scolded and reproached for what she had done. In Spain, although the ex-vicereine in 1692 had some of Juana’s works published in a volume containing writings in her defence, Juana’s fame irreversibly tarnished. Decline was almost inevitable. The year after the Answer was published, Juana sold all her scientific and musical instruments and her library, and gave her money to charity. In 1694, as a sign of her abrupt change from a life of intellectual adventure to one of penance and self-sacrifice, she renewed her profession of faith. The year after that she died during an epidemic, while nursing her sisters. But why did she give up her instruments and tools of learning? Was it forced upon her or was it her own choice to give up the burden of being different? These are difficult questions to answer. However, her experience stands as a reminder that even publicly recognized merit could not remove the restrictions on women making their way into the world of learning.

Thus, the works of Juana Inés de la Cruz—like those of Arcangela Tarabotti—departed from religious intellectual tradition by focusing on Christian virtues, spiritual perfection, and the celebration of monastic values, and merged with the more secular tradition of writing in defence of women that would later become part of modern culture. For this reason, Sor Juana in particular has been considered by scholars as the last great author of the Spanish Golden Age, and compared to poets such as Francisco Quevedo or John Donne. Labelled as the first feminist of the New World, she has won her place amongst learned women writers such as Christine de Pizan and Mary Wollstonecraft, for her contribution to the Western feminist tradition. And, as Nobel Prize winner Octavio Paz has shown, she has also been a fundamental figure in the creation of Mexican cultural identity. Today, a research institute built on the ruins of her convent, and one of the most important Mexican cultural festivals, organized by the Mexican Museum in Chicago, both bear her name.
Saba Mahmood

The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject

Politics of Pity
have watched over me...

Dedicated to my father and other spirits who
THE SUBJECT OF FREEDOM

CHAPTER I

The subject of freedom is one of the most fundamental and controversial issues in philosophy, politics, and law. Freedom is often considered to be a fundamental human right, essential for the development of individual autonomy and societal progress. However, the concept of freedom is complex and multifaceted, involving various dimensions such as political, economic, social, and cultural freedom.

Political freedom refers to the ability of individuals to participate in the political processes of their society, including the right to vote, the right to assemble, and the right to freedom of speech. Economic freedom refers to the ability of individuals to control the means of production and to engage in commerce without undue interference from the state. Social freedom refers to the ability of individuals to participate in the social life of their community, including the right to education, health care, and other social services.

The concept of freedom is often contested and debated, with different perspectives and values influencing the understanding and interpretation of what freedom entails. The pursuit of freedom is often seen as a means to achieve individual happiness and well-being, as well as social and economic progress. However, the pursuit of freedom can also lead to conflicts and tensions, as different individuals and groups may have competing claims to freedom.

In the context of contemporary society, the concept of freedom is increasingly challenged by various social, economic, and political forces. The rise of globalization, technology, and digitalization has brought new opportunities and challenges to the concept of freedom, raising questions about the nature and limits of individual autonomy in a interconnected world.

This chapter aims to explore the concept of freedom, its historical development, and its contemporary relevance. It will examine the various dimensions of freedom and the challenges and possibilities associated with their pursuit. The chapter will also consider the role of the state and other institutions in the promotion and protection of freedom,以及 the relationship between freedom and other important values such as equality, justice, and progress.
Studies on the cognitive processing of the visual system suggest that certain areas of the brain may be more sensitive to certain aspects of visual information. These areas are located in the temporal lobe and are responsible for processing visual information in a way that allows for the perception of depth, color, and motion. The exact way in which these areas function is not yet fully understood, but research continues to shed light on this important aspect of visual processing.

The question of whether the visual system is capable of detecting small changes in the environment is still being debated. Some researchers argue that the visual system is capable of detecting subtle changes, while others believe that the system is limited in its ability to detect small differences. Further research is needed to fully understand the capabilities of the visual system.

In conclusion, the study of the visual system is an important area of research that continues to evolve. As our understanding of the visual system grows, we can expect to see new insights and advancements in the field.
CHAPTER 1

The Subject of Freedom

...
Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas

THE ARCHIVE AND THE REPertoire
mentalization also reinforces the notion that the arts are separable from the social constructs within which they participate—either for the first or nth time. Performances, even those with almost purely aesthetic pretensions, move in all sorts of circuits, including national and transnational spaces and economies. Every performance enacts a theory, and every theory performs in the public sphere. Because of its interdisciplinary character, performance studies can bring disciplines that had previously been kept separate into direct contact with each other and with their historical, intellectual, and sociopolitical context. This training challenges students to develop their theoretical paradigms by drawing from both textual and embodied practice. They receive training in various methodologies: ethnographic fieldwork, interviewing techniques, movement analysis, digital technologies, sound, textual analysis, and performative writing, among others.

Performance studies, then, offers a way of rethinking the canon and critical methodologies. For even as scholars in the United States and Latin America acknowledge the need to free ourselves from the dominance of the text—as the privileged or even sole object of analysis—our theoretical tools continue to be haunted by the literary legacy. Some scholars turn to cultural studies and no longer limit themselves to the examination of texts, but their training in close readings and textual analysis might well turn everything they view into a text or narrative, whether it’s a funeral, an electoral campaign, or a carnival. The tendency in cultural studies to treat all phenomena as textual differentiates it from performance studies. As cultural studies expands the range of materials under consideration, it still leaves all the explanatory power with the letrados while excluding other forms of transmission. Dwight Conquergood carries the point further in a recent essay: “Only middle-class academics could blithely assume that all the world is a text because texts and reading are central to their life-world, and occupational security.”

It’s imperative now, however overdue, to pay attention to the repertoire. But what would that entail methodologically? It’s not simply that we shift to the live as the focus of our analysis, or develop various strategies for gathering information, such as undertaking ethnographic research, interviews, and fieldnotes. Or even alter our hierarchies of legitimization that structure our traditional academic practice (such as book learning, written sources, and documents). We need to rethink our method of analysis.
The Archive and the Repertoire

The Archive and the Repertoire

In the archive, there are many stories to pass on as meaningful works. At the core of these stories, there are two fundamental categories: archives and repertoire. The archive contains the original, raw data, while the repertoire includes all the processed, analyzed, and interpreted versions of that data. The archive is the raw material, the repertoire is the product of that material.

In the repertoire, there are three main categories: the archive, the repertoire, and the repertoire of the repertoire. The archive is the raw data, the repertoire is the processed data, and the repertoire of the repertoire is the processed data of the repertoire. These categories are nested within each other, creating a hierarchy of data processing.

In the repertoire, we can see the process of data transformation. The raw data is transformed into processed data, which is then transformed into a higher-level processed data. This process continues until we reach the ultimate level of data processing.

In the repertoire, we can see the process of data transformation. The raw data is transformed into processed data, which is then transformed into a higher-level processed data. This process continues until we reach the ultimate level of data processing.

In the repertoire, we can see the process of data transformation. The raw data is transformed into processed data, which is then transformed into a higher-level processed data. This process continues until we reach the ultimate level of data processing.

In the repertoire, we can see the process of data transformation. The raw data is transformed into processed data, which is then transformed into a higher-level processed data. This process continues until we reach the ultimate level of data processing.
THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE REPERTORY OF HUMANITIES

UNIT 1: TRANSFER AND REPRODUCTION

The multiplicity of forms of reproduction is not only the hallmark of the modern age, but also the foundation of cultural diversity. The transmission of knowledge, skills, and values from one generation to the next is a fundamental aspect of human society. This process is facilitated by various means, including education, mentorship, and the oral tradition. The extent to which information is retained and passed on depends on the effectiveness of the reproduction process. In this unit, we will explore the mechanisms of reproduction and analyze their impact on cultural evolution.

UNIT 2: THE REPRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE

The reproduction of knowledge involves the transfer of information from one person to another. This process is vital for the preservation and advancement of knowledge. In this unit, we will examine the various methods of knowledge reproduction, including education, training, and the use of technology. We will also investigate the role of reproduction in shaping cultural identity and social structures.

UNIT 3: THE REPRODUCTION OF VALUES

The reproduction of values is a critical aspect of cultural reproduction. Values are the underlying principles that guide behavior and decision-making. In this unit, we will explore the mechanisms of value reproduction, including socialization, family, and peer groups. We will also analyze the role of reproduction in shaping cultural attitudes and behaviors.

UNIT 4: THE REPRODUCTION OF ART

The reproduction of art involves the transmission of artistic concepts and techniques from one artist to another. This process is essential for the continuation of artistic traditions and the development of new forms of expression. In this unit, we will examine the various methods of art reproduction, including apprenticeship, inheritance, and the influence of cultural contexts. We will also investigate the role of reproduction in shaping artistic styles and movements.

UNIT 5: THE REPRODUCTION OF RELIGION

The reproduction of religion involves the transmission of religious beliefs and practices from one generation to the next. This process is crucial for the maintenance of religious communities and the continuity of religious traditions. In this unit, we will explore the various methods of religious reproduction, including religious education, socialization, and the role of religious leaders. We will also analyze the role of reproduction in shaping religious beliefs and practices.

UNIT 6: THE REPRODUCTION OF LEGAL SYSTEMS

The reproduction of legal systems involves the transmission of legal concepts and practices from one generation to the next. This process is essential for the continuation of legal traditions and the development of new forms of law. In this unit, we will examine the various methods of legal reproduction, including legal education, socialization, and the role of legal institutions. We will also investigate the role of reproduction in shaping legal systems and practices.

UNIT 7: THE REPRODUCTION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

The reproduction of scientific knowledge involves the transmission of scientific concepts and techniques from one generation to the next. This process is crucial for the advancement of science and the development of new technologies. In this unit, we will explore the various methods of scientific reproduction, including scientific education, research, and the role of scientific institutions. We will also analyze the role of reproduction in shaping scientific knowledge and practices.

UNIT 8: THE REPRODUCTION OF TECHNOLOGY

The reproduction of technology involves the transmission of technological concepts and practices from one generation to the next. This process is essential for the advancement of technology and the development of new industries. In this unit, we will examine the various methods of technological reproduction, including technological education, research, and the role of technological institutions. We will also investigate the role of reproduction in shaping technological knowledge and practices.
The archive and the repertoire informally adapt the live and the scripted, the canonical practices that

By considering scenarios as well as narratives, we expand our ability to

The stretch of time known as the Index of the New Punt...

The option to be free — play Drama, history of the Index of the New Punt...

Perhaps it’s more important to understand the Index of the New Punt...

Historizing performance...

To go back...

In the Jet筐, County Scenographies change and adapt, but they don’t seem...

In the section that follows, I give an extended example of how an ...

This is a case of not necessary, or even prima facie, unnecessary...

The scenario focuses on specific instances of...