

# CHAPTER 1 – ENGENDERING JOANA’S LIFE

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## 1.1. The Life of Joana, the Genre of Her *Life*

This chapter provides an overview of Joana de Jesus’ life and work. I use the expression ‘engendering Joana’s life’ due to the polysemy of the word ‘engendering’. To engender (something) means to cause or to give rise to a feeling, a situation, a condition.<sup>1</sup> Here, in this case, the present chapter deals with the facts, motives, and causes that sustain Joana’s *Life*. However, *Life* is a double category. It can mean the space of time in which someone acts in a determined interrelational setting—life as a biological, social, and contextual concept—that can also be understood as a fact, in the realm of history: the life of *Joana*. Alternatively, it can mean the narrative of that same fact—life as an account or textual notion—which is close to the event and the fiction: the *Life* of Joana.

*Engendering* also etymologically contains the roots of genre (in literature), of gender (in language), and of genus (in logic). All of these are ontological attempts to classify nature or a whole. Nonetheless, the dynamism and organicity of nature always avoids its own classification. Nature manifests itself through a body or bodies that tend to become specific and particularized rather than generalized. The same happens with the literary *genre* itself: it can no longer be specified.<sup>2</sup>

Engendering Joana’s *Life* is thus an attempt to point out what we are allowed to know from Joana’s life and her work (her *Life*). This is the task of ascertaining Joana’s own subject and subjectivity—in the quest of a self-narrative.<sup>3</sup> To find the subject’s body, we have to ask: Who is Joana de Jesus? We ask about the *author* and the *character*. What does she do/write? We ask about the *corpus* of the writer. How does she

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1 Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. “engender, v.,” accessed July 08, 2013, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/62214?rskey=XldoOC&result=2&isAdvanced=false>.

2 Jacques Derrida, “The Law of Genre,” [La loi du genre] trans. Avital Ronell, in *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 7, no. 1, *On Narrative* (Autumn, 1980): 55–81.

3 On self-narrative, see Froukje Pitstra, “Religious Voices in Autobiography and Biography. Analyzing Life: Stories Using Elements of the Theories of McAdams and Hermans,” in *Religious Voices in Self-Narratives. Making Sense of Life in Times of Transition*, ed. Marjo Buitelaar and Hetty Zock (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 37–52.

write? We ask about the *form* and *formation* of a text. Finally, why does she write? We ask about the *intentions*, *tensions*, and the *dialogues* Joana infuses with her spiritual, intellectual, and cultural traditions. Asking these questions connects to my own attempt to reach a wider and aporetic question: the *when* or the time ('kairos') of Joana de Jesus' life and writing. Historically, Joana de Jesus is a seventeenth-century author, and her vocabulary and imagery belong to that period, as will be seen in the first three chapters. However, Joana only became a case study for the twenty-first century, and her notion of anxiousness is of special interest after the emergence of feminist theory, as will be shown subsequently in the fourth chapter.

This present chapter has five sections. The first deals with Joana's biography and what we know of her, her own early modern Portugal, and the manuscript. Likewise, I will discuss the reception of her work. The second section problematizes the definition of Joana's text. Several options are presented: spiritual autobiography, autohagiography, and self-writing. From these different genres we might see the configuring of a subject. The third section presents the mystical dimension of this subject in her work. Here I will focus upon the division of both manuscripts, particularly by referring to the construction of the preface that allows the establishment of a mystical sense of hearing and the development of time. The fourth part of this chapter elaborates on Joana de Jesus' main literary source, Teresa of Ávila. It is through the Carmelite spirit that Joana engenders her own work and acquires her own signature and authorship. The fifth section argues that, besides a mystical and literary opus, Joana's text contains both a philosophical demand and the engendering of her own self. This is done through the title of her book (*Notebook*), the search for a genre 'treatise' that would attest the validity of the knowledge, and finally through this set of truths a 'new mode of prayer' could be rearranged. The search for prayer is quite important because it shows that it derives from a social and religious practice within a mystical experience.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, being of a 'new mode', Joana renders the spirit of early modernity of establishing a guideline, a method of connecting to God in the briefest way. This endeavor is similar to both Teresa and Guyon's, and it is what De Certeau considers the project of attaining a new 'Divine language'.

### 1.1.1 The Biography of Joana

Joana was born in Mioma, Sátão, in the province of Beira Interior (in the central inland region of Portugal) and was baptized on 21 January 1617.<sup>5</sup> While at the Cister-

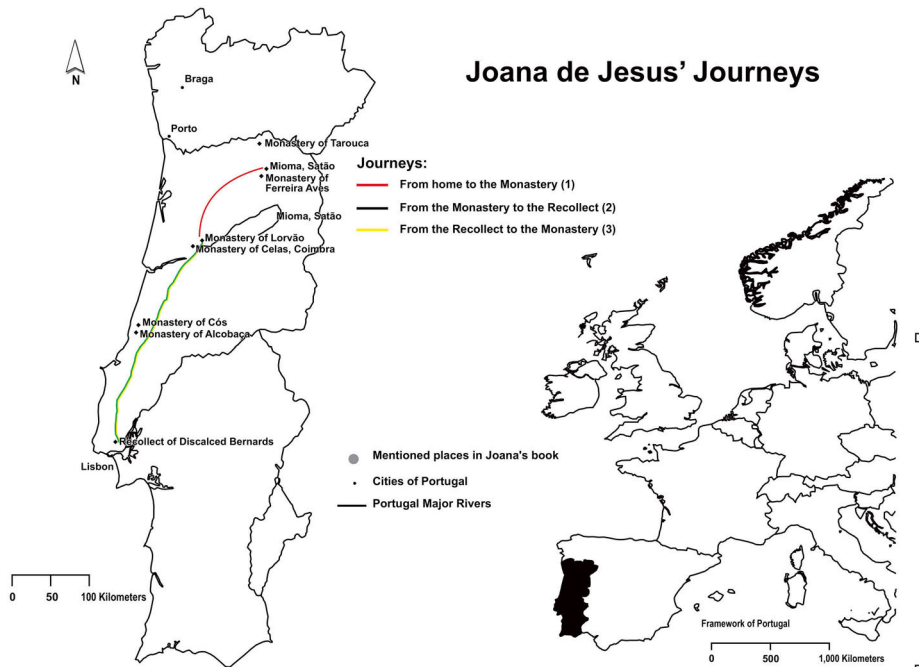
4 Rachel Fulton Brown "Oratio/Prayer," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, ed. Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 166–177.

5 Arquivo Distrital de Viseu, Paróquia de Mioma [Sátão], Registos de Mistos 1614–04-24/1655-09-02, accessed November 22, 2013, <http://digitarq.advis.dgarq.gov.pt/details?id=1212467>.

cian Abbey of Lorrvão, in the region of Coimbra, she took her vows as a Cistercian nun. There she lived surrounded by fellow nuns, some of whom were also her relatives. Her life was marked by visions, raptures, and illnesses. Joana shared these experiences with her community inside and outside the abbey walls. She also initiated a correspondence with several friars from the same Order. One of them, Vivardo de Vasconcelos, who would later become the Chief Abbot, invited her to come to the newly founded Recollect in Lisbon. In 1659 Joana moved to Lisbon, where she started to record her life in 1661.

The map below shows the trajectory Joana followed, first from Mioma, Sátão to Lorrvão, Coimbra, and in 1659 from Lorrvão, Coimbra to Lisbon. Also marked are the male Monasteries of Alcobaça (where the Chief Abbot of the Cistercians lived) and Tarouca (where Joana's younger brother was to be a monk).

Figure 1: A map of Portugal depicting Joana de Jesus' Journeys



Data sources: Environmental Atlas of Portugal  
ESRI data files of Europe

Only seventeen years after returning to Lôrvão did Joana continue to write down her *Life*, sponsored by her new Confessor, António da Conceição. On 20 August 1680 Joana died with a reputation of holiness.

## The Country

Portugal had been an independent country since 1143. However, in Joana's time, Portugal was under the control of three generations of Spanish kings. In 1580, King Philip II of Spain added the Portuguese Crown to his empire. This period lasted until 1640, when Portugal regained its independence through the Portuguese Restoration War (1640–1668), which, in fact, ended only in 1689, when the final peace treaty was signed. During this period of Portuguese subjection to the Spanish Empire, many new enemies were made; among these there were, for instance, the Dutch Republic that attacked Brazil in Latin America and Luanda in Africa and to whom Ceylon, the Moluccas Islands, and the Cape of Good Hope were lost. Portugal also lost its Indian commercial monopoly for some time, but the country re-established its transatlantic exchanges after regaining independence. This was mainly due to the new and uneven friendship Portugal established with England, whose military supported the Restoration movement and defended it against foreign attacks. In return, England acquired Tangiers in Morocco and Bombay in India, given as the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the Queen Consort of Charles II.<sup>6</sup> The same princess is mentioned in Joana de Jesus' preface. Catherine, like her mother, Luisa de Gusmão, was known for sponsoring diverse female religious groups in Lisbon, such as the Recollects of the Discalced Bernardins, to which Joana belonged.<sup>7</sup>

In her text Joana never refers to the current political situation. Yet her life and work are marked by the ambiguity of Iberian culture. She had a religious fervor exhaled from the Catholic Reformation, and she profited from the bilingualism that

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6 For a new insight on the Portuguese-Spanish conflict, see David Tengwell, *The Portuguese Revolution (1640–1668: A European War of Freedom and Independence* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 2010). On the history of seventeenth-century Portugal see, for instance, Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *O Tempo dos Filipes em Portugal e no Brasil (1580–1668): Estudos Históricos* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1994); José Mattoso, *História de Portugal*, vol. 3, “No alvorecer da modernidade (1480–1620),” and volume 4, “O Antigo Regime (1620–1807),” (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993); Fernando J. Bouza Alvarez, Ângela Barreto Xavier and Pedro Cardim, *Portugal no Tempo dos Filipes: Política, Cultura, Representações (1580–1668)*, vol. 34 (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 2000); Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *Nation upon the Ocean Sea, Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Fernando Castelo Branco, *Lisboa seiscentista*, (Lisbon: [Câmara Municipal], 1957).

7 Monique Vallance, *A Rainha Restauradora: Luísa de Gusmão* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012); Vallance, “D. Luísa de Gusmão: Gender and Power in Seventeenth Century Portugal” (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2012).

was a common skill of the literate people of Portugal during those years. This is clear from Joana's use of the Spanish title Teresa of Ávila's works [ANTT. 2].<sup>8</sup>

## The Family

Joana could not have forgotten that Spain was an occupying country. Joana's paternal grandfather, Lopo Vaz de Albuquerque, was a supporter and 'moço da Câmara' (chamberlain) of the last Portuguese king before the Spanish rule, the Cardinal Dom Henrique. Afterwards he was supporter of D. António, Prior do Crato, opponent of the Spanish candidates for the throne. For this reason, he saw his Sátão manor destroyed by a fire, causing his family to take refuge with the Monastery of Ferreira das Aves.<sup>9</sup> Lopo subsequently obtained official forgiveness but did not recover his estate. In 1551, the Albuquerque family lived in Mioma, a small village in Sátão county. He had eight children: Mateus de Albuquerque Freire, Joana's father, and seven others. One of them became the Abbess of the Monastery of Ferreira das Aves twice, and three other sisters were also nuns there, dying with reputations of great virtue. Mateus' brother, Dom António de Albuquerque, became a Capuchin at Santo António dos Olivais' Recollects.<sup>10</sup>

Joana's father, the first-born Mateus de Albuquerque Freire, formed a family with Maria Nunes de Andrade, a Mioma native. Joana's maternal family was under a slight suspicion of being 'cristã-nova' ('newly-Christian', i.e., in this case and period, Jewish converts).<sup>11</sup> Mateus was Lopo Vaz de Albuquerque's heir: he received the house and his office as 'escrivão da câmara' ([judicial] chamber clerk). The couple had eight surviving children: three boys and five girls, attesting to what Joana states in her text about her family [ANTT 1v, 49v].

Joana's sisters (Mariana, Sebastiana, and Inês) were members of the Cistercian Order at Lorvão, all except Catarina, who married in 1666. Catarina's daughter, Josefa, born in 1668, presumably became Joana's goddaughter.<sup>12</sup> In her text, Joana mourns the death of her sister while in Lorvão, probably referring to Mariana [ANTT 77v]. Inês would later become an abbess and would die in 1682. Sebastiana would die in August 1688, also with the reputation of a saint. Both sisters were known for

8 See also Tomás Lino da Assunção, *As Freiras de Lorvão: Ensaio de Monographia Monastica* (Coimbra: França Amado, 1899), 200.

9 Manuel Rosado Marques de Camões e Vasconcelos, *Albuquerque's Da Beira* (Lisbon: 1948), 114.

10 Vasconcelos, *Albuquerque's Da Beira*, 115–116.

11 The author of the Albuquerque's genealogy suggests the hypothesis of the 'newly-Christian' aspect of Joana's maternal family, by mentioning Joana's sister, Catarina de Albuquerque, and her process of rehabilitation, which happened in 1674. See Vasconcelos, *Albuquerque's Da Beira*, 116.

12 Vasconcelos, *Albuquerque's Da Beira*, 118.

having mystical experiences.<sup>13</sup> Inocência, a brother she indirectly mentions as a monk, underwent a habilitation process in the Order of Christ in 1649.

Joana de Jesus' text includes a copy of two letters she received from her brother António, and two from her confessors Vivardo and António Amaral, to which I will later refer. Throughout the text it is possible to see how domestic and religious relationships are intermingled.

The text shows the close relationship her family (aunts and siblings) had with the Benedictine and Cistercian Orders. The support and influence of her family protected Joana in her two big changes: first when she came to Lórvão to become a Cistercian, and later in 1668 when she had to return back to Lórvão after the nine years spent at the Recollect of Lisbon. I will continue this discussion the importance of the family in the second chapter, when discussing the family network.

## Her Confessors

Besides her family, it is necessary to note the role of Joana's confessors. Vivardo de Vasconcellos, the General Abbot of the Cistercian Order, was an important character in her life.<sup>14</sup> He invited her to Lisbon because of her visionary talent [ANTT 50r]. In addition, Father Alberto de Amaral, another religious man of the same order and a cleric at the Lisbon monastery, asked her to write down a new rule for these reformed nuns [ANTT 51r]. Joana refers to writing this rule in some notebooks that were given to her by the abbot. Unfortunately, this text seems to be lost or displaced.<sup>15</sup> The contemporary written source that mentions her is a catalogue of famous lives and deaths at the monastery of Lórvão.<sup>16</sup> Vivardo de Vasconcellos' notes on the foundation of the female 'Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth at Lisbon' also mention a 'nun from Lórvão' who had to return to her original monastery due to the lack of a dowry.<sup>17</sup>

13 Tomás Lino da Assunção, *As Freiras de Lórvão: Ensaio de Monographia Monastica* (Coimbra: França Amado, 1899), 141–142.

14 João Manuel Esteves Pereira and Guilherme Rodrigues, "Vivaldo [sic] de Vasconcellos," in *Portugal; diccionario historico, chorographico, heraldico, biographico, bibliographico, numismatico e artistico*, vol. 3, T-Z (Lisbon: João Romano Torres, 1915), 336.

15 Joana Braga, "A descrição do fundo do Mosteiro de Lórvão na Torre do Tombo: passado, presente e futuro," accessed May 11, 2011, <http://www.iem.unl.pt>. Likewise, in the collection of materials belonging to the Cistercian Order this document does not appear.

16 "Memorial das Vidas e Obitos das Religiosas deste Mosteiro," Torre do Tombo National Archives, Ordem de Cister, Mosteiro de Lórvão, book 310, accessed February 27, 2012, PT/TT/MSML/A/L310, <http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt/details?id=4616414>.

17 Vivardo de Vasconcellos, "De hum papel de varias noticias da origem e principios do mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Nazare que fundou em Lisboa para monjas recolletas descalcas da Ordem de Nosso Padre Sao Bernardo – o nosso padre frei Vivardo de Vasconcellos e por elle escrita", Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Codex Alcobacensis, Ms. 336, fol. 112r.

Joana wrote down her *Life* during her stay at Lisbon, presumably around 1661.<sup>18</sup> When she departed from the Recollects back to Lórvão, her notebook remained in Vivardo's possession. It was only in 1676, when ordered to do so by her second confessor, Father Antonio da Conceição, that the Cistercian nun continued the description of her visions and encounters with Jesus Christ.

## Her Death

Joana died on 20 August 1681.<sup>19</sup> Her death is described in the *Memorial das Vidas* (*Lives Memorial*) of the Monastery of Lórvão. On the day before Saint Bernard's day, two people entered Joana's cell and saw that some light came from her eyes. On the next day, just as the procession was starting, she drew her final breath. She was said to have had performed miraculous deeds throughout her life. The *Memorial* states that Joana's second confessor saw a white butterfly coming from the sacrary into the Cistercian Nun's mouth. When she died, the confessor ordered other religious women to collect objects from her, and these people experienced many favors from them. In the preface of the *Copy*, the writer states that Joana died in an odor of saintliness.

## The Manuscript

The Cistercian nun gives an account of her life, her devotions, and the description of her visions and revelations in one text. There are two versions of the same text, with minor differences. The original (hereafter referred to as *Notebook*) is a 163-folio manuscript, written on the front and reverse sides of the pages. It belongs to the collection of the Monastery of Lórvão at the National Archives of Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.<sup>20</sup> This is presumably an autograph.<sup>21</sup> The text, as in the marginalia written in pencil, indicates 1661 as the date of the commencement of the book. There are several white leaves between the first and second part. According to the author, the

18 Tomás Lino da Assunção, *As Freiras De Lórvão: Ensaio De Monographia Monástica*, 207. The information provided by the Torre do Tombo National Archives [ANTT] catalogue also corroborates this hypothesis.

19 There are two divergent dates. The writer of the copy's preface states 1680, but the *Memorial* says she died in 1681. "Memorial das Vidas e religiosas deste real Mosteiro," ANTT, Mosteiro do Lórvão, book 310, fol. 3r-v. No register of her death was found in the Parochial Archives. See Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, Paróquia de Figueira do Lórvão [Penacova], Registos Mistos, 1616–1730, accessed November 22, 2013, <http://pesquisa.auc.uc.pt/details?id=42251>.

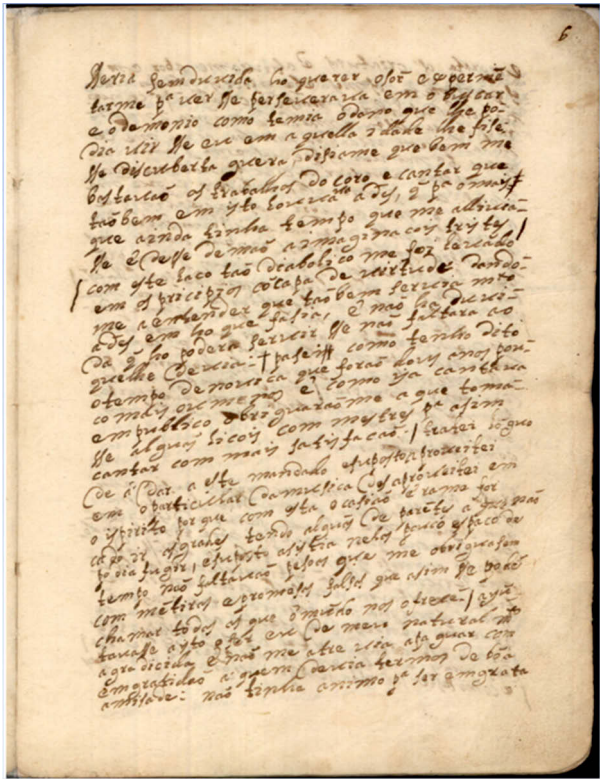
20 Joana de Jesus, *Livro da Madre Soror Joana de Jesus para seus apontamentos* (1691), ANTT, Ordem de Cister, Mosteiro do Lórvão, book n. 360.

21 I thank Vanda Anastácio, Isabel Morujão, and Ricardo Ventura for their help with the dates. See also "A Fiel e Verdadeyra relação que dá dos sucessos de sua vida a Criatura Mais Ingrata a Seu Creador...: Um género, um texto único" (master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1992), 16.



second part was written eighteen years after the ending of the first, thus in 1679, approximately two years before Joana's death.

Figure 2: A sample of Joana's Notebook (Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, 1661).



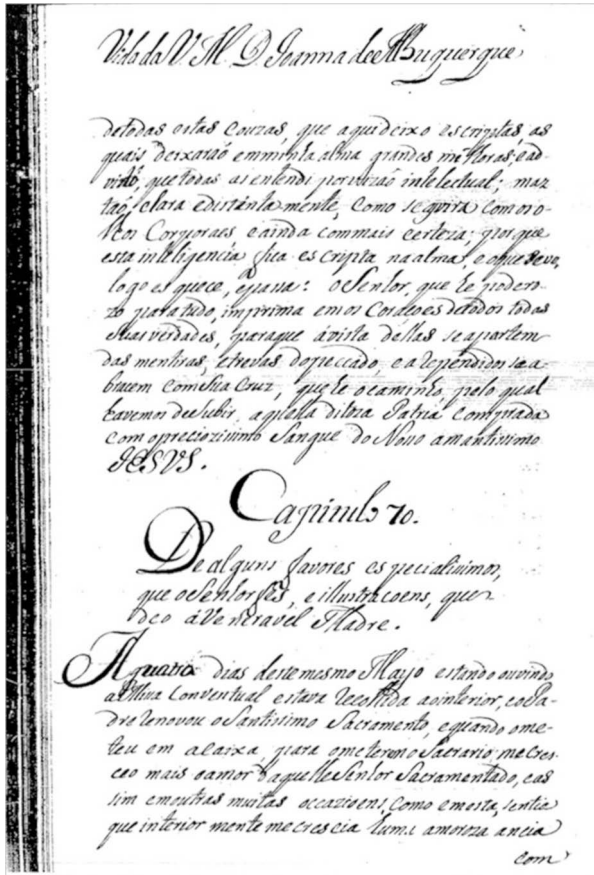
The Copy, in eighteenth-century handwriting, is a 262-folio manuscript, also written on the fronts and backs of the pages.<sup>22</sup> Its dating can be traced *post hoc* to 1748, as it contains excerpts of the last chapter ('De revelationibus') of Pope Benedict XIV's *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione* [BNL 5v-8r].<sup>23</sup> It was intended for publication, and it contains two introductions: one by the Abbess, the

22 Joana Freire de Albuquerque, *Vida Da Venerável Madre Joana De Albuquerque*, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, F. 8666, *post hoc* 1748. [From now on the folia of this manuscript will be signaled as BNL.]  
 23 Benedictus XIV, "De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione liber tertius," in *Opera*, 12 vols. (Rome: 1748), 3: 809–810.



other by a censor of the Colégio do Espírito Santo, a Cistercian College belonging to the University of Coimbra. The Copy is divided into two books. The first comprises ninety chapters containing the text written in Lisbon. The second one is incomplete and has ten chapters. Just as in the case of the original, this manuscript ends abruptly.

Figure 3: A sample of Joana's Copy (Lisbon, BNL, post-1748).



There are some differences within the body of the text of both versions. The orthography is less coherent in the Notebook than in the Copy. Few words are divergent; however, there are some passages of the text that were removed from the Copy.<sup>24</sup>

24 ANTT 66v; 86r-87r; 95r-95v; 105v; 111v; 112v; 113r; 159r-159v; 163r-164r.

Likewise, there is an addition in the original that is clearly written in different handwriting, stating that the account in question should not be continued [ANTT 134r]. The last folia of the *Notebook* are probably written in a third handwriting.

The differences between the two manuscripts are crucial to an understanding of the trajectory of Joana's life and her notion of anxiousness. As I will show, this addition and other ellipses can clarify the polemic developed by the writer of the preface. The same addition can be the cause of her returning to Lorrão, as I will argue in the second chapter. In the third chapter, I will analyze further passages drawn from the text, which emphasize the embodiment and Christocentric aspect of anxiousness.

Throughout this study I will be quoting from the *Notebook*, using the folia numeration as it appears in ANTT. Whenever necessary, I will state the *Copy*'s numeration in BNL. The division of chapters as the *Copy* presents them is maintained.

### 1.1.2 Reception of Joana de Jesus' Life and Work

The first reference to Joana's life and work outside her Cistercian circle appeared in 1755. Continuing the work of Jorge Cardoso, Dom António Caetano de Sousa collected several descriptions of Portuguese religious people who were regarded as venerable or had a saintly reputation in the *Agiolôgio Lusitano* (*Lusitanian Hagiologium*).<sup>25</sup> For August 20<sup>th</sup> – both St Bernard's Day and the date of Joana's death – António Caetano de Sousa wrote a brief lemma on Joana de Jesus, tormented by illnesses and prophetic visions. In it, he points out the importance of changing her name from 'Joana de Albuquerque' to 'Joana de Jesus', a point that will be crucial in my own analysis of Joana's text.

Lino de Assumpção, a late nineteenth-century historian, provided the only interpretative 'reading' of Joana's manuscript, in his book *As freiras do Lorrão* (The nuns of Lorrão).<sup>26</sup> There he considers Joana to be the most significant visionary of Lorrão and describes the various stages of her life, quoting extracts from her *Notebook* in nineteenth-century Portuguese. He points out four main aspects of Joana's work. Assumpção's endeavors allowed me to develop a theoretical and contextual scope for an academic investigation of Joana's text.

25 Jorge Cardoso, *Agiologio Lusitano dos Sanctos, e Varoens Illustres em Virtude do Reino ee Portugal, e Suas Conquistas: Consagrado aos Gloriosos S. Vicente, E S. Antonio, Insigns Patronos Desta Inclyta Cidade Lisboa e a Seu Illustre Cabido Sede Vacante*, 4 books in 4 volumes (Lisbon: Officina Craesbeekiana, 1652–1744); António Caetano de Sousa, *Agiolôgio Lusitano*, vol. 4, *Que comprehende os dous mezes de Julho, e Agosto, e com seus commentarios* (Lisbon: Regia Officina Sylviana, 1744), 622–623. On his library, see Maria de Lurdes Correia Fernandes, "A Biblioteca de Jorge Cardoso (1669), Autor do Agiolôgio Lusitano: Cultura, Erudição e Sentimento Religioso no Portugal Moderno," in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Línguas e Literaturas*, annex 10, vol. 10 (Oporto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2000).

26 Tomás Lino da Assunção, *As Freiras De Lorrão: Ensaio De Monographia Monastica*, 189–270.

Firstly, he proceeds with a psychological analysis of her life and work based on the theories of Charcot and the school of Montpellier, which were very popular at the time. Lino de Assumpção considered Joana a typical 'religious hysteric', probably suffering from epilepsy. Secondly, he searches, for any reference to Joana in the manuscripts of her confessor, Friar Vivardo de Vasconcellos, the General Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça, and for other documentary vestiges of her presence, but he does not find any. Thirdly, he supplies a general comparison of Joana's visions with Teresian mysticism. Finally, he suggests a possible link between Joana's visions and the later popular heresy of quietism, which was theorized and achieved its peak in the works of Miguel de Molinos and Madame Guyon, respectively.<sup>27</sup>

Joana de Jesus might have also been a source for Portuguese dramaturgy. A nineteenth-century naturalist writer, António Campos Júnior, wrote a play *A visão de Jesus* (*The Vision of Jesus*) (1902) in which he criticizes the Church, accusing it of fostering the 'monastic hysteria' exemplified by the nun's character, which was supposedly inspired by Joana.<sup>28</sup>

In 1930, Sílvio Lima, a psychologist of religion at the University of Coimbra, wrote his academic dissertation on the philosophical importance of 'mystical love'. Mainly influenced by psychoanalysis, he contributed to a wide selection of Portuguese sources in which Joana's religiosity was considered the most Portuguese case relevant to 'Theo-eroticism'.<sup>29</sup> He is interested mainly in her notion of kiss and the 'trueness' that Christ acquires in this contact. His research related to a critical but agnostic dialogue with Freud and nineteenth-century psychoanalysis; however, this was cut short by ecclesiastical censorship, which prohibited a wider publication of this unfinished work while banning its author from his chair at the University.<sup>30</sup>

More recently, in a 1992 dissertation on the history of art in the monastery of Lervão, Nelson Correia Borges assessed Joana's spirituality, mainly following Lino de Assumpção's work, while framing her work in a wider movement of 'ecstatic visionaries' occurring at that time.<sup>31</sup> There were six more Cistercian women at Lervão

27 Assunção, *As Freiras De Lervão*, 230.

28 António Campos Júnior, *Visão de Jesus*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Século, 1902), 80.

29 Sílvio Lima, "Amor Místico," in *Obras Completas* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2002), 1: 677–678, 697.

30 Barahona Fernandes, "Revivendo Um Ensaio De Sílvio Lima Decapitado Pela Censura 'O Amor Místico,'" *Biblos*, no. 55 (1980), 7–33; Rui Lopo, "Sílvio Lima. Um Cavaleiro do Amor" in *Revista Metacrítica*, no. 4 (March, 2004), accessed December 12, 2013, [http://metacritica.ululsofona.pt/Arquivo/metacritica4/pdf4/rui\\_lopo.pdf](http://metacritica.ululsofona.pt/Arquivo/metacritica4/pdf4/rui_lopo.pdf).

31 Nelson Correia Borges, *Arte Monástica em Lervão: Sombras e Realidade: Das Origens a 1737* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Ministério da Ciência e da Tecnologia, 2002), 197–202.

who experienced this divine contact, but their written accounts were not traced.<sup>32</sup> However, another document, a 'vita' attributed to another nun, Maria das Chagas, has survived.<sup>33</sup>

The social history of the Monastery of Lorvão also provides an indirect source of Joana's reception. The monastery itself was known for its political and economic power within Portuguese society, as several historians have shown.<sup>34</sup> Founded in 1109 as a male monastery, its evolution into a community of nuns of the Cistercian Order was due to the efforts of the princesses Sancha, Branca, and Teresa in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the daughters of the first Portuguese King, Dom Afonso Henriques. The abbey's estates became a major feudal territory, achieving their peak economic value in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The nuns' prestige rivaled the male clergy's and even the royalty's.<sup>35</sup> By the time Joana entered the convent, during the second half of the seventeenth century, there was great internal political instability due to the Cistercian Reformation operating within the wider Tridentine context. The community changed the office of abbess from an appointment for life to a triennial one. The internal and external instability that these repeated elections caused was mentioned in Joana's text. In 1663, Joana wrote a short description of this situation [ANTT 133v].

As we can see, Joana de Jesus had a small but transdisciplinary reception. Her work has been partially studied within the hagiographical, literary, psychological, and historical fields. From all of these approaches, two questions have triggered my own research and will be developed in the following chapters. The first one is: How does Joana's changing of her name affect the writing (and construction) of her subjectivity? The second question, which emerged from Sérgio Lima's work, is: In which

32 Dona Isabel de Noronha (d. 1644), Dona Sebastiana de Albuquerque (Joana's sister, d. 1688), Dona Maria de Trindade (d. 1727), Dona Micaela de Carvalho (d. 1709), Dona Antónia da Cunha de Sá (d. 1724), Dona Inês de Albuquerque (d. 1682), Ana Machado de Figueiredo (d. 1676). See Nelson Correia Borges, *Arte Monástica em Lorvão: Sombras e Realidade: Das Origens a 1737*, 198–199. See also *Livro das Preladas do Mosteiro do Lorvão*, Lisbon, ANTT, Mosteiro do Lorvão, book 309; *Memorial das Vidas e religiosas deste real Mosteiro*, Lisbon, ANTT, Mosteiro do Lorvão, book 310.

33 "Vida da Venerável D. Maria das Chagas," Lisbon, ANTT, Ordem de Cister, Mosteiro do Lorvão, book 366.

34 See in particular the work of Maria Alegria Marques: "O Cister feminino em Português: fontes e estudos," offprint of *Cistercium*, year LI, no. 217, (October-December 1999): 841–851; "As primeiras freiras de Lorvão," *Cistercium*, year L, no. 213, (October-December, 1998): 1083–1129; and her book *Estudos sobre a Ordem de Cister em Portugal* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri and Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra, 1998).

35 Teresa M. S. de Castello Branco Schedel, "Estudos sobre o Lorvão-I. As Abadessas Medievais de Lorvão. Cronologia e Esboço de Identificação," in *Separata das Actas do 17o Congresso Internacional das Ciências Genealógica e Heráldica*, Lisboa 1986, (Lisbon: [n.d.] 1990).

way has anxiousness contributed to the wider experience of theo-eroticism and the ontological dimension of Christ?

## 1.2. The Genre of Joana's Text

### 1.2.1 Vita, Life, and Spiritual (Auto)Biographies

Joana de Jesus' work connects to a Christian tradition of 'vitae' or spiritual biographies. These have been mainly written by another person (the biographer) or, in other some, as a first-person text (autobiographies). Such texts were usually an account of a person's saintly deeds and were used as proof for purposes of posthumous canonization.<sup>36</sup> However, the classification of such texts has been a matter of debate as to whether they are indeed mere autobiographies. Their fictionalization and authorship has been put to the test by contemporary literary scholars and philosophers.

The spiritual biographies of medieval nuns and religious women began to be acknowledged as testimonies of intellectual endeavors only after the groundbreaking work of Herbert Grundmann.<sup>37</sup> He was innovative in his comparative approach to the several religious movements of the later Middle Ages, rather than focusing on just one monastic order or one heretical group. Therefore, he was able to identify the common ground between these movements and get a clearer perspective on the differences. Furthermore, his approach enabled the discovery of the considerable impact of women in these movements, whereas the traditional monastic histories usually focused on male founders.

In the 1980s, Caroline Walker Bynum continued this line of study. She gave more emphasis to women's relations with their bodies and with food, mainly stemming from socially and culturally embedded practices, whilst affording less to psychological and biological differences. Bynum argued that religious women participated in and established the grounds to analyze women's religiosity sometimes as a different and gendered experience of the Divine.<sup>38</sup>

36 André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, [Laics au Moyen Age] trans. Daniel Ethan Bornstein, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993).

37 Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik: Anhang, Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der religiösen Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961). For a recent take of this subject see Cordula Whyte, *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*. Routledge, 2008.

38 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York Cambridge, Mass.: Zone Books; Distributed by the MIT Press,

Devotional literature as an academic subject opened up space for investigation wherein gendered practices, lived experiences, and theoretical enterprises could not be separated from the text and its genre. During the last three decades, several studies on autobiographical writings by religious and non-religious women in Spain, France, Italy, England, and the Spanish colonies appeared.<sup>39</sup>

In early modernity, especially after the Council of Trent, these female autobiographic texts saw great expansion. They constituted both a *confession* and a *conversion*: a confession because these texts pretended to be an account of the events one's life; a conversion because this account reveals a change, a transformation which enables the author to become the scribe of God. In this sense, it was almost the writing of the 'Divine language', which was inaccessible to the majority of people except those elected few among the most unlearned and innocent, who become privileged enough to have God's imprint upon them, as Vernet argues.<sup>40</sup> This was, of course, a *topos*, but it was the way the autobiographies were perceived and acknowledged by official institutions.

Several spiritual autobiographical writings share the aim of saintliness or imitation of God in their successive historical approaches, constituting through this practice the vestige of a theological enterprise and a (philosophical) anthropology, derived more from the authorization of the God-Man's life (and Passion) than from the

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1991); Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1982).

39 Recently : Nieves Baranda and Anne Cruz, *The Routledge research companion to early modern Spanish women writers*. New York: Routledge, 2018. Selection of now classic scholarship.: Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis, and Philippa Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation, 1500–1660*, (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007); Laura Lungler Knoppers, *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Electa Arenal and Stacey Schlau, *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in their own Works* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); Patricia Francis Cholakian, *Women and the Politics of Self-Representation in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: Associated University Press, 2000); Claire Marrone, *Female Journeys: Autobiographical Expressions by French and Italian Women* (Connecticut: Greenwood, 2000); Anita Pacheco, ed., *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Alison Weber, "The Three Lives of the Vida: The Uses of Convent Autobiography," in *Women, Texts and Authority in Early Modern Spain*, ed. Marta Vicente and Luis Corteguera (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 107–125; K.A. Meyers, *Neither saints nor sinners: writing the lives of women in Spanish America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). For a discussion on recent scholarship of Hispanic spiritual life-writings, see Christine M. Cloud, "Embodied authority in the spiritual autobiographies of four early modern women from Spain and Mexico" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2006).

40 F. Vernet, "Autobiographie Spirituelle," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique*, 1142–1159.

intellectual, scholastic, and humanist tradition of authoritative sources that were not readily accessible to women.<sup>41</sup> The interior experience of the self with God, the promised union through the body, made it possible for women to become authoritative and therefore also to become authors of books for which they did not want the credit themselves, as credit for the individual author overshadowed these works' godly co-authorship.<sup>42</sup> This argument contradicts the notion of autobiography that proclaims the emergence of an omnipotent subject.<sup>43</sup>

## 1.2.2 Autohagiographies and Autodidacticism

If these medieval and early modern writings are accounts of collaborative saintliness between the subjected subject and Godly grace, a movement towards this elected 'I', then Kieckhefer and Greenspan prefer the designation 'autohagiography' to describe this enterprise.<sup>44</sup> Greenspan contrasts autohagiography with autobiography because the former has a different theme: universal and spiritual truth, rather than the personal kind. For Greenspan an autohagiography cannot have direct mentions of places, times, and persons; the choice not to mention these things gives the text a character of universality. This modality of writing has been predominant among female authors. Moreover, in an autohagiography it is possible to find didactic treatises, letters, revelations, poems, confessions, sermons, 'words uttered in ecstasy

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- 41 Anneke Mulder-Bakker, *Seeing and Knowing: Women and Learning in Medieval Europe 1200–1550*, vol. 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004). For the genre of hagiography in the Protestant world, see for example Lucia Bergamasco, "Hagiographie et sainteté en Angleterre: aux XVIe-XVIIIe siècles," in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 48, no. 4 (July–August, 1993), 1053–1085, accessed April 20, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27584510>.
  - 42 The claim to authority through writing has been a main preoccupation in feminist scholarship. Examples include Elizabeth Avilda Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), and Grace Jantzen, *Power, Gender, and Christian Mysticism*, Cambridge Studies in Ideology and Religion 8 (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Mirjam de Baar, "Ik moet spreken. Het spiritueel leiderschap van Antoinette Bourignon (1616–1680)" (PhD diss., University of Groningen, 2004), 53–54, <http://irs.ub.rug.nl/ppn/264413962>. For exhaustive research on this theme, see Amy Hollywood, "Feminist Studies" in *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Spirituality*, ed. Arthur Holder (Oxford, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 363–386.
  - 43 Nicholas Paige, *Being Interior: Autobiography and the Contradiction of Modernity in Seventeenth-Century France*, New Cultural Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 21–64.
  - 44 Kate Greenspan, "Autohagiography," in *Women and gender in medieval Europe: an encyclopedia*, ed. by Margaret C. Schaus; *The Routledge Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages*, vol. 14 (New York: Routledge, 2006), 52–56; Kate Greenspan, "Autohagiography and Women's Spiritual Autobiographies," in *Gender and Text in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Jane Chance (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996), 216–236; Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and their Religious Milieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 6.



and oral recitations'.<sup>45</sup> That being said, Greenspan defends the concept of 'autohagiography' when referring to these sorts of texts.

Joana's text can also be considered an autohagiography insofar as it contains some letters and visions written in a confessional and public tone. Nevertheless, despite its embedded mystagogy, the text is not sufficiently universalized according to Greenspan's criteria. It still mentions many of the places, times, and persons involved, contrary to Greenspan's description of what an autohagiography should be. Joana's text remains embedded in an autobiographic tone.

Likewise, Joana's endeavor could be called an autodidactic enterprise insofar as it contains the narrative of the self.<sup>46</sup> Supported by Michel de Certeau, Willem Frijhoff distinguishes a form of autodidactics present in the 'enlightened illiterate'. Men and women devoted to religious wording (oral or written) and speech supplied the need for an institutionalized master. They did not neglect, however, the reading of the Scriptures or certain distinguished (wise) writers. Nonetheless, this infused or instantaneous education stumbles over the different sources of knowledge as they become more authoritative.<sup>47</sup>

This being said, the more general (and contemporary) terms 'life' or 'self-writing' may easily be adopted. In a study of early modern English nuns in Carmelite convents in the Low Countries, Nicky Hallet explains the use of this term:

'Life', 'Lives' or self-writing are used in preference to 'autobiography' and 'biography' since these last two terms are generally associated with generic preconceptions that do not always apply to personal spiritual testimony. For example, notions of autobiography as a 'unified, retrospective first-person narrative [which] uniquely totalizes its subject as both author and hero' (Mascuch. 1997, 23) are inapplicable to women's devotional life-writing which often has multiple authorship, a divine rather than human focus, and does not seem to chart the progress of a personality.<sup>48</sup>

45 Greenspan, "Autohagiography," 53.

46 "L'autodidaxie est le grand *narratif* qui rend compte de la transformation de cette trajectoire de vie, de la traversée solitaire d'un espace qui est souvent raconté ou représenté comme un désert social ou culturel. C'est la raison même pour laquelle la plupart des expériences autodidactiques fortes dans le passé ont été conservées dans les autobiographies ou des biographies. Ce sont les traces personnalisées – fugaces certes, mais déjà inscrites dans le langage d'une culture commune – d'autant de trajectoires personnelles qui se justifient par le caractère unique qu'elles s'attribuent et qui se racontent délibérément comme réfractaires à toute répétition. L'autodidaxie ne se pense que dans la perspective du 'moi.'" In Willem Frijhoff, "Autodidaxies, XVIe-XIXe siècles. Jalons pour la construction d'un objet historique in 'Autodidaxies, XVIe-XIXe siècles,'" in *Histoire de l'éducation* : Département de la recherche historique, documentaire et comparée de I.N.R.P., No 70 (May, 1996) : 70 (May 1996) : 7, Accessed on January, 15 2014 <http://bbf.enssib.fr/consulter/03-verrier.pdf>.

47 Frijhoff, "Autodidaxies," 25.

48 Nicky Hallet, *Lives of Spirit. English Carmelite Self-writing in the Early Modern Period* (Abingdon, Oxon: Ashgate, 2007), 1.

*Life* and *Self-writing* becomes a project that transcends a mere literary endeavor: it becomes mystical and philosophical. In Joana's case, it deals with the quest for an emerging subjectivity, insofar as this subjectivity is acquired through privileged contact with the Divinity, mediated through feminine characters such as Teresa. It is the making of this subjectivity that is seen throughout the genre of Joana's texts.

### 1.3. Mystical Text, Mystical Subjects

Michel de Certeau sees the 'quest for the body' in medieval mystic knowledge.<sup>49</sup> The body in question is sacramented, is hidden, is the body of Christ that became an institutional body: the Church. With the emergence of writing about interiority in the seventeenth century, when this quest for the body became a science or a methodology, the body became a corpus of re-search. Joana's self-writing contains her own life (information she chooses to share) and describes a life to be followed (a *Life*), an *exemplum* and an *exception* that can make Joana the leader of her community. According to this Cistercian nun and many other religious women (such as Hadewijch), writing the self and the body based on acquired visions is an expression of a mystagogical tendency that reflects a cooperative authorship with God, enabling female authority within her community.<sup>50</sup> That is apparent in Joana's project as well as in the work of those who later compiled the text into the *Copy* and made Joana's life into a *Life*, as I shall explain.

#### 1.3.1 The Preface: Life as an *Exemplum*

As mentioned in the introduction, there are two versions of Joana's narrative. The presumed autograph is included in the Lorvão collection in the National Archive Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.<sup>51</sup> A handwritten copy of this tome was made in the eighteenth century. The first preface was added, seemingly written by the Mother Superior, showing the mystagogical meaning of that reading to the community.

'E como julgo que ella vos será bem agradável, a vós Prodigiozas Santas a dedico, e tão bem porque he justo, que [BNL 1v] que a vos se consagre a copia daquela vida, de que vos fosteis o exemplar, e eu, e todas as mais Religiozas vossas Filhas e Subditas, e Dizcipulas vos rogamos que com as vossas supplicas alcanceis do Divino Sol, nos communique as suas Luzes, para tirarmos desta

49 Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 79.

50 Veerle Fraters, "Visioenen als literaire mystagogie. Stand van zaken en nieuwe inzichten over intentie en functie van Hadewijchs Visioenen," in *Ons geestelijk erf* 73 (1999): 111–130.

51 Nelson Correia Borges, following Lino de Assunção, doesn't doubt this is an autograph. See Borges, *Arte Monástica Em Lorvão: Sombras e Realidade: Das Origens a 1737*, 201–202.

bella lição o dezejado fruto, caminhando sempre pelos Suavissimos caminhos da virtude athé chegarmos a gozar da vossa bem amável companhia nessa Jerusalem Celestial.' [BNL 1r-1]

And as I think that it will be very pleasurable to you, Prodigious Saints, and also because it is just that [BNL 1v] the copy of that life, of which you were the exemplar, is consecrated to you, and I, and all other religious women, who are your daughters, subjects, and disciples, beseech you to, with your pleas, obtain from the Divine Sun the communication of his Lights, for us to take this beautiful lesson's desired fruit, always walking the most tender paths of virtue until we arrive to enjoy your well amiable company in that Celestial Jerusalem. [BNL 1r-1v]

Despite the inclusion of such a dedication as a rhetorical device, the author's own philosophical commitment remains latent. For instance, the use of such vocabulary as "copy of that life" and "exemplar" is not random. This vocabulary relates to the religious commitment of the *imitatio Christi* as "daughters, subjects, and disciples." The *imitatio* is nothing less than the exemplarism or the likeness of God considered in philosophical and theological terms.<sup>52</sup> We shall see this in the third chapter.

The manuscript's copy does not name the abbess and does not give a date that could indicate under whose authority the text of Joana was so highly esteemed. It is dedicated to the female 'Prodigious Saints' ('Santas Prodigosas'). In the eighteenth century there was a movement to beatify the founders of the female monastery at Lorvão, the three sisters Teresa, Sancha, and Mafalda, daughters of Dona Dulce of Leon and King Dom Sancho I, the second king of Portugal, who founded the monastery between the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. In 1211, the three princesses handed over the former Benedictine monastery to the patronage of Citeaux. The process of beatification began under the auspices of Cardinal Dom Henrique (1394–1460), but only gained definitive papal support in 1705, with Pope Clement's bull *Sollicitudo Pastoralis Offici*.<sup>53</sup> In 1713, the abbess, Dona Bernarda Menezes de Telles, ordered the women's bodies to be moved to the newly renovated abbey church of Lorvão. This happened with great ceremony in the presence of King Pedro II.<sup>54</sup> In 1793, Mafalda was beatified by Pope Pius VI. Taking Dona Bernarda Menezes de Telles' actions to promote the cult of the founders into

52 T. J. Kondoleon, "Exemplarism" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 712–714.

53 Borges, *Arte Monástica em Lorvão*, 207.

54 Augusto Mendes S. de C., "Mosteiro de Lorvão," in *Arquivo Pittoresco*, vol. 8 (Lisbon: Castro Irmão, n.d.), 75–87.

account, it is possible to conclude that the prefatory statement could be her work, therefore affirming the need for the revalorization of the Lorrão Monastery.<sup>55</sup>

In order to be published, a Portuguese book needed both royal and ecclesial approval.<sup>56</sup> Joana's *Life* does contain a preface, issued within the Cistercian Order, at the College of the Holy Spirit or College of Saint Bernard, in Coimbra. This preface was directed to the abbot general who was also the 'Esmoler-Mor', a courtly function of ecclesiastical supervision that was always held by the Cistercian Order.<sup>57</sup> The second preface to the *Copy* is a letter dedicated to him:

Reverendissimo Padre Dom Abbade G.al Esmer mor Li com gosto repetidas vezes a admiravel vida da V.M.D. Joana de Albuquerque Religiosa do N. P. S. Bernardo em o Real Mosteyro de Lorrão, que ella mesma escreveo por ordem dos seus confesores, e pertende dar á luz a M. Religioza M. D. Abbadeça, e as mais Religiozas suas subditas do Real Mosteiro de Lorrão. E com muita rezaô, pois maô hera, que huma vida taô prodigioza ficasse sepultada nas trevas do esquecimento; Saya pois á luz para com os seus resplandores animar os peccadores, illustrar os Incipientes, illuminar os Proficientes, e abraçar em incendios de Divino amor aos perfeitos. Todos segundo os varios sucessos da vida desta V.M. podem a este espelho compor, e adornar as suas vidas, seguindo o seu exemplo. [BNL 3]

Most Reverend Father Dom Abbot General Esmoler Mor I have repeatedly read with pleasure the admirable life of the Venerable Mother Dona Joana de Albuquerque, religious woman of Our Father Saint Bernard in the Royal Lorrão Monastery, written by herself, following her Confessors' orders, and that the Much Religious Mother Dona Abbess and her subjects, the other religious women of the Royal Lorrão Monastery, wish to bring to light. And most rightly so, for it would be bad that such a prodigious life should remain buried in oblivion's darkness. So may it be brought to light, in order to animate the sinner, illustrate the incipient, illuminate the proficient, and set the perfect ablaze with the fire of Divine Love in its resplendency. According to the various happenings of this Venerable Mother's life, everyone can, in front of this mirror, compose and adorn their lives, following her example. [BNL 3]

Once again, a mystagogical graduation is made clear. The life of Joana, the Cistercian nun, should not be neglected in the "darkness", but "animate," "illustrate," "il-

55 Borges, *Arte Monástica em Lorrão*, 468.

56 Graça Almeida Rodrigues, *Breve história da censura Literária em Portugal* (Amadora: Ministério da Educação e Ciência, 1980), 11–37, accessed December 12, 2013, <http://cvc.instituto-camo.es.pt/bdc/eliterarios/054/bbo54.pdf>.

57 Dom Manuel dos Santos, *Alcobaça Illustrada* (Coimbra: Officina de B. Seco Ferreyra impressor do Santo officio, 1710).

illuminate” with its “resplendency” instead and “embrace” the reader “in Divine Love fires.” To be an *exemplum* and *exemplar* is to be full of the light of knowledge and to give formation or to educate a new generation of pupils, subjects (‘súbditos’) of God, human subjects. The *exemplum* offers the possibility of the singular, the exceptional, and the formational: the possibility to be followed.

### 1.3.2 Listening to and Hearing God

The philosophical notion of exemplarism and the correlative spiritual (and social) practice of the imitation of Christ are related to an inner notion of order and obedience. In the beginning of her narrative, Joana states:

Por me ajustar com as leis de obediencia que me ordenão me ocupe em escrever o processo de minha vida trato de obedecer a quem me manda, e para que tudo o que disser seja para onra e glória de nosso Deus e proveito das almas invoco o dulcissimo nome de Jesus em cujo dia dou principio a esta obra, tomando por intercesora a Virgem Maria Senhora Nossa [sic] a quem remeto todas minhas obras e acções[...]E sendo minha vida huma guerra apreguoadada contra este Deus foi Ele tão benino que [ANTT 1v] que quis premear ofensas com misiricordias, e aguora para se mostrar mais amante, permite que oculte eu as ofensas e que publique as misiricordias, as quais Ele permita que todos cantemos para sempre amen. [ANTT 1r-v]

Adjusting myself to the laws of obedience, which order me to occupy myself with the writing of my life’s process, I hereby obey who commands me. And in order for everything I say to be in honor and glory of our God and for the profit of souls, I call upon the sweetest name of Jesus, on whose day I begin this work, taking as intercessor Our Lady Virgin Mary, to whom I remit all my works and actions. [...] And my life being a proclaimed war against this God, He was so benign that [ANTT 1v] [He] wanted to reward offenses with mercies; and now, to show Himself even more loving, He allows me to hide the offenses and publish the mercies which, with His permission, all shall sing forever, amen. [ANTT1r-v]

When Joana began her account, she perceived herself as a vessel. In the first chapter Joana states that she was asked to occupy herself with writing the process of (her) life through the laws of obedience. The human and especially the female, as a non-authorized subject who hides herself and her project, are behind this religious *topos*. In chapter 85, she is determined to cut up the first pages of her ‘caderno’ (*Notebook*), but the Lord reprimands her and makes her understand that he appreciates her first impressions and that it is his work, and not *hers* [ANTT 133r]. At the end of her au-

tobiography, in the tenth chapter of the second book, Joana justifies herself again, saying she continued her task at the behest of her second confessor [ANTT 163r].

Writing on (the confessor's) request or serving as a vessel through which God's intent is shown are the authoritative ways women had at their disposal to voice their own beliefs. Sonja Herpoel and Alison Weber have studied the role of this 'order' in Teresa and other Spanish female mystics. Herpoel points out how these women wrote "by request." Faced with "ideological control," these women reconfigure the genre of autobiography, especially the subgenre of the prologue.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, Alison Weber shows that there is a "rhetoric of humiliation" in Teresa's *Life* that, less than the persistence of a derogatory female imagery, shows a classical tactic of capturing the audience's benevolence.<sup>59</sup>

Both scholars, however, are looking at the problem of authorship from a literary perspective and underplay the theological and mystical aspect.<sup>60</sup> Joana, like other religious women, is mainly concerned with the mystical appeal that underpins the 'laws of obedience'. Joana listens (passively) to the call for obedience, but hears (God's words) and 'hides and publishes' the mercies she was granted. The sense of hearing is quite important in Christian faith: that was already known thanks to Paul (Romans 10:17).<sup>61</sup> It is, likewise, through the auditory sense that Joana hears the God-Man's words, which she quotes in her *Life*. The senses become the medium of human, but also divine, knowledge.<sup>62</sup> They demand an extra spiritual sense. Following the Cistercian tradition started by William of Saint Thierry, Joana also mentions the 'eyes of the soul'.<sup>63</sup> She describes it as follows:

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- 58 Sonja Herpoel, *A La Zaga De Santa Teresa: Autobiografías Por Mandato* (Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999), 220–221. See also Sonja Herpoel, "Nosce Te Ipsum" of Schrijven Op Bevel in Spanje. Over autobiografieën van vrouwen in de Spaanse zeventiende eeuw," in *De vrouw in de Renaissance*, ed. A.-J. Gelderblom and H. Hendrix (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 42–57.
- 59 Alison Weber, *Teresa of Ávila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1996), 42–76.
- 60 Robert T. Petersson, "Review of Teresa of Ávila and the Rhetoric of Femininity by Alison Weber," in *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 2, (summer, 1991): 357–359.
- 61 Christopher M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 65.
- 62 E. Ann Matter, "Theories of the Passions and the Ecstasies of Late Medieval Religious Women," in *Essays in Medieval Studies*, vol. 18 (2001), 1–17. Katharina Berger-Meister, "Mouth, Ears, Eyes: The Body in, behind and between the Lines of the Text" in *Fleshly Things and Spiritual Matters: Studies on the Medieval Body in Honour of Margaret Bridges*, ed. Nicole Nyffenegger and Katrin Rupp, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 27–51; Christopher M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 63–84.
- 63 William of Saint Thierry, Song 1, Stanza 8.9 2 in *Exposition on the Songs of Songs*, [Expositio super Cantico Canticorum] *The Works of William of St. Thierry*, vol. 2, trans. Mother C. Hart, intro. J.M. Decharet O.S.B, Cistercians Fathers 6 (Shanon: Cistercians Publications, 1970), 74.

E de repente me via ante o trono daquella devina e real Magestade, em cuja presença todas as cousas são nada e eu como a minima e inferior de todas ellas, desfeita em minha miseria me prostava diante daquele supremo e poderoso Deos e Senhor sem me atrever a levantar os olhos d'alma, que os do corpo estavam cegos em estas occasiois. E o meu Senhor e dulcissimo Jesus me tomava com hum amor e caridade exciciva, e me apresentava a seu eterno padre, o qual me recibia com grande benignidade, e misericordia. [ANTT 31r]

And all of a sudden, I was seeing myself before the throne of that dive and royal Majesty, in whose presence all things are nothing. And I, as the smallest and inferior to all of them, undone in my misery, prostrated myself before that supreme and mighty Lord and God, and I did not dare to raise the soul's eyes, for the bodily ones were blind on these occasions. And my Lord, the Sweetest Jesus took me with one love and excessive charity and presented me to His Eternal Father, who received me with great benignity and mercifulness. [ANTT 31r]

What remains is what the body hears, connecting what Joana sees internally to what she has to speak (or what has to be heard by others). The revelation of the God-Man can be understood by human reason by virtue of its mysterious character, and here appears the mystery or the dogma. By hearing and being heard, even when she cannot apprehend the meaning, Joana is contributing to the re-elaboration of dogmatic discourse, which is accessible to God's chosen ones. She continues:

e era tão admiravel a noticia\*, que a minha a alma tinha de todas as verdades de nossa Santa Fé Catolica, que ainda, que eu não tivera outro conhecimento della mais, que o que ali se me dava, era bastante pera o confessar por todo o mundo,e pera dar por ella muitas mil vidas.As cousas que entendia tocantes aquelle profundo, e altissimo mistério da Santissima Trindade, não se podem dizer, porque ainda que a alma o sabe entender, não os sabe explica. [ANTT 30v]

And so admirable was the notice\* that my soul had of all the truths of our Holy Catholic faith that, even if I had had no other knowledge beyond what I was given there, these were enough to confess for all the world to give many thousands of lives for. The things I understood regarding that profound and most high mystery of the Most Holy Trinity cannot be told; because even if the soul knows how to understand it, she cannot explain it. [ANTT 30v]

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See also *The Nature and Dignity of Love*, [De natura et dignitate amoris] trans. Thomas X. Davis, (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercians Publications, 1981).



Could Joana write almost in ecstasy, as she claims? In chapter 85, reflecting on earlier work, she wants to reject her youthful considerations, but God prevents her from doing this.

Em estes mesmos dias em que me sucederão as cousas que vou contando, me achei na cela de huma religiosa serva de Deos, a qual me mostrou huns apontamentos que escrevia, em que apontava algumas cousas que pasava na oração e como eu sempre duvido das minhas, em nada me parece que acerto e assim por ver que ela se facilitava comigo, lhe li as três primeiras folhas deste livro e por emtender que ela reparava em eu diser algumas cousas por estilo mais levantado, o que eu não podera cuidar, porque totalmente me paricia que todas as minhas erão as peiores, comecei a disgostar do livro e determinei sem dizer nada ao meu confesor, cortar aquelas folhas primeiras e escrever outras de novo e estando com este pensamento em o Coro, de repente me acudiu\* o Senhor e a Virgem Senhora Nosa e com grande poder e majestade, como que me repreendião, me diserão que não bulise\* em o livro, que tudo o que estava nele era seu e que tudo lhe agradava a eles. Com isto fiquei toda compongida e umilhada e paricia-me que em o que estava em o livro não tinha eu nada, assim como se não fora, e como isto causou em mim tão grande operação, dei conta do que pasava ao meu confesor, o qual me mandou que não bulise\* em o livro e que escrevese em ele este mesmo suceso, o que faço por lhe obedecer em tudo. [ANTT 133]

On the same day the things I am telling happened, I found myself in the cell of a religious woman, a servant of God, who showed me some notes she wrote, where she annotated some things she went through while praying, and as I always doubt my own, as it seems to me that I am never right, and as I saw that she opened herself to me, I read to her the first six pages of this book. And as I understood that she noticed that was saying something in a higher style, which I could not have cared about for it totally seemed to me that all [pages] of mine were the worst, I began to abhor the book and decided, without saying anything to my confessor, to cut those first pages and to write others anew. All of a sudden, while being with this thought in the Choir, the Lord and Our Virgin Lady succored\* me, and with great power and majesty, as if they were reprimanding me, they told me I should not work\* on the book as everything that was in it belonged to them and wholly pleased them. This made me feel very remorseful and humiliated, and it seemed to me that what was in the book was nothing except what had happened: and as this had such a great influence on me, I told what was happening to my confessor, who ordered me not to work\* on the book and to write this same happening in it, which I do because I obey him in everything. [ANTT 133].

This does not prevent this event from being a literary *topos*, but there is also the temptation of categorizing herself within what she has heard. She systematically refuses authorship and attributes it to more saintly characters, but what happens is not pure dictation, as she does not stop describing her miseries. Here we might even talk of Bakhtin's notion of double voice, where two voices and expressions emerge from one text to express authority.<sup>64</sup>

### 1.3.3 Beyond Senses: Time, Age, and Sensing the Future

The need that permanently potentiates and actualizes 'the hearing', in terms of both what is and has to be heard, is the project of prophecy. Ramona Wray defines prophecy as "any utterance produced by God through human agency... including hymns, general moral exhortations, scriptural exegesis, prayers, spiritual autobiographies and mystical revelations, as well as predictions."<sup>65</sup> Early modern women's voices were heard in public forums mainly due to this competence; their manifestations of Godly presence engendered prophecy as a discourse of desire.<sup>66</sup>

Like many authors before and after her, Joana was an adult woman, a forty-four year-old nun, when she began to write her life story.<sup>67</sup> However it was 11 years earlier, in 1650 on the day of the Archangel Saint Michael (September 29<sup>th</sup>), that she claimed to have had her first vision and prophecy at Lorrvão, in which her journey to Lisbon and the role that Friar Vivardo would have towards that end was announced [ANTT 47v].

Joana's journey to Lisbon is presented in chapter 33, after her very succinct description of her childhood with her parents, siblings, and extended family in Mioma. Knowing that God wants her to go to Lisbon – and even having traveled there already in spirit [ANTT 48v] – one year and three months later, she mentions Cristóvão Freire de Andrade, Inquisitor in Coimbra, with whom she had had some previous contact [ANTT 92r]. Before Vivardo arrived at Lorrvão, she received a letter written in Latin

64 Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse of the novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. ed. Michael Holquist (Houston: Univ. Texas Press, 1981), 324.

65 Ramona Wray, "Autobiography," in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 202.

66 Cf. Hilary Hinds, "Prophecy and Religious Polemic," in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, 239.

67 See the examples in Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, ed., *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, 3–59. Peter Dinzelbacher, 'Revelationes,' *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge Occidental*, vol. 57 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991). For views on the adolescence see Willem Frijhoff, *Wegen Van Evert Willemsz: Een Hollands Weeskind Op Zoek Naar Zichzelf, 1607–1647* (Nijmegen SUN, 1995).

from Father Alberto do Amaral, asking her to write a new reformed rule for the Cistercian Order's nuns. At the end of May in 1655, Vivardo went to Lôrvão and gave her some notebooks he made himself [ANTT 53r], upon which she should write the new rule, which she did on the day of the Holy Spirit.

Dipois que tive algum sosseguo em esta amorosa ância que toda me fazia perder de mim, me tornei a ver com o Padre Frei Vivardo e contada a verdade lhe <dei> notícia\* do que tinha passado na oração, elle respondeu-me que não punha dúvida em que aqueles sentimentos fosem de Deus, pelos efeitos que causavão na minha alma e loguo me deu huns cadernos feitos por sua própria mão e me disse que, dia do Espírito Santo, que era dahi a oito dias, dipois de que cumunguasse, me pusesse em oração e que tomasse a pena na mão e que escrevesse aquillo que o Senhor me ditasse e dipois de me dar esta ordem e outros muitos santos [ANTT 53r]conselhos, se partiu de Lôrvão para Lisboa, o Nosso Reverendíssimo Padre Frei Vivardo, anno do Senhor de mil seis centos e sincoenta e nove, no fim de Maio. Deixando-me tão edificada, como saudoza de sua santa conversação, em cujas palavras achava minha alma grande consolação e suavidade. [ANTT 52v-53]

After I had some rest from this loving anxiousness that wholly made me lose myself, I met Father Friar Vivardo again, and with entire truth I gave him a notice\* [report] of what had happened in my prayer. He answered me that he had no doubts about those feelings being godly due to the effects they caused in my soul and soon gave me some notepads made by his own hand and told me that as we would be in the day of the Holy Spirit, eight days after that day, I should take Communion, start praying, take a pen in my hand and write whatever the Lord dictated to me. After giving me this order and much other holy [ANTT 53r] advice, Our Most Reverend Father Friar Vivardo departed from Lôrvão heading to Lisbon in the year of Our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty-nine at the end of May, leaving me, as much as I missed it, so edified by his holy conversation, for in his words my soul found great consolation and suavity. [ANTT 52v-53]

When the Abbess of Celas, a Cistercian monastery at Coimbra, died, Vivardo traveled to Coimbra. Joana describes how, on Saint Matthew's Day in 1659, he unexpectedly stopped in Lôrvão and took her to Lisbon with him.

In the middle of her life, Joana describes the circumstances in which she began writing down her *Life*. In chapter 52, she marks a new beginning in the text: she says she has to write some notes because she is going to be examined by Gabriel de Avé Maria, a famous man of letters and spiritual matters, who had the particular gift of discerning spirits.

e asim mandei pelo confesor pedir ao Padre Reverendissimo, que pois sua paternidade entendia que <eu> hia tão mal emcaminhada em o caminho de minha salvação, que pelo amor de Deos lhe pedia que me buscasse alguma pesoa de espírito e letras que me emcaminhasse, admitiu ele esta minha petição e mandou vir à Recoleta o Padre Frei Guabriel d'Ave Maria, pesoa de muitas letras e que tinha particular don de conhecer ispritos. [ANTT 83v]

And thus I asked through the confessor to the Most Reverend Father, as his fatherhood thought I was being so wrongly directed in the way to my salvation, that for the love of God I asked him to find me some person of spirit and letters to direct me. He admitted this petition and sent Father Friar Gabriel de Ave Maria to the Recollect, a person of many letters and particularly gifted in discerning spirits. [ANTT 83v]

This probably happened around 1662, when she was forty-five years old, which is the date she attributes to Vivardo's letter. We have no evidence as to whether or not these 'notes' intended for Gabriel de Avé Maria are indeed those which become the *Notebook*.

The authorship in her book arrives even later, after her life and work. The first 33 chapters are written by Joana Freire de Albuquerque, but she is successively allowed to use her rightly earned author's name. Given the right to be the author of this collaborative work by God, she acquires a new name, Joana de Jesus.

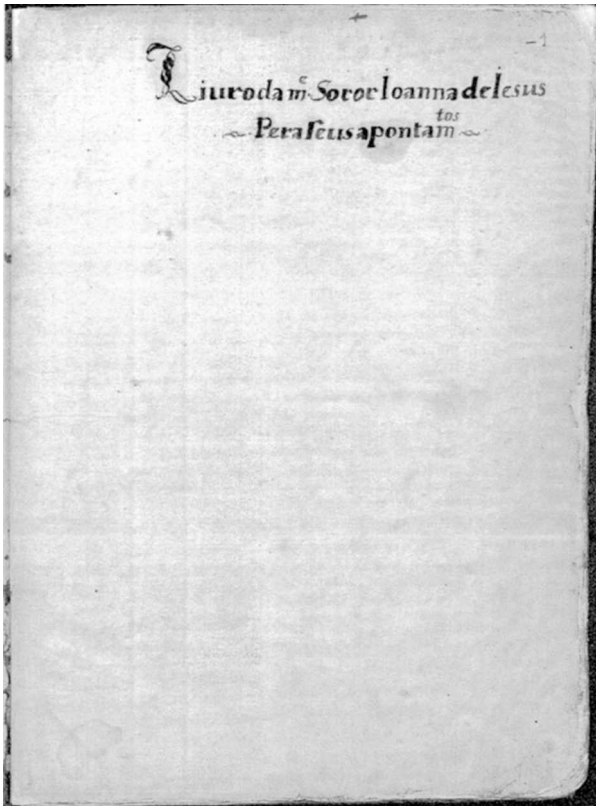
entendi tãobem que era o Senhor servido me chamasse Joana de Jesus. O que na verdade posso contar do que passei neste dia he isto, mas o que entendi e senti não o posso diser, porque não cabe na esfera de entendimento umano e tão limitado como o meu. [ANTT 47v]

I also understood that the Lord saw fit that I called myself Joana of Jesus. What I can truthfully tell about what I underwent on that day is this, but what I understood and felt I cannot tell, for it does not fit in the sphere of human understanding as limited as mine. [ANTT 47v]

In this passage Joana understands that she must be called Joana de Jesus and leave behind her secular name. The acquiring of a new name, which was quite normal within a religious setting, became a problem of authorship in the Cistercian's case. The distinction between the 'I' and the author is not only a personal or theoretical dilemma mentioned by the eighteenth-century copyist who encountered the author of this document: Joana Freire de Albuquerque did not write a self-narrative, Joana de Jesus did. The presumably original manuscript is authored in the name of Joana de Jesus ('Soror Joana de Jesus. Pera seus apontamentos'), but the *Copy* of her text, with the two prefaces intended to help its publication, is attributed to the authorship

of Joana Freire de Albuquerque ('A vida da Venerável Joana Freire de Albuquerque'). Joana de Jesus symbolized the person who experienced prophecies and revelations. Joana Freire de Albuquerque was a visionary, worthy of being venerated. In the eyes of the institution, she was not a (true) interpreter of what she had seen and therefore prophesied events that did not happen, as acknowledged by the writer of the preface, as I shall now demonstrate.

Figure 4: The first page of the Notebook.



In an age where printed books circulated, both of Joana's manuscripts were read.<sup>68</sup> The preface to the *Copy* manuscript of Joana's work was submitted to the 'Esmoler-Mor' – a courtly appointment given to ecclesiastics who were responsible

68 Fernando Bouza Alvarez, "Espacios del Manuscrito en la Europa Altomoderna," in *Os espaços de sociabilidade na Ibero-América (sécs XVI-XIX)*, *Nonas Jornadas de História Ibero-Americana*, ed. Maria da Graça A. Mateus Ventura (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2004), 189–203.

for the distribution of alms and other charitable works – of the Holy Spirit College (alias Saint Bernard College) in Coimbra, who aimed to propose the publication of that work. As in Luis of Granada's book on the biography of Maria da Visitação in 1583, there is a distinction between vision and revelation.<sup>69</sup> This discussion motivated the *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione* by Pope Benedict XIV, some excerpts of which are copied into the chapter. The Cistercian writer continues this polemic by remarking upon the validity of Joana's visions, distinguishing Joana's revelations from visions to explain why some of Joana's statements were not substantiated.

Mas porque entre os muitos favores que N.V.M. Joana recebeu de seu Divino Espozo, e ella narra nestes dous Livros da Sua vida principalmente no primeiro, que escreveo na Recolleta foraõ muitas vizoens, e revelaçois, das quais muitas foraõ verdaderias porqe se chegaraõ verifi [BNL 6] verificar, algumas falsas, pois os sucessos demonstraraõ que naõ heraõ verdadeiras, e outras que inda naõ sabemos se foraõ verdadeiras ou falsas, porque a sua verdade, ou falsidade, pende de futuros contingentes que só Deus sabe. He preciso notar primeiro, que as vizoens se distinguem das revelaçoens, pois ha vizoens, que naõ saõ revelaçoens, e sucede, quando Deus naõ explica os significados das vizoens: [...] De sorte, que a revelação suppoem vizaõ, porem a vizaõ naõ chega a lograr a prerogativa de revelação, senaõ quando Deus communica a alma taõbem a inteligencia da mesma vizaõ.' [BNL 5v-6r]

But because among the many favors our V. M. Joana received from her Divine Spouse, which she tells of in these two books of her life, especially in the first, which she wrote at the Recollect, many were the visions and the revelations, among which many were true because they came to be verified [BNL 6] and some were false, because the events were shown to be untrue, and of others we still do not know whether they were true or false, because their truthfulness or falseness depends on contingent futures that only God knows. Firstly, it is necessary to note that visions are different from revelations, for there are visions that are not revelations, and this happens when God does not explain the meaning of the visions: [...] Therefore, revelation presupposes vision, but vision does not attain to the prerogative of a revelation, except when God also conveys to the soul the understanding of that vision. [BNL 5v-6r]

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69 Luis de Granada, *Historia de Sor Maria de la Visitação y Sermón de las Caídas Públicas* (Barcelona, Juan Flors, 1962), 16–21.

The writer of the preface continues by introducing the notion of “future contingents.”<sup>70</sup> The question appeared in the Greek dialectical context, with Diodorus Cronus (d. 284 BCE), a disciple of Euclide, belonging to the Megarian School, and was continued by Aristotle, in *De Interpretatione*.<sup>71</sup> A proposition relative to the future can be true or false: it is contingent on future happenings. Nonetheless, the author of the preface does not take the argument further, for he must have given up the concept of *truth* then. He prefers to subscribe to a scholastic definition of the difference between vision and revelation. A revelation contains in itself a true vision (given by God) and a true interpretation (proffered by humankind). In Joana's case, the problem lies in the second dimension. She lacked “intelligence” to interpret it, and thus if there was falsity in the vision; this was owing to the lack of understanding and discernment of the visionary [BNL 6r].<sup>72</sup>

The (presumably) scholastic writer continues the argument by distinguishing vision and revelation from prophecy. For revelation, a “divine communication” to one's soul needs the understanding of that same vision. The understanding of the signification is not granted to every saint: Saints Bridget (1303–1373) and Mary of Agreda (1602–1665) and even the Spanish scholastic Francisco Suárez (1548 –1617) do not concur on the events of the Crucifixion. According to the Bollandists, who are said to have written the Life of Magdalene of Pazzi (1566–1607), raptures can be supernatural and divine in substance, but the circumstances can occur in conformity with the species that are naturally acquired. For his purposes, God would leave them in the same state instead of changing them. The author continues, saying that the “more living species” conform to their own preoccupations, or to instruction and doctrines, or even affections and passions, and thus their revelation (or explanation) proceeds less from God than from their “own preoccupied spirit with different species,” quoting both Thomas Aquinas and the Scotist Nicolau de Nisse.<sup>73</sup>

70 For another perspective on this, see the article by John MacFarlane, “Sea Battles, Future Contingents, and Relative Truth and Future Contingent and Relative Truth,” in *The Philosophical Quarterly* 53 (2003): 321–36.

71 Aristotle, “De Interpretatione,” chapter 9, in *Aristotle in twenty-three volumes*, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, Harvard University Press, 1963). See also Peter Øhrstrøm and Per Hasle, “Future Contingents,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (summer 2011 edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, accessed December 12, 2013, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/future-contingents>.

72 The text cites Thomas Aquinas and Nicolau de Nise. Unfortunately it was not possible to trace the work of this last author (*Summa Theologiae*, tom. 2, opusc. 49). See also Igor Agostini, *L'Infinità di Dio. Il dibattito da Suárez a Caterus (1597–1641)* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 2008), 276.

73 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II, II, q. 179, a. 4 and the Nicolau de Nisse, tom. 2, opusc. p. 49.



The preface also mentions a difference between the prophecies. They are commutative and conditional, depending on “the merit of men” [BNL 7v]. The prophecy of Jonah did not come true because the Ninevites made penance for their sins. Thus, the author concludes, it should not “cause admiration nor diminish the reputation” [BNL 8], as Joana’s prophecies of “some singular affairs” were not verified, especially those concerning her confessor, Vivardo de Vasconcellos. If her prophecies concerning her own and the foundation of a new Recollect did not come about, this only proves that those were conditional prophecies, conditioned by men, but not contingent upon godly will, as would be the case with “future contingents.”

What is at stake here is something we could call the “logic of signification.”<sup>74</sup> When Joana declares having heard from God that she will be the founder of a new Recollect in Santarém, something that never happened during her lifetime, she can only be a false or conditional prophet. Yet it may be a future contingent, for Joana in the future, aided by God, not as a living person but as a saint, may found a new Recollect in Santarém. In such a case, there is still a slight correlation between the signifier (the idea of ‘founder’) and the signified (the concrete reality of being a founder).

The mystagogic and confessional discourse, however, does not belong to a logic of signification. It is, rather, performative and belongs to the logic of event, breaking the notion of time as present in past and present in future. An event, contrarily to a fact, may occur either in the past or in the future. There is a displacement in the event, and that is what brings sense or meaning to the fact. If Joana is aiming at writing the God-Man’s words, or making use of a collaborative ‘Divine language’, this must contain the *Event*, the *Notice* or a divine Knowledge that is the *Notice* (see chapter 3.3). Her divine talk, being both exemplar and exceptional, transforms the truth in ‘truths’ – a common plural which Joana repeats throughout her account, reinforcing the singularity of one’s own divinity (or subjectivity).

The publication-worthy manuscript (*Copy*) is the one that concerns the objective genitive (classificatory) life of Joana and not the subjective genitive (of origin) one. Only as object could Joana (de Albuquerque) survive. As a subject, Joana de Jesus, her own chosen genealogy, could not remain. In the second chapter of the second book, Joana sees this loss of her religious name as a punishment.

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74 Deleuze sees the problem of “future contingents” as a rupture in the “logic of signification.” By being denotative and demonstrative and making use of the principle of non-contradiction, this logic needs some validity, a correlation between the two series: the signifier and the signified, the wording and the imaging of X. Gilles Deleuze, *Logic of Sense*, [Logique du sens] trans. Mark Lester with Charles Stivale, ed. Constantin Boundas (London: Continuum, 2003), 33. See also the critique of Bourdieu in Alain Badiou, “L’Événement selon Deleuze,” in *Logiques des mondes* (Paris: Seuil, 2006), accessed on July 14, 2012, <http://www.lacan.com/baddel.htm>.

Das virtudes me via tão pobre, que não avia em mim delas nem huma pequena sombra, via-me já de todo despojada do que trasia da Recoleta e disia comigo muitas veses: de tudo estou já despida\* agora, o nome de Soror Joana de Jesus nunca o deixarei senão com a vida, mas <não> pode isto ser porque até deste bem me despojarão as contradições das criaturas, ou para melhor dizer, meus pecados que erão merecedores destes e maiores castigos e assim os esperava sempre. [ANTT 154]

I saw myself so poor of virtues that there was not even a small shadow of them in me. I already saw myself despoiled of everything I brought from the Recollect and said often to myself that I was already stripped\* of everything, yet I will never leave the name of Soror Joana de Jesus, except along with my life, but this cannot be, for the creatures' contradictions or, better said, my sins, which have earned these and bigger punishments and as such I waited for them, will even deprived me of this good. [ANTT 154]

## 1.4. Imitating Models

As seen in the first chapter, concerning the acuity of the professional and family networks in promoting and blocking Joana's social and intellectual activity, by assessing and disseminating the 'name', 'honor', and 'reputation' of the Cistercians' narrative, we may encounter a wider group that allows one to be known, acknowledged, infamous, recognized, things she does not desire unless they happen in the service (or the name) of Jesus. In this sense, Joana de Jesus becomes more and more 'Jesus' – an *imitatio* that collides with identification, a nuptial union, in a genealogy that surpasses (human) history, or a true *filiatio* (sonship) that encroaches upon the whole third chapter. There is an intellectual tradition before and after Joana that develops this theme: Augustine, Teresa of Ávila, and Jeanne (or Madame) Guyon. However, in the section of this chapter, I will start first with Teresa, because she was a direct influence: Joana read Teresa and imitated her. Augustine and Guyon will be dealt with later in this chapter.

### 1.4.1 Reading Teresa

Joana acquired her own signature mainly thanks to Teresa's intellectual spectrum.<sup>75</sup> The latter's prominence in the sixteenth century fervently inspired the religiosity

75 For this research I have used the Spanish BAC Editions *Escritos de Santa Teresa I* (Madrid: BAC, 1952) and two different translations of each work: Allison Peers' translation in *The Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus* [Escritos] (London: Sheed & Ward, 1946), and Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez's translation of *The Interior Castle* [Moradas], The Classics

of Iberian (and Atlantic) women.<sup>76</sup> Teresa was born out of the renewal movements within the monasteries, as well as within the Catholic Reformation in general, as her work and life (and its swift recognition, as shown by the Church catapulting her beatification to only 40 years after her demise) served as a new model and *exemplum* to women throughout the Catholic world.<sup>77</sup> Contrary to the lay 'beatae,' Teresa pursued her religious life within the walls of a convent. Other reputedly holy women such as Maria do Domingo (also known as Beata de Piedrahita) and Isabel da Cruz (a mystic accused of being an Alumbrada) had been deeply admired, but their lives and preaching were likewise condemned throughout the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>78</sup> This intellectual and spiritual environment prompts Alison Weber to speak of a 'mujercitas' (little women) theology. This epithet transmitted the search for humility and poverty but, after the Tridentine Reformation, acquired a negative connotation.<sup>79</sup>

In her book, Joana engenders her life; just as she was begotten by her blood and spiritual generation, Joana starts by presenting herself as the daughter of Christian parents, the first-born of fifteen children, and the most beloved of her father. This passage is quite similar to what Teresa has stated in her *Life* regarding her own father.<sup>80</sup> Joana asserts that her father raised her to be a nun. When she was 15, he gave

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of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1979); *The Book of Her Life* [Libro de Su Vida] (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2008).

- 76 Célia Maia Borges, "Santa Teresa e a espiritualidade mística: a circulação de um ideário religioso no Mundo Atlântico," accessed July 23, 2012, [http://comsantateresa.org.br/web-site/images/textos/estudos/ideario\\_teresa\\_celia\\_maia\\_borges.pdf](http://comsantateresa.org.br/web-site/images/textos/estudos/ideario_teresa_celia_maia_borges.pdf). See also Maria Viforcós Marinas and Rosalva Loreto López, *Histórias compartilhadas. Religiosidad y reclusión femenina en España, Portugal y América. Siglo XV-XIX* ([León]: Universidad de León, 2007).
- 77 Isabelle Poutrin, *Le Voile Et La Plume*, 76–88. Poutrin, "Des 'livres extatiques' venus d'Espagne: Thérèse d'Ávila et Jeanne de la Croix, modèles de sainteté féminine," in *Confessional Sanctity (c.1550 – c. 1800)*, ed. Jürgen Beyer, Albrecht Burkardt, Fred van Lieburg and Marc Wingens (Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 49–63. See also Elena Carrera-Marcén, *Teresa of Ávila's Autobiography: Authority, Power and the Self in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Spain* (London: Legenda, 2005); Gillian T.W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Ávila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).
- 78 Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Ávila of Saint Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1989), 39–41; and Ronald E. Surtz, *Writing Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain: The Mothers of Saint Teresa of Ávila*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 85–103.
- 79 Alison Weber, "Little Women: Counter-Reformation Misogyny," in *Teresa of Ávila and the Rhetoric of Femininity*, 17–41.
- 80 "Eramos tres hermanas y nueve hermanos. Todos parecieron a sus padres, por la bondad de Dios, en ser virtuosos, si no fui yo, aunque era la más querida de mi padre." *Vida*, 1:3 ("We were three sisters and nine brothers: all of them, by the goodness of God, resembled their parents in virtue, except myself, though I was my father's favourite.") Translated by E. A.

her the Spanish Translation of the Cistercian anthology *Tratado de la Casa Interior (The Interior Castle)*, an apocryph text attributed to Bernard of Clarvaux.<sup>81</sup>

Teresa appears here as the closest *exemplum* of religious life, an *exemplum* in both theory and practice. The *imitatio* of God was also transformed into an *imitatio* of Teresa or the sainthood, similar to other Western Christian figurations such as martyrdom, ascetism, or pure service.<sup>82</sup> This religious practice conforms to the theory of similitude, insofar as God created humans in his likeness. The saint becomes an *exemplum*, but he or she is also the model or reflection that allows the 'I' to extend into what we could call a 'modular self': an identity that is formed by the imitation of a model or a form. To be a saint is not only to set an *exemplum* and to be bound to a species, but also to be the exception and the exceptional, which means to be separated or apart from the same species. For women, this relationship becomes even more complex. The creature's similarity with the Creator is made accessible to women's theology through a mystical experience based on a genealogy of women saints. Joana's chosen genealogy is not only of *divine* origin ('de/ of Jesus) but also female: a colloquium of love ('colloquio amoroso') between Joana, the God-Man, and the 'other woman', Teresa of Ávila. In the middle of her *Life*, Joana states:

Bem sei eu, meu amor e Senhor da minha alma, que sois vós Jesus <de> Teresa, por isso lhe fasieis tantos favores. E começando-se-me o coração a imflamar em amor, entendi do Senhor estas palavras: Tãobem sou Jesus de Joana. [ANTT 61r]

I do know well, my Love and Lord of my soul, that you are the Jesus of Teresa and that therefore grant her so many favors. And awhile my heart was beginning to inflame in love, I understood from the Lod these words: "I am also Jesus of Joana." [ANTT 61r]

In this excerpt, Joana is mimicking Ana de Saint Augustin (1555–1624), when Ana recalls in her writings her cohabitation with the female mystic of Ávila and tells how Teresa acquired her religious name:

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Peers. The direct influence of Teresa is also stated by Lino de Assumpção, *As freiras do Lorvão*, 191–204.

81 Possibly the de 1617 edition translated by Benito Alvarez, Monk of the Monastery of Valdeiglesias, also part of the Jorge Cardoso Library, see *Tratado de la casa interior del anima*, Transl. and Comment by Benito Alvarez, Madrid, Juan de La Cuenta, 1617. Check Ref. number 992, in Maria Lurdes Fernandes Correia, *A Biblioteca de Jorge Cardoso* (1669), Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2000.

82 Richard Kieckhefer, "Imitators of Christ: Sainthood in the Christian Tradition," in *Sainthood: its manifestations in world religions*, ed. Richard Kieckhefer, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 1–42.

It is told that, once upon a time, while descending the stairs of the convent of la Encarnación, she came across a child. She asked him: What is your name, beautiful child? And the little boy asked her back: And you, what is your name? I am Teresa of Jesus, she said. And he said: Well, I am the Jesus of Teresa.<sup>83</sup>

The identification with Teresa also reflected a desire for a more temporal union with the God-Man. Joana's contemporary, the Portuguese-Brazilian Jesuit preacher Antônio Vieira (1608–97) demonstrates his admiration for the spirituality of Teresa of Ávila and the importance of the name change. In a sermon on Teresa, he radicalizes the use of the genitive within the mystical betrothal:

Adam and Eve God has created, and so the sacred text continues: *Masculum et feminam creavit eos, et vocavit nomen eorum Adam* (Gen. 5,2) [...] All that happened between Adam and Eve was a great mystery, for in the union of that matrimony God has drawn, as in an original sketch, the union that should be verified in the Church, between the betrothals of Christ with the saintly souls. Which Adam could this be but Jesus and what Eve, if not Teresa? Before this divine betrothal Teresa was Teresa of Jesus, and Teresa and Jesus, two subjects with two distinct names. Yet after Jesus gave the hand of a spouse to Teresa, the name Teresa of Jesus lost the distinction of that of and remained Teresa Jesus. The one who later was called Sara, was previously called Sarai, and God decreased her name to increase her dignity. It is likewise with Teresa of Jesus. [Joana Serrado's translation]<sup>84</sup>

Antônio Vieira wanted to connect the transforming of Teresa's name to the one narrated in the Old Testament, when God renamed (female) characters such as Sara. This theological effort is akin to a textual network that concatenates different epochs and personages in the search for affiliation. The demand for a 'name', especially if this name was obtained through marriage, does not reveal an unequal human union but rather a unitive divine relationship. Every faithful woman has claimed to have

83 "Cuéntase que una vez bajaba las escaleras del convento de la Encarnación y topó con un niño. Preguntó: ¿cómo te llamas niño hermoso? -Y el niño a su vez contestó: -¿Y tú, cómo te llamas? - Yo soy Teresa de Jesús - dijo ella. Y él - Pues yo soy Jesús de Teresa." In Ana de San Agustín, *Proces* (Villanueva de la Jara, 1596), a.6. See also *The Visionary Life of Madre Ana de San Agustín*, ed. and intr. Elizabeth Teresa Howe, Colección Támesis, Serie B: Textos, 46 (Rochester, N. Y.: Boydell & Brewer, 2004.), 6. Likewise, Germán Bleiberg, Maureen Ihrie and Janet Pérez, ed., *Dictionary of the literature of the Iberian peninsula*, vol. 1 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 75.

84 Padre Antonio Vieira, "Sermão de Santa Teresa e do Santíssimo Sacramento na Igreja da Encarnação, de Lisboa concorrendo estas duas festas no domingo 19 post pentecostem, ano 1644," in *Sermões*, vol. 3 (Ministério da Cultura, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Departamento do Livro), accessed July 13, 2012, [http://objdigital.bn.br/Acervo\\_Digital/Livros\\_eletronicos/sermoes\\_vol\\_iii.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/Acervo_Digital/Livros_eletronicos/sermoes_vol_iii.pdf).

such a union and, when entering the cloister, reiterated the female spousal fidelity to the God-Man.

### 1.4.2 The Book of Life

Despite her reiterated discourse of humility, Joana was not illiterate. Her father, Mateus de Albuquerque, taught her alongside her brothers and sisters the Christian doctrine and the Latin language [BNL iv]. She describes their daily prayer, the *officium* of Our Lady, of whom Mateus was a caring devotee. Every day, at dawn and at noon, the patriarch gathered all of the family together by ringing a bell at the oratory ('caza do oratorio') to pray the rosary.<sup>85</sup> Joana recalls that the servants were present while D. Mateus explained the 'divine mysteries'.

This may not have been uncommon in seventeenth-century Portugal. Rita Marquilhas, in *A Faculdade de Letras*, states that at that time, two-thirds of books in public and private collections were held for spiritual enrichment.<sup>86</sup> Several treatises written in vernacular language or common language ('linguagem common') served as guidelines to devotional practices and confessional manuals to punish the "taste of sin."<sup>87</sup>

When Joana recalls Mateus saying that the most important asset of the inheritance ('morgado') he left to his children was the teaching of the love and fear of God, she may not be speaking only from within a religious *topos*. Her father was born into the impoverished low-nobility, which was a consequence of the Spanish Occupation, as we have seen in the introduction. All of his children, except for one daughter, went to the Benedictine and Cistercian Orders. The teaching of Christian doctrine provided them with more than 'spiritual food'.

Despite this devout background, Joana did not have Teresa's literary education, as the latter reiterates references to chivalric works and other secular readings. Joana mentions her interest in the *Summa* of Luis de Granada [ANTT 8], an author who was well represented in the library of Lrvão.<sup>88</sup> Joana and her fellow religious women also

85 One example of a Rosary held at the Library of Monastery of Lrvão is Nicolau Diaz, *Rosairo da Gloriosa Virgem Nossa Senhora* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1616).

86 Rita Marquilhas, *A Faculdade Das Letras: Leitura e Escrita Em Portugal no Século XVII* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2000).

87 Ângela Almeida, *O gosto do pecado. Casamento e sexualidade nos Manuais de Confessores dos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Rocco, 1994), 57–72.

88 The Monastery of Lrvão collection in the National Library includes the 1584 edition of the *Memorial of Christian Life*, a bibliography of Luis de Granada written as a 'romance' and published by Jeronimo Gomes in 1594, and the translation by Luis de Granada of *Spiritual Ladder* by St Ivan Climacus.

devoted themselves to collective reading and meditation on the Passion of Christ, in the Benedictine tradition of ‘*Lectio divina*’.<sup>89</sup>

Custumavão algumas religiosas deste santo convento de Lorrão rezarem o rosário da Virgem Maria, minha Senhora, para o que se ajuntavão em o capitollo ou no coro em alguma ora [ANTT 24v] que lhe ficasse livre dos actos reguallares. E como eu em cousas dos serviço de meu Senhor nunca fui a primeira não me ajuntava com as mais para resar o rosário. E um dia detrimineime em ir ao capitollo para ver o modo com que resavão, e logo em huma rilgiosa que lia por hum livro as considerações de cada misterio, começou a primeira me fui recolhendo ao intirior com grande suavidade que apenas podia pronunciar as palavras da Ave Maria. E assim com aquelle sossego estive em companhia das mais ate se acabar o ultimo terço, e como me satisfes muito a devoção com que todas asistirão aquella santa obra, desejava de as acompanhar daquelle dia em diante, mas comecei a reparar se poderia ir ao rosário, e mais ter a oração que costumava, sem me ocupar o tempo em que avia de asistir em o coro. E indo dali para a oração com estes temores acertei, de <me> recolher em huma capela do orto, que tem todos os pasos da paixão de meu Senhor. [ANTT 24r-v]

Some religious women of this Holy Convent at Lorrão used to pray the rosary of my Lady the Virgin Mary, so they gathered themselves at the Chapter room or at the Choir, during some hour [ANTT 24v] that was free from their regular acts. And as I was never the first in things done in service of my Lord, I did not join the others to pray the rosary. And one day I decided to go to the Chapter, to see how they prayed, and soon after a religious woman who was reading the considerations of each mystery in a book read the first, I started recollecting myself to the interior, with a great suavity, only being able to pronounce Ave Maria's words. And so, with that quietness, I was in the company of the others until the last Rosary prayer was finished, and as the devotion with which they all assisted that holy work much satisfied me, from that day onwards I yearned to accompany them, but I started to notice whether or not I could go to the rosary and have that prayer to which I was so accustomed, without occupying the time in which I had to assist at the choir. And going from there to the prayer in such fears, I ended up recollecting myself in a ‘capela do orto’, which has all the stances of my Lord's Passion. [ANTT 24r-v]

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89 See also Columba Stewart, *Prayer and community: the Benedictine tradition* (London: DLT, 1998) and “Prayer among the Benedictine,” in *A History of Prayer. From the First to the Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Roy Hammerling (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 201–221.



In this passage, Joana acknowledges the devotion to certain places where she and other religious women meditate on the Passion of Christ, a chapel belonging to the cloister of Lorvão.<sup>90</sup>

Joana, however, shows a need for a more personal guidance and a more spiritual reading when she describes the search for a certain book, popular among her community, which she did not have access to [ANTT 11v]. Without (many) books to read, she turns to reading the God-Man as a book:

Com esta presença de meu Senhor andava sempre recolhida e assim como creção as mercês que o Senhor me fasia cricião em mim os desejos de o Servir e como era tão imperfeita deseja<va> de conhecer alguma pesoa de vida espiritual que me aconselhasse em o que avia de fazer, desejava tão bem hum livro que me guabavão muito que era de grande utillidade para quem tinha oração. E estando [ANTT 12v] hum dia recolhida do modo que tenho dito me deu o meu Senhor a entender que não desejasse outro livro mais que a elle, que era o verdadeiro livro da vida, e verdadeiro caminho, e a verdadeira verdade. E como as palavras do Senhor são o mesmo que obras, deste dia endiante o de mais das veses que me recolhia em oração se me representava este Senhor em o imtior de minha alma, e alli estando as potencias para-das obedecendo aquelle a quem os mares e ventos obedecem por huma noticia admiravel me ensinava as verdades que se não podem aprender se não aos pés daquelle divino mestre. Humas vezes se me representava em os pasos de sua paixão sacratisima tão ferido, e lastimado dos açoutes, cravos, e espinhos como das ofensas e emgratidão como que lhe erão paguas estas finitas de seu amor e como eu tinha sido a mais emgrata de todas as criaturas, e<ra> tão dillicada a dor que em minha alma sentia que parece me levava as entranhas. Outras veses prostrada ante aqueles divinos pes dava-me licença para que huma e muitas veses lhos beijasse, e era tão admiravel a fermusura daquelle Senhor tão grandes os tesouros e riquezas que alli se me descubrião que de todo me perdia de mim e ficava como louca com tão grandes impitos de amor que não sabia aonde me fosse e desejava de dar voses e pedir a todos que não guastassem o tempo em louquices e [ANTT 12v] e passatempos mundanos, que se aproveitassem emquanto tinhão vida e a guastasem em servir e amar a hum Senhor tão digno de ser amado. E como via que erão poucos os que conhecião estas verdades rasguava-se-me o coração de dor por <ver> tão desconhecido em mundo hum bem que so ouvera de ser amado. [ANTT 11v-12v]

With that presence of my Lord I was always recollected and, as the graces the Lord granted me grew, so grew in me the desires of Serving him, and as I was so imperfect, I wished to know some person of spiritual life who would advise me about what I should do. I likewise desired a book that had been

90 Borges, *Arte Monástica*, 186.

praised to me as being greatly useful for whoever had to pray. And one day, being [ANTT 12v] recollected in the way I have been telling, my Lord made me understand that I should not desire another book more than Him, who was the true book of life, the true way and the true truth. And as the words of God are the same as [His] works, from this day onwards, on most occasions I recollected myself in prayer, this Lord would present Himself to me inside my soul, and there, the potencies being still, obeying Him whom the seas and winds obey, through an admirable notice He taught me the truths that cannot be learned, except at that Divine Master's feet. Sometimes he presented Himself to me as in those steps of His most sacred passion, so wounded and sorrowed by beatings, nails, and thorns, as by offenses and ungratefulness with which his love's offenses were paid. As I had been most ungrateful of all creatures, the pain felt by my soul was so delicate that it seemed to remove my innards. Other times, as I lay prostrate at those Divine feet, he would allow me to kiss them once and many times more. And that Lord's beauty was so admirable, the treasures and riches that were uncovered to me there were so great, that I utterly lost myself and became like a madwoman, with such great thrusts of love that I did not know where I was headed. I desired to shout and ask everyone to waste not their time in follies [ANTT 12v] and worldly pastimes, to use the opportunity while they were alive and dedicate themselves to serve and love a Lord so worthy of it. And as I saw that those who knew these truths were few, my heart was torn by pain for seeing a good, that only ought to be loved, so unknown by the world. [ANTT12 r-v]

In the beginning of Joana's account, God is described as hands and a big mouth, from which his Word created the world [ANTT 1r]. Humankind has failed to enjoy the royal food at God's table. On the other hand, with the act of reading words that are far from human, Joana remains at his table, because God "presented Himself to her" in the interior of her soul. She accepts the

gift of tasting God, of kissing God's feet and body. She can take part in this presentation – which God, with her own acceptance, gave her – with her body, after all potencies have achieved a state of deep quietness. The union in this act is possible because Joana can finally read God's works and words. She reads his lips, as God is a mouth from which the world is exhaled. God is the Word's mouth. He is the 'Book of Life', a book ready to be read. Her reading is her interpretation, her reformulation of the dogma.

Reading triggers more than the personal relationship with the object that is to be read. It contains the audience to whom someone reads. The Dutch medievalist Anneke Mulder-Bakker proposes another meaning of this term. 'Book of Life' could be the cooperation between God and woman's 'Divine language'. It establishes a true written relationship between the human 'I' before and toward God in her community.

The book of life is a term that encompasses all of those new discoveries and captures the life experiences of medieval men and women, as well as the written books that articulated them. The book of life operates from a perspective of producing a general religious account of one's life before God and one's fellow human beings and points toward the pivotal role of experience within that relationship.<sup>91</sup>

Joana also reads the God-Man as a book seen in their dialogues. As will be shown, throughout Joana's 'situations of anxiousness' the God-Man communicates with her through the Bible read in the Breviary.<sup>92</sup> Joana's favorites are the Psalms, the prophet David, the Song of Songs, and the Gospels of Matthew and John. From there she draws her own exegesis, mainly acquired through reading and singing hymns and missal antiphons.

Finally, reading is the primordial work of the relationship of the Divinity with humankind. The subject and object, which are constituted upon her self-writing, are an active work of Joana de Jesus. While she develops the genre of life, she stamps her authority on her own self-writing.<sup>93</sup> Yet she also thinks about her readers. She acknowledges knowing more things, but does not give an account of them, lest her book become too long [ANTT 177r]. The fulcrum of her mystical reading of the God-Man lies between the passivity and activity engendered by the Word.

## 1.5. Writing the Self: Corpus, Body, and Subjectivity in Joana's Narrative

In chapter 22, Joana evokes Songs of Songs 2:4:

E asim estando em oração em presença deste amante Deus, me parecia que estava elle dispidindo de sim huns incendidos raios de seu purisimo e divino amor, os quais me ferião com tanta veemencia, que me sentia abrasar, e dipois de estar desfeita em nada, tornava a renacer de novo em as chamas daquelle mesmo amor, o qual me fasia unir tanto a meu Deus, que me fasia a mesma cousa com elle, e dipois de me perder de mim, me parecia que me tomava a corção e o levava consigo, e ficando eu em hum desmaio de amor suavissimo

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- 91 Anneke Mulder-Bakker and Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Women and Experience in Later Medieval Writing: Reading the Book of Life* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 18.
  - 92 An example of an eighteenth-century Cistercians Breviary held at Lorvão was *Breviarium Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, (Lisbon: Typ. Francisci A'Sylva, 1744).
  - 93 See, for instance, this re-elaboration in Bourignon and von Schurmann. Mirjam de Baar, "Gender, genre and authority in seventeenth-century religious writing: Anna Maria van Schurman and Antoinette Bourignon as contrasting examples," in *A place of their own. Women writers and their social environment 1450–1650. Medieval to Early Modern Culture*, ed. Anne Bollmann (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010), 135–156.

dessacordada\* de mim me achava muitas vezes em huma rigião mui difrente desta, aonde me mitião em huma casa, e davão-me a entender, que era huma adegua de vinho, do qual me davão a beber, e era elle tão supirior que quanto mais delle bebia, mais me crecia a sede, e ao mesmo passo crecia aquelle incendio de amor com tanto impito que se me dava a entender que estava louca, e frenetica de amor, e asim ficava com as potencias tão enogenadas\* que não sabia o que disia. Outras vezes em esta mesma casa me davão a ber aseite e paricia-me que me ungião com hum olleo que me cercava de fortaleza, como que me sinalavão para cousas grandes, e de todos estes sentimentos era grande a umildade com que ficava, e conhicimento proprio, e esta ripitição que fasia de dar o coração a meu Senhor era muitas vezes e se em alguma ocasião eu quiria dispor algua cousa, em que empasse o coração, e inda que fosse de pouco tomo e sem advirtir em o que fasia elle me lembrava que eu não tinha ja com coração, e esta advirtencia que meu Senhor me fasia, cau [ANTT 28v] causava em mim hum sentimento de amor tão dilicado, que me roubava os sentidos. [ANTT28r-v]

And thus, praying in the presence of this loving God, it seemed to me He was sending out some fiery rays of His pure and Divine love, which hurt me so violently that I felt myself burn. After being reduced to nothingness, I would be born anew in the flames of that same love, which united me so with my God that it made me the same thing as Him. After losing myself, it seemed to me He took my heart with Him, while I stayed in a faint of most soft love. Unawake\* I often found myself in a quite different region where I was put in a house and made to understand that it was a wine cellar, whose produce I was given to drink was so superior that, the more I drank, the more the Thirst grew. And at the same time the fire of love also grew so impetuously that it made me aware that I was mad and frantic with love and thus I stayed with my potencies deceived, so I did not know what I said. Other times, in this same house, I was given olive oil to drink and it seemed to me that I was being anointed with an oil that surrounded me with strength. It was as if I was marked to great things, and among all these feelings, great were the humility and self-knowledge that I got. And this repetition that I made of giving my Heart to my Lord happened many times. And if in any occasion I wanted to order something contained by the Heart, even if of scarce importance, without minding what I was doing, He reminded me that I did not have a heart anymore. This warning made by my Lord caused [ANTT 28v.] me a loving Feeling so delicate that it robbed me of my senses. [ANTT28r-v]

After hearing and reading God's Word, Joana could be *undone* ('*desfeita*'). As shown by this text, she could be reborn in the union dance, lose herself in strange regions. She was just *unawake* ('*dessacordou*'). This negation (enacted by the prefix '*des*') of awake

is not only the antonym of waking, as it also the means going or falling asleep.<sup>94</sup> It is almost like a conscious entrance into a vigil, into a waking sleep. However, Joana enters it rather than falling into it. When she says that God took her heart away from her, which is a *topos*, she is also using the etymological play on the heart within 'desacordar' ('cor' is the Latin noun for 'heart').<sup>95</sup> We could say that she was heartless because her heart was with him. She was not in accord, which perhaps shows God's only activity in the project.<sup>96</sup> In this union, in this strange region, on this strange house, inside a hidden cellar with a thirst-making wine, Joana places herself within the scriptural world (the Song of Songs) as her heart opens integrally to this journey. The writing (of her life) also turns out to be the mapping of an unspeakable journey, a way in which she grasps new knowledge of her ending with each step forward. If this is a conscious tracking of the self, as modernity proposes, then the role of the somewhat conscious unconscious that lies beneath her un-awakening ('desacordar') is no less residual.<sup>97</sup> The axis of this contradiction is the mystical endeavor that constitutes the writing of the self.

### 1.5.1 Waking, Rebirth, Becoming

Joana's notion of subjectivity is expressed through her authorship, which is embodied in Joana's *work* (considered as a researchable *corpus*), achieved with the collaboration of God, and it fuses with her *life* (seen as a *body* that looks for transcendence).<sup>98</sup> We may speak of an embodied subjectivity because Joana deals with an 'I' that is engendered in collaboration with the Divine Incarnation and which insufflates the Word in her. It is possible to ascertain here an early modern subjectivity that challenges notions of subject, agent, author. Joana's notion of subjectivity, however, does

94 Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v., "awake, v.," accessed September 19, 2012, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13864?rskey=4CmUl9&result=2&isAdvanced=false>.

95 Rafael Bluteau, *Vocabulário Português e Latino [...] autorizado com exemplos dos melhores escritores portugueses, e latinos [...]*, 8 vols. (Coimbra, Collegio das artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1712–21), s.v. "acordar," 1:98, accessed September 19, 2012 <http://www.brasiliana.usp.br/pt-br/dicionario/1>.

96 Bluteau, *Vocabulário Português e Latino*, s.v. "desacordar," 3:82.

97 Lloyd Davis "Critical Debates and Early Modern Autobiography," in *Early Modern Autobiography*, ed. Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis and Philippa Kelly, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 23–28. On the role of the unconscious in the Renaissance, see the work of Stephen Greenblatt, in particular, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). Compare, for instance, with the self's breakthrough as seen by Charles Taylor, *Sources of the self: the making of the modern identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), part 3.

98 See Heather Walton, introduction to *Self/same/other: Re-Visioning the Subject in Literature and Theology*, ed. Heather Walton and Andrew Hass (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 10–19.

not belong entirely to the philosophical seventeenth-century debate, where notions such as substance, individuum, and person are dealt with separately from a religious mystical experience.<sup>99</sup> However, still concentrating merely on her text, we might start talking already of an embodied subjectivity, a self and an other that are disguised throughout her writing.

She and her written 'self' are the source, the trajectory of her writing: work and Word are united in her creation. The self here is the object and subject of writing: a body of work, the spirit of a soul that is materialized by writing.

Joana de Jesus, as such, does not write a *vita* or a *Life*. These are the dead genres, the dead word which the copyist and the institution have chosen to describe Joana's work. The copy is titled *Vita da Veneravel Soror Madre Joana de Albuquerque*, but the presumable autograph, the book that bears her signature, is named *Soror Joana de Jesus. Pera Seus Apontamentos*. The title's mutation reveals the transformation of the genre from the author to the copyist. Likewise, it shows the problem of the text as an *opus*. Joana makes clear that, more than a *Life* or a *Book*, this is a *Notebook*.

Joana describes the making of her *Notebook* with these words:

Tanto que eu soube que este Padre avia de vir a falar-me, fis hum apontamento\* de tudo <o> que tinha pasado em o discurso de minha [ANTT 84] vida e asim de meus grandes pecados, como de todas as mercês que o Senhor me tinha feito e modo de oração que tinha com todas as circunstâncias e sucesos que neste livro deixo referido, lhe dei inteira conta desejando de lhe poder mostrar aos olhos o mesmo coração, para que ele conhecesse a verdade e me applicase o remédio que era necesario para minha salvação e mais agradar a meu Senhor, que era todo o meu desvelo\*, porque o verdadeiro amor só se empenha em contentar a quem ama e não se lembra de intereses próprios. [ANTT 84]

When I knew that this Father [Gabriel de Avé Maria] would be coming to speak with me, I made a note\* of all that had happened in the course of my [ANTT 84] life: and also, of my great sins, all the graces the Lord had granted me and the mode of prayer I had, with all the circumstances and the successes that I leave mentioned in this book to give him full account of, wishing to be able to show to [his] eyes the same heart, and that he may know the truth and would apply the remedy necessary to my salvation and to please my Lord more, who was all my effort\*, because the true love only pledges to content the one it loves and does not remember its own interests. [ANTT 84]

Joana only writes notes ('apontamentos'). 'Apontamento' is a derivation of the Latin 'pungere' (to prick, to pierce) and 'punctum' (a small hole made by pricking, a punc-

99 Udo Thiel, *The early modern subject: self-consciousness and personal identity from Descartes to Hume* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

ture).<sup>100</sup> It does not have the same meaning as the English word 'appointment', because it means the result of pointing *out* and not pointing *to*. This is a note pad, a scratch book, a space where she can let her thoughts be open, like small pungent perforations, like the small holes – wounds – she describes on her body, caused by apoplectic attacks that never healed completely [ANTT 13v, 155r].<sup>101</sup> These points, these minutes, these differences regarding the whole are the empty spaces where she can write her own song of union: "all the circumstances and the successes that I leave mentioned in this book." Joana's *apontamentos*, in this sense, could also fulfill the philosophical needs of a creative and dynamic element to achieve the wholeness, the system, the organism of a *life*.<sup>102</sup>

## 1.5.2 Augustine and Conversion

Like Teresa on a personal and direct level, (Saint) Augustine (354–430) was crucial to Joana's project of writing the self. Although the Cistercian nun does not mention him except as a saint, he is present throughout the philosophical and theological enterprise of the genre he mastered in *Confessiones* (*Confessions*). This is a work that shows Augustine's openness to the world: a kind of knowledge learned through *experientia*, through instilling humility through his sins. In his own path of conversion, he exposes his rendering of Christian dogma and Christian truths without negating their mystical component.<sup>103</sup> He unfolds the rebirth of an 'I' which is also a self: the reflection, the mirroring, and the speculation that the experience is connected to its theorization. In all these 'activities' there is the need to 'inquire'.<sup>104</sup> This inquiry is

100 A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine: Histoire des Mots*, s.v. "pungo-is-pupugi, punctum, -ere" (Paris: Klincksieck, 1951), 965.

101 The image of God punctured with holes is also present in William of Saint Thierry. Amy Hollywood, "That Glorious Slit: Irigaray and the Medieval Devotion to Christ's Side Wound," in *Luce Irigaray and Pre-modern Culture: Thresholds of History*, ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Theresa Krier (New York: Routledge, 2005), 105–125.

102 This parallels philosophical anthropology or philosophy of life. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the philosophical stream of 'Lebensphilosophie', which united Bergson, Dilthey, and Ortega y Gasset, also had Georg Misch as a disciple. This philosopher was the author of a *History of Autobiography*, in which he searched for the individual ('autos') in his self-historicization, a process known since Antiquity. Deeply imbued with nineteenth-century evolutionarism, Misch sees in the duration, the perception of time, and its vital force, the *becoming* rather than the being of a self. See Georg Misch, *Geschichte Der Autobiographie* (Bern: A. Francke, 1949), 113.

103 Amy Hollywood, "Mysticism and Transcendence," in *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Miri Rubin, Walter Simons, Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Amy M. Hollywood, *Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 4 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 297–308.

104 "Far from a text seeking 'resolution', where that is conceived as an ending, Augustine aims to produce a text showing us what it means to begin: he wants us to picture life as a way of

achieved through practice – his life experience – and the theory Augustine employs for the systematization of that same experience.

Following Platonic theories of recollection and exemplarism, Augustine points out that an idea or truth within the Divine mind has its reflection in human *truths*.<sup>105</sup> The plural is very important because, according to Mathewes, it marks the passage, or conversion, of the 'I' – that once belonged to the unity of the Trinity – to the self – where knowledge is obtained through rituals, sacraments, and theoretical practices. The personal search for truth is attained through living the mysteries, which is always a bodily reading of the mysteries. The notion of *dogma* recuperates the initial etymology: the Greek 'dokein', which means to seem (good), to think. This is an – inner – ethical and intellectual practice. Truth becomes just a tenet, something that is held.

It is not surprising that Joana, alluding to her communication with the God-Man, parrots the verb 'parecer' (to seem). The seventeenth-century dictionary of Bluteau demonstrates the intrinsic relationship of the Portuguese 'parecer' with the Latin 'videtur', though stating that 'parecer' implies less certainty.<sup>106</sup> 'Parecer' has two possible etymologies: it comes from 'parere' (to seem, to think, to sound like) and 'parire' (to bear, to hold, to give birth; to spawn, to produce; to procure, to acquire). This 'seeming' is not only intellectual but also sensorial: Joana says that she experiences it through higher senses. 'Parecer' (like the English word 'seem,' which in an old usage also means to conform, to fit, to conciliate<sup>107</sup>) is also associated with likeness (the same), with similitude. All these dimensions of 'parecer' – to sound, to see, to bear, to acquire, to be like – are a consequence of the exemplary – theoretical and practical – relationship inscribed in the 'truth-making' of Christian thought, which is the field of dogmatics. Over 200 repetitions of 'parecer' in Joana's book, as both verb and noun (a 'parecer' is a judgment, a report) represent a motivated action that asks for the truth. The visions and voices that were seen and heard by Joana are the substratum for an excerpt of autobiography (or autohagiographic narrative

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inquiry, conceived not as a narrowly intellectual project but as a whole way of seeking God, exercised not simply in contemplative interiority but in the ecstatic communication with others in the world, framed and formed by the reading of the Scripture." C.T. Mathewes, "The liberation of questioning in Augustine's Confessions," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 70 (2002): 543.

105 Charles T. Mathewes, "Augustinian Anthropology: Interior intimo meo," *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Summer, 1999): 195–221, accessed February 4, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40018228>.

106 Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino*, s.v. "parecer", 6: 265–68.

107 Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. "† seem, v.1," accessed September 19, 2012, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/174811?rskey=y9KEEZ&result=3&isAdvanced=false>.



in a dogmatic treatise), a genre hardly ascribed to or authored by women in the philosophical or theological canon.<sup>108</sup>

Joana begins the second part of the book without possessing the first part, which was held by her first confessor after her return to Lorvão. She describes her work as ‘apontamentos’ (notes), but the book includes a theological designation.

Deos de infinita bondade e Pai de Misiri-córdia, a pecadora maior, que sustenta a ter[r]a, prostada a vossos devinos pés, vos pede socoro e misiricórdia para em tudo se ajustar com a vosa vontade divina, por man-dado de meus comfesoires oije fará desasete anos, em dia do Ispirito Santo, tendo commungado comecei a escrever aquilo que o Senhor me hia ditando e neste tratado dava fiel e imteiramente notícia dos efeitos que em minha alma causava esta lus, que a meu ver me parícia me vinha do mesmo Deus, agora me orde<na> a mesma obdiência que vá continuando em escrever os sucesos de minha imperfeita vida. [ANTT 152r]

God of infinite goodness, Father of Mercy: the biggest sinner that the earth contains, prostrated at your Divine Feet, asks for succor and mercy for the world in order to adjust everything to your Divine will. Ordered by my confessors, on this day, seventeen years ago, on the day of the Holy Spirit, I, having taken Communion, began to write what the Lord was dictating to me. In this treatise I faithfully and entirely gave notice of the effects this light caused in my soul, and in my vision it seemed to me it came from the same God. Now the same obedience orders me to go on writing the events of my imperfect life. [ANTT 152r]

Joana calls her project a ‘treatise’ [ANTT 159v]. This classification is not without controversy. When analyzing the (auto)biographic writings of ordered and ‘beatae’ religious women in seventeenth-century Mexico, the literary scholar Asunción Lávrin states: “This is not a theological treatise, but rather pages of intimacy.”<sup>109</sup> Liz Herbert McAvoy and Anneke Mulder-Bakker argue otherwise.<sup>110</sup> Nonetheless, as described in the first chapter, ‘treatise’ is also the term the Censor, presumably Francisco de Brandão, uses when he decides to interrupt Joana’s narrative. This interruption will be dealt with in the last section of the next chapter.

Joana shows the conversion she continuously confronts herself with: the vow of obedience – to religion and to the Cistercian Superiors – and her commitment to

108 Catherine Villanueva Gardner, introduction to *Women Philosophers: Genre and the Boundaries of Philosophy*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004), 1–16.

109 Asunción Lávrin and Loreto López, *Monjas y Beatas: La Escritura Femenina En La Espiritualidad Barroca Novohispana Siglos XVII y XVIII* (Mexico City: Universidad de las Américas, Puebla/ Archivo General de la Nación, 2002), 6.

110 Mulder-Bakker and McAvoy, *Women and Experience in Later Medieval Writing*, 194.

salvation – obedience to God and, therefore, to her new self. The mysteries God reveals to her, and of which she cannot speak, as human understanding cannot grasp them, turn her voluntarily, as far as her will is God's will, towards a religious awareness, making her a collaborator regarding human truth. The treatise is not only the writing of held (*treated*) truths but also the caring (*treatment*) of the same *depositum fidei*.

### 1.5.3 More than a Treatise: A Prayer

After hearing the 'Divine language', reading Teresa and the *Book of Life*, writing the 'holes' and taking care of truths, Joana has (the duty) to speak (the voice of God). The authority she received is also seen in her new mode of prayer. As in Augustine's *Confessions*, there is also the format of a prayer in Joana's *Life*. In chapter 24, Joana speaks of the mercies God shared with her. As they increased, something Joana viewed with growing admiration, the 'new mode of prayer' was hence the same prayer of recollection and union, but now in terms of an extreme and flying rapture.

e asim permitia este poderoso Deus dar-me outro novo modo de oração, suposto era toda huma, porque asim em aquelle mesmo recolhimento e união, em que estava com meu Senhor me paricia que elle se au-sentava, e loguo a minha alma se começava a ancian com hum impito de grande amor o qual me fasia com muita força ir arebatando o espirito com tanta veemencia que não era posivel poder lhe resistir, e paricia-me que até os cabelos da cabeça me levavão, e como eu me via ir asim, levando sem me poder valer, nem saber o para que me levavão, causa-me [ANTT 30v] isto grande temor e avia mister muito animo, e como conhecia, que não podia nadar, pedia ao meu Senhor me valesse, e deixando me toda em Suas poderosas mãos obedecia, ao que elle ordenava, e asim sentia, que aquella nuvem me hia arebatando\*, elevavão-me por hum caminho dilatadíssimo, o qual em os principios que comecei a receber esta mercê me paricia dificultoso de subir, mas não me era posivel tornar atraz, nem menos podia ca-minhar com a pressa que pedia a força do espirito que me levava, e muitas vezes estando em este aperto me sahia ao encontro o glorioso São Miguel, O Anjo, o qual me levava com mais pressa do que podia voar hum pensamento, e de repente me via em hum lugar que verdadeiramente me paricia, ser a caza de Deos, e porta do Ceu, e como esta amorosa ancian, em que minha alma se abrasava não podia admitir descanso sem achar aquelle Senhor, adonde todos os bens se emcerrão, permitia elle acudir aquelles anciosos desejos, com que o buscava e muitas vezes se me representava com tanta fermosura, magestade e gloria que de todo me roubava\* os sentidos, e erão grandes as verdades que alli aprendia e rara humildade, com que ficava em todas as occasiois, em que o meu Senhor me fazia estas merces [ANTT 30r-v].

And thus, this powerful God allowed me another, new, mode of prayer which was supposedly a whole one because, in that same recollection and union I was in with that Lord of mine, it seemed to me He was absent, and soon my soul began to be anxious again with an impetus of love, which forcefully wrenched my spirit with such vehemence that it was impossible to resist. It seemed to me that it was even pulling away my hair from my head. And, since I was going away, without being able to do anything, nor knowing whether I was being taken, that caused me [ANTT 30v] much fear as much heart was needed, and as I knew I could not swim, I asked my Lord if He would help me. Abandoning myself to His mighty hands, I obeyed His orders and so I felt that that cloud was wrenching\* me and taking me along an expanded path. At the beginning [when] I started receiving this new grace, it seemed difficult to ascend, but it was not possible for me to turn back anymore, much less could [I do] the path, such was the haste asked by the strength of spirit that took me. And oftentimes, being in this anguish, I would encounter the glorious Saint Michael, the Angel, who would take me even faster than a thought could fly, and suddenly I saw myself in a place that really seemed to me to be the house of God and the door of heaven. As this loving anxiousness where my soul blazed, could not allow rest if it did not find that God where all goods are contained, He eased those anxious desires which made me search for Him. Many times He represented [Himself] to me with so much beauty, Majesty and Glory, that [it] completely robbed\* the senses, and great were the truths that there I learned; the humility with which on every occasion I saw that that Lord of mine had shown these graces to me [ANTT 30r-v].

For Joana, the new mode of prayer was a flight and an entrance into heaven, for she flies with the Archangel Michael, God's favorite angel. Certeau sees in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an "invention of a language of 'God' or 'of the angels' that would compensate for the dispersal of human languages."<sup>111</sup> Prayer as 'conversar' ('to speak', the term used by both Teresa and Joana) can be seen as an extension of the angels' language.<sup>112</sup> The value of 'speaking' resides more in its practice than in its meaning, making the construction of 'anti-Babel' possible. A language after the shattering of all languages is what Certeau calls 'anti-Babel'.<sup>113</sup> Certeau underlines the performative character that designates the supreme act: 'volo' (I want) or desire, or even the trace of a present loss. Truth or meaning is not a prerequisite of 'volo'.

111 Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 175.

112 See Carmen M. de la Vega, "La oración y el proceso de la liberación interior," in *Apuntes* 2, no. 3 (September 1, 1982): 60–66.

113 Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 164. For the notion of Anti-Babel and violence see Henk de Vries, "Anti-Babel: The 'Mystical Postulate' in Benjamin, de Certeau and Derrida," in *MLN*, vol. 107, no. 3, German Issue (April 1992): 441–477, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2904942>.

"It is wanting that institutes knowing."<sup>114</sup> An intransitive wanting even erases the 'I': wanting all and wanting nothing become the same. In the wanting there is already the want that means the desire, the need, the lack, and, eventually, the loss. Certeau also mentions how important Teresa and Jeanne Guyon were for the search for prayer.

Throughout her work, Teresa devotes much attention to the several types of prayer.<sup>115</sup> There is recollection prayer, prayer of the quiet, and prayer of union. Teresa acknowledges the importance of both mental and vocal prayer, as we will see in the following chapter.

One of Joana's contemporaries was Madame Guyon, an extreme example of this need for a 'new mode of prayer'. Born in 1648, Jeanne Guyon was a very pious widow who devoted herself to a religious life of the kind usually lived within monastic walls. However, she was prevented from pursuing her vocation because of her wealth.<sup>116</sup> Instead she pursued prayer on her own. After gaining important friends, such as Fénelon (as well as important enemies, such as Madame de Maintenon and Bossuet), Guyon describes in her autobiography how she arrived at the new mode of prayer. This novelty was not so new: it derived from a tradition that can be traced back at least to the Beguines.<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless, the French word 'oraison' remained. Guyon herself tried throughout her work as a religious writer to show the genealogy of this true love and true prayer.<sup>118</sup> Through 'oraison' there is a total detachment of oneself and all the representations of knowledge of God.<sup>119</sup> All the mind's operations are a hindrance to perfect communication with God. There is destruction and annihilation of selfhood on the altar of God. Even discourse disappears for, in that moment, God does not have any attachment to the soul to provide words. This constituted one of many propositions condemned in 1698 by Pope Innocent XII, in the decretal *Cum*

114 Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 168. See also Michel de Certeau, "Le Parler Angelique. Figures pour une poetique de la langue," in *Actes Semiotiques*, VI, 54, (1984) : 7–33.

115 Teresa de Jesus, "The way of perfection," in *The Complete works of Saint Teresa*, chap. 22.

116 Jeanne Guyon, *Autobiography of Madame Guyon*, [Vie de Madame Guyon, Ecrite Par Elle-Même] trans. Thomas Taylor Allen (Chicago: Moody Press, 1995,) 24, 55. See also *Jeanne Guyon: Selected writings* trans., ed. and introd. Dianne Guenin-Lelle and Ronney Mourad (New York: Paulist Press, 2012) and *Prison Writings*, trans., ed., and introd. by Dianne Guenin-Lelle and Ronney Mourad (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

117 Marie-Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World: Marie De l'Incarnation (1599–1672) and Madame Guyon (1648–1717)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 17, 173–175, and Thérèse de Hemptinne and María Eugenia Góngora, *The Voice of Silence: Women's Literacy in a Men's Church*, vol. 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 110.

118 Guyon, "Short Easy Way of Prayer," in *Autobiography of Madame Guyon*, 85–86.

119 Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World*, 143–151.

*alias*.<sup>120</sup> Eleven years before, the papal bull *Coelestis Pastor* (November 2, 1687) had condemned Miguel Molinos for the 'prayer of the quiet'.<sup>121</sup> Although Joana was not considered a Quietist, both the old and new scholarship considered the Cistercian nun to be imbued with the same spirit.<sup>122</sup>

## 1.6. Final Remarks on Engendering Joana's Life

In this chapter I have aimed for an *engendering* of Joana's text: searching for the text's *genre* while constituting a dynamic notion of subjectivity. In the first place, I have presented Joana's biography, where I also paid close attention to her manuscript and its reception up to the present day. Then I discussed the genre of Joana's narrative, ranging from a traditional *vita* to a biography, autobiography, or autohagiography. Likewise, I have sought the constitution of the author and authority of the text: I have distinguished hearing from listening in the process of writing, giving emphasis to the mystical component of subjectivity. Later, I took a closer look at the preface, the introduction, and the presentation of Joana's copied version of her manuscript. The title of Joana's narrative and her signature were also seen as an important element of her project. Teresa's influence made it possible for Joana to be part of a female intellectual genealogy, in a 'divine union'. Furthermore, in her writing, Joana underwent a 'rebirth' ('desacordar') that allowed her to reacquire her own self and to begin writing not her own life but rather the *Notebook* she developed in a divine concordance. Joana's words become God's words not through her total passivity but rather in the course of her own rendering of desire through the imitating experience of the nuptial mysticism. The writing of the self is thus the basis for both a philosophical inquiry (as in Augustine) and theological treatise and the elaboration of a 'new mode of prayer', which will be continued by a tradition of mystics after her, as in the case of Guyon.<sup>123</sup>

120 Heinrich Denzinger, Johann Baptist Umberg, and Clemens Bannwart, *Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum Et Declarationum De Rebus Fidei Et Morum* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1932), 2340.

121 Denzinger, Umberg and Bannwart, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 2201.

122 Assunção, *As freiras do Lorvão*, 252. Pedro Villas-Boas Tavares, *Beatas, Inquisidores e Teólogos: Reacção Portuguesa a Miguel Molinos*, 202, 3 and 4. "Caminhos e Invenções da Santidade Feminina em Portugal nos Séculos XVII e XVIII: Alguns, Dados, Problemas e Sugestões," in *Via Spiritus* 3 (1996): 163–215.

123 Compare, for instance, Anna Maria van Schurman (autobiography) and Antoinette Bourignon (tracts), and their success based on the choice of genres, with Mirjam de Baar "Gender, genre and authority in seventeenth-century religious writing: Anna Maria van Schurman and Antoinette Bourignon as contrasting examples," in *A place of their own. Women writers and their social environment 1450–1650*, Medieval to Early Modern Culture, ed. Anne Bollman (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010), 135–163.

