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Christ's Holy Week Sermons: Women's Preaching and its Oral and Written Sources in Late-Medieval Valencia

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Keywords:	Isabel de Villena, Improperia, anti-Jewish preaching, women's preaching, Holy Week liturgy
Abstract:	<p>This article begins by reviewing speculation that Isabel de Villena preached to her nuns in the Santa Trinitat convent. The article then examines the nature of women's preaching relating it to female verbal authority expressed in the Vita Christi. It draws evidence drawn from the sermons recorded from other female preachers, such as Hildegard of Bingen, and also from male vernacular preachers, such as the Valencian St Vincent Ferrer, as well as from the medieval Ars Praedicandi in the Peninsula. After contextualizing possible sermonizing in Isabel de Villena's work, the article turns to the Vita Christi to present evidence that Isabel embedded her own sermons, considering whether these might have been preached in the convent and subsequently embedded in the text. To do this, it examines the words of the Christ preaching to the disciples in Holy Week tracing the sources for Villena's Latin quotations. It examines convent records to establish when and where sermons were heard during Holy Week in Valencian convents. It discovers that Villena's preaching is not traceable to standard written Vita Christi sources but rather takes orally delivered liturgy as its starting point.</p> <p>Este artículo empieza con el argumento sostenido durante años de que Isabel de Villena predicaba a sus monjas en el convento de la Santa Trinidad, Valencia. El artículo examina la naturaleza de la predicación femenina la que vincula a la autoridad oral expresada en ciertas partes de la Vita Christi. Refiere a ejemplos de otras predicadoras públicas y privadas, tales como Hildegard of Bingen, y a los predicadores contemporáneos, tales como el fraile dominico San Vicent Ferrer, y además a los Ars Praedicandi peninsulares. Tras contextualizar los rasgos sermonarios en la obra de Isabel de Villena, el artículo se enfoca en la Vita Christi para considerar las rubeas que sugieran que la monja incluía sus propios sermones en el texto, evaluando si dichos sermones trazados a través de un texto escrito hubieran podido haber se pronunciado en el convento antes de incluirse en la Vita Christi. Examina los sermones pronunciados en el templo en Semana Santa, trazando varias posibles fuentes, incluso la fuente oral de la liturgia. Después considera detalles sobre los sermones profesionales descubriendo que no se oyían sermones profesionales, pagados a los frailes, cada día en la Semana Santa, por lo tanto dejando lugar a sermones pronunciados por una abadesa. Concluye que los sermones no remontan a las fuentes Vita Christi de sus antepasados en la tradición sino que se construyen a raíz</p>

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	de la liturgia de la Semana Santa oída en el convento.

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Christ's Holy Week Sermons: Women's Preaching and its Oral and Written Sources in Late-Medieval Valencia

Understanding sermons is essential to any study of orality, although, until recently, it has never been considered part of the same phenomenon as the oral in folkloric or epic poetry.¹ This article evaluates a sermon preached by Christ in Isabel de Villena's (1430–1490) *Vita Christi* (1916 [VC]). It compares Villena's 'sermon' with that in other versions of Christ's life. It then examines the correlation between anti-Jewish sentiment expressed in Villena's version, showing where there are traces of Holy Week liturgies Villena and her community might have known.

Preaching was a commonplace feature of late-medieval life. Xavier Renedo and Lluís Cabré, in their introduction to a collection of sermons by St Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419), the acclaimed Valencian preacher, canonized in 1455, argue the sermon is comparable to a sales pitch or troubadour performance:

El predicador— deia un dels primers teòrics— ha de ser plaent com un joglar i hàbil com un mercader. Entretingut i convincent—glossàriem—, capaç doncs, de seduir el públic amb recursos que van des de la dramatització a l'argumentació astuta. (Ferrer 1993: 4)

[One of the earliest theorists said, a preacher has to be able to please like a troubadour and skilled like a market trader. Engaging and persuasive, we would add, and thus capable of winning over the public with resources ranging from dramatic effect to clever argument.]

¹ Recent studies of sermons and orality include the introduction by Cátedra (2002) to his edition of vernacular sermons and Hauf Valls (2004).

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3 Performance, strategies to ‘seduce’, or capture the attention of the public, winning it over to
4 acceptance of a message delivered orally, and dramatic techniques, all combine within the
5 sermon genre. Francisco Rico in his study of sermon and literature draws the two together (1977:
6 5). He does not consider the oral component of each but rather the use of rhetorical elements,
7 allegory, personification, and poetic devices, such as sermons developed on a single letter (18).

8
9
10 Sermon texts enable readers to approach the oral within the written. The words of
11 preachers, such as Ferrer, were directly transcribed during the preaching event by *reportatores*
12 (scribes tasked with preserving a record of the sermon).² Sermons retain traces of exclamations
13 and other elements of oral delivery, frozen in time. Transcribing Ferrer’s sermons differs greatly
14 from the case of Villena, where any oral sermons, if these can be distinguished, are embedded
15 within a literary work and copied in her own hand. As an example of Villena’s possible
16 preaching style, two ‘sermon’ texts will be examined. Both are pronounced by Christ in Holy
17 Week.

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19
20 Speculation that Villena wrote sermons and preached to her nuns dates from at least the
21 eighteenth century. The historian, Agustín Sales y Alcázar, was convinced that she wrote
22 ‘algunos tractados y sermones’ [some treatises and sermons], even though none have survived
23 (1761; cited by Hauf 2006: 32, n. 7). Albert Hauf (2004: 257–58) addresses sermon evidence in
24 the *VC* tradition arguing that all religious literature in the Middle Ages may be considered a
25 written sermon. His argument refers specifically to Francesc Eiximenis’s (1327/32–1409) *Vida*
26 *de Jesucrist (Vida)*, printed about a century later as *Llibre de la sagrada vida de Jesucrist*
27 (1500):

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² On reconstituting the oral preaching style from Ferrer’s sermons, see Losada (2015).

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3 En referir-me doncs a la literatura religiosa medieval com una forma de predicació escrita
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5 ho faig a partir d'una definició més aviat lapsa i molt genèrica de la finalitat intrínseca,
6
7 didáctica i exhortativa de la predicació. (Hauf 2004: 158)

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10 [Thus, in referring to medieval religious literature as a form of preaching in writing, I do
11
12 so relying on a generic definition now little used of the intrinsic, didactic, and exhortatory
13
14 purpose of preaching.]
15

16
17 This article will assess how far Hauf's argument applies to other *Vitae Christi*.

18
19 Evidence of women preaching in Clare convents has been assembled by Bert Roest
20
21 (2005). Roest even discusses Villena as a preacher, asserting that 'as abbess of this important
22
23 royal foundation, she was given permission to preach' (2005: 80). He mentions the collection of
24
25 sermons Villena wrote, although there is no trace of it. He also advocates that for an 'inkling of
26
27 Isabella's [sic] homiletic message, we may have to turn to another work, namely her [...] *Vita*
28
29 *Christi*' (2005: 80). Roest's tantalizing words give no indication of how the 'inkling' is to be
30
31 traced. It is the purpose of this study to seek to discern what a convent sermon might be like and
32
33 how and where it might be embedded in the *VC*. In doing this, I build on a previous study about
34
35 female preaching where I examine the Virgin's post-Resurrection 'sermon' to the female
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37 disciples as an example of a woman instructing women behind closed doors (2015: 434–39),
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39 arguing it relates to women's preaching to and for women. In her study of Mother Juana de la
40
41 Cruz, Jessica Boon argues that a medieval abbess was able to expound a *lectio divina* (2016: 20)
42
43 for her nuns. Of course, women religious, including Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) and
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45 Umilità of Faenza (1226–1310), had preached in public in the early part of the Middle Ages
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47 (Mooney 1998).
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3 It is certainly the case that female leadership, expressed in carefully worded counsel,
4 guidance, or permission, and exemplified in the role of the Virgin Mary, abounds throughout the
5 *VC*. Her authoritative counsel is sought when the magi have been warned to return by another
6 route (Matthew 2:12). In Villena's *VC* they consult the Virgin: 'el los reys molt spantats,
7 retornaren a la senyora, maestra sua, per pendre consell de sa senyoria' [and the kings,
8 thoroughly shocked, returned to the lady, their teacher, to take counsel from her ladyship] (I,
9 298). Other *VC* do not include guidance from the Virgin before the return journey. In the
10 *Meditationes Vitae Christi (MVC)*, purportedly by John of Caulibus (active fourteenth century),
11 long thought to be by St Bonaventure, the magi do not take leave of the Holy Family. They
12 simply hurry away (1997: 44). In Eiximenis's *Vida*, they take their leave formally: 'prengueren
13 humil e reuerent comiat del Salvador e de la sua mare' (MS 209, fol. 130r). No counsel is sought.

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29 Another example of female guidance and direction of men's activity in the *VC* is when
30 the Virgin plans the disciples' preaching in the different regions: 'e la Senyora, ab molta dolor e
31 pietat, ordenà cascú d'ells en quina provincia seria la preycació sua' [and the Lady, with great
32 sorrow and piety, ordained for each of them the region where they would preach] (III, 299).
33 Although there is no indication of such guidance being provided in the form of preaching, both
34 examples provide a positive view of women's authoritative voice, as adviser and director of
35 spiritual activity. Even though advice is confined to the Virgin Mary, the most authoritative of
36 female saints, it establishes a way of justifying women's role as preachers.
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49 *Christ preaching in the VC tradition*

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51 Presenting Christ as a preacher occurred in a variety of ways in the lives of Christ.
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53 Ludolph of Saxony (1295–1378) emphasizes how Christ preached at different points in the
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3 narrative (Bodenstedt 2007: 107, n.77). Roís de Corella (1435–1497), translating the *VC* into
4 Valencian, follows closely. Villena had access to the *MVC*, Ludolph’s *VC*, and Francesc
5 Eiximenis’s *Vida*. A copy of Ludolph’s *VC* and Eiximenis’s *Vida* were given as bequests to the
6 convent (Benito Goerlich 1998: 71) by Jaume Exarch, the Vicar General (Hauf 2006: 45–46).
7
8 Having multiple versions was by no means unusual. Jaume Aurell and Alfons Puigarnau show
9 how Francesc de Junyent, a wealthy merchant, possessed many different versions of the *VC* in his
10 library (1998: 210).³ Maria de Castilla’s copy of the *MVC* also entered Santa Trinitat convent
11 library.⁴

12
13 Eiximenis’s *Vida* incorporates several chapters about Christ’s activities in the Temple in
14 Holy Week, such as Christ expelling the traders and merchants from the Temple (Chapter 38,
15 BH MS 0209, fol. 290r). Villena also includes these activities. Eiximenis dedicates three
16 chapters to narrating the expulsion of the traders and adds contemplation on Christ driving them
17 out (Chapter 40, BH MS 0209, fol. 290v).

18
19 Villena’s *VC* emphasizes preaching as one of Christ’s final acts before his crucifixion:
20 ‘com lo Senyor vingué a preÿcar en lo temple’ (II, 193), including two sermon texts preached on
21 Monday and Tuesday of Holy Week. This is not the case in every *VC*, and many do not include
22 Christ preaching in Holy Week, such as the *MVC* or Eiximenis’s *Vida*.

23
24 After the story of the widow’s mite, Ludolph of Saxony and Roís de Corella intercalate a
25 series of illustrations of final judgement, including parables such as the invitation to the wedding
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29 ³ Julian Weiss (2006: 1128) notes the boundaries of lay culture were marked by gender. Villena,
30 as a conventual writer, had better access to relevant sources than other women of her class.

31
32 ⁴ Hauf (2006: 45) advises that, among Maria de Castilla’s possessions, there was a copy of the
33 *MVC*: ‘item un altre llibre appellat *De la vida de Jhesu Christ de Bonaventura, scrit en pergami*
34 *ab posts de fust cubertes de cuyro vermell*’. Bequeathed to Violant de Montpalau, one of the
35 ladies-in-waiting, it was brought to the Santa Trinitat convent by Violant, when she professed in
36 later life.

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3 feast, the two sons and the vineyard, the Pharisees' question about paying tribute, and the woman
4 with seven husbands. In *Lo quart*, Chapter 35, Roís de Corella introduces the Tuesday sermon:
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6 'dimarts el mateix dia no volgue el senyor que'ls pobles i els seus dexebles sens doctrina
7
8 stiguessen' (1495a: fols 121r–v). Ludolph mentions the 'feria tertia' [third day of Holy Week]
9
10 and also how the Pharisees sought to catch him out in his words rather than his deeds (2006: III,
11
12 519). There can be no doubt this lengthy intervention spread over several chapters of Ludolph's
13
14 *VC* is intended to be read as a preaching activity.
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19 Villena's *VC* emphasizes the orality of Christ's sermon by referring to its unwilling
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21 auditors: 'molts poch lo volien hoir' (II, 188). This concept is further developed in the sermon
22
23 itself, where Christ, as he preaches, remonstrates with those listening for not paying attention to
24
25 his words: 'quaranta mesos ha que us preÿque, e molts poch se són convertits' [I have been
26
27 preaching to you for forty months and very few of you have accepted conversion] (II, 194).⁵
28
29 Christ's sermon in Villena's *VC*, thus, is a heard event, even though its auditors do not wish to
30
31 pay heed.
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35 The context for Villena's sermon is the subject of Christ as a preacher. Understanding
36
37 Christ's ministry as a model for preachers was a sermon topic used by other Valencian preachers.
38
39 Ferrer, for example, dedicates a sermon to 'Crist com a model de predicador' [Christ as a model
40
41 preacher] (1993: 23). As a member of the Order of Preachers, Ferrer emphasizes how those who
42
43 exercise a preaching ministry follow the model in the Gospels. Ferrer makes several points about
44
45 why Christ is a model for preachers but one of the most important is how he expressed
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53 ⁵ The point Villena makes may take its origin in Ludolph's assertion that the Pharisees were
54 more ready to dispute with than to learn from Christ (2006: II, 367; III: 522): 'interrogavit,
55 tentans, non scire desiderans, non ut disceret, sed ut deciperet' [they asked questions to tempt
56 him, for they were not wanting to know and learn but deceive].
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3 everything known about Christianity ‘amb les seves pròpies paraules’ [in his own words]: ‘la
4
5 tercera obra que Jesucrist va fer en aquesta món va ser autèntica predicació, ja que ell mateix va
6
7 expressar amb les seves pròpies paraules tota la fe cristiana i catòlica’ [the third work that Christ
8
9 undertook in this world was to bring authenticity to his preaching, for he expressed in his own
10
11 words the entire Christian and Catholic faith] (1993: 23). Later, Ludolph mentions that one of the
12
13 signs of Christ’s love for humanity is his preaching:
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17 Tots aquests senyals de amor lo Senyor mostrà per nosaltres, preycant en paraules,
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19 benificant-nos en obres, treballant e circuhint la terra de Judea; e lavant los peus als
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21 apòstols, e dexant-nos lo seu cors en vianda, e finalment, morint en la creu perquè
22
23 nosaltres vixquésem. (1495b: n.f.)⁶
24
25

26 [All those signs of love the Lord demonstrated for us, preaching in words, blessing us in
27
28 works, working and going around the land of Judea, washing the Apostles’ feet, leaving
29
30 us his body for fleshly delicacy, and, finally, dying on the cross so we might live.]
31
32

33 This might give an insight into why Villena includes the Holy Week sermons Christ preaches.
34
35 She too may have considered Christ a model preacher and the sermons preached in Holy Week
36
37 gave her an opportunity to demonstrate her own, written, sermon style.
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40 Nicholas Love († 1424), a Carthusian, and Prior of Mount Grace Priory, in his *Mirroure of*
41
42 *the Blessed Lyf of Jesus Christ (Mirror)*, weaves the period after Palm Sunday and before the
43
44 Passion into his narrative: ‘What oure lorde Jesus dide fro Palmesonday in to þe þoresday aftere
45
46 nekxte suwyng’ [what our Lord did from Palm Sunday to the following Thursday] (Sargent
47
48 1992: 143). He, like Villena, emphasizes Christ preaching in the Temple on Monday and
49
50 Tuesday of Holy Week:
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56 ⁶ Somni image 341, available at <http://webliblioteca.uv.es> [consulted 23.10.17]).
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3 [...] he traualled bisily in preching & teching opunly to the peple, & specially in þese þre
4 daies, þat is to sey first on þe someday, as it was now last tretede', and þen on þe
5 moneday and þe tywesday to gidere suwyng. In þe whiche daies he came erely in þe
6 temple & þere continued in preching & teching to þe peple, & disputing with þe scribes
7 & þe pharisees, & answering to hir deceyuable questions and many sotel temptynges, &
8 so he was occupiede fro þe morow' in to þe euentyde. (1992: 143)

9
10 [(...) he worked busily preaching and teaching openly to the people and especially on
11 these three days, that is first on the Sunday, as just explained above, and then on both the
12 following Monday and Tuesday. On these days, he came early to the Temple and there
13 continued preaching and teaching to the people and disputing with the scribes and the
14 Pharisees, and answering their deceptive questions and many subtle tricks, and so he was
15 occupied from morn till evening.]

16
17 Love's Monday and Tuesday of Holy Week summary has common features to Villena's, and his
18 emphasis on preaching shows how Ludolph's *VC* was interpreted by his contemporaries. Both
19 follow previous lives of Christ but place their own focus on the events, to suit their readers.

20
21 In the next section, I examine the sermon Christ gives in Villena's *VC* for Holy Tuesday,
22 followed by Christ's brief sermon and reflection for Holy Monday. I review what features of an
23 oral sermon, if any, can be distinguished in these two sermons preached in Villena's *VC*.

24 25 *Sermon structure in late-medieval Spain*

26
27 Before this article begins to examine possible sermons embedded in the *VC*, it briefly examines
28 how medieval sermons were structured. There were few Hispanic *Artes Praedicandi* (Faulhaber
29 1972: 39; Hauf 1979: 235; Sánchez Sánchez 1999: 64; Wenzel 2015 includes them as nos. 28,

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3 29, 32, 43). Pedro Cátedra, studying the vernacular sermons collated in Codex 40 in the Real
4 Colegiata de San Isidoro de León, outlines their format (2002: 58), beginning with a ‘*thema*’ or
5 lesson based on the text for the day. According to Cátedra, sermons should include prayers
6 before the subject matter is introduced, followed by the third step, the division of the sermon into
7 three parts [*divisiones*]. Other guides for preachers circulated widely, such as Alain de L’Isle’s
8 (Evans 1981).

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12 For Alfonso d’Alprão, author of an *Ars Praedicandi*, prayer also plays its part for the
13 ‘*thema sermonis vel seu collationis est oratio sumpta de Sacra Scriptura*’ [the subject of the
14 sermon or of the recollection is a prayer from Holy Scripture] (1.1, Hauf 1979: 265). D’Alprão
15 provides ten ways of introducing the subject of the sermon: using syllogisms, *inductio* [inductive
16 reasoning], *exempla*, authorities from philosophy, prefigurations, questions (Hauf 1979: 295–
17 314). Renedo, in the introduction to his translation of Francesc Eiximenis’s *Ars Praedicandi*
18 *populo (APP)* notes received wisdom was that sermons should begin with a text from Scripture
19 (2009: xvi). Eiximenis advises on how to construct a sermon:

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Tingues en compte que per construir el sermó has de posar el tema, o la matèria sobre la
qual vols predicar, en el centre d’un cercle imaginari, i tot omplint la resta del cercle has
d’estructurar el sermó segons l’ordre dels deu manaments, dels articles de la fe, dels dons
de l’Esperit Sant, de les vuit benaurances, dels cinc sentits corporals, de les set obres de
misericòrdia, de les set virtuts o dels set vicis. I després relaciona ordenadament les parts
de la matèria sobre la qual vols predicar amb les peces de alguna de les sèries abans
esmentades d’acord amb les relacions d’afenidad o manca d’afenidad que hi pugues
establir [...]. (2009: 38 [3.7.1.6])

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3 [bear in mind that to construct the sermon you have to set the subject or material you
4 wish to preach on at the centre of an imaginary circle and, filling out the remainder of the
5 circle, you have to structure the rest of the sermon according to the order of the ten
6 commandments, the articles of faith, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the eight beatitudes, the
7 five senses, the seven works of mercy, the seven virtues or the seven vices. Then point by
8 point relate the parts of the subject you wish to preach on to the parts of one of the
9 teachings mentioned earlier, in so far as it is in accord with or lacks accord for you to
10 establish.]
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22 Eiximenis's radiating number-based sermon structure has some features in common with
23 Fray Martín de Córdoba's. Martín de Córdoba considers the relationship of the *thema* and its
24 development to be like the root and the tree, the stream and the waterfall, the sun and its rays, or
25 the body's head and its limbs (Rubio 1959: 332). In the same way, Eiximenis's *APP* divides the
26 introduction into two parts, the first containing the Ave Maria and the second the *introductio*
27 *thematica* (Barcelona 1936: 333). The introduction is a solid central part of the sermon,
28 described as the tree trunk (Eiximenis 2009: xxxvii) and may use questions, references to other
29 biblical texts, or to the writings of the Fathers, distinctions, or syllogisms. Eiximenis, like Fray
30 Martín de Córdoba, provides ten methods (2009: 56–60; 1959: 337–41). Each of the parts is then
31 developed and may be subdivided corresponding to the branches of the tree (Eiximenis 2009:
32 xliii). According to Eiximenis: 'Diuisio autem thematis inuenta fuit ad dandum predicatori
33 copiosam materiam ad predicandum' [*diuisio* was invented to give a wealth of material to the
34 preacher] (1936: 334). These branching elements of the sermon is where the subject is explained
35 with reference to the natural world, *exempla*, and other support taken from ordinary experience.
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3 (Cátedra 2002: 58) or it may draw moral conclusions for people's lives. This section is termed
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5 the *dilatatio*, and is akin to the leaves or fruits of the tree (Eiximenis 2009: xlvi).
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12 *The structure and nature of the sermon for Holy Tuesday*

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15 Villena begins the sermon in the standard way with Christ providing an exposition on a
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17 text: 'pres per tema' [he took as his text] (II, 193). By taking the Old Testament as her text, she
18
19 signals a sermon is beginning. Villena opens it with 'Jerusalem convertere' from Hosea 14:2; 'O
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21 Israel, return to the Lord, thy God'. This text is significant, as I will demonstrate shortly.
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23

24 Villena's sermon for Tuesday in Holy Week is in distinct parts. The first part consists of
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26 Latin texts many of them identifiable from the Fathers, rendered in vernacular glosses. This
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28 section of Christ's sermon is not dissimilar to her style and approach throughout the narrative
29
30 where she follows Latin texts and translations. Hauf, in his study of the interrelationship of the
31
32 written and oral sermon, reminds us that glossing had an oral root, as a principal medieval
33
34 teaching method: 'la importància del gloriós art de *glosar*, que fou durant segles, la clau de
35
36 l'ensenyament' [the importance of the glorious art of glossing which for many centuries was the
37
38 cornerstone of teaching] (2004: 254). Villena's glossing serves the purpose of explaining what
39
40 the Latin verses mean to her readers and auditors.
41
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43

44 Villena constructs the first part of Christ's Holy Tuesday sermon from a series of Latin
45
46 texts, some of them related to Passion liturgy. In the opening lines, the addressee for the sermon
47
48 is the city of Jerusalem: 'converteix-te [...] gira-te [...] no oblides axi del tot la tua salut'
49
50 [convert, turn back, do not completely forget your salvation] (I, 191). It is delivered in the second
51
52 person. After a short section addressed to the city, the addressees change and become the
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3 inhabitants of the city: ‘vosaltres, pobladors de aquesta ciutat’ [you inhabitants of the city] (II,
4 193). Ludolph, after his eight imprecations against the Jews (III, 528–31) addresses Jerusalem
5 directly: ‘Jerusalem, Jerusalem’ (III, 531).⁷ The invocation of the city in the second person by
6 Ludolph is the source of the citation from Hosea Villena adopts, although she extends it, using
7 other material.
8
9

10
11 The next section of the sermon corresponds to the introduction or the section of
12 commentary on the *thema*. One way of doing this is through other authoritative citations either
13 from Scripture or patristic texts (Eiximenis 2009: xxxix; 57 [3.7.5.3 and 3.7.5.4]). When she
14 cites ‘Quomodo sanaberis que nullum ad te medicum pervenire permittis?’ [how will you be
15 healed when you do not allow a doctor to come to you] (II, 193), her text echoes several Gospel
16 verses, such as Christ’s response to criticism for eating at the house of Levi with tax-collectors
17 and ‘other outcasts’ (Matthew 9:12; Luke 5:31; Mark 2:17): ‘Jesus heard them and answered
18 people who are well do not need a doctor but only those who are sick. I have not come to call
19 respectable people but outcasts’. This text appears in several medieval expositions, including the
20 *Expositio in Evangelium Matthaei*, Book 10 (PL 120, col. 790) by Paschasius Radbertus. It
21 derives from St John Chrysostom’s (347–407) sermon on Matthew’s Gospel (PG 56, cols 890–
22 98). It is again cited by Ludolph (III, 531), as part of Christ’s teaching for Holy Tuesday and it
23 may be from there that Villena derives it. St Augustine’s Sermon 80 (on the Scriptures), as well
24 as his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, used as the fifth lesson in the Good Friday first nocturn are
25 evoked, where Augustine compares fallen humanity, refusing a cure, to madmen (Ruddy 2004:
26 93) and relates insanity of patients, who fail to recognize Christ, the Physician, to the Jews: ‘his
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55 ⁷ Ludolph then explains he is addressing the inhabitants [habitatores] and not the buildings
56 [aedificia civitatis] (III, 531).
57

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3 omnibus curationibus ingrati, tamquam multi febre frenetici insanientes in medicum qui venerat
4
5 curare eos excogitaverunt consilium perdendi eum' [ungrateful for all the cures, like madmen
6
7 with frenetic fury directed at the physician who had come to cure them, they devise plans for
8
9 getting rid of him].⁸

11
12 The motif of Christ-Physician flows throughout Augustine's writing. Rejecting the
13
14 Physician, causes the Jews to arrest then kill him: 'ut medicum tenerent, ligarent, flagellent,
15
16 spinis coronarent, ligno suspenderent, cruce necarent' [that they might hold, bind, scourge,
17
18 crown with thorns, hang the Physician on the cross, and kill him]. Villena takes the text from St
19
20 Augustine's sermon *De verbis Evangelii Matthaei*, chapter 17.18–20 (PL 38, col. 496).⁹

21
22 Villena's emphasis on Christ-Physician both here and in other parts of the *VC* suggests
23
24 she was familiar with how preachers used collections of texts on a set theme. Manuel Sánchez
25
26 Sánchez refers to the techniques medieval preachers used for sourcing key texts by means of a
27
28 *florilegium* (1999: 62–63) and Villena's insistence on this theme throughout the *VC* suggests she
29
30 sourced quotations from such an intermediate text. As an example, the long discourse by Mary
31
32 Magdalene on Christ's feet references Augustine's motif of Christ-Physician. Mary Magdalene
33
34 calls on those present to bewail the death of 'aquest gloriós metge' (III, 109) and then refers to
35
36 Christ's death on the Cross as medicine for humanity: 'Veni e feu gran planct de la mort de
37
38 aquest gloriós metge, qui tota la sanch sua ha despés en medicines per a la salut nostra!' (III,
39
40 109). Villena's lengthy development of the 'metge' motif in the mouth of Mary Magdalene
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49
50 ⁸ See for example Sermo 175, 2–4 (PL 38, cols 945–47). Augustine writes of the Jews who in
51
52 their spiritual madness turned away the Physician, who, during his very Passion, ministered to
53
54 his spiritually sick persecutors (trans. Arbesmann 1954: 17). See, for example, 'Omelia sancti
55
56 Augustini', set as sixth lesson in the *Breviarium secundum Romanae ecclesiae* (Venice: Robert
57
58 Jensen, 1478), Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica (BH), Inc. 033, folios unnumbered
59
60 (Somni image 295, available at <http://weblioteca.uv.es> [consulted 20.10.17]).

⁹ See also his *Evangelium in Johannis tractatus* 3.2 (PL 35, col. 1396).

1
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3 indicates she was aware of its repeated use in St Augustine to exemplify his salvific acts. The
4
5 second text, ‘Omnes medici spirituales in te defecerunt et tu curata non es’ [every spiritual doctor
6
7 meets his end in you and you are not cured] (II, 193), relates getting rid of those sent to heal.
8
9 This text, occurring a few lines later in Chrysostom’s sermon, is glossed by Villena as follows
10
11 ‘car tots los metges spirituals a tu tramesos per lo meu Pare e per mi han defallit en tu, donant a
12
13 ells cruel mort e tu no restes curada’ (III, 109). Again, the text is cited by Ludolph in Chapter 38
14
15 of his *VC*. Her gloss shows that, she follows Ludolph in relating the text to killing the prophets.
16
17 In Matthew’s Gospel, Christ’s lament over Jerusalem includes the words: ‘You kill the prophets
18
19 and stone the messengers God has sent you’ (Matthew 23:37). Matthew’s words relate to
20
21 warnings in the Old Testament about turning away, killing, or crucifying the prophets.¹⁰The
22
23 same text is cited by several medieval theologians, including Hincmar (c. 806–82), Archbishop
24
25 of Reims, in his *De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio posterior Dissertatio* (PL 125, col.
26
27 246).
28
29
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31
32

33 Finally, Villena turns to Christ’s words in the Gospel, linking four verses. ‘Quem vos
34
35 dicitis quia Deus vester est, et non cognovistis eum’ [by the one of whom you say he is our God,
36
37 although you do not know him] (John 8:54). The words are from Christ’s earlier clash with the
38
39 Jews in John’s Gospel not his final preaching in the Temple, responding to their question: ‘Are
40
41 we not right in saying you are a Samaritan and possessed by the Devil?’ (John 8:48). ‘Cur ego et
42
43 pater unun [sic] sumus’ [I and the Father are one] (John 17:11) is spoken as a prayer for the
44
45 disciples just prior to Christ’s arrest, resulting in Villena’s mind, from the traitorous conduct of a
46
47 Jew, Judas. Teaching about the nature of God (John 14:9): ‘qui videt me et videt patrem’
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55 ¹⁰ ‘Therefore, I am sending you prophets, sages, and teachers. Some of them you will kill and
56
57 crucify, others you will flog in your synagogues’ (Matthew 23:34).
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[whoever has seen me has seen the Father] (II, 194) is the thematic link between these Gospel citations. The final citation returns to the debate with the Jews: ‘Propterea vos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis’ [the reason why you do not listen is that you are not from God] (John 8:47). It answers the point the Jews make about their relationship with God: ‘We were not born illegitimate. We have no father but God’ (John 8:42).

Villena begins Christ’s sermon, as mentioned earlier, with the text ‘Hierusalem, Hierusalem, convertere ad Deum dominum vestrum’ [Jerusalem, Jerusalem, turn to the Lord your God] (II, 193). As Martín d’Alprão advocates, the opening text is a prayer. Villena looks to the liturgy for her inspiration for the lamentations. Hosea’s words are set in the Improperia, a series of antiphons and responses, sung at the Tenebrae liturgy for Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy Week (Brockett 2012). Clyde W. Brockett’s study demonstrates these antiphons were sung from the eighth century onward. In the Valencia 1478 Roman-rite breviary as well as in the Zaragoza breviary, the lament is attributed to Jeremiah: ‘Incipit lamentatio Jeremie prophete’.¹¹ The verse from Hosea reoccurs throughout the Tenebrae liturgy, forming a response to each remonstrance uttered.¹² The Improperia reproaches about the characteristics and actions of the Jews are voiced by the priest, as though they were spoken by Christ. The responses, although taken from Jeremiah’s lamentations, were spoken in the Good Friday and

¹¹ *Breviarium* (1478). Universitat de València, BH Inc. 033, folios unnumbered (Somnium image 289, available at <http://webliblioteca.uv.es> [consulted 2.10.17]). The attribution was not unusual. See also *Breviarium Caesaraugustanum* (1479: fol. 77v); *Breviarium*, BH MS 887 (1475: fol. 262v) (Somnium image 528, available at <http://webliblioteca.uv.es> [consulted 18.12.17]).

¹² *Breviarium*, BH Inc. 033, folios unnumbered (Somnium images 290, 294, and 298, available at <http://webliblioteca.uv.es> [consulted 2.10.17]). The response occurs after the second and third readings over the three days. See also *Breviarium* (1467). Universitat de València, BH MS 890, fols 167v, 171v. This manuscript, decorated in Naples, belonged to the library of the Dukes of Calabria. See also *Breviarium Caesaraugustanum* (1479: fol. 77v), produced for the neighbouring Zaragoza diocese in Venice.

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2
3 Holy Saturday liturgies and would have been familiar to Villena and her readers.¹³ When set in
4
5 Christ's sermon, they commemorate the spoken liturgical word, as well as a different hue of
6
7 meaning and prophetic value because of their liturgical context. I have previously noted how
8
9 Villena embeds liturgical practice and other convent devotions into her *VC* (2013: 204–29) and,
10
11 here, she weaves the words of the *Improperia* into Christ's sermon.
12
13

14
15 Lament over Jerusalem in the New Testament also echoes numerous Old Testament
16
17 occasions when prophets, like Jeremiah, lament the people's failure to respond to God. In St
18
19 Luke's Gospel Christ weeps over Jerusalem (Luke 20:41–42), before entering to go to his
20
21 Passion. He cries out again about the destruction of the city, as he makes his way to the cross
22
23 (Luke 21:20–24) and laments for the women of Jerusalem, who in turn weep for him (Luke
24
25 23:28). Christ's love for Jerusalem is emphasized in Matthew's Gospel, just after he has
26
27 condemned the Pharisees (Matthew 23:37–39). There Christ's warning about Jerusalem follows
28
29 his address to the crowd in the Temple (Matthew 24:1). In Luke's Gospel, the context is
30
31 different: it occurs after some Pharisees come to Christ to warn him to stay away from Jerusalem
32
33 (Luke 13:34–35). Roís de Corella (1495b: fols 94r–97v [chapter 28]), following Ludolph (III,
34
35 494–98), has Christ weep over Jerusalem, before entering on Palm Sunday,¹⁴ incorporating
36
37 lamentations.¹⁵
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47 ¹³ See, for example, the first lesson in *Breviarium*, BH, Inc. 033, fols unnumbered (Somnium
48 image 298 available at <http://webliblioteca.uv.es> [consulted 2.10.17]

49 ¹⁴ For a recent edition and study of *Lo terç del Cartoixà*, see Furió Vayà (2015).
50 <http://roderic.uv.es/handle/10550/50025> [consulted 16.10.17]. The events of Christ's life from
51 the Transfiguration to the Last Supper, including the 'sermó' Christ spoke there, are included in
52 *Lo terç* (1495b). The events of the Holy Week from Christ's departure for the garden of
53 Gethesemane and the beginning of his Passion are in *Lo quart* (1495a).

54 ¹⁵ *Lo terç*, Chapter 26, fols 94–7. (Somnium image 183, available at <http://webliblioteca.uv.es>
55 [consulted 2.10.17]).
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57

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3 Roís de Corella, like Ludolph, has Christ preach against the Pharisees and doctors of the
4 law on two earlier occasions during his ministry in *Lo segon* (1500). First, Christ attacks the
5 Jews in Chapter 35, entitled ‘com increpa als Fariseus i als doctors de la ley’ [how he lambasts
6 the Pharisees and doctors of the Law] and then again in ‘Dels constitucions dels fariseus contra
7 les manaments de Déu’ [on the Pharisees’ rules against God’s commandments] (Chapter 47).¹⁶ I
8 discuss both below.
9

10
11 The second part of Villena’s sermon, suggested by the *Impropria*, is dedicated to the
12 twenty-four curses that David supposedly called down on the Jews. There are twenty-four curses
13 in Deuteronomy (28) and Boice (1998: III, 885) reckons a further twenty-four in the imprecatory
14 section of Psalm 109:6–20. It is the latter Villena uses in part for her imprecations. Similarities
15 are found between Psalm 109:7–10 and the following curses: ‘sereu condempnats a perpetual
16 mort’ [you will be condemned to everlasting death]; ‘tota la oració sera convertida en peccat’ [all
17 your prayer will turn into sin]; ‘la senyoria vostra durara molt poch’ [your lordship will endure
18 but little]; ‘us sera levada la dignitat del sacerdocí’ [the dignity of priesthood will be stripped
19 from you]; ‘d’aquí en avant los fills de la sinagoga seran dits òrfens’ [from now on the sons of
20 the Synagogue will be called orphans]; ‘la vostra sinagoga sera prestament viuda’ [your
21 Synagogue will soon be widowed]; ‘sereu lançats de la propia terra’ [you will be cast out from
22 the land]; ‘sereu fugitiu per tot lo mon’ [you will wander across the whole world] (II, 195–96).
23 Villena adapts the words of the Psalm so that ‘His wife be widowed’ (109:9) becomes
24 personified: ‘la vostra sinagoga sera prestament viuda’ [your Synagogue will soon be widowed].
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53 ¹⁶ See Ludolph the Carthusian (III, 330–33): Ch. 76, ‘De increpatione Pharisaeorum et
54 Legisperitorum’ [how he lambasts the Phrisees and doctors of the Law]; (2006: III, 376–79):
55 Ch.88, ‘De traditionibus Pharisaeorum, etiam contra Dei mandatum’ [on the customs of the
56 Phrarisees, again aganist God’s commandment].
57

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3 Her adaptation of the Psalm, which she identifies as her source (II, 195) does not include the
4 original Vulgate Latin which makes it stand out from her usual method where the Latin text is
5 always cited. She does not keep close to known translations of Psalm 109 (Vulgate 108), such as
6
7 Roís de Corella's *Psaltiri* (2013; see Table 3). It is worth noting that the idea of cursing the
8 Scribes and Pharisees is lifted from Ludolph's *VC* (III, 527).¹⁷ However, Ludolph's eight curses
9
10 are all behavioural: relating to hypocrisy, pride, and greed. Villena's are scriptural. The idea is
11 rooted in Ludolph's *VC* but the realization is completely different. An example of how different
12 is provided by Love's *Mirror*. Love's version includes denigration of the Jews amid preaching
13 scenes in Holy Week and he advises his reader that there is too much to write about Christ's
14 reprehending of the Jews. He proposes to pass over it to start the Passion:

25
26 Bot for als mich as it were longe processe to trete in special of alle þe maters þat tyme
27 bytwix our Lord Jesus & þe Jues, & lettyng fro þe purpose þat we bene nowe inne of þe
28 passion, þerefor passing ouer alle þe parables & ensaumples by þe whichoure lord
29 reprehended þe Jues [...].

30
31 [But as for me, as it would be a long task to write about all the matters that happened
32 between our Lord Jesus and the Jews, and, stepping aside from the purpose that we are
33 now in the Passion, thus, passing over all the parables and examples our Lord used to
34 reprehend the Jews.]

50
51 ¹⁷ Post haec Dominus, qui Legi et praeceptis Evangelicis obedientibus dat benedictiones, ipsis
52 Scribis et Phariseis inobedientibus comminatur vae maledictionis, et in omnibus effectibus
53 hypocrisis ipsorum hanc dictionem vae praeponit, quae maledictionem significat (Ch. 38) [After
54 this, the Lord, who blesses those who are obedient to the Laws and Precepts, threatened the
55 Scribes and Pharisees who did not obey them with a curse, and he set forth a speech of doom on
56 the effects of their hypocrisy, meaning a curse].

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2
3 His reference to ‘passing ouer’ suggests Love decided not to include Christ’s full diatribe
4
5 against the Jews. He may have taken his structure from Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita*. However, this
6
7 does not answer how Villena’s and Love’s narratives both include Christ preaching in Holy
8
9 Week. It is unlikely Villena could have known the *Mirror*.¹⁸ Both Love and Villena may have
10
11 had access to a longer version of the *MVC*.¹⁹
12
13

14
15 Christ’s reproaches have been summarized in the *Mirror* and the negative characteristics
16
17 of the Jews Love opts for are pride, hypocrisy, and covetousness, all standard anti-semitic
18
19 criticisms:
20

21 And þen after our Lorde Jesus reprehended þe pride, þe hypocrisie, the coueitise, and
22
23 oþer wikkid condicions of hem, and specially of þe scribes & þe Pharisees, seying to hem
24
25 in þese words: ‘Wo to 3owe scribes & Pharisees þat louen worldly wirchipes in many
26
27 maneres’. (1992: 144)
28
29

30
31 [and then after our Lord Jesus reprehended their pride, their hypocrisy, their covetousness
32
33 and other wicked ways, particularly of the Scribes and Pharisees, speaking these words to
34
35 them: ‘Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, who love worldly homage in many ways’.]
36
37

38 Love is summarizing the words spoken by Christ in Ludolph’s *VC*. His summary correlates more
39
40 closely to Ludolph’s than Villena’s.
41

42 Villena’s use of the Psalm has something of the preaching style of Vincent Ferrer.²⁰
43

44 Ferrer often cited the prophets, turning Old Testament texts against the Jews, to show how God
45
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47
48

49 ¹⁸ Philobiblion includes no versions of Love’s *Mirror* in Castile or Aragon.
50 http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/biteca_en.html [consulted 2.9.18]. Other English works,
51 such as John of Howden or Hoveden’s *Speculum Laicae* (BETA Textid 1300), are present in
52 Spain’s manuscript collections (Madrid BNE MS 18465 [Manid 1493]).
53

54 ¹⁹ Sarah Mcnamer’s research examines different versions in both Italian and Latin (2009; 2017).
55

56 ²⁰ Villena does not follow Ferrer’s sermon or sermon content. The comparison is indicated here
57 to show how her literary work correlates with standards of preached sermon technique.
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2
3 was angry with them (Losada 2015: 219). In the *VC* sermon, curses are adapted from the Psalms
4 but Villena's technique relies, like Ferrer's on a long history of constructing propaganda against
5 the Jews, established in Hispanic literature in Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Senora*
6 with its anti-semitic miracles or sermons preached by his near-contemporary, Ramon de Peñafort
7 (c.1185–1275) (Losada 2015: 218–19). The tradition continued with Jeroni de Santa Fe's *Tractat*
8 *contra els jueus* or the *Disputa del Bisbe de Jaen contra els jueus sobrea la fe catholica*.²¹ The
9 anti-semitic tradition in the Western Church descends from Tertullian (160–220) in his *Adversus*
10 *Judaeos* (PL 2, cols 595–642) and is disseminated in St Augustine's widely read *Tractatus*
11 *adversus Judaeos* (PL 42, cols 51–64).

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Medieval theologians, in Spain and elsewhere, continue the trend, including Fulbert of
Chartres (†1029), with his *Tractatus contra Judaeos*, and Petrus Alfonsi's (b.1106), *Dialogus*
contra Judaeos (Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 356). Rabbinical dispute is a way of presenting
counter arguments against the Jews. An early Castilian example is the final scene in the
anonymous thirteenth-century theatrical piece, the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* (Gutiérrez 2009:
26–69).

Anti-Jewish tradition intensified at the end of the Middle Ages, fed by literary assault
(Rubin 1999), although anti-Jewish sentiment had much deeper roots. Mark D. Meyerson (1999:
643, n. 10) discusses the missions to convert the Jews instigated by James II, the Just (1267–
1327). Riots and physical attacks on Jews increased following the Black Death (Nirenberg 1996:
239), with sins committed by Jews seen as its cause. Pogroms in 1391 across the kingdom and
riots in Valencia led to an upsurge in conversions (Meyerson 1992: 131; 2004a: 279; Nirenberg

²¹ Philobiblion. http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblion/biteca_en.html [consulted 20.9.18],
Tractat, BITECA Textid 1909, Barcelona, olim Arxiu Palau Requesens (Manid 1166); *Disputa*,
BITECA Textid 1811, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, MS 75 (Manid 1199).

1
2
3 2006: 399), as well as debate about the sincerity of those newly received into the Church by the
4
5 1450s (Nirenberg 2003: 140). By the fifteenth century, Valencia was 'Jew-free' (Meyerson
6
7 2004b: 83), whilst the Jewish community in the kingdom lived in Morvedre. Despite all this, the
8
9 Jews remained 'royal treasure', protected by the crown (Meyerson 2004a: 216), largely because
10
11 of high levels of taxation Jews paid to the crown, up to the end of the fourteenth century, making
12
13 for 'porous borders between the Jewish community and royal government' (Meyerson 2004b:
14
15 73; 2010: 19). Meyerson outlines the case of a Jewish physician, found guilty of alchemy by the
16
17 Inquisition, but acquitted by Ferdinand of Antequera (2004c: 170). Interrelationships are
18
19 apparent in tax-farming for the crown and Church (Meyerson 2004b: 103). Meyerson also notes
20
21 that royal protection changed after the death of Ferdinand's heir, Alphonse the Magnanimous, in
22
23 1458 (2004c: 188). King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella finally established the Inquisition in 1478
24
25 (Meyerson 1992: 131) and expelled the Jews in 1492.

30
31 Contamination of Christian communities by the influx of *conversos* was condemned:
32
33 Vincent Ferrer attacked inter-faith adultery, advocating segregation, and seeing sexual danger as
34
35 the root of plagues visited on cities (Nirenberg 2002; 2003: 143, 148). Anti-Jewish sentiment
36
37 continued into the early sixteenth century in Valencia. Lester Little notes that in 1519 an edict of
38
39 faith 'enumerates offences against the Christian religion and then delivers a series of blistering
40
41 curses against those who engage in them' (1996: 278). Offenders were excommunicated,
42
43 anathematized, cursed, segregated, and separated. Such Jews, likely to be backsliding, are to
44
45 'share the fate of Pharoah, the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, Dathan and Abiron. They are
46
47 cursed with the curses of Deuteronomy and the Psalms' (1996: 278). On the significance of
48
49 twenty-four, Little adds that Jews were required to swear twenty-four oaths in law, relating to the
50
51 twenty-four books of the law (1996: 278). Holy Week was an important time to recall anti-
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Jewish sentiments (Meyerson 2004b: 97), whilst already in 1393, officials in Morvedre condemned Jews for celebrating a 'Jewish Easter' (Nirenberg 2003: 141).

Villena's twenty-four curses provide a perfect foil to her *thema* with its call to Jerusalem to repent. This section of the sermon corresponds to the *divisio* section of the sermon, providing linked materials set around a numerical value to illuminate the initial text.

Villena, following this tradition, asserts that David foretold the cruelty the Jews would visit on the Messiah. She sets the curses in the second-person plural, directed at the Jews. They echo the *Impropria*, reproaches Christ expounded from the cross, listing the cruel treatment the Jews meted out.²² Some of Villena's curses relate to the Jews being held in captivity: 'primeramente que sereu catius de tota nació' [first you will be held captive by every nation] (II, 195), others to their lot as a fugitive nation: 'dehenament sereu fugitus per tot lo món' [in tenth place, you will have to wander all over the world] (II, 196), and others to their sinfulness, particularly because they were to cause Christ's death:

Dihuytenament: que no sols tendreu lo peccat de la mia mort, ans ne tendreu un altre sobre aquell: que sperareu tostemps lo Messies, e per cobrir la vostre oradura, fereu falsiosos los prophetes, corrompreu tant com poreu les Scriptures sanctes. (II, 196) [in eighteenth place, not only will you have the sin of my death on you, but you will have another greater sin. For you are always looking for the Messiah to come, and to cover your foolishness, you will falsify the prophets and misinterpret the Holy Scriptures as much as you can.]

²² *Breviarium*, BH Inc. 033, folios unnumbered [Somnium images 295, available at <http://weblioteca.uv.es> [consulted 2.10.17]]. The most significant list of cruelties occurs as the lesson for Sext.

1
2
3 The numbering style used by Villena is closely related to both Eiximenis's *Vida* and Ludolph of
4 Saxony's style in his *VC*. Ludolph's eight imprecations (III, 528–31) are numbered 'in primo
5 [...], in secundo [...], in tertio [...]. However, the twenty-four reproaches do not relate closely to
6 either of Christ's sermons reproaching the Jews in Ludolph's *prima pars* [first book] or Roís de
7 Corella's *Lo segon* (see Tables 1 and 2).
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15 *Lo segon* (Chapter 47) includes reproaches as Christ outlines how the Pharisees
16 contravened God's law. As an example, Roís de Corella quotes Isaiah (29:13) to show how they
17 are hypocritical, honouring God with their lips and not with their hearts:
18
19
20

21 Dient: 'ypocrits, bé ha profetizat Ysaies de vosaltres dient aquell poble ab los labis me
22 honrra però lo seu cor luny és de mi sens causa ço és sin fruyt colen hi m honrren que
23 dissimuladament hi a peruersa intenció fan totes les sues obres hi per simulada santedat i
24 ypocresia hi no es aquesta causa per seruir la bondat diuina mas per atenyer la felicitat
25 eterna que és honrar e fruir a Déu infinit bé nostre'. (1500, fol. 140)
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32 [saying: 'hypocrites, Isaiah rightly prophesied about you, saying that people honour me
33 with their lips but their hearts are far from me without reason that is without fruit they
34 worship and honour me for they carry out their works with dissimulation and with
35 perverse intention, and with simulated holiness and hypocrisy and that is not simply to
36 serve God's goodness but to come to eternal joy which is honouring God, our infinite
37 treasure, bringing him joy.]
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47 The speech against the Jews precedes the story of the Canaanite woman requesting her daughter
48 be healed (*VC* and Roís de Corella Chapter 48, recounting Matthew 15:22). The Jews' desire to
49 stone him (Chapter 46, recounting John 10:31) precedes it. Villena positions Christ's reproaches
50 immediately after his entry to Jerusalem. Ludolph's *VC* places them before.
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Another set of reproaches (*VC* Chapter 35) begins with the Pharisees' hypocrisy: 'O fariseu ypocrit neteja primer lo teu cor hi pensans de engans, iniquitats hi malicies hi lavors seran netes los teues exteriors obres hi sera feta vera la santedat que simules' (1500, fol. 102v).

Ludolph and Roís de Corella's preaching against the Jews is a lengthy extension of Matthew 12:49, discussed earlier. However, the reproaches have little in common with Villena's (see Table I).

The Sermon for Monday of Holy Week: Structure and characteristics

Villena's *VC* incorporates a second sermon for Holy Week preached on Holy Monday. This sermon also begins with Christ railing against the Jews: 'Popule meus, quid ultra debui facere tibi et non feci?' [O my people what else should I have done for you that I did not do?] (II, 188). This text is taken from the plainchant setting of the Lamentations, sung as an antiphon at the Good Friday Improperia (Brockett 2012: 89; Escandell Guasch 2015) to accompany the Adoration of the Cross. It dates from the ninth century and is present in the St Martial de Limoges troper (BN fr. MS 1240). The processional antiphon for the Adoration was set to music in the sixteenth century by Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611), chapelmaster for the Descalzas convent in Madrid. Janet Hathaway's research into music-making at the Descalzas convent, from a period some eighty years later than Villena's death, gives an indication of how it shaped nuns' spirituality (2011: 210–11). Although indications from Villena's *VC* are brief, it is likely that the sung antiphon acted like an ear-worm and, for that reason, found its way into Christ's sermon:

Villena's gloss on the text expands it considerably:

O poble judaych, qui per propri t' é elegit. ¿Per què·m has axi desconegut que la mia doctrina hoir no vols? No has estimat ni conegut los singulars beneficis per mi fets: sobre

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2
3 tota nació, t' é exaltat, e tu no penses sinó en aterrar-me; yo vull donar la vida per ti e tu
4
5 no vols acceptar la preycació mia; [...]. (II, 188–89)

6
7 [O Jewish people, whom I have chosen for my own. Why have you failed to recognize
8
9 me and not wanted to hear my teaching? You have not regarded nor recognized the
10
11 wonderful good things done by me. I have exalted you above any nation and you only
12
13 think of bringing me low; I wish to give my life for you and you do not want to accept the
14
15 words I preach.]
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17

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19 The first words she chooses for the gloss, 'que per propri t' é elegit' [I have chosen you for my
20
21 own], echo Old Testament texts such as Deuteronomy (7:7): 'From all the peoples on earth, he
22
23 chose you to be his own special people'. These words mark how God issues the Ten
24
25 Commandments, reiterating his covenant with the Israelites. Villena adds to this part of the
26
27 sermon the words from the parable of the Good Shepherd: 'I am willing to lay down my life for
28
29 them' (John 10:15): 'jo vull donar la vida per ti' (II, 188).
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32
33 After this combination of Old and New Testament reflections, Villena's Christ pauses in
34
35 his preaching and sits down in despair at the lack of response from the listening Jews: 'e lo
36
37 Senyor aturmentat dins la sua ànima per la gran durícia e desconexença judayca, veent que ab
38
39 poca devoció lo escoltaven, deixa·s de preycar e segue·s en un banch [...]' [and the Lord, his soul
40
41 troubled because of the hardness of heart and the lack of recognition from the Jews, seeing how
42
43 they had little devotion and paid so little attention to him, stopped preaching and sat down on a
44
45 bench] (II, 189). This section of the sermon for Holy Monday serves as a preview for the Holy
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47 Tuesday sermon in that it introduces well-worn characteristics of the Jews, in this case their
48
49 hardness of heart. Whilst seated on the bench, Christ watches the widow offer her mite. This
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3 gives an opportunity to decry the Pharisees' failure to see the truth, as they praise only those who
4
5 give high sums to the Temple coffers.
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10 *Preaching in the Santa Trinitat convent: Holy Week sermons*
11

12 Records from Valencia's fifteenth-century Poor Clare convents suggests that the early
13 part of Holy Week would not have had an official sermon preached by a friar. This is likely to
14 have been the case in the Santa Trinitat convent too. Might this have then given an opportunity
15 for Villena to deliver a sermon herself? Any of the sermon texts Villena includes in her *VC*
16 might easily have been preached in Holy Week in the Santa Trinitat convent. Sermons were
17 commissioned from Franciscan friars paid two silver coins per sermon. In the Puritat convent,
18 preachers were paid for their sermons for each of the four Sundays of Lent: 'item doni als frares
19 que preycaren en la quaresma per iv diumenges viii sous' (ARV Clero Libro 946, fol. 35v).
20 Payment is also explicitly mentioned for the Good Friday sermon: 'item doni al preycador per
21 divendres sant ii sous' [I also gave two silver coins to the preacher for Good Friday] (fol. 26v).
22 The Lent preachers were rewarded with a gift of two goats at Easter: 'item doni als preycadors
23 dos cabrits' [I also gave two little goats to the preachers] (fol. 26v). The friars were paid for
24 saying the office during Holy Week: 'item doni als frares que feren l'ofici de setmana santa xii
25 sous' [I also gave twelve silver coins to the friars who said the Holy Week office] (fol. 35v).
26 These payments are made year on year. In 1454, in the Puritat, sermons were still being
27 remunerated at the rate of one a week in Lent as well as a sermon on Good Friday: 'Item doni a
28 xx d'abril per los sermons de la quaresma ab lo diuendres sant xiiii sous' [On 20 April I also
29 gave fourteen silver coins for the sermons in Lent and Good Friday] (ARV Clero Libro 956, fol.
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3 115r). It was custom to hear sermons preached only on certain days in Lent and Holy Week in
4
5 Valencian convents.²³
6

7
8 The situation was similar in other Valencian convents in terms of frequency of sermons.
9
10 In the Zaïdia Bernardine convent, just outside Valencia's walls, payment of sixteen silver coins
11
12 was made in 1454 for the Lent sermons on Sundays and on Wednesday in Holy Week: 'item
13
14 donarem als sermonadors qui sermonaren en les dominiques derrers de la quaresma ab lo
15
16 dimecres sant onze reals [xvi sous vi dines] [we also gave eleven reals (sixteen silver coins, six
17
18 pence) to the preachers for sermons on the final Sundays in Lent together with Wednesday in
19
20 Holy Week] (ARV Clero Libro 4140, fol. 43r).
21
22
23

24 By 1493 things had changed in the Puritat. Because there is a gap in records of just over
25
26 thirty years, it is not possible to pinpoint when the change occurred but, by the time Margarita
27
28 Tolsa had taken over as abbess, Holy Week sermons had moved from Sunday to Friday, possibly
29
30 preached by a Franciscan, although the Order is not mentioned. The preacher is mentioned by
31
32 name: 'Item pels sermons de la quaresma que feu Mestre Moros los diuendres trenta e sis sous'
33
34 [for the Lent sermon Master Moros preached each Friday, thirty-six silver coins] (fol. 49r). From
35
36 these historical records, it is certain that at least one Holy Week sermon was preached and
37
38 remunerated in Valencian convents. There is no reason to suppose the Villena's convent was any
39
40 different.
41
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43

44 The Holy Week sermon placed in Christ's mouth seems an unlikely choice for her to
45
46 have preached at first sight. The sermon is strongly anti-Jewish and does not seem appropriate
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52
53 ²³ O'Mara makes the assumption that sermons were heard every day, because nuns had access to
54 a chaplain: 'we may have to postulate that nuns would have heard a sermon on most days of the
55 week' (1998: 97). This may be true in other parts of Europe, however, according to payments
56 made to preachers, in Valencia, this could not have been the case.
57

1
2
3 for a woman to preach to a non-Jewish audience of nuns, all noblewomen from high-ranking
4
5 Valencian families.
6

7
8 A tradition of anti-Jewish preaching across Spain in the fifteenth century, however, had
9
10 close connections to Villena's city. Ferrer, a Valencian, as noted above, preached frequently
11
12 against the Jews, calling upon them to convert. Although Ferrer died in 1419, his canonization
13
14 took place in Villena's lifetime, and various versions of Ferrer's life were written, many of them
15
16 focusing on his preaching (Smoller 2011: 786–89).
17
18

19
20 Preaching against Jews had royal support and led to legislation and public support across
21
22 the kingdoms of Spain (Nirenberg 2003: 144). It might, therefore, be that this tradition was
23
24 considered appropriate, even in situations where there were no Jews present to convert,
25
26 particularly in the years just before they were expelled in 1492, enabling such a sermon to be
27
28 preached in the convent, although its contents seem, to a modern ear, out-of-step with the
29
30 audience. This sermon may have been preached as part of a kingdom-wide call to the Jews to
31
32 repent. It may have begun as a commentary on Deuteronomy 28 or Psalm 109 with their anti-
33
34 Jewish curses. It may also have been intended as a sermon to counter the plague, thought to be a
35
36 punishment for the sins of the Jews.
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41 There is also the possibility that Villena adapted this sermon from a written collection of
42
43 sermons for her purpose. As studies on English convents have shown, nuns were very likely to
44
45 hold collections of sermons among their books.²⁴ Equally, in breviaries used in the period,
46
47 written sermons from the hand of the Church Fathers were set for many feast days and were read
48
49
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53 ²⁴ See Bell (1995); O'Mara (1998). Bell studies the wealthy Syon Abbey, as well as some poorer
54
55 foundations; O'Mara studies medieval English convents in the same period. D. H. Green
56
57 discusses how nuns were able to read Latin in certain convents across Europe, although he also
58
59 notes the rise of the vernacular (2007: 129–45).
60

1
2
3 as part of the liturgy of the day.²⁵ It might also be adapted from a sermon preached by one of the
4
5 friars.

6
7
8 The context for the sermon, Holy Week, meant that there is a possibility a Lent sermon
9
10 may have been preached by Villena for her community. If professional preachers took
11
12 responsibility for one of the principal feasts during Holy Week and preached on it, she, as
13
14 abbess, could have taken responsibility for preaching on other days. The longer sermon Christ
15
16 preaches may have been given by Villena as part of Holy Week *lectio divina*, even though its
17
18 subject matter seems alien to convent life.
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22

23 *Conclusion*

24
25
26 I begin this article by demonstrating the authority inherent in the words of a female saint,
27
28 the Virgin Mary. She is granted to advise and counsel male subjects.
29

30
31 Villena, like Love, emphasizes Christ's activity as a preacher in Holy Week. To do this,
32
33 she constructs sermons for him to preach and these sermons are not derived from other *VC*. The
34
35 sermons examined in this study reveal how Villena looked to oral sources for inspiration. This
36
37 article argues that oral genres, including sermon subject matter and liturgy are blended to
38
39 construct a vernacular sermon. Its oral quality derives from its adaptation of spoken liturgy
40
41 repeated by the nuns in Holy Week, transposed into a sermon. In this sense her method
42
43 corresponds to what Brian Stock defines as a textual community (1983: 90), a text used by
44
45 communities dependent on oral participation in religion, to some extent applicable to a
46
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54 ²⁵ See for example 'Omelia sancti Hieronymi', set for the seventh lesson in the *Breviarium*
55 *secundum Romanae ecclesiae* (1478), BH, Inc. 033, folios unnumbered (Somnium image 250,
56 available at <http://webliblioteca.uv.es> [consulted 2.10.17]).
57

1
2
3 community of female religious, even though many of the high-born women were capable of
4
5 reading written texts.
6

7
8 Villena's Holy Tuesday sermon follows the pattern of medieval sermons advocated in the
9
10 *Ars Praedicandi*, beginning with a 'thema', a development of the text, using other scriptural and
11
12 patristic texts. It extends into an anti-semitic diatribe, directly derived from the *thema*. One of the
13
14 sources for her anti-semitism is the Reproaches of the Tenebrae liturgy for Holy Thursday, Good
15
16 Friday, and Holy Saturday. Another is the twenty-four curses from Psalm 109. Although Villena
17
18 does not follow the Improperia throughout, she begins with its refrain and takes the concept of
19
20 Christ's imprecations from there, adapting Psalm 109 for the meat of the curses Christ utters. In
21
22 her Holy Monday sermon, she again selects from the liturgy, this time from the Adoration of the
23
24 Cross, using the antiphon 'popule meus' as her sermon text. Her technique means that the words
25
26 'spoken' by Christ in the Villena's sermon resonate with the ones the priest speaks on Good
27
28 Friday and Holy Saturday in the Tenebrae liturgy.
29
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31
32

33 Villena adapts the imprecatory Psalm (109) for her anti-Jewish sermon. Unlike her
34
35 practice throughout the *VC*, she does not gloss the Vulgate but writes in the vernacular. This
36
37 suggests that the original text might have been presented as a sermon delivered by Villena in
38
39 Holy Week, although it could have other reasons, such as working from a vernacular Psalter.
40
41

42 Whilst it is not possible to assert categorically that the Holy Week sermon was preached
43
44 by Villena, its structure, vernacular nature, and adaptation of liturgical texts suggests it could
45
46 have been. Its anti-Jewish sentiments fit well with those of the day, just prior to the expulsion of
47
48 the Jewish community in 1492 when preaching and writing against the Jews was commonplace.
49
50 Pointing out the Jews' sins against God was appropriate for a Holy Week text but may have
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2
3 served also to deflect God's righteous anger from Christian communities, preserving them from
4
5 the plague at a time close to the millennial end-time.
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For Peer Review

Abbreviations

APP	<i>Ars Praedicandi ad populum</i>
ARV	Arxiu del Regne de València
MVC	<i>Meditationes Vitae Christi</i>
PL	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
SEMYR	Seminario de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas
VC	<i>Vita Christi</i>

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For Peer Review

Table I: Comparison of Villena's *Vita Christi*, Tuesday sermon with Joan Rois de Corella's *Lo segon* and *Lo terç*

Villena VC: 24 maledictions (II, 195-96), Ch. 139	Roís de Corella. Com increpa als fariseus, II, Ch. 35 (fol. 102r)	Roís de Corella, Dels constitucions dels fariseus contra los manaments de Déu, II, Ch. 47	Roís de Corella. Dels fariseus hi doctors quels devien seguir en la doctrina e no en la vida, III, Ch. 35 (fol. 121r)	Roís de Corella, III, ch.34 De aquells aui es deguda la consolació (BH Inc 101 [2])
Intro. Sabeu què és lo que diu aquest profeta que us atenyerà	Intro. O fariseu ypocrit neteja primer el teu cor (fol. 102v)	Intro. Los doctors de la ley que stimaven tenir perfecció hi los fariseus en santedat de vida (fol. 139r)	Comença lo Senyor sa preycació en semblants paraules: en la cadira de Moyses ab auctoritat de jutjar segueren (fol. 121v)	[...] per lo contrari en aquest capitol als ypocrits que la sua evangelica ley trenquen [...] huyt vegades les diure que maledicció significa
1. Sereu catius de tota nació				
2. Lo diable sera lo duc e guiador vestre portant-vos de mal en peor ab extrema cegüedat d'enteniment	7. hi cegats per la sua malicia aquesta clau amagaren (fol. 103v)	5.Cechs hi guia de cechs. La ceguedat sua porta en error los altres (fol. 140r)		
3 sereu condempnats a perpetual mort e servitut			b) de grant pena es digne lo doctor que peca, contra la ley que preycia (fol. 121v)	
4. tota la oració sera convertida en peccat				
5. la senyoria vostra durara molt poch				1.primeraent los increpa de superbia et avaritia (Somni image 243)
6. us sera levada la dignitat del sacerdocí				
7. d'aquí en avant los fills de la sinagoga seran dits òrfens				

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47	8. la vostra sinagoga sera prestament viuda				
	9. sereu lançats de la propia terra				
	10. sereu fugitiu per tot lo mon				
	11. en vituperi continu sera la vida vostra				
	12. sereu tan donats e guanyats usuaris, que sereu depullats de vostres mal guanyades riqueses				
	13. altri poseyerà e destroyrà lo per vosaltres[...] guanyat				
	14. sens misericòrdia sereu tractats per tots aquells que haveu a contractar				
	15. vostres fillets, posats en necessitat, no trobaran qui'ls haveu pietat				
	16. en tanta disminució e aterrament vendreu que nengú ab veritat no sabra dir de quin trib es				
	17. los fills vostres [...] seran vituperats e confusos per devallar				

de la maliciosa generació vostra				
18. no solament tendreu lo peccat de la mia mort: ans ne tendreu un altre sobre aquell: que sperareu tostemps lo Messies, e per cobrar la vostra oradura, fareu falsiosos los prophetes	5. si fossen stats en los temps en que los pares uiuen, no foren stats morts los prophetes: hi ells molt mes cruels e nefandíssims que los pares persiguen hi finalment mataren lo senyor (fol. 103v). 6.Reprén los après el senyor que falsament exponien la sacra scribtura (fol. 103v)			
19. sou e sereu enemichs de Déu		1.Aquest poble ab los labis me honra però lo seu cor luny es de mi (fol. 140r)	a)Si tu preycas e vius en mala vida a Déu mostres com te condampne	
20. la memòria de vosaltres en tot be e virtut es delida	3.plens d'iniquitat, avaricia hi altres peccats inmundes; hi los manaments de Déu obliden			
21. la memòria de vosaltres en tot be e virtut es delida	1.los fariseus mundaven les exteriors inmundicies (fol. 102v)	2.Ypocrits nefandíssims molts solicits dels exteriors mundicies i poch de les interiors malícies (fol. 139v)		Setenament [...] semblants son a les blancs nets reparats sepulchres que molt gentils se demostren a la part defora e dins plens d'ossos morts e de grans inmundicies (247)
22 haveu avorrida benedictió e atesa maledictió	3.plens d'iniquitat, avaricia hi altres peccats inmundes; hi los manaments de Déu obliden	3.Ells son plens d'iniquitats sceleratíssimes (fol. 139v)		

23. Sereu axi complits de tota natura de mals que cascuna part vis cenyiran axí com una corretja que tostemp portareu cenyida		4.Dissimuladament hi ab mala intenció fan totes les sues obres (fol. 139v)		
24. las maledictions vostres seran intrínseques e foranes e vos cubriran del cap fins als peus com una vestidura dolorosa	4.maledicció sera a vosaltres fariseus qui voleu les primeres cadires (fol. 103r)			
		6.Portauen enganats los pobles (fol. 140r)		
				Segonament los increpa de gola (Somni image 244)
				Terçament los increpa de treball inutil e malicia (244)
				Quartament los argueix de fraudulent follia (245)
				Quintament lo senyor los increpa de perea e negligencia (245)
				Sisenament lo senyor los increpa de simulació e de falsa (246)
				Huyenament los argueix lo senyor que son fills de homicides y semblants a los pares (247)

Table II: Comparison of Villena's *Vita Christi* with Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*

Villena VC: 24 maledictions (II, 195-96), Ch. 139	Ludolph De increpatione Pharisaeorum II, Ch. LXXV, p. 330)	De traditionibus Pharisaeorum, etiam contra Dei mandatum Ch. LXXXVIII (II, 376)	Ludolphus, Ch. XXXVII (II, 524) De Scribis et Pharisaeis in doctrina audiendis, sed non in vi e maliciata imitandis	Ludolphus, Ch XXXVIII (II, 528) Quibus debetur Vae aeternum
Intro. Sabeu què és lo que diu aquest profeta que us atenyerà	Intro. Sed, o Pharisaeae, munda prius quod intus est (p. 331)	Intro. Quia vero Scribae qui putabant se habere perfectionem vitae, et Pharisaei qui simulabant se habere perfectionem vitae (II, 376)	Locutus est ergo ad eos instruens, et docens Scribarum et Pharisaeorum doctrinam audiendam, sed eorum vitam non imitandam (III, 525)	Ipsis Scribis et Pharisaeis inobedientibus comminatur vae maledictionis et in omnibus effectibus hypocrisis hanc dictionem vae proponit, quae maledictionem significat.
1..Sereu catius de tota nació				
2.Lo diable sera lo duc e guiador vestre portant-vos de mal en peor ab extrema cegüedat d'enteniment	7. sed ipsi malitia excaecati hanc clavem abstulerant (fol. 103v)	5.Caecus autem ut praelatus, si caeco, ut subdito, ducatum praestet in regimine aliorum, quia alios in foveam cadunt (II, 377)		Sed postea per invidiam caecati perdiderunt et in errorem conversi sunt. (II, 529)
3.sereu condempnats a perpetual mort e servitut			b) Bene docere et male vivere, non est aliud quam se sua lingua damnare (II, 525)	
4.tota la oració sera convertida en peccat				
5.la senyoria vostra durara molt poch				1.Redarguit eos de superbia et avaritia (II, 528)
6.us sera levada la dignitat del sacerdocí				
7.d'aquí en avant los fills de la sinagoga seran dits òrfens				

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3	8.la vostra sinagoga sera			
4	prestament viuda			
5	9.sereu lançats de la propia			
6	terra			
7	10.sereu fugitiu per tot lo			
8	mon			
9	11.en vituperi continu sera la			
10	vida vostra			
11	12.sereu tan donats e			
12	guanyats usuaris, que sereu			
13	depullats de vostres mal			
14	guanyades riqueses			
15	13.altri poseyerà e destroyrà			
16	lo per vosaltres[...] guanyat			
17	14.sens misericòrdia sereu			
18	tractats per tots aquells que			
19	haveu a contractar			
20	15.vostres fillets, posats en			
21	necessitat, no trobaran qui'ls			
22	haveu pietat			
23	16.en tanta disminució e			
24	aterrament vendreu que			
25	nengú ab veritat no sabra dir			
26	de quin trib es			
27	17.los fills vostres [...] seran			
28	vituperats e confusos per			
29	devallar de la maliciosa			
30	generació vostra			
31	18.no solament tendreu lo	5.Prophetarum dolentes et		
32	peccat de la mia mort: ans ne	dicentes quod si fuissent in		
33	tendreu un altre sobre aquell:	diebus patrum suorum,		
34	que sperareu tostemp lo	monument Prophetarum		
35	Messies, e per cobrar la	quos occiderunt patres,		
36		eorum per hypocrisim et		
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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16	vostra oradura, fareu falsiosos los prophetes	non ex pietate [...] sed ipso opere testificabantur quantum paternae nequitiae consenserint persequendo Christum Dominum Prophetarum eis promissum (p. 333). 6.redarguit Legisperitos condemnando eos de prava et perversa Scripturarum expositione (II, 333)		
17 18 19 20 21 22 23	19.sou e sereu enemichs de Déu		1.populus hic labiis me honorat cor autem longe est a me (II, 377)	Tamen obligatus est ad legem implendam, et graves punietur a Deo, si fecerit contrarium, quia transgressio ejus est propter scandalum (III, 525-26)
24 25	20.la memòria de vosaltres en tot be e virtut es delida			
26 27	21.haveu avorrida benedictió e atesa maledictió			
28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37	22 las maledictions vostres seran intrínseques e foranes e vos cubriran del cap fins als peus com una vestidura dolorosa			7. demonstrat hoc idem per exemplum sepulchrorum, ut quomodo sepulchra dealbata calce levigata sunt forinsecus et ornata marmoribus [...]; intus vero plena sunt ossibus mortuorum
38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47	23 axí com no haveu peccat per ignorància, sinó per sola malícia, tendreu continuat	1.quia de munditia exterior in vasis et corporibus suis errant multum solliciti [...] et	2.per istos etiam multum sollicitos de exteriori et modicum de interiori,	

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12	remordiment de consciència, e per la enormitat del vostre peccat, no-l gosareu confessar, ans lo defensareu contra tota consciència e juhí de rahó	demunditia interior ipsius mentis negligentis (p. 331)	signantur hypocritae et simulati (II, 376)		
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	24. Sereu axi complits de tota natura de mals que cascuna part vis cenyiran axí com una corretja que tostemps portareu cenyida	3.intus pleni avaritia et iniquitate, aliisque inmunditiis multfarie ac legem Dei postponentes (331)	3.et ex cogitationibus malis, mali actus, et verba procederunt ulterius, homicidia, adulteria, fornications, furta, mala testimonia, blasphemiae [...]. Dolus, [...] impudicitia (II, 377)		
23 24 25		4.vobis Pharisaeis qui diligitis primas cathedras in Synagogis (p. 332)			
26 27 28 29 30 31			4.omnia haec mala, et hujusmodi transgressiones praeceptorum Dei, et ab intus a corrupta voluntate procederunt (II, 377-78)		
32 33 34 35			6.Cum pastor per abrupta vitiorum graditur consequens est ut grex in praecipitium ducatur (II, 377)		
36 37 38				Amant primos recubitus, et sedes in coenis [...] ratione gulae	2Redarguit eos de gula et, gastrimargia (II, 528)
39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47					3Redarguit eos de inane labore (II, 528)

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				4.Redarguit eos de stultitia et fraudulentia [...] decipiebant populum (II, 529)
				5.Redarguit negligentiam, et segnitiem quam habebant circa magna et utilia, ad salutem animarum pertinentia (II, 529)
				6.Arguit eos simulationis et mendacii, quia plus curabant lavare sordes exteriores quam interiores II, 530
				8.Arguit eos filios esse homicidarum (II, 531)

For Peer Review

Table III: Comparison of Villena's *Vita Christi* with Nicholas's *Love's Mirror*

Villena VC: 24 maledictions (II, 195-96), Ch. 139	Nicholas Love, <i>Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ</i>
Intro. Sabeu què és lo que diu aquest profeta que us atenyerà	Intro. Bot for als miche as it were longe processe to trete in speciale of all þe matere þat tyme bytwixt oure lorde and þe Jues (Ch. 38, Sargent 1992: 143)
1. Sereu catius de tota nació	
2. Lo diable sera lo duc e guiador vestre portant-vos de mal en peor ab extrema cegüedat d'enteniment	
3 sereu condempnats a perpetual mort e servitut	
4. tota la oració sera convertida en peccat	
5. la senyoria vostra durara molt poch	
6. us sera levada la dignitat del sacerdocí	
7. d'aquí en avant los fills de la sinagoga seran dits òrfens	
8. la vostra sinagoga sera prestament viuda	
9. sereu lançats de la propia terra	
10. sereu fugitius per tot lo mon	
11. en vituperi continu sera la vida vostra	
12. sereu tan donats e guanyats usuaris, que sereu depullats de vostres mal guanyades riqueses	
13. altri poseyerà e destroyrà lo per vosaltres[...] guanyat	

14. sens misericòrdia sereu tractats per tots aquells que haveu a contractar	
15. vostres fillets, posats en necessitat, no trobaran qui'ls haveu pietat	
16. en tanta disminució e aterrament vendreu que nengú ab veritat no sabra dir de quin trib es	
17. los fills vostres [...] seran vituperats e confusos per devallar de la maliciosa generació vostra	
18. no solament tendreu lo peccat de la mia mort: ans ne tendreu un altre sobre aquell: que sperareu tostemps lo Messies, e per cobrar la vostra oradura, fareu falsiosos los prophetes	
19. sou e sereu enemichs de Déu	
20. la memòria de vosaltres en tot be e virtut es delida	
21. haveu avorrida benedictió e atesa maledictió	
22. las maledictions vostres seran intrínseques e foranes e vos cubriran del cap fins als peus com una vestidura dolorosa	
23. axí com no haveu peccat per ignorància, sinó per sola malícia, tendreu continuat remordiment de consciència, e per la enormitat del vostre peccat, no-l gosareu confessar, ans lo defensareu contra tota consciència e juhí de rahó	
24. Sereu axi complits de tota natura de mals que cascuna part vis cenyiran	

axí com una corretja que tostemps portareu cenyida	
	1. Pride
	2. Ypocresie
	3. Coveitise and oper wikked condicions of hem

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Comparison of Villena's *Vita Christi* with curses from Psalm 109 (and Roís de Corella's Ps.108, *Psaltiri*), Deuteronomy 28 and the *Tenebrae* in a fifteenth-century breviary

Villena VC: 24 maledictions, II, Ch. 139	Ps. 109: 6-20	Roís de Corella, <i>Psaltiri</i> , pp. 301-03 (Ps. CVIII, 6-20)	Deuteronomy 28	Breviarium (1489)
Intro. Sabeu què és lo que diu aquest profeta que us atenyerà			Intro. If you do not keep and observe all his commandments and laws... all these curses will befall you (28:15)	
1.Sereu catus de tota nació			You will father sons and daughters but they will not belong to you , since they will go into captivity (28:42)	(c) Parvuli eius ducti sunt in captivitate
2.Lo diable sera lo duc e guiador vestre portant-vos de mal en peor ab extrema cegüedat d'enteniment				
3.sereu condempnats a perpetual mort e servitut	At his trial may he emerge as guilty (109:7)			
4.tota la oració sera convertida en peccat	Even his prayers construed as a crime (109:7)	La seue oració sia feta en peccat		(e)peccatum peccavit Ierusalem
5.la senyoria vostra durara molt poch	May his life be cut short, (Ps.109:8)	Sien fets poch los seus dies		
6.us sera levada la dignitat del sacerdocí	Someone else take over his office (109:8)	e lo bisbat de aquell , prenga'l alter		
7.d'aquí en avant los fills de la sinagoga seran dits òrfens	His children be orphaned (109:9)	Sien fets los seus fills òrfens		
8.la vostra sinagoga sera prestament viuda	His wife be widowed (109:9)	e la sua muller vídua		(a) Sedet sola civitas; facta est quasi vidua domina gentium
9.sereu lançats de la propia terra	Driven from the ruins of their house (109:10)	b.E sien lançats de seues habitacions		

10. sereu fugitiu per tot lo mon	May his children wander perpetually (109:10)	a. tremolants e temerosos sien transportats los fills de aquell e mendiquen		(b) Migravit Iuda propter afflictionem et servitatem; habitavit inter gentes et non inveniat requiem
11. en vituperi continu sera la vida vostra			Yahweh will send a curse on you (28:20)	
12. sereu tan donats e guanyats usuaris, que sereu depullats de vostres mal guanyades riqueses		scondriye e cerque lo logrer tota la substància de aquell	You will never be anything but exploited and plundered (28:29)	
13. altri poseyerà e destroyrà lo per vosaltres[...] guanyat	A creditor seizes all his goods and strangers make off with his earnings (109:11)	E los stranys en diverses maneres arrapen béns de aquell	The foreigners living with you will rise higher and higher at your expense (28:43)	
14. sens misericòrdia sereu tractats per tots aquells que haveu a contractar			You will be the byword, the laughing stock of all the people (28:37)	
15. vostres fillets, posats en necessitat, no trobaran qui'ls haveu pietat	May there be none left faithful enough to show him love, no one take pity on his orphans (109:12)	No-s trobe algú que li ajude, ni sia qui haja misericòrdia als pobils de aquell		(F) omnis populus eius gemens et querens panem
16. en tanta diminució e aterrament vendreu que nengú ab veritat no sabra dir de quin trib es		Sien fets los fills de aquell per a la mort; en una generació sia ras de memòria lo nom de aquell		
17. los fills vostres [...] seran vituperats e confusos per devallar de la maliciosa generació vostra	May Yahweh never forget the crimes of his ancestors and his mother's sins not be wiped out (109:14)	La iniquitat dels pares de aquell torne en recordació en lo conspecte del Senyor, e lo peccat de sa mare no sia ras, ans romanga scrit per a venjança		
18. no solament tendreu lo peccat de la mia mort: ans ne tendreu un altre sobre	He had no thought of being loyal but hounded the poor	Per ço que non fos recordat lo dit poble de fer		

1 2 3 4 5 6 7	aquell: que sperareu tostemps lo Messies, e per cobrar la vostra oradura, fareu falsiosos los prophetes	and needy to their death (109:16)	misericordia, e ha perseguit l'ome freturós e mendicant		
8 9 10 11	19 sou e sereu enemichs de Déu	Let this be the salary Yahweh pays the accusers who blacken my name (109:20)	Sien tostemps contra lo Senyor		
12 13 14 15 16	20 la memòria de vosaltres en tot be e virtut es delida	May Yahweh keep these constantly in mind to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth (109:15)	E desaparegua de la terra la memòria de aquells		(d) recordata est Ierusalem dierum afflictionis
17 18 19 20	21 haveu avorrida benedictió e atesa maledictió	He had a taste for cursing, let it recoil on him! No taste for blessing, let it never come his way! (109: 17)	Ha amat maledicció, e vendrà-li; e no ha volgut benedicció, e lunyar-se ha de ell		
21 22 23 24 25 26	22 las maledictions vostres seran intrínseques e foranes e vos cubriran del cap fins als peus com una vestidura dolorosa	Cursing has been the uniform he wore; let it soak into him like water, like oil right into his bones	E ha's vestit la maledicció axí com a vestiment; hi és entrada axí com aygua en les entràmenes de aquell, e axí com oli en los seus ossos		
27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36	23 axí com no haveu peccat per ignorància, sinó per sola malícia, tendreu continuat remordiment de consciència, e per la enormitat del vostre peccat, no-l gosareu confessar, ans lo defensareu contra tota consciència e juhí de rahó				
37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47	24. Sereu axi complits de tota natura de mals que cascuna part vis cenyiran axí	Let it be as a robe which envelopes him completely, a sash which he always wears (109: 19)	Sia feta en ell la maledicció axí com a vestiment del qual se cobre e axí com a correja		

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4	com una corretja que		de la qual és tostemps	
5	tostemps portareu cenyida		cenyit (p. 302).	
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