

FRANCISCO DE OSUNA'S "NORTE DE LOS ESTADOS" IN MODERNIZED SPANISH



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Frontispiece (overleaf): Child Jesus, framed by the sun, holding a carpenter's square and the orb and cross, frontispiece of the second edition of Francisco de Osuna's *Norte de los estados: en que se da regla de vivir a los mancebos y a los casados, y a los viudos, y a todos los continentes...*, Burgos: Juan de Junta, 1541. Inc370(I). Colección Borbón-Lorenzana. Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha. Reproduced courtesy of Spain's Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte.

FRANCISCO DE OSUNA'S “NORTE DE LOS ESTADOS” IN MODERNIZED SPANISH

**A PRACTICAL GUIDE
TO CONJUGAL LIFE IN
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE**

Edited by
DANA BULTMAN

ARCHUMANITIES PRESS

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AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

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ISBN (print): 9781641893695

e-ISBN (PDF): 9781641893701

www.arc-humanities.org

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

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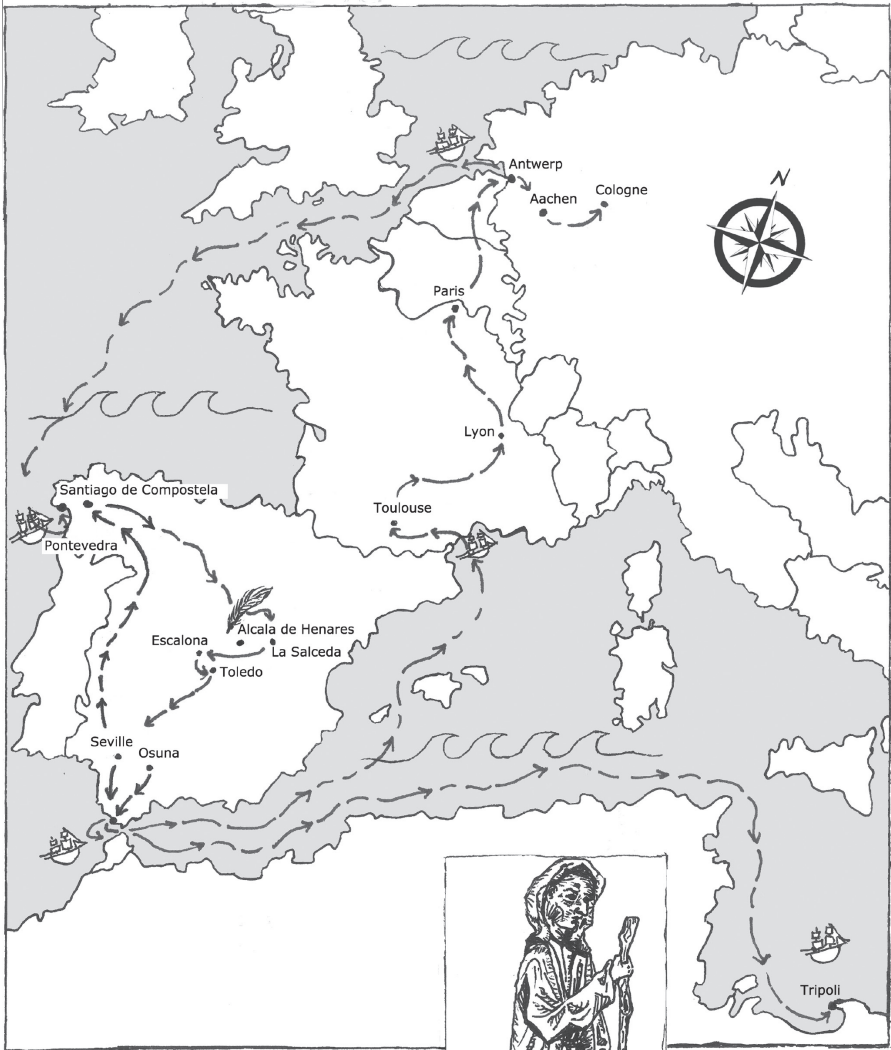
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I BELIEVE FRANCISCO de Osuna would be delighted that his *Norte de los estados* is back in print and newly available some five centuries after he first wrote it. I would like to thank Anna Henderson for her patience and expert advice as editor, and Paloma Gil Quindós for her careful and insightful copy-editing of Osuna's Spanish text. Great thanks are owed to the Willson Center of Humanities and Arts, the Franklin College at the University of Georgia, and Stacey Casado, head of the Department of Romance Languages, for their support in bringing this edition to fruition. My colleagues here in medieval and early modern studies are truly a marvellous group. This work has benefited greatly from the wise advice in particular of Betsy Wright, Jan Pendergrass, Catherine Jones, Noel Fallows, and Fran Teague, for which I am very appreciative. At key moments I also was able to count on the expertise of colleagues in the field who generously answered my out-of-the-blue queries. My thanks go to Michael Solomon, Anne J. Cruz, Julian Arribas, Lu Ann Homza, and to many others for their valuable insights. Graduate student Megan Mavity's meticulous work tracking down Osuna's sources was a fantastic boon, while Jack Bamford's deep interest in Osuna's sermons many years ago was an important inspiration. Friends and family contributed in a multitude of ways to the completion of this project as well, especially my sister Dara, who can gently push me in the right direction at the right time, and my father David. Finally, for providing a bright "north star" of counsel and companionship without fail for me, and for our children Eliot and Guillermo, this book is dedicated to Javier Zapata Nevado.



Francisco de Osuna's travels.
Map by Ana Sherer-Estévez.

CHRONOLOGY OF FRANCISCO DE OSUNA'S LIFE

- ca. 1492** Born in Osuna, province of Seville, in the service of the Counts of Ureña
- 1510** Participates in the Spanish capture of Tripoli led by Pedro Navarro on July 24–25
- 1510–1513** Journeys to Santiago de Compostela at some point during these years
- 1513** Professes as a member of the Friars Minor of the Regular Observance
- 1514** Begins eight years minimum of Scholastic study, likely in Castile
- 1522** Ordained, likely at the University in Alcalá after studying theology there
- 1523** Resides at the monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Salceda, province of Guadalajara
- 1526–1528** At some point during these years stays at the court of the Duke of Escalona; publishes the *Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual* in Toledo in 1527
- 1528–1531** Resides in Seville to oversee the publication of the *Primera parte del Abecedario espiritual* (1528), *Segunda parte del Abecedario espiritual* (1530), *Ley de amor y cuarta parte del Abecedario espiritual* (1530), *Gracioso convite* (1530), and *Norte de los estados* (1531)
- 1532–1533** Is present in Toulouse for the General Chapter meeting of the Franciscan Order and publishes *Sanctuarium Biblicum* (1533)
- 1533** After a brief stay in Lyon, arrives in Paris and publishes *Pars meridionalis* (1533)
- 1534–1536** Resides in Antwerp; publishes *Expositionis super missus est / Alter sermonun liber* (1535), *Trilogium evangelicum* (1536), and *Pars occidentalis* (1536); also travels to Cologne, entering Germany through Aachen
- 1536–1537** Returns to Spain through the port of Vigo or La Coruña and travels to Pontevedra to visit the tomb of Friar Juan de Navarrete
- ca. 1540** Dies in an unknown location in Spain
- 1542** *Quinta parte del Abecedario espiritual* is published posthumously in Burgos
- 1554** *Sexta parte del Abecedario espiritual* is published posthumously in Medina del Campo
- 1559** *Gracioso convite* is included by Spanish Inquisitor Fernando de Valdés on his *Index librorum prohibitorum*, appearing as *Convite gracioso*

INTRODUCTION

WHEN FRANCISCO DE Osuna published *Norte de los estados* in 1531 his career as a spiritual writer was on the rise. He was living in Seville then, intensively producing didactic works for a wide audience, poised to become a well-known religious author in Europe. A Franciscan friar from Andalusia, Osuna had begun circulating his work via the printing press four years earlier. His first book, the mystical treatise *Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual* [*The Third Spiritual Alphabet*], appeared in print in Toledo in 1527. With it Osuna made the Franciscan meditative practice of recollection, or *recogimiento*, available to a broad reading public and established his reputation as a spiritual guide. In this meditative practice the reader could gain wisdom through study and introspection, Osuna taught, and perhaps reach the ultimate goal of directly experiencing the emanation of divine love. His *Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual* would become his best-known work and have a deep and lasting impact on Catholic mysticism.

During his lifetime Osuna was to gain widespread fame, penning a total of eight books in Spanish that appeared in twenty-eight editions across Spain in Toledo, Seville, Burgos, Valladolid, Medina del Campo, and Zaragoza.¹ Some of these vernacular works were then translated and published abroad in Italian, German, and Latin. Moreover, he would go on to author five books of sermon material in Latin before his death around 1540. These he published in Toulouse, Paris, and Antwerp from 1532 to 1536, during which time he travelled through France and then resided in the Netherlands. They were printed in at least sixteen editions in the early modern period and reached clergy throughout Europe and in the Americas.

As one of the earliest dialogues in Spanish, Osuna's *Norte de los estados* is an invaluable resource for understanding conjugal life in the sixteenth-century popular imagination. It depicts conversations between two characters, Father Osuna and the layman he advises, Villaseñor, from Villaseñor's youth through his adult life. My purpose in producing the first modern edition of this work is to recover its reformist and extraordinary vision of marriage.² This edition will provide specialists and general readers ready access to Osuna's text in modernized Spanish, while also offering a two-fold critical contextualization of it: both in relation to the author's mystical practice and to other major works on the theme of marriage at the time. The full title, *Norte de los estados en que se da regla de vivir a los mancebos, y a los casados, y a los viudos, y a todos los continentes* [*North Star of Ranks in which Rules for Life are Given to the Young, Married, Widowed, and All Virtuous People*] makes clear its purpose as a reference for readers considering

¹ For a detailed discussion of all known editions of Osuna's works see Mariano Quirós García, *Francisco de Osuna y la imprenta (Catálogo biobibliográfico)* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2010), 51–197. See also Rafael Pérez García, *La imprenta y la literatura espiritual castellana en la España del Renacimiento, 1470–1560* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2006), 310–14.

² There are no previous modern editions. A reprint of the 1541 edition has recently been published with no supplemental editorial intervention; see Francisco de Osuna, *Norte de los estados* (La Coruña: Editorial Órbigo, 2013).

marriage or already of wedded status.³ True to its name, it was intended as a 'north star' to dependably guide people through the challenges of youth, married life, and widowhood. Among the era's conduct manuals on the subject of Christian life, it is distinctive for its inclusivity of readers across a range of social positions and for its close attention to women's experiences. As an early example of the dialogue genre in Spanish, Osuna's text stands out for the intimate window it offers into confessional relations and the ways that members of the clergy shaped lay people's domestic experiences.

Throughout the pages of this introduction, I argue that *Norte de los estados's* most exceptional feature is its focus on fidelity between spouses. Osuna views this as the principal purpose and spiritual benefit of marriage; he emphatically places it above the requirement to produce children and other material or economic concerns. I also contend that the work is a leading example of a Spanish reformist response to Martin Luther's influence. While Osuna received a Scholastic education and was concerned with the Franciscan tradition of pastoral care in which he was trained, he also wrote moral theology as a reform-minded friar aware of new humanist textual practices. With this book he defends the value of married life while at the same time distinguishing his position from Luther's by insisting on matrimony's sacramental status and a high regard for monasticism. It was the friar's last publication in Spanish before he refused a prestigious post in the Indies as Franciscan commissary general and left his country to travel north. After this he began publishing in Latin in order to better engage in contemporary religious debates in Europe.

The first edition of *Norte de los estados* was published by Bartolomé Perez in Seville in 1531. After Osuna's death around 1540 his guide to conjugal life appeared in print twice more. Juan de la Junta published the work in Burgos in 1541, correcting the few mistakes in orthography and biblical references in the 1531 *princeps* and substituting one sentence at the beginning of the dialogue. That text was reprinted in 1550. My edition is based on the 1531 text, with the 1541 variants included in the footnotes. The Seville and Burgos editions of *Norte de los estados* coincided with the period rich in Christian humanist dialogues and treatises during the cosmopolitan reign of Charles V that lasted through the 1550s. However, Osuna's model of marriage was well outside the views that were later to become dominant in the Catholic Church. After mid-century, with the ascendancy of Counter-Reformation positions, didactic works of moral theology were suppressed in Spain.⁴ My objective in delineating Osuna's vision of marriage is to make clear the important impact his work had upon subsequent early modern Spanish culture and literature, despite the suppression of reformist views. A member of the Observant branch of the Franciscan Order, Osuna was grounded in his theological training, the

3 Currently there is no English translation of *Norte de los estados*. Mary E. Giles translates Osuna's title into English as *North Star of Ranks*, briefly mentioning the work in her edition. See Mary E. Giles, introduction to *The Third Spiritual Alphabet*, by Francisco de Osuna (New York: Paulist, 1981), 1–37, 9. Nancy van Deusen translates the title as *The Compass of Social Conditions*. See Nancy E. van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly: The Institutional and Cultural Practice of Recogimiento in Colonial Lima* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 10.

4 Jesús Gómez, *El diálogo en el Renacimiento español* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988), 150–51.

European mystical tradition, and the monastic reform movement of Spain. These facts, and the evanescence of his fame as a writer—which we can see rise steadily through the 1530s, peak in the 1540s, and then recede dramatically by the turn of the seventeenth century—might suggest that Osuna's pastoral teachings were a belated product of medieval Scholasticism. Should we assume that his voice simply became unfashionable due to the increasingly sophisticated rhetorical tastes of humanist literary culture in expansion? Such a view, while not wholly inaccurate, would be incomplete. We must also recall the intolerant intellectual climate of Counter-Reformation Catholicism that became pervasive by the middle of the sixteenth century. It suppressed the perspectives of reform-minded Spanish writers and forced their ideals underground, chilling, but not entirely erasing, the influence of their innovations.

Norte de los estados remains one of the most appealing contributions in the genre made by any early sixteenth-century writer, notwithstanding its slight presence in the body of current scholarship on early modern marriage manuals. The work deserves closer attention for its practical focus on common people's lives—and on women's experiences in particular—during the period just before the Council of Trent began in 1545. Osuna energetically sets down values and instruction for his lay readers. Throughout his text he is forward-looking in surprising ways, at times opposing the narrow definitions of spousal roles that were to become orthodoxy within a few decades when the Council ended in 1563. For this reason, I expect readers of his dialogue on marriage to find the author's voice affable, even admirable, and often singular. In the context of the age he was likely inspired by the general liberatory influence of Dutch humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam, but his tone is more ingenuous than that of the humanist luminary of his day. While Osuna occasionally broaches something akin to Erasmian satirical wit, he does so with considerably less ironic ambiguity. Osuna is candid in *Norte de los estados* and does not presume to speak to an echelon of aristocratic or courtly readers beyond the ranks of his patrons, male and female, among the local Spanish nobility. Accordingly, he combines his reformist perspectives with mystical teachings in ways that are accessible to ordinary readers.

Norte de los estados is a didactic text, straightforward in form and colloquial in language, for anyone seeking knowledge of theological doctrine to inform decisions about daily domestic life.⁵ The friar draws authority from Augustine's treatise *The Good of Marriage* to support his voice, and writes about sexual morality with an open frankness reminiscent of Augustine's own.⁶ While in the twenty-first century we may freely dis-

5 Asunción Rallo Gruss, "El *Norte de los Estados* como diálogo: la catequesis, función primaria del género," *Analecta Malacitana* 15, no. 1–2 (1992): 239–55. One of *Norte de los estados*'s early modern readers was apparently Don Juan de Cisneros y Tagle (d. 1630), an alderman in the town of Carrión who wrote "Es de Don Juan de Cisneros, y Tagle" inside his copy of the 1531 edition, BNE R/1789 (fol. 6v).

6 Augustine's defence of marriage was a foundational text for all Christian authors who took up the subject. Augustine discusses sexual morality in *The Good of Marriage*, as well as in his *On Holy Virginit*y, in the clear and familiar terms appropriate to the openness of his age, directly addressing men, women, married couples, and virgins regarding the moral polemics of their fifth-century context. Osuna refers frequently to both works in *Norte de los estados*. P. G. Walsh addresses the

cuss sexuality and issues of vital concern to all genders without embarrassment, Osuna delved into these subjects in *Norte de los estados* in an era when they were considered unsuitable for a broad public readership. His objective in the work is to pay equal attention to women's perspectives in order to fairly balance his advice. For example, regarding his condemnation of adultery he states "Pues no me diga nadie banderizo ni que favorezco más a los hombres que a las mujeres" (fol. 102r) [Let no one call me biased or say that I favour men more than women].⁷ In addition, at the centre of the text, the Franciscan author offers married couples a twelve-chapter rulebook that corresponds to the twelve chapters of the Rule of St. Francis. This is meant to help people structure married life as a spiritual path: just as friars take vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, Osuna suggests married couples should vow to each other their loyalty, desire to have children, and inseparable union (fols. 88r–89r). These three vows are based on Augustine's familiar three goods of marriage, *proles, fides, and sacramentum* [offspring, fidelity, and mystery], which Osuna places in a non-standard order of importance. In first place he puts fidelity between spouses, and second comes offspring—which he recognizes not all couples will have—with the mystery of the sacred bond in third place.

Without a doubt, Osuna's attempts at impartiality in his treatment of husbands and wives, coupled with his work's perceived indecency in sexual matters, made *Norte de los estados* controversial. For a few decades Osuna did manage to harness the power of print and attain a wide readership, but his conceptualization of marriage was eclipsed by the time the Council of Trent concluded. There were no subsequent editions of the dialogue after its third edition in 1550. Today the work merits careful consideration for its many insights into the messages ordinary Catholics were receiving from a reformist sector of the clergy—in the confessional and from the pulpit—during the relatively permissive and transitional decades before authoritative views were consolidated and expressed in the Roman Catechism of 1566. The animated conversation on marital norms in which Osuna participated defined expectations for women's rights, men's responsibilities, and intimate family relationships. In the historiography of conduct manuals analysis of these issues has been dominated by his much more famous and influential humanist contemporaries, Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives, whose writings in Latin were avidly received and admired in early sixteenth-century Spain. *Norte de los estados* treats much of the same subject matter found in their works and Osuna may have read such texts as Erasmus's *In Praise of Marriage* (1518), *The Institution of Christian Marriage* (1526), and *The Christian Widow* (1529), as well as Vives's *The Education of a Christian Woman* (1524) and *The Office and Duty of a Husband* (1529). In Spain, among the many humanist treatments of the subject, Antonio de Guevara's *Reloj de príncipes* (1529) and, later, Pedro de Luján's *Coloquios matrimoniales* (1550) and Fray Luis de León's *La perfecta casada* (1583) were

discomfort of nineteenth-century scholars with Augustine's openness and the resultant lack of scholarly attention to these works, despite their key importance to Catholic moral theology. A similar phenomenon seems to have contributed to the marginalization of *Norte de los estados*. See P. G. Walsh, foreword and introduction to *De bono coniugali* and *De sancta uirginitate*, by Augustine, ed. and trans. P. G. Walsh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), v, ix–xxxiv.

⁷ Translations of quotations from *Norte de los estados* are my own.

also widely read books that shaped and established the concepts of marriage that would prevail and become conventional in the Counter-Reformation Spanish world.⁸

Eventually, after this period of ferment, women's subservience as wives would be largely reaffirmed across social strata, whereas the definition of husbands' roles would be wrought in ways that strengthened the political voice of an emergent class of educated men.⁹ Amid these discussions, which involved struggles to forge identities and exercise influence, *Norte de los estados* offers an oppositional model based on a distinctive selection of theological source material. While Osuna was aware of humanist trends, his was an effort to renew medieval theology for his age using a familiar register of the vernacular and the dialogue form. His attention to women's spiritual equality and his comparatively open treatment of sexuality in his conceptualization of marriage also participated in an alternative cultural thread that traversed and challenged hegemonic views. These emphases would be developed in the later decades of the sixteenth century and through the seventeenth century, not in the field of moral theology, but rather in early modern works of literary fiction.

Francisco de Osuna's Life and Influence

The precise details of Osuna's itinerant and productive life are hazy. Fidèle de Ros thoroughly researched his life and works, producing a foundational monograph that remains a key source on him today.¹⁰ Much of what has been discussed by scholars about Osuna's biography is not known for certain and comes from the scant information the friar offers about himself scattered through his own writings. Mariano Quirós García provides the most current, accurate, and comprehensive biography, reconstructing it with care by following Ros and uncovering additional facts.¹¹ Quirós views Osuna's relative silence about his life as an intentional opaqueness, in keeping with his Franciscan humility. Born around 1492 in the town of Osuna near Seville, he was from a family that worked in the service of the Counts of Ureña. Little is known about his early life or his parents, who were likely either servants or farm workers. The glimpses Osuna offers into his own childhood are limited to sympathetic anecdotes about the virtues of the 2nd Count

8 For a comparative discussion of Erasmus's and Guevara's works on marriage and Luján's debt to them, see Asunción Rallo Gruss, introducción to *Coloquios matrimoniales* by Pedro de Luján, ed. Asunción Rallo Gruss (Madrid: Anejos del *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 1990), 1–52.

9 Mar Martínez-Góngora, *Discursos sobre la mujer en el humanismo renacentista español. Los casos de Antonio de Guevara, Alfonso y Juan de Valdés y Luis de León* (York, SC: Spanish Literature Publications Company, 1999), 207–15.

10 Fidèle de Ros, *Un maître de sainte Thérèse: le père François d'Osuna, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine spirituelle* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1936). Ros's comprehensive volume offers a detailed biography of Osuna, chapters on each of his eight Spanish works, a chapter on his Latin works, an examination of the meditative practice of recollection, Osuna's influence, and appendices on a variety of fundamental questions. Ros addresses the debated issue of Osuna's class status and concludes he was of common lineage, 645–47.

11 Mariano Quirós García, estudio introductorio to *Abecedario espiritual V y VI partes*, by Francisco de Osuna (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2002), 1:27–41. For additional biographical information, see also Quirós García, *Francisco de Osuna y la imprenta*, 11–20.

of Ureña, Juan Téllez Girón.¹² His early patron's family had been disloyal to the Catholic monarchs, supporting Juana la Beltraneja in the fight for succession to the throne of Castile in the 1470s. Later, Juan's son, Pedro Girón, was a leader in the Revolt of the Comuneros against Charles V in 1520 to 1521. These political issues did not dampen Osuna's allegiance though, and he appreciatively dedicated his second book, *Primera parte del Abecedario espiritual*, to the 2nd Count.

Around the age of eighteen Osuna left his native Andalusia to participate in the military conquest of Tripoli in present-day Libya. Pedro Navarro led the campaign as an attack against Islam in 1510 on July 24–25, the feast of Spain's patron St. James. The battle and sack of the city resulted in a Spanish victory in which thousands were killed and many of the city's inhabitants were captured.¹³ Osuna's exact role at Tripoli is unknown, although he states in a sermon that he was a youth at the time and witnessed the fighting.¹⁴ In the *Quinta parte del Abecedario espiritual* Osuna refers briefly, and critically, to the raping of Muslim and Jewish women by participants in such battles, imitating the voice of an impoverished Spanish soldier who ignored the sixth commandment, "que yo en el saco de Berbería ni perdoné mora ni judía" [in the sack of Barbary I did not spare either the Muslim or Jewish woman].¹⁵ The experience in Tripoli seems to have left Osuna with no desire to pursue further military service. After this, sometime between the years 1510 and 1513, as a young layman he travelled to the pilgrimage city of Santiago de Compostela with a friend. He recounts that although they possessed money, his friend begged for bread outside a monastery and ate it hoping to recover from an illness. While the young Osuna protested, and did not partake of what was meant for the poor, the bread seemed to cure his friend. In retrospect, Osuna reflects the event taught him that generous offerings could have miraculous effects.¹⁶

We know little of exactly when and where Osuna professed as a member of the Order of Friars Minor of the Regular Observance, nor can we be certain of details regarding his education. Ros considered it likely that Osuna studied Latin and rhetoric from 1510 to 1513 in preparation for entering the order in 1513, and that he then continued his studies through 1522 with the requisite year of humanities, three years of philosophy, and four years of theology.¹⁷ As a young man Osuna would have had available the Colegio of Maese Rodrigo de Santaella in Seville, but there is no evidence that he took this opportunity. From his own allusions to his training in his writings, we know Osuna underwent strict physical discipline during his novitiate and received a traditional Scholastic educa-

12 Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 29–31.

13 Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), 85.

14 Saturnino López Santidrián, introducción to *Tercer abecedario espiritual*, by Francisco de Osuna, ed. Saturnino López Santidrián, vol. 2. *Místicos franciscanos españoles* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2005), 9–10.

15 Francisco de Osuna, *Abecedario espiritual V y VI partes*, ed. Mariano Quirós García (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2002), 2:803.

16 Osuna, *Abecedario espiritual V y VI partes*, 2:625–26.

17 Ros, *Un maître de sainte Thérèse*, 30–46.

tion.¹⁸ Opinions also differ as to where he studied and for how long, with the most convincing speculation suggesting a period of study in Castile, most likely at the University at Alcalá, where he would have undertaken advanced courses of theology in Thomism, Scotism, and Nominalism.¹⁹

Alcalá was a centre for humanist activity at the time, since the powerful Franciscan reformer Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros had begun expanding it into the *Universitas Complutensis* in 1499. There Osuna would have encountered Antonio de Nebrija and other humanist scholars working on the Polyglot Bible, as well as made contact with enthusiasts of the writings of Erasmus.²⁰ How can we understand the combination of Scholastic education, humanist trends, and training in meditative recollection in the thought of Osuna and other Spanish Observants of the time?²¹ Histories of Franciscan authors show that theological cross-currents and local contexts were always at work in texts by particular individuals, both before and after the advent of the Franciscan Observant movement in the fourteenth century.²² Beyond their Augustinian affinities and practical theology focused on pastoral care, Franciscan communities and individuals across Europe show diversity and eclecticism. Osuna's own thought draws predominantly from Augustine, as well as Cyprian, and from the Franciscans Bonaventure and Duns Scotus. He also relies on Jerome, Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory the Great, Richard of St. Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Jean Gerson—not theologians necessarily associated with a particularly Franciscan canon, but certainly writers important for the study of mysticism. The thought of the Franciscan William of Ockham is negligible in Osuna's early vernacular works, whereas the voices of the Dominicans Antoninus of Florence and Durandus of St. Pourçain are palpable influences. We can conclude from this that Osuna was a mystical thinker immersed in the Scholastic theological tradition, which was by no means monolithic.

Osuna was critical of aspects of Thomism, but at the same time used Aquinas as one of his foundations. He was reform-minded, denounced luxury and excessive wealth, showed interest in Christian humanism, and displayed skepticism regarding works of literary fiction. The models for preaching and writing from members of his own order that Osuna would have had available are characterized by what Bert Roest describes as the “warnings by medieval Franciscan theologians against undue studies of the pagans, and the necessity to subsume pagan learning to Christian wisdom,” as well as by what

18 Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 32–34.

19 José Juan Morcillo Pérez, introducción to *Primer abecedario espiritual de Francisco de Osuna*, by Francisco de Osuna, vol. 4. *Místicos franciscanos españoles* (Madrid: Cisneros, 2004), xxi–cxv, l. For details on Osuna's studies, see also López Santidrián, introducción, 10–14, and Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 31–32.

20 Bataillon's influential and comprehensive account of Erasmus's reception and impact at Alcalá and in Spain includes references to Osuna's presence and activities; see Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, trans. Antonio Alatorre (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1937, 2nd Spanish ed. 1966).

21 For detailed and comprehensive introductions to the practice of recollection, see Morcillo Pérez, introducción, xxxvi–xlvi, and López Santidrián, introducción, 37–75.

22 Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210–1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

has been generally seen as a “long-standing affinity between mendicant religious ideals and humanist stoic reformism.”²³ Against this mixed background of division and confluence among diverse traditions, Osuna shows a familiarity with the philosophical, medical, historical, and literary texts studied in the Scholastic curriculum. We can also observe strong affinities between Erasmianism and the intellectual and spiritual milieu Osuna would have experienced at Alcalá in the 1520s.²⁴ However, Franciscanism, Erasmian humanism, and popular spirituality were distinct, if cross-fertilizing, cultural currents that appealed to members of different social strata.²⁵ These differences were marked by religious identity, social rank, gender, and unequal access to available educational environments, whether universities, noble courts, local parishes, or homes.

By 1523 Osuna had completed his studies and was living at the monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Salceda in the province of Guadalajara, where he was involved in the extended discussion of meditative recollection with his fellow friars, the elderly teacher Cristóbal de Tendilla and Francisco de Ortiz.²⁶ For his part, Osuna was a firm believer in the value of the instruction he received from his fellow Franciscans. His extensive knowledge of this affective and mystical meditative practice, with its Augustinian emphasis on harmonizing the will and the intellect, must have put him at odds with some aspects of his Scholastic training. Like many Franciscans, Osuna was adverse to the rhetorical dryness of speculative theology and did not wholly agree with the Thomist position that held rationality to be the pre-eminent human faculty. Attention to empirical observation, natural philosophy, and inductive reasoning, as well as a preacher’s interest in persuasive language and memory, run through Osuna’s works. He balances the important role of rationality with a heightened emphasis on human sensorial experiences, virtuous emotions, and practical material concerns.

During this period in his life Osuna came into contact with alleged illuminists Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, Isabel de la Cruz, María de Cazalla, Francisca Hernández, and their followers in the region of Guadalajara. The Inquisition was defining what it considered to be illuminist heresy at the time, and, after some initial arrests, Inquisitor-General Alonso Manrique issued an edict against their supposed practices in 1525 and more arrests

23 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, 169.

24 For an authoritative and clarifying discussion of these cross-currents, see Eugenio Asensio, *El erasmismo y las corrientes espirituales afines: conversos, franciscanos, Italianizantes* (Salamanca: Sociedad de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2000).

25 For Erasmus’s patristic and biblical sources and how these changed through his relationship with Jean Vitrier, a mystically inclined Franciscan who became one of Erasmus’s spiritual advisers, see Charles Nauert, “Desiderius Erasmus,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Stanford: Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2012), plato.stanford.edu/entries/erasmus/.

26 For a discussion of these figures and others in the environment in and around Guadalajara, Alcalá, and Toledo, see Melquíades Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos: nueva visión de la mística española (1500–1700)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1976), 160–75. The monastery of la Salceda is now in ruins; for its expropriation in the nineteenth century during the ecclesiastical confiscations of Mendizábal, see José Luis García de Paz, *Patrimonio desaparecido de Guadalajara: una guía para conocerlo y evocarlos* (Guadalajara: Aache Ediciones, 2003), 67–79.

and trials followed.²⁷ The beliefs associated with those who were targeted for scrutiny as illuminists seemed to Inquisitors to encourage women's unauthorized teaching and leadership, excuse scandalous intimacy among women and male clergy in the guise of holiness, and border dangerously on Lutheranism. Castile had recently experienced the Revolt of the Comuneros in 1520 to 1521, so Charles V and other aristocrats were likely suspicious of lay spirituality in part because they feared a spreading rebellion akin to the peasant revolts of Germany.²⁸ During this conflictive period the Inquisitor-General would defend Erasmus's writings, while at the same time the Inquisition would arrest and process Osuna's peer and fellow friar Francisco de Ortiz in relation to Ortiz's friendship with the female lay spiritual leader Hernández in 1529. However, in that year Osuna was no longer residing at la Salceda.²⁹

At some time during the years 1526 to 1528 Osuna left Guadalajara and went to the province of Toledo to stay in Escalona at the castle of Diego López Pacheco, the 2nd Duke of Escalona and Marquis of Villena. The duke's court at Escalona was an active meeting place for cultural figures such as the humanist writer Juan de Valdés and the popular spiritual figure Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, both of whom were implicated in religious controversy and illuminism.³⁰ The Inquisition's persecution of suspected illuminists from Guadalajara, Toledo, and Valladolid was exerting a chilling effect on lay people's meetings and women's spiritual leadership, and it was also tainting the reputation of the Franciscans at la Salceda.³¹ Such an atmosphere may have encouraged Osuna to seek an itinerant life rather than one of pastoral care in Castile. This context may also have led the López Pacheco family to welcome the association with Osuna, due to his good reputation, as much as Osuna did their protection. Under their patronage he codified the practice of Franciscan meditative recollection and, at the beginning of his career as a spiritual author, Osuna's success and prestige depended on their support. During these creative years, Osuna likely conceived of and wrote his first six books in Spanish concurrently.³² In 1527 his first and now most famous work appeared in Toledo dedicated to the 2nd Duke of Escalona.³³ Then, some time in 1528, Osuna moved to Seville and

27 The bibliography on the Spanish illuminists is extensive. For an introduction to available primary sources and an analysis of the edict and other documents relevant to the persecution of illuminists in the 1520s, see Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006), 80–152.

28 Daniel A. Crews, *Twilight of the Renaissance: The Life of Juan Valdés* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 19–20.

29 Angela Selke, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición. Proceso de Fr. Francisco Ortiz (1529–1532)* (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1968), 62–68.

30 Crews, *Twilight of the Renaissance*, 24–25. See also José C. Nieto, *Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation* (Genève, Droz, 1970), 60n42, 73–74, 74n83.

31 Dana Bultman, *Heretical Mixtures: Feminine and Poetic Opposition to Matter-Spirit Dualism in Spain, 1531–1631* (Valencia: Albatros Hispanófila, 2007), 55–87.

32 Quirós García, *Francisco de Osuna y la imprenta*, 26.

33 For Osuna's publication practices as a writer and reasons for the appearance of the six parts of his *Abecedario espiritual* out of numerical order, with the third part appearing first, see Quirós García, *Osuna y la imprenta*, 21–28. Of Osuna's works, only the *Tercera parte del Abecedario*

started publishing his other vernacular works there. In Seville he oversaw the publication of the *Primera parte del Abecedario espiritual* in 1528, followed by the *Segunda parte del Abecedario espiritual* in 1530, *Ley de amor y quarta parte del Abecedario espiritual* in 1530, and his book on the Eucharist, *Gracioso convite*, in 1530. Osuna's reputation was growing due to these books on meditation and daily spiritual practice. In them he limited his discussion of the illuminist controversy to clarifying and defending his own role, explaining in his prologue to the *Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual* that people had misunderstood how to practise recollection due to lack of clear written instruction. Osuna used that problem to justify the publication of his first book and revisited the controversial issue in his prologue to the *Primera parte del Abecedario espiritual*.³⁴

At Escalona Osuna likely met the younger Diego López Pacheco, who would become the 3rd Duke of Escalona in 1529 upon his father's death, as well as the young Diego's wife Luisa de Cabrera y Bobadilla, heir to the marquisate of Moya. They are the couple Osuna sets up as a model for Christian marriage and to whom he dedicates his *Norte de los estados* in 1531:

Pues como yo por instancia de Magdalena de la Cruz persona tan señalada en nuestros tiempos, determinase de acabar este libro, anduve a buscar entre mí unos muy buenos casados a quien lo intitular, porque libro de matrimonio no se debe dirigir sino a casados, y tales porque con la doctrina del libro reciban el ejemplo de la obra, lean el libro del buen casamiento y miren lo cumplido en vuestras señorías todos los casados, porque no busquen excusa de lo ser. (fol. 5v)

[Because I resolved to finish this book at the behest of Magdalena de la Cruz, such a notable person of our time, I began to look around for a very good married couple to whom to dedicate it, because a work on marriage should be directed to no one but those who are married, and a couple such that, along with the doctrine of the book, all married people might receive an example of the work, read the book of good marriage, and see in your lord and ladyship its accomplishment, so as not to search for an excuse from it.]

In his prologue to *Norte de los estados* Osuna links his work to Magdalena de la Cruz (1487–1560), a Franciscan nun and respected mystic from Cordoba who was favoured by Charles V. Magdalena de la Cruz would go on to be elected abbess of her convent in 1533. The encouragement and inspiration Osuna says this famed nun gave him must have lent cachet to *Norte de los estados* at the time of its first publication.³⁵ Unfortunately in 1543, after Osuna's death, the abbess would lose her status when she confessed during an illness to demonic influences. Her confession and subsequent condemnation to perpetual enclosure may have tainted Osuna's work in the years that followed.

On the first page of *Norte de los estados*, Osuna's name puzzlingly bears the title "comisario general de la Orden de San Francisco. En las provincias de las Indias" (fol. 1r) [Commissary General of the Order of St. Francis in the provinces of the Indies]. The

espiritual has been extensively edited and translated. In English the best translation is Francisco de Osuna, *The Third Spiritual Alphabet*, trans. Mary E. Giles (New York: Paulist, 1981).

34 For a discussion of these defensive clarifications, see Morcillo Pérez, introducción, liii.

35 Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 21–22, 46–47.

circumstances under which he was elected to this position of considerable honour are obscure. Evidence suggests he filled the position only briefly, if at all. Chroniclers of the order Alonso de Torres and Juan de Torquemada reported in the seventeenth century that on May 15, 1535 Osuna was elected to the post of Commissary General in Nice at the meeting of the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order. They write that Osuna believed the job to be incompatible with his work as a spiritual author, so he was excused from it by his superiors to allow him to continue publishing his works.³⁶ This does not explain why Osuna used the title of Commissary General in *Norte de los estados* in 1531, and there is no historical evidence that definitively proves an earlier instance of his election. Fidèle de Ros speculates, following Michel-Ange de Narbonne, that Osuna was selected to sail to the Indies in this role in 1528 at the meeting of Spanish Franciscans in Guadalajara and that he successfully resisted the pressure until he was released from the responsibility in 1535.³⁷

We do know that in 1532 Osuna travelled to Toulouse to attend the General Chapter meeting of the order and that he received permission there to publish his works in Europe from Matthias Weynsen. Weynsen was the warden of the Franciscan monastery in Antwerp and an influential advocate for using the printing press to counter Luther's influence.³⁸ In Toulouse Osuna oversaw the publication of his first work in Latin, *Sanctuarium Biblicum*. He then went on to Lyon for a brief stay in which he was disappointed with the preference of the city's booksellers for dealing solely in expensive books.³⁹ He eventually arrived in Paris in October of 1533 where he published his *Pars meridionalis* within the year.⁴⁰ From Paris, Osuna continued on to Antwerp, where he remained for several years as a productive author, perhaps ministering to Spanish merchants. Antwerp fascinated him, as Quirós has pointed out, noting Osuna's comments in the *Quinta parte del Abecedario espiritual* about hard-working Flemish people, the merchant economy there, and northern Europe's religious heterodoxy.⁴¹ Osuna published the remainder of his Latin works in Antwerp: *Expositionis super missus est / Alter sermonum liber* in 1535, and *Trilogium evangelicum* as well as the very successful *Pars occidentalis* in 1536.

While in Antwerp he seems to have enjoyed travelling to places of interest and remarks that he went to Aachen and saw Charlemagne's tomb, and then on to Cologne, where he visited the shrine of the Three Kings as well as the relics of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins.⁴² Osuna's reputation was at its height now. In the *Quinta parte*

36 Quirós García has worked to uncover the circumstances of this detail in Osuna's biography; my summary here comes from his accounts. See Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 37; Quirós García, *Francisco de Osuna y la imprenta*, 13–18, 14n7.

37 Ros, *Un maître de sainte Thérèse*, 110–17. As Ros points out, Osuna never mentions the post in any of his own works.

38 Quirós García, *Francisco de Osuna y la imprenta*, 18.

39 Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 38.

40 Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 38.

41 Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 38–39.

42 Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 38. Osuna references St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins in *Norte de los estados* in an anecdote that Villaseñor recounts about his wife,

del Abecedario espiritual he mentions that a member of the Roman curia invited him to work in Rome at this time.⁴³ Yet despite the cold and humid winters of Flanders—during which Osuna experienced a painful bout of kidney stones and uncharacteristically requested a feather bed from a rich patron—going to Rome was an unattractive prospect.⁴⁴ Osuna objected to the ambition and corruption he saw in those who sought careers there and Antwerp was more to his liking.⁴⁵ A dynamic hub of Spanish trade and economic expansion when Osuna lived there, Antwerp was entering its second boom and its high point as a prosperous and populous city where “luxury, capital, industrial activity and culture all blossomed together.”⁴⁶ Little evidence has been uncovered to guide us as to the sorts of intellectual contacts that influenced Osuna during these years, other than the clues we find in the content of his works. He likely experienced an atmosphere of relative freedom and innovation compared with his colleagues who stayed in Castile, where the Inquisition continued to persecute alleged illuminists. In 1534 Flanders would have been alive with conversations about Henry VIII and the Church of England’s break with the Catholic Church to facilitate Henry’s divorce from Catherine of Aragon. It was central to humanist cultural currents, as well as a nerve centre of the Sephardic Diaspora, with Vives living in Bruges at the time and Erasmus planning to move to Brabant just before his unexpected death in July 1536.

In the winter of 1536 and 1537 Osuna returned to Spain. Already in poor health, he likely travelled by ship to the port of Vigo or La Coruña. He was completing his last two vernacular works, *Quinta parte del Abecedario espiritual* and *Sexta parte del Abecedario espiritual*, and also considering writing a second part to *Norte de los estados*, never completed, in which he thought to treat the difficulties of marriage at greater length.⁴⁷ Vigo would have given him the fastest route to Pontevedra, where he visited the burial place of Friar Juan de Navarrete at the Franciscan church and convent. There he found a multitude of ailing believers hoping to be miraculously cured of their illnesses by paying homage to Navarrete’s tomb. Fray Juan was known as “el Padre Santo” for predicting in 1520 that an epidemic in Pontevedra would end if the congregation formed a religious society dedicated to the Passion of Christ. An admired preacher during his lifetime, after his death in 1528 Fray Juan’s grave became a pilgrimage attraction. Osuna praises the example of his fellow Franciscan who used his freedom to minister to congregations in Galicia where few others did, and whose burial site continued to provide hope for those who had been devoted to his preaching.⁴⁸

who collaborated with a group of female neighbours to threaten him with a communal beating (fol. 153r).

43 Osuna, *Abecedario espiritual V y VI partes*, 2:577–78.

44 Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 39–40.

45 Osuna, *Abecedario espiritual V y VI partes*, 2:577–78.

46 Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, trans. Siân Reynolds, vol. 3. Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 152.

47 Quirós García, estudio introductorio, 41.

48 Osuna, *Abecedario espiritual V y VI partes*, 2:658–59.

We do not know where Osuna lived near the end of life when he was finishing the *Sexta parte del Abecedario espiritual* for his female patron and reader, Teresa de Zúñiga y Manrique de Lara (ca. 1502–1565), the 3rd Duchess of Béjar and 2nd Marquise of Ayamonte. In his prologue to that work he praises her, not for her considerable wealth, but for her strength of love and devotion:

Éstas son las riquezas y el tesoro que Vuestra Illustrísimas Señoría, según veo, dessea meter sus manos, tan de corazón que me pueda yo admirar con el Sabio y dezir de vos: “¿Quién hallará una muger fuerte? De lexos y de los últimos fines es el precio d’ella.”⁴⁹ No es cosa dificultosa hallar una muger fuerte en las cosas humanas, porque muy fuerte fue Atalía, y Ester, y Judich, y las amazonas; mas, en el caso presente, con dificultad se halla una muger fuerte de aquella fortaleza de la qual dize Salomón en los Cánticos: “Fuerte es el amor assí como la muerte.”⁵⁰

[These are the riches and the treasure that Your Illustrious Ladyship, from what I can see, wishes to have in your hands so ardently that I can marvel with the wise king and say of you, “who shall find a valiant woman? Far and from the uttermost coasts is the price of her.” In human affairs it is not a difficult thing to find a valiant woman, because Athalia, and Esther, and Judith, and the Amazons were all very brave; but in the present case, it is difficult to find a valiant woman of the kind of strength of which Solomon says in the Canticle: “Love is strong as death.”]

In his praise of the duchess, Osuna combines Old Testament female political leaders Athalia of 2 Chronicles 22, and Queen Esther and Judith of the eponymous biblical books, with the Greek Amazons to emphasize that there are many historical examples of women strong in worldly powers.⁵¹ Women like these are not so rare; rather the most difficult-to-find woman is one who understands the power of love and sacrifice. He uses the Old Testament King Solomon, traditionally held to be the author of the Bible verses he cites, to define this virtue. Osuna then goes on to appeal to the memory of the duchess’s late mother and compares married women to Hieronymite monks who hand over their wealth to their prelate, like a woman to her husband, and live a cloistered life of devotion.

The patriarchal requirements that women be subject to their husbands and restrict their public lives permeate didactic works of the time, both secular and religious. Osuna’s works are no exception, although, in the case of Teresa de Zúñiga, the friar’s reference to her subjection and enclosure deserves contextualized examination, especially considering the duchess’s history of legal conflict with her husband, Francisco de Zúñiga

⁴⁹ Prov. 31:10. All biblical citations are from the Douay Version. This verse in Proverbs opens the definition of the rare good wife that runs through Prov. 31:31. Osuna offers an interpretation of the twenty-two verses in *Norte de los estados* when advising Villaseñor on how to choose a wife.

⁵⁰ Prov. 31:10; Song of Sol. 8:6; Osuna, *Abecedario espiritual V y VI partes*, 3:936.

⁵¹ This positive reference to illustrious Old Testament women in conjunction with the Amazons suggests Osuna was familiar with discourses in defence of women that had developed in the wake of Christine de Pizan’s *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Jean Gerson supported Pizan’s arguments, a fact likely known to Osuna since Gerson was a theologian he greatly admired and to whom he frequently refers. The literary phenomenon of the *querelle des femmes* boomed in the sixteenth century and intersected with discussions of marriage.

y Sotomayor, the 3rd Duke of Béjar, over his misuse and depletion of her assets.⁵² Around the time that Osuna left for Spain, Teresa de Zúñiga's husband was in the Netherlands and was a patron of Juan Luis Vives. Vives dedicated his *De anima y vita* (1538) to the 3rd Duke of Béjar, in which he refers obliquely to the duke's personal worries. Thus Vives and Osuna, through their dedications to husband and wife respectively, were witnesses to their matrimonial conflict. As Eleanor Russell recounts:

In 1539, while Francisco attended the *Cortes* convened by the Emperor in the Toledo, Teresa appeared before a scribe of the Emperor in the village of Lepe near Ayamonte. She filed a reclamation against her husband, stating that she had been forced to permit the Duke to sell her property on threat of her life; that he had locked her up, allowing her to speak to no one, nor receive a letter, nor communicate with any person.⁵³

With this in mind, Osuna's dedication to the Duchess could be read as recognition of her claims, as well as an attempt to console her with reassurances about the importance of spiritual values. Although we have no direct evidence, it is possible that Teresa de Zúñiga, a liberated widow after the duke's death in 1544, facilitated the delivery of the manuscript of Osuna's *Sexta parte del Abecedario espiritual* to the press in Medina del Campo on a subsequent trip to Valladolid.

Osuna's respect for female readers and relationship with female patrons is noteworthy and constant throughout his career as an author.⁵⁴ He was sympathetic to the concerns of women, intended his writings to be read by them and, like his humanist contemporaries, encouraged women to study religious works—characteristics that may have attracted the patronage of the 3rd Duchess of Béjar. Without a doubt his most famous reader was Teresa of Avila, the Carmelite reformer, mystic, and admirer of the *Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual*,⁵⁵ although as his much younger contemporary, Teresa never met Osuna in person.⁵⁶ Another female patron, María de Toledo, the first Vicereine of the Indies and wife to Diego Colón, son of Christopher Columbus, was Osuna's dedicatee in the *Segunda parte del Abecedario espiritual*. The friar also addressed women's right to inherit in his prologue to *Norte de los estados*, directing his arguments to the 3rd Duchess of Escalona, Luisa de Cabrera, after stating, as mentioned above, that he wrote the work with Magdalena de la Cruz's encouragement. Moreover, *Norte de los estados* is

52 For comparison with dedications to other women in the period, see Nieves Baranda Leturio, "Women's Reading Habits: Book Dedications to Female Patrons in Early Modern Spain," in *Women's Literacy in Early Modern Spain and the New World*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Rosilie Hernández (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 19–39.

53 Eleanor Russell, "Music in the House of the Third Duke of Béjar," in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow*, ed. David Crawford (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 289.

54 For an overview of women as readers in sixteenth-century Spain, see Anne J. Cruz, introduction to *Women's Literacy in Early Modern Spain and the New World*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Rosilie Hernández, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 1–16.

55 Teresa of Avila's personal copy of Osuna's first book with her marginalia is conserved at the Convent of San José in Avila, Spain. She states she never found a better theological teacher than Osuna's book in chapter 4 of her *Vida*.

56 Teresa of Avila (1515–1582) seems to never have met Fray Luis de León (1527–1591) either, although their lives overlapped and he was the first editor of her works.

replete with lists of exemplary women from Old Testament scriptures, the Gospels, and church history that position Osuna on the side of women in the era's debates over their worth relative to that of men. Osuna had little difficulty recognizing women's ability to lead, their spiritual equality, their importance as patrons, and their rights to inherit and to study within the permitted limits he construed from his interpretation of church doctrine.

Osuna died sometime around 1540, in unknown circumstances and location. Juan de Espinosa, editor and owner of a bookshop in Medina del Campo, came into possession of the manuscript of the *Quinta parte del Abecedario espiritual*, subtitled *Consuelo de pobres y aviso de ricos* [*Consolation for the Poor and Warning to the Rich*], and paid for its publication in Burgos in 1542 by Juan de la Junta. This work's themes of wealth, poverty, and inequality reflect Osuna's experiences in Antwerp and make it his most class-conscious text. Espinosa dedicated the *Quinta parte del Abecedario espiritual* to Antonio de Guevara, the Franciscan friar and Bishop of Mondoñedo famed for his service to Isabel I and Carlos V. Guevara's prestige as the author of highly popular works of moral philosophy, including the aforementioned *Reloj de príncipes*, was used to lend credit to Osuna's work, although Guevara may not have approved of it.

Osuna's treatment of economic realities in the *Quinta parte del Abecedario espiritual*, themes he already touches on in *Norte de los estados*, identifies him as an astute observer and critic of early modern protocapitalism. Espinosa praises Osuna's advice to the wealthy and defence of the poor, announcing the friar's death in the prologue thusly: "En lo qual, a mi parecer, el Padre fray Francisco de Ossuna no deve de tener menos corona en el cielo que acá deve ser loado en la tierra" [In which, to my view, Father and friar Francisco de Osuna must not have less of a crown in heaven than our rightful praise here on Earth].⁵⁷ The *Quinta parte del Abecedario espiritual* was also Osuna's most relevant work for seventeenth-century European publishers, who produced two editions of it in German translation in Munich in 1602 and 1603, as well as a Latin translation in Rome in 1616. The *Sexta parte del Abecedario espiritual*, apparently well revised by Osuna before his death, was published much later, in 1554, in Medina del Campo by the brothers Mateo and Francisco del Canto.

Osuna spent his life attempting to shape Catholic pastoral practice, lay spirituality, and the values of his noble patrons through his written works. During the age in which he lived, Spain was expanding its colonial empire while political power struggles in western Europe were intersecting with humanist and reformist movements. In this atmosphere of debate and instability, Osuna was determined to disseminate the theological and spiritual positions his training and study had afforded him. A member of the generation of Franciscans that opened the period of the great mystical writers of the early modern Spanish world, Osuna built upon the medieval spiritual thought he admired and adapted it for a sixteenth-century audience in an effort to ensure its transmission.⁵⁸ His vernacu-

⁵⁷ Osuna, *Abecedario espiritual V y VI partes*, 3:248.

⁵⁸ These Franciscan contemporaries of Osuna's were Alonso de Madrid, Bernabé de Palma, and Bernardino de Laredo. See Morcillo Pérez, *introducción*, xlvi. Morcillo Pérez's introduction provides a precise and detailed contextualization for understanding the mystical theology of Osuna in relation to that of his fellow Spanish Franciscans.

lar works reached a wide audience in Spain and Spain's New World realms. Meanwhile, his books in Latin reached an international audience throughout the sixteenth century, with *Pars occidentalis* appearing in nine editions and *Pars meridionalis* in four editions. Osuna's Latin sermons were popular reading among clergy who used them to compose their own texts for preaching.⁵⁹ For a few decades his works also served as authoritative pastoral and contemplative reference manuals in the Spanish colonies where Franciscan missions were founded. We can surmise that his spiritual thought and language were transmitted orally from the pulpit and in the confessional by these readers, and made a significant cultural impact that is difficult to trace today due to the ephemeral nature of these cultural forms.

Evidence of the influence of Osuna's texts can be found in the works of Luis de Granada, Bernardino de Laredo, and Juan de los Ángeles, among others.⁶⁰ Osuna's mystical thought and language influenced the works of Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross. Through these authors, Osuna made a durable mark on Franciscan and Carmelite spirituality, as well as on the imagery and symbolism of Baroque lyric poetry in the seventeenth century.⁶¹ Jesús Gutiérrez has made the case that Osuna's criticisms of concepts of honour and lineage in *Norte de los estados* and the *Primera parte del Abecedario espiritual* provide clear literary antecedents for the depiction of the impoverished squire who strives to maintain appearances while secretly going hungry in *Lazarillo de Tormes*.⁶² Miguel de Cervantes also knew *Norte de los estados*, since Sancho's famed judgment as the governor of Barataria in the case of alleged rape in *Don Quijote II*, chapter 27, comes from it (fols. 23v–24r). However, while Osuna's works contributed to subsequent literary fiction, the uneasy cultural atmosphere of post-Tridentine Spain dampened enthusiasm for them. Thus, debts to Osuna in early modern literature are not explicit, and his influence, diffused or underground, is a matter of speculation.

After the Inquisition's persecution of alleged illuminists in the sixteenth century, a considerable distrust of Franciscan affective spirituality remained. Moreover, when the Roman Catechism's definitive statements on how to instruct the laity in the sacrament of marriage appeared in 1566, it would have been undeniable to any reader of *Norte de los estados* that Osuna's unembarrassed discussions of conjugal sensuality and wives' rights were now outside permissible bounds. Osuna's posthumous prestige was dealt a blow in 1559 when the Inquisitor Fernando de Valdés placed *Gracioso convite*, Osuna's treatise on the Eucharist, on his list of prohibited books. Although Valdés inverted the title on the

59 Calvert states that the method of Osuna's indexes to his *Sexta parte del Abecedario espiritual* suggests he knew preachers used his works as source materials: "It is no wonder that his traces appear in the works of his contemporaries and successors, though often without proper credit." Laura Calvert, *Francisco de Osuna and the Spirit of the Letter* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 18.

60 Ros, *Un maître de sainte Thérèse*, 617–41.

61 Bultman, *Heretical Mixtures*, 29–54.

62 Jesús Gutiérrez, "Espiritualidad y estamento social en Francisco de Osuna," in *Santa Teresa y la literatura mística hispánica: Actas del I Congreso internacional*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid, Spain: EDI-6, 1984), 527–33, 531–32.

list as *Convite gracioso* and omitted Osuna's name as author, his gratuitous prohibition of the work for its advocacy of frequent communion—which despite being controversial and associated with illuminism was an orthodox position—must have added to a sense of the friar's tarnished reputation. In New Spain, as a result of Valdes's prohibition of *Gracioso convite*, the Inquisition there scrutinized those who owned works by Osuna. Fernández del Castillo's *Libros y libreros* shows, according to the 1573 list of books by the Inquisitor Bonilla, that volumes of Osuna's six-part *Abecedario espiritual* were then owned by Fray Francisco de Ribera the former Commissary General of the Franciscan Order in New Spain, Fray Pedro de Oros, the priest Francisco de los Ríos, the bookshops of the Franciscan Convents of Xochimilco and Tepeapulco, and six other residents.⁶³

While Osuna's works continued to appear in Europe for a few decades in Lyon, Rome, Venice, and Munich in Latin, Italian, and German translations, in Spain after 1559, with the exception of one edition of the *Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual* published in Madrid in 1638, new editions of his books are nonexistent. Osuna's continuity with medieval sources and aspects of Scholastic rhetoric may also partially explain why later literary authors, if sympathetic to his causes, did not emulate him.⁶⁴ Osuna's theological texts lacked the classical references and aesthetics Spanish readers of the seventeenth century expected and which they continued to admire in Erasmus's works, despite the church's censorship of the Dutch humanist. Hence, by the early 1600s, Osuna's voice lost the prominence it once had and was not recovered again until the turn of the twentieth century.

Scholarship on Osuna was rekindled due to interest in his role as a Franciscan mystical writer. The *Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual* appeared in French translation in 1899, in a modern Spanish edition in 1911, and afterwards in French, Italian, and English translations.⁶⁵ Osuna's first and most famous work has received continuous scholarly attention since then, especially for its relationships to Franciscan and Carmelite spirituality, to mysticism, to the history of Spanish Illuminism, and to Erasmus's influence in Spain. Franciscan historian Fidèle de Ros published his foundational and now classic study of Osuna in 1936. The fourth part of Osuna's six-part spiritual alphabet, *Ley de amor y cuarta parte del Abecedario espiritual*, was re-edited in 1948 and Melquíades Andrés's critical edition of the *Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual* appeared in 1972. These editions were followed in 1973 by Laura Calvert's comprehensive study of all six parts of Osuna's *Abecedario espiritual*, which focuses on their unity, language, mystical

⁶³ Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: AGN, 1914), 471–95.

⁶⁴ See Ana Vicente Sánchez, "Estudio del uso y presencia en Norte de los estados de Francisco de Osuna de un recurso escolar clásico," *STVDIVM. Revista de Humanidades* 16 (2010): 57–76.

⁶⁵ Thomas Merton, the popular American Catholic writer, favourably reviewed the earliest English translation of the *Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual* near the beginning of his own career as a spiritual author. The subsequent revisions in Merton's own *Seeds of Contemplation* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1949), republished as *New Seeds of Contemplation* (New York: New Directions Books, 1961), may suggest a debt to Osuna's mystical thought. See his "Review of *The Third Spiritual Alphabet*, by Francisco de Osuna, trans. a Benedictine of Stanbrook," *The Commonweal* (May 7, 1948): 85–86.

symbolism, use of allegory, and teachings on meditation, after which Mary E. Giles's English translation and edition of *The Third Spiritual Alphabet* appeared in 1981.

Since the 1990s there has been a renewed appreciation for Osuna as a cultural figure in Spain, evident in Saturnino López's edition of the *Tercer abecedario* in 1998, as well as the appearance of critical editions of the lesser read parts of Osuna's six-part *Abecedario espiritual*. Quirós's edition of *Abecedario espiritual V y VI partes* appeared in 2002, and José Juan Morcillo's editions of *Primer abecedario espiritual* and *Segundo abecedario espiritual* appeared in 2004. Quirós, Morcillo, and Rafael Pérez García have made important efforts to correct the history of editions of Osuna's works and to differentiate fact from speculation regarding his biography and the environment in which he wrote.⁶⁶ These more accurate delineations of Osuna's practices as a writer and the reception of his texts, in addition to the new accessibility of his vernacular works, have contributed to a deserved increase in scholarly attention to Osuna in the twenty-first century.

During his lifetime Osuna intended his vernacular books to serve ordinary Christian readers as guides in an age of rapid social change and intense controversy over church reform. *Norte de los estados*, his only dialogue, is a unique text among his works. In it the friar couches controversial content in appeals to human experience. He demonstrates that people require practical models for sensibly discussing and solving their common problems, and instructs readers how to unite the sensoriality of the body with the emotions in the most common situations of daily life. He is well aware that his views are relevant to the concerns of lay Christians, and also that he breaks at times with conventions of decorum. A closer examination of *Norte de los estados* will show that the work provides a wealth of detail regarding concepts of morality, sexuality, gender roles, child-rearing, spousal conflict, and domestic economics.

Norte de los estados: Reception, Genre and Sources, Overview

Reception

Modern scholarship on *Norte de los estados* began with Ros, who viewed it as an interesting adaptation of medieval marriage theories for a popular 1530s audience.⁶⁷ He saw *Norte de los estados* as a testimony to the cultural environment in which Osuna wrote, worthy of note for its attention to education, especially of children by their parents. Subsequent scholars have found differing degrees of originality and value in the work. Gutiérrez argues that Osuna was an astute observer of social stratification and an admirable critic of concepts of honour and prestige, calling Osuna's texts, including *Norte de los estados*, prophetic for how they satirize empty fantasies of lineage and wealth.⁶⁸ Osuna's social descriptions and utopic moral vision, Gutiérrez argues, prepared the

⁶⁶ The number of editions of Osuna's works has been reported with errors in the past. For evidence that the supposed 1554 Seville editions of Osuna's works are non-existent ghost editions, see Pérez García, *La imprenta y la literatura espiritual castellana*, 310n31.

⁶⁷ Fidèle de Ros, "El 'Norte de los estados' du P. Fr. de Osuna," *Bulletin Hispanique* 37 (1935), 460–72. See also his chapter on *Norte de los estados*: de Ros, *Un maître de sainte Thérèse*, 239–78.

⁶⁸ Gutiérrez, "Espiritualidad y estamento social en Francisco de Osuna," 532–33.