Naples as Heterodoxy: Seventeenth-century Female Heresies in Sebastiano Vassalli's *Io, Partenope*

In *Io, Partenope*, published three months after his death, Sebastiano Vassalli (1941-2015) presents the rich fabric of life in seventeenth-century Naples, returning to the century that was at the heart of his best-selling and critically acclaimed novel *La chimera* (1990). In that period Naples was under Spanish rule, and therefore enjoyed a measure of independence from Rome and the Pope. Despite this separation from Rome, the authoritarian and intolerant Church intervenes in the life of Giulia di Marco, "Suor Partenope," to destroy the sect she founded in Naples, whose practices were based on direct communication with God and the experience of a physical religious ecstasy.

The Naples that Vassalli recreates in Io, Partenope seethes. Sections of society, from Spanish noblemen and women to beggars, populate the fetid, stifling streets. Vassalli follows Giulia di Marco - a historical character $(1574/1575 - unknown)^{1}$ - from her miserable childhood in a remote village, Sepino in Molise, from where she was sold as an informal child bride to a traveling salesman, to her rise and fall as the "mother" of her order of devotees. She began her journey as a Franciscan Tertiary before rising to prominence through her claim to guide others in her way of praying, and to help them to find a direct connection to God. She set up a series of "case di preghiera" and enjoyed the society of some of the most prominent of Neapolitan nobility. These activities caught the attention of the Counter-Reformation authorities, and Giulia Di Marco was brought to Rome twice. The first time, she was reprimanded and returned to Naples. The second was much more sinister. She appeared before the Inquisition and was subjected to torture to extract confession of the depraved acts that she had supposedly committed in order to achieve this communion with God and religious ecstasy.

The frame of the novel consists of Vassalli the novelist as a lay confessor, who in the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome where Bernini's St. Teresa of Ávila can be found, hears Suor Partenope's story, which he then writes up as the novel. Bernini's sculpture forms an integral part of the novel, as it represents the church's struggle to contain and rationalize women as they profess their own encounters with God. Bernini, whose life as an artist exists in a collaborative tension with the Vatican, represents the fraught nature of representing female experiences in a masculine system, explored by Lacan, Irigay, and Kristeva among others. A related point tension emerges from the challenge of Naples and its

heterodoxy in defiance of the orthodoxy of Rome. Pierre Bourdieu's discussions of doxa provide a lens through which to consider the way in which Naples's embrace of a range of beliefs and behaviors, superstitions and myths is viewed as heretical by the Vatican.

Vassalli wrote *Io, Partenope* with the knowledge that time was running out as he struggled with cancer. The first-person narrative, spoken in one breath, fits with this need to communicate quickly, resulting in a straightforward account without the intertextuality, paratexts, selfreferentiality, and authorial commentary of many of his other novels. This was the only text that he composed by necessity on a computer – an alien technology to which he preferred his typewriter or pen. Vassalli was intent on exposing the mechanisms and abuses of power and intended to give voice and prominence to female stories. Familiar themes surface in this novel including the origins of an Italian national character, history and the fate of marginalized individuals, and the power of place to shape lives.

Suor Partenope, St. Teresa of Ávila and Bernini

In Io, Partenope, Vassalli places gender relations and problematic femininities at the center of his narrative. Unlike Antonia, the peasant girl accused as a witch in La chimera, Suor Partenope speaks with her own voice and represents an instance of a woman contending actively with the forces that seek to annihilate her. While Antonia acted as a mute representation of the unbending cruelty of the Catholic church, Suor Partenope narrates her own story, facing the Inquisition to emerge physically broken, yet maintaining jurisdiction over her body. Vassalli probes the way in which the church sought to manage the presence of women in the body of the faithful. Continuing his exploration of the plight of witches in La chimera, in this novel he addresses women who more directly challenged the church as well as the practice of forcing women into convents. He explores the consequences of women's expressions of agency over their own lives and the church's rationale in tolerating or suppressing these threats. Vassalli describes the way in which the Vatican views women as fundamentally heretical, and must therefore contrive of ways to contain them, whether in convents, prisons, or in marble.

Just as Manzoni referred to the documents on which he based *I* promessi sposi, Vassalli is certain to account for the origin of his novel. He reports that the main source for the life of Di Marco, located in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, is the *Istoria di suor G. di M. e della falsa dottrina insegnata da lei, dalp. Aniello Arciero e da Giuseppe de Vicariis*,

col reassumo del processo contra di essi, e con la di loro abiurazione seguita in Roma a 12 luglio 1615. Col sommario d'alcune altre eresie che servirà per proemio a quelle di Suor Giulia, scritta da un padre teatino rimasto anonimo. He notes, however, that this document is the most prominent source for Giulia Di Marco's life yet was written by a member of a rival sect (the "teatini"). The source describes her as a nymphomaniac who engaged, along with her congregation, in all manner of depravity.

Giulia Di Marco's confession of her sins and depravations before the Inquisition similarly followed a typical outline of forced confessions made by women accused of being witches that focused on the detailed account of sexual misdeeds (Muraro 1976, 214). Luisa Muraro conducts a feminist re-examination of the underlying motivation for the seemingly irrational, but also certainly keenly felt, fear of witches. In *La chimera*, Vassalli echoes some of these psychological and contextual circumstances: the boredom of village life in the winter; the Counter-Reformation church's desire to impose its authority on rural communities; the need to stamp out any traditional or pagan practices, particularly ones privileging women. Both Muraro and Vassalli conclude that the documented history of witch trials is instructive in exposing the contradictions and the dysfunction at the root of social systems:

> L'evidenza della malignità attaccata al loro corpo, alla loro sessualità, al loro comportamento, è documentata nella letteratura dell'epoca, in particolare nei processi per stregheria; ed è il sintomo sociale di un problema o di molti problemi non risolti. (Muraro 1976, 104)

Official or recorded histories, as recalled by Manzoni and by Vassalli in turn, follow political agendas and reinforce established power structures. Indeed, the phenomenon of women being consigned to convents by their family members either because of economic hardship or a desire to constrain the liberty of women who were not adhering to social norms of modesty and obedience forms a central point of concern in *I promessi sposi* through the figure of Gertrude, and also features in Vassalli's *La chimera*. This *monacazione forzata* is perhaps also society's solution to a superfluity of unmarried women and, as Luisa Muraro notes, is evident in the substantial increase in the number of female orders in this period (1976, 100). Muraro's extensive studies into the lives of female mystics further explores the way in which religious and lay authorities act on the

threat posed by women who demonstrate agency and who express independence and meaning ("significarsi") (1985, 8–9).²

In a deviation from historical accuracy in the novel, in the latter part of her life after her release from the Inquisition and her public penitence, Suor Partenope becomes the household manager of a Neapolitan cardinal's Roman residence. She enters into a close friendship with the sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Vassalli's novel recounts, and elaborates on, the story of Bernini's tempestuous relationship with Costanza Bonarelli, who was in fact the wife of a worker in Bernini's studio and whose likeness remains in Bernini's celebrated bust. The novel makes a bold claim about the relationship between Suor Partenope and Bernini's sculpture of St. Teresa of Ávila. According to the plot of Io, Partenope, Bernini was inspired by a sketch that his father, Pietro Bernini, had made in Naples of Guilia Di Marco for Santa Teresa's expression in his sculpture of St. Teresa of Ávila. Since Bernini did not have a substantial tradition of iconography to reference in his imagining of St. Teresa (Warma 1984, 509), he had greater freedom with the imagining of the ecstasy. This also allowed Vassalli to imagine the origins of his visual references for the sculpture. Indeed, the Neapolitan connection is given as fundamental to the relationship between Bernini and Suor Partenope, as Bernini, who was born in Naples, finds an affinity to the unorthodox character of the city reflected in the life of its mythical namesake. Vassalli suggests that a Neapolitan sense of independence and a tolerance for heterodoxy made its way into the heart of the papacy through Bernini's St. Teresa of Ávila.

Bernini's composition of *The Ecstasy of Saint Theresa*, a leading example of High Roman Baroque, was completed in 1652 in the Cornaro Chapel of Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome. Bernini had been the favorite of the profligate Barberini pope, but when Innocent X became pope, he was free to fulfil commissions for others. The sculpture shows Santa Teresa di Ávila experiencing religious ecstasy with an angel looking on with his spear; she recounted that she experienced her ecstasy as if her body was being pierced by a spear (Teresa 1957, 210). Teresa was a mystical cloistered Discalced Carmelite reformer and nun, who recounted the episode in her autobiography, "The Life of Teresa of Jesus" (1515–1582).

The sculpture itself is a conflation of the issues that were central to religious life in the Seicento and, Vassalli argues, continue to inform contemporary Italian society. Here the thorny issue of the Counter

Reformation church's disinclination to sanctify women or to tolerate them at all in prominent roles in the church comes to the fore, as does the problem of their dangerous sexuality. The question of heresy and heterodoxy is also present in this sculpture. While it can be interpreted as bridal mysticism and the transverberation of Santa Teresa's communion with the divine, the sculpture draws a thin line between the representation of a real, physical, non-sacred ecstasy and spiritual, transcendental ecstasy. The former possibility caused a certain amount of outrage among Counter Reformation hardliners at the time who believed the intrusion of human desire into the church amounted to heresy.

The striking image of St. Teresa in ecstasy that appears all-toohuman, and even violent (Coles 2016, 157) has been the subject of outrage and critical discussion from the time of its unveiling to the present, with recent commentaries from Jacques Lacan, Georges Bataille, Michel de Certeau, Luce Irigay, and Julia Kristeva. Lacan understood the crux of the question about St. Teresa's ecstasy to relate to the function of the phallus and "the whole quarrel about physical love and ecstatic love" (1998, 75). In Bernini's St. Teresa, the nature of her jouissance caused Lacan to speculate about the way in which Christianity denigrated the physical and promoted the spiritual with the result that physical pleasure was emphasized (Hayes 1999, 332). Irigay disputed Lacan's assessment, noting that the phallus was still present through Bernini's gaze (1985, 47). The eroticism of Bernini's Teresa means that the viewer must assume the position of voyeur (Nobus 2015, 27). It is the male mediation of women's experiences of pleasure and spirituality – of their lives entirely – that Vassalli explores in Io, Partenope.

Julia Kristeva's complex novel *Teresa My Love* (2008) continues the fascination with this figure "too much body yet disembodied" (2015, 26). In this apparent contradiction, theorists have explored the forces that confine women at, and the same time, allow them a momentary exception from male power and oversight or the intersection of mysticism and female subjectivity (Slade 1995, 313). Bernini's St. Teresa expresses both a form of liberation, while alluding to a continuing confinement, whether in her nun's habits or in marble. *Io, Partenope* situates the creation of the sculpture in the context of the rapidly changing social context of the first half of the seventeenth century. Suor Partenope attributes these changes to the consequences of the church's repression: "Tagliate fuori definitivamente dal grande percorso della fede in Dio, le donne sono diventate moderne" (207).

In the novel, this modernization is located in the figure of Costanza Bonarelli. Vassalli basis his narrative on the historical account of Bernini's affair with Costanza, the wife of Matteo Bonarelli who worked in his workshop, but elaborates on it through the direct testimony of Suor Partenope. Costanza and Gian Lorenzo Bernini's relationship ended in a very public scandal when Costanza was seeing leaving Bernini's brother, Luigi's, house early in the morning in a disheveled state. Gian Lorenzo pursued Luigi and attached him, then sent a servant to disfigure Costanza with a blade. The extremely public nature of the scandal was such that the Pope was compelled to intervene by instructing Gian Lorenzo to rein in his excesses and to take Caterina Tezio as his wife, who would go on to bear eleven children (Avery 1997, 91). The contested independence of women from the male world that governs them, whether ecclesiastical or secular, is captured in Costanza's bust: "Gian Lorenzo alla fine ce l'aveva fatta, a legarla per sempre! E lei, nel marmo, si stava ribellando per sempre" (260). Bernini's life and art thus mirror the church's efforts to contain and govern female independence and pleasure.

St. Teresa of Ávila is both the starting point for the narrative and a central focus of Vassalli's account, appearing as an example to Suor Partenope and to Bernini. Suor Partenope explains how sermons she heard about St. Teresa indicated an alternative path:

...un modo di essere donna e di essere cristiana [...] Teresa di Ávila non era una bambola rosa tra le candele come la Santa di Sepino, Cristina, e non era nemmeno un modello di obbedienza per le ragazze, perché si comportassero docilmente in ogni circostanza. Era una donna che ragionava con la sua testa e poteva anche ribellarsi ai sacerdoti, poteva essere lei a indicare a loro una strada migliore rispetto a quelle tradizionali e sbagliate. (38–39)

The example of a woman who, rather than being a silent object of worship, uses her voice to contest the practices of the patriarchal church provides a model to Giulia Di Marco, who would then become Suor Partenope. The act of speaking in Neapolitan rather than reciting prayers in Latin becomes a feature of her houses of prayer (129), signaling a female act of opposition to tradition. Vassalli consistently focuses on the marginal experiences of members of society who are at a remove from the centers of power in his writing and in this text, although clearly the male author of a

female story, he centers a female voice in his first-person narrative and in the title of the novel.

Sanctifying St. Teresa allowed the church to control her message and her image in Vassalli's telling, and responded to the consternation of the Vatican toward women in the church: "Bisognava mettere Teresa sugli altari e liberarsi di suor Giulia" (136). Indeed, the existence of St. Teresa compromised Suor Partenope's efforts to live an authentic life, since the female presences tolerated by the church were minimal, and she was superfluous to this number. *Io, Partenope* chronicles the church's determination to exclude "una via femminile al rapporto con Dio" (136), which is not mediated by men and extends beyond the symbolic communion with God in the Eucharist to a spiritual and physical connection through divine ecstasy. Beyond this experience, Suor Partenope attributes the large number of women among her followers – or "figli" – to the realization that they had found an interior world and a selfconfidence that they had never known (83).

In the introduction to the novel, Vassalli describes the sanctifying of Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, Teresa di Ávila, and Ludovica Albertoni as one method to address the "questione femminile" that the church confronted in the 16th and seventeenth centuries (10–11). Other methods had included burning inconvenient women as witches and the more generalized practice of coercing women into convents (92, 98, 153). By the mid-seventeenth century, the church has prevailed over an external threat (Lutherans) and an internal threat (women) (116–117) to the extent that it can tolerate even Bernini's female representations of ecstasy: "Si ricorda ai fedeli che anche le Sante sono femmine, e che il loro limite è la sensualità" (11). As Suor Partenope discovers during her trial at the hands of the Inquisition, the principal content of the accusations against her is sex: "e di che altro si poteva parlare con una donna se non di sesso?" (162) At her public penitence, the crowd is present only to hear the description of her imagined carnal sins translated inventively from the priests' Latin:

"Embè, te possino" gridò qualcuno a un traduttore. "Ndo sta la risìa," dov'è l'eresia? "Tutte so' retiche," tutte le donne fanno queste cose, quindi tutte dovrebbero essere processate come eretiche. (179)

Irigay's criticism of Lacan's phallocentric understanding of Bernini's St. Teresa applies to the larger religious and social context of the fate of difficult women through history and their representation in art.

Naples possesses an overtly female identity in Vassalli's novel, which is imbricated with its ungovernable, quasi-heretical status vis-à-vis the Vatican. The "città femmina" (136, 262) recalls a divine, pagan history which is belied by its contemporary incarnation as a new city (nea polis). As Partenope, Giulia Di Marco assumes the dangerous mantle of a siren who lured men to their deaths with her voice, thus continuing the understanding of women as ruinous forces propagated by the Vatican in the seventeenth century. Her role as Suor Partenope is therefore contradictory and expressive of the union of pagan myths and religious institutions present in the "nuova Sirena" (121). It is precisely this lack of orthodoxy associated with Naples that condemns Giulia Di Marco.

Naples as Heterodoxy

Vassalli's narrative of Bernini, St. Teresa, and Giulia Di Marco echoes a focus throughout his work on the tension between those who have power and determine the orthodoxy and the heterodox, traditional, spiritual, and often pagan practices of communities. Through his novels, he investigates how the Catholic church maintains, and loses, control and in his various exploration of the Seicento, the lasting effects of the Counter-reformation church shaped Italy. Pierre Bourdieu's discussion of doxa, which reflects his understanding of the Catholic church as constituting a "symbolic system" that influences the social order through the hierarchy and injustice of institutions (Rev 2007, 7), resonates with Vassalli's exploration of seventeenth-century Italy in this and other novels. Although Bourdieu did not foreground religion in his work, religious metaphors are a feature of his writing (Reed-Danahay 2005, 43), and his conception of the nature of institutional power to convince the masses that power should be concentrated in the few derives from European religious history. While Vassalli would agree with Bourdieu that the influence of the Catholic church has been replaced by the State (Engler 2003), the orthodoxy that derives from religious institutions and the way in which religion reserves the ability to consecrate remains an important factor in a range of social relations (Schwartz 1997, 41).

The abuses of those in power are thus institutionalized and become part of society from a small to a large scale. Giulia Di Marco recalls this fact in her account of her childhood:

> Succedeva allora e forse succede ancora oggi che uno scapolo benestante come maestro Leonardo si comprasse una bambina

invece che una donna adulta, per non doverci litigare e per non avere figli. Il mondo dalle mie parti è sempre andato in quel modo e nessuna autorità ha mai cercato di opporsi, nemmeno la Chiesa. Nemmeno i preti, figuriamoci!, anzi appena ne avevano la possibilità erano i primi ad approfittarne e non soltanto con le bambine. Anche con i maschi. Non soltanto tra le montagne ma anche in città; a Napoli e anche a Roma. Dappertutto. Il celibato dei preti funziona così." (34–35)

Religious authorities' ability to control what is considered sacred allows them to act with impunity and, as a natural extension of this power, to abuse or silence marginalized voices with impunity.

Most significant, though, in Bourdieu's consideration of religion, are his statements about doxa. For Bourdieu, doxa are the unsaid, generally accepted principles that allow people to act in unison:

I have always been astonished by what might be called the *paradox of doxa* – the fact that the order of the world as we find it, with its one-way streets and its no-entry signs, whether literally or figuratively, its obligations and its penalties, is broadly respected; that there are not more transgressions and subversions, contraventions and 'follies' (just think of the extraordinary concordance of thousands of dispositions – or wills – implied in five minutes' movement of traffic around the Place de la Bastille or Place de la Concorde...)' or, still more surprisingly that the established order, with its relations of domination, its rights and prerogatives, privileges and injustices, ultimately perpetuates itself so easily, apart from a few historical accidents, and that the most intolerable conditions of existence can so often be perceived as acceptable and even natural." (2001, 1)

By extension, the metaphor of the traffic around the Place de la Bastille or Place de la Concorde can be applied to the way in which people subject themselves, or are subjected to the rule of institutions, even though those institutions may be unjust and the conditions of the subjects may be intolerable. Naples exists at the meeting point of doxa and heterodoxy, where institutional or established norms are in tension with social practices. Giulia Di Marco initially becomes a lay Franciscan nun and is thrust into the "folla" (68) that defines Naples, tending to the destitute and the desperate in the subterranean world of the city's streets. The

contrivances between priests, denizens of Naples's underworld, the forces of order (sbirri) and the criminals (guappi) echo the doxa that keep the traffic moving around Parisian roundabouts.

Naples is presented in *Io, Partenope* as a place that accepts and even encourages heterodoxy as a multiplicity of beliefs and action, or even heresy through its tolerance of independent religious practice in defiance of the orthodoxy of Rome. Vassalli gives an account of this heterodoxy in the form of the personal, local practice of religion and the superstitions that are part of daily life, making the city "un focolaio di eresie e superstizioni" (191). He is interested in the local, pagan lives of people and the way in which ordinary people's beliefs relate to the landscape and materials around them as well as to histories and traditions that form the core of communities. These are the very practices that the Church deems heretical and are manifested in the life of Signora Isabella, sister of maestro Leonardo who had bought Giulia Di Marco as a child bride:

> Era molto devota: di una devozione particolare, però, che aveva come sue componenti essenziali un'infinità di pratiche e di gesti, più vicini a quel mondo di cose oscure che a Napoli chiamano "il malocchio" che alla religione della Chiesa."(41) "La religione della mia nuova padrona era un cattolicesimo ma strano, con tracce (abbondanti) di paganesimo. Un cattolicesimo alla napoletana, che mescola i corni di corallo ai Santini, gli scongiuri ai Vangeli e che, pur accettando la dottrina ufficiale della Chiesa in cui crede poco, la adatta a tutte le stupidaggini delle credenze popolari. Nella città sotto il Vesuvio, moltissime persone sono religiose in quel modo." (41-42)

Naples functions at the interstices of many influences, allowing differing forces and belief systems to exist in parallel. Contradictions define the city, for example in Signora Isabella's delight at attending public executions despite being a decent and humane person, and in Suor Partenope's own experiences of the city, which "con una mano ti ferisce e con l'altra ti medica." (53). Naples is a place that fosters the heterodoxy that can allow for diversity of interpretation of the "sacraments" that Bourdieu centers as fundamental in structuring social systems, and therefore also allow women to assume a role in the Church. The inhabitants of the city draw on a range of influences, as Giulia Di Marco relates during the cholera epidemics of the early seventeenth century and

the eruptions of Vesuvius in 1611, the population prayed to Partenope and she saved the city (127).

The Competing Possibilities of Naples

Naples's contradictions form a necessary counterpoint to the orthodoxy of the Vatican and, Vassalli argues, lie at the basis of the historical context that influenced the development of the Italian national character. Bourdieu emphasizes the opposing possibilities required by orthodoxy:

Orthodoxy, straight, or rather *straightened* opinion, which aims, without ever entirely succeeding, at restoring the primal state of innocence of doxa, exists only in the objective relationship which opposes it to heterodoxy, that is, by reference to the choice-*hairesis*, heresy-made possible by the existence of *competing possibilities* and the explicit critique of the sum total of the alternatives not chosen that the established order implies. It is defined as a system of euphemisms, of acceptable ways of thinking and speaking the natural and social world, which rejects heretical remarks as blasphemies. (1977, 167)

In *Io, Partenope*, the variety of possibilities that make heresy possible emerge from the character of Naples itself, in the words of Bernini: "È una città che fa finta di credere a tutto, ma ci crede davvero?" (263). While the Vatican is sending missions abroad to create belief systems governed entirely from Rome, there are always "*competing possibilities*" presented by the spontaneity of faith exemplified by Suor Partenope (264).

Vassalli wrote extensively about the combination of the excesses of the Counter-reformation church and foreign rule in shaping the identity of Italy as a nation. In the *envoi* to his novel, which was also the epigraph to his career as a writer, which he knew to be the case, he wonders about the church: "Con Giulia Di Marco e con Gian Lorenzo Bernini ho rivissuto la chiusura "maschile" di una Chiesa e di una religione: la religione dei papi, che mirava al dominio del mondo" (281). While Bernini's art is genuine and enduring, in the *envoi* at the end of the novel Vassalli argues that Catholicism is becoming irrelevant. An acerbic critic of dysfunction, pathologies, and institutional failings, Vassalli expresses particular disdain for the Catholic Church and its violence against women. The myth of Partenope contributes to his insistence of the value of societies' pagan origins and also on the central role of stories in shaping communities and by extension, the nation. He envisioned an antechamber of characters

waiting for their stories to be told, as an infinite number of lives adding to his portrait of the nation, yet Suor Partenope's was to be his last character and his last history of Italy.

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NOTES

¹ Studies of Giulia Di Marco which confirm some of the details of her life given by Vassalli include *Le congreghe sessuali: inquietante storia di uno scandalo nella Napoli del 1600*, Antonio Arduino (Bergamo: ECG, 1985) and *La Carità Carnale. Istoria di suor Giulia Di Marco*, Antonio Vigilante (Bergamo: Raino, 2006).

² Muraro's studies of female mystics span much of her career: La signora del gioco. Episodi della caccia alle streghe (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976); Guglielma e Maifreda (Milano, La Tartaruga 1985); Lingua materna, scienza divina. Scritti sulla filosofia mistica di Margherita Porete (Naples: D'Auria, 1995); Il Dio delle donne (Milano: Mondadori, 2003).

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