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The Native, General Background of Ignatius of Loyola

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And I listen *with my eyes to the dead.*

        —Quevedo

We are old Christians; let there be harmony.

        —My Mother

GNATIUS DE LOYOLA CAME INTO THIS WORLD with the Spanish *Siglo de Oro*, the "Golden Age" of Spanish life, which extended from the sixteenth century to the first part of the seventeenth. Under the monarchs Fernando (Ferdinand) (1452-1516) and Isabella (Isabel) (1474-1504) Spain had grown from a collection of feudalistic dukedoms into the most powerful nation in Europe. With Charles V and Philip II Spain reached the height of its power in Europe and the New World. The sun never set on the Spanish Empire. The Spanish skies were filled with bright luminaries: El Greco, Velázquez, Teresa de Avila, Lope de Vega, Luis de Góngora, Francisco de Quevedo, Miguel de Cervantes, Juan de la Cruz (John of the Cross), Luis de León, Ignatius de Loyola.

Just one year after the birth of Ignatius, 1492, marked the beginning of the Golden Age. This was the year when Columbus landed in Hispañola, opening the Americas to Spain and Europe. The Moors had just been defeated at Granada, ending 800 years of *reconquista* and national humiliation. The Moors that remained in Spain, as well as the Jews, had converted to Christianity and become the new Christians, though some converted back to the old religion as soon as the new Christians were persecuted. Castilian had become the national language, gaining dominion over Catalan, Galician, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic. The humanist Antonio de Nebrija published at this time *Arte de la lengua castellana*, the first Spanish grammar and the first systematic grammar of any modern European language. The first polyglot Bible appeared at this time under

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the auspices of Cardinal Cisneros. The intellectual life of the country, reversing the trend of the previous century, moved from the convents to the new universities. At least twenty new universities were founded in the sixteenth century. Politically, at last, the nation seemed to be united:

> Un Monarca, un Imperio, una Espada
> (One Monarch, One Empire, One Sword)

This was also the age of vast dreams:

> la edad gloriosa en que promete el cielo
> una grey y un pastor solo en el suelo.
> (the glorious age when the heavens promise
> one flock, and on the earth only one shepherd)[1]

The dreams of Spaniards, however, were limited by the Spanish realities. The running of the country and the wealth were in the hands of the nobility, the first born of every noble family. The other children, even those of noble birth, had only two choices left: the army or the church. With the explosion of literature and art some found their way into writing or painting.

Those who chose the church had to make a further choice. They could follow the ordinary way and become clerics under the jurisdiction and financial patronage of a bishop, or they could try to go the way of the Counter-Reformation. Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, confessor of Queen Isabella since 1492, primate of all Spanish lands since 1495, grand inquisitor since 1507, twice the regent of Spain, had started the counter-reformation of the church in Spain at least fifty years ahead of the rest of Europe (Bataillon, 1950, p.1). Thanks to Cardinal Cisneros few countries or periods of history are as rich as sixteenth century Spain in religious reformers. Where there arose a human need, there arose simultaneously a saint with a community to take care of that need. Itinerant mendicants exemplified evangelical poverty, as did the reformers of old orders. The hopelessly ill found a champion in St. Juan de Dios; the priests a community of saintliness in St. Juan de Avila; and so did the slaves, fallen women, religious converts and laxed religious communities. But no amount of religious fervor and mystical exuberance could destroy the daily confrontation, at the hands of the Inquisition, with an equally religious bigotry obsessed with purity of blood and doctrinal conformity. It was a common experience of religious reformers to be asked to write down their thoughts and to present these to the Inquisition. None of the Spanish mystics—Ignatius, Juan de la Cruz, Teresa de Avila, Luis de León, Luis de Granada—was spared. Most of them served jail sentences or had their works expurgated or both. For a sixteenth century Spaniard

with mystical experiences and dreams of reformation, the battle to be fought was not only between his/her soul and God, but also between the mystic's writings and the Inquisition. The Spanish Inquisition issued an *Index of Prohibited Books* in 1547 and another in 1551 so complete that hardly any writer of the sixteenth century was spared, from Erasmus to the translators of the Bible and the New Testament in the vernacular. The reading of scripture was, according to the Inquisition, an inexhaustible source of heresy (Bataillon, 1950, pp. 715-724).

TECHNOLOGIES AND THE NATIVE BACKGROUND

The present study tries to isolate the native background of Ignatius the mystic. It must then, of necessity, ignore other less pertinent backgrounds, such as the political, economic or even artistic. The present study is a systematic focusing on the Christianity of the times to single out the particular background the mystic embodied and the technologies he or she employed.[2] Throughout this study the words *technology, text, signs, body* and *history* will be used. Equally the words *imagining, fantasy, cognition, intelligible,* and *visible* will appear and reappear throughout. Each one of these words has a history and a local meaning depending on the origin of its use. In a world with such diverse technologies as the sixteenth century—magic, mysticism, reading, oral/audial, deductive logic, etc.—it is obvious there would be a power struggle based on some theoretical need in order to unify or reduce this multiplicity to only one technology; the winner would then offer one all-embracing image to unify experience and one language as the proper means of communication. Every culture and every period of history witnesses such a struggle. Contemporary America, for example, accepts as primary the scientific image, so that language, training in education, and image coincide in the wake of a tradition that follows the language of nature or science as the the unifying image. The manifest image—the non-scientific image—must seek from the primary image whatever legitimacy it has. Present continental—European—tradition acts the other way around. The manifest image is the primary image, and to it the scientific image must answer. In the sixteenth century theology enforced by the Inquisition created the scientific image of those times, and to it all other images and languages were forced to account and to find an adequate translation.

Inquisitions, however, are not only a fixture of public domains but are also present in the private habits of reading, writing, and interpreting. Inquisitional habits, such as those found in reading, writing, or interpreting are hard to break. They are not just wrong ideas, or even stubborn ideas. They are the result of the repetition

of certain acts or techniques which have become embodied in the
executing subjects to the point of total transparency. It is only
through a separate reflective act that the transparencies are made
visible or intelligible, and hopefully bias free. The techniques of
reading, for example, become transparent to the reader of this page.
This page may be read only on condition that the techniques the
reader uses to read disappear while he or she is reading. The same
applies to cognitive, imaginative, volitive acts that together form a
language, and the images of that language form the inner transpar-
encies through which humans act, think, imagine and communicate.

Philosophical reflection and description of those transparen-
cies are able to show their positive, acquisitive power. For it is only
through them that humans are able to open fields of discovery,
fields of creation and eventual communion. Human transparencies
are originally a series of actions, of mental and bodily extensions,
through which humans extend the reach of their sensations. Men-
tal and bodily acts extend through these operations to make intelli-
gible or visible a common structure which borrows from both the
world structure and the structure of those operations through which
the world appears intelligible or visible. The world of every particular
historical period is more than the sum of things facing our senses.
It is also the place of their creation, the determination of the iden-
tity of their shapes, the connection of our perspectives, which are
the instruments through which it is created, reached, seen or
understood. Human instrumentality is primarily our ability to cre-
ate through the extension of our senses the sensible aspect of the
world. Human instrumentality, as opposed to external instrument-
ality, is the instrumentality humans use to extend their inner organs
through language to the most distant recesses of the universe.
Through language, the language of images as much as the lan-
guage of propositions, its articulation, its repetition, its material-
ity, and its intentionality, humans have been able to extend their
lives and sensations to the degree that this structure of extension
and those of the worlds so discovered have come together. External
instrumentality, external technology, has never been as far-reaching
in human acquisitiveness and extension as those inner technologies,
those inner instruments through which humans have extended their
humanity to the heavens, the earth, and those other regions where
human emotions and presence are possible. Our human organs, in
such human extension, are not properly organs. On the contrary,
as Merleau-Ponty has pointed out: "Our instruments are detacha-
ble organs" (1964, *The Primacy of Perception*, p.178). Through
them we inhabit the world from the inside, through them we inhabit
that fissure between creation and manifestation, sight and seeing,
sense and sensation. The human body and the world recede as pre-

suppositions to make room for the more concrete human body and for the worlds of history: the origins of sensation and their visible and intelligible organization. Where the world ends and humans begin it is not possible to say. There is no historical break in this circuit.

One alternative left to us is to try to capture through philosophical description and reflection those structures of creativity, identical with inner technologies, that exemplify for us the effort at extension of the human, and that through this effort organize a public world and a public society.

For this reason we shall use the term *primary text* to refer to the human body in so far as it is the source from which meaning flows to human action through what I call a *primary technology*. A primary technology is an instrumental extension of the sensory systems, like language, that makes a particular inner ordering of mental and bodily functions available to others. A primary technology issues, then, in a system of public signs. Those signs are a *secondary text*. The primary text is the original text, and the secondary text is simply one of the commentaries, clarifications, or mediations through which the existence of the primary text's historicity is publicly known. The primary text lies hidden and is associated with some forms of bodily structures and behaviors that are not reached by reflective analysis. A commentator or reader of the secondary text, however, can come to know the primary text as the origin of the secondary text and correct the interpretation of one by the interpretation of the other. Third party readers of the secondary text(s) may be able to decipher it because they were trained in the use of the primary technology.

These clarifications will appear strategically more useful as we proceed. The need for such strategy appears clear when we note how the sixteenth century, background to the documents of this study, is a historical coincidence of multiple technologies which earlier or later on appeared separated or did not exist. What separates the sixteenth century from the previous history of Christianity is the appearance of reading, writing, and the printed word as technologies of reading different from the oral technologies of reading, writing, and recording. No dogma or theoretical definition had more power to define a sixteenth century man or woman than the technologies of reading practiced according to the cognitive criteria of the theologians of the time. The history of this period is best interpreted by describing the technologies it was able to master best. These technologies define history and historical periods better than any theory can. They define the history of Christianity as well as the history of mankind. These are the technologies the interpreter needs to embody before making the interpretation of any

text, for these are the technologies by which the texts were written or transmitted in the first place. Let us imagine for a moment how the history of Christianity might have changed had this human fact been heeded by someone as influential as St. Augustine. Had Augustine been successful at developing the technologies of imagining as used in the mystery religions, rather than having been a failure at them, we might have had a different interpretation of the Trinity, and of the human, and even of the divine will. We would have had a different Christianity. In his work *De Trinitate*, Book XIV, he introduces chapter four with the following thesis: "The image of God is to be sought in the immortality of the rational soul. How a Trinity is demonstrated in the mind." Then he proceeds to identify the Trinity with the operations of the mind. Such is precisely the kind of identity that the mystics rejected, not for theoretical reasons but because they had other technologies of imagining that originated beyond the rational soul or mind, and yet were in the soul. Some of these same criticisms apply to Scholastic philosophy in particular and contemporary academic philosophy in general. They are products of a literary culture that takes the eye as the primary sense for the organization of sensation. Sensation is organized by the criteria of a semiotic model that considers its texts as based upon the properties of sentences as embodied in grammar, two-valued logic, mathematics, natural science, and classical physics. Such texts and interpretations tend to reduce all issues, all languages, to one or another form of logomachy: disputes about words, their meanings, relationships and implications. Invariably, the best entry through which all listening or reading should be done is none other than the originating technologies out of which the texts were constructed—a language, a logic, plus the repetition of certain acts until the whole technology became transparent to the users (de Nicolás, 1982, pp.27-271). The problem with technologies, however, is that when one is being used, all the others are excluded. Interpretative technologies involve not only the mind, but the whole body. They are embodied technologies, and sudden conversion from one to the other is impossible. Technologies are developed through practice, or are uncovered in the recesses of the body as possible historical uses of the body. The human body, apparently, carries these determinations in the neuro-physiological system as a code for possible users, as we shall see later on. The main problem with technologies is that one may exclude or cancel all others while one is in use. Most times we follow what is best accepted in the public fashion. Our educational systems seem conducive to the teaching of one and only one technology at a time. Thus we seem to create illiterate experts. Nowhere is this problem more urgently felt than in the technologies of the will, or technologies of decision making,

and technologies of interpretation, or the ability to embody other texts' originating technologies. For this reason alone the documents here presented should be an exercise in hermeneutics and human mobility at least to remind us that our bodies are the depositories of many other human possibilities. To recall them is an effort to make them vividly present.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Christianity separated itself from the many groups and mystery religions of the times through two principal points: a) its historical relation to a crucified Jew, and b) its assertion that this historical event, like the life of every human, was part of a plan of a non-natural or supernatural will.[3] This will beyond nature operated by laws neither visible nor apparent and at times contrary to the visible laws of nature. Though that will was absolute, it was also absolute love, and in the exercise of that love it had limited itself so as to allow all humans to act against that will at will. That will had created out of nothing, but this act of creation was at the cost of a self-sacrifice in the Second Person of the Trinity, the historical Jesus. That act of creation was performed by breaking the original unity of God at the cost of his own incarnation. Men and women were free to repeat that act of creation at the cost of cancelling their own natural worlds, through the mediation of Christ. None of this, as practice, was repugnant to the spirit of the age. Mysteries abounded and some of them made similar or even weirder claims. Furthermore, technologies of the will were common among mystery religions (Williams, 1941, p.27). What really separated Christianity from the rest of the world was its need to define, cognitively and dogmatically, the Christian mysteries. Paul was the initiator of this movement when he placed theology above ecstasy, since it is the former which builds the church more effectively (I *Cor.* 14:5,19). The rise of the Inquisition was just one step more in the need to fix belief. In the beginning and throughout it was the fight against heresy as identical with sorcery and witchcraft. Later on, with the mass conversion of the barbarians in the twelfth century, it was the need to fix belief in order to avoid heresy. The Inquisition dealt only with theoretical deviations from dogma. At times it dealt with those deviations directly; at others it remitted the cases to the bishop's courts or the secular courts. The Inquisition tried to preserve a uniformity and conformity to dogma not only in external propositional communication but also in its *belief* that the sacramental and dogmatic life of the church was sufficient to guarantee the "security" of salvation. The people of the Inquisition were deeply fearful of the damnation of Christian souls. They believed they had

a sure way of passage for Christian souls to follow if they only followed the rules. If these men tormented, tortured, and persecuted other Christians, it was not for lack of faith. Just the opposite: they had unlimited faith in the sacramental system they helped to define. Sorcerers, magicians, mystics, saints, and inquisitors all claimed that their powers of decision came only from God, the same God. What, then, separated them? Not being able to call the supernatural as their witness, we are forced to return to our common focus, their embodied technologies, or those natural links of causality that through repeated use became a transparent causal chain in their decision mechanism. What separates theologians, inquisitors, magicians, sorcerors, and mystics from one another is nothing more nor less than the means by which they perform their mental and human acts: their embodied technologies. For this reason the study of a saint such as Ignatius is important, for he carries for us those technologies that both separate and unify Christianity, those technologies that are the origin and the growth of Christianity, that resurrect Christianity from the dead.

The sixteenth century looks like a mosaic of technologies in constant conflict: the technologies of mysticism and theology, and the technologies of those lesser "wills"—the devil, magic, witchcraft, divination, and our own sinful will. But perhaps before we focus narrowly on them, we should describe them more explicitly as they surrounded Ignatius de Loyola in the sixteenth century.

IGNATIUS' CONVERSION

Manresa, 1522

At the age of thirty-two Ignatius left the family home at Loyola a new man. The old man, the brave captain, the friend of gamblers and women had given way to a new man with a new resolution: "feeling within himself the powerful urge to serve our Lord" (*Autobiography*, 11).[4] He made his way on a mule to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. He spent the night of March 24, 1522, in a vigil of arms in the chapel of the Benedictine abbey at Montserrat, his resolution becoming firmer to dedicate his life irrevocably to God. But once this resolution has been made, where does one turn, where does one begin? Ignatius made his way down the mountain of Montserrat to a little town nearby called Manresa. There he stayed until February 1523. He found the seclusion of a cave overlooking the river Cardoner and facing the high, sawed-off mountain of Montserrat some twenty miles away. There he experimented in prayer, meditation, and penances. It was a slow, painful process but also a time of new discoveries and new joys. It was a time of

fierce reflection on a path that was eventually going to become the path he would give to others as the *Spiritual Exercises*. "At this time," he dictated in this *Autobiography*, "God dealt with him just as a schoolmaster treats a little boy when he teaches him" (*Autobiography*,27). It was here that for Ignatius a spiritual path was opened. It was also here, while traveling the path, that a long string of mystical experiences accompanied the journey. His *Autobiography* or *Diary of a Pilgrim*, which he dictated in 1555, and which is part of the translations included in this volume, summarizes this period, linking the exercises to the signs that appeared with those exercises.

First: Ignatius' spiritual journey would lead him outside of time, to an experience original to time and human history, the Trinity.

> One day while he was reciting the Hours of Our Lady on the steps of the same monastery, his understanding began to be lifted up so that he was perceiving the Most Holy Trinity as a musical harmony in the shape of three organ keys (*en figura de tres teclas*). This was accompanied with so many tears and sobbings that he could not control himself.
>
> (*Autobiography*, 28)

Second: He came to understand the Christian image of God the Creator, and the way of this creation.

> Another time it came to his understanding with great spiritual relish the manner in which God created the world. It seemed that he saw something white, out of which rays were coming, and that from this God was making light. But he did not know how to explain these things, nor did he remember well the spiritual illuminations which God impressed on his soul at that time.
>
> (*Autobiography*, 29)

Third: The mysteries of Christian life which Ignatius used for meditation in his initial stages became finally centered around the Christian mandala of the Mass and the Eucharist, where the whole of Christian life arose simultaneously for Christian memory to "re-member."

> One day. . .when he was hearing mass in the Church of the monastery already mentioned, while the Body of the Lord was being raised, he saw with his inner eyes something like white rays coming down from above. Although he cannot explain this after so long a time, yet what he clearly perceived with his understanding was to see how Jesus Christ Our Lord was present in that Holy Sacrament.
>
> (*Autobiography*, 29)

Fourth: He gained at this time an understanding of the role of the mediators, Jesus and Mary, on the path to the Trinity. This understanding is essential in turn to understanding the function of images

in meditation and the "reading" of signs in the *Spiritual Diary*,
included in this volume.

> When he was at prayer he often saw for a long time with his inner
> eyes the humanity of Christ. The shape that appeared to him was
> like a white body, not very large or very small, but he did not
> distinguish any distinction of members. He saw this many times in
> Manresa. . .He also saw Our Lady in similar form, without distin-
> guishing the members. These things which he saw confirmed him
> then, and gave him thereafter such great confirmation of his faith,
> that he often thought to himself: Even if there were no Scripture
> to teach us these matters of faith, he would be determined to die
> for them merely because of what he saw.
>
> *(Autobiography*, 29)

Fifth: Contrary to the fashion of the previous century, when a con-
vert to a spiritual life would find a propitious environment only in
a monastery, Ignatius realized at Manresa that his cosmic vision
had to find a community in the world, that it fitted the plan of the
will of God as a means to bring that will to the world. The discov-
eries he made while in his imaginative meditations had a way of
pouring knowledge and certainty into his cognitive speculations and
learning. His vision by the river Cardoner seems to put an end to
speculation that meditation does not instruct the intellect and vice
versa.

> The road ran long next to the river. Moving along intent on his
> meditations, he sat down for a while with his face towards the
> river which there ran deep. As he sat, the eyes of his understanding
> began to open; not that he saw a vision, but (he came) to understand
> and know many things, matters spiritual and those pertaining to
> faith and to studies. This took place with such great clarity that
> these things appeared to be something completely new. It is impos-
> sible to explain the particulars he understood at that time, though
> they were many, other than by saying that he received great clarity
> in his understanding. This was such that in the whole course of
> his life, through sixty-two years, even if he put together all the
> many gifts he had had from God and all of the many things he
> knew and added them all together, he does not think they would
> amount to as much as he had received at that one moment.
>
> *(Autobiography*, 30)

By the time he left the little town of Manresa he had a whole
plan of human and divine action. This cosmic plan included the
will of God, the way to bring it into the world, and the method of
the ascent and descent of that will through the mediators, the instru-
mentality of the whole human being. He also had the resolve to
carry out this cosmic plan. For this he felt in need of two things:
The cognitive skills necessary to make this plan part of the public

domain and a community of men to carry out the plan with him. For these ends he had to study.

Loyola 1521

While recovering from his wounds, at the age of thirty, at Loyola, Ignatius read two books: the *Life of Christ* by the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony (d.1370) in the Spanish translation of the Franciscan Ambrosio de Montesinos, and the *Flos Sanctorum*, a Spanish version of the short life of the saints or *Leyenda Aurea*, written by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (Varazze) (d.1298) and containing a preface by the Cistercian Fray Gauberto Vagad (*Obras Completas*, 1977, abbr. *O.C.* p.94, note 5.). Christian literature reached Ignatius through the medieval devotional writings of the Franciscan, Carthusian, Dominican, and Cistertian schools.

Ludolph's *Life*, expanding the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, long attributed to St. Bonaventure (d.1274), enshrined the Franciscan tradition of poverty and love, especially the love for Christ in the crib and the cross. Ignatius, like Francis, saw in poverty the perfect antidote to the widespread avarice of the clerics. Ludolph presented in order meditations on the Incarnation, Nativity, stay in the temple, hidden life, public life, Passion, Resurrection, risen life and Ascension. Ignatius would later make his *Spiritual Exercises* a string of memory-points in the history of salvation using the images of the life of Christ. In reading Ludolph he also was confirmed in the practice of imaginative contemplation of Christ in the Gospel mysteries and many of the methods of praying which he later taught in the *Exercises*.

Gauberto Vagad, formerly a soldier in the declining age of chivalry, told in his preface to the Spanish *Flos Sanctorum* about the "knights of God," the saints, who did resplendent deeds in the service of the "Eternal Prince, Jesus Christ," and whose ever "victorious flag" these knights were following. Gauberto's preface contained a fundamental idea we find again in Ignatius' *Exercises*: to give an outstanding service to Christ under the banner of this King who has the saints as his knights. This desire to be an outstanding knight of Christ replaced his fantasies of chivalrous service to women (*Autobiography*,6,7). From Jacobus' medieval hagiography Ignatius found other fantasies to chase: "St. Dominic did this, therefore, I must do it. St. Francis did this, therefore, I must do it" (*Autobiography*,7). In the alternating lows of boredom or highs of joy which Ignatius experienced while fantasizing about dedicating his life to the service of a particular woman or the service of Christ

by following the deeds of the saints, Ignatius "came to recognize the difference between the two spirits that moved him, the one being from the evil spirit, the other from God" (*Autobiography*,8). This discernment or testing of spirits was to become the main criterion for reading signs in his spiritual life, as may be clearly seen from the *Spiritual Diary* included in this volume.

Ignatius developed a habit which he never gave up, that of keeping spiritual notes. "He found much relish in these books, and it occurred to him to excerpt in brief form some of the more essential matters from the life of Christ and of the saints. So he began to write a book with much diligence. . .writing the words of Christ in red ink and those of our Lady in blue" (*Autobiography*,11). Since this copybook is lost, we do not know which passages he transcribed. We may summarize this period by noting that even when Ignatius read books and transcribed passages, it would be inaccurate to suppose for a moment that his reading was a proper reading of texts, the way we read today, or that in reading Ignatius was using the skills for reading we presuppose for such activity. Ignatius was surrounded by an oral culture in which focusing, in reading or looking or listening, was done the way oral people read, look, and listen. Their primary focus is not information, and memory is not used to store and recall that information. In an oral culture information becomes secondary, the involvement with the present primary, and reading is a memory activity to make present the past or in some ways to predict the future. From Ignatius' own description of those readings we see him giving them to his memory to fantasize, perhaps daydream, even imagining with a closeness the written word does not have in literary cultures, at least not in prose and certainly not in all poetic writing. In other words it is likely those written books did not teach Ignatius anything he did not already know from other sources. They did, however, remind him of memories forgotten.

Formal Studies, 1524-1535

A literary culture like that of the sixteenth century defines itself by technologies more sophisticated than the skills of reading. Reading, after all, may be done by oral criteria. A whole new system of communication is at work and one must embody it in order to belong to it. This is the task of education. As we read from the *Autobiography*, Ignatius found himself surrounded by pious people ready to follow him and his instructions. They were not literary people, they were "beatas," pious women and men who find in him the encouragement to keep doing what they were already doing. It is perhaps symptomatic of the precarious beginnings of any new religious movement how easily people are converted to it, and yet

how little the movement picks up until it finds its legitimate place in the public domain, with the public tools. In Ignatius' case, of the followers that first surrounded him, none joined the society he founded, and most of them caused Ignatius problems, either personal or public, with the Inquistion (*Autobiography*,61). Therefore, on his return from the Holy Land to Venice in 1524 his mind was made up "to study for a time to be able to help souls" (*Autobiography*,50). Thus he began a long and laborious task of education. At the age of thirty-three he went to Barcelona and started the study of Latin. From Lent of 1526 to June, 1527, he studied arts at Cardinal Cisneros' great University of Alcalá. There he studied "the logic of Soto, the physics of Albert the Great, and the Master of the Sentences (Peter Lombard)" (*Autobiography*,57). While he was at Alcalá, he also worked at giving spiritual exercises. He apparently took many notes while giving them and reflecting on his own experience. Twenty-two years later, in 1548, it became the little book we know as the *Spiritual Exercises*. He often took leave from his studies either to give spiritual exercises or to follow his spiritual life, for he found himself very often dry inside because of his studies. He also found many spiritual temptations to distract him from studying (*Autobiography*,55).

Harassed by various 'officials and doctors of the Inquisition, Ignatius left Alcalá in June 1527 for Salamanca. He found the same difficulties there, so he decided to turn over to the examiner Bachelor Frías "all his papers, which were the *Exercises*, for examination" (*Autobiography*,67). He was again forbidden to help others by preaching. So he decided to continue his studies at Paris. There he arrived in February, 1528.

At the University of Paris, he studied humanities and philosophy. At the age of forty-two, on March 13, 1533, he graduated with a Licentiate in Arts. This prepared him to receive the degree of Master of Arts in April, 1534. Meanwhile he had also been winning his first permanent followers, all fellow students, brilliant men: Favre, Xavier, Salmerón, Laynez, Bobadilla, Rodríguez, Jay, Bröet, and Cordure. He did not win them over through literary exchanges, but by guiding them individually through his spiritual exercises. Then, for about a year and a half, beginning probably close to March, 1533, he studied theology under the Dominicans on the Rue St. Jacques. His professors had already made the substitution of the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas for the *Sentences of Peter Lombard. Ignatius obviously liked the change, for twenty years later, in Rome, he ordered his Jesuits to substitute the Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas for the *Sentences*. Ignatius gives us a veiled reason for this change in his "Rules for Conforming with the Church" rule 11, "for they are the last to come on the scene."

We may summarize this period, however, by stating that Ignatius did not become a literary man, or fall into the trap of thinking that the rules of discovery through deductive logic are the same for men and women as for God. As far as Ignatius was concerned, the whole system of Scholastic philosophy was heuristically ineffective. It did not operate through observation, nor had it a system of apodictic verification. Ignatius' heuristic system, his system for decision making, would have a different origin, as we shall soon see. But since Scholastic philosophy was part of the public system of social communion and was also the public speech of the church, he made it a rule for his Jesuits to praise it always. There is no doubt, however, that Ignatius, after his formal training, felt a peer among peers. Others among his Jesuits were better theologians or literary people, better or more scrupulous scholars, but none had the no-nonsense clarity of mind Ignatius achieved in his letters or in the formulation of the constitutions.

ERASMUS

In literary cultures and intellectual circles there is always the temptation of grouping around a central figure or a current style. The members of the group rise or fall with the fortunes of the central figure. Few people had more intellectual influence in the sixteenth century than Erasmus. Erasmus became Cardinal Cisneros' favorite reformer. He invited Erasmus to visit Spain, an invitation Erasmus declined, for "in Spain there are hardly any Christians" (Bataillon, 1950, p.78). Yet Erasmus did not need to appear personally in Spain. His books were widely read, and his good name and fame came in the company of none other than the Emperor Carlos (Charles) V. The Spanish king was more influenced by Erasmus than any other Spaniard. He even named Erasmus his counsellor (Bataillon, 1950, p.81). It was difficult in sixteenth century Spain to ignore him or his influence. Neither Ignatius nor Cervantes could avoid it. Ignatius was a student at Alcalá when the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus, translated into Spanish, was making a furor among faculty and students. It seems that Ignatius was asked by his confessor to read the book. According to Ignatius' first biographer, Ribadeneyra, Ignatius picked up the book to read it but gave it up when he realized that his "spiritual fervor was becoming tepid and his devotion was cooling off." But according to Bataillon, who presents the two versions of the incident (Bataillon, 1950, p.213), the advice of the confessor was that Ignatius should read the book by Erasmus as his daily spiritual reading. Ignatius refused to do such a thing and kept using the *Imitation of Christ*, which was his daily devotional reading. His devotion to Erasmus, however, ran deeper

than it appeared from Ribadeneyra's version. Ignatius' confessor at the time was Miona, a Portuguese priest and friend of Bernardino Tovar, leader of the followers of Erasmus in Alcalá (Bataillon, 1950, p.213). This priest, Miona, by the way, eventually made the *Spiritual Exercises* and became a Jesuit (see *Letters* in this volume). It is also known that Ignatius kept contact with Erasmus' disciples, especially Luis Vives (*O.C.* 135 n.). And it is well known that Ignatius followed in his own way Erasmus' pronouncement that *Monachatus non est pietas* ("the monastery does not guarantee piety") by founding an order very different from those of the fifteenth century, not bound to bishop, cloister, or choir. From this and other instances of Ignatius' relations with the intellectuals and the famous of his time, a picture emerges clearly. Ignatius followed a straight path that started in the Trinity, went through the Gospels and the fathers of the church, ended with the accepted forms of theology the church accepted as such, and avoided at all costs linking up with controversial figures, too new or too intransigent. It is a curious irony of history that Ignatius the mystic would choose the study of pagan humanities as the core course of Jesuit education, while Erasmus, the humanist, would rather have Christianity preached from the pulpit, in the classroom, the universities, and by the mouths of the European kings. If one were to compare "native backgrounds" as an exercise in hermeneutics, these two would appear irreconcilable. But Ignatius the mystic was a man of enormous political sagacity. He discarded nothing in his method of exercises (for he understood education to be also an exercise, not a search for content and information), and thus we will find in his *Exercises* a summary and new synthesis of the whole sixteenth century native background.

ALUMBRADOS AND OTHER SPIRITUALITIES

Ignatius was born Inigo de Loyola, and he used this name while in Spain and for a time after his conversion. Then he changed to the Latin "Ignatius," and he continued signing in this manner all his correspondence. In the beginning of his preaching at Manresa and Alcalá, he and his band of followers were named "Iñiguistas," a way to let people know he was a dangerous mystic. Thus the group was identified with "*alumbrados, beatas*, sorcerors" (Bataillon, 1950, p.546), and became an easy target of the Inquisition. When Ignatius was brought in front of the Inquisition at Alcalá and Salamanca, he was always asked the same initial question: "What you preach, is it the result of a learned doctrine or of the Holy Spirit?" The Inquisition knew the doctrines it was looking for were those of the *alumbrados*, principally, then those of Jewish and Islamic

origin, later on Erasmus, Luther, and finally interpretations of the
New Testament derived from any of those sources (Bataillon, 1950,
pp.62-71).

The *alumbrados*, or illuminists, consisted of small groups of
both clerics and laymen, mostly new Christians, who appeared in
New Castile during the first two decades of the sixteenth century
and practiced a form of interior Christianity. They opposed exte-
rior and visible works and preached mental prayer. Four or five
people would come together and read from the book of Job or the
Gospels and would compare that reading with the translations of
St. Jerome or Erasmus as a counterpoint (Bataillon, 1950, pp.62-77).
These people did form a sect or cult or religious group. They
gathered together spontaneously and thus were difficult to control
by the Inquisition (Ibid.). Persecutions were mostly individual.
Ignatius, who developed a spirituality on the most traditional lines
of the Church, suffered through this comparison and tried to shed
that initial image by which he was identified. The differences are
as instructive as the similarities.

Franciscan monks had popularized mental prayer in their con-
vents. A Franciscan by the name of Fray Melchor is identified as
the leader of this movement and to him, for the first time, is given
the name of *alumbrado*: "*alumbrado* (illumined) by Satan's darkness"
(Bataillon, 1950, pp.62-72). It is another Franciscan, one who had
earlier been a friend and participant in *alumbrado* conventicles,
Fray Francisco de Osuna, who becomes the most influential expo-
nent of a particular form of mental prayer. He published in 1537
his *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual* ("Third Spiritual Alphabet").[5]
There he taught what he called *recogimiento* or recollection. This
practice required no special aptitude and could be easily practiced
by anyone. The goal was to empty one's mind from all thought
during the space of one to two hours, so that then it could be
occupied by God. If followed through, this practice would lead to
what St. Teresa de Avila later called Prayer of Quiet, and perhaps
to ecstasy, called Prayer of Union. The essential technique consisted
in emptying the mind, like a yogi, of all thought, for "Este no
pensar nada es pensarlo todo" ("not to think anything is to think
everything"). By 1559 the book was put in the Index of the Inqui-
sition.

Teresa de Avila, however, read this book, and her copy, which
has come down to us, is heavily underlined and scored with crosses,
hearts, and pointing hands drawn in the margin. It was as a result
of reading this book that Teresa launched her spiritual career.

The *alumbrados* practiced also another form of mental prayer
called *dejamiento* ("letting go") as opposed to *recogimiento* ("rec-
ollection") (Ibid.). In this form of meditation the soul remained

passive, without effort or striving, in surrender to the love of God. Those who practiced this form of prayer did not look for ecstasy, but rather concentrated on the love of their fellow humans: "El amor de Dios en el hombre es Dios" ("the love of God in man is God") (Ibid.).

The *alumbrados* insisted on always showing a happy face. They were energetic and confident people. They were confident of their own salvation and did not believe one should feel sad with the sad mysteries of the Christian faith—death and sufferings of Christ; after all, the Resurrection was around the corner. Happy experiences were the clue to a happy life and women played a large part in their conventicles (Ibid.).

Their doctrines, their lack of compassion and fear at the mysteries of the faith, and also the fact that they could organize themselves without any church control brought the Dominican Melchor Cano and the powers of the Inquisition upon them. From 1524 through 1616 the persecution continued.

Other sources of Spanish mystico-literary authors may be found amongst Jewish and Islamic authors. They did not touch Ignatius fundamentally, but they express the climate of the times and the different technologies available.

Jewish mystical sources were most obviously predominant in authors like Teresa de Avila, Luis de León, and Juan de la Cruz. They all were connected or came from a "converso" background. A knowledge of Jewish mysticism came to them surely through their families—Teresa and Luis de León to some extent; Juan de la Cruz probably died without knowing his origins.[6] They all, however, knew such key intellectual documents as León Hebreo's *Diologui d'amore* (1533) ("*Dialogues of Love*") published first in Italian and then in Spanish. In this volume Hebreo, a Spanish Jew exiled to Naples, proposes a philosophy of love as a means of obtaining union with God. The book is Neoplatonic and reveals familiarity with Philo the Jew and Plotinus. It also contains references to Ben Gabirol, Maimonides, and the Cabala. With the exception of the biblical Song of Songs, no book was more in the climate of Spanish mysticism than León Hebreo's *Dialogues of Love*.

Islamic influence came to Spanish mysticism via the Neoplatonic thought of the Alexandrians, especially Plotinus. This form of thought and expression was preserved and transformed in Persian and Arabic mysticism during the European dark ages, then transmitted to Spain through the Moors. Ibn Arabi (1163-1240), writing in Spain, is central to Spanish mystical poetry. But probably of greater significance was his Egyptian contemporary, Ibn al-Farid, and his long work, *The Poem of the Way*. The speaker in Ibn al-Farid's poem seeks union with God. The metaphor for attaining

divine union is human love, the love for a woman. First, however, the speaker must divest himself of himself, of all ties with the phenomenal world, in order to find the woman (God) with whom he ultimately identifies. Juan de la Cruz's lines, "I die because I do not die (muero porque no muero)" are a commonplace of Spanish mysticism anticipated in Islamic poetry, as in Ibn al-Farid's line, "If I do not die/in love, I live for ever in death" (Brenan, 1973, pp.108-115).

THE ORAL AND AUDIAL TRADITIONS

The reading of signs is causally determined by the technology the reader uses in such reading. The appearance of the written word did not alter the reading of the written page by the criteria of oral/audial technologies. Other technologies had to be embodied for the "visual" criteria to submerge the oral/audial ones. One peculiarity of the Spanish mystics not as evident in the Flemish and German counterparts, and also one hardly touched by scholars, is the influence of oral and audial cultures in the sixteenth century. Scholars have assumed consistently that the reading of signs was always done by the technologies they had learned when they were in graduate school. The fact that a man like Ignatius was "little read" but of "great culture" was due primarily to his immersion in the oral/audial tradition of his period, which happened to be also the tradition of the church.

An oral culture organizes itself by criteria of sound and uses its oral creations to transmit its own technologies of listening and remembering. By these same technologies all signs are interpreted and information transmitted. But beyond the information there is a whole world of experience measured as proportion by the rhythms of the oral chant, verse, and voice cadences. People are instructed in the norms of experience by listening to the rhythm of the measure of proportion as it appears in sentences, poetry, and speech (Turner, 1983).

An audial[7] culture is the internal—epistemological—map the oral culture follows, knowingly or simply as the basic presupposition of the culture (de Nicolás, 1982). An audial culture takes the ear as a primary sense, and all its texts are ruled by the correspondence between the innate auditory sense of harmony and tone, and certain arithmetic properties and ratios; for example, of the vibrating string. Language within such a culture is primarily a language about wholes, frames, contexts, systems and only secondarily about things. It also possesses inner mandala, or protogeometries homologous with musical arithmology charting the path of memory and

imagination. In fact, imagining as language marks the path the culture followed from its origin to the present moment.

A very peculiar feature of meditation in general and the *Spiritual Exercises* in particular is that ideally it requires conditions of silence more easily found in an acoustic laboratory than in a church. All the mystics, and Ignatius more so than others, insist on ideal conditions of silence for meditation so that the voice of God may be heard. Contemporary experiments in acoustics confirm that the perception of tone takes time and it is only possible under ideal conditions, which include quiet surroundings, good volume, and so on. To organize perception appropriate to the signal frequency takes even more time. (This might explain the careful selection Ignatius made of the candidates for meditation in view of their stamina to endure such prolonged tests and their sensibility to listen to the "signs" of meditation.)

Another feature which has remained a puzzle to interpreters of the *Exercises* is their division into four weeks. This division does not fit the tripartite division of mystical theology by cognitive criteria but it fits the audial character of tuning theory and of the classical (Platonic, Pythagorean, and more so Asian cultures) description of imagining (de Nicolás, 1976a, 1976, 1982).[8]

Through the Christian mystics and church fathers, and the tradition revived by Boethius,[9] the sixteenth century Spanish mystic shares with the Greeks an ancient semantic and technological text inseparable from the text of music as world harmony. This tradition, besides, was written down. It is to the harmonizing thought of the Greeks that the church fathers owe the first image of the world seen as a harmony patterned on music. We do not have the space in this study to retrace the musical grammar of the Greeks to audial cultures from India or Babylon. This I and others have done elsewhere (de Nicolás, 1976a, 1976, 1982 and McClain, 1976, 1978, Heelan, 1979). Plato is a large footnote to these cultures, as we shall soon see. In his footsteps, through Boethius, the church fathers turned a proto-scientific musical world into a microcosmic plan of salvation.

THE GREEK MODEL

For the Greeks the world resembled Apollo's lute. This was a visible image because for the Greeks *idea* and *eidos, thinking* and *representation*, were one inseparable act, a text in our sense. It was probably not only the so-called Pythagoreans, but Pythagoras himself who assumed a fourfold harmony in the world: the harmony of the strings, of the body and soul, of the state, of the starry sky. This idea and image of harmony has been alive wherever the influ-

ence of Pythagoras was felt, from Plato, Ptolemy, Cicero, Kepler, Athanasius Kircher, Leibniz to the church fathers and the workings of the imagination and memory of the mystics and the people of oral cultures.[10]

Plato needs to be studied anew from the perspective of a dialectics conceived on a musical map that preserves not only the musical model of the past but contributes a clear description of the technologies involved in the use of such a map. He is the one that divided the "divided" line classifying the different kinds of knowledge by musical proportions.[11] Through this division different types of technologies are applied to the lower part of the line—knowledge through abstraction and by the development of cognitive skills, and to the upper part, the epistemic part—knowledge through the skills of the imagination. While the lower part of the divided line provides knowledge, this knowledge is only "a shadow" of knowledge. True knowledge, wisdom, is the attribute of the technologies of the upper part, of the imagination.

The dialectics of the upper part of the divided line imply these four moves: a) Turning the soul in a new and opposite direction; b) using a different faculty than in the lower part of the divided line; c) through "recollection" finding different objects that are experientially different, like the Forms, as light is to shadow; d) producing as a result a different kind of knowledge, that is, wisdom. These four moves are made in the *Republic* 508e-511e, and 532a-534e. Furthermore, Plato describes in the *Phaedo* 67c-d, also 79e-81e, how the knowledge so acquired equals the experience of the Forms and how this knowledge is independent from the normal kind of knowledge derived from body sensations. The Forms may be known only after death or by "practicing death," by accustoming the soul to "withdraw from all contact with the body and concentrate itself on itself. . .alone by itself."

In the *Symposium* Plato seems to relish the musical vision of a world mapped by music when he describes the progeny of humans as Eros, love. Our parents are *poros* and *penia*, "abundance, exuberance, and necessity" (*Symposium*,203a). Consequently we live in mid air, in a region as vast as it is endless; we are the homeless seekers (*Symposium*,203a-d); never entirely full, never entirely empty (Ibid.,203e); we are always between complete wisdom and complete ignorance (Ibid.); neither mortal nor immortal (Ibid.); always mediating between heaven and hell (Ibid.,202e). Because we have no home, we need to make one every time we act, and because we lack nature, we make one on our decisions to love. Only when we give birth to goodness (*Symposium*,206b) do we experience immortality (Ibid.,207a). It is only in this act of creating goodness that we experience the immortal and become free

from the doubts and indeterminedness of the middle ground, the homeless ground (Ibid.). For, in his own words:

> the divine does not mingle with humans; but through Eros, Love, the intercourse of the divine and the human transpires. The wisdom of this is spiritual; all other wisdom, that of the mechanical arts, is mundane.
>
> (*Symposium*, 203a)

When Plato sets down the technologies by which this intercourse with the divine takes place (Ibid.,210a-212a), he is, to say the least, intriguing. These technologies are not logical acts, thinking acts, but rather resemble the activities of the mystery religions; in the words of Diotima "the mystery of Eros and the initiation into this mystery" (Ibid., 209a-210a). Candidates focus on—visualize —beauty in one body, then, on the vocalized experience of that beauty, rise to larger beauties, all bodies, human institutions, sciences, the journey to Err, the cultural images. Candidates experience a state of passivity after these meditations; no longer are they able to control the course of their experiencing, but rather, a vision of beauty comes to them independent of any object: "This revelation will not take the form of a face, or of hands, or of anything that is of the flesh. It will neither be words, nor knowledge, nor something that exists in something else, such as a creature, or the earth, or the heavens, or anything else that is. . ." (Ibid.,210a-211a). This revelation is the child of exuberance (Ibid.,212a) and it makes the mortal one with the immortal (*Phaedo*,64a-84b).

In the *Timaeus*, by contrast, Plato uses music for speculative purposes, trying to build a new cosmogony around the exact schemes of Greek music and numbers, like those of Archytas. There he puts together how the world soul (a religious concept), the regulation of the cosmos (a concept of physics), world harmony (a musical concept), and the soul of man (a psychological concept) are fused. It is precisely this need to put together so many diverse elements present in the earlier Greek speculations of Heraclitus and Democritus, that leads in the musical harmony of the Greeks to an explanation of the differences of sound, of movement, celestial or human, and of the measure of that movement by mathematics and quantitative celestial bodies (Spitzer, 1963, p.11). The scientific dream appears exhumed by Kepler in 1618 and the whole musical world and its map reappears almost whole in the church fathers (Ibid.).

THE CHURCH FATHERS

While in Plato the musical map eventually became the *Laws*, in the hands of the church fathers the model underwent some

transformations. For the Greeks the musical model was born from the lute, but they projected the model to the stars from which the processes of nature flowed. Furthermore, the Greeks became involved in the problems created by such a model; whether differences of sound were due to the physiological perception of the ear (Aristotle), of the senses (Aristoxenus), or to the ratio and proportion of mathematical data (Pythagoreans). The church fathers, on the other hand, used the model as a carry over of the oral/ audial tradition in order to express how antagonistic political forces are brought into "harmonious unification" to "avoid a discordant manifoldness"; for they aimed at the ultimate goal of "thinking together", making the discordant subject to the concordant.

The idea of musical harmony is prevalent in Christian Latin literature. Quotations from the Scriptures (Job 38:7) putting together matutinal stars and the children of God with musical harmony and angelic choirs are commonplace. Christians, in line with the Greek tradition, insist on *feeling* and place it at the center of all harmony, as the feeling of love. St. Paul in Cor.23,1, makes it a law, the law of love, that will be the cornerstone of Christian harmony. Only through charity may we reach true music. Augustine also established love, as the order of love—*ordo amoris*—as the center of what evidently is a mixture of pagan and Christian images: order becomes love, but only musical order is true love.

The same theme is present in Origen (*Comm*, to John,5:5) when, in trying to explain the transcendence of the monotheistic God that is incorporeal and unidentifiable with any part or the whole of creation, he calls God the "Symphony that is." Gregory of Nissa (*De hominis opificio* 12; dialogue with Macrina, p. 95) uses the same image for the soul of man "present everywhere in the body just as an artist is present in his musical instrument"; the soul informs different organs of the body as a musician elicits different tones from different strings. The soul is the invisible harmony in the contrasting elements of this world, either ours of that of the whole creation.

St. Ambrose's *Exaemeron* is a perfect example of this tradition and of the language of images about images. There he describes in a beautiful prose hymn the creation of the sea: image after image exemplifies the musical model until a successive transformation of one perceptible picture into another achieves a new fusion. One image mounts on another until they all converge in the transcendental reality, the background, of the one God. Christian art repeats the same method where earthy images may appear, then melt away and vanish. To the Christian eye they are not valuable in themselves, but only as memory points to lead to their original background, the Creator. Metaphors, as in the old Greek and Latin authors like

Cicero, lose their double directions. Metaphors for a Christian are realities of true fusion. And this technology of transforming the normal into the creative spills over to Christian writers in what Leo Spitzer calls "poetics by alchemy." He brings in the examples of the Spanish poet Góngora, who may lead us through metaphors from a maid adorning herself for marriage to Egyptian tombstones; or the famous passage in which Proust, through the use of metaphors, transforms lilacs into fountains; or of Valery's *Cimetier marin*, that "sea cemetery" reminiscent of the Ambrosian sea, which becomes successively a roof covered with white pigeons, a temple of time, a flock of sheep with a shepherd dog, a multicolored hydra. All this is based on the same Christian technology of kaleidoscopic transformation of images. The mystics will use the same technology internally, and make the Christian mystery a kaleidoscope for the mobility of their imaginations. The fathers of the church—Basil, Clement of Alexandria, St. Paulinus—will use the same technology to add dance and song to the Christian ritual. In all these cases we witness the same idea of harmony applied to all human acts in such a way that all the senses converge into one harmonious feeling (Spitzer, 1963, pp.22-24). Ignatius' *sentire cum Ecclesia* ("conforming with the Church") has this sense rather than one of humble intellectual subservience.

Augustine introduces into world harmony the same ideology he introduces in the Trinity: both are at the service of the operations of the mind. But even then, he is not able to depart from the tradition. Where Ambrose is polyphonic, Augustine is monodic. Augustine emphasizes the one pervading order as it reveals itself in the linear succession of time. Borrowing the laws of numbers (*numeri*) from the Pythagoreans and experienced as he was in the fall and rise of civilizations, he thought in terms of a creation taking place in time and developing through time: a creation with a beginning, a middle and an end; a creation paraphrasing history. Memory, therefore, will remember to read events in this frame. How can numbers that rule over man in history be reconciled with God? By showing that both agree through numbers. The death and resurrection of Christ is the one historical fact that is in "musical" harmony with the parallel event in the history of men (*De Trinitate*, 4,2,4 and 4,3,6). The cithara of Augustine is a monocord, i.e., a one-string instrument, for everything moves towards monotheism (*De civitate Dei*, XVII,xiv). The treatise *De Musica* mounts upwards like a gradual and slow psalm in steep consistency and imperturbability towards the One (*De Musica*, 6,17,56-58). The Augustinian hierarchy is a pyramid: at the bottom are the bodies which "are as good as high is their number"; then come the souls which "are changed by the wisdom of divine numbers," if they turn away

from earthly sin toward the Creator. For Augustine man's consciousness rests on temporal-rhythmical grounds; music is the field of investigation, according to him, for the inner senses by which, and by which alone, world harmony and God can be intuited; the terrible mystery of how the different parts *aliqua copulatione ad unum rediguntur* ("through a certain copulation become one") is to be understood only by the spiritual senses of a man with inner eyes able to see the invisible (*vir intrinsecus oculatus et invisibiliter videns*); this seeing, however, is not a sensuous seeing, but an operation of the mind (*mente igitur videmus*) (*De religione vera*,32, 59-60).

Johannes Scotus Erigena, in the ninth century, uses musical harmony in a way similar to Augustine's. Erigena's theodicy is based on musical proportions rooted in man's inner senses. Erigena links man's creation, fall, and redemption to the rising and falling of the scale. Man's history is only a sign of his ultimate return to his harmonious origin, the end of the world being the return to the origin. Similarly, the seven liberal arts, in a circular movement, come from God and return to Him; this is particularly true of music, which starts from its origin, its tone—*tam dulcis sonus*—moving through consonances (symphonies) only to return to tone, in which the music is virtually comprehended (Spitzer, 1963, pp.41-42). This is a very clear antecedent in this tradition of Ignatius' "Origin and Foundation" and the division of the four weeks of the *Exercises*.

This tradition of musical harmony reappears in the biblical studies of the Middle Ages as a hermeneutics of musical concordants. Church fathers tried to harmonize pagan and Christians' texts, saints with saints. St. Bonaventure, the thirteenth century church doctor, writes: "The whole of Scripture is like a cithara, and the low string does not make harmony by itself, but with the others; in the same manner one place in Scripture depends on the other, even more thousand places look to one place" (*Hexaemeron collatio*,XIX,7, in *Opera Omnia*, Quaracchi, 1891,V,421.).

This musical model and the tradition that followed it together with its technologies would necessarily overflow into the language of the period and provide a musical vocabulary which today makes no sense unless we remember music. For example, music equalled concord, which equalled temperament, which equalled temperance, which equalled moderation; namely, response, agreement, harmonic feeling, conformity. This might explain why in the sixteenth century mind of Ignatius he did not perceive that there could be a tension between his mystical experience and the propositions of cognitive theology, and he sums up this musical resonance in his "Rules for conforming with the Church."

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The linguistic equations derived from music, and their links to the Christian origins and tradition, so vital to the mystic, are to be found only in the written texts of oral/audial cultures. There the mystic found the embodied technologies of meditation for tuning the souls to have music in themselves. It is in this tradition and this music that sixteenth century Spain finds its expression with Ignatius, Luis de León, Teresa de Avila, Juan de la Cruz, Quevedo, Góngora, and so on. This is the time when "eyes are vocal, tears have tongues, and there are words not made for tongues" (Crashaw, quoted by Spitzer, 1963, p.134). The world harmony, destroyed by original sin and the fall of the angels, was restored by Christ, the "new string" on the world lute. The sacrifice of Christ restores the harmony of the universe. With the death of Christ all the opposing elements become reconciled, and so it must happen in each of our lives.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when sixteenth century Spain turns literary, it simultaneously explodes with a musical rebirth. Lope de Vega, Calderón, Luis de León, Cervantes, and Quevedo, to name a few, are clear examples of a tradition that has always been alive. They, however, are "reading" those literary texts by the criteria of their origin: silence as a source of knowledge reminds them of the *música callada* ("silent music") of the Pythagoreans and the church fathers. To one degree or another these literary superstars followed the advice of Quevedo when reading the texts from the past:

> y escucho con mis ojos a los muertos
> (and I listen with my eyes to the dead)[12]

The written simplicity of the *Exercises* is a testimony to the audial echoes of the tradition. Ignatius does not describe, argue, exhort. He weaves a text to engage memory, and this in turn to engage the imagination. His *Exercises* is just that, point by point exercises. This simplicity does not come either from ignorance or from knowledge. It comes simply from the technologies he aimed to exercise. Cervantes summarized this attitude with his own approach to the classical tradition of music in *Don Quijote*,II,26. There the protagonist and the puppeteer give the following advice to the boy whose role it is to accompany the puppet show with a story which he himself has to put into words: "Boy, boy, follow your story in a straight line, and do not tackle curves or transverse lines. . . .Young man, don't get into elaborations. . .; follow your *plain chant* and avoid counterpoints, which, being subtle, break up. . . .Young man, be plain: avoid the heights, for all affectation is bad" (italics added).

But this story would not be complete if we did not indicate that this musical model was so pervasive that some refused to follow it. One need only remember the scene in *Hamlet* (III,2) in which dealing with the human soul as an instrument of music is seen as a violation of the individual:

> You would play upon me; you would seem to know my stops; you would pluck out the heart of my mystery; you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass; and there is much music, excellent voice, in this little organ, yet you cannot make it speak. 'Sblood, do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, you cannot play upon me.

The past and the future of Europe rests more on these two attitudes about the musical model than on any other images, fears, or threats the sixteenth century had to offer.

SUMMARY OF DESCRIPTIVE STRATEGIES TO BE FOLLOWED

We have tried to outline, in a general manner, the different regional backgrounds which together form the native background from which the writings of Ignatius de Loyola emerge. As texts of that period, these writings need to be read with the technologies of the period. Those written texts originate from different technologies, and by recalling them we will recall our own familiarity with those technologies.

Ignatius de Loyola wrote several texts; therefore, reading them demands that we separate the technologies of their reading. *The Constitutions*, for example, were written by the criteria of a cognitive technology and so are to be read. The *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Spiritual Diary*, on the other hand, were composed with a different original technology in mind. To the degree we are able to describe it, or embody it, make it visible or intelligible, to the same degree we will be able to read those texts.

The *Spiritual Exercises* is a prescriptive text, a how-to text, of meditation. Following the rules prescribed in this text an original, or primary technology is embodied. This technology articulates a language of images, organizes memory, and re-sensitizes the body of exercitants to the will of God. This will of God is opened to exercitants through their ability to prepare the conditions of imagining and the act of imagining so that certain signs appear—certain sensations—through those imagining exercises. The exercitant, together with some one else, has then to be able to read those signs and separate the right signs from the wrong ones in the secondary text—the readable text—derived from imagining, in the commen-

tary text. This second, accompanied, reading is a necessary condition for the will of God—the signs of meditation—to become public, become decision in human society.

The upcoming chapters will develop these strategies in detail. We shall consider separately the primary text and the primary technology, then the secondary text(s) and secondary technology or reading technology, and then their appearance in the public domain. We shall conclude this study with a consideration of the consequences of hermeneutics. These strategies, the body of this study, and its style, are all dictated and held together by the special kind of imagining act Ignatius prescribes in his *Exercises*. This act of imagining is the primary focus—the background and foreground—of this hermeneutical study.