

## CURRENT THEOLOGY

### ASCETICAL AND MYSTICAL THEOLOGY, 1954-1955

#### PART 1: HISTORICAL<sup>1</sup>

The traditional reluctance of European publishers to sell their books after they have gone to the trouble of printing them resulted in a number of titles not arriving in time for inclusion in the previous survey. Those that appear to be of more enduring significance will accordingly be included here.

#### *Sacred Scripture*

To three especially among such late arrivals particular attention must be called, for each of them, in one way or other, contributes elements toward the reconstruction of that complex and alien milieu in which scriptural texts must be read if they would be read aright. Köhler's volume contributes *OT* man himself.<sup>2</sup> No data, whether from *OT* accounts or from archaeology, seem to have escaped the notice of K. in his re-creation of the Israelite of biblical times. Obviously this is an achievement which defies intelligent synopsis here and which, in any case, transcends the competency of the present chronicler; the reader is accordingly referred to the evaluative summary of Van den Bussche.<sup>3</sup> But it would not seem to be altogether exaggeration to say that one is enabled to see things through the eyes of the *OT* man because one has been inserted, temporarily, in his skin. In any case, it is a volume whose value for the historian of spirituality can hardly be overestimated. Of especial significance to such a one is the delineation of the Hebraic mentality. It is to this last point, the distinctive modes of Israelite thinking, that Tresmontant has addressed himself.<sup>4</sup> The suspicion abides that such thinking was of considerably greater complexity and depth than the author's table of simplified contrasts with Western philosophy manages to lay bare; yet until such time as we are provided with the extended analyses of Hebrew cosmology, anthropology, and gnoseology that the matter requires, T.'s study may serve as a salutary *garde-fou* to keep interpreters, especially those who are not professional Scripture scholars, from precipitating themselves into exegetical errors of the more desperate sort. One of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. THEOLOGICAL STUDIES 15 (1954) 258-93; the initial pages explain the purpose, method, and content of these surveys. The doctrinal part of the present survey will appear later this year.

<sup>2</sup> L. Köhler, *Der hebräische Mensch. Eine Skizze mit einem Anhang: Die hebräische Rechtsgemeinde* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1953, pp. 181).

<sup>3</sup> H. Van den Bussche, "De Israëlitische mens," *Collationes Gandavenses* 4 (1954) 3-20.

<sup>4</sup> C. Tresmontant, *Essai sur la pensée hébraïque* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1953, pp. 171).

most telling points made by T. is his exposition of biblical man as, of his very nature, open to the divine *ruah*—a human dimension apparently unknown to the Greeks and the point of insertion of the distinctive *OT* spirituality, as Van Imschoot has pointed out.<sup>5</sup> To what he has to say of the Hebrew view of the cosmos one would be wise to add what Pidoux has reaffirmed once more, the subjugation of the material cosmos as well as man to the justice of Yahweh,<sup>6</sup> and Neher's interpretation of the religious dimension of time.<sup>7</sup> A further relevant precision on the concrete, unit quality of Hebrew thought has been provided by Fr. Sutcliffe;<sup>8</sup> this is the delicate area in which most work needs to be done, and one can only be grateful to T. for having made so forthright a beginning.<sup>9</sup> The third volume provides aids of a more positive, if general, sort. Hertzberg's *ATD* commentary on Joshua, Judges, and Ruth places the reader fully within the pattern of *OT* thought.<sup>10</sup> Of particular moment for the historian of *OT* spirituality is H.'s interpretation of Ruth as illustration of Yahweh's care of the lowly, of the *anawim*, for that, as Gelin has made abundantly clear,<sup>11</sup> is the theme which gives basic continuity to both *OT* and *NT* spirituality.

The Abbé Gelin has himself now provided a complete treatment of the theme which, under the most modest appearances, definitively supersedes the previous valuable studies of Rahlfs, Cremer, and Lemonnyer.<sup>12</sup> He accords no attention to the Book of Ruth, but that is the only notable omission. Especially good is his rehandling of the theme as achieving its *NT* realization in the person of our Lady (on whom, in this sense, one will wish to read Fr. Guillet's penetrating pages<sup>13</sup>) and in the doctrine of the Beatitudes. Indeed it makes one wonder, in leafing the pages of Dom

<sup>5</sup> P. Van Imschoot, "L'Esprit de Yahweh, source de la piété dans l'Ancien Testament," *Bible et vie chrétienne*, n. 6 (1954) 17-30.

<sup>6</sup> G. Pidoux, "Un aspect négligé de la justice dans l'Ancien Testament," *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 4 (1954) 283-88.

<sup>7</sup> A. Neher, "Le symbolisme conjugal: Expression de l'histoire dans l'Ancien Testament," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse* 34 (1954) 30-49.

<sup>8</sup> E. F. Sutcliffe, S.J., "Effect as Purpose: A Study in Hebrew Thought Patterns," *Biblica* 35 (1954) 320-27.

<sup>9</sup> On this point one may consult the curious study of Bernard de Geradon, O.S.B., "Le coeur, la bouche, les mains: Essai sur un schème biblique," *Bible et vie chrétienne*, n. 4 (1953-54) 7-24.

<sup>10</sup> H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953, pp. 283).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. THEOLOGICAL STUDIES 15 (1954) 259.

<sup>12</sup> A. Gelin, P.S.S., *Les pauvres de Yahvé* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1954, pp. 182).

<sup>13</sup> J. Guillet, S.J., "Le Magnificat," *Maison-Dieu*, n. 38 (1954) 59-69.

Dupont's magisterial study of the Beatitudes,<sup>14</sup> whether there would not have been one problem the less, and a major one, had the learned Benedictine taken more fully into account the doctrinal richness of the *anawim* spirituality. In any case it is a multivalent thing, and its presence under a slightly different formality in Pauline spirituality has been excellently put in evidence by Walter.<sup>15</sup> In Paul especially its correlation with hope is manifest: with hope, that is, which is not the concupiscible love of the theology manuals but the revealed virtue of confidence in God, and one could not go far wrong in utilizing such a clew to add a further dimension to the basic continuity of *OT* and *NT* spirituality. Aid in that direction is provided by Fr. Van den Ploeg<sup>16</sup> and Prof. Grossouw.<sup>17</sup> The diversification of hope in the two Testaments is diversification only in intensity as a result of the Incarnation,<sup>18</sup> whether, as in Paul, the doctrinal emphasis is on imminent consummation or, as in John, on present possession.

In what promises to be a chapter of a forthcoming book, Fr. Bonsirven discusses the sacrificial aspects of such doctrine, of the *disponibilité* before God which it demands.<sup>19</sup> Because he limits himself almost exclusively to the Synoptics, it is only the moral level of sacrifice that B. considers, an obligation without the grounds of its fulfilment. But the diversity of levels in *NT* revelation, the progression (you might call it "pedagogical") between the Synoptics and, say, Paul and John, is familiar. Often the "what" is had in the Synoptics, and its "how" only in the more theological writings. Thus, for instance, Dom Kerkoff is able to resolve the problem of unremitting prayer that is commanded in Lk by reference to the union of Christian with Christ in the "celestial liturgy" of which the Pauline and Johannine documents speak.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the "how" of the sacrificial exigencies of the King-

<sup>14</sup> J. Dupont, O.S.B., *Les Béatitudes: Le problème littéraire, Le message doctrinal* (Bruges: Editions de Saint-André, 1954, pp. 328).

<sup>15</sup> E. Walter, "Die Kraft wird in der Schwachheit vollendet: Zur paulinischen Theologie der Schwachheit," *Geist und Leben* 28 (1955) 248-55.

<sup>16</sup> J. Van der Ploeg, O.P., "L'espérance dans l'Ancien Testament," *Revue biblique* 61 (1954) 481-507.

<sup>17</sup> W. Grossouw, "L'espérance dans le Nouveau Testament," *Revue biblique* 61 (1954) 508-32.

<sup>18</sup> S. Pinkaers, O.P., "L'espérance de l'Ancien Testament est-elle la même que la nôtre?" *Nouvelle revue théologique* 67 (1955) 785-99.

<sup>19</sup> J. Bonsirven, S.J., "Les exigences spirituelles du règne de Dieu," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 31 (1955) 113-39. In his contribution to the monumental *Handbuch der Moralthologie* of M. Reding (it constitutes the sixth volume), Rudolf Schnackenburg has presented brilliantly, in the same terms, the entire *NT* ethic: *Die sittliche Botschaft des Neuen Testaments* (Munich: Hueber, 1954, pp. xii + 284).

<sup>20</sup> R. Kerkhoff, O.S.B., *Das unablässige Gebet: Beiträge zur Lehre vom immerwährenden Beten im Neuen Testament* (Munich: Zink, 1954, pp. 64).

dom of which Fr. Bonsirven writes is to be found, clearly stated, outside the Synoptics, and nowhere better than in Paul. That Pauline doctrine has now been excellently exposed by Fr. Seidensticker: Christ willed to associate the redeemed with His unique expiatory sacrifice; the Christian, incorporated into Christ by baptism, is a *thusian zōsan* forever offered to God in meaningful sacrifice.<sup>21</sup> That this meaningfulness, as Schmid has pointed out,<sup>22</sup> transcends human understanding modifies the situation not at all. Again, in Mt 11:29 the doctrine of Christ is presented as a "burden" which is somehow "light." Lambert explains how *mathete ap' emou* of the Greek Mt translates the semitic *nasa massa* ("take a burden on oneself"): one becomes "weighted down" by "learning of" Him.<sup>23</sup> Yet this burden is "light." The "how" of it we learn from St. Paul.<sup>24</sup>

The importance of adverting to the differing pedagogical levels, not only between *OT* and *NT* but within the *NT* itself, can hardly be overemphasized. Because such advertence is everywhere present in it, I can conclude this section on the historical interpretation of biblical spirituality with the unqualified recommendation of a work which might seem to the casual eye to have nothing of the historical about it. The lectures on *NT* spirituality by the brilliant professor of Nijmegen University are, although practically bereft of footnotes, a model of how best to go about this sort of thing.<sup>25</sup>

### *The Fathers*

It has been more or less taken for granted, even by those who rightly oppose it, that the "angelism" of much contemporary spiritual doctrine—the asceticism, or mysticism, which is oblivious or scornful of the present earthy and corporeal condition of man—is only the unwitting repetition of an ancient error. The Fathers, more Platonic in their anthropology than Christian, made the mistake first. One should not simply repeat, much less elaborate upon what they have to say of the desirably "angelic" nature of the true Christian life. Rather should one correct their doctrine in the light of, say, Thomistic principles. However it now appears there was only one

<sup>21</sup> P. Seidensticker, O.F.M., *Lebendiges Opfer (Röm., 12, 1): Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Apostels Paulus* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1954, pp. xvi + 347).

<sup>22</sup> Josef Schmid, "Die Darstellung der Passion Jesu in den Evangelien," *Geist und Leben* 27 (1954) 6-15.

<sup>23</sup> G. Lambert, S.J., "Mon joug est aisé et mon fardeau léger," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 77 (1955) 963-69.

<sup>24</sup> S. Lyonnet, S.J., "Liberté chrétienne et loi de l'Esprit selon saint Paul," *Christus*, n. 4 (1954) 6-27.

<sup>25</sup> W. K. Grossouw, *Bibelse Vroomheid: Beschouwingen over de spiritualiteit van het Nieuwe Testament* (Utrecht-Antwerp: Het Spectrum, 1955, pp. 239).

mistake, only one "angelism"—the contemporary one. Abbé Didier has made that clear.<sup>26</sup> For the Fathers "angelic" was an equivalent term for celestial life, the eschatological kingdom, but because the Christian is already in the *eschata*, the "last days," his life is, or should be, marked by that fact, "angelic." To the extent that the eschatological tensions of Christian living were progressively lost sight of in doctrinal spirituality, the familiar terminology received another content: the nature of the angel and no longer his achieved supernatural destiny became the term of comparison and the ideal proposed.

Confirmatory evidence of the stability of perspective that was maintained by that early awareness of living in the "last days" is indirectly provided in Fischer's studies on the primitive theology of death.<sup>27</sup> It contained unresolved elements which seemed to disturb no one: death was natural, and yet due to sin, and yet a proof of God's mercy (the overriding thought) because the first step to the glories of resurrection. Christ, proximate in His second coming, was the Lord of Death, of Truth, of the Cosmos—images which the Christian could plunder from an ambient paganism without fear of going wrong, as Fr. Schade indicates.<sup>28</sup>

It is all too easy to miss such factors in early spirituality if one's approach is in terms of contemporary categories. It is even easier, it would seem, if it is in terms of those of nineteenth-century liberalism. Thus, in his truly monumental study of what he calls the "spiritual structures" of Christian antiquity, Prof. Schneider has succeeded in missing nothing—except the spirit.<sup>29</sup> It is, however, an accumulation of erudition from which scholars will likely draw for years to come.

The patristic idea of *bios isangelikos* had its immediate exemplification in the death of martyrs, the life of virgins, and the practice of fasting. On all three points we have been enriched by recent studies.

Walter Dürig examines the historical background of the words of the *Pontificale Romanum* for the blessing of oil on Holy Thursday: "unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, prophetas *et martyres*."<sup>30</sup> There is no evidence that martyrs

<sup>26</sup> J. C. Didier, "'Angélisme' ou perspectives eschatologiques?" *Mélanges de science religieuse* 11 (1954) 31-48.

<sup>27</sup> J. A. Fischer, *Studien zum Todesgedanken in der alten Kirche: Die Beurteilung des natürlichen Todes in der kirchlichen Literatur der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Vol. 1 (Munich: Hueber, 1954, pp. xxvi + 318).

<sup>28</sup> H. Schade, S.J., "Das Christusbild der frühen Kirche und der Mythos," *Stimmen der Zeit* 155 (1954-55) 409-18.

<sup>29</sup> C. Schneider, *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums* (2 vols. Munich: Beck, pp. lii + 743 and xii + 424).

<sup>30</sup> W. Dürig, "Die 'Salbung' der Märtyrer: Ein Beitrag zur Märtyrertheologie der Liturgie," *Sacris erudiri* 6 (1954) 15-47.

were ever so anointed. The expression is to be understood in a spiritual sense (the Epistles of Ignatius and the *Traditio apostolica* are adduced in proof): in their sufferings the martyrs were anointed with the spirit of Christ; for such a sacrifice of one's life was a quasi-priestly act whose origin was the cross. Confirmation of Dürig's interpretation might be found in the fact that for the early Church Christ was the first *martus*, "witness" of His love in laying down His life for His friends; *martures* were those who did the same thing as He, and which they did in His strength. They par excellence were therefore the "other Christs," the other *christoi* "anointed."

The doctoral dissertation of René Metz provides a fascinating encyclopedia of the consecration of virgins in the early Roman rite.<sup>31</sup> Especially informative are the borrowings from the ancient marriage rite (which had itself borrowed from paganism the symbolism of veil, crown, and ring); the crown, it appears, was in the Christian marriage ceremony symbolic of victory over passion.

The Abbé Guillaume brings out the realistic connection between fasting and charity that characterized early Christianity.<sup>32</sup> One gave to the poor the money one saved in eating less. As an ascetic effort, fasting was a means of increase in love of God; as source of alms, it was expression of one's love of neighbor. It was certainly the most uncomplicated attitude imaginable. Probably "uncomplicated" is just the word: Cadbury has shown how the "single" eye of Mt 6:22 and Lk 11:34 signifies the goodness and liberality of almsgiving.<sup>33</sup>

The more introspective and complex sort of spirituality has been studied by Rabbow.<sup>34</sup> Especially is he concerned with the pagan antecedents of meditation, thought-control, self-examination, and ascetic effort; and perhaps something of the strained complexity of these rubs off on his presentation of the Christian. The title is a misnomer. For the study of spiritual guidance in antiquity one must go to Fr. des Places' article.<sup>35</sup> Fr. Hausherr, with his conventional competence, provides the data on the same subject with an amplitude and penetration that results, practically, in a history of Christian

<sup>31</sup> R. Metz, *La consécration des vierges dans l'église: Etude d'histoire et de la liturgie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1954, pp. 504).

<sup>32</sup> A. Guillaume, *Jeûne et charité dans l'église latine des origines au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, en particulier chez saint Léon le Grand* (Paris: Editions S.O.S., 1954, pp. 192).

<sup>33</sup> H. J. Cadbury, "The Single Eye," *Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954) 69-74.

<sup>34</sup> P. Rabbow, *Seelenführung: Methodik der Exerzitien in der Antike* (Munich: Kösel, 1954, pp. 355).

<sup>35</sup> E. des Places, S.J., "Direction spirituelle dans l'antiquité," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 3 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1955) 1002-8.

spirituality in the East viewed from this one, revealing angle.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps the most fascinating element in a wholly fascinating account is the narrative of the assumption of Gnostic categories and suppositions and their transposition into something wholly Christian. "Spiritual father" was *pater pneumatikos*, and *pneumatikos* was the highest class of Gnostic; he was, further, the one who imparted his religious knowledge to others, and such also was the Gnostics' role. But Irenaeus introduced early the saving Christian leaven: perfection was not knowledge but comprehensive charity. And the *pneumatikos* father was, after all, "father."

By Origen's time it was possible to speak of the spiritual father as a "gnostic" and not be misunderstood; and to derive his duty of advising others from the very fact that he was a "gnostic," and still be using only Christian persuasion. That the gnostic language of Origen leaves him open to misunderstanding today no one will dispute. But the situation is improving. Läubli has provided a solid study of Origen's exegetical method, emphasizing that despite the atmosphere round about him in Alexandria he forced himself to respect the historic sense of Scripture; his principle of *anagoge* witnesses to his care in withstanding the purely subjective speculations of the Gnostics.<sup>37</sup> But Mlle Pétré points out an interesting exception: Origen is the earliest instance of the traditional interpretation of Ct 2:4, deriving from it only a moral meaning, the hierarchy to be observed in the various objects of charity.<sup>38</sup> It is, one might say, an instance of Origen, because he was a "gnostic" (a spiritual father), doing a Gnostic thing—using Scripture as the springboard for speculation that would be of use to his charges. An example of this spiritual direction (it is difficult to see it as a baptismal catechesis) has now been brought out in new translations with excellent notes by O'Meara<sup>39</sup> and Jay.<sup>40</sup> A reply to questions regarding prayer put to him by one of his converts, it is not a complete treatise on prayer,

<sup>36</sup> I. Hausherr, S.J., "Direction spirituelle chez les spirituelles orientaux," *Dict. spir.* 3, 1008-60. And see the same author's magisterial *Direction spirituelle en Orient autrefois* (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1955, pp. 322).

<sup>37</sup> S. Läubli, "Die Frage nach der Objectivität der Exegese des Origenes," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 10 (1954) 175-97.

<sup>38</sup> Hélène Pétré, "Ordinata Caritas, Un enseignement d'Origène sur la charité," *Recherches de science religieuse* 42 (1954) 40-57.

<sup>39</sup> *Origen: Prayer, Exhortation to Martyrdom*, tr. and ann. John J. O'Meara (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1954, pp. 260).

<sup>40</sup> *Origen's Treatise on Prayer: Translation and Notes with an account of the practice and doctrine of prayer from New Testament times to Origen*, by Eric George Jay (London: S.P.C.K., 1954, pp. x + 237).

and so Jay seems unwarranted in his conclusion, of which he makes much, that Origen was no mystic because he provides no mystical doctrine therein. And one wonders what Mr. Jay understands by "mysticism" when one reads as confirmation of the non-mystical character of the treatise that "it contains assertions of the importance of the intellect in man. But it is equally emphatic about the *need for penitence* and for the *continuation of good works*" (the emphasis is mine). Yet there is precious little agreement anywhere these days about what mysticism is, especially, it would seem, among those who contest the application "mystic" to this or that writer, as we shall see in a moment in regard to Augustine.

Dom Rousseau shows in the texts of *Homilies on the Canticle of Canticles* the source of many of the major themes of Christian mysticism—the inner man, the spiritual senses, the mystical ladder, etc.—and contends, with reason, that in Origen's writings we have a true Christian mysticism which first of all he had himself experienced.<sup>41</sup> It would take more space than Rousseau has at his disposal to prove the contention; yet it is nice that he made it. Even for those who have a more exact notion of what mysticism is than Mr. Jay, there is the difficulty of Origen's intellectualism: his reputed experiences of the divine could be merely the term of rational effort à la Plotinus. Dom Vagaggini's lecture should modify such notions of Origen as intellectualist first and last; even confining himself for the most part to the *De principiis* and the *Contra Celsum*, he has little difficulty in making the point that Origen is not even a philosopher in the conventional sense of the term, but the "man of the Church," as he called himself, endlessly meditating upon the "books of the Church," as he called Scripture.<sup>42</sup> Of the depth of his notion of the Church von Ivánka has given indications.<sup>43</sup>

Origen's writings provided the doctrinal structure upon which was subsequently built the least speculative of all historic spiritualities, the "spirituality of the desert," as it is called. Excerpts from that spirituality and from its tributaries down to the end of the seventh century have now been made available in English translation by Kadloubovsky and Palmer.<sup>44</sup> As in their previous volume<sup>45</sup> the selections are from the *Dobrotolubiye*, the nineteenth-

<sup>41</sup> *Origène: Homélie sur le Cantique des cantiques*, introduction, translation and notes by O. Rousseau (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1954, pp. 114).

<sup>42</sup> C. Vagaggini, O.S.B., "La natura della sintesi origeniana," *La scuola cattolica* 82 (1954) 169–200.

<sup>43</sup> E. von Ivánka, "Das 'Volk Christi' und der 'Staat Gottes,'" *Theologie und Glaube* 45 (1955) 283–85.

<sup>44</sup> *Early Fathers from the Philokalia*, tr. E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer (London: Faber and Faber, 1954, pp. 422).

<sup>45</sup> *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951).



century Russian translation and extension of the original eighteenth-century Greek anthology, the *Philokalia*. They constitute a remarkable and exotic devotional mosaic that anyone may ponder with profit. The pieces from Maximus Confessor are without doubt the richest of all, and many a reader will likely be impelled to go on from there to Dom Sherwood's recent extended translation;<sup>46</sup> but, of themselves, these selections from the *Philokalia* are of sufficient historical and doctrinal interest, a precious transcript of the simplified Christocentric spirituality that has flourished uninterruptedly for some fifteen centuries in Eastern monasticism.<sup>47</sup> In every instance it is non-intellectualistic, for all that some of its representatives were speculative theologians of the first order. Such a one was Maximus, whose true theological stature has come more into evidence these last years.<sup>48</sup> Now Fr. Gauthier has proved that St. Thomas' subtle analysis of the human act (1, 2, qq.7-17) derives from Maximus and not from John Damascene, who merely reproduced what Maximus had written.<sup>49</sup> Elements Maximus took from both Stoicism and Aristotelianism, but the resultant doctrine is an original achievement of the first importance.

After Origen the great influence upon the doctrine represented by the *Philokalia* selections was St. Gregory of Nyssa. It now appears we have his mature deliberate treatise on the ascetic life; Prof. Jaeger a few years back published the first complete edition of the *De instituto christiano* with promise of subsequent justification of his having ascribed it to Gregory;<sup>50</sup> that justification has since been published.<sup>51</sup> Written at the request of a number of monks and their superiors as a guide for their ascetic life after the example of his brother Basil's *Rules*, the *De instituto* postdates even the *Vita Moysis*, which on his own testimony he composed as an old man. Its influence upon Eastern monasticism in the following centuries can be gauged from the popularity of the *Homilies* and the *Great Letter*, which is here also edited for the first time, of the Pseudo-Macarius; for the first are only restatements of

<sup>46</sup> *St. Maximus the Confessor: The Ascetic Life, The Four Centuries on Charity*, tr. and ann. P. Sherwood, O.S.B. (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1955, pp. viii + 284).

<sup>47</sup> In an appendix the editors provide selections from Gregory Palamas, of the fourteenth century. An informative comparison between the Ignatian and the Palamite tradition has been made by I. Hausherr, "Les Exercices Spirituels de saint Ignace et la méthode d'oraison hésychastique," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 20 (1954) 7-26.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES* 15 (1954) 266.

<sup>49</sup> R. A. Gauthier, O.P., "Saint Maximin le Confesseur et la psychologie de l'acte humain," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 21 (1954) 51-100.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES* 15 (1954) 264.

<sup>51</sup> W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius* (Leyden: Brill, 1954, pp. vii + 301).

doctrinal points from the *De instituto* as we now have it, and the second is only an expanded metaphor of it. That the *De instituto* reveals Gregory to have been a Semi-Pelagian before the letter is not without historical interest, given its influence throughout monastic circles. And Völker's exposition of Gregory's doctrine of God and its triple influence on the Pseudo-Dionysius<sup>52</sup> now makes one wonder whether the familiar Dionysian initiative in muscularly inducing a state of *pati divina* derived from Plotinus after all. Why not from Gregory? Fr. Daniélou (who has now drawn up a chronology of the sermons in full advertence to these findings of Jaeger<sup>53</sup>) points out that it is precisely in his mystical doctrine that Gregory's Semi-Pelagianism is most manifest: to the extent that the mirror (soul) turns itself towards God, it receives the image (grace).<sup>54</sup> Man's is the initiative, but that initiative taken, the floodgates of grace are opened and the mystical ascent is fully under way. One need not be a specialist in these matters to realize that the conventional presentation of the controversies on grace in the time of St. Augustine is now due for rather complete overhaul.

In 1954 the fifteenth centenary of the death of Augustine was appropriately hailed by scholarly studies on every aspect of his life, doctrine, and influence. It should come as a surprise to no one that nothing really new was uncovered, for the field had been gone over too often before. The greatest degree of novelty is to be found in Prof. O'Meara's brilliant study; his areas of disagreement with standard interpretations are many and his reasons are always acute.<sup>55</sup> For the rest, of the multiple studies of Augustine and the Bible, the best is that of Fr. Román;<sup>56</sup> about his prayer, the article by Fr. Morel;<sup>57</sup> on psychological aspects of his religious experience, Fr. Vaca.<sup>58</sup> The probing analysis of Augustine's notion of interiority by Prof. Körner<sup>59</sup> should

<sup>52</sup> W. Völker, "Zur Gotteslehre Gregors von Nyssa," *Vigiliae christianae* 9 (1955) 103-28.

<sup>53</sup> J. Daniélou, S.J., "Chronologie des sermons de saint Grégoire de Nysse," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 29 (1955) 346-72.

<sup>54</sup> J. Daniélou, S.J., "La colombe et la ténèbre dans la mystique byzantine ancienne," *Mensch und Wandlung: Eranos-Jahrbuch* 23 (1954) 389-418.

<sup>55</sup> J. J. O'Meara, *The Young Augustine: The Growth of Augustine up to His Conversion* (London: Longmans, 1954, pp. 215).

<sup>56</sup> Román de la Inmaculada, O.C.D., "La sagrada escritura como fuente de vida espiritual según San Agustín," *Revista de espiritualidad* 14 (1955) 281-98.

<sup>57</sup> C. Morel, "La vie de prière de s. Augustin d'après sa correspondance," in *S. Augustin parmi nous* (Le Puy: Mappus, 1954) pp. 57-87.

<sup>58</sup> C. Vaca, O.S.A., "La experiencia religiosa en San Agustín," *Revista de espiritualidad* 14 (1955) 185-204.

<sup>59</sup> F. Körner, "Die Entwicklung Augustins von der Anamnese: Zur Illuminationslehre im Lichte seines Innerlichkeitsprinzips," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 134 (1954) 397-447.

be complemented by an exposition of his acute sense of sin, such as that by Fr. Vandenberghe.<sup>60</sup>

The Christocentric nature of Augustine's doctrine of prayer has been well described by Karl Baus.<sup>61</sup> Its similarity to that of Origen is remarkable and raises the question of whether it was the result, in some degree, of Origenist influences. Baus himself is of the opinion that it was, but mediated by St. Ambrose.<sup>62</sup> This solution, Origen to Augustine via Ambrose, is reminiscent of that proposed a few years back by Prof. Courcelle, Plotinus to Augustine via Ambrose. Courcelle has returned to the defense of his hypothesis, pointing out that it makes precious little difference whether it was Plotinus who was thus mediated or Proclus (as Theiler wishes).<sup>63</sup> Pépin finds a direct influence of Plotinus in an identification of intelligible and intelligence which is quite foreign to Augustinianism as such.<sup>64</sup> Scholars are similarly divided on Courcelle's interpretation of the conversion of Augustine; two characteristic examples would be De Vos<sup>65</sup> and Gross.<sup>66</sup>

Eventually all discussion centers about the question of Augustine's mysticism, and the centenary was no exception. No agreement was achieved among scholars, and there was nothing exceptional about that either. The best of the studies, whatever the diverse conclusions arrived at, would seem to have been those of Enrique,<sup>67</sup> Cayré,<sup>68</sup> Muñoz-Vega,<sup>69</sup>

<sup>60</sup> B. Vandenberghe, O.P., *Saint Augustin et le sens du péché* (Paris: Office général du livre, 1954, pp. 60).

<sup>61</sup> K. Baus, "Die Stellung Christi im Beten des heiligen Augustinus," *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 63 (1954) 321-39.

<sup>62</sup> K. Baus, "Das Nachwirken des Origenes in der Christusfrömmigkeit des hl. Ambrosius," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 49 (1954) 21-55.

<sup>63</sup> P. Courcelle, "Litiges sur la lecture des *Libri Platoniorum* par s. Augustin," *Augustiniana* 4 (1954) 225-39.

<sup>64</sup> J. Pépin, "Une curieuse déclaration idéaliste du *De Genesi ad litteram* (XII, 10, 21) de saint Augustin, et ses origines plotiniennes," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse* 34 (1954) 373-400.

<sup>65</sup> A. M. F. de Vos, "Nouvel aperçu sur la 'conversion' de saint Augustin," *Angelicum* 31 (1954) 232-42.

<sup>66</sup> K. Gross, "Zur neuesten Deutung der Gartenszene in den Bekenntnissen des hl. Augustin," *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 5 (1954) 289-95.

<sup>67</sup> Enrique del Sdo. Corazón, O.C.D., "Oración y contemplación en la teología espiritual de S. Agustín," *Revista de espiritualidad* 14 (1955) 205-26.

<sup>68</sup> F. Cayré, A.A., "Notion de la mystique d'après les grands traités de saint Augustin," in *Augustinus magister* 2 (Paris: Editions augustiniennes, 1955) 609-22. Cf. also the revised edition of his *La contemplation augustiniennne: Principes de spiritualité et de théologie* (Paris and Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1954, pp. 288).

<sup>69</sup> P. Muñoz-Vega, "Los problemas de la experiencia mística a la luz del pensamiento agustiniano," in *Augustinus magister* 1, 603-7.

Courcelle,<sup>70</sup> and Meyer.<sup>71</sup> Prof. Mandouze, in a quite brilliant attempt to synthesize the various interpretations proposed in the course of the International Augustinian Congress, managed inadvertently to pinpoint the chief difficulty.<sup>72</sup> As Prof. von Ivánka wisely declared in the discussion that followed Mandouze's report, it is impossible to speak clearly of "Augustine the mystic" unless there is initial agreement about what mysticism is. And yet, even had so elementary a requirement of sane methodology been observed, it is doubtful that Augustine would have wholly given up his secret, that towering mystery among men of the West to whom such baffled rhetoric as that of Fr. Nazario is, in the last analysis, singularly appropriate: "From Rome to our own day stands St. Augustine, creator of the Middle Ages, invocation of the Protestant Reformation, clue to Spanish mysticism; St. Augustine of a Newman, St. Augustine of the Existentialists. . . ."<sup>73</sup>

Among influences upon the history of spirituality the Pseudo-Dionysius is something of a mystery too, but there is a fair chance here of an eventual solution. The man doing the most these days to solve this particular riddle is René Roques, from whom we now have a full-scale presentation of the Dionysian theology with promise of a similar work on his mystical doctrine.<sup>74</sup> In the meantime Roques has provided a masterly exposition in briefer compass,<sup>75</sup> which, if it has any defect, is perhaps more favorable in tone than it should be. But Roques, who had already rejected Honigmann's ascription of the Dionysian corpus to an heretical author,<sup>76</sup> saw fit to analyze, for the benefit of patristic scholars, the distinctive theological method of the Pseudo-Dionysius; and so different is it from what one would expect, it becomes easy to see how, perhaps largely orthodox in content, its impact upon Christian thought framed in more traditional categories could be that of unorthodoxy.<sup>77</sup> If that is so, then Fr. Semmelroth's article, which I confess

<sup>70</sup> P. Courcelle, "La première expérience augustiniennne de l'extase," in *Augustinus magister* 1, 53-57.

<sup>71</sup> H. Meyer, "War Augustin Intellektualist oder Mystiker?" in *Augustinus magister* 3, 429-37.

<sup>72</sup> A. Mandouze, "Où en est la question de la mystique augustiniennne?" in *Augustinus magister* 3, 103-63.

<sup>73</sup> Nazario de Sta. Teresa, O.C.D., "San Agustín, manatial de Europa," *Revista de espiritualidad* 14 (1955) 115-23.

<sup>74</sup> R. Roques, *L'Univers dionysien: Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys* (Paris: Aubier, 1954, pp. 371).

<sup>75</sup> R. Roques, "Denys l'Aréopagite (Le Pseudo-)," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 3 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1954) 244-86.

<sup>76</sup> R. Roques, "Pierre l'Ibérien et le 'Corpus' dionysien," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 145 (1954) 69-98.

<sup>77</sup> R. Roques, "De l'implication des méthodes théologiques chez le Pseudo-Denys," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 30 (1954) 268-74.

I initially thought to involve an undue solicitation of the texts, is a capital instance of solid historical exegesis.<sup>78</sup> Of course what is very much needed before we go much further in this is a critically established text of the Dionysian corpus. The discussions throughout almost two decades concerning the *Regula magistri* can be taken as an example of the confusion of interpretation and assessment that must inevitably result when there is no reliable text at hand. It can also be taken as an example in what it has finally resulted in: an enormous joint effort of scholars to establish such a text. The first fruits appeared in 1953, a prefatory presentation of the materials to be worked over.<sup>79</sup> From this there have already resulted invaluable precisions by other scholars—philological,<sup>80</sup> diplomatic,<sup>81</sup> literary,<sup>82</sup>—of moment for the eventual determination of readings. Admittedly the Pseudo-Dionysius does not merit all the studious attention accorded a text so important in Benedictine history; but he would seem to deserve a little.

### *The Middle Ages*

We said in the last survey that little significant scholarship came out of the St. Bernard centenary in 1953. We spoke too soon; it has come out since. Nothing monumental, it is true, but much work of singular probity and penetration. On the honest revelation of Bernard the man that was calmly effected one may read Dimier's approving pages.<sup>83</sup> Our concern is elsewhere.

To Dom Leclercq has been confided the task of bringing out the critical edition of Bernard's works, and the incidental problems that such a complicated commission has entailed have already been the occasion of very valuable studies.<sup>84</sup> At the moment engaged on the *Sermones in Cantica canticorum*, he has taken the occasion to detail the various types of literature that these sermons brought into existence and discuss the question of medieval *genres*

<sup>78</sup> O. Semmelroth, S.J., "Die Lehre des Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita vom Aufstieg der Kreatur zum göttlichen Licht," *Scholastik* 29 (1954) 24-52.

<sup>79</sup> H. Vanderhoven, O.S.B., F. Masai, and P. B. Corbett, *Aux sources du monachisme bénédictin*. Vol. 1: *La règle du maître: Edition diplomatique des manuscrits latins 12205 et 12634 de Paris* (Antwerp: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1953, pp. 340).

<sup>80</sup> D. F. Vandenbroucke, O.S.B., "L'Édition diplomatique de la *Regula magistri*," *Revue bénédictine* 64 (1954) 277-82.

<sup>81</sup> C. Mohrmann, "Regula magistri. A propos de l'édition diplomatique des Mss Lat 12205 et 12634 de Paris," *Vigiliae christianae* 8 (1954) 239-51.

<sup>82</sup> J. Froger, O.S.B., "La règle du maître et les sources du monachisme bénédictin," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 30 (1954) 275-89.

<sup>83</sup> M. A. Dimier, "A propos du Congrès Bernardin de 1953," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 50 (1955) 542-56.

<sup>84</sup> J. Leclercq, O.S.B., *Études sur saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits* (Rome: Cistercian Curia, 1953, pp. 247).

*littéraires*.<sup>85</sup> To the question, were these sermons ever delivered, he responds with a distinction: not in their present form, for they are clearly a literary composition; that during their composition he spoke to his monks on the same text and themes is quite irrelevant.<sup>86</sup> It is not, I fear, altogether convincing. On such reasoning one could easily prove that Newman never spoke at St. Mary's, that Bishop Sheen never spoke over the radio.

Again in the area of indispensable texts, the labors of Lefèvre on the primitive documents of the Cistercian reform have resulted in the edition of a more primitive text of the *Carta caritatis*.<sup>87</sup> The reason for the reform is sought out anew by Salmon and Schmitz. According to Salmon the founding of Cîteaux came not from the desire of rediscovering the eremitical life nor of practicing the Benedictine Rule to the letter, but from the desire to get back to its original spirit of separation from the world and of poverty. For the first Cistercians the Rule was no simple disciplinary code, alien in itself to the spiritual life, but sanctifying through observance. It was in this spirit that Bernard reacted against Cluny, which placed perfection in something outside the rule, in interior detachment, especially, and the development of charity.<sup>88</sup> According to Schmitz it was born of the desire to practice the Rule of Benedict to the letter.<sup>89</sup> And such, indeed, is the reason given in the *Exordium parvum*.

The distinctive pattern of Bernard's spirituality has been excellently plotted out by Dom Standaert.<sup>90</sup> Bernard envisaged the spiritual life not as an ascent to God but as the approach of God toward mankind. A creature of God, fallen humanity is restored in Christ to the end that it be returned to its Creator. To this divine action which embraces all mankind each should respond by recreating the divine likeness within him, by consenting freely to the approach of God. This sounds very much like Origen, and, indeed, Fr. Daniélou has proved the dependence both upon him, for his Christ-mysticism,

<sup>85</sup> J. Leclercq, O.S.B., "Recherches sur les 'Sermons sur les Cantiques' de saint Bernard," *Revue bénédictine* 64 (1954) 208-23.

<sup>86</sup> J. Leclercq, O.S.B., "Recherches sur les 'Sermons sur les Cantiques' de saint Bernard, III. Les 'Sermons sur les Cantiques,' ont-ils été prononcés?" *Revue bénédictine* 65 (1955) 71-89.

<sup>87</sup> J. A. Lefèvre, "A propos d'un nouveau texte de la 'Carta Caritatis Prior' dans le Ms Metz 1247," *Revue bénédictine* 65 (1955) 90-109.

<sup>88</sup> P. Salmon, O.S.B., "L'Ascèse monastique et les origines de Cîteaux," in *Mélanges saint Bernard* (Dijon: Marilier, 1954) pp. 268-83.

<sup>89</sup> P. Schmitz, O.S.B., "Le monachisme bénédictin au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *S. Bernardo: Pubblicazione commemorativa nell'VIII centenario della sua morte* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1954) pp. 1-13.

<sup>90</sup> M. Standaert, O.C.S.O., "La spiritualité de saint Bernard," in *S. Bernardo*, pp. 42-63.

and upon Gregory for his terminology.<sup>91</sup> That there was direct literary dependence on Plato, it is difficult to believe, and Dom Déchanet's argument from resemblances to Plato in his works and from possibilities of Latin versions being generally available to the conclusion that he read a great deal of Plato does not make it any easier.<sup>92</sup> The recent studies of Venuta<sup>93</sup> and Sartori<sup>94</sup> make it just about impossible: the distinctive Bernardian doctrine of *liberum arbitrium* is characterized by omissions and assertions which knowledge of Plato, whether one agreed with his doctrine or not, would render impossible of expression in a form so naive.

It is Bernard the mystic who exercises the greatest fascination. Canon Mouroux has contributed a clear draught of intellectual day for the use of those who would read the *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, and read mysticism into it.<sup>95</sup> The familiar categories, from earlier works, are offered by Fr. Delfgaauw, the better to assess Bernard's statements.<sup>96</sup> Of the mystic Fr. Wellens speaks.<sup>97</sup> Bernard was accorded an experiential awareness of the presence of God, we are told; an experience offered generically by the words of Scripture and rendered individual by the activity of the Holy Spirit which giving birth in the soul to a perfect conformity with God in charity effects the contact with the God who is Charity. He did not, in contrast to his contemporaries and friends, erect a theory of the soul's structure to explain the mode of mystical experience, von Ivánka makes clear;<sup>98</sup> mystical experience he explained from the action of God—different divine action, different state of soul.

Dom Hesbert remarks on how small a place the Eucharist occupied in Bernard's thinking.<sup>99</sup> For him the soul's nourishment is the word of God,

<sup>91</sup> J. Daniélou, S.J., "Saint Bernard et les Pères grecs," in *Saint Bernard théologien* (Rome: Cistercian Curia, 1953) pp. 46-55.

<sup>92</sup> J. M. Déchanet, O.S.B., "Aux sources de la pensée philosophique de saint Bernard," in *Saint Bernard théologien*, pp. 56-77.

<sup>93</sup> G. Venuta, O.C.S.O., *Libero arbitrio e libertà della grazia nel pensiero di S. Bernardo* (Rome: Ferrari, 1953, pp. 164).

<sup>94</sup> L. Sartori, "'Natura e grazia' nella dottrina di S. Bernardo," *Studia Patavina* 1 (1954) 41-64.

<sup>95</sup> J. Mouroux, "Sur les critères de l'expérience spirituelle d'après les Sermons sur la Cantique des cantiques," in *Saint Bernard théologien*, pp. 253-67.

<sup>96</sup> P. Delfgaauw, O.C.S.O., "La nature et les degrés de l'amour selon s. Bernard," in *Saint Bernard théologien*, pp. 234-52.

<sup>97</sup> E. Wellens, O.C.S.O., "Saint Bernard, mystique et docteur de la mystique," in *S. Bernardo*, pp. 66-91.

<sup>98</sup> E. von Ivánka, "La structure de l'âme selon s. Bernard," in *Saint Bernard théologien*, pp. 202-8.

<sup>99</sup> R. J. Hesbert, O.S.B., "Saint Bernard et l'Eucharistie," *Mélanges saint Bernard* (Dijon: Marilier, 1954) pp. 156-76.

and the Eucharist only a means of communing with the word and, through it, with the thought of the Word. The effect of the Eucharist is above all to quiet, to purify, to unite one to God and brethren by giving one the sentiments of Christ and disposing him to do the will of God. Fr. Bertetto might as well have been reading a totally different author.<sup>100</sup> So, it would seem, do those who speak of Bernard as the Marian Doctor. Among several recent attempts at introducing balance in this matter of Bernard's teaching about, and devotion to, Our Lady, one would do well to consult that of Dom Leclercq.<sup>101</sup> And for extended confirmation of the statement made above that Bernard's attitude to mysticism was altogether different from that of his contemporaries one may consult the studies of Davy<sup>102</sup> and Squire.<sup>103</sup> The charming volume of Fr. Bouyer may be allowed to conclude this section on the more significant scientific works of the period devoted to St. Bernard, for all that it is not a scientific book.<sup>104</sup> It is a piece of literature. The science in Bouyer's work, here as elsewhere, is not spread out over the pages; it is in the author, checking, controlling, probing. Presenting the spiritual doctrine of Cîteaux, the book concerns itself with personalities: Bernard himself, William of St. Thierry, Aelred of Rievaulx, Isaac of Stella, and Gueric of Igny, all of them giants of a rather genial sort.

Leclercq has plotted the trajectory of Marian devotion in the Middle Ages, and several bits of interesting information have resulted.<sup>105</sup> Always was it tributary to that of the Orient. Its quality was heightened or lowered according as it was inspired directly by liturgical piety or not. Two medieval texts on Mary have been published for the first time by Baron; their author's Marian doctrine emphasizes contemplation and praise more than invocation, an admiration that extends into imitation: Mary always ideal and model; never question of her having part in the redemption.<sup>106</sup>

One enters more fully into other of the less traversed doctrinal areas of the

<sup>100</sup> D. Bertetto, S.D.B., "La dottrina eucaristica di San Bernardo," *Salesianum* 16 (1954) 258-92.

<sup>101</sup> J. Leclercq, O.S.B., "Saint Bernard et la dévotion médiévale envers Marie," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 30 (1954) 360-75.

<sup>102</sup> M. M. Davy, *Théologie et mystique de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry*. Vol. 1: *La connaissance de Dieu* (Paris: Vrin, 1954, pp. xiv + 314).

<sup>103</sup> A. Squire, "Aelred of Rievaulx and the Monastic Tradition concerning Action and Contemplation," *Downside Review* 72 (1954) 289-303.

<sup>104</sup> L. Bouyer, *La spiritualité de Cîteaux* (Paris: Flammarion, 1955, pp. 250).

<sup>105</sup> J. Leclercq, O.S.B., "Grandeur et misère de la dévotion mariale au moyen-âge," *Maison-Dieu*, n. 38 (1954) 122-35.

<sup>106</sup> R. Baron, "La pensée mariale de Hughes de Saint-Victor," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 31 (1955) 249-71.



Middle Ages with Zorzi.<sup>107</sup> He manages to turn abruptly upside down almost all the accepted notions about troubadour poetry. Admitting the influence of Arabic poetry and of the forms of Latin religious poetry, he insists that the influence of the schools of Poitiers and Limoges is greater still, and not merely in the matter of techniques. In the great religious centres of the Midi were concentrated, exploited, and diffused the theological ideas of Bernard, Bonaventure, and the Victorines—especially concerning the Trinity and the procession of the universe therefrom. To this all the art of the twelfth century testifies. And it was this Trinitarian philosophy which inspired the troubadours during the most brilliant period of the *littérature courtoise*, the first three-quarters of the twelfth century. Grossman trespasses further into the hinterland of medieval thought, exploring its exotic numerology, whence has come many an assertion of the summae, such as on the number of the Gifts.<sup>108</sup>

The influence of still other factors upon the spiritual thought of the Middle Ages is delineated by Fr. Chenu.<sup>109</sup> Of what, he asks, was this complex environment composed? Initially there continued to persist the spirit of monasticism, which was presented as the "apostolic life," that is, as the return to the purity of the Gospel incarnated in the primitive Church (Rupert of Deutz). But then there shortly came into existence various types of canonical life that were vowed to preaching, and they in their turn pretended to represent the "apostolic life" of the Church (Anselm of Havelberg). At the same time a lay current got under way (Gerloh of Havelberg) which integrated all the baptized into the "apostolic life" of the Church and which interested itself in the things of this world, bringing classical antiquity to life in the service of evangelical truth. It was in this way, he concludes, that a new equilibrium was set up between nature and grace, an evangelical renewal which assimilated human activity into the profound life of Christianity. It was in such a century that the *Elucidarium* first achieved its phenomenal popularity. A doctrinal summary composed the century before, probably by a student in the classes of St. Anselm, it moved around where theological works never gain entry. M. Lefèvre, aware of its singular importance for the knowledge of eleventh- and twelfth-century religious

<sup>107</sup> D. Zorzi, *Valori religiosi nella letteratura provenzale: La spiritualità trinitaria* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1954, pp. x + 379).

<sup>108</sup> M. Grossmann, "Studien zur Zahlensymbolik des Frühmittelalters," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 76 (1954) 19-54.

<sup>109</sup> M. D. Chenu, O.P., "Moines, clercs, laïcs au carrefour de la vie évangélique (XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 49 (1954) 59-89.

thought, has edited it with a very informed preface.<sup>110</sup> An even earlier and simpler religious vade-mecum is discussed by Wallach.<sup>111</sup>

Still other medieval spiritual documents, normally not easily come by, have been made available by Fr. Vicaire.<sup>112</sup> They, too, provide the flavor of an era, the early thirteenth century, with an immediacy that no amount of historical description could ever approximate. It was into this atmosphere that the religious thought of the Pseudo-Dionysius was now newly introduced, thanks to the ministrations of Robert Grosseteste, which Fr. Callus has described in some detail.<sup>113</sup> The continued impact of the Dionysian writings upon the spiritual doctrine of that and succeeding generations it is difficult to exaggerate.<sup>114</sup> The previous century used but managed to go beyond the wholly intellectual systematization of the Pseudo-Dionysius,<sup>115</sup> the centuries subsequent to Grosseteste's translation and commentary (he was known everywhere as the *Lincolnensis commentator*) were not so successful. One need but compare the doctrine of Hildegard of Bingen, which has finally been accorded a full-length study,<sup>116</sup> and that of Hadewijch of Antwerp as synopsized in the introduction to the new French version of her poems<sup>117</sup> or as expressed in her own letters.<sup>118</sup>

It is not desirable, perhaps, that historians set too sharp a division between this Dionysian mysticism, which flourished nowhere more vigorously than in the Lowlands, and the *Devotio moderna*, which originated there in the same period—at least such is the informed opinion of Snoeks.<sup>119</sup> But

<sup>110</sup> Y. Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires: Contribution, par l'histoire d'un texte, à l'histoire des croyances religieuses en France en moyen-âge* (Paris: De Bocard, 1954, pp. 543).

<sup>111</sup> L. Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices: A Manual for a Carolingian Soldier," *Harvard Theological Review* 48 (1955) 175-95.

<sup>112</sup> H. Vicaire, O.P., *Saint Dominique de Caleruega d'après les documents du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1955, pp. 316).

<sup>113</sup> D. A. Callus, O.P., "The Contribution to the Study of the Fathers made by the Thirteenth-Century Oxford Schools," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 5 (1954) 139-48.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. H. Weisweiler, S.J., et al., "Influence du Ps-Denys en Occident," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 3 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1955) 323-86.

<sup>115</sup> E. von Ivánka, "Zur Überwindung des neuplatonischen Intellektualismus in der Deutung der Mystik: Intelligentia oder principalis affectio," *Scholastik* 30 (1955) 185-94.

<sup>116</sup> B. Widmer, *Heilsordnung und Zeitgeschehen in der Mystik Hildegard von Bingen* (Basel and Stuttgart: Heybing und Lichtenbaum, 1955, pp. 286).

<sup>117</sup> *Hadewijch d'Anwers: Poèmes des béguines*, tr. into French by J. B. P. (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1954, pp. 186).

<sup>118</sup> *Hadewijch Brieven*, Original text and translation into Modern Dutch by F. Van Bladen, S.J., and B. Spaapen, S.J. (Tielt [Belgium]: Lannoo, 1954, pp. 300).

<sup>119</sup> R. Snoeks, "De plaats der 'Moderne Devotie' in de godsdienstige geschiedenis der Nederlanden," *Collectanea Mechliniensia* 24 (1954) 357-67.

their only connection was geographical, as is clear from Debongnie's history of the *Devotio*;<sup>120</sup> the temporal link was broken when, the Dionysian spirituality continuing to flourish under a variety of guises, the *Devotio moderna* died. And it died of that which was most vigorous and distinctive in it, its down-to-earth practicality; for the distinction between sacred and profane became blurred, as is clear from the exaggerations of its cult of the saints.<sup>121</sup> Of the role of the *Devotio* in propagating methodic meditation, further confirmation has been provided for the opinion voiced in the last survey that it fostered the practice of previously arranging the points to be meditated but had no systems of meditating as such.<sup>122</sup> Regarding the author of its more famous literary product, the *Imitation*, further proof has been adduced that it was Thomas à Kempis after all. Liselotte Kern, continuing the researches of her late husband, proposed on the basis of newly found documents at her disposal that the author might well have been Gerard Groote.<sup>123</sup> But Debongnie—and rightly, it would seem—found in the documents brought to the attention of the scholarly world by Frau Kern only further proof of the correctness of his own previous conclusions.<sup>124</sup> Continuing his studies of that Lowlands mystical classic which was to exercise so great an influence on medieval English religious and literary life, the *Evangelical Pearl*, Fr. Ampe concludes that one and the same author—still anonymous—composed it and the *Hofken van Devocien* and the *Tempel onser Sielen*.<sup>125</sup> Most of what we have learned latterly of early English spirituality has been by inference from what Continental scholars have told us of that Lowlands spirituality which was its chief inspiration. Concerning the sole English spiritual classic preceding that time and influence, Miss Kirchberger has provided certain needed precisions.<sup>126</sup>

It is the Pseudo-Dionysius again who reveals himself as one turns to the spirituality of the medieval East. But, according to Meyendorff, there

<sup>120</sup> P. Debongnie, "Dévotion moderne," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 3 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1955) 727-47.

<sup>121</sup> R. Snoeks, "In hoever mag de devotie der late Middeleeuwen dekadent genoemd worden?" *Collectanea Mechliniensa* 25 (1954) 615-17.

<sup>122</sup> M. van Woerkum, S.C.J., "Enige opmerkingen aangaande de methodische meditatie bij Moderne Devoten," *Ons geestelijk erf* 29 (1955) 222-27.

<sup>123</sup> L. Kern, "Zur Verfasserfrage der *Imitatio Christi*," *Ons geestelijk erf* 28 (1954) 27-44, 151-70.

<sup>124</sup> P. Debongnie, "Le prototype latin de 'l'*Imitation*' de Lubeck," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 50 (1955) 480-98.

<sup>125</sup> A. Ampe, S.J., "Kanttekeningen bij de 'Evangelische Peerle,'" *Ons geestelijk erf* 28 (1954) 172-93.

<sup>126</sup> C. Kirchberger, "Some Notes on the *Ancrene Riwe*," *Dominican Studies* 7 (1954) 215-38.

was in the East at the end of the Middle Ages an achievement similar to that which, according to von Ivánka, the West knew in the beginning of the Middle Ages.<sup>127</sup> In the West Dionysian intellectualism was transcended by the corrective emphasis on love of neighbor; in the East, it now appears, its individualistic quality was transcended by emphasis upon the communal, objective, sacramental presence of Christ in the soul of the Christian. Of the greatest theologian of this culture and period Mme Lot-Borodine has exposed the thought on one of the most basic Christian themes;<sup>128</sup> and Fr. Loenertz provided a valuable chronology.<sup>129</sup> It was at this time that the East and West grew apart in their spiritualities. It would be instructive to compare this Christocentrism of the medieval East with that of one of the most widely used spiritual directories in the West of a generation later, Dietrich Kolde's *Mirror*, which is now available in a critical edition.<sup>130</sup>

#### *Modern Times*

Several recent essays at transcribing the interior life of St. Ignatius seem of especial value for anyone desirous to penetrate his complex spiritual doctrine. Fr. Schneider presents first of all the external situation of that life, indispensable to an understanding of its interior, and does so under its most confusing aspect: the dealings of the Saint with kings and princes and the like.<sup>131</sup> Fr. Mollat, with much finesse, describes the stages by which grace advanced the man in the concrete awareness of the mystery of Christ, stages coincident with the exterior activity on the international stage, of which Schneider writes, and parallel to the distinctive doctrinal elements of his spiritual synthesis.<sup>132</sup> Fr. Rouquette summarizes the same interior movement in terms of the apostolate,<sup>133</sup> Don Suquía by reference to his mystical experience,<sup>134</sup> Fr. Blet in terms of his familiar doctrine of obe-

<sup>127</sup> J. Meyendorff, "Le thème du 'retour en soi' dans la doctrine palamite du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 145 (1954) 188-206.

<sup>128</sup> M. Lot-Borodine, "Le martyre comme témoignage de l'amour de Dieu d'après Nicolas Cabasilas," *Irénikon* 27 (1954) 157-68.

<sup>129</sup> R. J. Loenertz, O.P., "Chronologie de Nicolas Cabasilas, 1345-1354," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 21 (1955) 205-31.

<sup>130</sup> Dietrich Kolde von Münster, *Der Christenspiegel Kritisch*, ed. C. Drees (Werl [Westfalen]: Dietrich-Coelde, 1954, pp. vii + 95 + 379).

<sup>131</sup> B. Schneider, S.J., "Der weltliche Heilige: Ignatius von Loyola und die Fürsten seiner Zeit," *Geist und Leben* 27 (1954) 35-58.

<sup>132</sup> D. Mollat, S.J., "Le Christ dans l'expérience de saint Ignace," *Christus* (Cahiers spirituels), n. 1 (1954) 23-47.

<sup>133</sup> R. Rouquette, S.J., "Le développement de la spiritualité apostolique de saint Ignace de Loyola," *Christus* (Cahiers spirituels), n. 2 (1954) 21-45.

<sup>134</sup> A. Suquía, "La Santa Misa en la espiritualidad de San Ignacio de Loyola: La Misa del Nombre de Jesús," *Scriptorium Victoriense* 1 (1954) 72-99.

dience<sup>135</sup> (of which Olphe-Galliard has attempted an explanation<sup>136</sup>). The psychological stresses, finally, of Ignatius the man have been described with considerable success by Fr. Durão.<sup>137</sup>

But the most successful effort by far to present the spirituality of St. Ignatius is to be found in the early pages of Fr. de Guibert's posthumously published history.<sup>138</sup> In due time this most important volume will be accorded an extended review in the pages of *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES*;<sup>139</sup> for the moment I would call attention only to one point, which is, however, central to de Guibert's exposition: the Ignatian insight into the theological implications of instrumental causality. It was an insight derived from the particular character, apparently, of his own mystic experience (about which Cantin<sup>140</sup> and Coreth<sup>141</sup> have written in an engagingly inaccurate fashion). And it was the insight applied to the organization and maintenance of the Jesuit form of apostolate of which the *Exercises*, characteristically, were to be the distinctive means.

Concerning the early Jesuit attitude both toward mysticism and toward the use of the *Exercises* we are becoming progressively better informed these days, thanks to the publication of the relevant historical documents, which provide excellent complements to, and on minor points certain correctives of, de Guibert's own presentation.

It is difficult to overestimate the value of the documentation to be found in Fr. Iparraguirre's *History* (especially the first volume, which is concerned with the ways of giving the *Exercises* in Ignatius' own lifetime) and in his edition of the various early directives on *Exercise* usage.<sup>142</sup> Its pri-

<sup>135</sup> P. Blet, "Note sur les origines de l'obédience ignatienne," *Gregorianum* 35 (1954) 99-111.

<sup>136</sup> M. Olphe-Galliard, S.J., "La lettre de saint Ignace de Loyola sur la vertu d'obéissance," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 30 (1954) 7-28.

<sup>137</sup> P. Durão, "A psicologia de S. Inácio," *Brotéria* 61 (1955) 353-69.

<sup>138</sup> J. de Guibert, S.J., *La spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus: Esquisse historique* (Rome: Institute of Jesuit History, 1953, pp. xxxix + 659).

<sup>139</sup> Among the more important evaluations see H. M. de Achával, S.J., "Espiritualidad de la Compañía de Jesús," *Gregorianum* 35 (1954) 492-98; I. Iparraguirre, S.J., "La espiritualidad de la Compañía de Jesús según la obra del P. de Guibert," *Manresa* 26 (1954) 31-44; J. Nouvens, M.S.C., "De spiritualiteit van de Societeit van Jezus," *Ons geestelijk leven* 31 (1954) 240-43; M. Olphe-Galliard, S.J., "La spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après le P. Joseph de Guibert," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 30 (1954) 289-96.

<sup>140</sup> R. Cantin, S.J., "L'Illumination du Cardoner," *Sciences ecclésiastiques* 7 (1955) 25-56.

<sup>141</sup> E. Coreth, S.J., "'In actione contemplativus,'" *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 76 (1954) 55-82.

<sup>142</sup> I. Iparraguirre, S.J., *Historia de los Ejercicios Espirituales de S. Ignacio de Loyola*

mary value, of course, lies in the fact that it makes it possible to rewrite an important chapter in the history of Christian spirituality. But this documentation has a value too, since the *Exercises* are still being given, in that it reveals with such startling clarity how the Saint who composed them thought they should be given. Iparraguirre might well be the cause, though all unwitting, of a revolution in the interpretation of the *Exercises*—just as, in his own very different way, Fr. Roothaan was.

On the “official Jesuit attitude toward mystical authors” contained in Mercurian’s ordinance of 1575, which Bremond made so much of, a number of clarifications have recently been provided. First of all, Fr. Leturia pointed out, on the basis of hitherto unpublished documents, how the ordinance was but an implementation of the faculties accorded the same year by the Holy See to the Society for the reading of books on the Index.<sup>143</sup> Then Fr. Dainville published for the first time the pertinent part of the text itself, critically established, together with the documentary evidence of its contemporary interpretation, which was benign, to say the least of it.<sup>144</sup> Further data on its interpretation in Spain as well as in Rome was subsequently provided by Leturia,<sup>145</sup> and a significant precision of the Spanish picture by Fr. de Ros.<sup>146</sup> From all of this it has become relatively clear that the ordinance of Mercurian was not, either in intention or in effect, “anti-mystical.” Not in intention, for some of the titles, as the *Arte para servir a Dios*, are exclusively ascetical and most of the others are compilations of private revelations—a very different matter. (And here I might note an historical irony, namely, that among these works “which seem less in keeping with the nature of our institute and accordingly not to be permitted indiscriminately” the *Arte* should figure—since we know now that it was one of the prime influences on Ignatius in his compiling the *Exercises*.) Nor was the ordinance “anti-mystical” in effect. Both Leturia and de Dainville take occasion in the course of their examination of the

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(2 vols. Rome: Institute of Jesuit History, 1946–1954); *Directoria Exercitiorum spiritualium (1540–1599)*, ed. I. Iparraguirre, S.J. (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1955, pp. 808).

<sup>143</sup> P. de Leturia, S.J., “Lecturas ascéticas y lecturas místicas entre los Jesuitas del siglo XVI,” *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 2 (1953) 1–50.

<sup>144</sup> F. de Dainville, “Pour l’histoire de l’Index: L’Ordinance du P. Mercurian, S.J., sur l’usage des livres prohibés et son interprétation lyonnaise en 1597,” *Recherches des sciences religieuses* 42 (1954) 86–98.

<sup>145</sup> P. de Leturia, S.J., “Cordeses, Mercuriano, Colegio Romano y lecturas espirituales en el siglo XVI,” *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 23 (1954) 76–118.

<sup>146</sup> F. de Ros, O.F.M.Cap., “Alonso de Madrid et Melquiades,” *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique* 30 (1954) 29–37.

documents to point that out. And recent studies of Jesuit spirituality in the Netherlands during the following generations confirm it. Fr. Ampe records the testimony of Lessius on the abiding influence of the writings of Ruusbroec, which "daily," he said, "he pored over."<sup>147</sup> Fr. Andriessen takes the publication of de Guibert's *Histoire* as occasion for synopsizing the contribution of Jesuit authors to mystical literature from the time of Mercurian's ordinance to the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>148</sup> And the situation in the Netherlands of the seventeenth century he describes in detail.<sup>149</sup>

But myths die slowly. It is unlikely, therefore, that this anti-mystical myth, born of an unhistorical reading of the Mercurian ordinance, will disappear over night. Further proof, were any needed, could be drawn from the flat condemnation on the same occasion of the writings of Erasmus, whose *Enchiridion militis christiani* is as anti-mystical an effort as one could imagine. From St. Ignatius on, the Jesuit spiritual tradition has been openly hostile to the doctrines of Erasmus, an attitude that is somewhat less easy to explain these days in the light of the brilliant revaluations of Bouyer<sup>150</sup> and Auer,<sup>151</sup> but it is a fact, and a fact relevant to the reputed unilateral option by the Society of the ascetical as against the mystical. One could, if one wished, following Jarrott's lead, discover the grounds of that hostility in the activism, the "operation bootstrap," of Erasmus' humanism.<sup>152</sup>

The classic exposition of the non-mystical, humanist type of spirituality provided by St. Francis of Sales is happily being accorded renewed attention of late.<sup>153</sup> A very good introduction to Salesian doctrine has been put together by Canon Guiot,<sup>154</sup> which one would wish to supplement by a reading, under his guidance, of its consummate exposition, the *Treatise on*

<sup>147</sup> A. Ampe, S.J., "Marginalia Lessiana," *Ons geestelijk erf* 28 (1954) 329-73.

<sup>148</sup> J. Andriessen, S.J., "Marginalia bij een recent syntheseswerk," *Ons geestelijk erf* 29 (1955) 188-203.

<sup>149</sup> J. Andriessen, S.J., "Mystiek bij enkele Nederlandse Jezuiten der XVII<sup>e</sup> eeuw," *Ons geestelijk erf* 29 (1955) 271-301.

<sup>150</sup> L. Bouyer, *Autour d'Erasmus: Etudes sur le christianisme des humanistes catholiques* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1955, pp. 196).

<sup>151</sup> A. Auer, *Die vollkommene Frömmigkeit des Christen nach dem Enchiridion militis christiani des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1954, pp. 260).

<sup>152</sup> C. A. L. Jarrott, *The English Humanists' Use of Cicero's 'De officiis' in Their Explanation of Active and Contemplative Life*, briefed in *Dissertation Abstracts* 14 (1954) 1709.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. J. D. C., "Saint François de Sales: Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa bibliographie," *Vie spirituelle* 90 (1954) 151-56.

<sup>154</sup> Guiot, "Les étapes de la sainteté selon saint François de Sales," *Vie spirituelle* 92 (1955) 488-511.

*Divine Love*.<sup>155</sup> The rich personality of the Saint himself, obliquely revealed in his own words, has been captured by Dom Van Hourtryne.<sup>156</sup>

The distinctive lines of the entire Carmelite mystical tradition as an historical reality have been drawn by Fr. José María in an article that should do much to correct the prevalent impression that it all began with St. Teresa.<sup>157</sup> The chief area of study, of course, will long continue to be the constituents and results of the Teresan Reform itself, and for this we now have an indispensable guide-book due to the labors of the late Prof. Peers.<sup>158</sup> A detailed history of the Reform, biographies of the principal persons mentioned in or closely connected with the writings of St. Teresa and St. John, chronological tables, listings of Reform foundations, topographical notations—nothing is omitted that could be of help to the student of this pivotal period in the history of Christian spirituality.

Three essays on possible doctrinal dependencies of the mystical teaching of the Reform are especially worthy of note. In a gracious and delightfully humble inquiry the anonymous "Benedictine of Stanbrook" attempts to answer two questions: to whom was John of the Cross chiefly indebted, and to what extent?<sup>159</sup> The response to the first question: the Victorines (Hugh and Richard), Bonaventure (real and pseudo), and the late medieval speculative mystics, German and Flemish, it is impossible to quarrel with. In her attempt to determine the extent of that indebtedness the author is somewhat less convincing, but she has in the process assembled so many rich and beautiful texts that no one will greatly mind. Even the errors of detail scholars will (or should) be prepared to wink at. Something of that less attractive austerity of method, which is, however, necessary in studies of this sort, is present in Fr. Alberto's assessment of the Augustinian influence upon the Carmelite reformers, and the results are in consequence nuanced and sure.<sup>160</sup> Upon Teresa's life, we are told, the influence of the writings of St. Augustine (she appears to have known only the *Confessions* at first hand) was marked; upon her doctrine, it was merely secondary, providing confirmation for her own personal conclusions. Upon the life of

<sup>155</sup> Guiot, "La doctrine de l'amour de saint François de Sales," *Vie spirituelle* 90 (1954) 157-73.

<sup>156</sup> I. Van Hourtryne, *Saint François de Sales peint par lui-même* (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont-César, 1954, pp. 241).

<sup>157</sup> José María de la Cruz, "Escuela mística carmelitana," *Carmelus* 1 (1954) 3-41.

<sup>158</sup> E. A. Peers, *Handbook to the Life and Times of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross* (London: Burns Oates, 1954).

<sup>159</sup> Benedictine of Stanbrook, *Mediaeval Mystical Tradition and Saint John of the Cross* (London: Burns Oates, 1954, pp. 161).

<sup>160</sup> Alberto de la V. C., O.C.D., "Presencia de San Agustín en Sta. Teresa y San Juan de la Cruz," *Revista de espiritualidad* 14 (1955) 170-84.



John of the Cross the writings of Augustine were without influence, but in his doctrine there is a clear Augustinian strain, for St. Augustine was, after the Bible, St. John's favorite reading. What of the influence of St. Thomas? Fr. Nazario, by the cataloguing of a long series of antinomies, scouts the idea of "the Thomism of St. John of the Cross."<sup>161</sup>

The new manual edition of the works of St. Teresa, aside from its other merits, has the advantage of situating them historically through its constant clarification of individual words by reference to the usage of the period.<sup>162</sup> Good introductions, an extended bibliography, the providing of both the early Escorial and the definitive Toledo text of the *Camino*, the intransigence of the editor before any modernization of the language or any "corrections" of the Saint's impetuous literary style, further increase the value for the serious student of an edition modestly offered to the general public. No especially significant studies of the doctrine of St. Teresa having come to my attention in this period, I will limit myself to the recommendation of a simple exposition designed to an apostolic end by a master of Teresan studies. Canon Hoornaert, who was a pioneer in that literary study of St. Teresa which is so dear to the heart of her newest editor, describes the prayer of passive recollection (*Moradas* 4, 3), the better to induce an esteem for prayer in priests too much given, the Canon feels, to the active apostolate.<sup>163</sup>

The stormy debate which has been going on since 1922 on the subject of the authenticity of the redaction in forty verses of the *Spiritual Canticle* (*Cántico* "B") received new orientations in 1954 at the hands of Fr. Eulogio. In a meticulous study of the use of Scripture in *Cántico* "B" he reverses the conclusion arrived at, with the same method, by Vilnet in 1949.<sup>164</sup> The internal evidence, accordingly, is in agreement with the external: this second redaction is not an interpolated copy but the authentic work of St. John of the Cross. Further, he has described the sorry business of this controversy from its beginning in pages which should do much to awaken scholars to the perils of grinding axes in public.<sup>165</sup> Perhaps now a

<sup>161</sup> Nazario de Sta. Teresa, O.C.D., "Tomismo y misticismo: Estilos de espiritualidad ante el mundo," *Revista de espiritualidad* 13 (1954) 461-71.

<sup>162</sup> Saint Teresa of Jesus, *Obras completas*, ed. Efrén de la Madre de Dios, O.C.D. (2 vols. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1954, pp. xi + 904, xvii + 1046).

<sup>163</sup> R. Hoornaert, "Le seuil de la contemplation d'après sainte Thérèse," *Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses* 1 (1955) 196-214.

<sup>164</sup> Eulogio de la Virgen del Carmen, O.C.D., "La Sda. Escritura y la cuestión de la segunda redacción del Cántico espiritual de San Juan de la Cruz," *Ephemerides carmelitanae* 5 (1951-54) 249-475.

<sup>165</sup> Eulogio de la Virgen del Carmen, O.C.D., "La vida del Cántico espiritual y el Espíritu Científico," *Revista de espiritualidad* 14 (1955) 37-52.

more temperate mentality and a more objective openness to the relevant data will characterize the debate. In the meantime more data is being brought to light.<sup>166</sup>

To the stylistic studies of St. John's poetry a very informed addition has been made by Wardropper, who analyzes the literary genres of which they are tributary.<sup>167</sup> On particular points of doctrine we have been equally well served by the following studies. Henri Martin's exposition of the relations of grace and nature in the doctrine of St. John was initially conceived, as were so many worthwhile interpretations of the past three decades, as a refutation of the famous Sorbonne dissertation of Jean Baruzi. The result is, however, an admirably balanced piece of work equally calculated to satisfy the exigencies of the scholars by the probity of its exegesis and the practical needs of the general reader by the clarity of its language.<sup>168</sup> The mystical life is shown to repose on the secure foundations of solid virtue, its essence possible of summation in two axioms: the sole happiness of man consists in the love of God alone; in this life such love is experienced only in the inebriation of the cross. Fr. McCann has attempted the historical exposition of the Johannine doctrine of the void and its theological analysis in Thomistic terms.<sup>169</sup> The result is a trifle blurred, perhaps, about the edges. One is never really sure whether it is the doctrine of John of the Cross, or Thomas Aquinas—or Garrigou-Lagrange. But one has—it is impossible to allay them wholly—one's suspicions. Although so much briefer in compass, the study of Fr. Lauter, thanks to a more reliable methodology, is much more informative.<sup>170</sup> The ecclesial dimensions of St. John's use of nuptial imagery are set in excellent relief: an entire area for fruitful future research is laid bare. It is in such a context that an analysis like that of Prof. Rauhut, in itself sharply accurate, must be situated; otherwise it can so easily appear to be the transcript merely of a latter-day gnosticism—and we are back once more with Baruzi.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> José María de la Cruz, O.C.D., "Un nuevo código del Cántico espiritual de S. Juan de la Cruz," *Revista de espiritualidad* 13 (1954) 481–82; Simeon de la Sgda Familia, O.C.D., "Un código singular de la segunda redacción del 'Cántico' sanjuanista," *Ephemerides carmelitanae* 5 (1951–1954) 160–229.

<sup>167</sup> B. W. Wardropper, "Hacia una historia de la lirica a lo divino," *Clavileño* (Revista de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanismo) 5 (1954) 1–12.

<sup>168</sup> H. Martin, *Le thème de la parfaite alliance de grâce dans saint Jean de la Croix* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1954, pp. 309).

<sup>169</sup> L. A. McCann, C.S.B., *The Doctrine of the Void* (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1954, pp. 145).

<sup>170</sup> H. J. Lauter, O.F.M., "Mysterium und Mystik: Zur Theologie der Christusbraut-mystik nach dem hl. Johannes vom Kreuz," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 18 (1955) 42–50.

<sup>171</sup> F. Rauhut, "Hl. Johannes vom Kreuz: Mystisches Wissen," *Geist und Leben* 27 (1954) 354–57.

How should one go about reading St. John of the Cross? A specialist gives the answer.<sup>172</sup> Not, says he, in chronological order, for one could be thrown off by the sheer austere strangeness of the doctrine. One should rather start with the *Spiritual Canticle*; for there is warmth, enthusiasm, a Saint caught up in song. Then, the *Living Flame*, which provides a middle term between the sheerly lyrical and the later doctrinal exhortations, and, as well, solidifies the lesson learned, quite painlessly, in the *Canticle* of the Saint's symbolic use of Scripture. Next, the *Ascent*, with especial attention to the symbol of "night." Finally, the *Dark Night*. Fr. Amatus speaks, of course, to non-scholars; but, for a freshening of their spiritual attitude toward works of such spiritual importance, it is allowable to recommend the procedure to scholars as well.

The possibilities of misinterpreting St. John of the Cross are many and easy. A few years ago Fr. Sanson discussed the classic instance of such possibilities being utilized to the full, the controversy of Bossuet and Fénelon on pure love.<sup>173</sup> Each referred to him to justify his own theology of love, in the first months of the controversy without really having had a chance to read him; a circumstance which facilitated the confection of prompt rebuttals but which also determined what they intended finding when finally, around the middle of 1695, they set themselves to the study of John of the Cross in Cyprien's defective French version. Fénelon, in Sanson's opinion, was the more correct in his interpretation; for he submitted his mind to what he read there and did not, as Bossuet, plunder it as a private arsenal. Fénelon, the man, forever comes off best when compared to his more orthodox adversary, the terrible Eagle of Meaux. The story of their controversy is told once more in the introduction to Fr. Varillon's admirable anthology of Fénelon's spiritual writings.<sup>174</sup> And in the writings, of which a great part are fortunately his letters, the man Fénelon is fascinatingly revealed. But no one has yet succeeded in unlocking his essential secret. Not even Pierre Blanchard.<sup>175</sup>

Another contemporary interpreter of St. John of the Cross, but an unqualifiedly good one, was St. John Baptist de la Salle, whose doctrinal stature has only latterly come to be recognized by historians. A first-rate

<sup>172</sup> Amatus a S. Familia, O.C.D., "Hoe de H. Joannes van het Kruis lezen?" *Tijdschrift voor geestelijk leven* 10 (1954) 41-54.

<sup>173</sup> H. Sanson, S.J., *Saint Jean de la Croix entre Bossuet et Fénelon* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1953).

<sup>174</sup> F. Varillon, S.J., *Fénelon: Oeuvres spirituelles* (Paris: Aubier, 1954, pp. 390).

<sup>175</sup> P. Blanchard, "La psychologie des profondeurs selon Fénelon," *Psyche*, n. 88 (1954) 119-27.

study of his doctrine on prayer is now available.<sup>176</sup> It is primarily an analysis of the *Explication de la méthode d'oraison*, which, depending upon the interpreters, is usually considered an approximation of the Ignatian or the Sulpician school of spirituality. Brother Frédien-Charles comes at it afresh, instituting helpful comparisons with the doctrines of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, as the matter requires. One thing stands out clearly, the Saint's desire to bring his novices to the threshold of contemplation; to that end was the method. And a primary element in the method was the practice of abandonment, of which spirituality, it has now been made clear, De la Salle was one of the chief representatives in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Frédien-Charles, *L'Oraison d'après saint Jean-Baptiste de la Salle* (Paris: Ligel, 1955, pp. xviii + 268).

<sup>177</sup> A. Rayez, S.J., "La spiritualité d'abandon chez saint Jean-Baptiste de la Salle," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 31 (1955) 47-76.