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IDEAS AND STYLE IN THE SPIRITUAL ALPHABETS
OF FRANCISCO DE OSUNA

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

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The Ohio State University
1966

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DEDICATION

To my
Mother and Father
PREFACE

In the absence of a critical edition of any of Osuna's works, I have tried to conserve, in the discussion of certain aspects of the ideas and style of the Abecedarios espirituales, the orthography and punctuation of the editions used, except in the separation of words. In this matter, modern style has been followed, unless it demanded an alteration in the original spelling.

Since the materials for this study were difficult to obtain, and the work has been long in preparation, it would be difficult for me to find space or words adequate to acknowledge my indebtedness to the teachers and friends who have helped me with this, and with other aspects of the problem. I am especially grateful to my teacher and adviser, Kenneth Scholberg, whose direction and encouragement have been invaluable. Very helpful, too, were the suggestions made by the other members of the reading committee, Marta Morello-Frosch and James C. Babcock, and by Juan Loveluck and Everett J. Nelson.

I should like to thank also Bruce W. Wardropper, my first adviser on this project; Luigi Borelli; the late Alexander Schutz; and Father Leo F. Miller, librarian at
The Pontifical College Josephinum, Delaware, Ohio. To the Graduate School itself I am indebted for the financing, through the library, of a photocopy of *El Norte de los estados*. Finally, I should like to extend my thanks to my patient family and to all the teachers and friends who have helped me with good works and wise words.
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INTRODUCTION

Francisco de Osuna (1492?-1542?) was the author of eight Castilian and six Latin books, on religious and moral topics, that enjoyed a wide distribution in Spain and other countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In spite of his popularity, however, only a few facts can be established about his life. Rodríguez Marín, tocayo of Osuna and a native of the same place, planned an edition of one of the Castilian works (El norte de los estados), and a biography of the author. He abandoned the enterprise, however, because of lack of information on Osuna's life.¹

It has been impossible, as yet, to determine Osuna's family name or the exact dates of his birth and death. He himself attests² that as a boy (puer) he was present at the conquest of Tripoli by Navarro (in 1510).

¹Fidèle de Ros, Un Maître de Sainte Thérèse, la père François d'Osuna, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine spirituel (Paris, Beauchesne, 1936), Présface, p. xiv.

²In his Sanctuarium Biblicum, fol. 92, cited by De Ros, op. cit., p. 5.
He also acknowledges his early dependence on the house of the Counts of Ureña, later to become the Dukes of Osuna.

By 1523, Osuna was a member of the Friars Minor of the Regular (reformed) Observance, a preacher, and was already being consulted on questions of mental prayer. In 1527 he published the Tercera parte del libro llamado Abecedario espiritual, one of the first original spiritual treatises produced in Spain. In 1528 the Primera parte appeared, called by Osuna his "first fruits," although it appeared after the Third.

The Second and Fourth parts followed in 1530. This series (commonly known as the Abecedarios espirituales rather than Partes), was completed by two books that appeared posthumously—the Fifth Alphabet in 1542, the Sixth in 1554.

In 1530 Osuna published the Gracioso Combite de las gracias del Sancto Sacramento del altar, and in 1531,

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3 Primera Parte del libro llamado Abecedario espiritual: q trata de las circunstancias de la sagrada passion del hijo de dios. Compuesto por el padre fray Fraycisco de Ossuna. Saragoza, Pedro Bernuz y Bartolome de Nagera, 1546; Prólogo, fol. 2. This book is referred to hereafter as 1 Abc.

4 De Ros, op. cit., pp. 44-45.


6 1 Abc., fol. 3.
his Norte de los estados, a treatise on marriage. On the frontispiece of the latter work Osuna is called "comissario general de la orden de Sant Francisco En las provincias de las indias del mar occeano." It is conjectured that he held this post in 1528-29, although he never came to the new world.  

In 1532, Osuna arrived in France, where he published two collections of sermons, Sanctuarium Biblicum (Toulouse) and Pars Meridionalis (Paris) in 1533. He spent the years 1534 to 1536 in Antwerp, where four other Latin books were printed.

The Fifth Alphabet, written after Osuna's return to Spain, carries a dedication (to Antonio de Guevara) written by the bookseller Juan de Espinosa. In this prologue, Espinosa says that Osuna is dead, but does not give a precise date.

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7 De Ros, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

8 Ibid., pp. 139-146.

9 Quinta parte del Abecedario spiritual, de nuevo compuesto por el padre fray Francisco de Ossuna, el que es Consuelo de pobres y aviso de ricos. No menos útil para los frayles que para los seculares y aun pa los predicadores. Cuyo intento deue ser retraer los hombres del amor de las riquezas falsas y hazerlos pobres de espíritu. Burgos, Juan de Junta, 1554; Prologo de Juan de Espinosa, fol. 2. This book is referred to hereafter as _5 Abc._
Although the Sixth Alphabet was not published until 1554, its dedication was written by the author himself. The ending shows an effort by Osuna to relate this Alphabet to the First; an indication that he views it as the conclusion of the series. Thus it appears that the Sixth is the last, although it was the Fifth that was left without dedication on the author's death.

Osuna had been called by his contemporaries "el Crisólogo minorita." The earlier Chrysologus had said that Christian doctrine was revealed in figures and parables so that it would be understood only by minds that the Holy Spirit had enlightened. Osuna follows the custom of using parables and figures, but his technique is systematic enough that much of his meaning yields itself to diligent study.

Osuna's Castilian and Latin works appeared in a total of fifty-nine editions, in Spain, France, Belgium and Italy, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During this period there also appeared translations into

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Italian and German, and a rendering of one of the Castilian works into Latin. Especially popular, among the Castilian works, were the six books generally known as the Abecedarios Espirituales, although their formal titles call them "parts" of one Alphabet.

After the decline of this considerable popularity, Osuna's works remained in relative obscurity, as far as literary studies are concerned, until the twentieth century. Boehmer devoted some pages to him in connection with his study of the inquisitorial proceedings against Francesca Hernandez and Fray Francisco Ortiz. But Boehmer's work is essentially historical, although it includes some bibliographical information about Osuna, and synopses or translations of many passages from the Third Alphabet. In 1908, Morel Fatio pointed out the importance of the Third Alphabet of Osuna as one of the sources that Sta. Teresa herself named (in the fourth chapter of her Vida). Following this, mention of Osuna was more frequent, but characterized by divergent opinions on matters of fact and doctrine. While Boehmer called Osuna an "Anhanger" of Francesca Hernandez, Father

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Michel-Ange Sarraute\textsuperscript{14} denied fervently that he should be so termed. The question was taken up again by Father Fidele de Ros\textsuperscript{15} in a more moderate fashion.

In the matter of doctrine, opinions also vary. Pierre Groult\textsuperscript{16} accused Osuna of limiting himself to easy and practical suggestions for the attainment of the grace of mystical prayer, leaving his reader only at the threshold of the mystical experience. Pfandl\textsuperscript{17} says that he goes no farther in his doctrine than a state of preparation for mysticism, that is, as far as recogimiento or contemplation. According to Pfandl, Osuna is not a theorist but simply a practitioner of mental prayer.

On the other hand, Father de Ros roundly asserts that Osuna does not detain his disciple "at the threshold of the mystic life," but rather seems to depict, at times, the closest possible union with God.

As far as theory is concerned, Father Michel-Ange cites a series of religious commentators who found

\textsuperscript{14}Michel-Ange Sarraute, "La Vie franciscaine," Rev. de Archivos, XXIX, julio-diciembre, 1913, pp. 157-216.
\textsuperscript{15}De Ros, op. cit., pp. 77-105.
\textsuperscript{17}Ludwig Pfandl, Historia de la literatura nacional española en la edad de oro, Transl. Jorge Rubió Balaguer (Barcelona, Gustavo Gili, S.A., 1952), p. 175.
Osuna's works both learned and profound. This opinion is shared, in some degree at least, by Father Nazario de Santa Teresa who contrasts Osuna with Gracian precisely on the basis that while Gracian proposed to divulge his doctrine, Osuna proposed to profundizar.

On the subject of literary style, no serious attempt has been made to study Osuna's works as literature in their own right, despite the fact that Peers remarked on the need for such investigation. The most extensive effort in this field was made by Etchegoyen, who included in his work on Sta. Teresa some highly perceptive comments about Osuna. Father de Ros, in his study of Osuna's life, bibliography, and doctrine, included a complete chapter (pp. 394-423), as well as scattered comments, on style.

Despite the fact that statements about Osuna's literary qualities are more cautious than those about his

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doctrine, there are considerable areas of disagreement here also. De Ros speaks of Osuna's methods of "amplification" (especially of his allegorical interpretation of the Bible, and of his analogies); use of this term suggests that these procedures have been identified with the rhetorical method of amplification or development practiced by preachers. Such an implied comparison is cogent, but Father de Ros does not pursue the point to the extent of telling us what the method consists of, nor why it was adopted by Osuna or the earlier preachers. This reticence is understandable, in view of the fact that Fr. de Ros did not propose to write a literary study at all. Furthermore, the problem itself is a difficult one. Among the materials for amplification utilized in the medieval thematic sermon, James J. Murphy lists Scriptures, concordances, collections of exempla, and other information on man and the universe.\(^{22}\) It becomes apparent, on due consideration, that this list is practically inexhaustible, since "information on man and the universe" may cover anything. So, indeed, may Fr. de Ros' category of "analogies." In both cases, the choice of such a general term appears to be necessary, since Osuna, as well as the medieval preachers, includes

in his amplification items or concepts from Scripture or from any other source.

In the case of Osuna, a favorite source other than Scripture is data on the things of nature, that is, on the characteristics of living creatures and on the chemical or physical properties of substances and objects. In this area, Murphy observes that we now know more about the ancestries of exempla, bestiaries, and the like than we know about the method of employing the data derived from them. Lynn Thorndyke had previously noted that students of literature worked with exempla, but not with the similitudes of things, which fill several important medieval collections.

The student who ventures, therefore, to attempt a literary study of Osuna's work is forced to confront an area in which few guidelines have been established. Even the most cursory examination will show that Osuna's use of similitudes and analogies occupies a large

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23 Ibid., p. 9, n. 42.

24 Lynn Thorndike, "The Properties of Things of Nature Adapted to Sermons," Medievalia et Humanistica, fasc. 12, 1958, p. 70. Some collections he names are: Septiformis de moralitibus rerum naturae, Lumen animae, and the Summa de exemplis ac similitudinibus rerum by John of San Gemignano. (The article especially describes an anonymous fifteenth-century folio on the properties of natural things appropriate to sermons for the course of the year.)
proportion of his work. However, the remainder, written in clear and often forceful language, offers a temptation for the student to separate the two aspects arbitrarily. Etchegoyen cautions us against this, saying (in respect to the mystics in general):

L'étroit parallélisme qui unit la doctrine et l'expression de l'amour, les explique aussi l'un par l'autre. C'est en vain que les philosophes ont essayé de définir la première sans la seconde ou les littératoires ont prétendu exposer celle-ci sans celle-là.25

But, since an idea may appear in various metaphors, or one metaphor may be used variously to express different ideas, Etchegoyen says that he will discuss metaphors and ideas separately.26

De Ros also has divided, in effect, Osuna's style from his doctrine. Both he and Etchegoyen might have performed a valuable service to the student of literature had they elected to investigate the relationship between ideas and the figures that represent them. This, of course, was beyond the bounds of the study that each scholar had proposed; Etchegoyen was primarily interested in Osuna's rapports with Sta. Teresa, and the monumental work of de Ros is dedicated to history, bibliography, and theology.

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25Etchegoyen, op. cit., p. 49.
26Ibid., p. 50.
It has remained, therefore, unexplained why Osuna, who is capable of writing the clearest and most forthright prose imaginable, should so often tend to an extreme use of figures, and to an apparent disorder of organization. These characteristics—simplicity and clarity on the one hand, disorder and obscurity on the other—are almost the only traits about which authorities are in general agreement. Father Mir, in his introduction to the modern Spanish edition of the Third Alphabet, attributes the apparent chaos to a state of overwhelming religious enthusiasm on the part of the author.27 While this theory is not to be discounted, any writer who

27 Miguel Mir, "Discurso Preliminar," Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XVI (Madrid, Bailly-Barrière, 1911), p. 29. From this somewhat faulty edition an English translation has been made (The Third Spiritual Alphabet, translated from the Spanish by a Benedictine of Stanbrook. London, Burns Oates, 1931, and Westminster, Maryland, Newman Bookshop, 1948). From it also derives the Italian translation by Giovanni Maria Bertini (Frate Francisco de Osuna, Via alla mistica (terza parte dell’abecedario spirituale), Brescia; Morcelliana, 1933). Beyond these, de Ros lists a fanciful translation of the Third Alphabet into French at the Abbey of Lerins (1908), a partial translation from the princeps edition by Father Michel-Ange in the periodical (since suspended) Orient (1923-1932), and an Italian translation of the Lerins work, in progress in 1937. (De Ros, op. cit., pp. 184-86.) (I have not found a trace of this translation.) The Fourth Alphabet appeared in Místicos franciscanos españoles, I, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos (Madrid, Editorial Católica, 1948). Other Castilian works of Osuna are not available in any modern edition. The editions that I have used, and their locations, are listed in the bibliography.
produces eight sizeable works (counting only those in Spanish) must almost necessarily have some organization, if only that imposed by the habitual course of his thought. Moreover, a writer dealing with the subject of mental prayer in the midst of inquisitorial investigations of Illuminism must have been aware of the need to speak with care. Osuna's works suffered almost no inquisitorial deletions until the suppression of *El gracioso Combite de las gracias del Sancto sacramento del altar* in 1559; Father de Ros attributes this suppression not to doctrinal error but to the fact that Osuna favored frequent communion (evidently a sensitive subject at the time).²⁸

Osuna himself remarks that if those who criticize his writing would try their hand at the work, they would learn to be more charitable toward those who do it.²⁹ The remark seems to reflect the sentiment of a working writer rather than a completely enraptured enthusiast. I do not mean to cast doubt upon Osuna's enthusiasm for his subject, which is quite evident. It would, however, have been easy to express this in plain style, which he

²⁸ De Ros, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

²⁹ Segunda Parte del libro llamado *Abecedario spiritual*: donde se tratan diversos ejercicios, en cada letra el suyo. Burgos, Juan de Junta, 1555; fol. 195. This book is referred to hereafter as 2 Abc.
manages admirably. The question that must arise is why he should then elect so often to follow the circuitous route of analogies, figures, allusions, and innumerable citations from Scripture and other sources.

If Osuna were simply a rhapsodist, it would be difficult also to see why some readers have called him "profound," and why a volume should be dedicated to his theology. The fact is that there are few statements about Osuna on which students of his work agree, as we have seen. Even gross matters of content are so differently appraised by individual scholars that it sometimes appears as though they must be discussing several different writers. De Ros remarks that Osuna has remained an enigma; he attributes the situation to the fact that, for the most part, observations by previous authorities have been based on a reading of only one or two Alphabets.30

This factor would certainly contribute to a general lack of agreement on both content and form in Osuna's work. However, one basis for reaching a consensus has never been systematically investigated; that is, the composition of the works themselves. Each previous writer has chosen a facet of Osuna's book or books—as

30De Ros, op. cit., Préface, pp. xii-xiii.
the case may be--to investigate. Father de Ros, whose study is the most extensive, gives relatively scant attention to style and structure. Other writers have confined themselves principally to impressionistic observations, or a selection of parallels between the works of Osuna and Sta. Teresa. The word of warning voiced by Etchegoyen has, for all practical purposes, gone unheeded; no one, as far as I can discover, has made a systematic effort to study Osuna's language in connection with his ideas, or separately, for that matter. However, an effort to relate certain concepts to their metaphorical embodiment has been made by Helmut Hatzfeld, but his study includes only some passages from Osuna among those from other religious writers.31

There is, I believe, some correlation between the fact that there is little agreement on Osuna's ideas, and a general agreement on the disorder and difficulty of the language by which he expresses them. Since no literary study has yet concerned itself solely with Osuna, the first one should attempt, I believe, to discover what generalizations may be drawn, with validity, from the work itself. In dealing with literature of a

relatively unfamiliar genre, it is easy to impose upon it criteria that are inappropriate to the case. As far as Osuna's Spiritual Alphabets are concerned, even their genre remains as yet undefined. In this situation, it is not difficult to see why evaluations of their characteristics vary greatly.

Father de Ros expresses clearly the purpose of the Alphabets; it is to provide the reader with a series of spiritual exercises. Although he assigns the exercises to large classifications, he does not suggest any relation between the nature of these spiritual exercises and the language in which Osuna transmits them. It is at this point that the student of literature may well begin his work, for it is most probable that a writer who intends to create a specific effect will use the resources appropriate to that end.

Unfortunately, sixteenth-century ideas about spiritual exercises are almost as unfamiliar as sixteenth-century manners of expressing them. While Father de Ros has extracted the doctrine of contemplation, he has left undescribed the philosophical system into which this doctrine fits. But we cannot ignore it, if we are to penetrate the enigma of Osuna. It is critical to our

32De Ros, op. cit., pp. 428-442.
study, because contemplation and meditation—two principal classes of spiritual exercise—have as their material any form of reality that exists, or has existed. Osuna's Alphabets consist, in large part, of material for meditation and instructions on the practice of meditation and contemplation. Since this is the case, the materials chosen arise from the world as Osuna sees it. Because his knowledge and his interests include not only theology and ethics but also philosophy and natural science, the Alphabets form an encyclopedia of sixteenth-century ideas. It is only secondarily an encyclopedia, however; its primary purpose is to force the reader's participation in the spiritual exercises of which the works consist. Any reader of the Alphabets is therefore constrained to contribute more of his own effort than he might have expected, for this effort is the exercise itself.

Since this is the case, the literary commentator on the Alphabets has no recourse but to attempt to deal with some aspects of their philosophical and doctrinary content. This procedure is somewhat unusual, and perhaps difficult, since it requires the investigation of two relatively unknown quantities. However, it is more feasible in the case of Osuna than in that of many other religious writers, because of Osuna's avowedly pedagogical
intent, and the length and scope of his writings, which reveal many aspects of his thought. Also, his plain style is unusually clear, expressive, and exact, so that the attentive reader can profit greatly by Osuna's own observations and instructions.

Although this particular type of literature may at first glance appear to be highly specialized, it is, in fact, most informative about facts, ideas, and assumptions of the time. Equally important, from the literary viewpoint, is the technique of composition used by Osuna in these lengthy and varied works, which range from Goliardic ribaldry to the most delicate nuances of poetic expression.

Osuna's importance as a precursor of the later mystics is conceded by Father de Ros. Father Crisogono suggests an importance not confined to the genre, saying:

Creo que una de las grandes injusticias cometidas con nuestros autores ha sido acordarnos tan poco de este insigne franciscano [Osuna], cuyos escritos no solo fueron escuela donde aprendieron todos los mas celebrados místicos españoles de ultimos de aquel siglo, sino que va tambien a la cabeza de nuestra literatura de oro.33

How great Osuna's influence may have been in profane literature of the Golden Age can be determined

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33P. Crisógono, La escuela mística carmelitana (Madrid-Avila, 1930), p. 54, cited by F. de Ros, op. cit., p. 422. (Punctuation shown as given in source.)
only after the character of Osuna's work is itself defined. It has already been mentioned by Father de Ros and others that an exemplum used by Osuna (in his Norte de los estados) also occurs in Don Quijote. (There is no evidence, however, that rules out a common source.) Otherwise, I have discovered no attempt to evaluate Osuna's effect upon the course of later literature outside of the religious genres. Such works, of course, could not normally be expected to appear as long as there is no literary study of Osuna himself.

In this exploratory essay, I shall attempt to describe Osuna's spiritual exercises in terms of the effect that they intend to produce, and the means of achieving it. Both the end and the means are often discussed by Osuna himself, and his practice, although it goes beyond his stated theory, is not inconsistent with it. Osuna's ambiguity, on which Peers remarks, is not really designed to deceive the reader, but rather to make him contribute his share to the creation of a concept that Osuna half conceals and half reveals. In the course of his work, Osuna himself gives the reader most of the information he needs. In order to marshal

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34 De Ros, op. cit., p. 277.
all the data necessary to the solution of any one problem, however, the reader may need an extensive set of notes.

The principal cause of Osuna's ambiguity lies in his use of figures. The term is one he uses so frequently that the contexts show clearly what a figure is; it is a manifestation of reality that is accessible to the senses. Since to Osuna, all figures are embodiments of spiritual reality, and the compendium of all spiritual realities is Christ the Son, then any created being may serve as a point of entry into spiritual realms. The process is one of discerning the spiritual nature in the sensible object, be it rock, tree, animal, star, furnace, ship, or man himself. In referring to any such item, Osuna uses it in a context that will evoke its spiritual attributes, not necessarily those that we ordinarily associate with it. Since he himself, however, offers much information about the figures, it is possible to deduce how these attributes are arrived at, and to postulate them rationally on occasions when they are not given.

Since the figures may be any being from the natural world or from Scripture, it is necessary to accumulate some information about Osuna's views on both. Also, because these creatures represent spiritual
realities or abstract concepts, some of Osuna's philosophical ideas must be discovered. In doing so, one must cross, at times, the usual frontiers between literary studies and other disciplines. Etienne Gilson remarks that one venture of his into the field of literary commentary was greeted by the response "Les littéraires ne s'entendront jamais avec les philosophes." He declares his willingness, on the part of philosophy, to contribute to an understanding of literature whenever it contains ideas of philosophic origin.36 Because this situation is the one that confronts a student of Osuna, I have found it necessary to utilize, at times, the good offices of M. Gilson and of other philosophers, as well as those of historians of science and of art.

The first three Spiritual Alphabets form a series progressing from the beginning of the spiritual life in the First to its culmination in the Third. Since Osuna's intention is to instruct, this series is a helpful introduction for the reader uninitiated into such exercises. The first two books provide a background of information for the third, and for the remaining works. The plan of the first three is ambitious; it is an attempt to provide a basis of theology, philosophy, and

doctrine, with appropriate terminology, sufficient for the reader to undertake various spiritual exercises. The exercises, with instructions on their practice, also appear.

The Third Alphabet is devoted to the vía negativa, which is the exercise of recogimiento; in it, however, a great deal of general information and moral counsel is included. This is the book most often read, principally because of Sta. Teresa's reference to it. The reader will find the Third Alphabet much more communicative if he first acquaints himself with the preceding books of the series.

In the Fourth Alphabet (which is not organized alphabetically at all) is found the general outline of Osuna's cosmology. Because of this, it will be referred to frequently in Chapter I of this paper, in which Osuna's universe will be partially described. It is an extraordinary book, in which an attempt is made to trace the operation of the Law of Love in respect to every class of being, from God in insensible things.

The Fifth Alphabet is a contemptus mundi. The first part, labelled "consuelo de pobres," is intended principally for contemplatives, although the layman is also addressed. The second treatise, "aviso de ricos," is directed toward people in active life, with some
special attention to prelates. In this Alphabet, texts are given in Latin (followed by translations); which suggests that a priestly audience was anticipated.\footnote{Osuna was apparently told of the popularity of his works among the priesthood during the time of his residence in Flanders (De Ros, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 608 and note 4).} Here, Osuna’s style is more personal, and he relates more of his own experiences and sentiments than in other works. In this book, too, he employs more frequently the opportune witticism, and also scathing social and moral criticism; some of it aimed directly at his priestly audience.

The Sixth and last Alphabet is a treatise on the five wounds of Christ, according to a series of metaphors arranged alphabetically. It also has texts in Latin, and is accompanied by indexes to all six Alphabets and to the \textit{Gracioso convite} (although the last have been removed from my copy, probably when the book was suppressed).

The works of Osuna reflect a few changes of opinion, but they remain essentially unified by the same fundamental concepts. Osuna traces the pattern of reality, as he sees it, through the moral, the physical, and the metaphysical worlds. In every case, the designs remain basically the same. Each book develops these
underlying configurations, and demonstrates them in different situations. When the reader finds a difficult passage in one Alphabet, he can often solve the problem by using information from the others.

Osuna's postulates about the organization of the material and the spiritual worlds are reflected in his choice of language and his stylistic procedures. To the modern reader some of these postulates are unfamiliar, and the style that arises from them seems correspondingly more difficult.

The figures that he uses to represent immaterial things correspond to his concept of the nature of the entities involved. For example, since he believes that the soul has two distinct sets of functions, he represents it by a man with two heads. Without the ideas that govern them, Osuna's figures would seem arbitrary, and to describe their connotations alone would be to prepare a dictionary of terms with no grammar; that is, no insight into the structural patterns that determine their use.

In order to penetrate the hermeticism of the Alphabets, it is necessary to refer alternately to ideas and to style. Ideas are not always overtly expressed, and must sometimes be discovered through analysis of stylistic elements; these in turn must often be referred to the ideas before they can be understood.
In the following chapter, some examples will be seen of attempts to define ideas through reference to the manner of their expression. This process, and its reverse, will occur throughout the succeeding chapters, since the system of style and the system of ideas are inextricable from one another. It is easier to begin with abstract concepts, which in this case are somewhat more familiar to us than the entities and rhetorical devices in which Osuna chooses to express them. With some orientation to Osuna's universe, we can begin to see how events and material objects reflect the pattern of his abstract concepts, and how the language mediates between them.

To Osuna, the universe is a manifestation of God, and to know natural or moral reality is to know Him. He must be known before He can be loved. The purpose of all the Alphabets is to incite love of God through

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38 Ley de amor santo (full title: Ley de amor y quarta parte del Abecedario espiritual donde se trata muy de rayz los misterios y preguntas: y ejercicios del amor: y la teología que pertenece no menos al entendimiento que a la voluntad: harto útil aún para los predicadores que deseen ver en buen rompecabezas de qué son escabrosas. Místicos francescans españoles. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, (Madrid, Editorial Católica, 1948), tomo I, p. 236. This book is hereafter referred to as 4 Abc.
knowledge, which is, as often as not, knowledge about the natural order. Osuna says that God's goodness is written in Scripture and painted in the Creation. However, we interpret both these sources in a manner that often differs widely from Osuna's. Therefore, the most accessible point of entry into his universe is, to us, his system of abstract ideas; that is, his philosophy or theology.

A complete system of philosophy is so all-embracing that we could not discuss it here, even if Osuna had supplied it to us explicitly. But some of his postulates, together with examples of the technique of implication he uses, will allow us to infer the gross outlines of the scheme. We shall have to place some reliance in inference, because it is not Osuna's intention to give us systematic treatises on theology or philosophy. His techniques of demonstration too often give way to those of persuasion, or to the production of aesthetic or psychological effects, or to practical counselling.

Of the Abecedarios, the nearest approach to a systematic exposition of cosmology is the Fourth. Here we literally begin at the beginning, with God and the

\[\text{394 Abc.}, \ p. \ 238.\]
Creation. It is shown that love is responsible for the very act of creation, and it is the Great Name of God. All aspects of life, to Osuna, are corollaries, in some way, to the law of love. It becomes crucial for us to understand the fundamental tenets of this system, if we are to speak with any accuracy about other aspects of Osuna's work.

In order to form a coherent picture of the law of love, I have found it necessary to include material from several Abecedarios. It is part of Osuna's technique to define a certain field of discourse, and then leave some part of it unexplained. The missing pieces must be supplied by some other portion of the work, or by inference. Difficulties are multiplied by the introduction of mutually incompatible propositions, and by the purposely enigmatic character of many passages. It becomes necessary to test all explicit statements against the implications of the figures, and to examine each part in the light of its conformity to the whole organism of the Abecedarios. Fortunately, the system that comes to light is coherent; Osuna's ambiguities are based on systematic manipulations of logic, not on ignorance of it. Neither are his ideas vague; on the contrary, I believe they are quite precise. They are purposely obscured, at times, by conscious infractions of
the standard rules of dialectics. For example, Osuna mixes concrete with abstract terms, introduces incompatible propositions, leaves unexplained gaps in the argument, and exploits more than one meaning of a term. Only a person with a clear conception of his subject and of the methods of logical discourse could so readily manipulate both to serve the ends of persuasion and effect, while still conforming to a fairly consistent system of ideas.

In the course of the following chapter, some of Osuna's methods will, perforce, come to light. I shall try to show the basic tenets of the law of love as it actually appears to function in the course of the works.

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40 Tercera parte del libro llamado Abecedario, Spiritual agora nuevamente impreso e corregido y añadido [sic] la tabla de los tratados y capitulos que contiene, in Escritores místicos españoles, tomo I, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid, Bailly-Baillière, 1911), p. 460. Referred to hereafter as 3 Abe. Osuna says that those that write about mystical theology or try to teach it must know logic and metaphysics (although these are not necessary for its practice).
CHAPTER I

THE NATURAL LAW OF LOVE

The law of love is a natural law. Osuna explicitly distinguishes between la ley positiva and la ley natural. La ley positiva "depende de la voluntad del que la instituye ... y porque la voluntad es libre, toda ley positiva es variable ...." On the other hand, "la ley natural no depende de ninguna voluntad, por esto se dice natural, cuasi necesaria; porque ninguno puede negar lo que da la naturaleza; es tan necesaria la ley natural impresa en nuestra ánima, que el mismo que la imprimió no puede negar esta ley ni dispensar en ella. ..."¹

Natural law does not depend upon the will of God, but upon His intellect ("entendimiento"). By natural law He rules Himself; by positive law He rules all created things. Natural law is invariable, the divine will coinciding invariably in the rectitude of the divine judgment.

The first postulate of the law of love is that the good is to be loved, and the greatest good most

¹ Abc., p. 234.
greatly loved; that is, that love be directly proportional to the goodness of its object. Second, it is affirmed that all things love the good; that is, the will of all things, created or uncreated, inclines itself toward the good. The good is called the object of the will. In order that the will may be attracted to it, it must first be known. Goodness will be "tanto más amado por la voluntad, cuanto más conocido por el entendimiento."^2

Is the good, then, anything that can be an object of the will? Osuna says that a thing "tanto tiene de bondad, cuanto tiene de ser";^3 "tiene tanto de bondad cuanto tiene de entidad y de substancia."^4 Goodness, then, is proportional to Being. But created beings have goodness only as "añadidura o accidente," while the goodness of God is substantial, that is, while a man may be without being good, "nunca Dios puede ser sin ser bueno."^5

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^2 Abc., p. 236.  
^3 Ibid., p. 237.  
^4 Ibid., p. 236.  
^5 Ibid., pp. 237-38. In short, goodness is predicated of the creature, but not of God, for all possible predicates of God are included in His substance. A predicate implies a quality, state, or action, all of which are considered to have no substance in themselves, but are attributes of substance. In God goodness is a substance, not an attribute; in the creature it is an attribute, not a substance.

To see the significance of this, let us compare two grammatically similar propositions: "the parrot
We have, then, a situation in which the good is object of the will, and goodness is a factor of being. Goodness communicates itself to the will through knowledge, but the will itself must act in this communication; that is, the will to know. Therefore it can be said that the will generates knowledge, which in turn inflames the will to love the goodness that is known. In the three terms of this proposition—Goodness (Being), Knowledge, and Will, we have come to one of the traditional concepts of the Trinity.

To return to the proportion between love and goodness, we see that infinite goodness must be

talks" and "the lightning flashes." If we transform "the parrot talks" into a proposition of the type "some parrots talk and some don't," the result is both empirically and logically admissable. However, the same transformation of the second proposition results in "some lightning flashes and some doesn't," which is impossible, since the flash is the lightning. In this same way, Goodness is God; so is Love.

Note that the qualities of God, since they cannot be attributed, will logically be taken as subjects; therefore instead of discussing attributes of God we more properly discuss His "names," which might also be called his "manifestations." Compare St. Augustine's treatise on the consubstantial nature of mind, knowledge, and love (On the Trinity, IX. 4, 5)(St. Augustine, Basic Writings, ed. Whitney G. Oates. New York, Random House, 1948; vol. II, pp. 792-95.)

6 Ibid., p. 503.
7Compare Augustine's explanation of St. Hilary's statement that "eternity is in the Father, form in the Image, use in the Gift." Eternity—uncreated being; Image—knowledge or understanding, i.e., the Word; Use—fruition, love, joy arising from the conjunction of Being and Image. On the Trinity, VI. 10. (St. Augustine, loc. cit., pp. 769-770.)
infinitely loved if it is known. Since only God is capable of infinite knowledge, only He is capable of fulfilling the law of love; that is, to love infinite goodness infinitely.  

The law of love is perfectly fulfilled in God himself, whose "great name" is Love. Each person of the Trinity is called Love, although the name is especially applied to the Holy Spirit, which is the infinite divine will inclining toward the infinite divine goodness. Moreover, God is the substance or essence of love, as He is of goodness.

However, since the natural law of love is perfectly fulfilled in God alone, there is no apparent logical necessity for the creation of the universe. The Trinity is entirely self-sufficient without the Creation; why the troublesome material world was produced is a question which Osuna does not try to satisfy logically.

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*In one sense, the rational soul can love infinitely; this will be discussed later in the chapter.*

*Osuna here notes the difference between essence or substance and attribute, saying:*

... por muy blanco que sea [uno], una necedad sería llamarle blancura, empero, como el amor que nuestro Señor tiene no le sea postizo ni lo tenga por manera de ornamento, sino que el mismo Dios es fuente infinita de siempre vivo amor,—cosa muy justa es que le llamemos amor y le demos este nombre, por grande; pues grandes cosas anuncia de él. (4º Abc., p. 292).
He quotes Scotus, saying that God wished to share himself with others who might accompany Him in loving His goodness, for their own good, not for His.\textsuperscript{10} He gave all things their natural being ("ser natural") because of love; He always loves this being, and if He should cease to love it, it would cease to exist. He creates things by naming them, "porque diciéndolo el, son hechas."\textsuperscript{11}

The Areopagite is also cited: "Salió Dios de sí cuando creó todas las cosas, según dice San Dionisio, a se les comunicar por amor, cuya propiedad es hacer que el que ama se dé al amado."\textsuperscript{12} This is probably the best explanation, to Osuna, of the miracle of creation. When God "salió de sí," it was an ecstasy of love; Dionysius' phrase as translated by Horn\textsuperscript{13} is "une sortie de lui-même." Divine love is characterized by Dionysius as being "above reason";\textsuperscript{14} and he compares it to the passion of brute beasts, because of its violence and its irresistible and insatiable character. Osuna speaks of

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., p. 245. \textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 311.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 282.
\textsuperscript{13} Gabriel Horn, "Amour et extase d'après Denys l'Aréopagite," in Revue d'ascétique et de mystique, juillet 1925, num. 23, p. 285.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 282.
it as an arrebato to which God is subject as is the creature.\footnote{1}

The universe was not created, then, because of logical necessity, since God fulfills all logical necessities within Himself. The only motive given for the act of creation is a passion—an ecstasy of love. Love is therefore the foundation of the universe, and is called by Osuna the "spiritual earth" on whose fruit we live; he compares it also to the other elements, so that it can be seen to penetrate the entire physical world.\footnote{17}

Love put into effect brings joy,\footnote{18} and God, who alone can put it into effect totally, created the universe to share in this joy. The purpose or "end" of the creature is the same as its beginning; it is the fulfillment of love.

Because of His overflowing goodness and love, God is compared to the sun; He is called the sun, and His habitation is the sun \[sic\]. Again Osuna cites Dionysius: "Manifiesta imagen de la bondad divina es todo aqueste

\footnote{15 Abc., p. 454.} \footnote{16 Abc., p. 461.} \footnote{17Love is water that satisfies the thirst of our desire and produces holy thoughts as water produces fish. It is air that gives us the breath of life and helps us fly toward God. It is fire in which the salamander of charity is grown. (3 Abc., p. 498.)} \footnote{18 Abc., p. 331.}
resplandeciente y sobreluciente sol." In this chapter of the Fourth Alphabet, the attributes of the sun may represent goodness or they may represent love; the ambivalence is understandable in view of the fact that "El amor convierte en si los suyos" so that it changes its subject and object into itself. By this operation Love reduces the trinity of lover, beloved, and love itself, into a unity, Love.

Love: the unifying force.—Before leaving the celestial domains, we should remark further on the unifying power of love. Osuna says, after the statement cited above, that if you love God, you convert Him totally into love. He cites St. Bernard to the effect that those who love "se igualan," and come to be one and the same thing. One of the important properties of love is that the lover and beloved communicate in such a way "que se digan ambos uno, y esa misma comunicación es el amor."

But farther on, he says that perfect love "no sabe hacer distinción entre el que ama y el amado,"
although this seems to hedge the question of unification after a very positive assertion on the subject.

The problem may be a genuine fear of suggesting pantheism, since this natural law of love must apply to the relations between creature and Creator, as well as between divine Persons. Osuna vacillates on the exact nature of the transformation worked by love. His statements are boldest while he is speaking mostly of celestial beings, in the early chapters. But when speaking of man's natural ability to love God, he says, "El amor luego da enteramente posesión al amador ...,"26 which is a situation quite different from becoming, with the beloved, "una misma cosa." In fact, it clearly implies the subject-object relationship that has been negated by the concept that "el amor convierte en sí los suyos."27 The logical consequence, pantheism, is sidestepped first by verbal quibbles: perfect love "no sabe hacer distinción entre el que ama y el amado," and "En el deseo hay una continencia virtual de las cosas deseadas."28 The

264 Abc., p. 407.
27 A second meaning of convertir is exploited in the statement that love "convierte las almas al mismo principio de el [el amor] salió" (Ibid., p. 233). In the context, this seems to mean that it "turns the souls toward" the principle, or beginning, of love (that is, toward God). This is not the same as being converted into love (el amor convierte en si los suyos).
28 Ibid., p. 425. Underscores are mine.
question is taken up again with the same inconsistency: man is transfigured "en Dios" by love as iron is transformed and transfigured in the fire.\textsuperscript{29} Fire, in any form, is a symbol of love; iron, however molten, is not fire. But the Holy Spirit is spoken of as fire, because it melts metals in order to unite them, "transformándolos en sí."\textsuperscript{30}

I believe that the body of discourse in the Abecedarios substantiates the view that Osuna's philosophy is not really pantheistic; too many of the figures preserve traits of essential difference between lover and Beloved.\textsuperscript{31} Osuna may have had several reasons for offering seemingly incompatible statements. First, it is impossible for the contemplative to retain any consciousness of self in the state of ecstatic love; Osuna points out that this consists of complete forgetfulness of internal, as well as external, things.\textsuperscript{32} The natural expression of such an experience may well sound pantheistic, and it is precisely this rapture that is Osuna's model for the union of God and the soul in love.

\textsuperscript{29} Abo., p. 409. \textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 355. \textsuperscript{31} Among the figures for the lover in the unitive state are andas, arca, castillo, tálamo, templo. The figure of the esposa presents us with the mystery of matrimony: two spirits in one flesh. \textsuperscript{32} Abo., p. 461.
The difficulties inherent in depicting a state that consists of forgetting anything that can be spoken may have forced Osuna into a definition by assertion and negation. Moreover, one of his rhetorical devices consists of making startling statements, which he then succeeds in reconciling to orthodox doctrine. However, on this important point, I believe that he is forcing the reader to make his own reconciliation, through the technique of analogy (which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter II). If both lover and Beloved are transformed into Love, it is not in the same "mode" of being—not, at least, when the subject and object are human and Divine. They do not become "equal" to each other, but rather analogous to each other. Both participate in one sublime operation: love. But they are like the same melody played in two different octaves.

Since the natural law of love is binding on the whole material and spiritual universe, it will necessarily present the same configuration throughout, and all parts of the whole will be analogous to each other: all will

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33 Osuna compares similar operations on the two levels, material and abstract, to voices singing counterpoint (4 Abc., p. 221).
seek their own good. But this will not make them all equal, by any means.

Because God contains all Goodness, all things seek Him, and in doing so seek their own Source. The circle is the natural form of any exposition of Osuna's law of love, and this form will repeat itself, eventually, when almost any aspect of it is discussed. The Fourth Alphabet itself is so arranged that one circle is formed by the love of God for His own goodness, another by the reciprocal love between God and the angels, others by human love, and the great chain is finally linked again to its source when the pilgrim, man, reaches Heaven.

God, Man, and Angels.—Goodness is not the only property of Being; another is Truth. These correspond to forces found in rational beings--intellect and will. Each of these forces desires to unite itself with the appropriate property: goodness "demands" love. By the same line of reasoning, truth must demand intellect.

Goodness itself has three aspects of "maneras": la honesta, la deleitable, la útil. La honesta also appeals to the intellect (which, of course, can only detect it in the light of knowledge). The pleasing and the useful appeal to two aspects of the will--la codicia

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354 *Abe.*, pp. 372-73.
and la potencia irascible.\textsuperscript{36} All three aspects of goodness are totally contained in God. His desire, in creating the world, was that all should enjoy this goodness with Him: "ningu\'n buen amor ama en tal manera sus cosas que las quiere retener sin las comunicar ..."\textsuperscript{37} God's wish, however, is all-powerful; it is immediately put into effect.\textsuperscript{38} Thus He wished us into existence according to the ideas in His own mind (the Logos); and by the same wish, that we might enjoy His goodness, He makes it available to us. On the material level, this may take the form of "fruits" of the earth, necessary to maintain the body. But in the spiritual realm, man is so created that God Himself can be attained by him, because his intellect has as much power to understand as God has to work,\textsuperscript{39} and his will can penetrate even where intellect does not reach.\textsuperscript{40} Between these two forces man is amply endowed with the ability to reach and enjoy, spiritually, the goodness of God.

The intellect, illuminated by faith (a good and correct understanding)\textsuperscript{41} displays this goodness to the will, and the will by nature is inclined to it.\textsuperscript{42} The

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{36} Abe., p. 690.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Abe., p. 525.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 394.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Abe., p. 348.
\end{itemize}
inclination of the will, which is desire, is the spiritual equivalent of the motion of a body in space. Osuna cites St. Augustine to this effect: "así como el cuerpo se mueve por algún espacio, se mueve el ánima por el deseo." To awaken this desire by supplying knowledge is one of the objectives of the Abecedarios.

It is, perhaps, worth noting here that Osuna is aware of some aspects of the motion of bodies in space. He compares the inclination of the will toward the divine Goodness to the force of gravity, for example. He says:

Aqueste amor consiste en un enderezamiento de la voluntad afectuosamente ordenada en aquel sumo bien, y tras esta voluntad, que es un acatamiento afeccionado a Dios, va todo el corazón y las entradas [sic] del hombre más prestamente que la piedra cuando desciende al centro de la tierra ...

And elsewhere he says:

Hay tan amorosas y perpetuas ocasiones de permanecer siempre amando, según lo último de la potencia, que sería más fácil dejar de caer siempre una gran piedra que se echase en un pozo sin suelo, que dejar uno de los bienaventurados de amar al que les tiene el amor en peso puesto ...

\[^{43}\text{Abc.}, \text{p.} \; 449.\]
\[^{44}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p.} \; 510.\]
\[^{45}\text{Abc.}, \text{p.} \; 689.\]
Osuna seems to have put his finger upon the law of gravity, and a part of the law of inertia. He states these as analogues to the spiritual motion, or "emotion," of love. It appears that he considers them both natural laws.

But rational beings, having free will, can initiate an action of their own. Thus they can elect either to follow the proper course of natural law, or to pervert it to inappropriate ends. This was done in the rebellion of Lucifer and in the fall of man, and this perversion of the law is held by Osuna to have had such cosmological effect as to dim the sun.

On the other hand, collaboration with a natural force should reduplicate force, and the natural impetus of divine love should lend great strength to individual love.

The capacity of an organism to move freely in the direction indicated by the will seems to be a measure of

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46 This part of the law of gravity seems to have been known before Newton and even before Galileo (born 1564). The real novelty here seems to be the statement that a body in motion tends to remain in motion. Although the inertia of a body at rest had been recognized, Galileo is thought to be the first to have made the statement that Osuna appears to be making here, in 1530. Compare A. Wolf, A History of Science, Technology and Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York: Macmillan Company, 1935), p. 39.

474 Abc., p. 260.
spirituality. Any material body is hampered by inertia, whereas thought "like spirit, goes and passes wherever it wishes." I believe that Osuna sees spirit as another and more subtle "mode" of matter, and thought or emotion another "mode" of passing through space.

This mechanistic view of spiritual events characterizes much of ancient Greek and Latin thought. Many words are formed on the basis of a transfer from the material to the "spiritual"; for example, ecstasy, from the Greek "to go out"; emotion, from the Latin "a going out"; and the English "uplifted" and "downcast." It is easy to think of many words and expressions, in Romance or Germanic languages, where the analogy between material and immaterial operations is exploited. In Osuna, this tendency is extended into a working principle of philosophy. Again, it is the theme of two voices singing counterpoint.

Since to love God is to collaborate with a natural law, Osuna points out that the commandment to love is

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483 Abe., p. 325.


50Ibid., p. 11.
really an invitation or "carta de amores." It is an attempt to make a privilege appear to be a service, and a promise seem to be a demand. God wants us to enjoy Him: "se puso debajo de apariencias de pan y vino por nos enseñar cuánta voluntad tiene de nos eneviar a los pechos de su consolación."52

As this quotation suggests, love for God may permissibly be codicia, the desire for the pleasing. Osuna explicitly defends the propriety of "coveting" God,53 supporting his assertion by a text from Ecclesiasticus (24, 25):

"En mí está la gracia de toda vida y verdad, en mí toda la esperanza de vida y de virtud; acabad de pasar a mí los que me codiciarís, y sed llenos de mis generaciones, porque mi espíritu es dulce más que la miel, y la heredad mía más dulce es que la miel y el panal."54

It is appropriate to love God with codicia, and also with querer de amistad; that is, the desire that the Beloved may have good things.55 The sin of Lucifer was that he loved himself with "querer de amistad," and coveted God's gifts, not Him.56

51_Abc., p. 437.  
52_Abc., p. 458.  
53Although he also gives, citing his source, St. Augustine's definition of codicia as the desire for "damaging" things (Ibid., p. 513).  
54_Abc., p. 268.  
55_Ibid., p. 267.  
56_Ibid., pp. 268-69.
As can be seen, one must observe proper order in love. While we are permitted to covet God for our own enjoyment (this may be experienced in recogimiento), we are not allowed to covet His worldly gifts. In the "love of friendship," we are confronted with a paradox, for how can we desire "goods" for One who has everything? The answer lies in free will, which was granted man (and angels) so that "de nuestra cosecha tuviésemos que le dar." \(^{57}\) We have nothing of our own to give Him, except our will or love, which He covets. \(^{58}\) Also, we must wish to endow God with the love of our neighbors, since He desires the love of all men.

Love of neighbor therefore follows the same pattern as the love for God. We wish for others that they may enjoy the greatest of all "goods," the love of God, and eventual blessedness. \(^{59}\) In doing this, we try to give to God what He most desires, and we try to do the same for our neighbor.

"Neighbor" is defined as anyone who can share with us in eternal life. \(^{60}\) This includes angels; we were created in order to fill the vacancies in their ranks after the heavenly rebellion. Both men and angels are

\(^{57}\) Abc., p. 389.  
\(^{58}\) Ibid.  
\(^{59}\) Ibid., pp. 535-37.  
\(^{60}\) Ibid., p. 531.
governed by the same law. The angels are therefore enjoined to try to help us, and this accounts for their ministrations. For our part, we can only try to repeat the process in the terrestrial sphere. In trying to achieve blessedness for ourselves and our neighbor, we make the angels rejoice, for we are rebuilding the heavenly city.

In this way we love our neighbors, angelic and human, with the love of friendship. When it comes to coveting, we should covet their virtues; in doing so we make them ours. We may also enjoy their good counsels and companionship. Aristotle is cited as an authority on the proper nature of friendship, which Osuna summarizes as an effort on the part of each participant to conserve his own virtue and that of the other. It follows that we are obliged to conserve the virtue of our neighbor if

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61 Abc., p. 272.
62 Inanimate things also participate in compliance with the law: "things" will not permit a vacuum, in order that "no cese la comunicación y socorro que dan las cosas superiores a las inferiores ni se corte aquella influencia común que desciende del cielo a la tierra." They also preach "communication" and largess—they give us alms (sheep give wool, water gives fish, the trees and the earth give fruit) (Ibid., p. 560).
63 Ibid., p. 507.
64 Ibid., p. 386.
65 Ibid., p. 541.
we wish to see him attain a state of blessedness. To this end, we must first remedy the needs of those who, for want of food or other vital necessities, are in danger of incurring in mortal sin. This duty takes precedence over all others, even that of contributing to religious orders. Laymen are obliged to help only the needy that they know of, but churchmen must seek out people in need of help.

Oddly enough, even popes and emperors never seem to have enough to give anything away, but under the moral law, he who has two pairs of shoes has one to spare. Ultimately, we are obliged to give our lives, if necessary, to save the soul of one wretched Jew, just as Christ died to save the souls of all sinners. It is also necessary to try to conserve the mortal life of our neighbor (and it is not sufficient to come with our assistance only when he is at death's door; then he needs God's help, not ours). To comply with this obligation we must, if necessary, accept financial ruin. The alternative is condemnation of the soul.

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As can be seen above, love demands actions; it must be put into effect. "Hijuelos, no amemos con palabra ni con la lengua, sino con la obra y con la verdad" (I Jn. 3:18). In imitation of divine love, we must make of our afecto, efecto. Osuna says (citing Hugo of St. Victor) that we must love with beneficio (buena obra), palabra (sano consejo), and voto (piadoso deseo). In this way we pay to our neighbor the debt that we owe to Christ, and imitate Him, becoming "perfect," not by equality but in imitation. Our copy is to Christ as a painting is to nature. Here again, we become analogical to Christ in our actions as we were found to become analogical to God by transformation into love. Love for others is the model of love for God: "Quien no ama a su hermano, que ve, ¿cómo puede amar a Dios, que no ve?" (I Jn. 4:20).

But the measure of love for anyone else is love for self. "Ama a tu prójimo como a ti mismo." To love oneself with "querer de amistad" is to wish for oneself the grace of God. (Grace, to Osuna, is love.) In action, this type of self-love consists of giving oneself to God, and loving oneself for Him; since He has elected

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71 Abc., p. 556.  
72 Ibid., p. 524.  
73 Ibid., p. 537.  
74 Ibid., p. 548.  
75 Ibid., p. 557.  
76 Ibid., p. 509.
to cherish us. The second type of love is to want Him for Himself (codicia) but "más graciosa cosa es dar [amistad] que recibir [codicia]." However, the two acts always accompany each other: "mi amado a mí, y yo a mi amado." The office of love is to bring God to us and us to God;love is "the unitive virtue" (Osuna cites Dionysius). Therefore, "giving and "receiving" may also be equated with "charity" ("caridad es virtud, mediante la cual deseamos ver a Dios y gozar de él"); it is, therefore, love) and hope--hope of His coming.

Self-love.--In self-love, as in other types, proper order must be observed. "El que ama su ánima la perderá" (Jn. 12:25). To explain this, Osuna cites St. Augustine: "Si mal amares tu anima, aborrecístela, y si bien la aborrecieres, amástela." This means that it is necessary to eliminate the animal inclinations of the soul; "más vale buena guerra que mala paz." We have to correct the animal body in order to subject it to the spirit; it is our "rebellious son"or "nuestra hija que nos engaña y se engaña." This is because its composition

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774 Abc., pp. 509-10. 78Ibid., p. 507. 79Ibid., p. 510. 80Ibid., p. 511. 81Ibid., p. 653.
(the elements) works against the force of love. The element of fire produces wrath which gives us a "swelling," that results in pride of spirit. Water, with its property of coldness, produces "tibieza," or "luke-warmness" in love. Earth, with its heaviness, ties us down to the things of the material world. (There is no mention of air, probably because it is usually identified with spirit.)

The body, nonetheless, is the instrument that we have to work with; it is "arma de justicia para la batalla espiritual." It is mandatory to make it obey the will of the spirit. This is the raison d'être of asceticism to Osuna. There can be nothing wrong with the body in itself, since God created nothing bad; it is only less good than the spirit. The first, or elementary, phase of the Christian life consists in detesting and overriding the impulses of the body when they contradict those of the spirit; sensuality must subject itself to reason. "Así como cuando este cuerpo terreno que tenemos está informado del espíritu vital, que es el ánima, se dice vivir, y no de otra manera, así cuando la sensualidad está informada está domada con las amonestaciones de la

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82 Abe., p. 694.  
83 Ibid., p. 512.  
84 Ibid., p. 513.
consciencia, se dice tener vida de gracia, segun su posibilidad." The proper relation between reason and sensuality is expressed as "la concordia de los hermanos, el amor de los proximos, y el varon y la mujer que en bien consienten" (Eccl. V.c). Sensuality is, of course, the woman; she is figured in Eve, and original sin consisted of the capitulation of reason to sensuality.

When reason dominates, the fruit of its union with sensuality is good works. (The "seed" is grace.) Osuna insists always the good thoughts are not enough, nor good words; the body must produce actions to execute the desires of the spirit. Faith without works is dead; love without them is dubious.

God, being One only, abbreviated all things in Christ, Who in turn abbreviated all laws into the law of love. God demands of us only love, but this consists

85 Abc., p. 329.
86 Ibid., p. 330. Sic. The quotation is actually from Eccl. 25.
87 Ibid., pp. 333, 351.
88 Ibid., p. 333.
89 Abc., p. 255.
90 Ibid., p. 524.
91 Ibid., p. 503. "El precepto mio es que os améis unos a otros, como yo os he amado a vosotros" (Jn. 15:12). This love demands giving up one's life for his friends, as Christ did. To know how Christ loved, we must look at His works: "las obras que yo hago en nombre de mi padre, estas estan dando testimonio de mi" (Jn. 10:25).
of external works as much as in internal affection. Since man is composed of body and soul, his works have two aspects: terrestrial and divine. These consist of action and prayer. Lifting the hands in prayer signifies readiness to join action to thought, as St. Francis recommended. 92

One figure representing love is "el oro encendido y probado." Love is gold because it enriches us spiritually; it is fiery when there is a genuine interior passion, and it is "proved" when it is put into action.

Actions, for their part, engender love: "de manera que los hábitos se crían con los actos, así el amor se cría y engendra con la obra." 93 Thus love is both cause and effect of action.

Since all laws are comprehended in the law of love, Osuna shows how each of the Ten Commandments can be interpreted in relation to it. 94

From this brief sketch of the action of love in the universe, we can see how it comprehends morality, asceticism, and theology, which is seen as a correct understanding of reality. The last may be conveyed through dialectics, the Scriptures, or spiritual exercises

92 3 Abc., pp. 474-75. 93 3 Abc., p. 523. 94 3 Abc., pp. 503-504.
consisting of meditations. All these find a place in the Abecedarios, but it is important to remember that all of them serve the same end—they are fuel for the flame of love. Asceticism in itself has no value whatever, for Osuna; its only function is that of breaking the domination of the sensual nature over the spirit. Virtue comes off somewhat better, but to practice virtue for its own sake is to advance no further than the pagans.

A knowledge of theology, or of the natural world, occupies a peculiar position in Osuna's works. Intermittently he voices the platitudes of "docta ignorantia," and at times in all seriousness he gives examples of saintly people who are unlettered. In such cases, he says that God Himself has been their teacher, but he counsels against depending on such instruction in one's own case. At every turn, the reader is advised to exert himself as much as possible, for his comprehension of the limitless God will be small enough at best, and one must know Him to love Him.

However, much of Osuna's work is a purposeful enigma, which requires for its solution a great deal of information about theology, and about nature as he conceived it. Perhaps he followed the tradition of hiding the more arcane parts of his doctrine from the vulgar eye. On this subject he again expresses himself
in contradictory terms: well he knows that the doctrine of *recogimiento* is not suitable for everyone\(^{95}\) but later he announces that since all men can love, they are invited, one and all, to participate.\(^{96}\) To resolve this contradiction, I believe we should turn to Christ's words: "quien es de Dios, escucha la palabra de Dios" (Jn. 8:47). Christ's parables were understood only by those already endowed with comprehension. "To him who hath shall be given."

However, Osuna counsels his reader to depend less on natural or divine endowments of intellect than on sheer work. In the case of meditations, he says that they must be read twenty times, committed to memory, and "revolved" in the mind as though they were to be taught to someone else.\(^{97}\) Since his meditations contain a great deal of information, anyone who has learned one or more of them in this way has already proved the inclination of his will, and his capacity for absorbing information. The Abecedarios contain their own mechanism for selection in their formidable difficulties of style, but those who are sufficiently dedicated will find themselves initiated, through careful study, into the mysteries.

\(^{95}\) Abc., p. 320.  
\(^{96}\) Ibid., pp. 401-402.  
\(^{97}\) Abc., Fol. 79.
But the panoply of learning is, after all, only a means to an end; and so is the delight of recogimiento. Osuna's purpose is to teach the Christian life. All information, exercises, and moral precepts lead to the principle of love of God, neighbor, and self, expressed in action. The Christian must try in every way to imitate the life of Christ, who is the Mirror of God and the Archtype of man. Osuna admits that every individual has a different capacity for perfection, but he contends that everyone is able to transform himself up to the final limit of his capacity—which, he believes, can grow constantly until death. The source of this marvelous capacity for change is the will, the fountain of love.

The will.—Like Origen, Osuna holds that the will is a force of nature; indeed, it is the primary one, for without it there would have been no creation. This explains why the Holy Spirit, elsewhere defined as the divine Will or Love, is also called Potencia. The will is the active principle, and it has naturally, two aspects—"querer y no querer." For this reason the "fountain of love" is said to produce sweet and bitter

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99Abe., pp. 266-67.
waters. 100 "No querer," says Osuna, is always based on a desire for something else that is not compatible with the rejected item. In determining what is to be desired, and what rejected, the will works within itself, with the co-operation of the intellect alone. Osuna describes this operation as "como un abrir de ventana para que vea qué ha de ser hecho." 101

This appears to be a likeness of the primary exercise of perception and judgment. Based on this glimpse of things, the will then commands the other powers (intellect and memory) to act in accordance with its decision. 102 It may command the intellect to acquire knowledge, or the memory to present its records.

Because it dominates the intellect, love is called "honorable sabiduría." Its effect is to illuminate; for this reason it is called in the Scriptures fire. The Holy Spirit came in tongues of fire; that is, it inflamed (with love), and instructed. 103

This sketch of the will's function appears to agree at most points with statements by St. Augustine. Augustine says that inquiry, or the desire of finding, precedes knowledge, which is a thing "uttered and

1004 Abc., p. 262. 101Ibid., p. 503. 102Ibid. 1033 Abc., p. 512.
fashioned." The will finds the knowledge and conjoins it to the mind. Will, therefore, has temporal priority over knowledge; it is the desire by which knowledge is conceived and brought forth. It holds and embraces its offspring, knowledge, and unites it to its begetter, mind. 104

Since the three powers of the soul are memory, intellect, and will, it is fairly easy to progress from the will as "parent" of knowledge to the will as "parent" of the soul. Without it no mental effort would take place, and knowledge would not be conceived by the intellect nor stored by the memory. Osuna calls the will the "mother of the soul." 105

We can also see now why Osuna says that the will can penetrate where the intellect cannot; we may desire knowledge that we cannot "utter and fashion."

In another sense, too, the will may be said to be the mother of the soul, because it is through the affirmative will of God that the soul comes into existence. Should this affirmative will cease, the soul should necessarily cease to exist, 106 because the will of God is immediately executed. The possession of life is therefore

105 3 Abc., p. 454. 106 4 Abc., p. 311.
a guarantee of His continued love. His will constitutes a sort of unbreakable connection between the individual and the Source of all being. It is within our power to find this original juncture, because in the very desire to find it there is "a virtual containment of the thing desired."

Every will can produce love according to its force and the magnitude of thing that it loves. For example, we love the sun more than an ordinary star. Proper order must be observed in directing the will; the original sin consisted of placing secondary things first. The will itself is only a force, and as such is morally neutral: it is good or bad according to its object.

Everything in creation is less good than God, therefore the desire for anything other than God is a falling-away from perfection. In Osuna's philosophical scheme, the only room for evil lies in failure to select the highest good, because of error in intellect or will, or in lack of sufficient resolution to follow up the decision. The operations of the devil in the world

107 Since God's memory is total and perfect, once we are willed into existence we persist in His mind as ideas forever. Hence we are immortal (3 Abc., p. 442).
108 Abc., p. 350.
109 Ibid., p. 239.
110 Ibid., p. 624.
consist of deceits and distractions, as well as temptations. (See the Third Alphabet, Treatise VII.)

In Osuna, the devil fills his traditional role as custodian of Hell, but in the figure of the crocodile he also seems to have taken on the attributes of death. This is not the death of the human being, which retains its identity always as an idea in the divine Mind. Rather, it is the death of complete destruction. This is the role the devil should logically fill in a scheme where goodness is a correlate of being. Non-being would be the only place left for non-goodness.

The ordinary cause of our lack of perfection lies in another attribute of the will: it is changeable. It cannot rest long without loving something (Origen is cited).\(^{111}\) It fills itself with whatever is put before it, like a mirror.\(^{112}\) This accounts for the role of spiritual exercises; in one way or another they display the knowable features of God to the will, so that it can become enamored of Him. It is the duty of memory to present this image constantly.\(^{113}\)

Reason tells us that the will should naturally incline toward God. First it is natural that the part

\(^{111}\) Ibid., p. 416.  
^{112}\) Ibid., p. 244.  
^{113}\) Ibid., p. 377.
love the being of its Whole more than its own being. In nature, this is observed when water rises, contrary to its nature, because it is "vencida por la inclinación de todo el universo que se ha de conservar. ..." It rises to prevent a vacuum, which would disrupt communication between the natural orders, in which resides the good of all matter.

In the microcosm, the hand and arm will risk themselves to protect the head.\textsuperscript{114} Even the snake will defend its head with its whole body.\textsuperscript{115} Osuna quotes St. Thomas Aquinas to the effect that the natural inclination of irrational things shows the natural inclination of our will.\textsuperscript{116} Again, the material world is shown as an analogy to the abstract.

Since man is a participant in the divine Goodness, he naturally loves the Whole more than himself or any other part. If this were not so, natural love would be perverse, and infused love (grace) would have to destroy human nature, whereas in reality it perfects nature. The gifts of God to the soul are like medicine to the sick; they reduce it to its natural state of wholesomeness.

\textsuperscript{114}There are two meanings here: Christ is the head, and Christians the members, of the mystical body.
\textsuperscript{115}See Chapter IV for a discussion of this symbol. Osuna purposely places these two statements together.
\textsuperscript{116}See \textit{4 Abc.}, pp. 403-404 for this paragraph and the preceding one.
We naturally desire the ultimate perfection, blessedness, for ourselves; we want it above all things. Since God is the source of blessedness, we love Him above all things.117

In the love of the part for the whole, and the coveting of blessedness, Osuna has reiterated the two types of love mentioned earlier—querer de amistad, and codicia.

Natural reason also shows that the greatest good must be most greatly loved, and the will can correspond to what the intellect shows it. As an example, Osuna says that a mistaken man can love a "criatura" above all things and enjoy her with his own natural forces. In the same way we can love God and enjoy Him with these same natural forces. The will conforms to the truth just as it conformed to the lie. As a final proof that we can love God above all things with only the help of natural endowments, Osuna points out that if it were otherwise, we could know when we were in a state of grace, which is inadmissable.118

As the above paragraph suggests, the course of love is the same whether the object is human or divine, and both loves lead to generation, of a sort. (In the

1174Abc., p. 404.  
118Ibid., p. 405.
Since natural forces alone enable us to love God above all things, it follows that even the philosophers, with a good intellect and the "general favor of God" could do so.\textsuperscript{120} This is almost certainly a reference to pagan philosophers, since, to Osuna, that is the usual referent of the term. Osuna holds that, since the beginning of the world, "sibilas y profetas y adivinos" meditated on the Passion, and the philosophers frequented recogimiento.\textsuperscript{121} Osuna says, however, that infused love (apparently only Christians are thought to receive it) reinforces human love, and also refines it, making it like gold instead of copper.\textsuperscript{122} Osuna does not say

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    A suggestive notion is respect to the pastoral genre is given when Osuna says that in Hebrew the word for "pastor" may also be interpreted as "amador" (\textsuperscript{4}Abc., p. 345).

\end{itemize}

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\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., p. 403.

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., p. 483.

\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., p. 403.
whether natural love alone was sufficient to win Heaven for the philosophers or not, but he strongly intimates that it was.\textsuperscript{123}

Three conditions are necessary to natural love: these are a pure heart (purification of thoughts and desires), a good conscience (good works), and faith (a good and correct understanding).\textsuperscript{124} There is always a possibility of error in intellect, and this is fatal to the enterprise of love, for if your concept of God does not accurately represent Him, you will not find Him.\textsuperscript{125}

This passage is interesting, not only because it shows that love demands a complete domination over all aspects of life, but also because it implies that God is found either in, or through, the concept.

Another source of error is the will. For example, we might wish that God would not be just, in our own case; we would prefer mercy. This is the wish of the sinner, and we must renounce mortal sin before we can hope to love God above all things.\textsuperscript{126}

Natural love and grace.--This natural love is the most perfect act we can perform with our own forces alone. It is the perfect way to seek God, to go to Him, and to

\textsuperscript{123} Abe., fols. 186-187.
\textsuperscript{124} Abe., pp. 408-409.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., p. 410.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., p. 411.
"convert ourselves" to Him. This love is the ultimate disposition that the soul can make, by its own efforts, to receive grace.\textsuperscript{127} (Such a disposition can be made even in a soul that has at some time incurred in mortal sin.) When this love is in the heart, grace is immediately infused, "porque cuando el sujeto está dispuesto con la última disposición que se requiere para la forma, luego inmediatamente se infunde la forma."\textsuperscript{128}

The loving soul, it appears, is in the feminine situation\textsuperscript{129} of matter seeking form. The act of receiving it is grace. This form is infused in the mind; the "ser de gracia" is received in the rational part of the soul.\textsuperscript{130} What the new form may be is suggested by the following:

La verdadera ciencia del amor es ver a Jesucristo en la conciencia; y nota que a las cuestiones curiosas de Dios se debe negar la respuesta. ...  

Conciencia, here, probably means "consciousness," but it is also a play on ciencia, which suggests the Logos.\textsuperscript{131} In any case, it is not to be confused with the image-making faculty, imaginación. 

\textsuperscript{127} \textsuperscript{3} Abc., p. 492. \textsuperscript{128} \textsuperscript{4} Abc., p. 406. 
\textsuperscript{130} \textsuperscript{1} Abc., p. 102. For further details, see Chapter II. 
\textsuperscript{131} \textsuperscript{4} Abc., pp. 271, 464.
The form that is infused by grace is that of Christ; at this point, man is transfigured "en Dios por afición entrañal," as iron is transformed and transfigured in the fire.\(^\text{132}\) The new form is that of the perfect Man. But this transformation is worked through the concept, "seen" in the mind's eye. It is not a corporeal image, therefore we should refuse to answer "curious" questions about it.

Grace which is necessary to achieve this summit of contemplation, is infused love, given to us "gratis." There are two types— one that makes us pleasing to God, and another that makes us useful to others (a special ability to preach, for example).\(^\text{133}\) Grace is the beginning of love; without it we could not love God.\(^\text{134}\) The desire for God is a gift from God, and we can be sure of having already received one grace if our heart is moved by this desire. God is like the pregonero who sells wine. He gives the first sample free, but the rest has to be bought.\(^\text{135}\)

\(^\text{132}\)\textit{Abc.}, p. 409. \(^\text{133}\)\textit{Abc.}, p. 440. \\
\(^\text{134}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 449. This seems to imply that the pagans who loved God above all things had received grace; I have found nothing in the Abecedarios to make this appear impossible. \\
\(^\text{135}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 328.
Osuna plays on different meanings of gracia. He also points out that we love those that are graciosos, and those that we love seem to us graciosos. This is the nature of grace, divine or human; once the creature is loved it has grace. We receive God's love only because of the merits of Christ; through Him grace came to us.

Grace and charity are both types of love: charity is specifically divine love, and grace is infused love. Grace can be called hope because it is a fore-taste of heaven; "una gota de miel del panal de la Gloria." Grace supplements natural love, and by its action awakens free or "deliberate" love. Natural love, which we have discussed, comes from God and is always present; it is basically self-love, although it may rise to sublime heights. Deliberate love follows knowledge. When both loves seek the same object, the whole man is caught up by their impetus. Grace is as vehement as natural love, says Osuna, citing St. Ambrose.

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loves coincide, their object is soon attained, and the result is joy\textsuperscript{143} (gozo) or delectation. The "interior" and the "exterior" man take delight in God: "mi corazón y mi carne se gozaron en Dios vivo." This joy is both carnal and spiritual; it is attributed to the heart and the flesh.\textsuperscript{144}

To Osuna it is quite natural that both flesh and spirit should enjoy union with God. To have held otherwise would have been inconsistent with his own thesis that the law of love operates similarly in both spirit and matter.\textsuperscript{145}

When natural and deliberate love join forces in loving God, man is returned to his original state of innocence. Osuna quotes Gerson: "Bienaventurado es el que su libre amor conforma al amor natural, porque si dos consintieren, ser les ha dado del Padre celestial todo lo que pidieren, ca no pedirán sino á Dios o conforme á Dios y á la naturaleza que fue primero instituida."\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{143} Abc., p. 510. \textsuperscript{144} Ibid. \textsuperscript{145} Pursuant to this thesis, Osuna affirms that married people can love God above all things, and can practice recogimiento (Ibid., pp. 401-402). Philosophically speaking, the only thing wrong with carnal love is that it represents disloyalty to Divine Love, which demands undivided attention. Visible things of any kind are an impediment to Divine Love, because "nuestra poquedad no puede juntamente á todos" (Ibid., p. 321).

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., p. 510.
That is to say, the spirit and the flesh are again united, like "varón y mujer que en bien conscienten."

Corazon y anima.—Spirit is contained in the heart and is therefore identified with it. The body is represented by ánima, or that part of the soul that is sensual; i.e., animal (see Chapter IV for further discussion). These are identified with the pájaro and the tortolica of the Psalm (LXXXIII): "Porque el pájaro halló casa para sí, y la tortolica nido donde torne a poner sus pollos." The bird is the heart; the turtle-dove the flesh that contents itself with only one spouse.¹⁴⁷

When our love is both natural and deliberate, we love with el corazón and el ánima. We have yet to fulfill the great commandment "Amarás al Señor Dios tuyo con todo tu corazón y con toda tu alma y con toda tu mente, y con todas tus fuerzas" (Mk.12:30). (Osuna reads alma as ánima, mente as memoria.)¹⁴⁸

Memory is the storehouse of knowledge. It should be like a book in which are printed the actions, words and properties of the Beloved. Forgetfulness is disloyalty in love.¹⁴⁹ Spiritual things and terrestrial

ones follow the same pattern; they both attract us most "cuando las tenemos presentes."\textsuperscript{150}

Love of heart, soul and memory correspond to the three virtues of faith, hope, and charity. (The heart is the source of mental activity, and faith is a correct understanding.) Hope corresponds to ánima, because "la esperanza anima."\textsuperscript{151} Charity, the greatest of the virtues, is reserved to memory, for several reasons. One of these is that the constant memory of God is, in Osuna's opinion, the highest spiritual exercise of those he mentions. It presupposes recogimiento, and is called by him a "resurrection" after the "death" of no pensar nada. On less advanced levels of contemplation, it is a thought that one is in the presence of God, and "un inquirir o viva solicitud del corazón, que apenas se olvida de lo que busca."\textsuperscript{152}

God's memory, like ours, is a book, in which are found the essences and ideas of all individuals.\textsuperscript{153}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[150]\textsuperscript{4} Abc., p. 398.
\item[151]\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 377-78. This explanation does not really explain; it is more likely that the correspondence depends on the idea of matter "hoping" for form.
\item[152]\textsuperscript{3} Abc., p. 445.
\item[153]\textit{Ibid.}, p. 442.
\end{footnotes}
This memory must, I believe, be the Logos. Osuna calls Christ the open book that shows all things.

To love with the whole heart means to apply the four passions (joy, sadness, fear, hope) to love. The passions may be represented by the four wheels of Elijah's fiery chariot, in which he was lifted from the earth.

It is evident that the passions, like the will, may be applied well or badly. They provide motive power to send the soul on its flight to the Divine. The passions are all functions of the will (see Chapter IV) and share with natural love the task of providing the animal force necessary for this strenuous enterprise.

Osuna never fails to stress the necessity for vehemence, impetus—excess in love. The rigorous mental and physical discipline that he recommends is designed to channel all energy, and all attention, toward one

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155 Abc., p. 278.
156 Ibid., pp. 443-44. Osuna explains: You must enjoy love; joy is the most noble passion, and the one that conforms best to our "risible natural." This is the only passion that we will retain in Heaven.

Sadness should occur only when you feel your love diminish in fervency. As for fear, the only fear you should have is that of losing love. And love has the best hope of being favored by God than any other virtue, because it is the greatest.
object. Love of God is the only virtue in which there can be no excess. 157 Although we can never know God totally, our love for Him can increase indefinitely; in this sense it can be said to be infinite, by one of Aristotle's definitions. 158 Often the desire to love God infinitely "overflows," and the soul is enraptured into an ecstatic state. 159

We must teach ourselves to love readily and intensely. All the things that naturally provoke us to "mal amor" (songs, beautiful things, perfumes, flowers, music) should be used as an incitement to love God. 160 The Canticle of Solomon is used to teach the sublimation of carnal love. 161

The intensity of passion prescribed by Osuna is difficult to attain and to maintain, and apparently requires both courage and tenacity. He repeatedly emphasizes the necessity of both, and the power of love to override all obstacles. Love does not turn back "aunque la razón y la imposibilidad le sean contrarias." 162 It is daring: "ni demanda juicio, ni se templa por

158 Ibid., pp. 385-86. 159 Ibid., p. 434.
consejo, ni se refrena con empacho, ni se sujeta con razón; ruego, suplico, demando: Bésame con el beso de tu boca." (Cant. 1:1)\textsuperscript{163}

The natural law of love endures in man as long as he endures, even though he be in Hell.\textsuperscript{164} This is one reason why fire is the chosen symbol of love; fire never loses its property of being hot as long as it exists, although all the other elements may change their properties. For this reason the Holy Spirit came in the form of flame. Also the different aspects of fire (light, flame, heat, the sun) lend themselves very well to identification with Divine Persons, and to such ideas as "inflamed" love, or the "illuminated" mind (which "gives birth" [alumbrar]—to knowledge). Moreover, the nature of flame is to rise, and the flame of love "lifts our spirit."\textsuperscript{165} Several Scriptural texts lend support to the identification of fire with love; among them are Deuteronomy 33: 2,3 which is quoted by Osuna as "ley de fuego está en su mano diestra, y él amó los pueblos."\textsuperscript{166} Osuna says that Christ is fire, and He heats the earth (man, created from clay), until the earth is changed into

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., pp. 234-35.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., p. 441.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid., p. 285.
the fire of love, a substance resembling the substance of Christ himself. Thus he interprets the text (Sal. CXLIII:5): "toca los montes y humearán."\textsuperscript{167}

Love endures even after the death of the body: "tan fuerte es el amor como la muerte, y dura es, así como el infierno, la persecución" (Cant. 8:6).\textsuperscript{168} Osuna adds that, like death, it pardons no one.\textsuperscript{169} The law of love is to be obeyed even at the cost of life, as Christ obeyed it. His love, however, proved stronger than death, and He arose entirely transformed into spiritual Man. The Christian is urged to "die" also to the carnal man, and to come forth again as a spiritual being, an imitation of Christ. This is, in effect a new creation stemming from the same source as the original one; that is, from love made manifest in action.

\textsuperscript{167}Abe. , p. 321. \textsuperscript{168}Ibid. , p. 264. \textsuperscript{169}Ibid. , p. 344.
CHAPTER II

MEDITATION AND CONTEMPLATION: CONCRETE AND ABSTRACT

The Alphabets of Osuna are designed, as has been said, to induce love of God through knowledge of Him. He is a world unto Himself, which can only be investigated through reference to the second world, His creation, made in His image (traslado).¹ Both these worlds are abbreviated in man, who, because he lacks knowledge of the Divine, cannot know himself. His remedy is to consider the second world (the created universe), in order to know himself and to be able to return to his Source.²

Knowledge thus acquired falls into one of two classes: it is either sabiduría (spiritual doctrine) or sciencia [sic] (a lower form; the doctrine applicable to the active life).³ Knowledge, or "doctrine," must precede works.⁴ This knowledge is gained through

¹Ibid., fol. 131.
²Ibid.
³Ibid., fol. 124.
⁴Ibid., fol. 125.
spiritual exercises; these are the "words of God," and it is necessary to learn the primeras letras.\footnote{3} 

This is a fundamental reason for Osuna's choice of title for the Abecedarios espirituales. Typically, he does not explicitly identify it as his reason; rather, he gives other, relatively minor motives for his choice. He says that the simplicity of his genre reminds him of his humbleness, and that he is imitating Jeremiah, David, and Solomon.\footnote{6}

Man, in order to return to his source, must not only love God, but must make himself fit for the celestial company. Man enjoys the unique privilege of freedom to make himself what he will.\footnote{7} Osuna says that God left us "half-made," and to each person "le dio poder para acabarse y pintarse y dibujarse como quisiera, y al talle y medida que por bien tuviesse."\footnote{8}

\footnote{3}{\textit{Abc.}, p. 460}
\footnote{6}{\textit{Abc.}, fol. 5. The Lamentations of Jeremiah and Psalm 118 are still arranged according to letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In my film of the First Alphabet, it is impossible to read the identification of Solomon's alphabetical work; however, it appears to be Proverbs. Since Osuna on one occasion interprets the significance of a Hebrew letter preceding a verse by Jeremiah, he may be aware of symbolic values attached to alphabetical letters, and they may have influenced the structure of the works. This matter offers material for another study. The Alphabets are compared to Jacob's Ladder. However humble they may seem, from small plants grow great trees.}
\footnote{7}{\textit{Abc.}, fol. 102.}
\footnote{8}{\textit{Ibid.}, fol. 101.}
Each man takes the semblance that pleases him most. He can leave one form to take on another. "Su costumbre hace diversa la pintura: dara su corazón a la semejanza de la pintura: y velando acabara la obra" (Eccli.38.c). Some, through the habit of vice, come to resemble devils; others seem to "conform" to beasts.9

But man is made in the image of God; he is a participant in the Divine nature and capable of divinity. This image is so clearly impressed into his soul that it makes that soul immortal. But "El hombre como estuviese en hórra no entedio: fue cóparado a las bestias insipientes y fecho a ellos conforme" (Psal.48.b).10

Obviously, man can perfect himself by modeling himself according to the Divine Image in his own soul. In order to "see" it, however, he must have recourse to the created world, and of all created beings, the Human Christ is the perfect copy of the Creator. Osuna says:

... el padre eterno se figuro (en Cristo) muy al propio ... con el pinzel de su inteligencia: y saco la figura tal qual era lo figurado perfectissima sin falta alguna: y esta figura no pienses que se distingue ni se señala có rayas o colores ni otras cualesquier señales como las q hace los pintores q no puede figurar la cosa sino cóforme a los accidentes y aparéncias q d'fuera parece ...11

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9 Abc., fol. 101. The lion represents pride; the serpent, avarice; the pig, "las immúdicas de la lujuria." The quotation from Ecclesiasticus refers to those who engrave figures on seals; the art will be referred to again.

10 Ibid.

The Son is a figure of the substance of the Father (but has the same essence). This figure is invisible; it was hidden under the figure of man. This second figure covers the first. Its purpose is to make God visible to men, so that they could see Him and "conform" to Him.

Although Osuna never declares clearly how the invisible God is to be seen in the visible Man, the process can be inferred. Osuna says:

... podríamos tener cuasi en todas las cosas memoria de Dios si atribuyésemos á El más que á las mismas cosas las operaciones que ellos hacen, y pensásemos sermos hechas del mismo Dios, pues que según su verdad lo son ... ni por eso has de pensar que Dios es forma de las cosas, aunque según verdad sea más necesarias su cooperación á las cosas para que obren que no la forma á la materia para que tenga ser ...  

Although this seems somewhat mysterious, it is further clarified by the statement that the doctrine of Christ is seen, not in words, but in His actions. Generally, the image of God that Osuna sees in created beings is to be found reflected in "las operaciones que ellos hacen." For example, Christ is called the "great Eagle" because of the following attributes: the eagle is solicitous of its young, making a nest in the heights

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12 2 Abc., fol. 109.  13 3 Ibid., fol. 103.
14 4 Abc., pp. 443-444.  15 5 Abc., fol. 21.
to avoid the danger of serpents (the nest is the Evangile).\textsuperscript{16} The eagle provides its young with the blood of live victims\textsuperscript{17} so that they will be braver and stronger (Christ's provision of the Eucharist).\textsuperscript{18} Moreover, if the eagle sees that its young are in danger, it carries them on its shoulders to a safe place (the redemption). It tests its children, to see if they are really eaglets. It pecks at them to make them leave the nest (tribulations--my interpretation), and it sets an example for them by flying. Christ's arms, extended on the Cross, are the wings of the Eagle flying to the heights of martyrdom.\textsuperscript{19}

If the eaglets do not fly, the eagle stops feeding them, provoking them to seek their own food. (Osuna says that this represents Christ leaving his disciples, so that they would learn to fly in contemplation, in which the soul flies from the nest of the body.) Its wings are faith and love.

The eagle flies so high that it is lost from sight.\textsuperscript{20} Christ flies to the "heaven of Deity" and cannot be seen in this life, "sino por los antojos claros de la fe." "Sale de quicios de hombre e pone su quicio e su

\begin{footnotes}
\item[16] Ibid., fol. 105.
\item[17] Ibid.
\item[18] Ibid., fol. 125.
\item[19] Ibid., fol. 105.
\item[20] Ibid., fol. 105.
\end{footnotes}
nido e su assiento en Dios." As God, He flies very low, "abatido en la humildad." He is first, in Deity, and last, in the humility He follows. His wings are mercy and love.21

Continuing with his "declaration" of the eagle, Osuna says that its eyesight is so excellent that it can look at the sun without blinking. The sun is God; Christ the Man was unable to know (conocer) all divine things simultaneously, but He could know them successively.

The eagle, from the sky, sees the little fish swimming in the sea. When they come close to the shore, he descends and catches them up to take them to shore. The fish are Christians, the shore is Death. (The allusion is to Christ's role as guide to the dying, the subject of letter Z in the Second Alphabet.)

The eagle renews itself: in old age it loses its feathers and with the new ones it is rejuvenated.22 Christ lost his "plumes" (life and honor) in the Passion, and in the Resurrection he was renewed. "Vuestra juventud sera renovada assi como la del aguila" (Ps. 102).23

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21 Abe., fol. 106. The allusion to "first" and "last" recalls Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, which may have had their influence on the naming of the Abecedarios.

22 Ibid., fol. 106.

23 Ibid., fol. 107.
The eagle is the queen of birds, as Christ is superior to angels. Angels are heavenly birds that fly in contemplation.

Pliny is cited to the effect that the eagle is very swift because it is hot. This heat is love (equivalent, we recall, to motion).

Almost all these comments on the eagle form a "declaration" of the first words of the passage "una aguila grande y de grandes alas con larga distancia de miembros llena de plumas y de colores vino al monte libano: y tomo la medula del cedro, y lleuola a la tierra de canaán, y pusola en la cuidad de los negociadores" (Ez. 17a).

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24 Abc., fol. 107.
26 Abc., fol. 53.
27 Abc., fol. 105. The rest of his exegesis is, briefly, as follows: the eagle's size is emphasized to show Christ's superiority over the saints, who are often figured as eagles in the Scripture. Lebanon ("incense") to which the eagle first came, is the soul of the Virgin, where Christ was first conceived; the cedar is her body, the "medula" represents "las mas puras sangres de la virgen que eran lo mejor y mas secreto de su persona assi como la medula." The pleasant odor of cedar represents virginity, which is pleasing to God. Canaan signifies "mercader"; that is, Christ, who "bought" (redeemed) us. Heaven is the "casa de negocios," populated by angels who go up and down on the business of the militant church. Carrying up the "medula del cedro" is a figure of the Ascension. (Ibid., fols. 105-106).
We can see in Osuna's treatment of the eagle how knowledge of the divine world is found in contemplation of created things. In the first place, the form, material and color are not so critical as actions, relations with other things, and the position of the creature within its category. Traditional notions of the eagle's performance are appended to the Scriptural text in which it is mentioned; both are taken as statements of scientific fact.

Osuna applies his data about the eagle to the activities of man, the third world. Here, the eagle is the contemplative, who provokes his children to fly: that is, he teaches the art of contemplation. Recogimento is the nest, the arrebato is flight, and the contemplative even loses sight of himself.28

The eagle examines its young, turning them toward the sun to see if they can look at it without blinking. Thus the contemplative examines his intentions and desires, and casts out those "que no se enderezan al sol" [Dios].29

In Glory, our souls will be able to look at God without blinking, because of the great quantity of light in our own eyes at that time.30

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28Abe., p. 400.  
29Ibid., p. 423.  
30Ibid., p. 348.
The eagle perseveres longer in flight than any other bird. Like an eagle, we can fly lightly through the contemplation of the creatures, toward Him alone.31 (The reference to "God alone" is to the essential God, beyond form or categorization.)

Other attributes of the eagle are exploited: "muchas aves siguen al águila cuando ha de repartir lo que le sobra de su caza, mas al trabajo de la caza solo se halla." Here, the other birds are those who follow Christ in times of spiritual consolation, but who refuse to suffer as He did.32

The eagle may even represent the devil. The eagle blinds the deer by loading his feathers with dust and shaking them over the eyes of the animal, which, being blinded, falls. Thus the demon brings to the contemplative evil thoughts that blind him.33

It is in this manner that Osuna applies his information about the created universe to the two unknown worlds, the Divine and the human. Natural law—in this case, the activities of an animal—is taken as an indication of the trajectory of invisible or "spiritual" forces. These indicators delineate the figure "que no se distingue con rayas o colores." Such vectors, or courses

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313 Abc., p. 586.  
32Ibid., p. 520.  
33Ibid., p. 393.
of action, are shown to be parallel in the three worlds, and give rise to Osuna's comparison of meditation to counterpoint, and the statement that his First Alphabet is a "subtle" song.

In the dedication of the Fourth Alphabet Osuna says:

Sobre los ojos, nos dijo nuestro Señor el entendimiento para que cantase contrapunto sobre el canto llano de las cosas visibles que se nos ofrecen y, dado que a vuestra señoría como a todos, ofrezca Dios la universidad de las criaturas que son guiones que llevan el entendimiento al que las crió ...

Osuna hints at the course followed by the intellect as it meditates upon the creatures. He says that if you are walking by a field, and intend to use it as your topic, you should forget its particular characteristics and work from its "general name," so that "your meditation will be more free." A. p. 221.

A. fol. 3.

The dedication is to Francisco de los Cobos, secretary to Carlos V.

Guion, according to the Academy Dictionary of 1734, "en la música es la nota o señal que se pone al fin de la escala, cuando no se puede seguir, y ha de volver a empezar, y esta señal denota el punto de la escala, línea o espacio en que prosigue la solfa." Covarrubias: "... se llama guión una virgulita torcida en el cabo del renglón, que señala en qué lugar ha de estar el punto de la otra regla o pauta, que se le sigue." It appears from these definitions that the guion marks the key of the next canon or the next repetition of the old one. As a form of guía, guion and guiona occur in Berceo (Rufino Lanchetas, Gramática y vocabulario de las obras de Gonzalo de Berceo [Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1900], p. 393. Since the term "guiona" is applied to the Virgin (Milagros 32) it may be construed in the context as "spiritual guide." A. fol. 137.
Related to this is the statement that we do not contemplate visible things but invisible ones, "porq las visibles temporales son, y las que no se veen son eternas" (II Cor.: 4d).\textsuperscript{40}

In the perfect contemplation of recogimiento, the imagination does not function, "sino sola la inteligencia, que buela sobre lo imaginable, hasta el mesmo Dios, donde el amor sube."\textsuperscript{41}

In the last passage, we see Osuna's use of the term inteligencia in the context of pure contemplation. Intelligence, to Osuna, is a specific function of entendimiento, the general term for the intellectual faculty. Osuna defines intelligence as follows (citing Richard of St. Victor):

\ldots la inteligencia ve las cosas invisibles de Dios, no como las ve la razón, que investigando y discurriendo por los efectos y causas viene á conocer las cosas ocultas y absent es como si las viese; no desta manera, sino como solemos ver las cosas corporales con la vista corporal visible y corporal y presencialmente, así la inteligencia pura para mientes á las cosas invisibles invisiblemente, y acata presencial y esencialmente las cosas espirituales, conociendo que no están ligadas ni presas con apariencias de fuera; de manera que cuando el hombre no cura de la imaginación que rebuelve cosas corporales, ni de la razón que suele andar discurriendo de unas cosas corporales á otras para investigar las

\textsuperscript{40} Abc., fol. 8. \textsuperscript{41} Abc., p. 508.
espirituales, sino que representa delante de sí a Dios purísimo espíritu desasido de todas estas cosas que parecen, y se detiene en aquel apurado acatamiento sin discurrir á otra cosa, entonces se dirá que usa de la inteligencia. 

The faculty of intelligence, then, has the characteristic of working with abstractions alone, and it does not go discursively from one concrete object to another. It is compared to ocular vision, I believe, because of the immediacy and simultaneity of concepts presented by the intelligence, as opposed to the discursive, and less intimate, findings of reason. The distinction corresponds to one often drawn between intuitive and logical knowledge. (It should be recalled that Osuna has said, in speaking of the eyesight of Christ the Eagle, that as Man He could not know all things simultaneously, although discursively he could. Obviously, simultaneous knowledge is considered the higher form, and characterizes the Divine. It is related, perhaps, to the timeless "present tense" in which Osuna sees all the abstracts projected.)

Recalling Osuna's instructions on meditating, we see that the field, for example, must be divested of its individual characteristics and reduced to a "general name"—that is, it is removed from the category of

\[\text{p. 566.}\]
concretizes to that of abstracts. This "frees" the thought from particulars, so that any attribute applied to "fields" in general may be considered, whether they are appropriate to this particular instance or not. Also, any Scriptural passage referring to the concept may be used; we have witnessed this procedure in Osuna's treatment of the eagle.

The imagination, which deals with particular images, is useful to "reason," because it supplies the particular objects that are the raw materials of discursive thought. Reason, therefore, occupies an intermediate place in this theory of knowledge. The abstracts that it formulates are collected by the intelligence into simultaneous presentations. The faculties of imagination and of reason may profitably be compared with Aquinas' species intelligibilis impressa (the mental image), and the intellectus agens, or creative power that "shines upon the sense data, and makes them ready to produce a knowledge in which reality is deprived of all its concrete and individual features." It is this power that enables us to abstract the idea of
"two-ness" from the particularized sense-impression of two horses or two coins.  

In his declaration of the eagle, Osuna undertook, he said, to show the reader how to meditate the grandeur of Christ in a creature. The attributes of the eagle that he chose to emphasize were principally its program of action. When Osuna compares each pattern to its analogue in the divine or the human sphere, he must abstract the formal characteristics of the pattern in order to do so. The process is similar to that of writing a formula for a sentence, without regard to the specific noun, verb, or other lexical item involved. In isolating the canonical pattern, however, we have produced an abstract similar to the one represented by musical notation; it is a pattern of form without concrete content. Although it is an abstract, it is not a simple one like "beauty" or "loyalty," but rather a composite that operates through time.

In using a noun like "eagle," Osuna may exploit any of the patterns that he has attached to it. Therefore,

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43Maurice de Wulf, The System of Thomas Aquinas (formerly titled Medieval Philosophy Illustrated from the System of Thomas Aquinas, first published 1922), New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959, pp. 23-25. Although the intellectual faculties distinguished by Aquinas do not correspond to those of Osuna, the process of abstracting generalities from particulars is clearly isolated here.
the single word will be treated, not as a concrete term, but rather as a cluster of abstract canons. The word, in juxtaposition with others, presents to the mind the canons that they all have in common, plus some individual ones. These are voices of the "counterpoint" sung by the intellect over the "canto llano" of visible things.

To use another comparison, Osuna treats a significant word like "eagle" as though it conveyed one or more parables; not as an allegorical figure in our usual sense of the term.\footnote{The allegorical figure is ordinarily an entity that represents another entity; the eagle represents patterns of action.}\footnote{\textit{Abc.}, fol. 77. Defining "palabra," Osuna calls it a thought or "razón" formed in the heart (\textit{3 Abc.}, p. 569).} He may be aware of the common etymon of "palabra" and "parábola." In one instance, he uses "palabra" with the meaning, apparently, of "sentence."\footnote{\textit{Abc.}, fol. 77. Defining "palabra," Osuna calls it a thought or "razón" formed in the heart (\textit{3 Abc.}, p. 569).}

Osuna's figures are words whose canonical patterns are used to represent the functioning of the invisible. Anything in Scripture or in nature may become a figure, as soon as its attributes are perceived. Even relatively inert materials may serve; their "operations" will consist of their physical or chemical properties.

Any figure may be composed, like that of the eagle, of canons established by Scripture, tradition, and
observation. Osuna cites many authorities: Pliny, numerous philosophers both Christian and pagan, and glosses for preachers. These are mixed with the natural science of his day, bestiary lore, the literary tradition, and other material that probably comes from Christian apocrypha, folklore and actual observation.46

As a result of this mixture, the canons associated with any given figure are unpredictable. Osuna remarks on the intellectual freedom enjoyed in meditation of the creatures.47 Content depends on information available to the meditator, and his selection of the canons he wishes to pursue. In the case of the eagle, Osuna has supplied many of these rather systematically, in the First Alphabet, for the expressly stated purpose of demonstrating how to meditate. In the Third Alphabet, however, where the eagle is referred to only through his analogical relation with the contemplative, the pattern is never systematically given, and must be supplied by the reader's memory and rational inferences. Most of the figures used by Osuna are never explicitly drawn in such detail as that of the eagle. The reader must remember bits of information scattered by Osuna throughout the series of his books.

46 A study of Osuna's sources of information about the natural world might be interesting, though arduous.

47 2 Abc., fol. 129.
Speaking of meditation, Osuna says:

Los que más útilesmente piensan dentro de sí las cosas de Dios, se fortalecen más en la fe por la nueva lumbre de verdades que hallan en la meditación y sanctos pensamientos, así de las escripturas de las criaturas è artes de los hombres inventadas. Estos muchos se aprovechan de la lumbre natural é sentidos interiores del ánima, abriendo bien los ojos del corazón que son las noticias y conscientes de las cosas, y escuchando y parando mientes en las correspondencias de los misterios, é hablando, esto es argumentando dentro de sí deduciendo y sacando unas cosas por otras, é trayendo muy convenibles congruencias y provaciones para mejor conocer.

In his instructions on meditation of the creatures, Osuna says that one must refer some things to others, and compare one thing to another as is done when meditating the Scriptures. Sometimes this is difficult, and it is necessary to disinter wisdom as though it were a treasure buried in the ground. This type of contemplation consists of knowledge about the "creatures."

Besides moral doctrine that inflames the will (in love), one can acquire "speculative doctrine" that enlightens the mind.

The process of referring, comparing, and deducing could well describe the search for canonical forms, conducted by discursive reason. The first stage of this

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483 Abc., p. 348-49. 492 Abc., fol. 130.
activity—extraction of the canons from visible objects seen in the imagination—he usually refers to as "meditation." When the question is one of manipulating the canons alone, the term used is "contemplation," which he also applies to intuitive perception whether such perception has form or not.

Osuna's use of these terms corresponds to that of Richard of St. Victor, who named three types of spiritual exercise or mental prayer: cogitatio, meditatio, contemplatio. In the first type, mental images and figures are of material objects; in meditatio, reason seeks the hidden truths, and in the third, only invisible things are contemplated. In Osuna and in Richard, it would appear that contemplation is distinguished from meditation by its exclusion of the visible. This leaves an ambivalence in the term "contemplation"; it may refer to the manipulation of abstracts, or to the state of recogimiento in which all categorization is suppressed; i.e., where everything is excluded that could be put into words.

50 Paul Dudon, "Le livre de l'oraison mentale du P. Melchior de Villanueva (1608): Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, Num. 21, janvier 1925, pp. 51-59. Villanueva (ca. 1547-1607), clears up the ambivalence of the term "contemplation" by distinguishing four types of mental prayer of the intellectual type (there is also prayer of the will). He calls the combination "a choir of four mixed voices."
Osuna himself identifies the Fourth Alphabet as an example of the use of the creatures to acquire a knowledge of God.\textsuperscript{51} However, all the Alphabets share this trait. They are compounded of materials for cogitation (clearly stated doctrine, descriptions of Hell, the Passion, the Last Judgment, the agony of death; all to be taken literally), and materials for meditation. The reader may rise to the higher level of contemplation whenever the context, and his own resources, allow him to do so. (A great deal of his success depends on his memory of the canons of things; in this the "parable-word" is a distinct aid, since it provides a whole set encapsulated in one term.) Osuna, by oblique reference to hidden canonical forms, or by juxtaposition of different figures having an unexpected canon in common, forces the reader to attempt the manipulation of pure abstracts, which is contemplation.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{51}"... determiné que sería perfecta oración referir todas las cosas a su Hacedor, y aún las divinas, sacando de ellas amor y amando por ellas, como por medio, al que las crió ... Pues mi negocio en este libro no es sino tratar dende lo más alto hasta lo más bajo y buscar en todo el amor de nuestro Señor Dios, que como luz resplandece en todas las cosas ... " (\textit{4. Abc.}, p. 231).

\textsuperscript{52}An extensive example of this technique will be found in chapter four.
The eagle descends: Incarnation of the Word.--It has been seen that the Scriptural passage about the eagle was treated an another canonical pattern. It was used here, however, as a figure of events in the Evangile (the Incarnation, Redemption, and Ascension). This corresponds to Osuna's statement that the Old Law (the passage is from Ezechiel) is a figure of the New.\(^{53}\)

However, we have already seen the Divine Humanity itself is a figure of the Divine Spirit; that is, the permanent patterns of operation, or canons, must be discovered behind the historic figure of the Man. This means that the contemplative should attempt to penetrate the mystery of the perpetual incarnation of the Word; its power to redeem and to return the believer to Glory.

In this enterprise, it is necessary to refer to yet another figure used by Osuna; the important one of generation and birth. This is a figure of his theory of knowledge.\(^{54}\) Osuna says, citing St. Augustine, that knowledge ("noticia y conocimiento") engendered in the mind is its "fruit"; "del objecto y de la potencia se pare la noticia."\(^{55}\) He also quotes St. Paul to the

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\(^{53}\) Abc., p. 288.

\(^{54}\) Another figure of it is the act of visual perception.

\(^{55}\) Abc., fol. 14.
effect that we cannot have a good thought of our own; if any should occur to us, it is engendered and infused by God into our minds. 56

The soul's capacity to formulate knowledge is produced in its turn by the Word, Who gives to the soul the light of reason. The mixture of this light with His is life. 57 Also, the Word of God is Love; and is the simiente by means of which God is born in the heart.

In the earlier pages of this chapter, it was shown that an ordinary word may have, for Osuna, the force of a parable or group of parables. Such a word is "el Verbo de Dios," elsewhere called "Sermón de Dios," 58 "Tablas . . . en donde el padre escribió todas las cosas," 59 "Libro abierto que enseña todas las cosas." 60 The Son was engendered by the Father intellectually. 61 Deity is in Christ under the name of "libro" because the Son receives it by way of the intellect. He is called a book because He is "Noticia viva y engendrada del Padre." 62 He is "llena de las razones formales de todas las cosas." 63

57  Ibid., fol. 102.
58  Abc., p. 527.
59  Abc., fol. 116.
60  Abc., fol. 139.
61  Abc., p. 352.
62  Abc., fol. 139.
63  Abc., fol. 102.
The Word of God is apparently the sum total of possible knowledge which was abbreviated into a parable, the life of Christ. But "the science of this Book is not discursive; rather it is learned immediately upon being seen."\(^{64}\)

The Divine Word corresponds, then, to simultaneous knowledge generated by pure intelligence, rather than to the successive presentations of discursive reason.\(^ {65}\)

In engendering Christ, God gave the power of generation, both corporal and spiritual, to all things.\(^ {66}\) "Spiritual generation," in man, can only be generation of knowledge. The intellect of man is made fecund, mysteriously, by the power given to the Word.\(^ {67}\) The act of knowing Osuna designates by the verb conocer, which may have the Biblical significance "have carnal knowledge of," just as the verb "to know" in English. In this act,

\(^{64}\) Abc., fol. 138.

\(^{65}\) In God, this knowledge is engendered unceasingly, as indicated, Osuna says, by the present tense of the verb in "mi padre obra ..." He notes that the present tense is used to indicate "un ahora invariable." (2 Abc., fol. 36.) This is a true statement of linguistic fact. Any assertion that is assumed to be eternal truth will ordinarily be stated in the present: "Dos y dos son cuatro."

\(^{66}\) Abc., p. 314.

\(^{67}\) The role of love in this process (cf. chapter one) is again suggested by Osuna's identification of the affections as "los oídos del ánima" (4 Abc., p. 341).
the intellectual power and the object conjoin to produce knowledge. Knowledge thus conceived, if it changes the actions of the knower, is brought forth into the light of material reality; that is, the mind gives it birth (alumbra). 68

Osuna's theory of knowledge, which includes love as an important element, follows admirably the parable of corporal generation. The relation between the two is that of the abstract to the material. Double meanings of conocer, concebir, and alumbrar form parallel vehicles for expression of the figure. Its extensive use is fortified by St. Augustine's reference to the role of love in the "conception" of knowledge, 69 on the three

68 The following passages show some of Osuna's varied uses of these terms:
The name "Aaron" ("el que concibe"): Osuna says that he is a figure of the good Christian, who, for the purpose of improving his life, conceives of God in his mind (2 Abc., fol. 125).
Honor and blessedness of the soul consist of the "sight" of God and "conocimiento amoroso del" (2 Abc., fol. 108).
"El alma intelectual, con un abrazo cuasi incorporeo de aqueste Dios uno, se hinche y empeña de las virtudes ... " (4 Abc., p. 512).
To women about to give birth, one says "Dios os alumbre." The motive for this is that Christ may send mercy through His mother, whose name means "alumbradora" (Norte, fol. 86). (Elsewhere, Osuna gives different meanings for the name: some will appear in Chap. IV.)
In the Third Alphabet (p. 348) Osuna says: "La fe es lumubre para alumbramiento de las gentes ... " (here, the word may be taken in either sense, although the context makes "illumination" more likely).

types of words—the third is "knowledge together with love,"70 and his comparison between the Incarnation of the Verb and perception of Him in the mind.71

An important reinforcing element is the Canticle of Solomon. Hatzfeld points to its influence in the literary expression of bride-mysticism in sixteenth-century Spain.72 Undoubtedly it is an important factor, but another one that must be considered is terminology of the Augustinian theory of knowledge, borrowed by Osuna and extensively developed. The nuptial figure is apt, since it suggests the role of love (v. Chapter I) in the process of knowing, and also the creative nature that Osuna attributes to it. Besides these canons, capable of carrying two major philosophical ideas, the figure has power to evoke sentiments and sensations. This is one of the avowed purposes of Osuna's rhetoric (see Chapter III). It is not surprising that bride-mysticism is one of the principal themes of the Alphabets, since it has all these factors in its favor.

Osuna's views on the creative power of the mind penetrate his most fundamental doctrines. The "ser

70 On the Trinity, IX. 10 (Ibid., pp. 799-800).
71 On the Trinity, IV. 20 (Ibid., p. 753).
72 Helmet Hatzfeld, op. cit., p. 625.
97

natural," he says, is received in matter (corporal con­
ception); the "ser de gracia" (re-birth of the Christian)
is received in "the rational part" (the mind).
is the source of both these

The Word

l i v e s . 73

Referring again to Ezechiel's passage on the
eagle, it is now apparent why Osuna specifies that Mary'
conceived Christ in the soul (her mind), which he
identifies with Mt. Lebanon.

The mountain, to Osuna, may
7 2l
be a figure of the contemplative.
The Incarnation of
the Word, and the advent of the concept to the contem­
plative, are both figured in the eagle's descent.

His

flight to Canaan, on this level of interpretation, becomes
a figure of the contemplative1s resurrection and salvation.
Alumbrar, ver, conocer.— One of the eagle's
attributes most emphasized by Osuna is his ability to see
well.

In his declaration of this point, Osuna interprets

the eagle's ability to look into the sun as representing
Christ's complete knowledge.

This point is clarified by

reference to Osuna's theoretical explanation of vision;
it is made possible by light within the eye mixing itself
with light from outside.

I shall cite a part of Osuna's

statement, which bears on our topic:
Para mayor declaration de aquesto es de
notar que para ver y conoscer las cosas

731 A be., fol. 102.

7^3 Abe., p. 345.


Corporales no basta la lumbre de nuestros ojos, pues de noche, á oscuras, aunque tengamos los ojos abiertos, no vemos; mas es menester que entrambas estas dos luces se mezclen, la luz de fuera y la que esta dentro en nuestros ojos se han de juntar para que en la tal mezcla veamos las cosas visibles; así en lo espiritual es menester, para que se cause conocimiento, que con la lumbre natural que está impresa en nuestra ánima se junte la lumbre divina y celestial, para que en esta mezcla veamos lo que antes no conocíamos y podamos decir con David (Psal. XXXV): En tu lumbre, Señor, veremos lumbre.75

Sight is only possible when the disproportion between internal and external light is not too great. Bats and owls are blinded by sunlight, because the quantity of light in their eyes is relatively small.76 "Según el filósofo, la cosa sensible, cuando es muy excelente en su género, corrompe el sentido ... "77

The intellect follows the pattern of the eyesight. Because our understanding is relatively limited, we can never reach the Divine through rational processes (meditation). The only recourse is through the highest type of contemplation, "no pensar nada," where all categorization is suppressed, and the Divine is not "seen" but "embraced."78

The Eagle, Christ, because of the light within His intellect, can know all things; that is, he has

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75 Abc., p. 348.  
76 Ibid.  
77 Ibid., p. 349.  
78 Ibid., p. 349.
sufficient light in His own eyes to look directly at the Sun (God). Christ Himself is identified with the light from the Sun, "porque alumbra el entendimiento." ⁷⁹

Alumbrar is probably used here in both its senses, since the Word creates, as well as illuminates, man's mind. (Sunlight itself has generative power; it engenders gold and jewels in the earth, and fish in the sea.) ⁸⁰

The words "alumbrar" and "conocer" have meanings that permit them to be used in the figure of birth as well as that of sight, both of which represent the act of knowing.

In order to see a thing, we must first have some idea of it. "Para que veamos alguna cosa es menester q tengamos primero en nosotros su semejanza mediante la cual puede ser vista por nosotros." ⁸¹ Also, "la noticia intuytiva" perishes in the absence of "lo que por ella conociamos"; or, if God absents Himself, we lose Him from "sight" and from "conocimiento." ⁸² The implication here seems to be that if the "object" vanishes, the power (of the mind) is unable to engender the "noticia." ⁸²

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⁸¹ Abc., fol. 103. I believe that Osuna may be noting here the difference between an undifferentiated sense-report and the mental perception of an entity from this report.
⁸² Ibid.
thing may be spiritually present to the mind without regard to corporal location; this will, obviously, be always the case with God. His "presence," in spiritual terms, may well be his attention ("tenerlo a uno presente"). Osuna insists on the importance of attention on the part of the contemplative; since the Divine mind and the human one are analogs, this may explain the presence and absence of the ever-present God.

It is the "noticia intuytiva," or presentational type of knowledge that is sought in contemplation. This type is probably represented when the eagle is said to look at the sun without blinking; that is, the entire view may be encompassed at one time without any discursive shifting of attention from one thing to another. This is the type of knowledge that creates the "picture" mentioned in the Ecclesiasticus text that was cited at the beginning of this chapter.

The intuitive, and completely abstract "image" of Christ is the model after which man must design himself. In speaking of the Ecclesiasticus text, Osuna says that some people model themselves on animals, others on devils. But once knowledge of the Divine is attained through

\footnote{83"Attention to Him alone" is the "eye" of the Soul, which wounded the heart of the Spouse [Cant. 4: 9] (5 Abe., fol. 57).}
knowledge of the creatures, man can know, and change, himself.

The processes involved in the change are given in this passage. One is intuitive knowledge of Christ, which is "la semejança de la pintura." (The semejanza is our concept; the pintura is Christ, the visible manifestation of divine ideas.) If we give our hearts to the concept, we love Him, and we approach Him, since desire is movement through space. "Custom," or habit, changes the picture of the self to conform to the concept or ideal, just as the old customs created the image of lion, serpent, or pig; "el uso muda la naturaleza ..." 84

Between seeing the "image" of Christ and conforming to it, however, lies the work of a lifetime. First, the old habits must be broken. This "breakage"--"quebrantamiento" is Osuna's term--is contrition. He says that in this state, the spirit is broken down into dust, which is a perfume agreeable to God. 85 Contrition is also called

841 Abc., fol. 48.

855 Abc., fol. 23. It should be recalled (footnote 9, p.75) that the Ecclesiasticus text refers not to actual painting, but to the making of seals. "Dust" and "breakage" are more understandable in the context of seals. Also, the seal is an emblem of baptism ("Symbolism," Catholic Encyclopaedia, XIV, 324), where the "ser de gracia" is infused. In the early church, baptized people were called "illuminated" (Ibid., p. 375).
by Osuna "attrition"; both words etymologically had the meaning of "rubbing or wearing away." The figure utilizes the concrete value of words in order to express their abstract value.

Since habits alter nature, the new image of the self is to be drawn by new customs. These will be spiritual exercises. The transformation wrought by them will not be finished overnight; "ni la arte ni la naturaleza no puede transmutar ni convertir una cosa en otra sin proceder ordenada y limitadamente de una transmutacion en otra hasta venir por todas las presupuestas a la ultima que ha de introducir la forma mejor."88

Therefore, the condition most necessary to any spiritual exercise is its continuation. Motive power enough to erase the old image and create the new can only be found in the source of all energy, love. "Dara su corazon a la semejança de la pintura, y velando acabara la obra."90

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86 Cassell's New Latin Dictionary.
87 1 Abc., fol. 48. 88 2 Abc., fol. 144.
89 For this reason, Osuna says, the first three letters of each alphabet always include the words "siempre" or "mucho" (3 Abc., p. 473). The tilde, appended by Osuna after the last alphabetical letter, is called by him "la cola del animal [el del sello] sacrificado." It signifies perseverance (1 Abc., fol. 52).
90 The process may be hastened by the operation of grace; to attain such a grace is the purpose of recogi-miento. The process will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV.
The expansion of language.—Conscious as he is of both real and linguistic phenomena, Osuna complains of the limited resources of language. In respect to contemplation of the creatures, he says that it brings to your knowledge many things that cannot be written.91 One reason they cannot be expressed is that the language ("româce") cannot properly declare spiritual matters, "por la falta de vocablos q importan conueniencias y relaciones y dispucions y maneras de se auer unas cosas c'f otras o entidades y cosas apartadas de la materia corporal y grossera a la q1 esta nño vulgar muy atado." For example, in its "operacion e impressio espiritual" the eye can perceive "contrary" colors in one place, which it cannot do in its "operacion real y exterior."92

In short, subjective phenomena share some canons with objective ones, but not all. A convenient example can be taken from music, which can figure, in a melodic canon, the activity of reason tracing a cursive pattern of form; in a chord, it can figure a formal pattern perceived as a simultaneous concept. However, the figure itself imposes a canon unsuitable to its spiritual analogue; music in audible. This forces the writer using

912 Abc., fol. 129.
92Ibid., fols. 90, 91. I think he refers here to the positive and negative after-images of sight.
such a figure to combine a noun like "music" with an incompatible or contradictory attribute; e.g., "la música callada." 93

The figure of "vision," which also represents conceptualization, has the advantage of silencing an importune sense-referent, but it evokes another. Mental concepts are not really seen. Osuna's passage cited from Richard of St. Victor illustrates the difficulty of working with this figure. The writer is forced to say that the intuitive concept is like a picture, but not like it. In our present context, we could say that it is like a picture in presenting a composite of details simultaneously, rather than successively through time, but it is unlike a picture in being invisible, and in being able to present energy (action and potential action), as well as matter. Again, the problem may be solved linguistically by paradox or oxymoron; in the case of the visual sense, it will result in some statement that light is darkness, or vice versa; "la noche es mi alumbramiento en mis deleites," is an example that Osuna uses, borrowing from Scripture (Psal. CXXXVIII b). 94

A similar difficulty occurs in dealing with space relations as figures of category position; Christ

93 San Juan de la Cruz, Cántico.

94 3 Abc., p. 366.
the Eagle is highest in divinity as he is lowest in humility. Many subjective states are ordinarily expressed in terms of space relations -- abatido, exaltado, salir de sí, ensimismado, arrebatado, recogido. The geometry of such relations in the material world is not quite congruent to that of the spiritual world. Mixing the two results in sets of incompatible statements.

Since the canons of material and spiritual entities do not precisely coincide, the writer is forced to suggest first one set and then another in order to rectify the false suggestions of the one, and to embody the ineffable phenomena of the other. Language itself has selected certain canons of its own, not all of which convey perfectly the objective world (one case is that of fire, the substance of which is inseparable from its attributes), or the subjective one (the highest contemplation is defined as a state of knowledge in which nothing is apprehended that can be spoken). Linguistic canons, however, are useful in their own right. The language permits abstracts to be constructed on the basis of concrete terms; this canon is exploited by Osuna in his use of conocer, concebir, alumbrar, ver, and contrición, for example. He then exploits the concrete aspects of each term according to their many canons, and attaches these to the abstract or subjective aspect of the word.

Besides furnishing in this way limitless resources for expression, the distinction between concrete
and abstract levels is correlated to Osuna's customary division of the universe into "corporal" (accessible to the senses) and "spiritual" (purely subjective) phenomena. It is also related to the distinction between visible and invisible things, which defines the state of contemplation.

The language itself, when it represents both these worlds in one term, is using a "figure" to which we may be so accustomed that we are no longer conscious of its nature. But if the figure is new and unaccustomed, the canons must be painstakingly traced, as though we were defining the words of a new language.

Basic to this definition of the figure is the establishment of patterns of operation in the reality it represents. Two quite different entities may hold one or more of these patterns in common; for example, the painting of a picture, the conception of a child, or a clear visual impression of the sun may all represent the formation of a concept in the mind. Since all these activities have a common canon, they themselves can be subsumed under one concept. Contemplation of the creatures consists of formulating just such concepts. These may be called "words" in the sense of "parable-word" as we have discussed it. Such words, I believe, are those that Osuna has in mind when he says that spiritual exercises are the words of God, and that his alphabets are designed to teach the letters of which they are composed.
In our own ordinary language we can point to examples of condensation into one word of two things having only a function-pattern in common. Such concepts are expressed in concebir and conocer, for example, and in any constructions where physical phenomena represent subjective ones; that is, where we, like Osuna, have used the physical world to represent the spiritual. Cassirer points out that the delineation of concepts, and consequent application of "words," is based on the process of detecting similarities in function, in languages taken generally. For example, if "dancing" and "working" are considered (as among some primitive groups) to fulfill the same function (produce crops), the same word will be applied to both activities.95

The technique of classifying by function, for which the language itself provides a model, is employed consciously by Osuna, with the difference that some concepts he evolves may not have a name in his language. They can be expressed only in a complex formula like a sentence. Therefore, he charges ordinary words with new canons. One word like "aguila" will be used to express a whole set of such formulae. The reader must then

manipulate the word, with all its new connotations, in juxtaposition with other words of the same nature. He is forced into the process of creating a new language, and through it, to look at the world anew as he traces analogies and correspondences previously unseen.
CHAPTER III

OSUNA'S DIALECTIC AND RHETORIC

Scripture and the book of creatures.—Topics of meditation, according to Osuna, may be scriptural texts or things from the world of nature. Both are taken as matters of fact. Osuna distinguishes, within these categories, four classes, which he calls "books": "el libro de las criaturas," "el libro de fortuna" (human events), "la Escritura," and "el libro de los buenos" (example set by good people). These "books" (given in ascending order of excellence according to Osuna), "open the eyes of the soul."¹

Some of these materials for meditation will be seen, others heard. For example, sermons and lessons contain words that one must keep within the heart, "refiriéndolas y cotejandolas unas con otras," as Mary treated the words of Christ (Luc. 2.g).² This meditation disposes the soul for the other things it should do, and

¹⁵ Abc., fol. 80.
²² Abc., fol. 126.
prepares it for mental prayer: "the breath of good thoughts lifts the wings of desire." This meditation is a ladder on which to rise to God (Jacob's ladder). Its steps are the good words, sermons and lessons, that are meditated. Without this meditation it is impossible to arrive at the perfection of contemplation or at the form of life that the Christian religion demands.

Doctrine that we see includes that offered by the things of nature. In practice, Osuna shows a certain predilection for this topic. Of such meditation, he says that it is laudable, and was followed by many saints; the Lord made the creatures for this purpose. It is the science, of those that we "humanly" investigate, that brings the most joy. Each person, being individual, will extract a different doctrine. This also occurs in

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32 Abc., fol. 127. 
4 Ibid.

5 This is also an escalera; Osuna says that we can, with industry, love God for every one of the created things, "usando della como de escalón para sobir al amor del Señor, holgándonos y agradándonos por haver creado nuestro Señor cada yervecica y dotándola de singular gracia ..." (3 Abc., p. 497). Also "lo corporal fué criado para que ayudase á lo espiritual, en especial á nuestra ánima, que de otra manera no puede comenzar á elevarse á las cosas invisibles de Dios. "Y no sólo ayudan á los hombres, mas también á los ángeles; los cuales, según Sant Augustín, cuando fueron criados, subieron al conocimiento del Criador contemplando ordenadamente las obras de los seis días. Así que todos subimos á abajamos cada uno en su manera por el escalera [sic] que es la orden de las cosas criadas" (3 Abc., p. 321).
meditating Scripture, which is like an animal whose fur is no more inclined to lie one way than another, or like the images that seem to look at one wherever he may place himself; like a chameleon that wears the color on which he is put, or a mirror that represents whatever stands before it.\(^6\)

The previous chapter showed Osuna's treatment of a creature (the eagle) as a vehicle for meditating the grandeur of Christ. Among other statements of the eagle's activities, there figured a scriptural text that was utilized as one of the canons of the figure. It was interpreted (1) as representing historical events, the Incarnation and Resurrection, (2) as a figure of redeeming grace conferred on the contemplative through the act of knowing.

These correspond to the allegorical and anagogical levels of Biblical exegesis. In utilizing, as he does,


\(^7\)However, it is necessary to subject oneself to the rules of the faith. The ancient philosophers erred, at times, for lack of it; specifically, they turned "the causes of things" to their carnal (i.e., material) sense. The example that Osuna gives is the statement that primary causes are limited by secondary ones. God, the first cause, cannot be limited. But a philosopher "con solo la lumbrè natural" contemplated visible things and came to know invisible ones [Plato?] (2\_Abc., fols. 130-131).
the canons of material things as patterns of spiritual activity, Osuna follows an ancient tradition, which he has applied not only to scripture but to other data. For example, he extracts a tropological interpretation from the eagle's examination of his offspring: i.e., it is necessary to examine one's thoughts and intentions.

In effect, the practice of Scriptural exegesis and that of meditation follow the same general principle. It consists of detection of canonicity in various operations performed by material or abstract entities. The literal and metaphoric levels correspond roughly to visible or "sensible" phenomena; the tropological may include both "sensible" and intelligible, and the anagogical is primarily intelligible or ineffable.

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8 Nicolás de Lyra, who is cited by Osuna frequently in the Fifth Alphabet, states the case clearly in other terms: "Littera gesta docet/ quid credas allegoria/ moralis quid agas / quo tendas anagogia" (Harry Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation," Speculum, IV, 1929, p. 286). Osuna himself lists the four levels: literal, alegórico, moral, anagóxico. As an example, he uses the story of Longinus. On the literal level, he was a cruel man, who, to please the officials, thrust his spear into Christ's side to be sure that He was dead. Allegorically, Longinus represents Christianity. His lance is Faith; the iron point is Love. The iron "hace camino por Christo muerto"; that is, through the death of Christ, it passes to the portals of blessedness. Anagógoically, Longinus is the Christian who wants to be released (desatado). [This is release from the flesh, whether in death or in infused contemplation.] The lance is the sigh (suspiro) that wounds Christ with a prayer like an arrow. The wound in Christ's side is
Other forms of spiritual exercise or mental prayer show similar correlations: *cogitatio* confines itself principally to the literal sense of words, and *contemplatio* to the purely abstract. To progress from one level to another requires the process of "referring and comparing some things to others" (recommended by Osuna for meditation of Scriptures and of the creatures), which will result in the detection of canonical forms.

In the Second Alphabet, Osuna discusses meditations of Scripture and of the creatures without making any significant distinction between the two, except that the materials of one are heard, and the other, seen. In practice, he interprets Scripture with considerable freedom, although it would be difficult to ascertain how much of this apparent liberty actually has some support in tradition.⁹

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⁹On one occasion, Osuna cites four authorities— the "glosa ordinaria," Bede, St. Jerome, and Lyra—in their interpretation of the text under consideration. After explaining the suitability of each view, he gives his own version (*5 Abc.* , fol. 100). (He may, however, have based his opinion upon some source that he does not name.)
It would be difficult to account for the similarity in Osuna's treatment of Scripture and of natural history without recourse to the tradition to which he is heir. The methodology of Biblical exegesis, adapted to the extraction of doctrine from history and parable, is re-applied by Osuna to non-scriptural material. In this, he was continuing a practice begun by the medieval preachers, apparently. Caplan notes the emphasis on the four senses of Scripture in medieval sermonology. Charland remarks that the practice of confirmation by authority was borrowed by preachers from the exegetes, who were the university preachers. The relation between preaching and sacred hermeneutics was drawn even closer by the preacher's use of concordances. A tendency 

10 Op. cit., p. 284. Caplan also remarks that the multiple levels of interpretation passed from Hebrew exegetical tradition into Christianity through Origen, Philo, Augustine, and Jerome, having been sponsored by the school of Alexandrian Neoplatonists who attempted the reconciliation of that philosophy with Christianity (pp. 284-85).

11 Th.-M. Charland, "Artes Praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge," Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales d'Ottawa, VII (Paris: J. Vrin; Ottawa: Inst. d'Etudes Médiévales), 1936, p. 166). Gilson comments on the fact that things designated by sacred texts became symbols, which were then subjected to interpretation themselves. (Etienne Gilson, "La Technique du sermon médiévale," op. cit., p. 147.) It is only a short step from this to the application of the exegetical method to anything from the created world; in short, to treat material from the "books" of the creatures, of fortune, and of good example in the same way that Scripture was treated.
toward this development may have appeared early; St. Thomas Aquinas remarked:

The multiplicity of these interpretations [of Scripture] does not cause ambiguity or any sort of equivocation, since these interpretations are not multiplied because one word signifies several things; but because the things signified by the words can themselves be types of other things.  

In this passage, Aquinas has clearly pointed out a progression from the Scriptural word to the thing itself, with all its characteristics. Since one Scriptural text was used as the basis for an entire sermon the introduction of figures served to help extract the full meaning of the passage. Also, it was thought to provide material that would strike the imagination, be retained in the memory, and give

12Summa Theologica, I, art. 10, Reply Obj. 3, cited by Caplan, op. cit., p. 287.

13It will already be evident to the reader, I believe, that to Osuna one word may mean several things, despite Aquina's assertion that this does not occur. Perhaps the Scripture was more freely interpreted in the sixteenth century than in the thirteenth, or perhaps St. Thomas did not wish to recognize variant readings. The statement that ambiguity does not occur also seems somewhat doubtful; however, the important item here is St. Thomas' recognition of the possibility of further development through the creature, used as a type.

14Charland, op. cit., pp. 112-113; Gilson, op. cit., p. 101.
pleasure to the hearer, especially in the case of an unsophisticated auditor.\textsuperscript{15}

The Dominican, Thomas Waleys, and the anonymous Franciscan of the \textit{Ars Concionandi} both point out the necessity of knowing the properties of creatures in order to utilize them in exposition.\textsuperscript{16} (An example in point is Osuna's use of some properties of the eagle to derive the metaphorical and anagogical meanings of his text.) Waleys, who considers figures the most fecund mode of exposition, says that the work of preparation consists of isolating the "conditions" of the thing to adapt it to the subject of the sermon. The conditions consist of its intrinsic attributes (essence and accidents: quality, quantity, operation) and the extrinsic ones (causes, final and efficient; effects; other accidents--

\textsuperscript{15}Charland cites Thomas Waleys, a Dominican of the fourteenth century, to the effect that such figures are pleasing and are retained in the memory, "étant plus en conformité avec notre mode naturel de connaître per conversionem ad phantasmata (p. 205). Gilson cites the anonymous Franciscan author of the \textit{Ars Concionandi} to same effect (pp. 113, 131, 142). This Franciscan, like Osuna, compares the world to a book: "modum istum dilatandi si quis exercere vult, librum utilem habet, scilicet mundum, cujus omnes partes instruent ipsum et transmittent ad Deum. Uti poteris mundo tanquam figura ... (\textit{Ars concionandi}, III, \textit{44}, cited by Gilson, p. 142, footnote 1). Such use is observed in the practice of the popular preacher Michel Menot (Gilson, pp. 144-147). Exposition of the theme by means of such figures is one of the traditional eight modes in use through the medieval period (Charland, pp. 204, 211).

\textsuperscript{16}Charland, p. 204; Gilson, pp. 141-142.
place, time, etc.). Charland identifies the list, which is not completely given, as the ten categories of Aristotle.¹⁷

Osuna, in his instructions for contemplation of "virtues, or any other thing" gives as one method the "diez predicamentos"; consider the thing according to (1) its substance, (2) its quantity, (3) its quality, (4) its "relation," (5) its passion, (6) its operation, (7) situation, (8) the place, (9) the time, (10) its "habit." Concluding his chapter on methods of contemplation, he says: "Digo te de verdad que te es tan necesaria forma y order en tu meditación, como las partes en la rethorica porque no menos ha de ser adornada la rethoria [sic] divina que la humana."¹⁸

Osuna's "predicamentos" are Aristotle's 10 categories, designed to elicit an exhaustive description of an entity. (These are the "predicables," many of which are determined by which can be attributed to a thing by means of the copulative verb.)¹⁹ One point that bears on our subject, however, is the fact that the types of

¹⁷Charland, op. cit., p. 205.
¹⁸Abe., fol. 133*.
¹⁹Charland, p. 53. Definition of some of the categories is still a matter of discussion; for a brief account see "Categoría," Encyclopedia Universal Ilustrada, Espasa-Calpe, S.A., XII, 529-530.
attribution considered here are not confined to static qualities; they include functions and relations. For example, in living things the categories "quantity, quality, place" may elicit the attributes of growth, change, and independent movement.\textsuperscript{20}

Another method recommended by Osuna is to consider the thing within itself according to its virtues and nature, its generation, its "active or passive corruption," its mixture or the composition of its parts, or "en orden a otra cosa."\textsuperscript{21} This system seems to derive from the first; it is a more detailed set of categories of things that a subject may do, or that may be done to it, and ends with a suggestion to consider its relation to something else.\textsuperscript{22}

These processes throw considerable light on Osuna's method of arriving at the canons of his figures. In practice, the elements he chooses as significant are

\textsuperscript{20}G. M. LeBlond, Logique et méthode chez Aristote: Etude sur la recherche des principes dans la physique aristotélicienne (Paris, J. Vrin, 1939), pp. 351-352. In fact, Le Blond points out that Aristotle conceived of form in terms of function; he expressly denies (in The Parts of Animals) that it consists of external configuration or color. (An example given is the difference between the sculptured hand and the living one; only the living one can perform the functions that define a hand (Ibid., pp. 358-59).)

\textsuperscript{21}Abe., fols. 132-133.

\textsuperscript{22}Le Blond, op. cit., p. 35.
usually functions and relations. In describing an entity he may follow the course of dialectic rather than rhetoric, and the attributes elicited by these methods determine the meaning of a thing named. Since these categories are designed to bring forth all possible attributions to a subject, their usefulness in Biblical exegesis is obvious: through some canon of the things, an obscure passage could successfully be explained.

The medieval preacher found figurative texts to be fruitful themes, because of this potential for expansion.\(^{23}\) This was important, since the preacher was restricted to one text as the basis for his entire sermon. Possibilities of developing a theme through the use of figures are practically infinite. Every concrete entity, and especially a living one, has enough attributes, and relations with other things, to make possible a progression from figure to figure. For example, in explaining the eagle, his attribute of eyesight led to a development of the figure of "vision"; through the word \textit{alumbrar} this figure was linked to that of birth. All these figures were necessary to a complete explication of the brief scriptual text, which also introduced the words "monte" and "mercader," two figures having a number of attributes of their own.

\(^{23}\)Charland, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 205.
Basically, development of a theme through figures depends on discovery of similarities in canons. Coincidences in words are also exploited, as shown by several examples in the last chapter. There, we also saw the use of an etymological meaning to establish the connection between an abstract word and a concrete figure—"contrition," the "wearing away" or "breaking up" of the figure on the seal.

This, too, is an established device of Biblical exegesis, and of medieval preaching technique. An example of the possibilities inherent in etymology may be shown by Osuna's treatment of Biblical names (sacred onomastics). He says, for example, that "Jacob" means "luchador," and he represents Chastity.\(^{24}\) His other name is Israel, "poderoso con Dios"; now, he is a figure of the Christian peoples.\(^{25}\) However, he is also a figure of Christ; the two names signify the divine and human natures.\(^{26}\)

Again, "Jacob" may be translated as "acoceador," and "Israel" as "hombre que ve a Dios." In this lengthy explication Jacob is the good bishop, who undertakes a hard task to win a wife (the church). He becomes a

\(^{24}\) Abc., p. 681.  
\(^{25}\) Ibid., p. 619.  
\(^{26}\) Ibid., p. 570.
pilgrim. First he must take Lia, "la muy trabajosa"; that is, a difficult post, and not the one he wants.

Jacob is "acoceador" because he has subjugated his vices (they are "acoceados y sojuzgados"). As Israel, he sees God with the eyes of the mind—intellect and will.

The pasture of love for the will is found in interior affections (recogimiento). Pasture for the intellect is found in doctrine. The good bishop is obliged to supply his flock with both.

Jacob said to his father-in-law: "Mientras more contigo no fueron estériles tus ovejas, ni comí los carneros de tu ganado, ni te mostré pieza que bestia fiera hubiese comido, y todo el daño te pagaba, porque lo hurtado me demandabas" [Gen. 31: 38, 39].

The sheep are parishoners who grow in virtue. They are given salt (discreet words). (Elisha threw salt into the waters of Jericho so that the fields would bear fruit.) The bishop eats the sheep when he occupies his best people in his personal business affairs. To "leave the flock in the desert and go to watch the fight" is to go to Paris to debate.

Eating the sheep may also represent nepotism, or misappropriating funds intended for charity.

The wild beasts may be (1) the bishop's officers, or (2) error, or partisanship (of opinion), or (3) vices and bad habits.
However, God demands an accounting of the souls of the parishoners. Christ is the true Shepherd; no one can be a good pastor without transforming himself, by love, into Christ.27

In this example, Osuna begins by identifying Jacob as the "good bishop," but the principal base of the similarity (the pastoral occupation) does not immediately follow. Rather, a secondary resemblance (the first marriage) is introduced. This is followed by an explanation of the significance of the names; between these two declarations there is a difference of "level"—"acoceador" is interpreted tropologically, through words with strong material associations. "He who sees God" has, naturally, an anagogical meaning. This leads to the first suggestion of sheep-herding; the "pasture" (pasto) used in its figurative sense. This effects the transition to the scriptural text.

In "declaring" the text, the first figure is explained, and is followed, not by the second one (carneros) but by an item, salt, drawn from outside the passage. This is not only interpreted but reinforced by allusion to another text (Elisha sweetening the waters [IV R. 2d]. The declaration of figures then proceeds; but another new

274 Abc., pp. 663-667.
element is introduced; this intrusion shows an incongruity of "tone," and is inserted for critical pungency and comic value—"to leave the flock in the desert and go to watch the fight."

The figures continue: the wild beasts are the officials of the diocese. This figure strikes the attention, partly because it is a one-to-one equation of one living material being with another; this is not the case in any other figure here, except the sheep (who are really "souls"). The concrete image is, in fact, effective, as the medieval theorists held. However, abstract interpretations are later introduced.

The final line, "todo el daño te pagaba, porque lo hurtado me demandabas," is given on its literal level— an accounting is demanded, the loss is paid. Coming after a long series of transpositions to the tropological, the literal words have gained, by contrast, the force of reality. The threat is genuine, not metaphorical.

Another change of level is immediately introduced; to be a good pastor one must transform oneself by love into Christ. Here, the play on pastor (shepherd or lover) ties the two threads of discourse together. Also, the

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Charland, op. cit., pp. 133-134.
anagogical level, left incomplete after "the eyes of the soul," is again picked up. The reader is tempted to fill it in completely. However, this level is introduced for another purpose besides that of suggesting a new canon. It offers to the hearer an immediate course of action designed to avoid fulfillment of the threat. In short, it meets the rhetorician's or the preacher's demand that the hearer be persuaded to some frame of mind or course of action.

Osuna's treatment of this passage shows two of the principal techniques of theme development practiced in the medieval sermon.\textsuperscript{29} These methods—development through words (etymologies, double meanings, etc.) or through figures—are mixed, in order to keep the audience interested, as well as to derive the full weight of doctrine from a brief Scriptural passage. The technique of beginning with a point that does not immediately reveal its connection to the main theme, is also advocated by the medieval theorists.\textsuperscript{30} This piques the interest of the audience, who are left wondering what is to become of the first thread of discourse.

Insertion of authorities (Biblical texts or others) was demanded by preaching practice on the grounds

\textsuperscript{29}Charland, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 200-206.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., pp. 146-147.
that the sermon should never go long without support from accepted doctrine. An advantage that accrues from the insertion of new texts is the opportunity to embark on a new chain of words and figures. Had it suited Osuna's purpose, he could have declared the text of Elisha and the salt, a theme offering many possibilities. It is not unusual for Osuna to undertake the development of two themes, and to reconcile them successfully.

It was not considered good preaching practice to present an argument in undisguised form. If we extract the argument from Osuna's dilatatio, it goes as follows: the good bishop, through wise counsels and administration, protects his flock from sin and error, and makes its members increase in virtue. To be such a bishop, it is necessary to conquer one's own vices, and to have a good conception of what virtue is. If you undertake the mission and do it badly, through negligence or corruption, you will be punished. In order to avoid this, you must study doctrine and practice recogimiento, which will teach you how to improve.

One of the noticeable contrasts between this summary and Osuna's work is a transposition of order; the theme of study and mental prayer is mentioned before the

\[31\text{Charland, op. cit., p. 166.} \quad 32\text{Ibid., p. 147.}\]
motive for its practice. Otherwise, however, after the text is enunciated, the succession of topics is logical.

The material before the text stands in the place of the introduction to the theme in the sermon. Coming before the text, it often consisted of a series of affirmations confirmed by the text itself. In Osuna's hands, the order of elements is curious: first, the extraneous similarity between the bishop and Jacob; then the text and the declaration of each name, from which develops the word-play that connects the introduction with the theme. Such organization is designed to create confusion and suspense, which will later result in a feeling of satisfaction as disparate elements are resolved.

The advantage of the figured style lies, in great part, in its demand on the attention of the audience or reader. As a result of increased attention and the effort of following such an exposition, the concept, once complete, seems new.33 This advantage, when the

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33 Some psychologists affirm that belief itself may be defined in terms of attention. If the mind is filled by an idea, "with its congruous associates," it consents to the idea. William James, Psychology, 1890, p. 564; cited by William E. Utterback, "A Psychological View of Argumentation," in Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James A. Winans (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962), p. 286. The first condition necessary for an idea to prevail in the mind is that it bring with it a considerable emotional intensity (ibid., p. 287).
preacher is limited to traditional subject matter, is incalculable.

One of Osuna's systems for meditation is in effect a concise plan for a portion of a sermon: the declaration and development of the theme, and the peroration. He says that the method may be applied to "virtues or anything whatever": (1) "From afar," contemplate the excellence of the virtue,34 (2) its degrees, (3) its definition, (4) a special reason to praise it, (5) an authority, (6) an example, (7) a figure, (8) consider how evil is its contrary, (9) admonish yourself why the thing is virtuous and deserves to be loved, or why it is commanded of you, or counselled you; why it is suitable to you because of your office, or for your utility, or for your necessity. Also, why you are deviding to seek the virtue, the means of seeking it, and the end for which you do it.

This type of exposition seems particularly suited to the contemplation of abstracts (for example, love: of

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34I believe he means to contemplate the virtue in its general (abstract) sense; this would be consistent with his instructions on contemplating the field, and also with preaching practice in declaration of the theme. A term to be explicated was taken, when possible, as a totality, so as to permit further distinctions and subdivisions, Charland, op. cit., p. 167.
God, of neighbor, of self). It reveals a rather orderly scheme of encomium, distinction, definition, appeal to authority, example, illustration, definition by the contrary, and peroration. Although Osuna may change the order of these elements, they all form an important part of his stylistic resources. He may turn them to humorous ends: the meaning of "Beati pauperes spu" (spiritu) is clarified by its contrary "maledicti pauperes sine spu."\[36\]

Obviously, the preparation of books or of sermons by techniques such as those described in this chapter required a considerable supply of source material. For scriptural interpretation, various glosses were available: Osuna cites "la glosa

35 The fourth method of contemplation given by Osuna refers specifically to creatures, and shows a decidedly Franciscan attitude: (1) contemplate God in each creature. Consider (2) that the thing is given to you; (3) that you are its neighbor and close to it. Then divide the first consideration into three parts: (1) how God created the thing, conserves it and concurs in it; (2) how He redeems it; (3) how He honors it, giving it an "office" or goodness or grace or "spiritual virtue."

Next, the creature is contemplated in relation to the individual first, as an example of how to live; second, its use to the corporal man; third, how you enjoy all the goods of the creature as if they were yours, and should therefore sympathize with it, and favor it (2\textit{Abc.}, fol. 132).

36 2\textit{Abc.}, fol. 191.
interlinearia y la ordinaria que es de Sant Augustin,37 and the gloss of Nicolas de Lyra.38 On Biblical translation specifically, he refers to Theophilato,39 and to the Septuagint.40 Some of the other sources that are mentioned (in the Fifth and Sixth Alphabets) with documentation sufficient to indicate that they were probably used directly are: St. Jerome,41 St. Chrysostom,42 St. Ambrose,43 St. Augustine,44 Duns Scotus,45 Mombaer (Rosetum),46 Pliny (Natural History),47 Pedro de Ravena,48 and the letters of Hernando del Pulgar.49 Osuna cites many authorities; how many he consulted directly, and

375 Abc., fol. 107 et passim.
38 Ibid., fols. 106, 109 et passim.
39 Ibid., fols. 121, 194.
40 Ibid., fols. 109, 122, et passim.
41 Ibid., fols. 116, 201.
42 Ibid., fol. 117.
43 Ibid., fol. 107.
44 Ibid., fol. 198.
456 Abc., fols. 38, 39.
465 Abc., fol. 107.
47 Ibid., fol. 151.
49 Ibid., fol. 204. The Fifth Alphabet suggests, by its general tone, its inclusion of texts in Latin, and its more careful documentation, that it is directed primarily to the clergy. Osuna is careful, however, to address himself also to the lay reader at some points.
how many through secondary media, would be difficult
to determine.

For his data on the creatures, Osuna sometimes
cites Pliny or Aristotle. Beyond these, he seldom
divulges the source of his scientific notions or of his
exempla. The latter are rather sparingly used. However,
Osuna does include incidents from his own life, which he
uses as exempla, and which supply some facts of bio-
graphical interest.

Osuna's, in its turn, apparently became source
material for preachers. De Ros mentions a letter (1532)
from Matthias Weynsen, a comisario general of the
Franciscans, approving Osuna's Latin sermons, and
reporting that his vernacular books were used as sources
of doctrine by the preachers of Spain.50 Also, it may

50De Ros, op. cit., p. 608. This probably helps
to explain the numerous editions of the works in the six­
teenth and seventeenth centuries. Of those in Castilian,
the First Alphabet went through six editions; the Second,
five; the Third, six (before 1639); the Fourth, six; the
Fifth, three; the Sixth, two. The Gracioso Combite, before
its suppression by the Inquisition, appeared in six
editions, and the Norte de los Estados, three or four. The
most popular Latin work, Pars Occidentalis (a collection of
sermons), went through nine editions, and was published in
Antwerp, Paris, and Lyons as well as in Spain (Zaragoza
and Medina del Campo). The next most popular Latin work,
Pars meridionalis, appeared in seven editions in Spain,
Paris, Venice, and Rome. During this same period trans­
lations appeared; the "Passio Compassionis" (a sermon from
Pars Occidentalis) was translated into Italian (1573); the
First Alphabet and the Gracioso Combite, were translated
into Italian (1583 and 1599, Venice), the Sixth Alphabet
into Latin (Rome, 1616), and the Fifth into German (2 edi­
tions; 1602 and 1603, Munich). De Ros, op. cit., pp.
167-173.
account for the detailed indexes, by subject and by scriptural text, that accompany the Sixth Alphabet. (The indexes cover the complete series of Alphabets.)

Gilson remarks on the mutual relationship and influences of sermons and doctrinal works; in Osuna's case, both are produced by the same author, and his spiritual exercises become, in their turn, sermon material for others.

Emotions.—Osuna's aims are those which St. Augustine designated for the preacher: docere, delectare, flectere. In order to teach and to persuade, the appeal to emotion is invaluable, and Osuna loses no opportunity to stir the reader by a horrifyingly realistic description of the Passion, by exhortation, exclamation, reiteration, direct discourse, and especially by the use of concrete figures and comparisons. Moreover, he instructs the reader on the role he should play. The Alphabets are spiritual exercises and the reader's part in them is not passive.

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53 Abc., letters E and F.
In the introduction that precedes the First Alphabet (it actually introduces Alphabets One through Three), Osuna invites the reader: "Ven como familiar amigo ven có ánimo enseñable y de hecho seras enseñado ..."\(^{54}\)

He continues: "el devoto ... con llaneza de corazón va leyendo poco a poco llevando intento de hallar alguna palabra que le mueva su afficion a nño señor; y desque la halla detiense allí llamando las vezinas potencias de su anima y sus deseos para que se gozen con la pieza de oro ..."\(^{55}\)

In short, the reader must be disposed to learn and to welcome any incentive to holy love that he may find. Osuna predicts that his reader will prefer some parts of the Alphabets to others; he says that you like "one member of the Lamb better than another," but He, like manna, tastes like everyone's favorite dish.\(^{56}\)

However, to have fervor, you must believe that you have it, and do violence to yourself in order to seize the kingdom of heaven. You must force your thoughts to enter "the narrow door"--the wound in Christ's side.\(^{57}\)

\(^{54}\) Abc., fol. 6.  
\(^{55}\) Ibid., fol. 6.  
\(^{56}\) Ibid., fol. 52.  
\(^{57}\) Ibid., fol. 52. The narrow door leads into Christ's heart, the mind of the Logos (v. Chapter IV).
Osuna says that during the first year of practice, mental prayer (spiritual exercises) do not usually yield any feeling of devotion. One must persevere, until he seems to see with his eyes what he thinks in his heart, and until affections correspond to his thoughts in such a way that tears will come immediately upon thinking of something sad.58

It is so important to cultivate sensitivity to the mental image that Osuna refers to it frequently. One simple spiritual exercise is to carry in the imagination at all times the image of Christ, or of the Cross.59 Looking at this image often imprints it more into the heart. Much practice makes it easier to retain. Habit permits you to be moved even by the slightest reference. If you see a figure of Christ (i.e., a material one such as a painting) that seems to inspire you with devotion, you should retain it in your memory.60

By practicing, says Osuna, you learn to induce affections in the heart whenever you want devotion. You must be able to do this quickly. At first you will think that you are doing nothing. The spirit, however, is mobile and stable—it is firm in virtue if it is quick

583 Abc., 466. 592 Abc., fol. 41. 60 Ibid., fol. 42.
to good works. You must feel at various times joy, fear, wonder, love—these changes give you control of the heart, and soften it.

Ca no deues pensar cosa sin la enuestir en tu coraçó para q assi la siestas y representes en ti mismo cō buenas mudaças [sic] de la diestra del muy alto: porq assi como el cátor segu los pūtos muda la voz: assi el q ora ha de hazer en si mismo diversos sentimiento formado en el coraçó lo q piensa: en tal manera representara los mysterios como en farsa mas por obra q por palabra.61

Meditation is superior to reading, according to Osuna. He praises it, citing David: "entēdi mas q los q me enseñaun: porq tus testimonios era meditacio mia" (Psal. 118).62 Contemplation, says Osuna, requires complete concentration. Like a painter who is happy while painting a happy picture, the contemplative almost transforms himself into what he is doing; but in interior operations, the degree of concentration and of transformation are both greater.63

In this new reference to the art of painting, Osuna refers again to the transformative influence of the mental concept. The purpose of this "softening of the heart," and of intense concentration on a concept, is the changing of the form on the seal, or the "re-formation"

of the soul, modeled upon the new concept.64

612 Abc., fol. 50. 621 Abc., fol. 21.
633 Abc., p. 482.
64 In the context of this theory, it is not difficult to see how Don Quijote transformed himself into a knight-errant.
Prolixity and abbreviation.—In the second prologue to the First Alphabet (which is the most elementary one), Osuna says that he had prepared some brief and easy grains of doctrine (the letras) which his friends had passed from hand to hand. Since some were glossed by other people in a way he did not approve, he was obliged to declare them himself. Each letra is an espiga, and includes "los lirios y flores cò q se cerq nño trigo, q sera razones e figuras y pfecias pa mayor hermosura y fortaleza de nño dezir: porq segû Sant Hieronymo la verdad tâto es mas señora y mas fuerte quâto es mas vestida de razones ñ justas le végan."

Ships cannot move without extending their sails, nor birds fly without extending their wings. In the present case, "es mejor la maldad del varon que es algo prolijo, que no la mujer que hace bien en ser breve ..." 65

In this book (First Alphabet) the doctrine appears in abbreviated form at beginning and end; in the middle "se dilata para que mejor se imprima en tu corazón siendo por mas razones confirmada." 66

Later, Osuna again describes the structure of the Alphabets, and cites the authority of precedent. He says

65 Abc., fol. 5. The last line is reminiscent of Juan Ruiz, "Las propriedades que las dueñas chicas han."

66 Ibid., fol. 5.
that people who write of important things have the custom of stating briefly the substance of the matter at the beginning. Then they treat the subject "quasi en confuso" with long declarations. This method was used by "el filosofo en las doctrines morales," and David in Psalm CXVIII, where the substance of the matter to be taught is put briefly, "y despues dilata los medios para la alcanzar." Thus, Osuna continues, he puts in the first letra of each Alphabet a brief rendering of the subject that will be treated prolixly in the following letras. He asks the reader to look at the letter A in Alphabets one, two, and three. From each word of the distich of the letter can be drawn "una buena sentōcia." By way of example, Osuna declares the principal words of his letter A of the First Alphabet.

Osuna's treatment of the "letra" in his Alphabets is similar to the preacher's treatment of his theme, or sometimes, of his introduction to it. (If the distich serves as introduction, then a scriptural passage is

67 As far as I can discover, Aristotle's Ethics is not organized alphabetically, but his Metaphysics is.

68 1 Abc., fols. 9-10. This process is carried to a further extreme in the following treatise, in which the distich reads "Bienauenturado es el que de sus fructos [los de la Pasión] goza." Each chapter included in the treatise begins with one of the ten different letters of "bienauenturado," and each discusses a different "fructo" (1 Abc., trat. 2, fols. 14-22).
introduced as the theme.) From the distich (or the Scripture), the body of the treatise is developed by methods of *dilatatio* based on those of the medieval sermon, with heavy reliance on the use of figures and the declaration of words. When alphabetical organization is lacking, the same techniques of development are applied to Scriptural texts or statements by the author or by authorities.

One of Osuna's stated reasons for the use of the alphabetical form is its potential as a memory aid. Each distich, I believe, is supposed to recall to the mind of the meditator the contents of its corresponding treatise. The relationship of the distich to its treatise would often seem tenuous or arbitrary if it were not referred to the traditional methods of sermon composition.

Osuna treats his own words in the *letra* in the same way that he treats a scriptural text. He interprets them on various levels (tropological and anagogical, frequently), and subjects them to distinction, definition, subdivision, and development by means of figures, word declarations, and examples, and confirms them by authority.

In order to develop a whole treatise from a few brief words, the words must be chosen with care. Often

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691 *Abc.*, fol. 5.
they represent large categories that may embrace many sub-classes or elicit long descriptions and discussions. Osuna says that the first letter in Alphabets One, Two, and Three enunciate the theme of each book. These letters show the very general nature that the distich may have. In the treatise on the Passion (The First Alphabet) letter A reads: "Anda mucho escudriñando la pasión y causas della." Here, anda, pasión, and causas offer material enough for many different meditations.

In the Second Alphabet, letter A is "Amor se debe mezclar entre todas las potencias." It begins with the attributes, and types, of love, and proceeds to extract from amor and todas las potencias a series of treatises on spiritual exercises of every type and for every occasion.

The Third Alphabet begins with "Anden siempre juntamente la persona y espíritu." The book deals with the formulation of a concept of Christ (by means of recogimiento), and the translation of this spiritual reality into action.

By his procedures of development, Osuna derives a great deal of material from a brief theme. The

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70 Abc., fol. 7. 71 Abc., fol. 6. 72 Abc., p. 323.
abbreviated form is easily remembered; it is developed as though it were a theme for a sermon, by dialectical or rhetorical methods.

As a result, Osuna's words become invested with a great weight of meaning. He says of scriptural words that they represent many things; because they resemble Christ "quien, siendo una palabra que una vez habló Dios, contiene en sí todas las cosas." The Gospel figures many mysteries in one. The same statement may be applied to Osuna's own words, which he glosses as extensively as Scripture, and by the same methods.

Obscurity.—Words so charged with meaning are likely to be cryptic to the uninitiated. Osuna's remarks on meditating Scripture could apply equally well to his own works. In the first place the spiritual meaning (levels other than literal) must be extracted; "Ninguna cosa aprovecha al que lee la letra exterior; é muy poco sabrosa es la lección de la letra de fuera si el hombre no toma la glosa y el sentido interior del corazón. Esto ha dicho este Sancto ..." [Bernardo].

For extracting the "sentido interior," some practical advice is offered. Osuna says that apparent contradictions or anomalies in Scripture are an

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73 Abc., p. 486. 74 Abc., p. 435.
indication that spiritual meanings should be sought.\textsuperscript{75} Also, the figure that represents many things may not perfectly fit all of them, because it cannot accommodate all the particular attributes of each.\textsuperscript{76}

Searching out the interior meaning is a laudable exercise. According to Osuna, mysteries and figures are used so that the righteous will acquire merit, and will exert themselves in ruminating and thinking about "lo \textsuperscript{77} que es dicho no a la clara." You must seek the treasure of wisdom as one seeks hidden wealth.\textsuperscript{77}

In respect to his meditation on the Passion, Osuna applies these general statements more precisely. He says that other books on the topic in romance treat the Passion of Christ as though it were that of some other martyr. He intends to "sobir algo más en estos mysterios para que los afilados ingenios de algunas personas deudas tengan en que emplear muy fructuosamente sus pesames. ..." Estos mysterios mas delgados no se deuen escôder pues \textsuperscript{78} que Chro los publico ..."

From the actual content of the First Abecedario, one way of "rising higher" into the mysteries seems to consist of applying to Christ the Man what is said of the

\textsuperscript{75}\textit{Abc.}, fols. 35-36. \textsuperscript{76}\textit{Abc.}, fol. 107. \textsuperscript{77}\textit{Ibid.} \textsuperscript{78}\textit{Abc.}, fol. 3.
Word (this is named as one method of contemplating the grandeur of Christ). But since divinity cannot be spoken of directly, it must be spoken of by comparison with some other thing. Under the "earth" of Christ's humanity must be found the gold of divinity. "La humanidad se ha con la divinidad como se ha la figura con lo figurado."80

In Treatise XV of the First Alphabet the cosmic nature of the Word is set forth.

"Esta luz ... luze en las tiniebras e las tiniebras no la comprendieron" (Joa. 3.c).81 The shadows may be the creatures; in them God shines "algo oscuramente," but they do not show all His attributes and perfections. In this sense they do not "comprehend" Him.82

Otherwise the light in shadows may be Christ in the world, or Christ in the prophecies and figures of the Old Law, which cover the Divine.83

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791 Abc., fol. 104.
80Ibid., fols. 98-99.
81Ibid., fol. 103.
82Ibid. Another method of contemplating the divine grandeur is to divide it up among finite creatures, such as the eagle (ibid., fol. 104).
83Ibid.
To discover the divine Christ, the anagogical sense must be extracted from the human life of Christ, from the Scripture, or from the creatures. Another source of revelation is the Sacraments; they all, according to Osuna, represent the Passion, which is the source of their virtue. Also, anything contemplated as a representation of the Passion comes to be a sacrament.\(^{84}\) In contemplation, apparently, anything in the world may be spiritualized, or sanctified.

Since it is a meritorious exercise to discover the anagogical meaning in all these things, Osuna provides an opportunity for the "refined wits" of some devout persons to do so. He may stimulate the process by supplying a few elements of the anagogical in a predominantly tropological development. (This was the case in the declaration of Jacob-Israel.) A reader familiar with the canons of the figures and attuned to word-plays can fill in the missing pieces of the anagogical interpretation, using as guides those elements of it that Osuna does include. In Osuna's prose, apparent anomalies are often indications that we should seek a spiritual meaning as he counselled us to do with Scripture. This process is meditation or contemplation, depending on the materials manipulated.

\(^{84}\) Abc., fol. 134.
In this way, Osuna composes passages that mean one thing to the beginner, and several things to the contemplative who is able to compose his own counterpoint over the canto llano of the literal meaning. A rather ambitious example of this type of composition is offered by Treatise IV of the Third Alphabet. Since some of the anomalies that indicate the presence of an unstated anagogical meaning are found in the context surrounding the treatise, it will be necessary to describe briefly this portion of the Alphabet before we consider the treatise itself.

The First Three Alphabets.--As their titles indicate, the Abecedarios all bear at least a tenuous relation to one another. Within the set there is reason to believe that the first three were planned as parts of one composition. The prologue published with the First Alphabet is an introduction not only to the First, but also the Second and Third. According to this prologue, the parts represent three phases of Christian doctrine. They are compared to "pan de centeno, pan de cebada, y pan de trigo."\textsuperscript{85} The Third, or "pan de trigo," can be expected to be the most substantial and to refer to the divine Christ, Who is the Wheat that, in dying,

\textsuperscript{85} Abc., fol. 4.
produces fruit (Jn. 12:24). In the Third Alphabet, the word "pan" is identified with "deleite." "Our daily bread" is sometimes Christ the Son, and sometimes the delectation enjoyed in contemplation. Osuna's use of this figure is generally consistent within this book; the Third Alphabet does discuss contemplation and its results, and implicitly refers to the Logos, death and rebirth.

The magic numeral three has been associated with many natural triads; among them is that of beginning, middle and end. As has been noted in Chapter III, the joy of contemplation, subject of the Third Alphabet, is only a provisional end. It is the repose of will in the desired object, and in this sense it is the "end"—attainment. However, this union is by nature transitory, and to make it permanent the entire trajectory of life must be changed, so as to achieve permanent possession in Heaven. The provisional "end" therefore becomes a new beginning.

In the Third Alphabet, as many pages are devoted to the exercise of Christian virtues as to the matter of contemplation itself. This is entirely appropriate,

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86 *Abc.*, p. 462.  
since the objective of all spiritual exercises is the
determination of how to act. Moses ascended the mountain
of contemplation, but what he brought back were the
tablets of the Law.

The first two Abecedarios, covering as they do
the meditation of the Passion and other spiritual
exercises and disciplines, lead to the summit of contem­
plation and to moral reform, which is the subject of the
Third.

Within this last text, I have chosen for analysis
the fourth treatise, because it shows how a tropological
level may be constructed over a highly figured passage,
using the methods of contemplation suggested by Osuna.
Many of the figures are explained, at least in part, in
previous portions of the Alphabet. Others are not
glossed by Osuna until later, if at all. Probably the
meaning of the figures in Treatise IV will not come to
light until the whole series of three has been read, and
perhaps read more than once.

In this chapter, I shall first place the fourth
treatise in its context. In the following chapter, I
shall give a synopsis of it, and shall try to supply the
pertinent canons of the figures. In the process, the
treatise will gain new dimensions, and its enlarged
meaning will be summarized.
The position of Treatise IV.—In the organization of a serially numbered Abecedario few anomalies of order should be expected. Nevertheless, at least one occurs in this work: Osuna remarks in Treatise V that the fifth treatise occupies the third place (p. 366). Since a careful study of the first five treatises reveals nothing out of logical or alphabetical order, one may conclude that Osuna has begun counting "places" with Treatise III, where, for the first time, information about the practice of recogimiento is actually given. The prologue and the first two treatises include some explanations and glosses, but they really compose a lengthy and varied exordium. They could both be summarized as an admonition to practice recogimiento, and to give thanks to God for this promise of Glory, and for the sample of it that is found in infused contemplation. This brings up the alternative possibility that the triad in question may be exordium, narratio and conclusio. 89

With the third treatise, actual instruction in the theory and practice of recogimiento begins. The letter reads: "Ciego y sordo y mudo deves ser y manso siempre." Reference is made to the same letter in the

89 Or, as Ficino said, God "primo singulo creat, secundo rapit, tertio perficit." (Rapere is used to signify the divine seizure.) (Wind, op. cit., p. 48 and n. 1).
Second Alphabet, where the eyes, ears, and mouth are identified as the "three doors" to the heart—a concept that is important to the interpretation of our treatise in the Third Alphabet. Although the admonition of letter C in the two alphabets is identical, the glosses are not the same; they are, rather, complementary. Both Abecedarios demand in letter C the discipline of the senses. In the second, this is developed principally from the tropological standpoint (don't listen to flatterers, don't speak ill of others). In the Third Alphabet, mortification of the senses consists of their complete extinction in recogimiento.

The reason for suppressing the corporal senses, in the Third Alphabet, is to see better, and to know better, by means of interior vision. Our intellect, in divine things, is like an owl or a bat; it has so little light in its eyes that it cannot look on the sun's light. Efforts to comprehend the sum of God's works becomes overwhelming, because of the disproportion between His greatness and our understanding. Those who scrutinize the majesty of God are dazzled by its magnificence, since sensible things, if excessive, "corrupt" the sense. Similarly, although the intellect is incorruptible, great revelations may disturb it, "overturn" it, or make it temporarily cease to function. Our souls are like mosquitos that burn themselves flying toward the light.
The foregoing references to sense and intellect are, by extension, allusions to the imagination and to the rational function, and to the sensible and intelligible worlds. Both of these are inadequate to the task of knowing the Divine. Not only that; they must be consciously suppressed before such knowledge can be attained.

The solution, when all else fails, is to banish all thoughts of any kind whatever, converting all the forces of the soul into a fervent desire, guided by "una noticia que no es de criatura alguna" (p. 353). Thus Moses entered the cloud on the mountaintop before speaking to God. To inspect or speculate on the grace of divine communication is to lose it. It can only be felt, and that only when all other vital operations have ceased. For this reason God says: "No me verá hombre y vivirá" [Ex. 33:20] (p. 350).

Grace is necessary to the achievement of pure contemplation. Although the capacity for knowing (conocer) God exists in the soul in principle, it is impeded by our preoccupation with human things. It is like a seed or plant, whose generative power cannot act without sunlight, or like an egg "movido y avivado con el calor de la paloma" (the Holy Spirit). But we cannot, in any case, understand (entender) the essence of God while
we are in this life, and people should be careful to speak with discretion of spiritual things. The letter C advises that we be blind, deaf, and dumb, not only physically, but mentally. The intellect must entertain no thought, the will no love for created things, and the memory must not propose anything that can be spoken—that is, anything from the sensible or intelligible worlds.

There remains the admonition to be meek, or to be willing to conform to the will of God. Since the ecstatic state is a flight of the soul, comparable to death, the contemplative must be absolutely resolved to follow the will of God wherever it may take him. The meek are compared to glass vessels (vasos) protected by straw; they are humble and patient and solicitous of guarding, with the bond of peace, their unity of spirit.

This ends the third treatise, and the fourth begins: "Desembaraza el corazón y vacía todo lo creado." Since we already know that sight, hearing and the word are three doors to the heart, this letter appears, at first glance, to be a repetition of C. In the course of the text, it does seem to develop further many of the same ideas, though in more figurative language.

After the encomium of the meek, the fourth treatise starts with an introduction in the form of a praeteritio. This "letra," says Osuna, is not addressed
to the mundane, the hard of heart, or those with divided interests. A whole chapter is devoted to reprehending such conditions, before the initial distich is explained at all. Then, after a long encomium of the scriptural text "Guarda tu corazón con toda guarda, porque del procede la vida" (Prov. IVc), the heart is compared to a series of figures that will be seen in the next section. Before we examine these, however, we should look briefly at the contents of Treatise V, so that the environment of Treatise IV will be clearly established.

In Treatise V, the discussion now turns on good works, and on the effects of recogimiento. Here, too, we find the statement by Osuna that this treatise occupies the third position. He has just previously noted that everything has a beginning, middle, and end (or "yerva, espiga y grano"), so we can be reasonably sure that the third position is the end. Knowing as we do that good works are the "end" of contemplation, we can see that Osuna has chosen an appropriate subject for the conclusion of a series. The first member of this series, Treatise III, discussed the principles of contemplation; what is still lacking is a treatment of the state itself. This ought to find its place in Treatise IV, the contents of which appear in the following summary.
CHAPTER IV

TREATISE IV OF THE THIRD ALPHABET:

A TENTATIVE INTERPRETATION

A summary of treatise four:—"Desembaraza el corazón y vacía todo lo criado." Osuna begins his gloss of this letter with a crushing denunciation of the mundane man. It is a complete change of rhetorical pace, following, as it does, the eulogy of meekness. It is a sforzando in the composition. Osuna says:

Esta nuestra letra, pues habla del corazón, cosa clara es que no será dirigida ni se dirá a los que no tienen corazón. No se dice a los descorazonados que no tienen resabio ninguno de espíritu en sí; mas biven como si no tuviesen corazón ni alma, a los cuales dice Dios (Heb. XVIIb): Maldito sea el hombre que confía en el hombre y pone su fortaleza en la carne y su corazón se aparta de Dios, porque aqueste sera así como retama en el desierto, y no verá cuando viniere el bien; mas morará en el desierto en sequedad, en tierra salada y que no se puede habitar (p. 355).

This plant represents the man who is solicitous only of the flesh, and who is cursed as follows:

Id, malditos del mi Padre, pues ninguna misericordia tuvistes conmigo, sólo con vuestra carne, confiando en el hombre exterior que de fuera parece y olvidando el espíritu interior, que es invisible (p. 355).
Such misguided people will surely end up in Hell. The retama (desert broom) is fit only for burning, being useless, fruitless, and bitter. It lives in the desert, isolated from God's help, and without one tear of devotion to water it. The earth is salty, which provides thirst even more.

Such a heart is never satisfied, because material things cannot quench its desire. They only increase it, as salt increases thirst. This is because the heart of man is made in the triangular shape of the Trinity, and Vices, being round, cannot fill it. (Vices are known to be round because they go rolling down to Hell.)

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1 This allusion may be to Osuna's rather obscure "declaration" of a text from Psalm LXXXII: "In circuitu impii ambulant." Osuna compares the condemned soul to a stone which, shot from a sling, goes through the air with a spinning motion. According to Osuna, the Judge throws the stone down to Hell, saying at the same time "Ite, maledicti ..." (5 Abc., fol. 47). These are the same words that begin Osuna's curse (supra). There is some reason to suspect a concealed meaning in Osuna's introduction of this concept as the unique cause for man's dissatisfaction with worldly things, especially since the circle or sphere usually has celestial connotations.
This treatise is not addressed to the heartless, nor to those with two hearts; i.e., divided interests. "En las cosas que se impiden unas a otras, la pérdida es riqueza." An example of this is the second set of teeth coming in before the first set has come out. Another example is the case of a man with two heads. A friar with worldly interests is like the two-headed man. He is also "él que entra á la tierra por dos caminos" (Ecli. IIc) "él que hace mal y espera bien."

The hard of heart are also excluded; they are worse than the rock in the desert, because they will yield no tears even when struck by the blows of fear and of love. Some hearts are hard as diamonds.

Neither is this treatise directed to those that have not tamed their hearts. They have hearts like unhooded hawks carried in the hand. The hawk will fly at anything it sees. It must be blindfolded and let to fly only at the divine prey.

If our hearts are not uplifted to spiritual things, it is not because God has failed us, but because we have failed Him. We must put our hearts upon our shoulder, like the good shepherd who finds the lost sheep and carries it home. (The shoulders are "grandes deseos y altos ejercicios.") This spiritual exercise—recogimiento—consists of "hacerle [al corazón] una
jaula de perpetuo silencio." ("Ninguna cosa hay más huidora que el corazón.") At this point the principal text is stated: "Guarda tu corazón con toda guarda, porque del procrea la vida."

The second chapter consists principally of a long encomium of this text, in which "is resolved the entire law of God." The words should be graven in the heart, the seat of life.

Next there comes a brief statement of the heart's function, which will be discussed in detail in the following section.

In Chapter III appears the first of the figures representing the heart. It is the castle.² There are three ways in which this castle may be taken or damaged; by engaño, by fuerza (miedo), or hambre (mal deseo). These correspond to the three lances Joab sank into the heart of Absalom, and they are the motives of Adam's fall, and Judas' condemnation.

Against these three dangers are arrayed three powers of the soul: reason, irascibility, and will. (The usual listing is intellect, memory and will. The change is significant; we should recall that, in Chapter I, irascibility is identified as an aspect of will.

²This figure is now well known because of its appearance in the work of Sta. Teresea.
Besides its defensive function mentioned in Treatise IV, it is the power that seeks the useful.) In this treatise, Osuna compares irascibility to the sword: "cada uno tenía su espada sobre el muslo por los temores nocturnos" (Cant. IIIc). The thigh connotes chastity, which is to be rigorously guarded.

Osuna also makes an implied comparison between the irascible power and the spoken word. He relates an anecdote (fabula) about the martyred St. Vincent, who reprimanded another Christian for responding meekly to the judge that was trying to frighten them. According to Osuna, St. Vincent says: "¿Por qué estás hablando entre dientes y con palabras mansas á aqueste sobervio? No cures sino con exclamación, para que con la misma autoridad de la voz su ravia, que ladra contra su señor, sea quebrantada."

Apparently, there are times to be meek, and times to be irascible. One purpose of this passage may be to incite the contemplative to courage; "aqueste sobervio" suggests the devil, whom the contemplative defies. Other possibilities will be discussed in the context of the figures.

Against the attack of evil desire is ranged the appetite for celestial things, that aspect of the will that seeks what is pleasing.
The heart is now compared to the terrestrial paradise, which must be guarded by the cherub and the flaming sword, "ligero de bolver."

The terrestrial paradise is the country-house of God (casa del campo, casa de deporte) and is, in fact, the heart. It is the "casa del campo del rey Salomón"; "huerto del rey Asuero." Grace is the fountain that irrigates this paradise; it divides itself into four principal streams, the cardinal virtues.

There are three kinds of trees in this paradise. The forbidden tree—knowledge of good and evil—represents the individual will. Of this tree we must not eat; we must do what is commanded and avoid what is prohibited.

The tree of life is spiritual wisdom and "gusto sabroso de la contemplación."

Other trees are virtues; their fruits are good works.

This paradise is guarded by the cherub (knowledge of spiritual things), who defends it against error. The cherubim in Ezechiel's vision raised their wings and flew, so that the wheels would be raised above the earth. The wheels are our hearts, which must lift themselves above mundane things.

The flame (of the flaming sword) is divine love, which destroys the things of this world, as Sampson's
foxes destroyed the crops. This love drives away the flies (worldly temptations) like hot steam from a boiling kettle. Fire has the property of separating different things and uniting like ones. This flame defends the door of the will.

The third door of the heart is sensuality. This is defended by the knife (sword); fear of God. The knife "circuncidará a todas las demasías de la carne."

Another figure of the heart is the Ark of the Covenant. The three items it contains (the tablets of the Law, manna, and the rod) correspond to the cherub, flame, and sword.

Again, Osuna reiterates the importance of guarding the heart, from which all life proceeds. The snake, whose life comes from its head, uses its whole body to protect the source of life. Similarly, the roots of the tree are protected underground.

The heart is susceptible to damage from all sides. It is like the bilge of the ship\(^3\) that collects everything.

\(^3\) Osuna uses the word bomba, but defines it as follows: "La bomba del navio es un lugar que está en medio del, al cual se acoge toda la agua que en el navio se derrama, y también cuando el navio está abierto por alguna parte y por allí entra agua, todo va á parar á la bomba, por estar en medio de la nao y más baja que todas las otras partes della" (p. 363). This must certainly be the bilge. Bomba is used in the sense of sentina in another instance also (5 Abe., fol. 70).
that comes aboard. For this reason all sense impressions and experiences must be carefully controlled.

The heart is more moveable than mercury, and more subtle; it escapes and goes where least expected.

The fifth and last chapter of the treatise is on the application of this letra to recogimiento, which is the most important part of all. Here, the maxim means to vacate the heart of all created things, leaving God alone in it.

When a great king comes to visit a private house, it is customary to remove all the furniture; the king has his own brought in.

Thoughts that "tremble" (i.e., change) are shaky hands holding a vessel that can never be filled, because it constantly spills over. When the senses are stilled, and there is no thought of created things, God proceeds from the heart in silence, like the waters of Shiloh. His minero is the heart of man. He is Life; and from the heart "proceeds Life." His mission is to animate the soul and unite it to Him, as the human anima flowing from the heart gives life to the body and unites it to the soul.

The emptiness of the heart in recogimiento is represented by the widow's empty vessels that Elisha miraculously filled with oil (IV Kings IV). The woman
is a figure of spiritual wisdom—"el gusto dulce de las cosas celestiales." The vessel, if presented empty of all created things, will be filled completely with grace.

The Virgin at the moment of the Annunciation is the most perfect example of recogimiento.

Recogimiento is like the chaos that preceded creation. Before the Holy Spirit came upon the waters, the earth was empty and vacant [sic].

As a symbol of this, God commanded that a hollow altar be made for Him (Ex. XXXIX) of light and incorruptible wood. The sacrifices on this altar (the heart) is our "buen deseo."

As Saint Paul said (I Cor. XIII) we leave the things of children for those of manhood, and similarly we must leave the contemplation of the creatures for that of their Creator.

Jeremiah says, "Levántate, loa en la noche, en el principio de las vigilias: derrama así como agua tu corazón delante el acatamiento del Señor" (Jer. IIa). We must lift our hearts from created things to un-created things, and praise the Lord in the night that is the deprivation of sense. Then we can say (Ps. CXXXVIII) "La noche es mi alumbramiento en mis deleites."

We must pour out of the vessels (our hearts) all human thoughts. This "derramamiento" is not like that of
the broken vessels (non-recollected hearts mentioned in Treatise I). Rather, it is an evacuation caused by great heat from the fire of love.

The conclusion of the treatise consists of what is actually a list of figures applied to the heart. Osuna does not attempt to explain them. They are as follows:

lámpara de la virgen prudente; la ración del
noble gavilán que con sólo el corazón se satisface;
consistorio divino donde Dios trata sus secretos;
formaz donde el ángel de gran consejo viene a
refrigerar los que en El andan; cámara del
verdadero Heliseo; vaso de oro lleno de maná de
gracia en el arca del pecho; incensario; pesebre
del niño Jesus; cama florida de El; arco de la
amistad de Dios, puesto en las nubes de las
lagrimas; ciudad pequeña de Dios; libro de la
vida; santo sepulcro del cuerpo de Cristo; brasero
de oro del templo.

The heart is all these things, provided that it is empty, as it should be, and guarded by all possible means.

As a trained logician and rhetorician, Osuna cannot fail to recognize that his conclusion, which ought to be either the logical result of proof or the fulfillment of the reader's expectations, is neither. The argument of the fourth treatise is a petitio principii; it says that we should guard our hearts...

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"For the requirements of a conclusion under the laws of dialectic or rhetoric, see C. S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (New York: MacMillan, 1928), p. 222."
because they are castles, arks, etc., and that if we do
guard them they will be a similar set of items. Remem-
bering, however, that this is the middle treatise of a
set of three, it must be the "espiga" of the triad
"yerva, espiga y grano." A wheat-head contains many
grains, which probably correspond, in this case, to the
numerous figures. In these figures we should look for
a narratio appropriate to the context of this portion of
the Third Alphabet. In this investigation we shall
"declare" the figures, to see if they yield this narratio
on another level.

In order to discover the analogies between the
heart and the figures representing it, it will be
advisable first to investigate Osuna's views on that
organ itself. It has already become apparent that he
ascribes to it some role in intellectual activity. By
gathering together his statements about the heart, many
of the qualities that he attributes to it will come to
light.

The heart and the blood.--In the heart is found
the ánima, or sensitive soul (p. 384). This is reflected
in its triangular shape, a figure of the Trinity. The
angles are identified with the three powers of the
soul: memory, intellect, and will (p. 356).
It follows that Osuna can say of the heart that it includes all the life and operations of man.\textsuperscript{5} It also follows that the heart contains the principle of good and evil. Every external movement proceeds from a "primer movimiento" that takes place in the heart. Thought is the root of action; the fruit is good or bad, according to the root (p. 359).\textsuperscript{6} As the site of will and intellect, the heart is the source of thought.

It is also a repository, for it contains memory. In folio 42 of the Second Alphabet, Osuna says that if you have once seen a mental image it leaves an impression on the heart and remains in the memory. It is easy to see, now, how the heart can be compared to the bilge of a ship, where all seepage is collected; bad impressions will remain there as well as good.

Sight, hearing and speech are called the three principal doors to the heart, because we ordinarily think

\textsuperscript{5} Abcedario, folio 10. (My edition of this Abecedario is faulty; folio ten should have been numbered nine. I show the folio number given in the text.)

\textsuperscript{6} Other parts of this tree are named in the Second Alphabet, fols. 87-88. The branches are desires, the leaves are words, the flowers are joys, and the fruit is works. It is also easy to imagine the circulatory system as a tree, the branches being the blood vessels. The first half of the 16th century saw a rather wide distribution of anatomical drawings (Singer, op. cit., pp. 97-98).
about what we see or hear, and deliver our thoughts orally. 7

Since the heart is the "seat" of soul, it is appropriate that it is the first organ of the body to be formed by nature, and the last to die. As such, it is the root of all mental activity, and the consequent actions, reformation of the heart results in a total change in behavior (pp. 383-84).

The treatise under discussion depends, for its structure, on the concept that the heart contains the soul, that is, all basic functions of intellect, memory, and will. For this reason, the figures representing the heart will also represent the soul, and we can apply to the heart our information about the soul. This not only clarifies the tenors of the figures; it also reveals that the structure of this treatise is more careful than it appears to be on first examination.

The soul and the body: further details on the heart.--The heart has four chambers that correspond to the passions: gozo, tristeza, esperanza, temor. (The passions are functions of the will; they were discussed in Chapter I.) If the force of the passions is applied to love, they will be like four wheels of the fiery

72 Abc., fol. 21.
chariot that lifted Elijah above the earth.® This comparison explains partially the figure of the wheel in treatise four, where it is identified, however, with Ezechiel's wheel. The passions correspond to the winds from the four cardinal points; for this reason, perhaps, they are represented within a circle (the rim of the wheel); the horizon appears to be round. A text from Ecclesiasticus (33:5) supports the figure: "The heart of a fool is like the wheel of a cart, and his thoughts are like the rolling axletree."

**Anima**, resident in the heart and afflicted with these passions, is under the influence of the body. Osuna says:

Las ánimas, según dice el Filósofo, siguen los cuerpos, porque obran según hallan dispuestas las potencias y órganos corporales, y también siguen el movimiento de la caridad, que es instrumento del Espíritu Santo ...9

On the other hand, the higher part of the soul, espíritu, "que se rige por la razón sin dar lugar a cosa

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8® Abc., pp. 443-44.

9Ibid., pp. 399-400. Charland quotes from a medieval sermon: "Quod est in herbis aut in arboribus humor, hoc est in hominibus amor. Sicut enim ex humore herbae et arbores crescent, sic homines per amorem incipiunt et augmentur" (based on Chrysostomus, Super Matthaeum, homelia 19a) (Charland, p. 146). A man who hasn't really a sensitive or rational life may be compared to a tree (Seneca). (Ibid., pp. 140-141.) Perhaps this accounts for the use of the shrub to represent the mundane person.
contraria," is once (p. 325) given as analogous to pensamiento; in another place (p. 329) it is comparable to conciencia. In view of the first definition, "conscience" seems the more likely equivalent; thought is not always ruled by reason.

In the Fourth Alphabet, the body "with its earthly appetites and carnal desires" is called "el hombre de fuera ... el hombre terreno que plasmó y hizo Dios." Espíritu is "el hombre de dentro," or "el espiráculo de vida que [Dios] sopló en su cara."

In this passage, carnal appetites and desires, though really immaterial and a part of ánima, are classified with the body, or "earth," while the spirit alone merits classification as air, the most subtle substance. Since it is not Osuna's custom to obscure thus the boundaries between the tangible and the intangible, some further explanation must be sought in the figures of ánima and espíritu that we discover in his work. This problem is related to Osuna's physiology of the heart and the blood.

Osuna is careful to say that the soul is not really divided into two parts, but that it is spoken of in this way because of its two-fold operation; that of

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104 Abc., p. 540.
contemplating spiritual things, and that of coping with terrestrial ones. He cites St. Augustine to this effect.\footnote{\textit{Abc.}, fol. 134.}

If \textit{ánima} and \textit{espíritu} are an undivided entity, and one is found in the heart, the other must also be there. Osuna has, in fact, said as much when he said that the heart included all the life and operations of man. This statement could hardly refer to anything less than the total soul; \textit{ánima} and \textit{espíritu}.

Similarly, Osuna says that "el ánima y vida de toda carne está en la sangre."\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, fol. 124.} Here the term \textit{vida} may refer specifically to \textit{espíritu}, "el espiráculo de vida."\footnote{The basic meaning of the Latin word \textit{spiritus} is breath, breathing; it is extended sometimes to mean the breath of life. \textit{Cassell's New Latin Dictionary} (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1960).}

It seems necessary to infer from the previous statements that Osuna believes both parts of the soul are found in the heart and in the blood. This seems to imply a connection between the heart and the blood, a connection that is fortified by his statement that life proceeds from the heart. In this context, his use of the term "\textit{bomba}" for the heart suggests a theory that the heart pumps blood. However, as far as is known, western science did not advance a circulation theory until the
time of Miguel Servet in 1553.14 (The first publication date of the Third Alphabet is 1527.)

The heart was known to be a container of blood, however, in the science of Osuna's day and even in very early times. Galen, for example, thought that blood flowed from the right ventricle to the left through the septum, a view that was generally accepted until the time of Harvey.15 Galen compared the venous system to a tree having its "roots" in the liver or the abdominal viscera; the root of the arterial system he held to be the pulmonary artery. To him, the heart was only a way-station for the blood and "spirit."16

In his treatise, Osuna compares the heart to the root of a tree; it sounds as though he may have had Galen's terminology in mind, and have intended expressly to contest his opposing theory. Osuna has said unequivocally that the heart is the seat of soul, the soul is in the blood, and the heart is the root of the soul's

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16 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
We need only to read "bomba" as "pump" to have most of the elements necessary to a theory of circulation. The remaining factors Osuna could have found in the science available to him, for they had actually been proposed long before.

Although this topic is peripheral to a literary paper, its connection to the figures of treatise four and its general interest may warrant a brief survey of circulatory theories and Osuna's apparent relation to them.

Some theories about the heart and the blood.—Osuna, in speaking of the heart, cites Aristotle on an important point: the heart as the source of intellectual life. Since intellect is a function of soul, Osuna's version of the Aristotelian view is that the heart is the source of soul. Aristotle thought that the arteries carried both pneuma (air, spirit) and blood. His medieval interpreters held that the heart pumped spiritus to the brain. Since Osuna has already located spirit

17 The tree may also represent the body. 3 Abc., p. 436.
18 In Ecclesiastes 17: 6, 7 the heart is also named as the seat of understanding and thought.
19 Singer, op. cit., p. 20.
in the blood, it appears that he need only endorse this principle, and he will have the heart pumping blood to the brain.

If so, we should find in his idea of the brain some relation to the "intellectuality" of the spirit that is brought there from the heart.

Osuna describes the brain as the site of "sentido común, imaginación, fantasía, estimativa y memoria corporal" (the last he distinguishes from memoria intelectiva). "Sentido común" is the "common sensory," the reporting center for the five senses, at least some of which are, to Osuna, "doors" to the heart. Mental images, as Osuna has already said, come to rest in the heart, though we can see that they must originate in the brain. Memory, apparently, is divided between the heart and the brain, having its "corporal" or sensory aspect in the latter spot.

The heart and the brain seem to have a complimentary set of functions—the brain being more sensual, the heart more intellectual. The functions of both are those of ánima and espíritu, those different, though undivided,

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21 Abc., p. 399.

aspects of soul. The soul must in some way go from the heart to the brain, and in some way the sensory images formed in the brain must be carried to the heart. We have seen that the Aristotelians held that the heart pumped spirit to the brain; I have not discovered how they accounted for its return. The Galenists, however, thought that the brain elaborated from the "vital spirit" brought in the blood an "animal spirit" that was distributed through the nerves, thought to be hollow.23

The Galenic view of the brain as a factory of animal spirit would not be inconsistent with Osuna's presentation of the sensory-cum-intellectual nature of the brain. However, he differs from Galen on several important points. One is his unequivocal statement that ánima and "life" are in the blood; if they at some time separate, he does not say so. Another conflicting point is his naming of the heart as the center of the whole system (ánima, espíritu, sangre). Galen had treated the venous system as the carrier of "natural spirit" derived from the liver and intestines; the arterial system as a separate set of vessels carrying "vital spirit" to the brain, where "animal spirit" was made and distributed through the nerves. The heart was considered a chamber

23Singer, op. cit., p. 60.
in which a small amount of blood passed from the originating (venous) system into the arterial system, being mixed in the left ventricle with air brought in by the trachea and pulmonary vein.24

Galen's theory, the generally accepted one, shows three kinds of "spirit" having different points of origin. Osuna's insistence that there are only two aspects of soul, and that they are both substantially the same thing, is a radical step toward simplification of the Galenic view, and one necessary to circulatory theory. Osuna also places the source of the soul in the heart, and he says that both forms of it are in the blood. This implies a view that the venous and arterial systems spring from the same origin. For a theory of circulation, he now needs only the idea of the heart as a pump, and a set of vessels to return the blood to the heart.

Osuna is familiar with the principle of the pump; he states it in the Fourth Alphabet (p. 403); so if he seems to call the heart a pump, there can be no doubt that he knows what such a machine does.

Osuna might have derived a "pumping" idea from the Aristotelians; he did not, however, take his theory

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24 Singer, op. cit., p. 65.
of the soul from that source. He cites St. Augustine; and he is peculiarly insistent that the two parts of the soul are not really divided. I have not discovered whether the last idea is original with Osuna or not. Erasistratus showed two types of spirit, as did Ficino.

Erasistratus held that the heart was the source of both arteries and veins, and that it pumped both blood and spirit. He thought that the arteries conveyed spirit and the veins, blood. Osuna seems to agree with the first statements and to disagree with the last; when he says that the soul is in the blood he conforms, instead, to Empedocles.

Erasistratus knew that the valves of the heart prevented return of the blood or spirit through the same channels, and he had discovered that the capillaries formed an intercommunication system between veins and arteries. The principal obstacle to Erasistratus' discovering the blood's circulation was his idea that the arterial system contained spirit, not blood.

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25 Aristotle believed there were three types of spirit. Singer, op. cit., p. 25.
26 Singer, op. cit., p. 25.
28 Singer, op. cit., p. 33.
29 Ibid.
Since Osuna has placed the soul in the blood, he seems to have avoided this obstacle, while retaining Erasistratus' idea that the heart was the center of the whole system. It was through a reversion to the ideas of Erasistratus (among them that of two types of spirit) that Servet developed his theory of the pulmonary circulation.\textsuperscript{30}

As we have seen, all the elements necessary to circulatory theory were available to Osuna. Whether or not he had developed such an idea is impossible for me to say, but it does appear that he had eliminated some of the principal obstacles that traditional physiology had placed in its path.

Osuna's interest in the heart probably stems from his obvious general concern for the nature of the physical world, and from his role as a promoter\textsuperscript{31} of the developing devotion to the Sacred Heart.

Mutability of the heart.—Although the question of Osuna's physiological theories has been in part a digression, it yields some information directly bearing on the figures of treatise four. In view of the two-fold nature of the soul, the two-headed man, or the man with

\textsuperscript{30}Singer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 140.

\textsuperscript{31}De Ros, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 307-308.
two hearts, becomes not just a figure of the friar with worldly interests, but a representation of the human soul itself. One head, or heart, is ánima, the sensual nature; the other is espíritu. Ficino, who viewed the soul as having two parts, had compared it to Janus.\(^{32}\)

Osuna also compares the penitent to Janus. He looks back upon the sterile years, and irrigates them with tears. His second head looks toward the future, alert to avoid similar evils.\(^{33}\) He thus becomes a symbol of the \textit{vía purgativa}, which consists of contrition for past sins and resistance against present and future ones.\(^{34}\) The wheel with four faces, compared by Osuna to the soul with four passions, refers also to the relation between ánima and the body. We have seen that Osuna says "las ánimas siguen los cuerpos." Through the passions, ánima is influenced by the humors, which in their turn are produced by the four elements composing the body. Osuna says:

\begin{quote}
Rueda se llama el corazón por el poco sosiego que tiene bolviéndose y estando quasi siempre en continua mutabilidad; y esta rueda, que es el corazón, se dice aparecer sobre la tierra, porque sobre el cielo otra cosa será. Y esta rueda
\end{quote}

\(^{32}\)Edgar Wind, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 165 and n. 6.

\(^{33}\)\(^{4}\)Abe., p. 637.

\(^{34}\)\(^{5}\)Abe., fols. 165-66.
tiene cuatro haces, que son las cuatro pasiones
de movimientos principales que tenemos dicho, los
cuales se llaman faces porque según el que reina
en el corazón se demuda y muestra el rostro.35
(p. 328)

The wheel is said to be near the animals (Ezech.
1:1-22) because we share these passions with the brutes,
and it is necessary to "tame" them so that the heart
will no longer be divided among them. The gift of
grace mitigates their power and reinforces the cardinal
virtues that struggle against the Passions, to bring
peace finally between soul and body.

Since the passions are the four winds, the
"cuatro haces" may refer to the four parts of the earth,
"el haz de la tierra," and the circular rim to "totality."

If the passions are applied to love (see Chapter
I) they become like the four wheels of Elijah's chariot;
they lift the soul from the earth. Osuna has said that
ánima is moved both by the body and by love, the instrument
of the Holy Spirit.36

35The word faz suggests not only facies (shape,
appearance, face) but also fax (a torch, firebrand,
light, flame [Cassell]. St. Peter (2 San Pedro 3:10)
says that with the second coming, "los elementos, con el
ardor del fuego, se disolverán, y la tierra, y las obras
que hay en ella, serán abrasadas." With Osuna's ideas
of the fire of love, this may be what happens to the
elements with the Coming that takes place in contemplation.

36Osuna compares the will to the primum mobile,
which moves other spheres beneath it. It moves the
"sensitive soul" and makes it conform to reason (2 Abe.,
fol. 8).
Since love is a product of will, the heart, because it houses the will, can be called the fount of love.\(^{37}\) Love "reigns" in the blood also.\(^{38}\) Appropriately, Osuna considers love to be generative—he says that Christ generated a new human lineage with the blood from His side; the birth was from His heart.\(^{39}\)

If the control of the earthly body, composed of the four elements, is broken, \textit{ánima} is freed to follow the movement of love.

Since love has the attributes of fire, it may act upon the other elements themselves, uniting likes and separating unlikes, as Osuna says in this treatise.

Osuna speaks of this transmutation worked by love as a vaporization of solids or liquids (incense and steam in this treatise) or as the melting of a solid (the melting of metals is the figure in the Fourth Alphabet (p. 355); metal or glass occur in the numerous instances of the furnace figure). Since air is already identified with spirit, and fire as the transmuting agent, this accounts for the four elements of the body's composition. Both liquids and solids can be changed into more volatile

\(^{37}\) \textit{Abc.}, p. 385. \(^{38}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 669. \(^{39}\) \textit{Abc.}, fol. 31.
substances by fire; in the case of vaporization, the substance is actually "lifted from the earth."\textsuperscript{40} A case in point is mercury, which Osuna compares here to the heart in its mutability. He has remarked earlier in the Third Alphabet (p. 325) that mercury sublimes ("se va en humo").\textsuperscript{41} It is therefore a mineral that changes its form to "air." Since mercury was thought to be a liquid form of silver,\textsuperscript{42} it seemed to span the solid, liquid and gaseous states. Not unnaturally, it was thought to contain within itself the element of fire.\textsuperscript{43} Since it has all these characteristics, Osuna could well choose to compare mercury to the heart, in

\textsuperscript{40} The alchemists viewed any vapor as "air," any liquid as "water." The terms refer to the "gaseous state," the "liquid state," etc., rather than to specific instances of such states. See John Read, The Alchemist in Life, Literature and Art (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1947), pp. 5-6.

\textsuperscript{41} This could be a reference to the process of extracting mercury in the form of vapor from its commonest ore, cinnabar. "Mercury," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1965, Vol. XV, p. 183. I have not discovered if this was the process used in Osuna's time; however, it may have been.

\textsuperscript{42} Read, op. cit., p. 92.

which anima is related to earth, spirit to vapor and love to fire. 44

Blood and mercury are both "waters" in which fire dominates; they manifest the same "principles." One of their attributes is mutability, the capacity for change. This principle is symbolized by the snake and by the flaming sword. 45 The prototype of both these "waters" is the blood and water that flowed from Christ's side; it was known to the alchemists as the "fiery form of the true water," "spiritualis sanguis," and similar names. 46

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44 I do not believe that Osuna intends to equate anima with the flesh, or the solid state; he says that it is "influenced" by it. Since the degree of spirituality corresponds in every case to the degree of volatility, or to lower specific gravity, in Osuna's universe, the most suitable location for anima is in the liquid state. Waters, because of their specific gravity, go downward like solids; in this sense Osuna can say rather scientifically that "las ánimas siguen los cuerpos." In one instance he specifically equates water to sensuality, the distinctive trait of anima. He says that it is inclined downward. Fire is light from the face of God, and is the sinderesis which naturally rises (2 Abc., fol. 156). Water and other fluids may be vaporized by the action of fire; this would correspond to the "spiritualization" of anima under the influence of love. This would make of the heart (a solid container of liquid and "air") a perfect analog to the three states of mercury. It would also account for Osuna's introduction of the figure of steam rising from the boiling kettle, and the injunction to "Pour out your soul like water ..." (The figure of the kettle will be discussed further on.) Moreover, Jung points to an ancient tradition (Op. cit., p. 108) equating soul to water.

45 Jung, op. cit., pp. 110, 112.

46 Ibid., p. 109.
This blood and water is the water of baptism, according to Osuna (p. 343). The analogy is probably seen in the "spiritualizing" or "life-giving" operations of the three substances.

The snake, a relatively inconspicuous figure in Treatise IV, assumes unexpected importance in conjunction with mercury, the flaming sword, and the word, for all of these may represent the Logos.\(^4^7\) Like so many of the figures in this treatise, the snake is used by Osuna to represent at least two divergent ideas.

In Treatise IV, the snake is a figure of prudence; he coils himself about his head to protect the center of his life, a model of the way our hearts should be guarded. Since the snake with his tail in his mouth is a symbol of mercury, this figure of the coiled snake may also be a lightly veiled uroboros. The serpent is frequently used by Osuna not only as a figure of prudence but also as one of change. In respect to recogimiento specifically, Osuna says that we must enter into our own hearts like a snake (culebra) that wants to moisten itself and discard its old skin. To do this, the snake bathes itself in a river and enters "por un angosto y áspero lugar" that scraps away its old skin. Similarly, the contemplative

\(^4^7\)Jung, op. cit., pp. 110-11.
bathes himself seven times in tears for his sins and enters, by the narrow door that is recogimiento, into his own heart. Here God and the soul find themselves alone (p. 418).

The process of changing the skin is an obvious discarding of the old form, which is a necessary correlate to the statement we previously saw (Chapter I) that the soul in contemplation awaits the infusion of a new form.  

The concept of change or "re-form" is again related to the serpent by Osuna in the Second Alphabet. Here, he says that self-contempt (aborrecimiento de mismo) is "el boton de fuego que lanza fuera el hombre viejo, y nos desuella del, como la culebra que pasando entre piedras asperas deja la vieja vestidura" (fol. 51).  

A concise statement of the same theme is given by Osuna when he says that since the heart is the first

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48 The term infusion is used by Osuna; it appears that he believed, with Aristotle, that form was created by the operation of the soul (from within) upon matter. Singer, op. cit., p. 25.

49 The snake's ability thus to change his form and to rejuvenate himself was adduced in ancient times as a major reason for identifying him with the sun and the Aeon. Hans Liesegang, "The Mystery of the Serpent," in Pagan and Christian Mysteries, loc. cit., p. 25.
organ formed by nature, it is the first that has to be "reformed."50

The first step in reform is contrition, or self-contempt, which renders distasteful the old form, or "habit." (Cf. the form on the seal, Chapter II.) Divesting oneself of it, however, is not easy.

The culebra, in Osuna, usually represents "transformation" or "transfiguration." The áspide is his usual serpent symbol of prudence; it is significant that in this treatise culebra is used where áspide would normally occur. The term serpiente is ambiguous; it will be discussed later.

Within the present context, the culebra may be taken as a symbol of "change of state," as well as of prudence. The particular change of state emphasized in this treatise is that of vaporization, or sublimatio. It appears in the simile of the hot steam from the boiling kettle that drives away flies, just as divine love

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50 This concept of changing form by destroying the old one was put into pictorial form by Raphael in the fresco Apollo and Marsyas; the idea had already appeared in Dante. (Wind, op. cit., pp. 143-44). Michaelangelo produced a Christian parallel in the flayed St. Bartholomew of the Last Judgment. The Saint holds in his hand the instrument of his flaying, a knife. A poem by Michaelangelo shows that he considered flaying a symbol of transformation through destruction, and he compares the process to the snake's shedding his skin on the rocks (Ibid., p. 155).
operating within the soul drives away worldly temptations. In the preceding treatise, mosquitos are souls flying toward the divine Light, so this figure is susceptible to two interpretations: divine love drives away the mundane, and raises the soul to the sublime. In short, just as Osuna says, the "fire" of love unites likes and separates unlikes.

Another reference to vaporization or to "boiling over"\textsuperscript{51} is seen in the last chapter of treatise four, where the evacuation of the heart is ascribed to "el gran fervor" caused by the spirit of love.

Sublimation of a solid is referred to in the incensario, one of the figures occurring in the final list. The reference in all cases is to the sublimation of carnal desires into spiritual ones.

This particular type of change may have been selected because the concept occurs in Psalm XLIV, "Effundit cor meum verbum bonum." (Several items from this Psalm appear in treatise four; among them "la espada sobre el muslo," the sceptre (cf. vara], and the figure most typical of recogimiento: the nuptials of the king.)

\textsuperscript{51} The process of distillation is dominated by the zodiacal sign Virgo (Read, op. cit., p. 14). This may have influenced Osuna in his choice of these figures; see the later section on symbols of the Virgin.
The idea of "effusion" appears here, to balance the concept of "infusion" that we discussed earlier.

Osuna apparently used this Psalm as one of his sources for treatise four. He may have selected it initially because of its number, which is the number four reduplicated. The text must have seemed to him extraordinarily apt. From it he could have taken the idea of "effusion," which accords so well with the liquid and pneumatic nature of the heart. This may, in turn, have suggested the choice of the other sublimation figures, and the text from Jeremiah, "spill out your heart like water ..." As a final touch, the Psalm mentions the "word," which Osuna takes up again in the anecdote about St. Vincent. And, since it is a well-known psalm, the reader might be expected to think of it as he notices its figures; the memory of it then constitutes one "voice" in Osuna’s polyphony.

Figures of will and decision.—A figure intermediary between those of mutability and those of decision is the hawk (gavilán). It obviously represents the will, that "fills itself" with whatever is put before it, or "flies at anything it sees." As a member of the class called in the Bible volátiles, it suggests the notion of volatility seen in the preceding discussion. The changeability or volatility of man is a natural attribute
that can be put to good effect; it enables him to improve, says Osuna. 52

From Chapter I, we know that the intellect can place before the will a concept of the Divine, to which this hawk will fly. Osuna says later in this Alphabet that the soul "prende y arrebata a Dios," because God cannot refuse love, and he gives himself up like the heron (garza) when the falcon swoops (p. 454).

Another figure linked to the concepts of mutability and of decision is the sword. In Osuna, the will is often represented by a knife. 53 Since the will has a selective operation, "querer y no querer," a cutting instrument is an apt symbol; it is especially suited to the irascible power, which rejects the harmful and "fights for the useful." Its operation is analogous to that of fire, the uniter of likes and separator of unlikes. Osuna persists in calling the flaming sword of paradise a knife (cuchillo), this is probably a clue to his intent.

To the alchemists, a knife or any cutting instrument represented fire. 54 Its role in the process of distillation would be "separation," for example, and in fusing it would serve as the uniter.

52 1 Abc., fol. 85. 532 Abc., fol. 25.
54 Read, op. cit., pp. 58-60.
The irascible power is the aspect of will concerned with rejection. Osuna emphasizes it in this treatise when he places it among the three major powers of the soul. In his first mention of the sword ("sobre el muslo por los temores nocturnos") he identifies it with irascibility.

By interjecting the apparently pointless fabula about St. Vincent, Osuna seems to make an effort to equate the power of the word to the power of the sword. In the Fourth Alphabet, the word of God is a cutting instrument; contrition is "el corte hecho con la palabra de Dios, que corta los corazones"; it is also self-contempt (p. 640). Self-contempt, we recall, was the "botón de fuego" that flayed the snake; so the Word may be symbolized in fire or the sword.

Contrition is also called "ira sin pecado" (ibid). This is the aspect of it most evident in the anecdote; it is not a sin to be wrathful toward sin. St. Vincent's instructions to reprimand the "ravia" of the prideful judge can be read as a reprimand to the carnal, and prideful, nature; that is, as an injunction to contrition and reform.

God's speech ("el habla de Dios") is also compared by Osuna to the fire that purifies the heart as a furnace purifies gold. Christ came to set the earth
on fire; Jeremiah said he had this fire in his bones; in it the bush burned and was not destroyed.  

In Isaiah 49:2, the word of God is called a sword; in Hebrews 4:12, it is said to be "más penetrante que espada de dos filos; y que entra y penetra hasta los pliegues del alma y del espíritu ... y discierne los pensamientos, y las intenciones del corazón."  

The sword and the word both share the idea of "cutting" or selection, and both are compared to fire. Here, they point out that the contemplative must reject mundane and carnal preoccupations and turn his face toward the spiritual world.

The word or speech of God can scarcely be other than the Logos. It seems likely that He inspires contrition by the contrast between His performance while on earth, and ours.  

Osuna counsels us to meditate the Passion before each exercise of recogimiento, it will be recalled. The Passion is also referred to as a knife.  

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554 Abc., p. 661.

56 This last text, bearing the magic numbers four and twelve, might very probably have been consulted by Osuna.

57 According to Osuna, in the crucified Christ we see what we should do, expressed in actions (1 Abc., fol. 55).

58 Ibid., fol. 159.
The double meaning of the praeteritio.—At this point it seems advisable to look again at the praeteritio, in which the mundane soul was resoundingly cursed. We have already seen that the two-headed man did not simply represent the worldly priest; he exemplified a natural, God-given characteristic of human nature. The case of the untamed heart—the hawk—was similar; it symbolizes the will's ability to move toward any "good" that it perceives, and to capture it. These natural attributes may be used for good as well as evil; so that Osuna, under the pretext of excluding people with these traits, is in reality summoning all human souls to contrition, and with a promise of reward.

Further investigation shows that the "heartless" man and the hard-hearted one also have a potential for good. Osuna's usual figure for the "heartless" is the "paloma engañada que no tiene corazón." In the First Alphabet, (Treatise I) this "dove" is the Christian who lets his heart be won by transitory and visible things. The world "steals" his heart. (This can be said because "más está el ánima donde ama que donde anima." ) Later in the same book, however, Osuna points out that friends have only one heart in common; Christ melts human hearts

593 Abc., p. 449.
and dissolves them into His. Under these circumstances it is good to be without a heart. Osuna says: "0 si fuessemos como palomas enganadas con la dulzura de su cevo, y no tuviésemos corazón propio" (Osee 7.c).60

The hard of heart are compared to diamonds. However, the blood of Christ has the property of goat's blood, it breaks diamonds; that is, it converts hardened sinners.61 This suggests the meditation of the Passion, which Osuna recommends, and also the property of baptismal water (which contains Christ's blood) to infuse charity.62 In visualizing the dying Christ, the heart is moved to "compassion,"63 i.e., it is softened. Compassion is one of the three doors mentioned elsewhere through which Christ enters the heart. The others are contrition (discussed earlier) and love.

The diamond also has a magic attraction;64 Grace is called a diamond because of this power of fascination (p. 438). Osuna, in this treatise on mutability, expects the diamond to be appreciated in the light of all

601 Abc., fol. 117.
61Ibid., fol. 125. Osuna cites Pliny elsewhere to the effect that the blood of a goat drives out venoms and poisons and scares away serpents (Ibid., fol. 118). Christ's blood, says Osuna, substitutes for the blood of all sacrificial animals (Ibid.).
624 Abc., pp. 363-64. 631 Abc., fol. 72.
643 Abc., p. 322.
these attributes. It may attract the celestial forces, which are ever willing to come to the aid of the lost sheep or the wandering sinner.

The shrub (retama) in the desert also has its double nature. Not only may it symbolize the soul in the mundane world; or the amor-humor equation; elsewhere, it is the soul in the desert of recogimiento. This "zarza infructuosa" is the burning bush; Christ burns, in love, within it.65

To the alchemists, flesh is "salt," as opposed to mercury, the "spirit."66 To Osuna, salt may be worldly goods, that engender the desire for more,67 or Christ, the divine Wisdom Who sweetened the waters of "the bitter sea of passions." Salt put into the mouth at baptism represents Christ.68

Since all the characteristics that Osuna explicitly condemns have a good as well as a bad aspect, we can see that his apparent rejection is, in fact, an invitation. The praeteritio is a formal reflection of the dualism expressed in so many of the items in this treatise--the soul itself, the two-headed man, and the

652 Abc., fol. 26. The zarza is also identified as the Cross (5 Abc., fol. 75).
68Ibid., fol. 1.
hawkhawk, for example. Such ambivalence arises naturally from Osuna's theory that all natural characteristics may be used for good or for evil, depending on the trajectory of the will. This gives man his mutable nature, which Osuna so strongly decries in this treatise, but which he calls elsewhere the power that enables all men to rise to the sublime.

The castle, the Terrestrial Paradise and the Ark of the Covenant.— If the heart is properly guarded, it is like a castle (in Osuna's usage, a fortified place). Its three guardians—reason, irascibility and will—are figured in the items found in the terrestrial paradise and in the Ark of the Covenant.

In this paradise is the fountain of Grace that divides itself into four streams, identified by Osuna as the cardinal virtues that combat the four passions.

This fountain elsewhere represents Christ, and the four streams are His tears, mortal sweat, blood, and the water from His side, which is the water of baptism. Tears of contrition are a reiterated baptism; so such tears come to have a power like that of baptismal water; they frighten the devil; they are also the softening

69 These are all emblems of the Blessed Virgin; her role will be discussed in a later section.

70 1 Abc., fol. 45. 712 Abc., fol. 71.
agent that enables the snake to change his skin; they soften the hard heart and irrigate the sterile earth of the soul. Moreover, they are the flood that raises Noah's ark (the contemplative) to the height of contemplation (p. 436).\footnote{72}

The tree of life in paradise, identified as spiritual wisdom or the taste of contemplation (\textit{saber} and \textit{sabor} are played upon by Osuna [p. 373]) is also a symbol of the Cross, Christ Himself, and of the Virgin. Osuna says that Christ is the tree (Daniel 4.b) in the middle of the earth, which reached up to heaven. Its fruit is the sustenance of all flesh, which, according to Osuna, illustrates the fecundity of Christ.\footnote{73}

More specifically, a long theological tradition identifies the tree of life as the Cross, and the fountain as the baptismal font, which derives its efficacy from the Crucifixion.\footnote{74} In this light, Osuna's comments on the tree and the fountain become clear. We noted earlier

\footnote{72 Water, according to Osuna, is the most fecund of elements, and the one that most impregnates the earth. For this reason it is a figure of mercy. The fountain in Paradise is the mercy of God, in which souls are again baptized (5\textit{Abc.}, fols. 161-162).

\footnote{73 5\textit{Abc.}, fol. 107.

that the blood and water from Christ's side is the baptismal water; the wound is therefore the font. The tree is fecund, because Christ's blood in the font generates all Christians; they are the fruits of this tree.

The earthly paradise is related to the figure of the garden of King Asuero, and the country-house of Solomon. These are the garden of the Beloved in the Canticle. This garden is human nature, where God, "eating the fruit of His apple trees," incorporates into Himself the "predestined."75

In the garden of the sepulchre—which is the heart contemplating the Passion—Christ is the tree of life whose fruit is Grace. The sepulchre is empty when self-will is ejected to leave room for Christ (as it is in recogimiento).76 This would justify calling the heart a sepulchre of Christ, as Osuna does in the final

75_1 Abc., fol. 163.

76_Ibid., fol. 172.
list of figures. To this sepulchre comes the Magdalen (the contemplative soul), seeking Him.

If the figure of the earthly paradise or garden of the sepulchre is construed to refer to the meditation on the Passion, we should recall that this exercise is designed to help collect wandering thoughts, as the Good Shepherd collects lost sheep. (This figure occurs immediately after that of the hawk; sequential order is often significant in Osuna.) The canons of the foregoing figures suggest that contemplation of the Passion is viewed as a renewed baptism. Osuna says elsewhere that it can be so considered, because the Passion is the origin and source of baptism. Such contemplation is a bath of renovation in which the soul, like a prudent culebra, washes itself, so that, in the softness of heart so acquired, it can easily remove the old skin and

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77 However, in the context of this chapter, Osuna may have in mind the following passage from St. Paul (Rom. 6:4, 5, 6): 4) "En efecto, en el bautismo hemos quedado sepultados con él, muriendo al pecado: a fin de que así como Cristo resucitó de muerte a vida para gloria del Padre, así también procedamos nosotros con nuevo tenor de vida. 5) Que si hemos sido injertados con él por medio de la representación de la muerte, igualmente lo hemos de ser representando su resurrección. 6) haremos cargo que nuestro hombre viejo fue crucificado juntamente con él, para que sea destruido en nosotros el cuerpo del pecado, y ya no servamos más al pecado." Recogimiento itself is also called by Osuna "sepultarse" (3 Abc., p. 425).

78 Ibid., p. 480. 79 Abc., fol. 22.
dress itself in the "new man," created by the Passion in the image of God.\textsuperscript{80}

To the contemplative, the cross is the tree in whose shade sits the Bride (Cant. 2.g). Its fruit is Christ, the bread and wine, \textsuperscript{81} or the "taste" of Divinity. The contemplative who eats is himself "eaten" (supra), that is, he is absorbed into the Divinity within him. The soul in contemplation becomes like the snake that eats himself; when he enters his own heart, he is absorbed by the God within, whom he in turn absorbs. "El que come mi carne y bebe mi sangre, permanece en mi y yo en el (Joa. 6.f).\textsuperscript{82}

This, in all likelihood, is a reference to the Eucharist. Citing St. Augustine, Osuna says that the tree of life is the Eucharist, "porq no quiso nro señor que el hombre viviesse en el parayso terrenal sin misterios de cosas spirituales representadas corporalmente." The fount in Paradise represents baptism.\textsuperscript{83}

The Eucharistic wine is, of course, Christ's blood, by which we participate in, and are joined to, Christ. By means of it we recover the grace given in baptism. The water mixed with the wine signifies death;

\textsuperscript{80} Abc., fol. 134. \textsuperscript{81} Abc., fol. 37. \textsuperscript{82} Abc., fol. 29. \textsuperscript{83} Abc., fol. 115.
it shows that the mass represents Christ's history "from the Supper to the Cross." 84

In this context, the hollow altar is the place where free will sacrifices the bull (pride), wrath (the ram), lust and evil desires (goats), with the knife of continence. The host in this sacrifice, is prayer.

Otherwise, the host is the Incarnate Word, Who enters into us to unite us to Him. 85

In the Ark of the Covenant, the vara castigadora (vara de Aarón) corresponds to the sword in the earthly paradise. We should recall, now, that the sword (irascibility) could manifest itself as a word, in the anecdote about San Vicente. This sword is connected with the sword from the mouth of Christ the Judge, Verbo de Dios (Apoc. 19: 15). Here Christ is to rule the peoples with a rod (vara) of iron.

The rod, however, may not always be the symbol of negative judgment. The word of God is also a rod or sceptre of gold, symbol of the indulgence of King Assuerus (Est. 5.a). In this Biblical chapter, Esther wins the king's good will to the extent of his promising

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84 Abc., fol. 120. 85 Ibid., fols. 35-36. 86 Ibid., fol. 115a.
her half the kingdom, if she likes. Assuerus, says Osuna, is a figure of Christ; Esther may represent the suppliant soul. A text from Isaiah [11:4] sums up the role of the Judge: "Juzgará a los pobres con justicia, y herirá la tierra con la vara de su boca."88

In medieval and renaissance art, Christ the Judge is often represented with a sword and a lily proceeding from His mouth, representing condemnation and mercy. 89

The rod symbolizes, then, the selective or discriminatory function of the will, as did the sword.

Manna is identified with the flame. This is codicía, or the desire for the pleasing, and is a figure of the ecstatic union, or "gusto de la vida eterna, que reciben algunos en la contemplación."90

Osuna says that the Israelites did not receive manna until the flour from Egypt was all gone. This flour symbolizes the consolation derived from created things, from which one must separate himself completely in contemplation. Manna also stands for grace, which is

87 Abc., fol. 48. 88 Ibid., fol. 42.
90 Abc., p. 346.
God's love coming down to the soul.\textsuperscript{91} It comes down like manna to those who are in the desert of this life\textsuperscript{92} or in the "desert" of contemplation.

The tablets of the Law are identified with the cherub, or the rational faculty, that discerns and shows the will what is good, and what is to be avoided ("Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not").

The figure of the Ark is a reduplication of the principles shown in the cherub, flame, and sword of the earthly paradise. These principles, however, are shown to apply to God as well as to the soul. He judges, condemns the carnal, accepts the spiritual, and sends His love downward to be united with the upward-rising soul.

The Ark itself is compared by Osuna to the contemplative, who "never leaves the interior of the temple"; (p. 422) that is, he keeps God always present in his thoughts. The rod is desire; its flower is the joy of "complacencia," "gozo del deseo cumplido."\textsuperscript{93} The vara, therefore, is not only the will that selects but the will that seeks; the uniter as well as separator.

The Ark is also the heart of Jesus, in the temple of His body.\textsuperscript{94} (Into this heart the contemplative

\textsuperscript{91} Abc., p. 684. \textsuperscript{92} Abc., p. 346. \textsuperscript{93} Abc., p. 525. \textsuperscript{94} Abc., fol. 117.
is absorbed; in it is the intellect of God, or the Logos.) The wound in Christ's side is the narrow door into this "abbreviated paradise." Christ's heart is also the Ark of the "true Noah"; its wound is the window from which the dove (the church) came forth.

In comparing both the heart of man and the heart of Jesus to the Ark of the Covenant and to paradise, Osuna points to the fact that the human soul is made in the image of the Divine (he mentions this at the beginning of the treatise), and also that it is within the Divine when it enters into itself. This is possible in view of the intellectual nature of the heart; the Logos has, in His heart, a concept of the individual, and the individual has a concept of the Logos. In this sense, each possesses the other, and each may be said to "conceive" the other.

Since the Ark of the "true Noah" was also a figure of the heart in the last quotation, we begin to suspect that the next major figure, the ship, is intended to suggest Noah's Ark. The ship follows close upon the "arca del Señor," and such a correspondence of titles would be difficult for Osuna to resist. The ship of Treatise IV is almost certainly identified as Noah's Ark by the appearance in the same treatise of the rainbow

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95 Abc., fol. 116.  
96 Ibid.
("el arco de la amistad puesto en las nubes de las lágrimas"), the sign promised to Noah.

The ship.—The ship is a figure with many tenors; it may be the world (a ship that leaves no wake)\textsuperscript{97} or the Cross on which we traverse the sea of life,\textsuperscript{98} or the spirit of wisdom, which goes by sea like Solomon's treasure fleet, and reaches "el puro Dios."\textsuperscript{99}

In this treatise, Osuna identifies the "nacevilla" as the body, the heart being the \textit{bomba}. Elsewhere, spiritual exercises are called \textit{navecillas} in which "cada justo con su familia interior y mundo menor debe salvarse" (an apparent reference to the Deluge). "Sacrifiquen á Dios sacrificio de alabanza, y denuncien las obras dél en alegría los que descienden a la mar en naos, haciendo operación en las muchas aguas; estos vieron las obras del Señor y las maravillas dél en lo profundo" (Psal. CVI, cited by Osuna). Osuna says that in the exercise of contemplation you will see the marvels of the Lord in the depths of the heart.\textsuperscript{100}

Besides representing a spiritual exercise, the ship may stand for the heart itself, sailing to God on a sea of tears.\textsuperscript{101} Also, the contemplative may be the Ark,

\textsuperscript{97}2 Abe., fol. 15. \textsuperscript{98}1 Abe., fol. 37. \textsuperscript{99}5 Abe., fol. 85. \textsuperscript{100}3 Abe., p. 368. \textsuperscript{101}Ibid., p. 436.
lifted by a flood of tears to the height of contemplation.\(^\text{102}\) Or the Ark may be la bienaventuranza;\(^\text{103}\) the possession of God.

The tenors of this figure supply us with several references to the Deluge, to be assessed with the baptismal figure that has been discussed in relation to the fountain and the tree. It seems likely that this ship is yet another reference to the "mystery of wood and water";\(^\text{104}\) that is, the sacrament of baptism. "The Ark by which man was saved is a symbol of the Cross," Rahner says (p. 200). He cites in part the first Epistle of Peter (3:20-22), in which the Ark is identified as a figure of baptism. Verse twenty notes that a few persons were saved from the flood in the Ark; the next verse reads: "La cual era figura del bautismo de ahora, el cual de una manera semejante os salva a vosotros; no con quitar las manchas de la carne, sino justificando la consciencia para con Dios por la virtud de la resurreccion de Jesucristo; ..."

Into this context fits another of Osuna's interpretations of the rainbow; it is the crucified Christ.\(^\text{105}\)

\(^\text{102}\) _Abc._, p. 436.

\(^\text{103}\) _Abc._, fol. 62.

\(^\text{104}\) Rahner, _op. cit._, p. 203 and footnote.

\(^\text{105}\) _Abc._, fol. 95.
The connection of the Crucifixion to baptism is symbolically expressed in the Greek liturgy by the dipping of a cross into the baptismal water; in the Roman liturgy a candle is used; it also is a symbol of Christ crucified.106

As if to emphasize the factor of concealment in his treatment of the Ark, Osuna has utilized in this treatise many items to which the word "arca" can be applied. Besides the two already mentioned, the thoracic cavity is called by Osuna an arca; the heart is "vaso de oro lleno del maná de la gracia celestial, puesto en el arca de tu pecho" (final list of figures, Treatise IV). Another type of arca is a "dépó sito de aguas"; into this general category would fit the bilge of the ship and perhaps even the fonts of paradise and of baptism.

A furnace for re-heating glass vessels is also an arca; the furnace is a figure of Treatise IV, and the meek, in Treatise III, are called glass vessels. Since Osuna mentions furnaces and their operations with surprising frequency and some knowledge, he may have known that the term arca was applied to one type.

The hollow altar "que no era macizo" could be called an arca, in the general sense. Perhaps Osuna's

insistence on its hollowness indicates that he intended it should be.

The heart itself, as a closed, hollow container, can easily be compared to an arca, which has this general meaning. Once the heart is viewed as a container it can then be named for what it contains, so that an even wider variety of figures becomes possible. A glance at the figures of Treatise IV will show numerous "containers" of fire (love), of fluids, things, and people. This is all possible because the heart, as the seat of intellect, "contains" anything the mind can conceive.

The idea of calling the heart an arca probably occurred to Osuna through his association of the term with the heart of Jesus. Once these two reference points were established, Osuna could select from the numerous referents of the term the ones that best suited the context of recogimiento. Also, the repetition of the concept serves to emphasize it, and to form a nexus between different figures.

In choosing to include the "arco de la amistad," Osuna was probably influenced by the resemblance of arco to arca and by the fact that the rainbow provides a clue to the identity of Noah's Ark, in case the unwary reader has missed it.
Symbols of the virgin.--The heart is called an ark because it is a container, and because it holds thoughts of divine things it is analogous to other containers of such things. The prototype of the "material container of divinity" is, of course, the Blessed Virgin. Several of the figures of the heart in this treatise are emblems of the Virgin; among them are the earthly paradise ("el vientre de la virgen"), the fountain, the tree of life, the closed garden, the rod of Aaron, the ship ("arca del diluvio"), the house (domus Dei), the Ark of the Covenant, the vessel (vaso) of gold, the city of God.

Another figure of the Virgin is the widow of IV Kings 4, whom Osuna identifies in this treatise as Spiritual Wisdom.

In the scriptural story, the woman of IV Kings 4 is in want, and her creditors are about to carry away her two sons into slavery. She owns nothing but a little oil. Elisha has her borrow vessels from the neighbors; and through a miracle, he increases her oil so much that it fills all the available vessels.

107Trens (op. cit.) says that every occurrence in the Bible of the word virga (staff, rod, vara) was customarily read as an allusion to the Virgin (virgo). He gives a list of these passages and their interpretations, compiled by no less an authority than Aquinas (pp. 552-53). For the identification of the emblems of the Virgin I am also indebted to Trens (op. cit., pp. 153-54 and 163-64).
Osuna advises us to offer our empty hearts to the widow; she will put in a drop of her grace and it will increase until the heart is full. This grace or "sabiduría" is received best, he says, when the heart is most empty, so that it can be filled and occupied by the operation of the Holy Spirit. The most perfect example of this is the Virgin, who conceived the Son of God.

In order to appreciate the analogy between contemplation and the Annunciation one must know that Osuna believes the Virgin conceived Christ mentally before she conceived Him corporally. Osuna cites St. Augustine to the effect that she was more blessed in conceiving the faith (the idea) than the flesh. Osuna adds that she carried Christ in her heart (her thoughts) as she carried Him in her body.

The idea that the mental concept is a greater blessing than the physical conception is probably founded on the passage from Luke (11:27, 28), in which the woman exclaimed to Jesus: "Bienaventurado el vientre que te llevó y los pechos que te alimentaron."

And He answered: "Bienaventurados más bien los que escuchan la palabra de Dios y la ponen en práctica."

The last is the objective of the contemplative. Osuna says later in the Third Alphabet, that the Virgin

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108 _Abe._, fol. 106.
109 _Ibid._, p. 121.
was in recogimiento when "Dios se infundió en sus entrañas, para obrar realmente lo que cada día obra espiritualmente en las almas santas en que se transforma" (p. 430). It is apparent from this that the material and the spiritual conception are considered analogous, and that mental conception is of daily occurrence.

It is now possible to see why the Virgin is cited as the model of contemplatives (this occurs several times in the Alphabets), and also why the heart is compared to her emblems. The experience of recogimiento is that of "conceiving" Christ mentally, in order to put the Word of God into practice. In the case of the Blessed Virgin, this spiritual event became a material reality; the Word, or Concept, was made flesh.

According to Philo, the "mother" of the uncreated Logos is Wisdom.110 Inasmuch as Osuna has identified the widow of IV Kings 4 as Spiritual Wisdom; it would appear that he is acquainted with this tradition. Since experience of the Divine, through contemplation, is

Wisdom, and Mary is its model, she is very closely identified with the Wisdom that is the Mother of the Word.\textsuperscript{111}

Mary's role in giving material form\textsuperscript{112} to the Logos is analogous to that of the contemplative when he translates his concept of Christ into actions. It is the eruption of spiritual forces into the world of matter.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{111}Trens, op. cit., pp. 56-57. Trens says that there was a notion prevalent in the Middle Ages and Renaissance of the Virgin as "pre-existent"; that is, existing in the mind of God eternally. In iconography, this Virgin is depicted as the woman in the Apocalypse.

\textsuperscript{112}Relevant to the analogy between mental and physical conception is Aristotle's theory, influential in Christian theology, that the female contributed all matter to the new organism, the male all soul or "form." This last is communicated mysteriously, without any real necessity for physical contact (Singer, op. cit., pp. 24-25). Panofsky (op. cit., p. 142) says that a relationship between the words mater and materia was seen. I would deduce that the latter idea is a reflection of Aristotle's notion.

\textsuperscript{113}Osuna says: "La recreacion del hombre hauia de ser conforme a su creacion para que ouiesse correspondencia y semejanza de la reformacion a la formacion. Quando Dios formo al hombre primero dixo. Hagamos un hombre a nuestra ymagen y semejanza que se puede enseñorear de todas las cosas que hemos creado. Esto mismo paresce hauer dicho el hijo de Dios quando redimio al hombre pues quiere que el hombre redimido sea semejante y conforme a la ymagen de Jesu Christo, que es la vida trabajosa y llegada que viuio en este mundo por nuestro amor" (6 Abe., fol. 53).

The "spiritual body" is the sum of one's works (5	extsuperscript{abc}, fol. 114b), not the external shape.

In the "merit" of these works, there is "material and form"; the materials are human effort, and the form is Grace (5	extsuperscript{abc}, fol. 127).
With this in mind, we can glimpse the really crucial role of the Virgin in this treatise, which began with an evocation of the shrub in the salty earth—a figure of the hardness and intransigence of matter. Mary is the channel through which this world is penetrated and vivified by spiritual forces. The contemplative essays to play this same part.

The Blessed Virgin, like the arca, appears in this treatise in disguise more often than under her own name. Osuna uses approximately eleven of her emblems; he names her twice.

Because she is the bringer of saving grace, the Virgin is compared to any "vessel" or instrument of grace, including the vessel of manna, the Ark of Noah, the Ark of the Covenant, and even Aaron's rod that smote the rock, bringing the saving waters. (Christ is the Rock; the waters are grace.)\(^{114}\) Her emblems used in this treatise fit either this aspect, or her role as a "container" of divinity, or both.

In the final list of figures that Osuna gives us in this treatise, the "chamber of the real Elisha" is also an allusion to the Virgin. The reference is again

\(^{114}\)Trens, op. cit., p. 552. The water that gushed from Christ's side is, according to Osuna, the baptismal water.
to IV Kings 4; in this second story the barren Sunamitess came to Elisha's room to pray for the grace of conception; her wish was miraculously granted through the power of Elisha's words. She had a son who died and was resuscitated by the prophet.

The text is an obvious parallel to the life of Christ and Mary; Osuna identifies the Sunamitess as a figure of the Virgin in the First Alphabet (fol. 175).

Almost as apparent is the analogy between this story and the contemplative experience. The heart, of course, is the "room" into which the soul enters to pray for the concept.

The text of IV Kings 4 offers two stories applicable to the theme of recogimiento; typically, Osuna chose to use the one in which the allegorical value was harder to discern, and to refer to the more obvious one by an unobtrusive figure.

Osuna probably hit upon this scriptural text because of its number, which corresponds to the number of the treatise, the number of chambers within the heart, the four passions, and other sets of four that occur here.115

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115 Four is also a feminine number, according to Philo, and as it represents the cube or solid; (Thorndike, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 355-57) it could be construed as representing an arca. The number eight, or four doubled, is the numerical symbol for baptism; eight people were saved in the Ark. Rahner, op. cit., p. 202. According to Rahner, eight is the number that represented the cube to many people. The only instance that I can discover in which
Osuna may have been influenced by numeralogical considerations when he chose to refer to IV Kings 4 and Psalm XLIV. A similar concern may have inspired him to call the fourth treatise the second within a series of three. A reader familiar with the procedures of numerology might have detected in this a clue that he was to multiply four by two to arrive at the significant figure, or that he was to take the "cube" of two.

Our discussion of the figures so far has brought to light certain general motifs. One is the dual nature of man; or rather his capacity to use his human potential either for good or for evil. Another is contrition, the desire to change old customs for better ones. An important theme is that of death, figured in the act of contemplation itself, in the Flood, in the "chaos before Creation" that Osuna mentions, and in the sepulchre. Introduced concurrently with the theme of death is that of birth; this is made possible through the coincidence of these tenors in several figures, especially that of Noah's Ark. Other manifestations of the motif of conception and birth are found in other emblems of the Virgin, and in the outright nuptial and birth figures.

four is the middle of a series occurs in the seven-note musical scale (Boethius' scale) (Roger Bragard, "L'harmonie des Sphères selon Boèce, Speculum, IV, 1929, p. 213).
Knowing the rationale of recogimiento, we can recognize what we see here as a physical representation of the psychological drama enacted in the state thereof. The contemplative, inspired by a desire to reform his life after the model of Christ's, "dies" to the carnal world of the senses. In this death the soul separates itself from the body sufficiently to enter the domain of the spirit, as Christ did when he passed from mortal to eternal life. The spiritual world of pure ideas is the mind of the Logos; that is, the heart of Jesus, for the mind is in the heart. In this heart, through the generative power of Christ's blood, the "concept" takes form and is born into the world as the new Christian, modeled after Christ.

Since generation consists of the infusion of soul or "form," a mental "transformation" can easily be spoken of as a "new birth." Similarly, the abandonment of all ideas and "forms" in the mind, which is the injunction of this treatise ("Desembaraza el corazón y vacía todo lo criado") is a reversion to the state of formlessness, or death.

Because the infusion of soul is looked upon as a spiritual event, it could logically be argued that in physical generation the mental concept was prior to
the material conception. Perhaps this is why Osuna declares that the mental conception of Christ came first.  

Some cosmic concepts suggested by the figures.--The figure of the serpent is one that requires further comment in the light of the theme of death and rebirth. Osuna has already told us that the culebra is a figure of the "shedding" of the old form that takes place when the contemplative enters into his own heart. This separation from the old form is followed, as we should expect, by a joining, for love separates unlikes and joins likes. This joining is expressed in the serpent figure in the First Alphabet (fol. 117), where Christ is "la serpiente

Since the figures of this treatise resolve themselves into symbols of rejection of the world, love for the spiritual, union and conception, they could be depicted in pictorial form as the Apocalyptic Virgin. She is described as standing on the moon, and dressed in sunlight (Apoc. 12). Osuna says she is the Christian soul who "desprecia la luna [la sensualidad] y se precisa del sol" (5 Abe., fol. 93). This representation of the Immaculate Conception is frequently referred to by Trens, who shows numerous plates, almost all of which include a serpent (usually interpreted as Satan), entwined about the moon. In a painting by Zurbarán (seventeenth century, in Sevilla) the serpent is replaced by a heart (Trens, op. cit., p. 181). In my opinion, this painting forms an iconographic summary of the contents of the treatise we have been discussing, especially since the scene is nocturnal, and recogimiento is the "dark night" of the senses, in which "alumbramiento" takes place. Perhaps some earlier representation of this "immaculada" was one of the images that inspired, in Osuna, great devotion; and it might have guided his selection of figures for this treatise. In his turn, Zurbarán could have been influenced by ideas from Osuna, or similar views drawn from another source.
de Molsen que se trago e incorporo en si las demas que fueron hechas por arte. Cristo derrite los corazones que llegan a el y los resuelve y ayunta en si mismo."

The serpents "made by art" are individuals; Christ the Logos is the "Art" of the Father, the Art by which all things are made.\textsuperscript{117} He is therefore the Maker of the individual, and when the contemplative is "melted" or "eaten" by the Logos, he is re-incorporated into his Originator.

The serpent, to Osuna, often represents the good soul. When Christ is figured in the burning bush, He is called "refugio de santos y pecadores, como de culebras y lagartos."\textsuperscript{118} (This statement may have been in Osuna's mind when he placed the figure of the prudent snake in Treatise IV, along with the burning bush.)

The culebras who are saints are swallowed up, according to Osuna, and incorporated into Christ. In the First Alphabet, Osuna says that Moses' upraised serpent is a figure of Christ's death on the Cross, a death caused by "la serpiente antigua."\textsuperscript{119} This passage is followed by a statement that Christ is the

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\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{117} Abc., fol. 101.
\item \textsuperscript{118} Ibid., fol. 31.
\item \textsuperscript{119} The brazen serpent upraised by Moses (Num. 21:8) is identified by John (3:14) as a figure of Christ.
\end{enumerate}
Priest who sacrifices Himself.\textsuperscript{120} (This may account in part for the inclusion of the altar among the figures of Treatise IV.)

The first of these passages makes it appear that Christ's death was caused by the devil, whom we associate with "la serpiente antigua." This is incompatible with the second statement, however, which makes Christ the determiner of His own death. The second idea is the one that prevails in Osuna's doctrine, and is a principle embodied in the sacrifice of the Mass. However, if Christ sacrifices Himself, then He Himself could be "la serpiente antigua." There is a parallel between this idea of Him and the concept of the Aeon that was current among both pagan and Christian writers of late antiquity.\textsuperscript{121}

If the death of Christ was to Osuna the death of an Aeon, a new phase of time should immediately occur. And in fact, he says\textsuperscript{122} that Good Friday was the "end of the year." Moreover, a new creation took place with the Passion; Osuna specifies the new "works of the six

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Abc.}, fol. 64.

\textsuperscript{121} The Aeon was symbolized by the snake with his tail in his mouth, because he eats himself and is renewed, like the year.

\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Abc.}, fol. 77.
days."\(^{123}\) Of course, the age of Grace was inaugurated, and our present era began its year enumeration.

*Time and eternity: universal and particular.*

To the family of Aeon or "time" symbols also belong Janus, the two-headed man, and the wheel,\(^{124}\) as well as the four winds, which in the Christian tradition of the Aeon represent the four angels that "with a great sound of a trumpet, . . . shall gather together his elect from the four winds. . . ." (Matt. 24:31).\(^{125}\) We have here unearthed a secondary set of meanings for the wheel with four faces, and the four winds, identified by Osuna in this treatise as the soul with its four passions.

According to Leisegang,\(^{126}\) the concept of Christ as the Aeon was already present in New Testament times, and persisted into the late middle ages. The serpent with his tail in his mouth (the uroboros) symbolizes Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. This abstraction—the idea of a combined origin and end—fits not only the Aeon who swallows himself, but also the concept of the serpent that swallows up its children.\(^{127}\)

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\(^{123}\) Abc., fol. 26.
\(^{124}\) Panofsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-64 and footnotes.
\(^{125}\) Leisegang, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
\(^{126}\) Ibid., pp. 37-38.
\(^{127}\) This is one of the ideas associated with the myth of Saturn swallowing his children. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.
The uroboros also represents the mercurial principle, the power to produce a change of state. Some comments on the nature of the Logos have a bearing on this and other figures of our treatise.

The Logos is, to Philo, the idea of ideas. In Him, the undivided One is divided into many finite manifestations. He is both the intelligible world and the real life of the real world.

Philo calls the Logos the "cutter," citing the passage (Gen. 15:10) in which Abraham divides the animals in two. He produces creation by dichotomy; (that is, He is the Unity that creates multiplicity) and is also the Joiner.\textsuperscript{128}

As such, the Logos Himself could well be represented by the two-headed man who looks both to the world of universals and to that of particulars.

As "cutter," or divider of the universe into particulars, the Logos could be figured in the sword.

As the Joiner of all creation, which is dissolved and incorporated into Him, He is represented by the serpent and the Tree of Life. In the one case he

\textsuperscript{128}Wind, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 166.
eats his own children; in the other he eats his own apples. 129

As the seminal force that generates individuals, he is figured in the Word, and in the heart and blood itself, containing the forces of love and of generation.

Baptism.—The most comprehensive figures of Treatise IV are, however, the earthly paradise and the Ark of Noah. These suggest the sacrament of baptism, which we know to be a symbolic death and resurrection. 130

Osuna has said that the passion of Christ is also his espousal. The sacrament of baptism is the only "figure" in which the death, nuptials and rebirth theme is completely represented. If we were to adopt this motif as the principal one, we should see if it helps us to account for figures still unexplained.

129 Leisegang says (op. cit., p. 17) that with the birth of Phanes (the Orphic Aeon), Heaven and earth were split apart; however, the great Serpent still connected them. Wind (op. cit., p. 27) shows a fifteenth century diagram of the spheres, each identified with a musical mode, and with a three-headed serpent stretching from Heaven to earth. (The Tree of Life in Daniel 4b also joins earth to Heaven.)

The term "consistorio" of God is applied by Osuna to baptism. In addition, baptism is "el primer desposorio." 131

Baptism is also compared to the Annunciation. Osuna says that just as the Holy Spirit came to Mary so that Christ would be conceived, so the spirit descends upon the baptismal waters to cause the conception of the "spiritual man." 132 Baptism is the "nativity" of the Christian. 133

The baptismal water is the water and blood from Christ's side. 134 This is the blood of the bird sacrificed over "living water" (Lv. 14), with which a living bird is stained. The sacrifice is for the cure of the leper. 135 The leper of this figure is the mundane man, the sinner, still suffering from what St. Peter called "las manchas de la carne."

Although there are suggestions in this treatise of the sacrament of Communion, I believe that we must take seriously Osuna's statement that the Mass represents events from the Supper until the death on the Cross. Baptism seems to include the death, resurrection,

131 [Abc., p. 247.]
132 [Ibid., pp. 363-63.]
133 [Abc., fol. 122.]
134 [Ibid., fol. 46.]
135 [Ibid., fol. 45.]
nuptial and generation figures more adequately. Reading
the figures in the treatise alone, I believe that they
reveal an exposition of the experience of recogimiento:
contrition and compassion evoked by contemplation of the
Passion, a flight into the spiritual world, equivalent
to death; and the infusion of a new form or "spiritual
body"; that is, a new pattern of thought and activity.

Elsewhere, Osuna has said that to meditate on the
Passion is to eat the body and drink the blood of Christ
in memory. He has also said that such meditation may
be a baptism: "Every sacrament represents the Passion
which gave it its virtue," and everything contemplated
as a representation of the Passion comes to be a
sacrament. It appears that Osuna, in Treatise IV,
indicates that recogimiento is to be viewed as a renewed
baptism.

In the process of explaining the figures of this
treatise, a tropological level has been constructed by
using canons of the figures different, in some cases,
from those explicitly supplied by Osuna.

The process of contemplation, as Osuna describes
it, consists of working with the canons of the figures,
comparing them to each other and making deductions.

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136 Abc., p. 442.
137 Osuna, citing Dionysius, calls baptism
"sacramento de illuminación" (6 Abc., fol. 82).
Each figure of the treatise can be seen to have canons relating it to other figures, and to the Divine. Each one seems to be a nucleus, with relationships extending everywhere. As a result, all the creatures are sanctified; "y cada cosa criada/en Dios vuelta en otra cosa."138

As far as I have discovered, this is Osuna's most ambitious attempt at stimulating the reader to try his own wings in contemplation. Should the reader fail to do so, he may miss one of Osuna's most significant statements on the nature and purpose of recogimiento.

Since the tropological level is carried almost entirely by unexpressed canons of the figures, the treatise appears to be a rather radical attempt to give a coherent exposition almost entirely by figures that occur in an equally coherent literal context.

The reader is first notified that he should seek unexpressed meaning by the character of the introduction to the theme, which is a praeteritio. Here, the symbol of the two-headed man summarizes the duality that prevails in the treatise, and especially in the introduction, where Osuna delivers a curse that may be read as a blessing.

138 From Estímulo del divino amor, a poem attributed by some to Luis de León (cited by Menéndez y Pelayo, in La mística española, ed. by P. Sainz Rodríguez (Madrid, A. Aguado, 1956)), p. 191.
The reader is confirmed in his feeling that a hidden meaning should be found when he notices the prevalence of the concept *arca*, and begins to believe that the ship is Noah's Ark.

The presence of important and well-known figures such as the Ark, the tree of life, and the fountain in Paradise immediately suggest unexplored anagogical possibilities. So does the somewhat awkward insertion of the anecdote about St. Vincent. It recalls Osuna's statement that anomalies in Scripture are a signal that a spiritual meaning should be sought. Other suspicious factors, to the careful reader, are the lack of a logically satisfying development in the literal level of Treatise IV, culminated by the change of subject in Treatise V, and the strange assertion that it occupies the third position.

In Treatise IV, Osuna has used a technique of concealment and suggestion. He hid the Ark of Noah, for example, and used it for an unexpected secondary characteristic, the bilge. Similarly, in the two figures from IV Kings 4, he explicated the less obvious one.

Since any figure, taken with all its canons, tends to suggest numerous others, Osuna could have planned the treatise first in terms of some major figures
suitable to his theme. Others were probably inserted with a view to completing or emphasizing certain tenors of the major ones. The final list of figures looks like an effort of this sort. The St. Vincent story seems to be an effort to bring the Word into relation with the sword, in order to force the reader to postulate a canon that both may have in common. Sequential order is meaningful, as in the case of the hawk, which is followed by the figure of the Good Shepherd (God Himself ultimately "recollects" the contemplative soul).\textsuperscript{139} Apparent incongruities are included in order to force the reader to attempt their resolution.

Withal, Osuna does develop in the figures an adequate \textit{dilatatio} of his theme: "Guarda tu corazón con toda guarda, porque dél procede la vida." "Toda guarda" refers not only to the rejection of sin (contrition), but also to the stilling of the senses in \textit{recogimiento}. The heart, container of the Divinity within, is the baptismal font in which the reformed Christian is born.

As for the position of Treatise IV as the middle term of a triad, I believe that it forms, with Treatise III, a \textit{narratio} in the series of \textit{exordium}, \textit{narratio}, \textit{conclusio}. At the same time, it seems to belong also to Ficino's series of creation, seizure, and perfection.

\textsuperscript{139} Abe., p. 328.
If the animal, vegetable and mineral "creatures" of this treatise are steps in the scala coeli, it can be seen that their progression is from particular to general, and from one level of abstract interpretation to another, with a consequent revelation of analogical patterns. Through correspondences, several figures fuse into a simpler reality, or into an abstract. The progression is from multiplicity toward unity.

The use of such highly figured language seems to be an attempt to create in the reader a certain psychological effect; one that may have some resemblance itself to the flight of the contemplative's spirit. The reader's attention is intensely engaged in an attempt to perceive and retain the figures, with their numerous canons, which are presented in rapid succession. As analogies among the canons begin to appear, a pattern is seen, and the resulting simplification has the force of a "marvel," or "revelation." It is an experience like that of sudden insight or total recall, which seems to come with no effort, after great effort. This psychological release of tension may perhaps resemble, in a lesser degree, the flight of the contemplative soul into the Empyrean, after the intense concentration of meditation.
If this be so, Osuna was guided in his formulation of this treatise by preoccupations that must be called aesthetic, rather than doctrinal. He has attempted to recreate in the reader the sensation of his own experience. Because of the nature of this experience, the "language" that he chose was that of poetry. He used figures that brought with them a multiplicity of connotations. The mutual analogies and contrasts among these tenors give rise to further meanings, that seem to arise from nowhere, because they are not to be seen on the printed page.

The reader can participate in this experience only if the figures carry, for him, approximately the same connotations that they had for Osuna. This must have been anticipated by Osuna himself; the first two Alphabets and the earlier treatises of the Third contain most of the information needed to read this treatise effectively. Also necessary is a retentive memory, to which Osuna attaches great importance.

The aesthetic effect of the treatise depends on the reader's previous indoctrination, and on his undivided concentration. For the success of this type of poetic, both reader and writer must collaborate, and they must have a ground of common knowledge.
In describing his own style, Osuna chose to compare his technique to polyphony. The metaphor seems peculiarly suitable to this treatise, where different items, abstract or concrete, present similar patterns of function. The principal themes are expressed in canonical forms or patterns, all of which harmonize into a fairly simple design that might be called the final "chord." And just as the occurrence of certain musical notes suggests or demands in the hearer the presence of others, the unseen tenors of Osuna's figures suggest or demand resolution and fulfillment of the pattern.

Because of the multiplicity of factors that Osuna has succeeded in uniting into Treatise IV, he may well call it an "espiga," as he does (by implication). Just as the figures hide the meaning of the treatise, the treatise is hidden in the rhetorical organization. The successive veils must be penetrated before the Divinity is discovered. So that the sanctuary may not pass unnoticed, however, Osuna leaves a clue for the unwary reader (el que "no vera cuando viniere el bien") who has arrived at the fifth treatise without tasting the substantial fruits of the fourth.
CHAPTER V

THE ALPHABETS: STYLE AND CONTENT

The plain style.—It is the figured style of Osuna that requires explanation, but it is by no means the only aspect of the Alphabets. Osuna puts moral statements into very clear language, so that there is little chance of misinterpretation.¹ In such passages, Osuna takes to task not only the individual, but also his contemporary society. Although he may sometimes conceal his anagogical doctrines, his stand on moral and social issues is unequivocal. For example, he criticizes the policies of the government in expanding the latifundios, asks for intervention in business monopolies, and decries artificial manipulation of the currency exchange.² He speaks of the unfair business practices of the merchants in Antwerp, and says that the kings, "que tambien toman a logro," must share the blame, as well as

¹In this, it appears that he models himself on Scripture, following the observation of St. Augustine that moral guidance is always plainly stated there. Mazzeo, op. cit., p. 5.

²Abe. , fols. 209-212.
the wise men who ought to show people what is right.\(^3\) He notes that most of the world is in the hands of tyrants and half of the church in the hands of the greedy.\(^4\)

He defends the convert, saying that all baptized people are of Christ's lineage; the corporal progenitor of all mankind is the earth. The Jew and the Gentile are figured in the twins that fought while still within the mother's womb (Gen. 25.c), "y el mas ruin [el pueblo gentilicio] se lleuo la ventaja." To hold against a Christian his carnal origin is a mortal sin.\(^5\) Father de Ros\(^6\) points out that in 1525 the Franciscans ruled that no one would be received into the Order "que fuese de linaje maculado dentro del cuarto grado" (citation from Pedro de Salazar, Crónica y historia de la provincia de Castilla, Madrid, 1612). Osuna's views of the matter, published in 1528, are obviously in conflict with the policy of his Order, but he states them as clearly and forcefully as they can be put.

Osuna's idea of equality extends to a completely democratic principle. He cites Seneca to the effect that

\(^3\) Abe. , fol. 199. \(^4\) Ibid., fol. 28.  
\(^5\) Abe. , fols. 121-122.  
\(^6\) De Ros, op. cit., p. 28, n. 1.
"riches and tyranny" inspired some people to call themselves better than others—that is, nobles. Nobility, says Osuna, is not in the person himself but in the opinion of others. All trees produce good and bad fruit; "tal es el padre tal es el hijo" only applies to the divine Persons. Seneca said that one person was more noble than another only if he were more intelligent. Christian nobility lies in the friendship of God and the grace of the Holy Spirit. The book in which this appears is dedicated to Juan Tellez Girón, conde de Ureña, apparently Osuna's long-time protector.

In the Second Alphabet, Osuna says that if kings all come from one lineage, some will be bad. Election is preferable, although not perfect.

On the subject of religion, Osuna says that "la libertad cristiana" can exist in prison, and offers the case of St. Peter as an example. In the folio immediately preceding, he has deplored the calumnies of the rich against those whom they wish to despoil. The suggestion is, perhaps, significant.

Heretics should not be threatened with fire, but should be cured by wholesome doctrine, sweet admonitions,

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71 Abc., fols. 122-123. 82 Abc., fol. 153. 95 Abc., fol. 66.
and prayer.\textsuperscript{10} (Earlier in his life, however, Osuna had justified the burning of heretics in one of his Latin works.\textsuperscript{11} This is one instance of the development of Osuna's ideas, which tend to become more liberal and independent with age.)

As far as external penance and similar observances are concerned, unless there is participation of the spirit as well as the body you could do them until Judgment day, and they would be worth nothing.\textsuperscript{12}

Free will is too precious to be lightly cast away; Christ never took a vow to obey every fool, as those do who enter religion, and are subject to the whims of thirty Pilates. Therefore, if you are inclined to religion, it might be just as well to practice it at home.\textsuperscript{13}

Osuna's plain-spoken opinions and robust morality are among the most attractive features of the Alphabets, and he demonstrates a surprising boldness considering the historical moment. When he "conceals," his doctrine, it seems likely that his purpose is to stimulate meditation, since he does not lack the courage to speak

\textsuperscript{10} Abc., fol. 22.
\textsuperscript{11} De Ros, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 162 and n. 3.
\textsuperscript{12} Abc., fol. 101.
\textsuperscript{13} Abc., fol. 136.
on most questions. Moreover, the ecclesiastic censor probably read Osuna's figured style more easily than the present-day student. In religious doctrine, he was, apparently, orthodox enough.

Osuna's passages in plain style range from the purely didactic through the affective and the entertaining. He varies the tone frequently to avoid monotony. The reader is addressed personally ("tú, hermano") and Osuna is now impressive, now stern, satiric, confidential, consoling, cheerful, witty—whatever seems most suitable to the material.

In the passages of relatively plain language, Osuna's imagistic mode of thought shows itself in apt similes. His sensitivity to language levels can be seen in his use of the strong contrast between the ideal and the material. Plays on words and concepts are frequent.

Osuna's simple style is sufficiently flexible to serve as an instrument for any purpose. In contrast to the work of his contemporaries Alejo de Vanegas and Alonso de Madrid, it has an extraordinary intimacy, grace and color.

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14 An extreme example is the set of Goliardic responses to the Ten Commandments. In the First, God asks of "un soldado pelado" if he loves Him above all other things. The soldier answers: "What things? ..." 5 Abc., fols. 187-88.
All the Alphabets show a mixture of clear and figured styles. Instructional material, including moral doctrine, is given in plain language; figures carry "spiritual wisdom." Both are necessary; he who will not carry on corporal works as well as spiritual ones is a "sancto de pie quebrado."15

The figured style.—To convey anagogical material (and sometimes postulates of natural science) Osuna may use the figured style that invites meditation. He introduces these passages as a method of developing his themes.

On such occasions, one passage may lend itself to several different readings, since figures have many canons, and may be interpreted on several levels. Osuna himself says that contemplation is an individual matter. However, the writer of spiritual exercises, when he determines the literal words, establishes the canonical form that other levels must follow. By explicit insertions of allegorical, tropological, or anagogical material, he suggests how these levels should be developed. By precept and example, Osuna trains the reader in the processes of induction and deduction necessary to find the spirit hidden in the letter.

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15 Abc., p. 525.
Osuna scatters through the Alphabets enough data on most of his figures to permit one or more levels to be extracted from almost any figured passage. This is not to say that the possibilities are exhausted by the material that Osuna gives. He omits some of the traditional connotations of many figures. The character of the genre is determined by its aim to incite meditation and contemplation, the course of which will vary with the reader's experience. Osuna establishes certain patterns and fixed points; the reader's invention is guided by the patterns of the literal level, and by explicitly stated items from others. This sets certain limits to the freedom of contemplation. Had this not been so, the Alphabets might not have been approved by the censor. Osuna also protects himself with the statement that all beliefs are subject to approval of the church.

In his numerous explications of themes, Osuna gives the reader information about figures and words; this must be remembered and applied. It is for this reason that Osuna emphasizes memorization of his material. Only when the memory can supply most of the canons of a figure will the reader see a coherent pattern emerge from the mass of details. Such patterns appear to conform to philosophical ideas, some of which are expressed by Osuna in plain words. However, the hasty reader may easily
fail to recognize any relation between the abstract statement and its appearance in figurative guise. This is one of the factors that has contributed to the impression of disorder in the Alphabets, and to some misunderstandings of their content.

Osuna has maintained the importance of mental images in meditation. His figures are most communicative when they are visualized. The imagination shows clearly why a sailing ship may symbolize the Cross, or a snake may represent the liquid mercury. Not only do the shared canons become evident, but also, the reader experiences the sensation of discovery.

Figures as a memory aid.---Another motive for exposition through figures is the factor of memory retention. For the contemplative, as Osuna says, this is a serious problem. Those who contemplate by either the positive way (the creatures) or the negative one (recogimiento) complain of forgetting, which hinders their progress. Osuna's explanation of memory shows a materialistic theory of the mental image. He says that in memory we keep "masks" of the people that we see. We cannot remember our own faces as well as those of others, because the real person makes a stronger "impression"

\[16^6\text{Abc.},\text{ fol. 69}.\]
(used in the literal sense of *imprimere*, I believe) than the "delicate image" from the mirror.

Forgetting is a spiritual death; it snatches things from our senses and memory as death takes them from the present life.17 Osuna's suggestions for improving memory include avoiding moist foods and eating dry ones, such as raisins and almonds. (Vapors from wet foods rise to the head and disturb the memory.) But more important, he says, is to concentrate on the item you want to remember to the exclusion of everything else. Still more important is to love the thing very much. Another aid is to converse with people who have the same interest.18

Although Osuna does not include it explicitly in this list, the process of "softening" the heart to receive the mental image (mentioned in Chapter III as an emotive factor) probably is also a memory aid. In such a materialistic view of mental imagery, the importance of receptivity would be recognized. Also, the emotional attitude created by dramatic visualization would tend to cause retention of the image; this is probably one of the ideas included in that of "loving" the thing that is to be remembered.

Osuna's use of the figure as a vehicle for exposition is probably motivated by recognition of its

emotive effect, its staying power in the memory, and its aesthetic appeal (flectere, docere, delectare). The medieval preaching theorists (cited in Chapter III) remarked that figures have the advantage of being retained in the memory. This attribute was noted by Cicero. Obviously, a long tradition recognized the figure as a mode of knowledge easily retained in the memory. Pedro de Ravena (whom Osuna mentions three times in the Fifth Alphabet) is the author of a treatise on the art of memory (L' Artificiosa memoria seu Fenix, Venice, 1491). This treatise is based on Ciceronian theory. Osuna's comments on memory, however, are almost exclusively common-sense. I do not recognize in his work any reference to artificial aids, unless the geometric figures that he introduces (rather sparingly)

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19 Alphabatical order is one of his memory aids; he suggests, for example, putting the kinds of love into order by ABC and learning them for the purpose of meditation (3 O. , p. 508).


21 5 O. , fols. 14, 142, 202.


23 Rossi, loc. cit., p. 166.
may suggest some influence of the Ars Magna of Ramón Lull. Osuna considers emotion—love—the most important factor in memory. Retention of information or of mental images is important because it is a requisite for contemplation.

The science and art of contemplation.--The practice of contemplation, as Osuna shows it, would lead to an extremely comprehensive body of data about the universe. In effect, his works are a reconciliation of the books of the "creatures" (science and human experience) with Christian doctrine. The canons that govern one govern all. These canons are not expressed in abstract terms, usually; they appear in the form of created beings with the attributes that can be predicated to them. These figures stand as surrogates for human and divine characteristics. The significance that they come to have does not always correspond to the connotation of their names in ordinary language. The only way in which Osuna's universe may be perceived is by visualizing the terms with their new connotations.

Osuna's didactic and moral preoccupations prevent the Alphabets from being classified either as basically scientific, or fundamentally aesthetic. They can probably

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24 Vasoli, loc. cit., p. 255.
best be termed simply meditations. Their inherent structure might be called vertical; that is, they proceed from the physical world "upward" to the metaphysical and "down" into the psychological. The aim of knowledge and emotion is to see the right course of action and to awaken sufficient motivation to pursue it.

Osuna's expositions are often structured on the basis of the figure, with its predications and its relation to other figures. These give the Alphabets an intrinsic organization that is different from their extrinsic one, which is founded on abstract generalities and their subdivisions. The universe that Osuna depicts for contemplation consists of figures that are interrelated as are the things of the natural world; that is, they do not necessarily lend themselves to a linear logical treatment, nor to ordinary linguistic categories. Rather, any figure becomes a center from which radiate canons, the significance of which can be displayed and which show their relation to other creatures or to spiritual realities. While several figures may have canons in common, as did the serpent and the two-headed man, they also have an unalterable individuality that is always present to the consciousness. Although some of the canons coalesce, because of their relationships, into abstracts, the creature itself still remains. I believe
that this aesthetic effect is sought because it portrays the view of reality represented by the Logos. Every created thing is a part of one Totality, and in some way represents it; some relation should therefore be perceivable in the individual parts. This relationship will be "spiritual," or abstract. On the other hand, each creature is a distinct idea in the mind of the Logos, so that its individuality is not only warranted but sanctified.  

Osuna's interest in natural philosophy impelled him to give it an importance unusual in the Spanish literature of his period, as far as I can discover. Osuna attributes to the creatures the qualities predicated of them by science and by Scripture. He seems to have a wide acquaintance with science, and the accommodation is facilitated by a fairly flexible interpretation of the Bible. To these sources, he has added some observations

25 Compare the theory of names in Fray Luis de León, in which the diversity of creation is united in the mind (Obras completas castellanas) [Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1951], pp. 396-97.
that may be from his own experiences. With this material, he has composed meditations that show an extensive and well-developed view of the universal order. The Alphabets are encyclopaedic in scope, and their philosophy is fundamentally consistent throughout. Although other commentators have remarked that there is little relation among the six books, each develops a part of this philosophy, which unifies the group. The "alphabet" that they teach consists of figures and concepts that are new categories for the discrimination of realities. Osuna's statement that spiritual exercises are the words of God is a working premise; the letters are creatures and concepts; for the words of God are the creation. In the fourth chapter of this paper, I believe we saw some of these "letters" and constructed a "word."

To compose such complex works as the Alphabets, the writer must have had a phenomenal memory and a considerable library. Although concordances, collections

26 Osuna emphasizes the value of experience in learning. For example, he says that Christ came to the earth seeking "sabiduria por experiencia," although he already had infused wisdom. Experience is esteemed by the wise; it composes all the arts and creates all books. In man, the science of books is of little value without experience. Christ's wounds are signs of experience, like the doctor's cap (6 Abc., fols. 74-77). Possibly Osuna's respects experiential learning the more because it is the only way to the superior cognition of recogimiento.
of "sentencias" and other handbooks for preachers would have been helpful, they could hardly have supplied the basic philosophical principles, nor the ability to manipulate consistently the quantity of material, that the Alphabets display. This would have to arise from a clear understanding of principles that could govern the arrangement of many details.

Osuna's ideas and style in historical perspective.—This serious and ambitious plan to unite science and revelation has antecedents in the work of another Franciscan, Ramón Llull, and in that of Ramón Sabunde. Similar tendencies appear among the Italians of the fifteenth century, among them Ficino, with his efforts to reconcile neoplatonism and Christianity, Pedro de Ravena with his memory aids to enable the scholar to encompass more data, and Nicolas de Cusa. Later, the same encyclopaedic tendency appears in Camillo and Vico, for example, both of whom also espoused the use of figures for the embodiment of concepts to be understood and retained.

When Osuna makes his appearance on the scene, the encyclopaedic tradition, like the preaching tradition,

28Ibid., p. 162.
was already so well developed that it is difficult to speak with assurance of his sources. He shares with Llull many opinions on contemplation, but they could easily have sprung from common origins. Like Sabunde, he sees nature and Scripture as parallel manifestations of the Divine. However, the number of common sources is too great to permit influences to be easily traced. For the same reason, it is difficult to determine Osuna's impact on his successors.

His technique of using figures is, however, one aspect that tends to distinguish him, and identify his place in the development of literary styles. His exposition through figures, although it is based on the methods of medieval preachers, may have been reinforced by the symbolism of the Cabbala, publicized by Pico (with whom Osuna shares certain ideas about the mutability of man); or by the new vogue for hieroglyphs. (The Horapollo treatise appeared in Venice in 1505.)

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29 Tomás y Joaquín Carreras y Artau, Historia de la filosofía española (Madrid: Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, 1943), II, p. 140.

Father de Ros has, however, discovered substantial textual borrowings in Fray Luis de Granada, San Pedro de Alcántara, Martin de Lilio and Juan de los Angeles. In respect to Santa Teresa, de Ros modifies somewhat the findings of Etchegoyen, but still finds correspondences. There are also coincidences of doctrine and lexicon in San Juan de la Cruz (De Ros, op. cit., pp. 617-639). In addition, borrowings from Osuna can be seen in Bernardino de Laredo (Subida del monte Sion) and in Bartolomé de los Mártires (Compendium spiritualis doctrinae) (Fidèle de Ros, "Influencia de Francisco de Osuna en Laredo y los Mártires [Archivo Ibero-Americano, julio-sept. 1943, No. 11], pp. 378-390).

hieroglyph is a "creature" that represents a concept, or a set of concepts; its adaptability to the traditional idea of the figure is obvious. One might be tempted to consider this system responsible for Osuna's attitudes toward the alphabet, were it not for the fact that Sabunde (who died in 1432) had also seen a correspondence between the creatures and the words of God.32

A similar force that may have tended to emphasize the use of figures by Osuna is the developing interest, during his time, in emblems, seals, and "impresas." All of these could be classified as visual representations of concepts (although the emblem has its own history).

"Empresa" is a term often used by Osuna in the sense of an impression made by a seal. As he uses it, it stands for the mental image, perhaps the Aquinian "species intelligibilis impressa." So far, I have not encountered any suggestion of this equation in the works of any other writer.

Again, it would be difficult to calculate the influence of hieroglyphs, of the Cabbala, or of the new impresas, because it is not easy to separate their contributions from those of Osuna's older sources; an ancient exegetical and iconographic tradition, reinforced

32 T. and J. Carreras y Artau, op. cit., p. 140.
by a study of philosophy and a natural science that probably included allegorical treatises on alchemy.\(^33\)

Noticeable in Osuna's work is his alternation between the creature itself and the abstract concept, without the intervention of personifications such as pagan gods or allegorical personages. This may result from a desire to simplify, or from the dictates of taste, or, perhaps, from the fact that Osuna's theory of contemplation leads away from "corporal" images.

The art of tracing correspondences in canons of figures was a necessity in the traditional method of Biblical exegesis, and also in the exposition of themes through multiple connotations of words and figures. In the seventeenth century, Gracián will define the concepto as "un acto del entendimiento, que exprime la correspondencia que se halla entre los objetos. ... Esta correspondencia es genérica a todos los conceptos, y abraza todo el artificio del ingenio, que aunque éste sea tal vez por contraposición y desonancia, aquello mismo es artificiosa conexión de los objetos."\(^34\)

\(^{33}\)The Friars Minor of the Observance (Osuna's branch of the Franciscans) were specifically ordered to give up their "occult" books in 1591. Thorndike, op. cit., vol. 6, pp. 150-51.

\(^{34}\)Baltasar Gracián, Agudeza y arte de ingenio, en que se explican todos los modos y diferencias de conceptos (Madrid: Biblioteca de Filósofos Españoles, 1929), pp. 7-8.
The first décima given by Gracián as an example is the following:

Caminante: esta urna breve
   guarda un Sol resuelto en hielo,
   convertido en tierra un Cielo,
   una estrella en polvo leve.
No el cetro en los reyes mueve
   a ser de su ser ajenos;
   de llanto los ojos llenos
   llega, y tu reina verás;
   viva, no pudo ser más,
   muerta, no pudo ser menos.35

Here, the contrasts of "great-small," "heat-cold," etc., fill an abstract pattern that might be called "reversal of the nature of a being." (The term concepto seems to be applied by Gracián to this pattern that is filled.) The procedure consists of "meditating" on the figures utilized, and abstracting from them canons that bear out the abstract concept; or reversing the order and seeking figures with canons that will bear out a preconceived abstract. In this meditation, memory must retain the figure, while dialectical processes, by noting "distinctions in essence or accidents,"36 elicit the appropriate canons, and logic defines the abstract "whole" that they form. This is the procedure of meditation, as Osuna describes and demonstrates it.

35 Attributed by Gracián to Antonio de León; op. cit., p. 4.
36 Ibid., p. 8.
Gracián distinguishes two types of "agudeza": perspicacity and artifice. The first seizes upon difficult and recondite truths; the latter seeks "subtle beauty." The first is "art and science, in its acts and habits," the second "has no fixed home." It is the latter that is the subject of Gracián's treatise.37

Since both perspicacity and artifice are subclasses of agudeza, it is not surprising that their methods are similar; in effect, they employ similar dialectics. Gracián recognizes agudeza in religious works; he cites many in the course of his book.

Osuna's works, because they purvey recondite truths, should be classed with what Gracián calls "perspicacia," but they show considerable "artifice" in their composition. The intellectual processes of meditation, in the Alphabets, are designed to reveal the sacred universe, and the reader is forced to develop "perspicacity" in order to discover hidden wisdom.

Unlike the poets in Gracián's collection, Osuna uses his dialectic in the service of science as well as for the production of effects. His method, which is based on rather rigorous inductions and deductions, has within itself a validity unrelated to the nature of the

37Gracian, op. cit., p. 9.
data it manipulates. Osuna's information includes picturesque elements from tradition, as well as more rigorous ideas from Aristotle and St. Augustine, among others; and, probably, some observation.

Whatever the character of the data (which may be fantastic, like the attributes of the phoenix or carbuncle), the result of the dialectical treatment is an impression of psychological validity useful to poetry, though sometimes irrelevant to science.

Osuna does not give his data and methods with the primary intention of compiling an encyclopaedia of knowledge. He uses this material in meditations designed to teach a technique of contemplation, to incite emotions, and to produce a changed pattern of action in the reader. In his search for psychological effects, he has produced at least one instance of a substantial discourse composed principally in figures, all of which contribute to the formation of one complex concept. As the figures tend to free themselves from the context of prosaic exposition, and to communicate in their own right, Osuna's meditations approach the character of poetry. As such, the Alphabets form an intermediary step between the figures as a device of perspicacity and their use as an element of poetry. In the poems of San Juan de la Cruz, they appear without the matrix of exposition, and the poetic tendency
reigns supreme. In the conceptistic poets of Gracián's collection, the dialectical processes of meditation appear as an element of poetic technique. Their logical character is made clearly evident by Gracián's own analysis of them.

In the development of conceptistic style and symbolism, scholars have mentioned the influence of classical rhetoric and the mnemotechnic devices that sprang from it; of Petrarchian figures, emblems and hieroglyphs. To this list should be added, I believe, the medieval art of preaching. Battlori has pointed out the influence of Aristotelian rhetoric, with its "topics" or figures, through which, he says, the ratio studiorum of the Jesuits developed an aesthetic of free invention, stimulated by emblems and impresas. Osuna's Alphabets show already a richness of symbolism that is never exceeded, as far as I know, by any later writer. Many of his figures or topics are derived from traditional Christian sources, whose influence has not been studied in the works of other writers, but which may well be as important as those mentioned by Battlori.

39 Osuna and St. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) are practically contemporaries.
In the manipulation of figures, both Osuna and the poets whom Gracian selects use techniques developed by the medieval preachers, and based, ultimately, on the exegetical tradition.

From these resources there may arise a poetic that exploits the figures in their own right, as is seen in San Juan de la Cruz. Or the dialectical technique may dominate, resulting in manifestations of conceptismo.

Although Osuna's figures and phrases occur from time to time in the works of later writers, the problem of common sources makes tracing of direct influence difficult, unless there is a substantial body of discourse in common. Nevertheless, in the Spiritual Alphabets may be found stylistic trends that illuminate relatively unexplored aspects of the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among these are the figures and the techniques of their use, which can be seen in the context of a philosophy and rhetoric that governed them. Osuna developed resources of expression adequate to his own heterogeneous material, and to his affective and logical ends. These resources are united, in the Alphabets, with instructions to the reader on how the material should be pursued. It is seldom that any writer offers, by precept and example, so much information about his theory and practice. To the student of a period
of complex literature, such insights may be helpful, as they may also have been helpful to Osuna's contemporaries and immediate successors. How much he reflects the tendencies of the time, and the precise weight of his personal contribution to Spanish literature, are questions that may warrant further investigation.
Castilian Works of Francisco de Osuna

Primera parte del libro llamado. Abecedario espiritual: q trata de las circunstâncias de la sagrada passion del hijo de dios. Compuesto por el padre fray Francisco de Osuna. Zaragoza, Pedro Bernuz y Bartolome de Nagera, 1546. Location: University of Chicago Library.

Segunda parte del libro llamado Abecedario espiritual: donde se tratan diversos exercicios en cada letra el suyo. Compuesto por el padre fray Francisco de Ossuna frayle menor. Burgos, Juan de Junta, 1555. Location: University of Chicago Library.

Tercera parte del libro llamado Abecedario espiritual Agora nuevamente impreso e corregido y añadido la tabla de los tratados y capitulos que contiene. 1544. Escritores misticos capanoles, tomo I; N.B.A.E. tomo 16. Madrid, Bailly Bailliere, 1911.

Ley de amor santo (full title: Ley de amor y quarta parte del Abecedario espiritual donde se trata muy de rayz los misterios y preguntas: y exercicios del amor: y la theologia que pertenece no menos al entendimiento q a la voluntad: harto vtil avn para los predicadores q desean ver en buen românce las cosas q de si son escabrosas. Místicos franciscanos españoles, tomo I. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid, Editorial Católica, 1948.

Quinta parte: del Abecedario espiritual de nuevo compuesta por el padre fray Francisco de Ossuna: q es Consuelo de pobres y Aviso de ricos. No menos útil para los frayles. q para los seculares y avn pa los predicadores. Cuyo intento deue ser retraer los hombres del amor de las riquezas falsas y hazerlos pobres de espiritu. Burgos; Juan de Junta, 1554. Location: Harvard University Library.


Norte de los estados: En que se da regla de buuir a los
Mácebos: y a los Casados: e a los Biudos: y a todos
los Cotinetes. Y se trata muy por estos los remedios
de la desastrada casamiento enseñando q tal a de ser la
vida del Christiano casado. Copuesto por el reverendo
padre fray frácisco de Ossuna: commissario general de
la ordé de sant frácisco. En las provincias de las
indias del mar oceano. Burgos, Juan de Junta, 1541.
Location: Ohio State University Library.

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