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STYLE, THEMES, AND IDEAS IN THE WORKS OF SAN JUAN DE AVILA

City University of New York

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STYLE, THEMES, AND IDEAS IN THE WORKS
OF SAN JUAN DE AVILA

by

ELIZABETH M. TORRANCE

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in Spanish in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter

I. A VIEW OF HIS LIFE 7

 Footnotes

II. PREACHING 43

 Background

 The Preaching of Juan de Avila

 The Sermons of Juan de Avila

 Rhetorical Devices

 Conclusion

 Footnotes

III. THE CARTAS AND THE AUDI, FILIA 119

 Part I, The Cartas

 Style of the Cartas

 Part II, The Audi, filia

 Style of the Audi, filia

 Footnotes

IV. PREDOMINANT THEMES IN THE WRITINGS OF SAN JUAN DE AVILA 214

 Prayer

 Self Knowledge (Conocimiento de sí)

 Justification

 The Méritos (Beneficios) of Christ

 Sin and Salvation

 Death

 Frequency of Communion

 Women and Marriage

 Love of God and of One's Neighbor

 Footnotes

V. THE IDEOLOGY OF JUAN DE AVILA 281

 The Council of Trent and Juan de Avila's Reform
 Vision of the World
 Conclusion
 Footnotes

BIBLIOGRAPHY 328

INTRODUCTION

When San Juan de Avila is examined closely, he appears both mysterious and precise. He is progressive, indeed revolutionary, and in the positive sense of the word, traditional -- in some respects typical of his time and in others atypical. The paradoxical and intriguing nature of 16th century Spain lends itself to various interpretations. Depending upon which aspect one chooses, conclusions substantiated by certain facts can be put forward. So, it seems, is the case with many of the great literary figures of that period. Relatively little has been written about San Juan de Avila, and yet the variations in conclusions or interpretations are evident. Most of the articles written deal with limited aspects. Examples of these would include essays on specific doctrines, the importance of education, his reform treatises, his life, and general studies of hagiography. Certain other studies have gone farther in probing his mentality and originality. From the Vida by Luis de Granada and Luis Muñoz we learn a great deal about him, and in articles by Marcel Bataillon the way for a contemporary approach has been prepared.

One thing is certain, however. Juan de Avila, recently canonized (1970), is not well known outside Spain. He was a very important figure -- perhaps equal in stature to St. Ignatius of Loyola, San Juan de la Cruz, or Sta. Teresa de Avila. One of the purposes of this study will be to demonstrate the extent of his importance in the Spain

of his time.

The primary focus, however, will be to examine the works of Juan de Avila in light of recent historical data and more specifically through a study of his style, themes, and ideas. It was not until this century that his complete works were published. Although individual pieces had been published during the years following his death in 1569, it was Father Luis Sala Balust and Francisco Martín Hernández who first edited the complete edition of his known works for the Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos in Spain, in six volumes published between 1970 and 1971. Without this editing and compilation of historical data available, the task of information gathering would have been much more difficult.

The scope of writings which Juan de Avila produced is extensive. The first volume of the BAC contains two editions of his Audi, filia, a manual of instruction in prayer written for Doña Sancha Carrillo. It is a carefully prepared work, designed to be a guide to the spiritual life. The frequently encountered themes of self knowledge, humility, faith, and the need for recollection (recogimiento) are developed in a clear and orderly fashion. It is interesting to note that the first edition was written while the author was quite young (around thirty-two or thirty-three) and that the Audi, filia is the best known of his works. The contrasts between the first and second editions are intriguing in that they are concrete examples of changes that Juan de Avila made from an earlier to a later edition.

The collection also contains the sermons that are attributed to the saint. The editors have chosen to put them into groups according to the cycle of the liturgical year. Hence, we find the ones dealing

with the Holy Spirit, Advent, Corpus Christi, the saints, and so forth, together. Because there are very few specific dates, it is practically impossible to arrange them chronologically. This fact, coupled with the knowledge that perhaps most of the sermons were copied by scribes, makes them difficult to study. But they are a key to understanding the appeal he had for the people of his time. San Juan de Avila was first and foremost a preacher, and his preachings reveal aspects which no other part of his writings do.

In the fifth volume are printed his letters. These sometimes intimate, sometimes formal, but always enlightening writings demonstrate the most personal aspect of Juan de Avila. The collection in the book numbers two hundred fifty-seven. It is safe to say that others were lost or destroyed. They range in length from a brief paragraph to many pages, and the content varies according to whom it is directed and what his or her particular need might be. One discovers Juan de Avila happy, or sad, or using a reprimanding tone to chide his disciples or spiritual daughters. The forcefulness and strength of his thought are present even when he is gently urging someone to adopt another life style. Though the tone of the letters varies quite drastically, we always perceive "el hombre mesurado", the even-tempered and prudent individual. This characteristic was the one most noted by people who knew and described him. And it is present in his writings.

The last volumes contain the treatises on reform and what have been labeled minor writings. San Juan de Avila was a reformer -- this is evident. Reform of the clergy, religious life, and the priesthood was uppermost in his mind, and much of his effort was directed to founding schools and seminaries where young people could be educated

for the priesthood. He was convinced that schools were one means of insuring a vital and strong faith among the people. This emphasis on education is a characteristic of other Spanish reformers as well. Such people as Feijóo, Jovellanos, Giner de los Ríos, and the Generation of '98 had in mind the same ideal of educating the people.

The reform movement in 15th and 16th century Spain was characterized by a rejuvenation of religious fervor and was caused in part by a desire to "Christianize" the unbelievers in Spain and by the wish to renew the traditional values held by the earlier Church Fathers. A return to asceticism by some, study of the Scriptures, and renovation of preaching were also characteristics of this reform movement. Juan de Avila perceived these as fundamental needs, following in the footsteps of such men as Hernando de Talavera and Cisneros. These two men, both important figures, chose to live a life of poverty. Juan de Avila, though never occupying a position of such importance, in part because he did not want to, reflects the same orientation as did these two initiators of the reform.

He was not one to refrain from speaking his mind on important matters. At certain times, what can best be expressed as scathing criticism of some of the clergy of his day is present. The pain he felt at seeing the abuses in the Church is clear, and his direct confrontation of the issues did little to win him esteem or popularity among certain circles. But he had very influential friends, and perhaps because of them he was able to state his opinions in a more overt fashion. The Tratados de reforma were undoubtedly written for an audience more learned than were the sermons, or for the most part, the letters. In the Tratados, Juan de Avila "codifies" his thinking -- not

for his own benefit, but rather for that of the people of God and the Christianity he sought to develop and foster.

As one analyzes the methodology and themes which San Juan develops, there emerges an internal movement which begins and ends with prayer. This life of prayer is fundamental to everything he discusses, and his biographers stress the hours he spent in mental prayer daily. The counsels he gives his disciples also reflect the importance he placed on this exercise. Knowledge of self is essential if one is to know God, and it is by means of prayer that this is achieved. He goes on to say that when one realizes his sinfulness he is saved through the grace of God (doctrine of the beneficios de Cristo). Juan de Avila is very close to Juan de Valdés in his ideas about man's sinfulness and salvation through Christ, and these two figures follow St. Paul closely. The theme of justification is one which requires close examination, for it is another key to the interpretation of San Juan.

The present study will examine in detail the style of expression that Juan de Avila used. Beginning with the Sermons, rhetorical techniques and other characteristic expressions will be analyzed and placed in the context of a new reality which was beginning to emerge in the Spain of his time. The Cartas and the Audi, filia will be examined from the same perspective. Each work is different in intent from the others, as is to be expected, but from this analysis of style emerges a picture of Juan de Avila which shows him to be a major figure in his time. Following these aspects, important themes will be dealt with. Examples include prayer, justification, love of God and of neighbor, and suffering. The last part of the study will examine his ideology -- his view of honor, of the preaching apostolate, and of the world

(mundo) as he perceives it from his unique point of view. The underlying message of reform will also be treated. These reform writings will be examined vis-à-vis the decrees of the Council of Trent. Particular focus will be placed on the Memoriales, for it is generally believed that Juan de Avila wrote them for Trent and that they in part influenced what was ultimately promulgated.

Many of the themes discussed above find other interpretations in 16th century Spain. Some of these are enlightening, both in their similarities and differences. In this study we shall examine other authors as a general picture of Juan de Avila's ideology is painted. Most of the authors who will be studied are not generally thought of as important literary figures, and there is a general lack of worthy scholarly work about them. Perhaps as time goes on this crucial period in Spain's history will be opened up to investigation by more scholars. As our western world and civilization approach the 21st century, there is much to be learned from the 16th in Spain. Problems of progress, assimilation, or lack of it, isolationism, and national interests were all there. Juan de Avila lived in that past; he tried to cope with it, and he suffered during it. He was a mystic, though he left no defined or detailed writing expressing this. Typically, he prepared the way for others. What he has left is a legacy of a compassionate, daring, strong, and humble person -- one who, as did St. Paul, wished to be a man for all and for all a man of God.

CHAPTER I

A VIEW OF HIS LIFE

San Juan de Avila was born in either 1499 or 1500 in Almod6var del Campo (Ciudad Real) and died in 1569 in Montilla (C6rdoba). His life spans almost three quarters of the sixteenth century -- critical years in the history and culture of Spain. Two of the most important events in western European history occurred during his lifetime. The first was the Reformation heralded by Martin Luther (1517) and the second the Council of Trent, convened to deal with the Reformation and also to clarify Catholic doctrines of the time. Both of these happenings, motivated by different reasons, were to cause profound changes in the political map of Europe. And the results of these events are with us today, causing problems between peoples of differing beliefs and cultures.

During this time, Spain was caught up in internal difficulties. The Medieval period had waned, and a society of differing cultures, religions, and traditions was left to resolve issues with which other western European countries were unfamiliar. The tremendous pressures initiated in part by both Isabel and Ferdinand and Charles V stemmed from the historical situation of the Jew and later the converso population, the Moorish culture, the newly powerful Christian forces, and the entire area of a New World to be conquered, colonized, and integrated into the Spanish empire.

The country was fighting internally as well. Uprisings of the Comunidades from 1520-21 caused grave tensions in the governing of the nation. Charles V was forced to pay more attention to Spain and less to other sections of his vast empire, and friction among different segments broke out. These later became independent from Spanish domination. Foreign wars waged by both Charles V and Philip II depleted the national treasury, and as the century progressed, Spain's economic situation worsened and her influence abroad declined considerably. If one were to attempt to describe the upheaval in Spain during this century, it seems fair to say that forces too complex for any one person or group to deal with were working in a counter productive fashion. There are those who impute blame to the rulers and maintain that they were ineffective.¹ Others would say that the Jewish or converso question was the most important, or that the Inquisition was to blame for those problems.² The reality seems to lie in the admission that the movements afoot were incomprehensible -- a new dimension was appearing in Europe, a modern world forming. Very few Spaniards were equipped to handle this, and few could perceive the consequences of remaining isolated and entrenched in a mentality which was soon to be regarded as reactionary. The historical, social, and economic developments left all but a small segment of people confused, insecure, and defensive. Within this small minority, characterized by a progressive and open spirit, is included San Juan de Avila -- mystic, reformer, educator, counselor, prophet, preacher, and a classic of Spanish literature.

Little is known about the early life of this man, but what is known is interesting in that it leaves some crucial questions unanswered. The most thorough study of Juan de Avila's life was done by

Luis Sala Balust.³ In volume one of the Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, one finds a lengthy analysis of known events. Two other key sources are Fr. Luis de Granada and Licenciado Luis Muñoz -- each has written a Vida of Juan de Avila. The present study will not fill in all the gaps left by these authors but will attempt to clarify them. The unknown is, and perhaps always will be, unknown. But a bit of light will take us one step further.

One of the first questions raised is that of the family background of Juan de Avila. Fr. Luis de Granada says very little -- only that he came from parents who were "los más honrados y ricos deste lugar, y lo que más es, temerosos de Dios, porque tales habían de ser los que tal planta habían de producir".⁴ Luis Muñoz goes further in his description. It is interesting to note that Granada's book was published in 1588 and Muñoz' in 1635. The latter seems to be adamant about Juan de Avila's lineage:

Fueron los padres de nuestro venerable Maestro, Alonso de Avila y Catalina Gijón, de lo más honrado y lustroso de Almodóvar, de familia pura y limpia, sin mezcla de aquella sangre, que una gota dicen que inficiona mucha buena; en nuestro vulgar, "cristianos viejos", de limpieza asegurada, muy bien puestos de hacienda, y, lo que más importa, temerosos de Dios y observantes de su ley, cuales convenía que fuesen los que tal planta habían de producir.⁵

Neither of these first biographers mentions that Juan de Avila was indeed from a converso family. Not only is this the case, but Muñoz obscures his lineage. It is interesting to note that Granada's description of Juan de Avila's family is almost identical to what Sta. Teresa de Avila says about her parents: "El tener padres virtuosos y temerosos de Dios me bastara, si yo no fuera tan ruin, con lo que el Señor me favorecía, para ser buena."⁶ We know that Juan de Avila was a converso

from the research done by Sala Balust.⁷ On at least two important occasions in his life the consequences of his tainted lineage were made very clear to him. In 1527, after ordination, he went to Sevilla to set sail to be a missionary in the Indies. He was not allowed to go, most probably because he was of converso descent.⁸ Later on, as will be seen, his converso status caused problems with his connections to the Jesuit order.

Juan de Avila was sent to Salamanca to study law around 1513. He stayed there for four years, but it is not known whether he graduated. Granada tells us that he had a "very particular calling" while there and that he returned home to his family in 1517. Virtually nothing is known about his life in Salamanca and until 1523, when he began studies in Alcalá. Upon returning home to Almodóvar, he commenced a life of severe penance in a little dwelling adjoining the house of his parents. Muñoz describes his room:

En este aposento tenía una celdita muy pequeña y pobre, donde comenzó a hacer vida muy recojada y áspera penitencia; la cama eran unos haces de sarmientos, continuos los ayunos, la comida poca y desabrida; añadía cilicio y disciplinas y largas horas de oración todos los días; era su vida la de un monje en el desierto.⁹

This life of penance and renunciation lasted for three years. The "very particular calling" that he had while in Salamanca seems to be the key to his actions. But what was the calling, and what prompted it? Sala Balust discovered that Juan de Avila had been a fraile (friar) for a time, probably after leaving Salamanca. It is unlikely that he was ever professed, and the Order he joined is not known. This area of his life remains a mystery.

In order to comprehend more fully the climate of the times in

which he lived, a brief view of developments in Spain at this time would be helpful. The field is complex -- so much so that books and articles which have been published within the past forty years seem to have only begun to clarify it. Mention should be made of Marcel Bataillon's work, Erasmus y España, first published in 1937. It was he who synthesized much of the material regarding erasmismo and iluminismo and who pointed the way to clarification of terms such as alumbado. Questions still remained, however, and subsequent scholars have tried to sort out the currents in Spain during the first part of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ One of the most successful attempts is an article by Eugenio Asensio, "El erasmismo y las corrientes espirituales afines," published in 1952.

Asensio does not negate the importance of Erasmus' influence, but he does say that there were other movements which were equally, if not more, important. At one point he states:

Al crecer el chaparral, hemos comprobado la pujanza del árbol iluminista, más vivaz que la planta erasmiana. Y al examinar las semillas, hemos visto cuántas venían de la tradición rabínica y cristiana que se funden, entrelazándose, en la España medieval.¹¹

Different movements converge and intermingle in the sixteenth century. Among them are bibliismo (emphasis on study of Biblical texts in the original Hebrew), the Franciscan spirituality, and Italian influences.

In the first category, the converso Alfonso de Zamora is an outstanding representative. He had a great influence on future Biblical scholars such as Cipriano de la Huerca, Luis de León, and Arias Montano. The converso was well equipped to study the Bible, particularly since his background had originally provided a familiarity with the Jewish mentality. Alfonso de Zamora was born between 1472-1474

and converted to Christianity around 1492. He was a professor of Hebrew in Salamanca and in 1512 went to Alcalá where he remained until 1544. He was commissioned to write a book "para captar la conversión de los hebreos, que están ciegos, pues hay en él abundantes citas de la Escritura con sus comentarios rabínicos, y a base de ellos les refutaremos".¹² The book was titled El manuscrito apologético and applied a scriptural methodology.

The second current is that of the alumbrados or iluminados, often linked to a segment of the Franciscan spirituality. Characteristic of this reform group was the practice of recogimiento in prayer.¹³ This movement is difficult to clarify. Authors who have studied it disagree on definitions, sources, and the development of the movement itself. One work has been published by José C. Nieto, Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation (1970). His interpretation of the term shows the difficulty of defining it:

In its origins, the movement is complex and does not offer a single pattern of common religious ideas, which could be called characteristic of the movement as a whole. It cannot be said with all certainty when the movement started, or even who were the people involved in it. The movement as a whole came to be known as the Alumbrados, a Spanish term which means the "Enlightened ones," i.e. those who are and walk in close communion with God, and therefore are illuminated by an intimate relationship with Him. But the term Alumbrados covers, in its application to the group, a variety of forms and conceptions of the religious life which cannot simply be labeled or confined under the same religious phenomenon.¹⁴

Essentially the movement was one that began with the common people who wanted to have a more personal communion with God. In order to do this they read the Gospels, practiced the evangelical counsels, mental prayer and scriptural interpretation. These groups respected more the inspiration of the Holy Spirit than the teaching authority of the

Church hierarchy and thus were frequently suspect. Asensio associates them in part with other groups such as the beguines, the fraticelli, and the followers of Joachim of Fiore, though differences in approach are seen. There is also the tendency of the alumbrado to disdain the active life and vocal prayer in favor of quietism -- letting God work in man's soul. It is here, in the difference between dejamiento (letting go) and recogimiento (recollection) that we perceive the greatest source of confusion and trouble. It is a crucial area as will be noted when Juan de Avila's thoughts on prayer are analyzed. It seems quite evident that he was influenced by the alumbrados. There are similarities which cannot be disregarded lightly. The gap in time that was revealed above when San Juan returned home from Salamanca and "disappeared" had to be filled with something. It is important to note at this point that many of his disciples were later considered to be alumbrados. After his ordination, he also met with small groups to pray and meditate quietly, and he was imprisoned by the Inquisition in part for iluminista tendencies. Care must be taken not to draw false conclusions unsubstantiated by fact, but neither can evidence be discarded which could indeed be relevant to the mystery of the man.

The last development is that of the Italians and revolves around the figure of Savonarola. In an article titled "La espiritualidad en la primera mitad del siglo XVI" (1967), Sala Balust pays particular attention to this current. It was brought to Spain in 1507 by Sor María de Santo Domingo, popularly known as "la beata de Piedrahita." She gathered around herself a group of people and had the support of Cardinal Cisneros, the Duke of Alba, and the Catholic King, Ferdinand. The movement began in Salamanca (where Juan de Avila spent

four years soon afterwards) and gradually expanded to Valladolid. Characteristic of it were a life of extreme poverty, assiduousness in prayer, study, and great zeal in preaching.¹⁵ Sala Balust maintains that there were most certainly contacts between this movement and the alumbrados:

Hay contactos entre savonarolismo y alumbrados. El alumbradismo sigue, además, con frecuencia al misticismo como la sombra al cuerpo o la cizaña al trigo. Nada extraño que haya brotado una y otra vez como rama bastarda del frondoso árbol de la piedad franciscana y que muchas veces se le haya confundido con ella. Es notoria la relación, por ejemplo, de los focos iluministas de Guadalajara y Pastrana con los franciscanos.¹⁶

With these things in mind, it is possible to comprehend more fully the atmosphere that existed when Juan de Avila was growing up. At this time we can move into another phase of his life -- study at the University of Alcalá.

M. Bataillon has carefully elucidated the reform movement there in his work. It is important to note that Alcalá was imbued with the influence of Erasmus and that many of the future theologians and preachers of Spain were educated there. A few who can be mentioned are Juan Egidio, Constantino de la Fuente, Mateo Pascual, Agustín Cazalla, Juan de Valdés, Ignatius of Loyola, and don Pedro Guerrero. Many of these men were either companions of Juan de Avila or were connected in some fashion with the university when he studied there. The reform of Cardinal Cisneros was felt in curriculum and purpose of instruction:

Pero en lo que reside la gran originalidad de Alcalá es en la ausencia de facultad de derecho. Salamanca y Valladolid bastaban, y sobraban, para proveer de juristas a toda la monarquía española. Y Cisneros no tiene sino desprecio por los pleitos, hermoso desprecio con que comulgaban por entonces los entusiastas del humanismo profano y los restau-

radores de la antigüedad sagrada. La teología determinará la orientación toda de su Universidad, será su razón misma de ser.¹⁷

Another study which was done in 1962 by Melquiades Andrés Martín, Historia de la teología en España, clarifies the theological tendencies during the sixteenth century. The three important schools were Thomism, Scotism, and Nominalism. Cisneros brought all these to Alcalá because these three theologies were considered to be of equal importance. They were referred to as the "Tres Vías". Nominalism was based on the theology of William of Occam (1300?-1349?). It held that the universal is not found in reality, but only in the human mind (in anima). Man's first knowledge is an intuition, accompanying sensation. Nominalism conceived God as omnipotency and mercy and denied the plurality of His attributes and the distinction between His Intellect and Will. Faith was the only method by which the reality of Three Persons could be accepted, and it was not possible for reason to demonstrate that the first cause of the universe was one God. "Thus Nominalism in its theological consequences withdrew almost all the data of faith from the realm of reason and paved the way for the disintegration of Scholasticism."¹⁸ The Nominalists at Alcalá were interested in practical theology, moral theology, Mass, and theology of spirituality. This theology encouraged a freedom of thought by the individual rather than dependence upon a strict methodology and stressed the creative and critical capacity of man. Both Juan de Avila and Juan de Valdés were influenced by this theology, but there was another factor that would have even more profound effects on San Juan. It was a method that was formally established in Alcalá after he had left -- the "cátedra de Biblia" or "Positivo", established in 1532.

The "cátedra de Positivo" stressed study and preaching of the Bible and the Holy Fathers, such as St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory. An ascetical, practical, and pastoral orientation was established.

De este modo, teología Positiva se distingue de teología Escolástica o puramente especulativa. Estas cátedras prepararon el triunfo definitivo de una corriente teológica que luchaba por adquirir personalidad propia y desarrollarse con independencia dentro del campo de la teología.¹⁹

Juan de Avila, when he founded the University of Baeza in 1546, established only two faculties -- theology and the arts. In the faculty of theology, the "cátedra de Positivo" was the most important, as it was oriented to study of the Bible and preparation of priests. "En esta cátedra encontró su cristalización el movimiento evangélico paulino de la escuela ascética sacerdotal del P. Avila."²⁰

The University of Alcalá was one of the centers of progressive thought during the years that San Juan was there. P. Beltrán de Heredia in his book Domingo de Soto provides facts that link the students and faculty at the University to the comuneros. The wars of the Comunidades will be dealt with briefly in the next chapter, but at this point it is interesting to note that the University was on the side of the rebellion against Charles V:

La juventud escolar, entonces como hoy dispuesta a la rebelión, acogió con entusiasmo a los mensajeros del movimiento revolucionario. Por otra parte, el recuerdo de los violentos despojos que el rey don Carlos había hecho a título de patrono de la hacienda que Cisneros dejó al Colegio, le había enajenado las simpatías de esta entidad y de cuanto dependía de ella. Alcalá ardía, pues, como Toledo y Valladolid, en celo por la causa de la libertad. No es fácil precisar, mediante los informes contradictorios que acerca de esta situación se han conservado, la proporción en que se sumaron al movimiento cada uno de los grupos académicos. Desde luego se advierte que el elemento escolar en su mayoría le era afecto, y lo proclamaba públicamente en forma a veces tumultuosa. Con más corrección,

aunque no con menos entusiasmo, lo secundaba la facultad de teología.²¹

There is no concrete evidence linking Juan de Avila to the rebellious sector at the University. He did not become so involved that his name stood out, as for example, did Fr. Pablo de León. But San Juan for the most part shared the same ideals as did Fr. Pablo, as we will see, and if he did not become active in the movement, it well might have been because he was aware that people were accusing the conversos of starting the rebellion.²²

After finishing his studies in Alcalá and being ordained, Juan de Avila went to Sevilla. We recall that he was unable to follow his desires to go to the New World as a missionary. While in Sevilla he met two important people who were able to help him greatly. One was Fernando de Contreras, whom Sala Balust considers to be a key figure in a study of Juan de Avila. He was a preacher, confessor, educator of children, founder of schools in which grammar and song were taught, and a man deeply devoted to the Eucharist. Such devotion was also very much a subject of Juan de Avila's writings.²³ It was Contreras who was responsible for having assigned San Juan to preach in Andalucía.²⁴

Another influential figure was Domingo de Valtanás.²⁵ This man deserves attention, because there is no doubt that he, along with Contreras, was a type of model figure for the young priest. Valtanás was highly regarded and helped by many influential people, especially the Duquesa of Béjar, doña Teresa de Zuñiga, the Condesa de Niebla, and the Marquesa de Priego. Founding schools was a great part of his apostolate, and between 1516 and 1553, nine schools and convents were opened by him. It was because of his influential friends, especially doña

Teresa, that he could do this:

No hay duda de que Valtanás tenía gran prestigio entre los representantes de la alta sociedad sevillana. Cuando los inquisidores de Sevilla se vean instados a explicar a la Suprema por qué han desterrado a fray Domingo a un sitio tan lejos como Alcalá de los Gazules, la excusa se apoya precisamente en "la amistad y conversación que en esta ciudad y en otros pueblos principales de esta Andalucía tenía con muchas personas principales y señoras de título."²⁶

Valtanás made it possible for Juan de Avila to go to Écija, then a rich commercial city not far from Sevilla. He introduced him to gentlemen of high rank, and in Écija, Juan de Avila began his preaching in earnest. Had Valtanás not opened these doors for him, San Juan undoubtedly would have found it much more difficult to establish ties with an aristocracy that over the years was to supply him with funds for his schools. During his stay in Écija, he became renowned as a preacher. Sala Balust furnishes us with a description of this period:

Su popularidad es extraordinaria. Cuando él predica, se pueblan las iglesias; hace también sus sermones en las plazas públicas; la gente se compone y se modera con sólo verle; vive pobremente, no acepta estipendios ni limosnas de sermones, y, si algo quieren darle, les ruega lo entreguen a los pobres; es humilde, paciente, muy celoso del bien de los prójimos; organiza colectas para ayudar a los necesitados y mantener a los clérigos estudiantes.²⁷

Not long after this, in 1531, Juan de Avila was brought before the Inquisition. The accusations brought forward are very interesting -- once again the distrustful attitude of certain people is seen:

1. Juan de Avila, in the first sermon at the Church of Santa Cruz, affirmed that he could give a better sermon than that of St. Augustine.
2. It was stated that Juan de Avila said that those condemned by the Inquisition were martyrs.
3. A priest had heard him say that one should not marvel that God communicated with a woman, since every day He came to the hands of a priest.

4. Another priest heard him declare that Christ was in the Eucharist as a man with his face covered.
5. It was better to give alms than to appoint chaplaincies and that Juan de Avila had revoked a chaplaincy.
6. He had said it was possible for women to give alms of their own possessions, even if they had to sell their jewelry.²⁸

Two other accusations reveal an insinuation of iluminista tendencies. One had to do with the exhortation to vocal prayer and go to a quiet place in the house to contemplate God; the other came from a man who had twice gone to secret meetings that Juan de Avila convened at which he first preached and then ordered the lights to be extinguished. All present then remained in contemplation. The witness, Francisco Hortoz, neither saw nor heard anything suspicious.

At Alcalá de Guadaira five more accusations were leveled at him:

1. He stated that while Christ was sitting on the well at Samaria, St. John was thinking about something else.
2. The Virgin Mary, before conceiving her divine Son, had sinned venially, because no one was exempt from that.
3. Satan's attempt to tempt Jesus by offering him the cities of the world could well have been done by magic.
4. The resuscitation of one hundred dead persons would not be a miracle unless it was done to prove something very important.
5. To say "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" without adding "and in the communion of Saints" was heretical, since there is also a church of the Devil.

In 1530, in Écija, Juan de Avila had been called to console a "beata" in Sevilla who lived with doña Catalina de Oviedo, and this woman had remained as though in a faint. Another accusation had to do with a statement that rich people could not be saved. As a result of all these

statements by various people, he was put in prison in late 1531 or early 1532.

The responses to the accusations can be found in the aforementioned Introduction. They are direct and forthright. Juan de Avila was able to explain each instance and give reasons and explanations for what he had said. Evidently they were considered sound, because in June of 1533 the Tribunal met and decided that he be absolved. There were, however, some admonitions. In the future, he was to be more careful about what he said and moderate his way of speaking. He was not to repeat what he had stated about rich people or about persons condemned by the Inquisition. It was clearly a warning, one which was not to be forgotten. San Juan was never again brought before the Inquisition, but we can be certain that from that time on he was watched very closely. What he learned can only be guessed, but in one of his letters to his disciples he expresses some of what he felt and experienced. The theme of suffering, typical of paulinismo, receives a new dimension in his thinking. It is something that is inherent in his way of perceiving life. The message is obvious, and it remained forever a part of this thought:

Ni os espanten las amenazas de quien os persigue, porque de mí os digo que no tengo en un cabello cuanto amenazan, porque no estoy sino en manos de Cristo...Y deseo mucho, y lo pido a nuestro Señor, que haya misericordia de ellos y les dé bendiciones en lugar de las maldiciones, y gloria por la deshonorra que me dan, o por mejor decir, dar quieren; porque en verdad yo no pienso que otra honra hay en este mundo sino ser deshonorado por Cristo...Usad mucho el callar con la boca y hablad mucho en la oración en vuestro corazón con Diós; y quiere El que venga por la oración, especialmente pensado la pasión de Jesucristo nuestro Señor.²⁹

Three important elements are present in the above quote: (1) one ought not to be afraid, because Christ will always help; (2) the only honor

worthwhile is that of being dishonored for Christ; and (3) prayer in one's heart is the most important form of talking. The opportunity to suffer for Christ had come, and San Juan did not shy away from it or complain. Though he does not say it in so many words, this must have been for him a time of mental anguish -- a time in which his own faith was tried and ultimately strengthened.

In his future teachings on prayer, he takes great pains not to describe visions or ecstatic states. Fear was not characteristic of the man, but prudence and moderation were. It is certain that this encounter with the Inquisition made him more cautious than he otherwise would have been. His insights into prayer are as profound as are those of Sta. Teresa de Avila or Ignatius of Loyola. The difference is that he did not write about his personal experiences. With the writings of mystics such as Sta. Teresa and San Juan de la Cruz, experiences of mystical prayer became more well known. They were the pioneers of a human reality closed until then to literary expression in Spain. Juan de Avila, as forthright as he was, did not tread upon these grounds, perhaps because he did not feel comfortable with that type of writing. Without doubt it was also because he remembered the threat of excommunication that he had received from the Inquisition.³⁰ He chose to remain silent, and we are left to ponder the secrets of his own "kept prayer".

Another result of his prison experience was the inspiration for his first book, the Audi, filia. In the third chapter it will be dealt with in greater detail, but mention of the book can be made at this time, since it is relative to what has been said above about prayer. The work is a manual on prayer, written for doña Sancha Carrillo, whom

he met in Eciija. The girl was only fourteen in 1527 and was on her way to serve Isabel, the wife of Charles V, at Court. She was confused about this decision and her brother, a priest, took her to see Juan de Avila. After speaking with him, her mind was changed, and she chose to enter a convent to live a life of recollection. Her parents did not want her to leave and prepared a small house for her next to theirs: "En ella comenzó su vida austerísima, de gran recogimiento y mortificación, dada a la oración y favorecida con extraordinarias visiones y revelaciones."³¹ This is reminiscent of the little house that Juan de Avila had next to his parents' home in Almodóvar. It is important to note that San Juan did not counsel her to enter a convent of nuns. Rather, he advised her to live a solitary life as a beata, or holy woman. His own preference was to adopt the life of austerity practiced by the Fathers of the desert. In this case, as with his disciples when he was at Montilla, he preferred that she remain alone, which in effect she did.

According to Sala Balust, Juan de Avila wrote a biography of Sancha Carrillo, but it has been lost.³² If that particular work were available for study, it would undoubtedly provide more intimate insight into his spirituality than other works do. Fortunately, there is extant a biography of Doña Sancha written by her brother, don Pedro. From it, and from the brief references to her by Granada, we can piece together a picture of a woman who seems to have had very unusual spiritual experiences. It is interesting to briefly examine the biography, since it reveals the character and spirituality of the woman for whom Juan de Avila wrote the first pages of the Audi, filia, and for whom he must have had a special regard. When this is done, the reader can

readily see why his biography of her has "disappeared". It seems quite likely that it might have been removed from his works and destroyed completely.³³

The biography begins with a description of Sancha, saying that she was "muy hermosa de rostro y tuvo muy buena disposición de cuerpo". On her way to court, don Pedro tells us that he implored her to make a general confession. She did so with Juan de Avila. From that time on, there was an immediate and drastic transformation in her being:

Eran tan grandes los suspiros y gemidos, y llanto y derramamiento de lágrimas que por la calle iba echando, que le ayudábamos todos los que la acompañábamos, sin poder hacer otra cosa, conociendo su arrepentimiento entrañable. Y entrada en el aposento y posada de nuestros padres, subióse a un cuarto alto y encerróse, y no pareció hasta la hora de cenar. Salió trasquilada de sus cabellos, que los tenía como una madeja de oro, y con una saya negra sin guarnición, con dos dedos o tres de falda, y tocas largas, y tan diferenciada que aquí no lo podía decir, ya con aire y lustre de esposa del Rey del cielo.³⁴

After having the little room set aside for her by her parents, Sancha did not leave it except to go to hear a sermon or Mass. Her life was extremely private, and she practiced an asceticism which even for her time was considered extraordinary:

Sus disciplinas eran de púas de planta cruelísimas, y muy ordinarias. Su comer, beber, vestir, dormir, fue tan penitente que en nuestros tiempos no se vió cosa tan excesiva, y no sé yo si en los pasados hubo muchos que la excediesen.³⁵

This life of penance was accompanied by prayer and spiritual reading. Doña Sancha's prayer experiences were intense -- she had visions which included various types of people, either alive or dead, Jesus, little black demons, a black dog, lights, and the devil disguised in the form of her brother. These experiences generally took place in secret places, and don Pedro is careful to note that she was very prudent about revealing them. At one point something happened to

her which she would not share with anyone, not even San Juan:

Estando muy al canto de morir, díjole al P. Mtro. Avila, que estaba allí: "Padre, ¿qué cosa tan grande me ha mostrado Dios!" Y rogóle el que se la dijese, y díjole que no se la podía decir, porque no le daba Dios licencia para revelarla a nadie. Y jamás se la pudo sacar por ninguna vía.³⁶

Granada also refers to her visions and ascetic life-style. He tells us of the strong physical temptations she experienced.³⁷ As a remedy she threw herself into a big vat of cold water, and thus quenched the fire of temptation.

Even at the time of her death (Aug. 13, 1537) the circumstances surrounding her were peculiar. The account in don Pedro's biography sets the stage for an eerie scene. Juan de Avila was present, and around one A.M. don Pedro and he, as well as many others, were accompanying the body. We read:

Parecíanos a todos cosa celestial, cerca de la una o las dos de la noche. Súbitamente a la puerta postrera de la puente, espantóse una mula de la litera y las otra [sic] corrió tras de ella, y dan con la caja de mi hermana, y quedó colgada, que no se sabe cómo ni parece que fue posible, de manera que iba por el suelo la caja de la cabeza; se desenclavó, y quedó de fuera el cerebro. Y así la llevaron arrastrando hasta que llegaron a la puerta de la iglesia de San Francisco...³⁸

Doña Sancha was indeed a person who had odd spiritual experiences. There are two interesting psychological details that don Pedro reveals about his sister during the course of the book: she had a vivid imagination, especially regarding Christ and His life, and she was very uncertain about her experiences and afraid of erring. This was certainly not an uncommon thing. We will see that Sta. Teresa of Avila also consulted San Juan de Avila about her visions. Granada tells us that another of his spiritual daughters, doña Leonor de Inestrosa, was likewise "muy temerosa de conciencia", and that he wrote her letters to al-

lay her fears. Thus we see emerging the figure of a man who consoled rather than frightened, and who when he saw negative aspects, stressed the positive. His position was to encourage, not discourage, these sensitive souls.

After being cleared by the Inquisition, and after the death of doña Sancha, San Juan went to Granada. He preached there in 1537, and one of the people in the congregation was a Portuguese merchant who was forty-two years old. Upon hearing the sermon, this man went out on the street, publicly confessed his sins, and hit himself on the chest with a rock. He then went into his bookstore and began handing out books to everyone. Those of chivalry, however, he loudly criticized and began to tear apart with his teeth and hands. All present thought he was mad, especially when he began to remove his clothing. Finally he remained in his underwear. Some kind people took him to Juan de Avila and "en aquella charla íntima de los dos Juanes nació la fingida locura de un verdadero loco de amor a Cristo."³⁹ This man was San Juan de Dios, founder of an Order devoted to charity.⁴⁰

Another person whom Juan de Avila influenced was the Marquis of Lombay, Francisco de Borja. He arrived in Granada in 1539 accompanying the corpse of Isabel, the beautiful wife of the emperor. After the funeral services were over and the coffin was opened for final honors, Francisco saw what death had done to her, and the story told is that he was exceedingly distressed. Juan de Avila was his confidant, and after they spoke, the Marquis set himself one purpose: to never again serve a master who could die.

During these years, San Juan set about founding schools. The first one was established in 1539 in Baeza and was called the Colegio

de los Niños. In 1541 the Colegio de Santa Cruz of Jerez de la Frontera was founded, and over the years others were to follow, fifteen in all. Various articles have been published regarding his educational reform.⁴¹ His was a modern method, designed to prepare students on two distinct levels: (1) formation of candidates to the priesthood, and (2) secular instruction.⁴² Education was a work that Juan de Avila firmly believed in, for to him Christian education was the only way to insure a deep and persevering faith.

There were many influential people with whom San Juan was associated during the years of the founding of his schools. Romero García mentions that the Condesa de Feria was responsible for schools in Priego. Another key figure was Rodrigo López,⁴³ who in 1539 founded the University at Baeza. This school would serve to instruct students in Christian doctrine, reading, writing, and Scripture. Pope Paul III issued a papal bull in 1538, authorizing the school. It is interesting to note that Rodrigo López and his brother Maestro Pedro López were well acquainted with the Pope:

La bula autorizaba asimismo la edificación de todas las dependencias necesarias: nombraba administradores perpetuos al ya mencionado Rodrigo López, doctor en ambos derechos, hombre de unos setenta años de edad, y a su hermano, el Mtro. Pedro López, arcediano de Campos y canónigo de Palencia, sexagenario, ambos residentes en la corte romana, notarios y familiares de Su Santidad...⁴⁴

Chosen as procurators and managers of this institution were Francisco Delgadillo and Juan de Avila, the latter undoubtedly because of his administrative abilities, coupled with sound educational goals.

While founding the various schools, Juan de Avila came into contact with families of the Spanish aristocracy. In Sevilla, for example, he met and became spiritual director for don Diego de Guzmán,

son of the Count of Bailén. This man later entered the Jesuits. In Granada, San Juan traveled in the circles of archbishops Avalos and Guerrero, and he was well known by the Marquis and Marquesa of Mondéjar and by their daughter doña María de Mendoza.

Another person who was very generous in helping was the Duquesa de Arcos. Juan de Avila wrote a letter to her in 1554, and it specifically mentions her generosity and what is being accomplished in the school. One sees here the type of child that he was particularly interested in:

La obra, ilustrísima señora, que aquí se hace es muy buena, no sólo en cuerpo, mas de ánimas, enseñando doctrina cristiana a quinientos niños, que algunos de ellos se habían de quedar como animales, e a duras penas se supieran santiguar, y, sin esto, se le ponen muy buenas costumbres, que aun jurar en buena fe no se les consiente. Hay otros veinte niños, que no tienen padre ni madre, y muchos de éstos andaban con ladrones, siendo espías para hurtar, como aquí se ha probado bien claro. Toman estos niños y descubren los ladrones, o lo menos, hácenlos huir; porque, como ven tomando el niño, y saben que los ha de descubrir, no para ladrón donde hay colegio. Y estos niños, doctrinados y castigados, sirven para enseñar ellos la doctrina cristiana a otros; los que el diablo tenía por instrumento para mal, toma Dios para bien y gánanse ellos y otros...Vea vuestra señoría si es algo estorbar tantos hurtos y muertes, y pecados, y ganar tantas almas de ellos y de otros. Porque las limosnas de acá no bastan, por ser mucha la costa, inspiró Dios nuestro Señor a vuestra señoría para que ayudase, porque la obra no cayese, para que tuviese parte en tanto servicio de nuestro Señor. (V, p. 680)

The social message is clear, and we recall the type of youngster found in Lazarillo de Tormes. San Juan, as we shall see more in detail in chapter IV, had practical and constructive answers to the social problems created by poverty and lack of education. He saw the hope of the future of Spain in well educated and virtuous people. It was toward these ends that he directed his talents.

Persons of high social rank recognized in Juan de Avila the ca-

capacity for administration with a rare personal disdain for earthy riches. Those who associated with him were able to see this, and they believed him to be worthy of their trust.

It is not clear what ultimately happened to the fifteen schools that San Juan founded. He had wanted to turn them over to the Jesuits, but this did not happen. The four that were taken over by them were Jerez, Córdoba, Baeza, and Beas.⁴⁵ Others were turned over to the Discalced Carmelites.

The relationship between San Juan and the Jesuits is an interesting one. The first contacts that had been made between the two groups were in 1545, when two Jesuits were on their way from Portugal to Valladolid. They met two of Juan de Avila's followers in Salamanca, and the four spent much time in conversation. In 1546, P. Cristóbal de Mendoza, one of his disciples, was admitted to the Jesuits in Rome by Ignatius of Loyola. Subsequently, Juan de Avila would recommend many of his followers to the Order. In 1549, St. Ignatius wrote a letter to San Juan telling him that the Jesuits were being persecuted in Salamanca and asking advice on this matter. The Dominicans, led by Melchor Cano, were not at all in favor of letting the new Order into the city. Cano's reasons included the fact that he found alumbrados within the ranks of the Jesuits. The Order, when it was first formed, undoubtedly showed signs of iluminista tendencies such as emphasis on private mental prayer. Ignatius' and Juan de Avila's correspondence reveals the problems facing its entry into Spain. After the death of Ignatius and the subsequent reaction of the conservative element of the Church in 1559, the Order became less open to this type of spirituality. The reply sent to Ignatius by San Juan is revealing of the way that San Juan

perceived the situation in Spain. It is dated April 13, 1549:

Aunque yo no sé la disposición de las tierras de allá, sospecho que la más dura para recibir esto es esta España, por causas que no es menester cansar ni ocupar a vuestra paternidad con ellas. Y sería bien que se enviasen por acá de las personas más eminentes que Dios tuviese en esta Compañía, para que, a mayor resistencia, viniese mayor fuerza y vencimiento. Y así suplico a vuestra paternidad lo haga. No hay falta en los que acá hay, sino que para tanta miese son pocos.⁴⁶

As can be seen, our writer was well aware of the problems, and he tactfully informed Ignatius of the course of action to follow. He was a great admirer of Ignatius and was of much assistance to the Order as it was trying to found schools in Spain.

One of the problems that preoccupied Juan de Avila during this time was that of the controversy over the statutes of purity of blood. Albert Sicroff's study on the "Estatutos de limpieza de sangre" provides a thorough analysis of the problems involved with the converso and the whole issue of lineage.⁴⁷ The controversy was over whether or not conversos could enter religious orders and what positions they could occupy. Though the estatutos had been initiated in the fifteenth century, there was a great deal of opposition to them. This included the initial opposition of Isabel and Ferdinand. The controversy continued, and during the reign of Charles V there were steps taken both in favor and against retaining the statutes. But in 1555, primarily under the influence of the Archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martínez Silíceo, the crisis point was reached. In that year a statute was ratified by Paul IV in Rome and approved in Spain by Philip II one year later. By this time Silíceo was a cardinal. Sicroff sums up the situation thusly:

Philippe II reconnaissait simplement un état de fait: la pré-

occupation croissante, en Espagne, de la pureté de sang, qui allait continuer à se développer avec ou sans son approbation.⁴⁸

Not only was Silíceo adamantly against the conversos, but he also was not in favor of allowing the Jesuits entry into Spain. The reasons were two-fold: (1) the fact that conversos were among the ranks of the Order and (2) Loyola did not consult Silíceo about permissions to be granted to Jesuit priests.⁴⁹ The issues of lineage and authority would continue to be troublesome.

In the midst of all this was San Juan de Avila. On the one hand he was in favor of having the Jesuits enter Spain, and we have seen that his correspondence with Ignatius helped to pave the way for the eventual entry of the Order. On the other hand he was a marked man -- a converso, a man tried by the Inquisition and suspect for the rest of his life. So in 1555-1556, when he considered entering the Jesuit Order, the stage had already been set. For him there was really no alternative.

San Juan's realistic appraisal of the religious intolerance, especially toward conversos, in Spain at that time made him well aware that the Jesuit Order was in a precarious position. He decided not to pursue entrance to the society which he regarded so highly. Sicroff has this to say about the decision:

Nous verrons, par exemple, comment le converso Juan de Avila observait la règle de la Compagnie de Jésus tout en s'abstenant de poser sa candidature pour entrer dans cette congrégation, parce qu'il savait qu'une telle démarche rendrait publique sa propre disgrâce et ne ferait que compromettre la situation déjà précaire de la Compagnie en Espagne. Un désistement aussi discret n'empêcha pas l'Apôtre d'Andalousie d'être soupçonné d'impureté de sang.⁵⁰

In addition to this, Juan de Avila in 1551 became ill with an affliction that never left him.

But health was not the main problem. The years between 1550-1560 were fraught with the gradual increase of intolerance and fanaticism. Suspicion ruled -- the converso and alumbrado were viewed as evil and dangerous. A reactionary period had begun, and Juan de Avila had to cope with it. When in 1556 Ignatius died, there was little hope that he would ever enter the Order.⁵¹

Soon afterwards, in 1559, the tightening of the reins by the institutional Church became more pronounced. Juan de Avila and his disciples felt the tension:

Llegan días tristes para Avila y los suyos. En 1559 es incluido en el Cathalogus inquisitorial el Audi, filia del P. Avila, y son procesados y quemados en Sevilla y Valladolid varios de sus amigos y antiguos discípulos: un hijo del Conde de Bailén y hermano de Diego de Guzmán, el maestro García Arias, o Maestro Blanco, para quien hay alguna carta en el Epistolario espiritual de Avila, Fr. Domingo de Rojas.⁵²

The last fourteen years of San Juan's life were spent in Montilla, close to the convent of Santa Clara and the home of the Marquesa de Priego, a long-time friend. Those years were active, for he revised the Audi, filia, wrote many papers, said Mass for the Sisters, heard confessions, and took care of matters for his many friends.

In 1559, as we saw above, the Audi, filia I was placed on the Index of the Inquisition. From that date on until he died in 1569, he reworked his book. Once again he was confronted by the Institution, and he now attempted to revise the book so that it would be acceptable. The Council of Trent was still to be completed, and Juan de Avila was caught between the sessions. It was a tumultuous, confusing, and in a sense tragic, time for him. He saw what was happening, and there was little that he could do to stop it.

Toward the end of his life, there was a brief encounter with

Sta. Teresa de Avila. It was by way of correspondence, but it points out the reputation that San Juan had for being a saintly and learned person. At the same time, we see clearly revealed the suspicions on the part of the Inquisition concerning Sta. Teresa and her prayer life. In 1568, with her Libro de la vida completed, she was advised by the Inquisition to submit her book to Juan de Avila to be read.⁵³ She agreed to do this, since many of the aspects of prayer she described were suspect by others. Soon after Juan de Avila's death, Sta. Teresa was brought before the Inquisition. In a careful study of her case, as well as of the repercussions that a trial of this nature had on anyone involved with the Tribunal, Enrique Llamas Martínez says:

El caso de Santa Teresa de Jesús y la Inquisición española constituye uno de esos fenómenos típicos del siglo XVI, que demuestran el rigor y la meticulosidad puntillosa con que el santo Tribunal actuaba contra cualquier acusado. No era necesaria la evidencia, ni siquiera la certeza del hecho puesto en litigio, para intervenir. Bastaba la sospecha, o la acusación más o menos fundada. La sentencia final no se dictaba hasta que los atestados resultaban probados con suficiente claridad y seguridad. Pero, la sola intervención inquisitorial era una mancha, o una nota vitanda y difamante.⁵⁴

We can recall Juan de Avila's trial and subsequent imprisonment and appreciate the developments that have been noted about his life. The suspicions concerning Sta. Teresa are in many instances similar to those surrounding San Juan. She was accused of being an alumbrada and was compared to Magdalena de la Cruz, a woman who had been tried in 1546 and found to be a liar. Anyone different became a target for the Inquisition, and lives of intense prayer were sometimes regarded as the work of the devil. The major problem regarding Sta. Teresa, however, was her relationship with a man named Maestro Bernardino de Carleval. Carleval was a disciple of Juan de Avila and had in 1546 been given the

position of professor of Positivo at the University of Baeza. He was highly regarded by Juan de Avila as being a scholarly and holy person.

At Sta. Teresa's trial in 1575, the name of Carleval appears:

Después de todo, juzgamos que la clave de todo este proceso inquisitorial contra la Madre Teresa reside en su relación con el doctor Carleval, por lo que se refiere a su vida y conducta espiritual. Este desvió muy pronto hacia el libro de la Vida, actuando tal vez también por la intervención de la Princesa de Eboli.⁵⁵

The entire period was fraught with rivalries among religious orders, and among the cristianos viejos and cristianos nuevos or conversos. The fact that Sta. Teresa was herself of converso descent no doubt made the investigators more suspicious. This is not an area that Llamas Martínez develops, for whatever reasons might exist. Accusations against Sta. Teresa were dropped, and there was no imprisonment involved with her case.

When Teresa de Avila approached Juan de Avila about her Vida, she wanted his opinion of it to allay the fears in her mind.⁵⁶ To her way of thinking, his approval would mean that it was not heretical or unorthodox. Juan de Avila's reply, on September 12, 1568, after he looked the book over, is indicative of what he thought about its merits and also about the care that should be taken with it. The excerpts are from a long letter that merits attention:

El libro no está para salir a manos de muchos, porque ha menester limar las palabras de él en algunas partes; en otras, declararlas; y otras cosas hay que al espíritu de vuestra merced pueden ser provechosas, y no lo serían a quien las siguiese; porque las cosas particulares por donde Dios lleva a unos, no son para otros...

La doctrina de la oración está buena por la mayor parte, y muy bien puede vuestra merced fiarse de ella y seguirla; y en los raptos hallo las señas que tienen los que son verdaderos...

Vuestra merced siga su camino, mas siempre con recelo de los ladrones y preguntando por el camino derecho; y dé gracias a nuestro Señor, que le ha dado su amor y el propio conocimiento, y amor de penitencia y de cruz...

Yo no puedo creer que he escrito esto en mis fuerzas, pues no las tengo; pero la oración de vuestra merced lo ha hecho.⁵⁷

At the end of this letter, we see references to his physical weakness. By this time he was very ill with gallstones and complications of the liver and kidneys. His condition worsened during 1568, and on May 10, 1569, he died. The burial place was at the Colegio of the Jesuits in Montilla, the place where he wished to be buried.

The problems that he encountered during his lifetime ended for him on that day, but they were perpetuated in his disciples during the years ahead. Maestro Carleval, mentioned above, was brought to trial by the Inquisition from 1572-1574 with other of San Juan's followers: Diego Guzmán, Pedro de Ojeda, Francisco García, and doctor Molina. "Se les acusaba de mesianismo, de profesar las doctrinas de los alumbrados, de iluministas, haciéndoles otros muchos cargos."⁵⁸ Sala Balust has left us an informative article "En torno al grupo de alumbrados de Llerena", in which he reveals the specific declamations brought against Juan de Avila's disciples. In essence, they are:

1. They teach people to pray for long periods of time.
2. They receive Communion frequently and under various forms
"...[dando] a entender que con más formas se da más gracia..."
3. One of the teachings is that servants of God must suffer grave temptations.
4. They are magicians and sorcerers and have a pact with the devil.⁵⁹

From what has been said above about the trial of Sta. Teresa and that of San Juan's disciples, and about his own persecution, one begins to realize why it was that Juan de Avila was so reluctant to write down his own experiences in prayer. Writings were tampered with, and because of this he must have been keenly preoccupied with what at a fu-

ture time might be used against him. As it was, he changed sections of the Audi, filia to conform more to a clearly orthodox position. He himself was never out of line with the teaching authority of the Church, but because of the alumbrados and his closeness to them, he took a great deal of trouble to allay any suspicions regarding his positions. In addition to this, he also must have been aware of the fact that he was respected and revered by many of his peers and by people in general. Responsibility to them undoubtedly made him more cautious. By the time he was older, his reputation had spread as far as Rome. What he said and wrote were listened to, and he knew that.

The process of beatification began in 1623 and was finalized in 1894. For an analysis of this one can turn once again to the fine introduction in the BAC edition. The canonization cause began in 1894 and ended in 1970, when Beato Juan de Avila became San Juan de Avila. It is interesting to note that he was one of the last of the group of people of his time to be canonized. St. Ignatius, San Juan de la Cruz, Sta. Teresa de Avila, and even his convert, San Juan de Dios, all preceded him. One can speculate and say that this is no doubt the way he would have wanted it. We know that is the way it turned out. It was not until after Vatican Council II that he was raised to the ranks of sainthood. A certain shadow of suspicion hung over him, the result, one can surmise, of facts known about his life. The reality of his converso heritage was somehow "lost" in the process of beatification and canonization. But there were other things which were known about him. He was brought before the Inquisition and imprisoned once, and his most well known work, the Audi, filia, had been censured and placed on the Index. In addition to this, as will be demonstrated, his ideas

about justification did not correspond entirely with those promulgated at Trent. He was a marginal figure, one not fully a part of the institutionalized Church of his time. A certain aura of aloofness had characterized him, and he did not feel a part of the Spanish Church as it existed when he lived. His position was radical, and because of that, he found himself separated from the mainstream. It took, therefore, four hundred years for the official Church of the "modern" world to adopt him formally into its ranks of saints. Much a man of his times, he was also a man of today, caught in the middle of 16th century Spain.

The Council of Trent, to which particular attention will be paid in chapter V, set the tone for the four hundred years that it took to recognize Juan de Avila as a saint. His spirituality, like that of Erasmus and Juan de Valdés, exhibits an open and receptive position regarding problems that the Church encountered and with which it is, in fact, still coping. His was a warm, unthreatened spirit, unlike, to our way of thinking, that which emerged from the sessions at Trent. For San Juan, laws were not as important as compassion, and he was more concerned with seeing that previously enacted decrees were complied with than making new ones. Though thoroughly aware of Protestantism and of the problems it presented to Catholicism, Juan de Avila perceived that the fault did not lie as much with the protestors as with those against whom the protest was waged. His was an effort of moral reform, both of the Papacy and the layman. This notion of reform, though directed at those of his time, is as relevant to the Church today as it was then.

Footnotes, Chapter I

¹See Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, España, un enigma histórico (Buenos Aires: ed. Sudamericana, 1971), vol. 2.

²See works by Américo Castro, especially De la edad conflictiva (Madrid: Taurus, 1961). See also Benzion Netanyahu, The Marranos of Spain, from the Late XIVth to the Early XVIth Century (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1966).

³See the Obras completas del Santo maestro Juan de Avila (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 3-389. This critical edition has been prepared by Luis Sala Balust and Francisco Martín Hernández.

⁴Ibid., p. 15.

⁵Fray Luis de Granada and Licenciado Luis Muñoz, Vidas del Padre Maestro Juan de Avila (Barcelona: Flors, 1964), p. 161.

⁶Sta. Teresa de Avila, Obras (Burgos: Editorial de «El Monte Carmelo», 1954), p. 2.

⁷About this, Sala Balust says: "Su madre era ciertamente como de la familia de los Xixones, de linaje de hijosdalgo; su padre procedía más o menos remotamente de cristianos nuevos. El origen judío del P. Avila aparecerá claramente más adelante en sus relaciones con los jesuitas. El P. Villanueva en 1552, en los momentos difíciles de Silíceo, no se atreve ir a entrevistarse con Avila «porque Avila también tiene su raza»." (Obras completas, vol. 1, p. 19)

⁸In the royal edict of 1510, regarding conversos, the following is stated: "...ni hijo ni nieto de condenado, no pueda pasar ni estar en estas dichas Indias..." Ibid., p. 34.

⁹Muñoz, op. cit., pp. 164-165.

¹⁰See, for example, Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, Las corrientes de espiritualidad entre los Dominicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI (Salamanca, 1941); Francisco Eguiagaray Bohigas, Los intelectuales españoles de Carlos V (Madrid, 1965); El tránsito de la Edad Media al Renacimiento (Madrid, 1967); Alvaro Huerga, Predicadores, alumbrados e Inquisición en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 1973); José Antonio Maravall, Carlos V y el pensamiento político del Renacimiento (Madrid, 1960), and La oposición política bajo los Austrias (Barcelona, 1972); Antonio Márquez, Los alumbrados (Madrid, 1972); Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Espiritualidad y literatura en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 1968); Antonio Martí, La preceptiva retórica española en el Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1972); Melquiades Andrés Martín, Historia de la teología en España (1470-1570) (Roma, 1962); Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Idea imperial de Carlos V (Madrid, 1963); José C. Nieto, Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation (Genève, 1970); Joseph

Pérez, "Des 'Alumbrados' aux 'Chetas', orthodoxie et hétérodoxie dans l'Espagne des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles," Bulletin Hispanique, 3-4 (1974); Robert Ricard, Estudios de literatura religiosa española (Madrid, 1964); Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, Espiritualidad española (Madrid, 1961); Luis Sala Balust, "En torno al grupo de alumbrados de Llerena," cited above; Albert Sicroff, Les controverses des statuts de "purité de sang" (Paris, 1960); J. I. Tellechea Idígoras, El Arzobispo Carranza y su tiempo (Madrid, 1968).

¹¹Eugenio Asensio, "El erasmismo y las corrientes espirituales de afines," Revista de Filología Española, vol. 36 (1952), p. 44.

¹²Alfonso de Zamora, El manuscrito apologético (Madrid/Barcelona: Consejo de Investigaciones Científicas Instituto "Arias Montano", 1950), pp. 67-68.

¹³"El recogimiento es la espiritualidad que florece entonces entre los franciscanos reformados de Castilla la Nueva. Es un florecimiento del misticismo alentado por Cisneros, que encontrará su expresión más rica y matizada en el Tercer abecedario espiritual de Fr. Francisco de Osuna. Es un método por el cual el alma busca a Dios en su propio seno, en un desprendimiento tan total del mundo, que deja a un lado el pensamiento de toda cosa creada, y hasta todo pensamiento discursivo." Marcel Bataillon, Erasmo y España (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966), p. 167.

¹⁴José C. Nieto, Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1970), p. 56.

¹⁵Luis Sala Balust, "La espiritualidad en la primera mitad del siglo XVI," El tránsito de la Edad Media al Renacimiento (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Instituto "Jerónimo Zurita", 1967), p. 173.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., pp. 12-13. Another interesting study which examines the atmosphere at Alcalá has been provided by Antonio Marín Ocete. He concludes: "Las enseñanzas filológicas, preparatorias del estudio de la Teología se organizan en Facultad independiente y las lenguas reciben una estimación extraordinaria, al ser consideradas como instrumento indispensable para la Teología y la Escriturística. Un celo fecundo mantuvo las humanidades en la nueva Universidad y sus frutos se mostraron abundantes en los decenios siguientes. El que Cisneros les atribuyese un valor adjetivo de la ciencia teológica no modifica el hecho de su espléndido desarrollo complutense. Entre un total de trece cátedras creadas en las primeras constituciones, cuatro eran de Artes, tres de Teología, dos de Medicina, una de Derecho canónico, tres de Gramática y varias de lenguas. De las de Gramática una estaba dedicada a la Retórica en la que ésta se leía durante tres meses y en los restantes del año era la gramática. Al promulgarse las segundas constituciones, el año 1517, se dedicó esta cátedra a retórica durante tres meses a poesía y oratoria lo demás del

curso." (Antonio Marín Ocete, El Arzobispo don Pedro Guerrero (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Instituto Enrique Flores, 1970), vol. 1, p. 17.

¹⁸Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 979.

¹⁹Melquiades Andrés Martín, Historia de la teología en España (1470-1570) (Roma: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1962), p. 65.

²⁰Ibid. The influence of St. Paul on the reformers was profound. Briefly, the term paulinismo came to characterize the importance of inner devotion, a search for truth by study of Scripture, and a sincere effort to practice the Christian virtues. For an explanation of the movement, see M. Bataillon, Erasmo y España, pp. 198-206.

²¹Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, Domingo de Soto (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1961), p. 42.

²²See Fr. Luis de Getino, Vida e ideario del Mtro. Fr. Pablo de León (Salamanca, 1935). "Como los comuneros dominicos fueron muchos y algunos tan caracterizados, el Condestable, que era especial protector de la Orden y amigo particular del P. Pedro Covarrubias, del P. Francisco de Vitoria y del P. Hurtado, escribe al Emperador con fecha 24 de mayo de 1521: «La raíz de la revuelta destes reinos han causado conversos; los cuales por la misma causa que hicieron aquello desean destruir la Orden de Sant Domingo, ques la que les hace la guerra...»". p. 52.

²³The Eucharist is treated most frequently in the sermons. See, for example, sermons 35-58. The central message of each one revolves around the importance of the Eucharist.

²⁴Contreras' influence on Juan de Avila is discussed in Vol. I of the BAC edition, pp. 31-33. He is characterized as "un varón espiritual, austero, muy dado a la oración y predicador de nota." (p. 32).

²⁵For further information on Valtanás, see the above-mentioned Vol. I (pp. 35-36), as well as: Fr. Domingo de Valtanás, Apología sobre ciertas materias morales en que hay opinión (Barcelona: Flors, 1963) and M. Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., pp. 543-545.

²⁶Fr. Domingo de Valtanás, Apología sobre ciertas materias morales en que hay opinión (Barcelona: Flors, 1963), pp. 18-19.

²⁷Avila, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 38.

²⁸Ibid., p. 40.

²⁹Ibid., p. 43.

³⁰Avila, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 63.

³¹Ibid., p. 37.

³²Sala Balust provides information about this work on pp. 70-71 of the Introduction to the BAC edition.

³³At the end of the introduction (written by Sala Balust) to don Pedro's biography, we find an extremely interesting section. It reads: "Y asimismo comprenderá la oportunidad de la censura negativa de Fr. Cristóbal de Ovalle que no autoriza la inclusión de la vida de doña Sancha escrita por el Apóstol de Andalucía, entre las Obras de este: «La vida -- dice -- de doña Sancha Carrillo, que esté en gloria, es santísima y de mucha edificación, pero llena de muchas revelaciones y favores exteriores de Nuestro Señor. Los tiempos corren algo sospechosos en esta materia. No parece conveniente poner tropiezo a mujeres flacas con tales lecturas»." Avila, Avisos y reglas cristianas sobre aquel verso de David Audi, filia (Barcelona: Flors, 1963), p. 287.

³⁴Ibid., p. 289.

³⁵Ibid., p. 290.

³⁶Ibid., p. 299.

³⁷"Y esta fue que siendo poderosamente tentada del espíritu de la fornicación con aquel soplo infernal con que él hace arder las brasas de nuestras pasiones, viendo ella que esto tocaba a la fe y pureza virginal que ella había ofrecido a su Esposo, concibió en su ánima tan grande indignación contra el espíritu malo, que no contenta con los remedios ordinarios de la señal de la cruz y de la oración, acometió otro más poderoso y más extraordinario." Granada, op. cit., p. 115.

³⁸Avila, Avisos, op. cit., pp. 303-304.

³⁹Avila, Obras, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 70.

⁴⁰For further information on San Juan de Dios, see Mariano Tomás, San Juan de Dios (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1939).

⁴¹See, for example, Laureano Castán, "Un gran pedagogo español en el siglo XVI," Revista Española de Pedagogía, 15 (1957), pp. 296-311; "Las realizaciones pedagógicas del Maestro Avila," Revista Española de Pedagogía, 16 (1958), pp. 3-27; Ildefonso Romero García, "El maestro Juan de Avila en la historia de la pedagogía," Cuadernos de Estudios Manchegos, 3 (1949), pp. 7-16.

⁴²I. Romero García has listed the schools: "Entre los primeros se catalogan los ya mencionados de la Asunción de Córdoba, el de Granada, la Universidad de Baeza, sobre todo, el de Jerez de la Frontera...

Entre los segundos, llamadas Escuelas simplemente o Escuelas de Doctrinos, figuran las de Ubeda, fundadas y dirigidas muchos años por su discípulo D. Diego de Guzmán. Las de S. Nicasio en Priego, por la Condesa de Feria. Las de Granada, en el pontificado de don Gaspar

de Avalos. Las de Cádiz, de su discípulo don Juan de Lequeitio. Las de Jerez y Sevilla. Las de Alcalá de Guadaíra, Palma de Río, Écija y Córdoba. Con las de la Trinidad de Baeza y los cuatro Colegios mayores...llegan a los 15, que en noviembre de 1553 ofrece a los Padres de la Compañía con generosidad de verdadero santo." Ildefonso Romero García, "El maestro Juan de Avila en la historia de la pedagogía," Cuaderno de Estudios manchegos, 3 (1949), p. 12.

⁴³The founding of this school, and Juan de Avila's involvement with it, is treated in Volume I of the BAC edition, pp. 79-81.

⁴⁴Avila, Obras, vol. 1, p. 79.

⁴⁵Sala Balust says: "En efecto, hasta el presente hemos visto tratar, en la correspondencia que estamos estudiando, de la entrega de los colegios de Jerez, Córdoba y Baeza. Más adelante, también el de Beas; pero de ninguno más." Avila, Obras, vol. 1, p. 163.

⁴⁶Avila, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 662-663.

⁴⁷Albert A. Sicroff, Les controverses des statuts de «Pureté de sang» en Espagne du XV^e au XVII^e siècle (Paris: Didier, 1960). See also A. Domínguez Ortiz, La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la edad moderna (Madrid, 1955).

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 138.

⁴⁹"Silíceo s'indignait tout d'abord de ce que les partisans d'Ignace se soient attribué le nom de «Compagnie de Jésus». Est-ce que cela voulait dire que tous les autres Chrétiens étaient d'une autre compagnie? Les membres de la Compagnie prétendaient avoir le droit d'entendre les fidèles en confession et de prêcher sans se soumettre au préalable à un examen de Silíceo." (Ibid., p. 271).

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 263.

⁵¹"Las gestiones por la entrada de Avila habían terminado. El Maestro, retirado en Montilla, sigue siendo, especialmente por medio de sus cartas, el alma de su escuela. Pero ésta ha perdido ya mucho de su empuje arrollador. Es cierto que queda todavía en Baeza un núcleo fuerte, pero la escuela no crece. Le falta el impulso y el arrojo del P. Avila, que vaya delante en las empresas. Esto lo ha dejado él a la Compañía de Ignacio. Mientras tanto, Juan de Avila sigue al frente de aquellos discípulos, que llevan sobre sí el estigma de ser nuevos cristianos, por la mayor parte, y han de ser pronto blanco de la Inquisición por su espiritualidad sospechosa de iluminismo." Avila, Obras, op. cit., l. p. 184.

⁵²Luis Sala Balust, "En torno al grupo de alumbrados de Llerena," Corrientes espirituales en la España del siglo XVI, (Barcelona: Flors, 1963), p. 511.

⁵³"Le aconsejó, no obstante, que acudiese al Maestro San Juan

de Avila, quien se encontraba entonces en Montilla, uno de los árbitros más autorizados en materia de espíritu. Su respuesta no admitiría réplicas y podría ser conclusiva." Enrique Llamas Martínez, Santa Teresa de Jesús y la Inquisición española (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Instituto "Francisco Suárez", 1972), p. 234.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 37.

⁵⁶The letter written by Sta. Teresa to doña Luisa de la Cerda (May 27, 1568) reveals how urgent this matter was to her: "Ya escribí a Vuestra Señoría en la carta que dejé en Malagón, que pienso que el demonio estorba que ese mi negocio no vea el Maestro Avila; no querría que se muriese primero, que sería harto desmán. Suplico a Vuestra Señoría, pues está tan cerca, se le envíe con mensajero propio, sellado, y le escriba Vuestra Señoría encargándole mucho que él ha gana de verle, y le leerá en pudiendo." (Sta. Teresa de Avila, op. cit., p. 1080).

⁵⁷Avila, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 573-576. Sta. Teresa's delight in his response is seen in another letter to doña Luisa: "«Lo del libro trai vuestra señoría tan bien negociado que no puede ser mejor, y ansí olvido cuántas rabias me ha hecho. El Mtro. Avila me escribe largo y le contenta todo; sólo dice que es menester declarar más unas cosas y mudar los vocablos de otras; que esto es fácil. Buena obra ha hecho vuestra señoría; el Señor se lo pagará...Harto me he holgado de ver tan buen recaudo, porque importa mucho; bien parece quien aconsejó se enviase»." (Avila, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 323).

⁵⁸Llamas Martínez, op. cit., p. 30.

⁵⁹Sala Balust, "En torno al grupo de alumbrados de Llerena," op. cit., pp. 516-517.

CHAPTER II

PREACHING

Background

When one approaches the subject of preaching in the sixteenth century in Spain, it is necessary to turn for a moment to the medieval period. Important works have been published on the subject, especially in French and English medieval preaching.¹ Few books, however, have come from Spain. One study by Francisco Rico, Predicación y literatura en la España medieval, recently published (1977), does shed light on its development.² Though brief, it explores the nature of medieval preaching and helps to clarify what was happening during that period. Tracing the evolution of preaching from its early period, Rico concludes that for the first twelve centuries preaching was essentially an informal matter and sermons had no particular structure. Nor, in effect, was there any great originality shown:

Y hasta mediados del siglo XIII, lo que se hizo fue repetir tal cual a los Padres o proceder al modo libérrimo que ellos cultivaron: justamente, de todos los consejos de San Agustín sobre la predicación, el único realmente fecundo fue la invitación a aprender de memoria los buenos sermones ajenos.³

Harry Caplan, in Of Eloquence, gives a more detailed analysis of what the sermons were like in the Apostolic Age to the twelfth century. In essence the sermon was a brief exposition of a Biblical passage -- an informal discourse or "conversation."⁴

In Spain, during the Visigothic and Muslim dominated periods,

the sermon was relatively unimportant. In a country of diversified cultures this would appear odd at first glance. But it seems likely that the political and cultural makeup of Spain did not lend itself to a systematized method of preaching as it existed in other parts of Europe. Or it may be that there did not exist in Spain the same need for preaching. The co-existence of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity during this period produces a unique "cross-culturization" phenomenon. This has been studied incisively by Américo Castro.⁵ As he observes, Spanish medieval religion was not based on a strict intellectual foundation. It was, rather, contingent upon unique and vital relationships among the three cultures in the Iberian Peninsula. The scarcity of Spanish medieval preaching and its lack of distinction may have been a result of the disintegration of theological learning in medieval Spain.

The scant examples of medieval preaching that are available are cited by Rico: the Roman Homiliarium, a Liber sermonum which was used primarily for Sundays and major feast days, and the Glosas emilianenses, often based on Augustine. Most of the preaching activity was confined to the monastic communities. If sermons do exist, most were in Latin, and popular sermons were not copied at all.⁶

It was in the thirteenth century, during the papacy of Innocent III (1198-1216) that the need for elevating the level of preaching was dealt with. During this period St. Dominic founded the Order of Preachers (1213), and in the same period St. Francis of Assisi established the Franciscans. The latter was also an order that relied heavily on the spoken word for teaching.

Out of this interest in preaching as an art grew an elaborate

structure based on rhetorical principles. Briefly, the first thing a preacher had to do was select a theme, based on the Gospel or Epistle of the day. It should harmonize with the principal subject of the sermon and be founded on Scripture. The sermon was then developed according to a strict set of rules. After the initial call to prayer, there was a division into three parts: the introduction of the theme, its division into parts, and the development of these parts. Each part had to be complimentary to the theme, and each had to be founded on Scripture.⁷

This interest in elevating the level of preaching was short-lived, however. By the middle of the fourteenth century the decline in the level of preaching was evident. The study of Scripture had fallen to a low level, and a vulgarized style of preaching had been initiated. The mendicant orders, especially Franciscans and Dominicans, no longer displayed the fervor in preaching that had briefly been characteristic of them. Preaching became aggressive, emotional, and apologetic, thus unable to move the hearts of those to whom it was directed:

En el siglo XV se afeó el púlpito con muchos y muy notables defectos. No sólo en España sino generalmente en todas partes los ministros del Evangelio predicaban sólo por la vanidad, por divertir y por entretener a los oyentes. ¡Qué de chistes! ¡Qué de sales ajenas a tan augusto y sagrado puesto! Apenas se hallaba en los sermonarios de aquel tiempo más que una cadena de gracejos y sutilezas puerilgs con que se pensaba ganar servilmente el gusto del auditorio.⁸

One of the reasons for this decline was that the mendicant orders and secular clergy found themselves with the role of preaching more and more to the general public, which was composed of differing types of people. As a result the highly structured sermon was combined

with a popular tone -- one which allowed for spontaneity and diversity.⁹

There is one important figure in Spanish medieval preaching about whom much is known, St. Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419). A look at his style of preaching reveals the type of oratorical style which was characteristic of the mendicant Orders during the late medieval period. Garganta, in his book on St. Vincent Ferrer, provides a view of the Dominican. He was not at all interested in the new humanism developing in Italy. Vincent Ferrer was an "hombre auténtico de la Edad Media", a person dedicated to the values of the medieval age and unwilling to admit new perspectives. Thoroughly imbued with traditional scholasticism, he became a representative of the Europe that was disappearing.

There are no sermons written by St. Vincent Ferrer -- the ones preserved were copied by scribes. These are very sketchy and incomplete, and of those that are extant, the sermons in the common language are far superior to the Latin transcriptions.

Vincent Ferrer evidently preached in the Valencian and Catalan languages. People heard him from a distance, and though they might not have understood the language he spoke (he also traveled through Europe preaching), they claimed to have understood him. Eyewitness accounts are available, and some say that he used very expressive gestures when he knew the people could not understand him. But he must have known something of these languages:

Por lo menos conocería muchísimas palabras y no pocos giros peculiares de las diversas lenguas románicas...Lo lógico es suponer que utilizaba todos sus conocimientos, más o menos ricos, para llegar a su público en cada caso.¹⁰

Most of the time he preached for three hours, and once a sermon lasted for six. His use of language was always geared to the people to whom he preached; it was direct, lively, and sometimes crude.

M. Sanchís Guarner coincides in maintaining that St. Vincent was uninterested in humanism and that he employed a common language rather than a literary one. The reason for this was that Ferrer's purpose was not artistic but rather missionary oriented. Characteristic of the style of the sermons is a great profusion of interjections, exclamations, and onomatopoeia:

"La gallina, que quan haurà post los ous, cride: ca, ca, ca!", "Quan els corbatons són nats...han fam, e per ço lleven alt al cel lo cap, cridant a Déu: buu, buu!"; "E la malvada muller... mirave'l e reie -- se'n: ha, ha, ha!"; "Vosaltres, preveres, que haljats diligència en dir vostre ofici distinctament, no xam, xam, so d'aram". Les exclamacions apareixen moltes vegades transcrites amb les vocals repetides per tal d'expressar la prolongació amb què eren pronunciades: Eeh!, Hoomens!, Ahahai!, Oooi!, etc.¹¹

He concludes the analysis by adding the fact that Ferrer did use cultured forms in his sermons, but that they responded to a medieval rather than to a humanistic Renaissance outlook.

There is little doubt that St. Vincent Ferrer's preaching was very popular. Wherever he went, crowds of people listened. His dynamism and spontaneity were responsible for this, and though he could be crude, it is generally agreed that he deserves a place of distinction in medieval religious literature.¹²

In general, however, one is confronted with the fact that preaching had become imbued with vulgar terminology which did little or nothing to edify the people. Words were emphasized by gestures which were both undignified and unnecessary. Not only was this the case, but Scriptural meanings were distorted to suit the pleasure of

the preacher, and little effort at serious study was made.

An exception to this was Fray Hernando de Talavera. Born in 1428 and a descendant of cristianos nuevos (conversos), Talavera entered the Order of St. Jerome, the Jerónimos. He was a precursor of Cisneros as regards the reform of religious Orders, and in 1474 was made confessor of Isabel the Catholic. Talavera attained the position of Archbishop of Avila and later of Granada. The latter post was very important, and had he used it for his own means, he could have become very wealthy. He chose, however, a very simple and poor life, one which Juan de Avila would also exemplify in the following century.

The role Talavera played in the reform of preaching was an important one. Indeed, he appears to be a revolutionary figure:

Sus sermones evitan la sutileza dogmática para fundarse en el terreno liso y llano de la acción moral. Los entiende lo mismo la simple vejezuela que el más docto letrado...Lo que él procura es atraer el pueblo a la iglesia concediéndole una participación más amplia en la liturgia: reemplaza los responsos con cánticos piadosos apropiados a las lecciones, y consigue de ese modo que los fieles acudan a maitines lo mismo que a misa. Se sirve del teatro religioso para conmover los corazones.¹³

As we will see during the course of this chapter, Juan de Avila shared many of Talavera's ideas. His efforts were to speak in a moving, but intelligible fashion. He was not interested in demonstrating his knowledge of theology, nor in preaching to the congregation in a complex rhetorical style. A biographer has this to say about Hernando de Talavera:

«...sus sermones -- dice un coetáneo -- eran diferentes de los que hacían comunmente otros, que muchos son ad pompam: predicava de manera que aunque dezía cosas arduas y muy sotiles y de grandes misterios, la más simple vejezita del auditorio las entendería tan bien como el que más sabía...y por eso sus sermones parecían tan llanos, que algunos dezían que departía y no predicava».¹⁴

The same could be said about San Juan.

Francisco Márquez, in his preliminary study of Talavera's Católica impugnación, points out the similarities between Juan de Avila and the archbishop of Granada. The need that Talavera saw to incorporate the converso into the mainstream of society, his tolerant and rational approach to the problems of different religions relating to Catholicism, and his charitable outlook are also characteristic of Juan de Avila.¹⁵ The latter must have seen in Talavera a figure to be imitated and admired. Though he does not refer to him personally, the example of Talavera seems to have imprinted itself on his mind and heart. These two men, similar in background, represent a spirituality of reform which, if it had been adopted, would have reshaped the course of events which was to take place shortly afterwards at Trent.

There were other reformers as well, and we now turn to one of them and to another important happening which erupted during the first half of the sixteenth century, the upheaval of the Comunidades wars. These were essentially a movement of the class of workers and merchants protesting conditions in Castilla, primarily the fiscal policies of Charles V. It was also a nationalistic movement which protested the fact that foreigners were governing the country. Another factor was the populist and anti-nobility stance:

La nobleza, especialmente la alta, es considerada con desprecio por el pueblo castellano, pues, siendo los llamados a defender la dignidad nacional han hecho el juego a los extranjeros buscando sólo satisfacer sus intereses.¹⁶

Joseph Pérez has written of the involvement of the clergy in Valladolid from 1517-1518. There were what he calls sermons subversifs preached against the policies of Charles V. We note that two years

later the Comunidades wars broke out. These sermons were preached for the most part by Franciscans, and it is interesting to see the reasons Pérez mentions for this criticism:

Le clergé castillan, dans la mesure où les documents cités permettent de reconstituer son état d'esprit, nous paraît ainsi, a cours de premier séjour de Charles-Quint en Espagne, animé de sentiments franchement hostiles au nouveau personnel politique. Le clergé séculier paraît surtout sensible aux atteintes portées à ses privilèges fiscaux. Il n'hésite pas cependant à élever le débat. Avec ses moines, c'est toute l'orientation de la politique générale qui est condamnée.¹⁷

An example of this type of political activism in preaching can be found in Pablo de León, a Dominican priest. He was very much involved with the comunidades, and it was around 1520 that he wrote the Guía del cielo. The book circulated in Salamanca in 1528 and was published in 1553. Fr. Luis Getino has written about this enthusiastic and critical reformer in his book, Vida e ideario del Mtro. Fr. Pablo de León. In 1509, the Dominican was in Valladolid, and then he "disappeared" for six years. Getino expresses the possibility that he was preaching in the mountains of Asturias. During the Comunidades wars, he was elected procurador of León, and this initiated a series of activities which saw him become intensely involved in the comunero movement.

In the Guía del cielo is found criticism of the clergy and nobility, as well as a large portion dealing with establishing ties of Christian brotherhood and reforming the Church. There is striking similarity between Juan de Avila and Fr. Pablo, though the latter's style is far from being as refined as the former's. But if the reader were not aware that the following was from the Guía, it could be taken as a quote from one of Juan de Avila's writings:

Lo tercero ver que todos somos hermanos y descendemos de un padre y una madre...

I si esto considerasen los grandes en los bienes deste mundo, quizá no habría tanta soberbia en algunos, a los cuales parece que no son engendrados en la tierra, sino haber caído del cielo. ¡Ni aun ternían hombres por siervos!

¡Oh cuán triste es vivir entre enemigos y no amigos! Es como la muerte. Luego razón hay para amar los prójimos, pues sin este amor no hay consolación.¹⁸

One of the comunero ideals, and one which Pablo de León fought for, was justice for the workers and reform of ownership of property, both by Church and State. This surfaces in his writings on amor del prójimo. San Juan de Avila likewise treats this theme extensively, as will be seen. Because the two are so similar in their ideas, and since the possibility of Juan de Avila's involvement with the comuneros has been suggested (ch. I), it seems safe to say that there could have been direct, or indirect, contact between the two men. Pablo de León develops an ideology of love of neighbor, citing its advantages and laying down specific rules which people should follow when dealing with their neighbor.¹⁹ Not only did he set down rules of comportment, but he also developed a doctrine of the effects of charity, how to give alms, and types of love of neighbor, of which there were three: (1) between a father and his children, (2) between a man and wife, and (3) between good people and between friends and enemies.²⁰

Getino alludes to Fr. Pablo's style, though not in great detail. It is interesting to note what he says, however, for it provides a point of reference with which to compare Juan de Avila's method of expression:

...para Fr. Pablo no existían los Coroneles, Mayor, Erasmo, Budeo, Valla, ni tantos otros renacientes, a los cuales o a muchos de ellos hubo de conocer en París. Ni siquiera se acuerda de Antonio de Florencia, de Gersón y de otros tratadistas más acomodados a sus gustos. Para él hay bastante con

la Sagrada Escritura que suele alegar siempre y con verdadera familiaridad, complaciéndose luego en citar algún Santo Padre, sobre todo a San Agustín y alguna que otra vez a Aristóteles, Tulio y Séneca. Su obra es un plato aristotélico tomista relleno de textos escriturarios y patrísticos y de sus propias y apasionadas descripciones.²¹

His style is simple, direct, and spontaneous. It is also characterized by a certain harshness, which Getino believes was for him a necessity:

La dulzura de algunos períodos no borra la aspereza de la mayor parte, aspereza que es obligada, que es espontánea, que dice con el tono reformativo de toda la obra...Su manera es nervuda, enérgica y singularmente espontánea, digna de un comunero, de un luchador, que capitanea populares falanjes y las conduce a través de ásperos breñales.²²

From this, one can conclude that Fr. Pablo was interested more in what he was saying than in how it was said. He had a utilitarian style which sometimes led to a lack of elegance and refinement. Juan de Avila, on the contrary, while always interested in the message, never lost his sense of beauty of expression.

There was another type of preaching that was present in Spain during Avila's time -- that which might be labeled "courtly preaching". Its best representative is Antonio de Guevara. He made much use of exaggeration and played with words, detracting from what he was saying. F. Márquez has characterized his style: "Se trata de un retórico prolijo y frívolo, que no puede ser tomado en serio y a quien no hay manera de defender ni rehabilitar como autor ascético."²³ Not only is this the case, but Guevara did not have a spiritual doctrine to impart to the people, and his emphasis was on diversion rather than instruction. His criticisms, many of which we also find in Juan de Avila, were leveled at kings, monasteries, priests, or bishops. But Guevara's was not a constructive role, nor was his tone sincere. Márquez, while admiring the creative capacity of Guevara, associates his oratory with

a lavish court:

Sería muy injusto no reservar una palabra de admiración y aprecio para su maestría y consumada técnica oratoria, cuyo esplendor se ajusta tan bien con el ambiente de una corte dominada por el lujo y ampulosidad del ceremonial borgoñón importado por el Emperador: exclamaciones y períodos ideales para resbalar sobre sedas y terciopelos, para vibrar entre oros y joyas centellantes. Y sin embargo, tomada en la dosis que nos ofrecen estas obras religiosas, toda esa facundia agobia por su tono escasamente sincero y la ausencia de emoción religiosa de buena ley.²⁴

As one compares Juan de Avila with Guevara, it is evident that they are at opposite ends of the spectrum. If Guevara enjoyed the courtly life, San Juan would have none of it. In a future chapter we will see what he recommends specifically for those who govern others. For the present, two quotes about life in the court serve to illustrate his feelings about it. The following deals with games of chance:

Y lo peor es que en la corte, y, como dicen, en la faz del mismo rey, se juegan mayores cantidades que en otras partes, siendo ejemplo de maldad el lugar que había de ser de virtud. Gran descato es de la majestad real y de sus leyes hacer esto tan cerca de él, y gran cargo de conciencia suyo el permitirlo, y grande estorbo para que en los otros lugares del reino no se quiten, antes se confirmen los juegos y tomen licencia para ello, pues error cui non resistitur, approbatur.²⁵

One further example demonstrates how strongly he felt about the abuses at the Court. This time he speaks about the King and the appropriate dress to be worn by a sovereign in a procession:

Y si el rey no tuviere tanta humildad para desnudarse de su real vestidura y vestirse de una sobrepelliz, como lo hizo David, a lo menos vaya mañana templadamente vestido. Porque delante de la presencia de Dios, que llevamos en la procesión y que está en la iglesia, no es razón que el rey ni los grandes tengan aquel aparato de estrados como en otras suelen tener; pues que ellos mismos quieren que sus vasallos no tomen estas honras estando en los palacios y presencia del rey o de los otros señores. Y si los reyes quisieren con su buen ejemplo y con leyes puestas en ejecución templar la profanidad y demasía de los vestidos, joyas y atavíos de casa, que es la causa de mayores pecados y trabajos que se puede decir, harían a Dios muy mayor servicio, y al reino más cumplido bien, que hizo David en dejar su ropa real y tomar

un vestido bajo, de levita. (II., pp. 516-517)

If Guevara's tone was insincere, it is obvious that Juan de Avila's was not. He did not ridicule or poke fun at vices -- rather, he attempted always to correct them. And his style is characterized by a zeal and fervor that stemmed from a profound conviction that salvation of souls was the mission of every Christian. As one reads his sermons, one cannot help but discern a certain note of urgency. They are often impassioned pleas for a change of heart on the part of the people and the clergy. As his life progressed, this urgency must have grown, for he saw what was happening and knew that to continue on the same course would spell disaster.

The Preaching of Juan de Avila

The role of preaching in San Juan de Avila's life cannot be overemphasized. This ministry was one of his major accomplishments, and the number of his sermons (82) testifies to their importance. He began preaching immediately after his ordination. In 1526 he was in Sevilla in the company of P. Fernando de Contreras and P. Domingo Valtanás. In 1527 we find him in Écija, where his popularity increased rapidly, drawing a great number of disciples to his side. After his encounter with the Inquisition, San Juan went to Córdoba. During this time (1535), Fr. Luis de Granada was also there. The two met and in the words of Sala Balust: "El contacto con el P. Avila señala una época nueva, la más ardiente, de la vida espiritual de Fr. Luis."²⁶ While in Granada the "Apóstol de Andalucía" gained more followers, among them Bernardino de Carleval and Gaspar López. Both were later helpful to Juan de Avila when he went about founding his schools. One of his most

celebrated conversions, that of Doña María de Hoces, took place in Córdoba in 1539. She had been living for eight years or so with the cantor of the principal church in the city. On July 1, San Juan preached a sermon that seemed to be directed to her personally. Afterwards, she went to confession and her life was changed. In 1539-40 he was in Baeza, preparing for the founding of the school there.

These years were among the busiest that Juan de Avila spent, and during them he continued his preaching activities. His involvements took him to Jerez de la Frontera, Jaen, Guadalupe, and Sevilla, to which he returned in 1541. It was there that he met Don Diego de Guzmán, son of the Count of Bailén, and one of the first of his disciples who eventually entered the Jesuits. It is clear that Juan de Avila spent a great deal of his time going from city to city. In each he preached and established himself as a holy man. His contacts were varied and his friends influential. The power of his preaching and the authority he commanded continued to grow as long as he was physically able to preach in the cities and towns of Andalucía. When in 1555 he retired to Montilla, his preaching activities were curtailed. But by then he had established himself as one of the most renowned preachers of his time. Geographically, his preaching itinerary was varied, and distances between towns and cities was not negligible. He preached in Sevilla, Ecija, Alcalá de Guadaira, Lebrija, Jerez de la Frontera, Palma de Río, Córdoba, Granada, Baeza, Andújar, Zafra, Frenegal, Priego, and Montilla. One sees that he was indeed the "Apóstol de Andalucía".

San Juan de Avila's contemporaries have testified to the efficacy of his preaching, and there are important primary sources to

which one can turn for information on preaching in Spain during the sixteenth century.²⁷ They are informative and help clarify the development of the sermon as well as the qualities a preacher must have. Interestingly enough, but not surprisingly, three of them mention Juan de Avila directly. Without going into great detail, it will help to discover what they say about him.

The most eloquent appraisal comes from Fr. Luis de Granada, a disciple who greatly admired him. Granada in his Vida provides one of the most intimate views of Juan de Avila available. Only the letters provide more personal details. Granada praises his great fervor, compassion, wisdom, eloquence in language, humility, and above all his love of God and of his fellow man. Extolling San Juan's preaching abilities, Granada exhibits his own gift for words:

...porque las palabras, que salían como saetas encendidas del corazón que ardía, hacían también arder los corazones de los otros. Ca es tan grande la fuerza de este espíritu, y excede tanto el común estilo y lenguaje de los predicadores, que como los magos de Faraón, vistas las señales que hacía Moises, entendieron que allí entrevenía el dedo de Dios, que es la virtud y fuerza sobrenatural suya, así, cuando este padre predicaba, movido con este gran soplo y espíritu de Dios, luego entendían los hombres que aquellas palabras salían de otro espíritu más alto que el humano.²⁸

This spirit of life was characteristic of Juan de Avila's preaching. His sermons were passionate and affectionate.

Closely related to this ability to move men's hearts was the eloquence of Juan de Avila's language. Granada explains that in order to preach well, one must first know the material and then know how to clarify it. He says that San Juan "...tuvo particular don de ciencia y elocuencia para este ministerio."²⁹

Terrones del Caño also mentions Juan de Avila, though briefly.

Once again, however, we hear words of praise, especially regarding his ability to move souls:

En nuestros tiempos habemos conocido al Padre M. Juan de Avila, al Padre Lobo y otros santos varones, que no revolvían muchos libros para cada sermón, ni decían muchos conceptos, ni esos que decían los enriquecían mucho de Escritura, ejemplos, ni otras galas, y con una razón que decían y un grito que daban abrasaban las entrañas de los oyentes.

...mas cuando salían de oír al Padre Avila, iban todos, las cabezas bajas, callando, sin hablarse unos a otros, encogidos y compungidos a pura fuerza de la virtud y excelente santidad del predicador.³⁰

Fr. Agustín Salucio, O. P. has more to say about him, and all is in the vein of praise. In defining what he considers to be a good preacher, he says that he must have a sound knowledge of the Scriptures, be virtuous in his life-style, frequent the sacraments, and have a true disdain for the world and its temptations. Juan de Avila is one he mentions specifically as meeting these requirements. A preacher should also preach frequently, thus reaping the benefits of doing so:

Quien a la continua predica, podrá un año no leer sino en San Gregorio; y otro, en solo San Ambrosio. Porque, de esa manera, siempre tendrá cosas que no haya dicho el año pasado. Y así lo usa el padre maestro Avila; y basta con su ejemplo para que esto quede aprobado.³¹

The Modo de predicar of Fr. Diego de Estella, published in 1570, one year after Juan de Avila had died, clearly outlines the new style of preaching that developed during the sixteenth century. The examples cited as to how a sermon should be developed correspond closely with the method used by San Juan. That Estella was familiar with our saint is revealed in Martínez Bujanda's study on Estella.³² If not personally acquainted, these two preachers were definitely akin to one another in spirit. The Modo de predicar, besides setting down rules to be observed by a preacher, provides a base for knowledge of how the

medieval preachers were regarded by the reformers of the sixteenth century. Estella stresses the comportment of preachers, i.e. how one should act in the pulpit. Fr. Luis de Granada also deals with this in the Rhetórica. It was something that the sixteenth century reformers felt very strongly about. They reject the exaggerated movements and constantly raised voices which characterized the preaching to which we have referred earlier.³³

Another rule about preaching that is stressed by the writers mentioned is the absolute necessity of studying Scripture. The emphasis that Juan de Avila placed on this has already been mentioned. Estella, in a passage referring to the medieval preachers who distorted the meaning of Scripture, has this to say:

Entraron bárbaros los años pasados y destruyeron el estilo antiguo de los Doctores santos, y pasando por la letra del evangelio, y declarándola, o, por mejor decir, pasándola como puros gramáticos, y no como hombres que sabían Escritura, ni entendían evangelio, acogíanse a sus quimeras [e] imaginaciones morales...Si esto no aborreces sumamente, y huyes de ello como de pestilencia, tan lejos estás de ser predicador como yo de volar.³⁴

One of the tasks of the preacher, according to Estella, is to reprimand the listeners. Vices should be condemned, and virtues extolled. This is a very effective way to preach and to win souls, but it must be done prudently:

Y en ninguna cosa tiene tanta necesidad de discreción y cordura, como [en] el reprender; porque tanto aviso es menester que tenga, que no escandalice a nadie, y sea la reprehensión de manera que sirva [a] la enmienda y edificación y corrección, y no de indignación y escándalo.³⁵

A preacher ought not to become excessively angry when reprimanding, nor should his tone be too harsh.

The general methodology proposed by the writers mentioned is a

return to the preaching of the early Church fathers, primarily St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and St. Jerome. St. Paul is a model as well. The use of Scripture is of primary importance, both references from the Old and New Testaments. But they must be treated correctly, that is, with proper meaning taken from them.

There were two acceptable ways of approaching Scripture, as opposed to four methods that the medieval preachers had used. Estella clarifies this in the Modo de predicar:

De los cuatro sentidos de la Escritura, que son literal y moral, alegórico y anagógico, de los dos ha de usar el predicador, que son literal y moral...Pero ahora que la Iglesia está fundada, y predicamos no a gentiles sino a cristianos que, aunque tienen fe, son viciosos pecadores, piérdese el tiempo, que se gasta en alegorías y anagogías, y por eso es necesaria doctrina moral, donde se reprenden los vicios y se enseñan las virtudes.³⁶

Juan de Avila has basically the same idea, but he uses a different way of expressing his thoughts. He gives a spiritual dimension to common words and makes what he says more pleasing to the ear. It is a pertinent example of his mastery of comparisons:

Y para que mejor se entienda, habéis de saber que en la sagrada Escritura aquel se llama sentido literal el que suenan las palabras de fuera; y esto quiere decir «letra»: lo de fuera, lo que es corteza del Espíritu. Y puesto que el sentido literal sea el principal sobre que se fundan los otros, mas el que principalmente pretende el Espíritu Santo, el principal intento de Dios, es el sentido moral. Como si dijésemos que, criando Dios el pan, más principalmente pretendía que sacases doctrina del pan que no mantener el cuerpo. Y el agua y el fuego. (II, p. 300)

The use of rhetoric, which had sunk to a very low degree in the fifteenth century, was given new life in the sixteenth. Granada, for example, is a prime exponent of the classical rhetorical style. Juan de Avila and Diego de Estella have a more modern approach to it. Rhetoric is good and its principles should be used, but not to an extreme degree. Antonio Martí discusses the rejuvenation of rhetoric in his

study and comes to the conclusion that the reform movement of this period did not get much help from the Council of Trent. It is a sad commentary on what might have been:

Y ésta [la retórica sagrada] quedó sin atención y sin una verdadera solución. Los padres no captaron la importancia del momento histórico en que se hallaba la retórica. Solamente se hubiera necesitado una adaptación para admitir plenamente la corriente de renovación que habían empezado los renacentistas, ya estudiados, y que el Brocense iba a continuar aún después de clausurada la última sesión del concilio. Se quiso solucionar el problema de la predicación, pero se descuidó el principal aspecto del mismo: la renovación y creación de una verdadera retórica que llenara las necesidades de la predicación y que, como consecuencia, se pudiera aplicar a la mejora de las técnicas de la oratoria forense.³⁷

The urgency for the reform of preaching was felt no more strongly than by San Juan. He wrote two Memoriales dealing with reform, one in 1551 and the other in 1561. In both, he strongly recommended reform of priests and preachers, and he proposed means for these reforms to be implemented. Education, as we have seen, was the principal means to achieve the end that he desired:

Sea, pues, ésta la conclusión, en la cual no ha de haber duda ni escrúpulo: que, si la Iglesia quiere buenos ministros, ha de proveer que haya educación de ellos, porque esperarlos de otra manera es gran necedad. (VI, p. 40)

Though he never stressed the single aspect of rhetoric, Juan de Avila's style of preaching makes it clear that he knew the principles and used them well. His concern was that preachers be well prepared to instruct, delight, and move the hearts of the faithful -- the foundations of all preaching. Granada, when speaking of the type of language San Juan used, says that it was natural and fluid:

Pues este lenguaje, ajeno de toda afectación y artificio, que basta para explicar el predicador sus conceptos, es el que más conviene para persuadir y mover los corazones. Y si algunas veces usa de metáforas, son de las que más al propio explicar las cosas que quiere declarar, nacidas de las mismas cosas que

trata, y no acarreadas de fuera.³⁸

Juan de Avila had definite ideas about preachers and preaching, and as the complete works are analyzed, these surface. Some are rather indirect references or mention preaching in passing, but there are others which deal concretely with the office of preacher. Most of the remarks are found in the sermons themselves, but a large number are included in the Tratados menores, the Comentarios bíblicos and the Cartas. For him, preaching was an action that entered all aspects of his apostolic mission. The true preacher was not afraid to speak out, even in the face of criticism. Above all, he must not distort the meaning of the Gospel:

El verdadero predicador, de tal manera tiene de tratar su palabra a Dios y sus negocios, que principalmente pretenda la gloria de Dios. Porque si anda a contentar los hombres, no acabará; sino que a cada paso trocará el Evangelio y le dará contrarios sentidos, o enseñará doctrina contraria a la voluntad de Dios: Hará que diga Dios lo que no quiso decir, etc.
(IV, p. 36)

and another instance:

...Mirad este hombre, porque la voz de Pilato sonaba poco, y era uno y malo, y lleno de temor, por lo cual crucificó a Cristo y no merecía ser elregonero de esta palabra; Mirad a este hombre, y por eso lo manda Diosregonar a otros, y tan sin temor, que antes quisieron y quieren morir que ni un solo punto dejen de predicar y confesar la verdad que es Cristo.
(I, p. 537)

San Juan de Avila placed great emphasis on the need for prayer in preparation for preaching. The life of prayer that he recommended to his disciples was an intense one, as is seen in his letter (number 5) to a preacher. Complete preparation for Mass was crucial:

Y después rece prima, tercia y sexta, y póngase en oración, aparejándose para misa, pensando en este profundísimo misterio. Y considerada su propia indignidad, irá a recibir Aquel mismo cuya pasión pensó en la madrugada; porque, pensando al Señor en la misa de la forma que lo pensó en la oración, ayúdase

mucho lo uno a lo otro. La misa acabada, recójase media hora a dar gracias y holgarse con Aquel que en sus entrañas tiene, y no de otra manera que como cuando acá vivía fue recibido de Zaqueo, o de Mateo, o de otro que se lea... (V, p. 51)

In his Vida Granada reveals Juan de Avila's idea about being prepared for preaching. It has to do with being in a condition which he calls templado:

Porque decía él que, cuando había de predicar, su principal cuidado era ir al púlpito «templado». En la cual palabra quería significar que, como los que cazan con aves procuran que el azor o el falcón, con que han de cazar, vaya «templado», esto es, vaya con hambre, porque éste le hace ir más ligero tras de la caza, así él trabajaba por subir al púlpito, no sólo con actual devoción, sino también con una muy viva hambre y deseo de ganar con aquel sermón alguna ánima para Cristo, porque esto le hacía predicar con mayor ímpetu y fervor de espíritu.³⁹

From what has been said so far, we see that the inner religious experience is an important source of preaching. This reflects a turn about in approach and methodology of what had been the characteristic style of preaching in the century preceeding him. The question as to how and why this occurred can be asked. The answer to it is not simple, but there is one development which must be mentioned, for to omit it would be to overlook an essential aspect of the spirituality of Avila's time -- mystical theology.

This theology, while having its roots in Pauline and Patristic thought, was given renewed importance during the late medieval period by Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris. Reform of the clergy, a return to a more "practical" theology, and establishment of diocesan schools for training priests were a part of his program.⁴⁰

Juan de Avila was familiar with Gerson, for he refers to him in his writings.⁴¹ In addition to reform, mystical theology was also oriented to developing the interior part of man, particularly by encouraging a

deep prayer life.

The particular inner dimension of mysticism cannot be overlooked, for it was essential to San Juan's perspective. Surpassing the psychological level, it is peculiar because it departs from the ordinary way to religious truth and salvation and searches for a more direct communion with God:

It reaches further than the normal psychological functions of the soul can grasp and demands more than the normal institutional structures of the church can give. In the most literal sense of the words, the mystical enterprise is transrational and transinstitutional. And because it is such, it bears a potential anti-intellectual and anti-institutional stance, which can be adopted for the critical purposes of dissent, reform, and even revolution.⁴²

Given this perspective, one can understand where the revolutionary and reform mentality probably had its source. The mystics desired more than what was present at the time, and this led them to explore paths not before taken. Experience was the key: "In the final analysis, then, it is only personal experience and suffering, not the most accomplished and intellectual disciplines, which form the truest 'media' of divine teaching."⁴³ We cannot pursue this further, for to do so would take us far beyond the scope of the work. But the connection between mysticism with reform is evident. The possibility of Spanish mysticism being one of dissent is very real and cannot be ignored. It was the converso population that produced the great majority of ascetics and mystics -- one has to ask the question why.

There is another figure who should be mentioned at this time. We refer to Erasmus, and for the purposes of the present study we limit references primarily to preaching and questions of technique. Marcel Bataillon has noted that Juan de Avila recommended Erasmus' Paraphrases

to his disciples during the early phase of his preaching in Andalucía. We know that San Juan was familiar with Erasmus, because he refers to him at times, though not always to agree with him.⁴⁴ Another book that Erasmus wrote in 1535, the Ecclesiastes sive concionatur evangelicus, provides an insight into the reform that he proposed for preaching. The ideal comes close to the Protestant pastor:

Le «bon pasteur» ou concionatur evangelicus selon Erasme, comme le «bon precheur évangélique» selon Rabelais, ressemble à un pasteur protestant, en même temps qu'il montre la voie aux efforts de la réforme catholique pour substituer aux clercs mercenaires et ignorants de bons pasteurs. Il faut rappeler aussi que l'idéal pastoral de l'érasme est un idéal missionnaire.⁴⁵

Another aspect of the influence of Erasmus is that of style or technique. In his Lingua, he sets forth his ideas about preaching and defends himself against those who use their tongues without restraint. This work, translated into Spanish by Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, was very popular in Spain.⁴⁶ Because it spoke out against slander and calumny, it had a natural audience in Spain -- the converso group.

Dorothy S. Severin proposes the following:

Muchos trozos del libro podrían tener interés para las minorías perseguidas de España, aunque la judería ortodoxa reciba duras palabras de Erasmo, palabras traducidas por Bernardo Pérez. La mayoría de las exortaciones que tendrían interés para un público "converso" o de erasmistas ocurren en el libro segundo.⁴⁷

It is in this second section that Erasmus strongly criticizes perjury and false accusations. These are two elements that San Juan de Avila also condemns, as we will see in chapter IV.

Erasmus has specific remarks to make about preaching in the Lingua. His guidelines are these:

Y por tanto será bien antes que sueltes el freno de la lengua, mirar bien todas las circunstancias: quién dize, de qué dize, delante de quién dize, en qué lugar o en que tiempo dize;

finalmente qué bien o qué mal se seguirá de tu plática o a ti o a otro, porque siempre se te ofrencerán cosas que te combiden a callar o a hablar con templança. Deves también mirar si es honesto, justo, decente, util, seguro, agradable, facil o necesario aquello que has de hablar...⁴⁸

We recall Diego de Estella's remarks about preaching and see that they are similar to those of Erasmus. And as Juan de Avila's ideas about preaching are examined in further depth, there is similarity between him and Erasmus.

San Juan, as a reformer -- and ascetic/mystic -- took preaching very seriously and did not seek to entertain or while away time in the pulpit. His concept of the priesthood also included a missionary orientation -- one concerned with spreading the Gospel and evangelizing in areas that he felt needed a type of preaching that used a more popular and practical approach. This is closely related to the evangelization which was characteristic of St. Paul and the disciples of Jesus:

Jesucristo predicó en persona a las ovejas que habían perecido de la casa de Israel no más, y después, sus santos apóstoles, en el mismo pueblo de Israel, comenzaron a predicar y convirtieron no todos los judíos, mas algunos. Y por eso dicen las heces. Mas no paró la salud del Padre, que es Cristo, en el pueblo de los judíos, mas salió cuando fue predicado por los apóstoles en el mundo, y agora lo es, acrecentándose cada día la predicación del nombre de Cristo a tierras más lejos, para que así sea luz no sólo de los judíos, que creyeron en El, y a los cuales fue enviado, mas también a los gentiles, que estaban en ceguedad de idolatría lejos de Dios. (I, p. 537)

We recall that his first wish had been to go to the Indies and that he was refused. But his missionary activity continued throughout Andalucía.

Priests were to be examples for their flock, caring for people as Christ had done. Juan de Avila emphasized this pastoral nature on different occasions. Coupled with the zeal for souls was to be an ardent love of God:

Ha de arder en el corazón del eclesiástico un fuego de amor de Dios y celo de las almas. Bonus pastor animam dat pro ovibus suis, como hizo Cristo. Ait Chrysostomus: Todos los clérigos son pastores, hortelanos y soldados y labradores; quiere decir: han de entender en el bien de las ánimas con el oficio que tiene cada uno, según el talento que Dios le ha comunicado, y para sufrir el trabajo el predicador en predicar, el confesor en confesar y el que asiste al coro en cantar las horas, es menester que tenga amor de Dios... (III, p. 442)

An extremely important aspect of San Juan's remarks about the preaching apostolate is the role he gives to the spiritual force animating his words. This is repeated in slightly different ways, but the inner dimension is always there:

Cada una de nuestras iglesias cristianas está casada con uno y empañada por otro; casada con el prelado, con el pastor, y empañada por otro, que es Dios; casada con hombre y empañada por Dios. ¿Qué es el prelado, el predicador? Están las ánimas casadas con él, mas allá dentro entra Cristo en sus entrañas y las empaña con su virtud y con su palabra, para que hagan frutos saludables. No sabré yo decir este misterio. (III, pp. 78-79)

When writing to the Bishop of Toledo in 1565, Avila gives this advice:

Solamente mire vuestra señoría que exhibet se ministrum idoneum tanti regis; y que pues Dios ha de ser el que por boca de vuestra señoría ha de hablar y el que ha de enseñar con su lumbre a su corazón, procure quitar de sí todos los impedimentos a la inspiración del Señor y a las obras que él por medio de vuestra señoría quisiere obrar. (V, pp. 631-632)

The word itself has a special meaning and power, and this fits closely together with that mysterious aspect of being a mediator, or an instrument of God:

Esta palabra eterna se hizo temporal. Si hubiese predicadores que esto predicasen, no habría necesidad de predicar otra cosa. ¿Por ventura no se encierran todas las cosas en Dios? Luego, predicar a Dios encarnado sería predicar todas las cosas. (IV, p. 374)

A very short time later, in the same commentary of St. John's First Epistle, he remarks:

Pues luego, si esta Palabra encarnada se os predicase, y no por

lengua de carne, sino de espíritu y gracia, más suficiente sería para mover vuestros corazones, que si os predicasen todas las cosas. Con ésta haríamos temer más que con infierno; con ésta consolaríamos más que con el cielo. (IV, p. 374)

One can see from these texts that Juan de Avila had a very particular vision of his preaching. It was to instruct, but not in an ordinary way. God was to speak through him, and the infusion of the Spirit would make this possible. He repeats this again and again. His preaching is divine, not human: "Así como Jesucristo predicaba, así ahora el Espíritu Santo predica; así como enseñaba, así el Espíritu Santo enseña; así como Cristo consolaba, así el Espíritu Santo consuela y alegra." (II, p. 431) As we have seen with the examination of mystical theology, the source of inspiration comes not from the institution but rather from the Spirit. So it is with the concept of preaching that San Juan develops. Preaching searches beyond the visible into the invisible for its inspiration. In one of his sermons he states briefly but powerfully: "El predicador también es agora ángel en el oficio. Angel, mensajero quiere decir, y los predicadores también somos mensajeros, que os venimos a hablar por parte de Dios." (II, p. 89) Preaching one day to the Jesuit fathers, he spells out concretely his thoughts about this angelic mission of the priest:

Porque sin Cristo no se inflaman los corazones ni se vuelven a nuestro Señor; y así es la empresa de predicadores portare nomen Domini Jesu, et divitas illius evangelizare. Este es el oficio de ángeles, animar con Jesucristo, que es dar ayuda, descanso y paraíso y lo demás... (III, p. 409)

He envisions the preacher as being a help to man -- an aid in salvation. Only God can save, but the mission of the preacher is that of opening ears and proclaiming the Gospel: "El siervo de Dios, el confesor y el predicador, no te han de ser estorbo para el Espíritu Santo;

hate de ser una escalera para que tú subas a Dios." (II, p. 383) Again noting the activity of the Holy Spirit, he says in another sermon, paraphrasing St. Augustine: "«Cristo habla en nosotros, el Espíritu Santo pide por nosotros y habla en nosotros.» Cristo obra en nosotros; por el cual reciben nuestras obras un tan grande valor y merecimiento, que nuestros ojos no llegan a saberlo mirar." (II, p. 635)

At one point, in a rather long sermon, Juan de Avila injects a somewhat personal note, and he speaks in the first person about his role as preacher and what this means to him:

Verdadera palabra os digo: tened fe para la creer, no porque la digo yo, sino aquel Señor que allí esta; que, aunque El calla, manda que yo hable por El lo que El habló cuando estaba y predicaba en vida mortal. Mas esto que yo dijere con mi lengua de carne, El lo está diciendo con su corazón, y con har-to clamor, aunque no se oiga con las orejas, que será el que yo diere en las vuestras, por alto que hable. (II, pp. 764-765)

The insistence on union of hearts is very characteristic of San Juan. Here this union becomes so necessary that the preacher is a voice speaking a message from God. Therefore, from the mouth of man comes the message from the heart of God. The importance of an intense life of prayer becomes readily apparent. Only through union with the Spirit can one receive the revelation of God.

Another concern of Juan de Avila was the lack of good preachers in Spain. He was interested in reforming the schools and in establishing certain ones only for candidates to the priesthood. Primarily, these schools would teach Christian morals and virtues, for he was not so much interested in having brilliant preachers and priests as holy ones. In order to teach preachers better, the schools he suggested should teach Scripture thoroughly. As has been noted earlier, when Juan de Avila established the University of Baeza in 1546, he put in

the cátedra de positivo, especially for preparation in Scripture (see ch. I). He does not hesitate to make strong recommendations in his second Memorial in 1561:

La falta que hay en la Iglesia de hombres doctos en la Sagrada Escritura es notorio a los que algo saben de ella, y el mucho daño que en ello ha venido también en la edificación de la fe como en las costumbres. (VI, p. 161)

His words become reprimanding once again, especially when speaking about the lukewarmness (tibieza) of some preachers. The following is from a sermon he preached on the octave of Corpus Christi:

Si la gente vive en tibieza, mal hecho es; mas su mal tiene remedio, y no dañan sino a sí mesmo; mas si los enseñadores son tibios, entonces se cumple el ¡ay! del Señor para el mundo, por el grande mal que de esta tibieza le viene...

No dañan todos los ladrones que están acechando los caminos para robar a los caminantes, no tanto los cosarios que roban en la mar a los que llevan muchas riquezas y navegan con próspero viento, cuanto daña un enseñador tibio a un hombre que corría ligero por el camino de Dios...; y la frialdad que el tal enseñador tiene dentro de sí, la derrama como agua fría sobre el corazón del que tenía fervor, y se lo apaga como el fuego el agua. (II, p. 863)

San Juan de Avila was not a man to criticize or complain about something without having a solution to offer. His program for reform was extensive and well thought out. About the lack of good preachers he proposes this:

...sería cosa utilísima a la Iglesia dar orden para que en las universidades hubiese diputados y colegiales y discípulos que con estas dichas disposiciones la pudiesen estudiar; y, con tener ejercicios de leer y predicar así entre los mismos colegiales como a la gente de fuera, se hiciesen hábiles para hacer fruto en la Iglesia de Dios con el ejercicio y ministerio de su palabra. (VI, p. 161)

Learning Scripture was not the only thing necessary, however. One also had to lead a virtuous life: "...y póngase en estos colegios tales reglas de vida, que los que no son virtuosos no la pueden sufrir." (VI, p. 163) This was very important -- a Christian life included disci-

pline and asceticism. It was not always an easy existence.

Preaching was also stressed very much when Juan de Avila wrote about bishops. According to him, the principle task of the bishop was to preach: "Entre los oficios a que son electos los obispos, el principal, como dice el concilio nuestro, es el predicar a sus ovejas..."

(VI, p. 245) In a letter to don Pedro Guerrero, newly elected Archbishop of Granada, Juan de Avila issues recommendations for this office. The first is that don Pedro pray often, and the second that he preach frequently:

El arzobispo don Gaspar de Avalos, que sea en gloria, a ninguna fiesta dejaba de predicar, aunque fuesen tres arreo, sino cuando decía misa de pontifical, y es buen ejemplo para los preladados, cuya es la mies, y por eso más frecuentes en el segar. (V, p. 619)

About his own preaching, he does not say too much directly. But on one occasion, in a letter to Antonio de Córdoba (1561), he laments not being able to preach because of illness:

Y mire qué desfavor me enseñó el Señor, que ni de Espíritu Santo ni de Corpus Christi pude predicar. Yo bien sé que no soy digno de ello, y de esto me pesa; y no tengo más que decir de que ego sum que peccavi; isti oves sunt; quid meruerunt? (V, p. 675)

In one section of the Tratados, he discusses the relationship between faithful, bishop, and Church:

Son los obispos como unas delicatísimas doncellas hijas de grandes reyes, y su padre, Cristo, y su madre, la Iglesia, no quieren que entiendan en otro que en labrar labores de oro fino y sedas en holandas delicadas; y por eso quiérenles guardar las manos, para que las tengan delicadas para tal oficio, scilicet, «lectioni, orationi et praedicationi». (VI, p. 247)

If one were to sum up the qualities a preacher must possess, they would include an intense life of prayer, knowledge of Scripture, fervor in speaking in order to move hearts, appreciation of the inter-

mediary role of the preacher, knowledge of one's audience, a deep responsibility to others, and above all the awareness that God dwells in the soul and can be found there. These are the ideals of his reform ideas. Those who knew him also attest to the fact that they were characteristics of his person as well.

When placed among the preachers of his time, it is apparent from those who wrote about him that Juan de Avila was a model to follow. But there were other important preachers, contemporaries of his, who were likewise highly regarded. A brief look at two of them reveals the very difficult conditions surrounding their ministry and that of others who went against the established code set up by the Inquisition.

Bartolomé Carranza was one such person.⁴⁹ He wrote a tratado in 1552 in which he outlined the ideals for a sound and holy ministry. It demonstrates the similarity of spirit between himself and San Juan. The role of priests, especially bishops, was extremely important, and Carranza desired to reclaim the ideals of the primitive Church. Charity, not power or fear, was the primary motive by which persons in authority should live:

Si bien es verdad que la corrección paternal, significada por el báculo, pertenece a la cura pastoral, más ha de distinguirse el pastor por el amor y la benevolencia; para curar los espíritus más ha de usar del aceite que del vino a ejemplo del Buen samaritano y sobre todo, siguiendo las huellas de Cristo y de S. Pablo.⁵⁰

The influence of Erasmus is evident here.⁵¹ Carranza also stressed the need for a living faith, the necessity to frequent the sacraments, and the importance of studying Scripture. His approach, as was Juan de Avila's, was not reactionary, but rather open and receptive. It was closely linked to Juan de Valdés as well. Carranza's attempt at re-

form, however, did not succeed, for in 1558 the wrath of the Inquisition was let loose on the Archbishop and those like him. It was exemplified in the figure of Melchor Cano. Cano's censure of Carranza's Comentarios sobre el catechismo cristiano (1558) points to the "heresies" which the Inquisition was attempting to root out. Carranza was condemned for putting faith above reason, for negating the importance of vocal prayer, for relying on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit more than on the teaching magisterium of the Church, and for encouraging the study of Scripture by the common people.⁵² These are ideas which had been proclaimed earlier by Juan de Avila, and we will see the reaction of the Inquisition when we deal with the Audi, filia. Carranza was a victim of a reaction which was cruel and detrimental to Spain and to her future.⁵³

Another noteworthy preacher was Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. He was considered to be the most famous preacher in all Spain.⁵⁴ A descendant of conversos, he began preaching in the cathedral of Sevilla, and his success was rewarded by the position of principal canon in 1555. That Constantino and Juan de Avila knew each other seems evident. San Juan spent much time there, and he preached in the cathedral upon occasion. Sala Balust records an incident in which one of his disciples had gone to hear Constantino preach and afterwards visited him. According to this man, Diego Pérez de Valdivia, Constantino's sermon was full of emotion and emphasized the passion of Christ -- the listeners were moved profoundly by it. Upon finishing the sermon, Constantino was met by servants with a mule saddled in silks. When Pérez visited him at his house, there were damask hangings, lavish furnishings, and breviaries laced in gold. Pérez is then said to have re-

ported all this to Juan de Avila. The alleged conversation went thus:

'Hijo, ¿qué os ha parecido? Y respondió el dicho doctor Diego Pérez: No me ha parecido bien; porque en el sermón todo fue predicar pasión de Jesucristo, y luego tanto resplandor en su vida y tan poca mortificación; discípulo me ha parecido de Lutero. Y entonces el dicho venerable Mtro. Juan de Avila le dijo: Hijo, en la vena del corazón le habéis dado.'⁵⁵

As it turned out, Constantino was taken prisoner by the Inquisition, accused of being a Lutheran heretic. Certainly Juan de Avila was not responsible for his imprisonment. The anecdote does, however, point out the danger of being associated with Lutheranism, and the reasons for the charges brought against Constantino.

The controversy surrounding Constantino was that of justification by faith. It was closely tied to Juan de Valdés' concept of fe viva, and he preached openly about this.⁵⁶ Salvation did not depend upon works, but rather on a living faith which sanctified man. Constantino's preaching was not aimed at the educated minority, but rather at the common man. To proclaim such a message from the pulpit was not a prudent thing to do, and the Inquisition imprisoned him in 1558. He then spent three years in jail, where he died. All of his writings were condemned.

The situation in Sevilla during this period reveals many forces at work. There were preachers such as Constantino and Egidio⁵⁷ who tended to be followers of Valdés or Erasmus, or both. They preached close to the doctrine of salvation by faith and did not adhere to an ascetic approach to life. Another group, that headed by the Jesuits (and we must add preceded by Juan de Avila) proclaimed a contemplative, ascetical/mystical approach. Mortification was a central part of their message and their existence. This latter group evidently looked with

reservations at Erasmus. Juan de Avila himself, as we have seen, revealed caution about recommending certain of his works.

Placed in the context of these tendencies, then, we see that Juan de Avila emerged from a background of the ascetical/mystical tradition. His spirituality was a natural outgrowth of his radical paulinismo. Because of this close affinity to contemplation and prayer, his view of the world was different from that of most of his contemporaries. The gift of inspired thinking permitted him to be flexible, and open to new ways. The reform of preaching was uppermost in his mind and required a reform of ecclesiastical life as well. If in the years around 1558 he was not imprisoned again by the Inquisition, it may well be because he was already revered as a holy person. The fact that he was retired from public preaching must have also eliminated the constant vigilance that was maintained over men such as Carranza and Constantino.

San Juan de Avila's public and most active preaching career spanned the years between 1533 and 1555, close to a quarter of a century. Until recently, he has been a shadowy figure, known primarily for his reform documents and the Audi, filia. It is time that his role as preacher be examined in detail for, following the rare example of Talavera, he was a man who provided Spain with a preaching both dignified and devout.

The Sermons of Juan de Avila

Because of the way they were transmitted, the sermons present certain problems. One concerns the variety of forms that one sermon might have. The first would be the brief notes that San Juan made for

himself, containing a few thoughts and a long prayer. While he preached, some of his followers, or perhaps some scribes, would write down what he said. These versions became the second form of the sermon. The third involved revisions that he made of previous sermons, perhaps done as a favor for someone who asked for a copy. Some of this type became tratados rather than sermons, and they lost the spontaneity of the original.⁵⁸ The last form was a result of Juan de Avila's returning to a sermon that he had preached, reading it over, and while preaching about the same thing, changing certain parts. Sala Balust says regarding these differing versions: "Todo esto, como es natural, crea serios problemas en la elección de una lectura en lugar de otra. Porque de sí todas estas formas tienen derecho a ser consideradas como originales avilinos." (II, p. 10) Not only is this the case, but the first editor, P. Juan Díaz, also changed some things in the edition of 1596.

A further problem arises in the classification termed sermones and pláticas. Evidently neither Juan Díaz nor the transcribers made the distinction between the two. Sala Balust has chosen to differentiate between them on the basis of themes dealt with. Some of these pláticas also have lost their original flavor and spontaneity of the sermons. A few are essays and as such are quite matter of fact and at times pedantic.⁵⁹ In the BAC edition, the division of the temporal sermons has been done in three sections: (1) the sermons of tiempo which include Sundays, Feast Days, and Holy Days, (2) sermons of the Holy Spirit, (3) sermons of the Blessed Sacrament. The ciclo santoral has been divided into two sections -- sermons of Our Lady and sermons of the Saints. The pláticas, or little sermons, are in two sections,

those to priests and those to nuns.

Very few of his sermons are dated. The occasion may be known, but the year in which the sermon was preached is not. This fact, as with the letters, makes it difficult to establish a continuity of thought or process of development. Of the 82 known sermons, it would be safe to say that the majority was probably preached between 1535-1550. This was San Juan de Avila's most active period and the one in which he was physically most able to move about Andalucía. He was also well known and established as a preacher by 1535. To assume that scribes copied his sermons much earlier would, we believe, be unwarranted.

One particular group of sermons does seem to lend itself to chronological dating. It is the sermones de tiempo, the first large section in the edition of the sermons (Vol. II). When one examines them carefully, similarity in style is noted. Interspersed with the quotes of Scripture in Spanish are ones in Latin. The divisions are clear and logical, and the liturgical year is in strict chronological order. In addition, two dates in this section of twenty-six sermons are known, and the cities in which they were preached are also recorded. The edition contains a breakdown of this first section. There is evidence that the major part was preached between 1540-1543. We know that Juan de Avila was in Granada and Sevilla often during these years.⁶⁰ Eighteen of these sermons were edited by R. García Villoslada, S. J. between 1946-47, and they come from the same source, a manuscript at the Archivo de Loyola in Oña. Therefore, it is our estimation that most of these sermons can be narrowed down to the liturgical year of 1541-42 or 1542-43, or perhaps both. Some of his most passion-

ate remarks about honra, love of neighbor, and the abuses of clandestine marriages are contained here. We will return to these themes in chapter IV.

In the following list of sermons, those marked with an asterisk were edited by Villoslada and published in Manresa and Miscelánea Comillas.⁶¹

- 1) 1st Sunday of Advent, Zafra (two transcriptions)
- *2) 3rd Sunday of Advent (to a convent of nuns)
- *3) Christmas eve (to a convent of nuns)
- 4) Christmas (to a convent of nuns)

There were two convents of nuns in Zafra with which Avila was associated: the Monasterio de la Cruz and the Monasterio de Santa Catalina.

- 5) Epiphany (two versions)
- *6) 2nd Sunday of Epiphany (before 1563)
- *7) Ash Wednesday
- *8) Septuagesima Sunday
- *9) First Sunday of Lent.
- *10) Thursday of the first week of Lent
- 11) Friday of the third week of Lent (before 1556)
- 12) Fourth Sunday after Lent
- *13) Wednesday of the fourth week of Lent (1543)
- *14) Friday of the fourth week of Lent (before 1544)
- *15) Wednesday of Passion week
- *16) Monday of Easter
- *17) Tuesday of Easter
- 18) Ascension Thursday (a monastery of religious, either Granada or Sevilla)
- *19) Third Sunday after Pentecost
- *20) Ninth Sunday after Pentecost (Sevilla, August, 1541)
- *21) Tenth Sunday after Pentecost (Granada)
- 22) Twelfth Sunday after Pentecost
- *23) Seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost (a wake of a nun)
- *24) Nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost
- 25) Twenty first Sunday after Pentecost
- *26) Twenty second Sunday after Pentecost

The fact that most of these sermons came from the same source and that they were together seems to indicate that they were transmitted by the same person. There is no conclusive proof of this, however, so it must at this time remain conjecture.

With these things in mind, we turn now to the sermons of Juan

de Avila. The effectiveness of his preaching has been discussed, but the quality of it can be elaborated upon. Luis Muñoz, one of his biographers, describes the elements that were present when he preached:

Junto con este amor de Dios y el prójimo, tuvo otro don especialísimo del Espíritu Santo. Fue un gran fervor y un espíritu vehemente, para mover los más endurecidos corazones. Esta era una viveza, un espíritu ardiente, que no hay palabras que puedan bastantemente explicarle: tenía uno como imperio sobre los corazones. Provocábase este espíritu en un celo ardentísimo que tenía de la salvación de las almas, y una hambre de su conversión, don también del mismo Espíritu Santo.⁶²

This ardent tone and passionate delivery had their effect on the general audience to whom San Juan spoke. But he also influenced a man who was later to become another great preacher, Fr. Luis de Granada.

When one examines Granada's lengthy work Los seis libros de la retórica eclesiástica o de la manera de predicar, Juan de Avila's influence is clearly seen. Granada does, however, add some interesting observations about the importance of preaching, the dignity of the office, and the purpose that a preacher should have. Because he learned directly from Juan de Avila, and these same sentiments are expressed in the latter's writings, it is clear that the observations of Granada are largely based on those of his teacher and on his preaching. Bruno Jereczek in Louis de Grenade, disciple de Jean d'Avila stresses this influence time after time. He explains Juan de Avila's approach to preaching as an extension of prayer -- "le sermon-oraison". Juan de Avila's mark on Granada is, Jereczek maintains, fundamental. When speaking of the former's preaching, he says:

Cette parole a le don de pénétrer jusqu'à la zone de l'âme où la conviction déclenche la pratique. En dépit de tous les obstacles et par-delà les contingences de l'histoire individuelle, elle atteint, pour y projeter sa lumière, l'intimité spirituelle, celle des relations entre Dieu et l'âme. Ex-

pression d'une personnalité ouverte à la grâce et animée d'une grande ferveur apostolique, la parole de Jean d'Avila s'identifie aisément à un message divin et elle va exercer sur Louis de Grenade aussi une autorité et un pouvoir décisifs.⁶³

But there is a difference in tone and approach between the two writers. Jereczek, when comparing the sermons of Granada with those of Juan de Avila, concludes that Granada's are more technically, esthetically, and literarily perfect. Consequently, they lose the spontaneity, vivacity, and fervor of San Juan's. Granada's sermons approach a type of discourse, while Juan de Avila's maintain an intimate and conversational tone.⁶⁴ The "Apóstol de Andalucía" possessed an inner "spark" that enabled him to establish rapport with people he never knew, just by speaking. It was a rare gift and one admired greatly by his disciple, Granada.

One characteristic which becomes evident after studying the sermons is the use San Juan makes of repetition. It is one of his most common means of amplification. This takes us into the area of ci-ceronianismo, the use of specific rhetorical devices to develop a sermon. In his Rhetorica (1576), Granada enumerates and gives examples of each type available for use by a preacher.⁶⁵ Rebecca Switzer has synthesized his work in her own study, The Ciceronian Style in Fr. Luis de Granada. The devices which serve in repetition are anaphora, conversion, complexion, polyptoton, epanalepsis, anadiplosis, duplication, and gradation. It will be helpful to examine closely some of Juan de Avila's repetitive techniques, for they show a great mastery of style and use of the language. Although he was not considered a classic rhetorician, at times he uses it exceedingly well. As always, it is not used for its own sake, but rather for the purpose of imparting the Christian message.

San Juan might be said to represent a bridge between tradition and modernity. The tradition he upholds, however, is not medieval, but rather the original, and radical, tradition of the early Church. He brings the primitive Christian tradition into a modern context. His style is not necessarily "new" in every sense, but the spirit, especially, is modern. This is the focal point of his originality. He achieves a delicate balance -- one which enables him to communicate spiritual matters in a way that is both refreshing and dignified.

Rebecca Switzer says this about him:

Avila's use of Ciceronian figures was due more to the general tendency of the time than to conscious study. Evidently he spent little time on form, for he told Granada that he could prepare a sermon in one night. Juan de Avila may be called a Ciceronian, though not one who had a significant part in the development of the movement, nor can he be said to have helped consciously in the adaptation of classic rules to the Castillian language.⁶⁶

With respect to this observation, it must be said that Juan de Avila had a keen grasp of the power of language. Though he did not directly advocate rhetoric, he did stress the need for education in Scripture and grammar, as well as knowledge of various spiritual writers.⁶⁷ In the Tratado de la reformación del estado eclesiástico is found his thinking about the preparation of clergymen.⁶⁸ The importance of the preaching apostolate is revealed below:

Por tanto, si este sacro concilio quiere quitar el oprobio de la ignorancia de la Iglesia y si quiere proveer a las ánimas de pasto de vida y que la Iglesia sea terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata, mande que, allende de los colegios donde se han de educar hombres de medianos ingenios para curas y confesores, haya otros donde se eduquen los de mejores ingenios y les den la ciencia que en su vaso cabe, para salir muy doctos lectores y predicadores, a los cuales se les pueda encomendar sin miedo el tesoro y alteza de la palabra de Dios. Y sean criados con mayor cuidado en toda disciplina y santidad que los sacerdotes de los otros colegios, pues el oficio de predicador es de mayor peligro y pide mayor santidad; la

cual faltando, tórnanse las más grandes letras en más grandes armas para todo mal. (VI, p. 44)

The rhetorical principles, though present, were not of primary concern. The art of "pleasing" was, therefore, not fundamental. But because he wanted to get the attention of his listeners and edify them as well, he took pains to express himself in faultless language. Estrella clarifies this function as he introduces a new style of saying things:

Lo segundo que [ha de hacer el predicador] es decir lo que es común por nuevo estilo. Porque en dos maneras se deleita, conviene a saber: diciendo cosas nuevas, o cosas comunes por elegante estilo. Muchas verdades, aunque sean viejas, se han de predicar y decir, pero el modo de decir, como no es común, deleita. Para esto son los colores retóricos y metáforas.⁶⁹

Rhetorical Devices

Rhetorical principles were present in Juan de Avila's preaching, but he was a natural preacher at the same time. In other words, Avila was "naturally elegant". We will now examine his use of rhetorical devices.

The use of questions is frequently a part of his persuasion -- the rhetorical device of interrogatio. The selection below demonstrates the care given to order and placement of words such as ¿quién?, ¿si?, ¿qué?, and ¿cómo?:

¿Quién no tiene que sufrir? ¿Quién no tiene que llorar de la niñez? ¿Quién hay que entonces hizo algo que ahora no le da pena? ¿Quién no está lastimado del tiempo pasado? ¿Quién no trae en su corazón hincado un puñal, acordándose de las ofensas de Dios? ¿Quién no tiembla de la hora de la muerte? ¿Quién no teme mucho el temeroso y rigoroso juicio de Dios? ¿No anda hincada esta espina en nuestro corazón y en nuestras entrañas: «Señor, si estoy perdonado de Dios? ¿Si estáis bien conmigo? ¿Si os tengo enojado? ¿Cómo me va con vos? ¿Si me quieres bien? ¿Qué será de mi? ¿En qué tengo de parar?» ¿Quién no es perseguido del demonio? ¿Quién está en paz en este mundo? (II, p. 619)

Despite the precision that we find above, there is a fluidity which carries one question into the other, and one thought into the next. Juan de Avila knew how to effectively develop his sermons, and he did so through wise use of these devices. Questions do not always appear following one another -- often they are interspersed with other comments. In the example below, we discover Juan de Avila addressing himself directly to the people who were listening to the sermon. It is an impassioned section, and it seems doubtful that people listening could sit listlessly and not experience an inner response:

¡Oh desventurada gente! ¿Y tú, hermano, dónde estás?
 ¿Has ya acabado los negocios de tu alma? Di, ¿has dado ya
 cuenta buena? ¿Cómo no tienes cuidado de ti? ¿Qué te
 aprovecha que todo el mundo ganes, si pierdes tu alma? (II,
 p. 326)

His style is provocative and demands a response, either affirmative or negative. Emotion and excitement, frequently enhanced by exclamation, are injected to arouse the congregation:

¡Oh qué cosa es ver a un hombre en pecado! Dígoos en verdad
 que es monstruo; y si ver pudiésemos el ánima, nos espantarí-
 amos de su fealdad y desventura...¡Oh malaventurada la tal
 ánima que en pecado está!

From the above, we perceive a personal approach. Avila offers his remarks to people, or to individual persons, not to an amorphous group.

This use of exclamation is also treated by Estella. There are three tones which would serve different purposes in a sermon: "La primera es enseñar; la segunda, narrar; la tercera, tratar algo para mover o reprender."⁷⁰ The use of exclamation would generally be found for the latter reason.

Juan de Avila makes ample use of exclamation. At times it is employed as an exultation on the Saints, God, the Virgin, or Christ.

He had special devotion to the Virgin, and on occasions honoring her, his words express strong emotion:

¡Oh benditísima Virgen María! ¡Y cuántos pensando en ti han sido librados de las puertas del infierno, se han apartado de la suciedad de la carne y se han recogido en tu humildad, se han abajado! ¡A cuántos enamora tu hermosura y por tu servicio y limpieza no se han querido casar, sino ser vírgenes y limpios por parecerte! (III, p. 52)

We note that he does not use exclamation for its own sake. He is trying to persuade others while at the same time extolling the virtues of the Virgin. Combining the exultation of God's love with an intimate approach, he produces a passage which is definitely within the realm of mystical expression: "¡Oh entrañas dulcísimas, de amor inefable! ¡Oh amoroso fuego, que siempre ardes y nunca te apagas! ¡Oh corazón más ancho que el cielo para sufrirnos y meternos en sí y buscar lo que nos cumple!" (II, p. 592)

Exclamation was employed to underline an important issue, or to decry abuses which existed. Juan de Avila went right to the point when he spoke of abuses or sins, whether they were of the clergy or of the people:

¡Ay del sacerdote que sube al altar si no lleva en su corazón el fuego de Dios! ¡Ay de aquel sacerdote que dice misa o va a entierros con fuego de la tierra, con fuego de codicia o de vanidad, y no con fuego amor de Dios! ¡Ay de él...! (II, p. 399)

¡Oh hijos de Adán, y cuán malos somos, pues para levantar nuestro amor para seguir el camino de la virtud le pareció a Dios que no bastaba haberse hecho hombre y ayunado, haber caminado a pie, haber pasado trabajos e injurias, sino que nuestra tibieza y maldad hubiese menester cura tan costosa, que el Señor de todos padeciese bofetadas, y clavos, y muerte! (II, p. 467)

The occasions on which exclamation should be used were built into the structure of the sermon. Estella clearly outlines this when

he develops the uses of the tone of voice:

Finalmente, ha de tener este orden el predicador; que primero diga lo que quiere enseñar en tono llano y magistral, como quien lee en escuelas, y después, como fuere aplicando los medios para [mover a] que se haga [lo que enseña], váyase encendiendo de arte que al cabo vaya con grande furia, hasta que acabe el período o digresión, que ha de acabar como caballo que va acabando su carrera, poco a poco.⁷¹

The following is an example of anaphora, where the first word in a number of phrases is repeated, in this case hoy and soplo. It is a technique that Juan de Avila employs fairly frequently:

Prueba y apártate, que hoy es el día de perdón; hoy se da fuerza para vencer y derribar aquello que te derribaba; hoy se dan fuerzas, si tú las quieres tomar, para vencer tus pasiones; hoy es el día en el cual prometió Dios de quitar el corazón de piedra, de quitar la sequedad del alma; hoy es el día en que da corazones blandos, corazones arrepentidos; hoy es el día en que dará corazones aparejados para llorar vuestros pecados y saberlos conocer; hoy es el día en que os dará un soplo, no en las orejas, no en los oídos, no en nada de acá fuera, sino dentro de vuestros corazones; un soplo que os dé vida, un soplo que os dé fortaleza, un soplo que os dé castidad, un soplo que os dé humildad, un soplo que os dé caridad y amor y todas las otras virtudes, un soplo que refresque vuestras ánimas. (II, pp. 471-472)

The stress on hoy serves to make the message more urgent, and it also prepares the way for the hope of a redemptive and virtuous life offered by the soplo. Another example of this is:

No os espantéis que estamos hoy mucho en el sermón, que es día de fuego, día de cuenta, día de ancho, día que quema de condenados, de echados al infierno por boca de Dios. (II, p. 30)

Contrasting the riches of this world with the Eucharist leads Avila to a series of clauses, introduced by different words as the paragraph progresses. What follows is an example of how he varied the introductory words so that they would not become boring to his listeners. Special note should be taken of los que, veis, todo, pan, and tan:

-- A qué propósito esto? -- Los que sois amigos de riquezas,

los que sois amigos de honra, los que queréis tener y gozar de deleites, los que queréis ser regalados, veislo aquí todo eso, veis aquí riquezas, veis aquí honra, veis aquí deleites y regalos. Todo cuanto deseas, todo cuanto buscas, todo junto está aquí en este convite: pan dulce, pan sabroso para el pobre, para los reyes. Hay hombres tan delicados, tan regalados, que no pueden comer sino manjares así delicados. A los señores y a los reyes, el mejor pan y el más blanco se les da, grueso, deleitoso. (II, p. 624)

In the following passage we find that in addition he intersperses opposing adjectives. Here San Juan uses a variety of devices available to call attention to the vast difference between God and man, and at the same time the tremendous gift that man has received:

¿Señor, sabéis lo que haceís? ¿Qué cosa más alta que Dios? ¿Qué cosa más baja que el hombre? ¿Dios y hombre! Después que Adán pecó, hombre es nombre de deshonor; que hombre y pecador una misma cosa es. Y cuando San Pedro quiere reprehender a uno, llámalo hombre...Sepan que son hombres, que son pecadores y miserables y llenos de mil cuentos de males. Dios, hombre. ¿Quién nunca tal pudo pensar? ¿Qué el cielo con el suelo? ¿Qué el alto con el bajo? ¿Qué el rico con el pobre? ¿Qué el limpio con el sucio? ¿Qué el oro con el lodo hombre? ¿Qué es esto, Señor, que tan verdaderamente os habéis juntado con el hombre? Erunt duo in carne una. ¿Qué es hacerse hombre? (III, pp. 85-86)

Another very common repetitive technique that Juan de Avila uses is polyptoton, the repetition of a word or a variation of it, where there is opposition between the similarity of the word and its difference in syntactic usage. It is closely allied to duplication, where the same word is repeated. We will examine some of these sections.

No te llegues con corazón y ojos mundanos, no con corazón profano y deshonesto; desnuda tu razón, llégate con pies descalzos, desconfiado de ti, desarrimado de ti, arrimado y pidiendo socorro a Dios. (III, p. 84)

The above demonstrates the persuasion he was noted for. In the next passage, the same repetitive device is used, but here he is attempting to clarify the doctrine of the motherhood of the Virgin:

Madre es la Virgen de Dios verdadero y de hombre verdadero; y aunque no madre de Dios en cuanto de Dios, sino madre de Dios en cuanto hombre; mas Dios y hombre dos naturalezas, mas una persona. Es Dios y hijo de la Virgen María; mas no es dos hijos, sino uno, y por eso ella es madre del que es Dios y hombre. (III, p. 139)

The latter passage seems to be more labored and less fluid than the previous one. A rather technical question of doctrine was involved, and Juan de Avila was generally not in favor of proclaiming difficult doctrine from the pulpit.

A more typical kind of repetition, still in the same vein, follows. Here the message is repeated at different times, the contrast between God and the devil is seen, and we find the speaker entirely comfortable with his message. The emphasis is on God's presence in the soul, and though Juan de Avila cannot explain this mystery, he is sure of it:

Hermanos, en vosotros mora Dios. Paraos a pensar qué diferencia va de morar en un ánima Dios o muchedumbre de demonios; mirad que va de huésped a huésped. Todos andamos juntos, y por defuera andamos todos de una manera, y por dentro mirad cuánta diferencia hay, tan grande que mora Dios en unos y el demonio en otros.

En fin, quiere Dios venir a vosotros, y si me preguntásedes qué es venir Dios en un ánima, no creo que os lo sabría decir. Dice San Pablo que los dones de Dios son inerrables. Pues si esto no se puede contar, ¿cómo te sabré decir qué cosa es Dios venir a morar en un ánima? Probaldo y veréis lo que es. Basta diciros que el huésped que os quiere venir es Dios. Hermanos, Dios quiere venir a vosotros. (II, p. 56)

This type of expression is one of the kinds most common to him. It is fluid, direct, provocative, and consoling.

At times San Juan uses repetition to an extreme -- at least it appears to be that way when read. One must keep in mind that the sermons were spoken, and as such, many of the repeated words would not have seemed so frequent. They also serve to reinforce the idea in the

mind of the listeners:

Pero bajó el Rico del cielo y escogió madre pobre, y ayo pobre, y nace en portal pobre, toma por cuna un pesebre, fue envuelto en pobres mantillas, y después, cuando grande, amó tanto la pobreza, que no tenía donde inclinar su cabeza, y, finalmente, fué tan amador de pobreza, que ya no hay cristiano, si es verdadero cristiano, que no tenga en más ser pobre que rico. Y así, después de su venida en tanta pobreza, muchos y muchas dejaron sus haciendas por hacerse pobres, teniendo en más ser pobres con Cristo que rico con el mundo. En más es tenido el pobre que el rico después que Jesucristo se hizo de su bando. (II, pp. 73-74)

It is evident in the above quote that style is not as important as the message being conveyed. Spontaneity is seen, as is rapid passage from one thing to another. The same characteristic is demonstrated in the final selection we have chosen. The repetition is used not as an end, but as a means to express the message. Always eager to capture the attention of his audience, Juan de Avila uses this device in an expert fashion. Here we see it mixed with questions:

¿Qué le trajo del cielo? Amor. ¿Qué le encerró en el vientre de la Virgen? Amor. ¿Qué le encerró en el santo Sacramento y le trujo al altar? Amor. Con amor viene, recíbele con amor; para hacerte bien viene, sabe agora agradecerle con darle buena posada y con desearle. (II, p. 654)

The figure is present, but there is no affectation in these examples, no play on words, or abuse of them. The tone is sober and inspiring. And there is enough variation, even in the repetition of words, to make the sections vibrant. It should be noted that the quotes cited are only small sections of an entire sermon. Juan de Avila's great gift was that of bringing a new style into the art of preaching. It is a combination of simplicity, elegance, fluidity, rhetoric, spontaneity, and naturalness.

Juan de Avila also used many of the devices at once. For example, at different parts of the sermons, he uses conversions, where

the last word of the clause is repeated. Or we find complexion, the combination of repetition of the same word with conversion. The following passage, though lengthy, shows how skillfully he makes use of these combinations. In it, a neighbor (prójimo) is not judged according to lineage, proximity, or religion, but rather on the possibility of being charitable to another. Juan de Avila's ability to lead us through his "theology of neighbor" by emphasizing proximidad, nuestro prójimo, and prójimos nuestros is remarkable:

Bien claro creo que habéis visto, señores, cómo la proximidad no está solamente en el parentesco, ni en la vecindad, ni en que [me] quieran bien, ni en ser de una ley, ni en ser de una religión; sino que todo aquel a quien podemos hacer bien o nos puede hacer, todo aquél es nuestro prójimo; y todo aquel que puede ser particionero en la bienaventuranza con nosotros, como todos los teólogos dicen, todo el tal es nuestro prójimo. De donde se sigue que el moro, el judío, el hereje, el alarbe es nuestro prójimo; porque le podemos hacer bien y él a nosotros y porque puede convertirse y gozar de Dios con nosotros. Asimismo se sigue que las ánimas del purgatorio son prójimos nuestros, porque les podemos hacer bien agora, y ellos a nosotros cuando vayan al paraíso. Asimismo se sigue que los ángeles son prójimos nuestros, y todos los que en el paraíso están, porque nos hacen bien y son capaces de bienaventuranza. (II, p. 319)

Another technique is that of contrasting, often opposing, adjectives. These are sometimes before and after nouns (chiasmus), or in a series linked together with connecting words. Juan de Avila does this frequently -- another way of making the sermon pleasing to the ear so that he can ultimately convey the word of the Scripture. The example below refers to the virtues and to the suffering of the Virgin:

Dos cosas pelean hoy, Señora: veamos cuál va adelante: vuestra santidad, vuestros dolores, vuestra privanza, vuestras angustias. Vos, la más santa y la más lastimada, la más querida y la más angustiada, la más alta y la más abajada. (III, p. 118)

The sermons are at times interrupted with little dialogues.

This is the rhetorical device of pretended conversation and is generally used in amplification. With Juan de Avila, these take place between the preacher and the people, between Christ and a person, or between two people. M. Bataillon has written about this technique and sees it as a dynamic exchange within the context of a sermon:

Dialogue de Christ et des disciples: dialogue aussi du prédicateur avec les saints personnages du drame évangélique. Dialogue, souvent, avec les auditeurs. C'est un mouvement vitale de cette éloquence que les rédactions des disciples, revues ou non par le maître, ont conservé comme essentiel.⁷²

If, for example, San Juan has been instructing the faithful in doctrinal matters (which upon occasion he does), he intersperses a brief dialogue to keep their attention. The same use is made of repetition, but it now takes on a more informal tone. The following is taken from a plática to the nuns at Santa Clara:

¿Sabéis a qué entrastes? A tratar la cosa más alta que hay en la tierra. -- ¿A qué? -- Al oficio más alto de los oficios. -- ¿A qué? Pues decírnoslo ya; no nos tengáis tan suspensas. ¿A qué? -- A tratar amores con vuestro esposo Jesucristo. (III, p. 463)

On a different occasion, after the Ascension, we hear:

Quien no vive por espíritu, ésta no es de Cristo. No has de vivir, hermano, por tu seso, ni por tu voluntad, ni por tu juicio; por Espíritu de Cristo has de vivir. Espíritu de Cristo, has de tener. -- ¿Qué quiere decir Espíritu de Cristo? -- Corazón de Cristo. El que no tuviere corazón de Cristo, este tal no es de Cristo. (II, p. 403)

These pretended conversations that Juan de Avila uses are designed to create an atmosphere of intimacy with his audiences. Estella, in the Modo de predicar, suggests that the rapport should be established partly by the tone of voice employed. San Juan preaches calmly at times, and with great fervor at others. As we read the following text, the close relationship and personal contact that he had with his listeners

becomes apparent:

Quisiera yo veros a todos comulgados y confesados, y en gracia, para que se os pegara bien a las entrañas lo que se ha de decir; pero creo que no habéis hecho lo que os he rogado. Decí: ¿Habéis comulgado y confesado cuantos estáis aquí en esta fiesta santísima? ¿No? Dicen que no. Pues aun Aristóteles dijo que no basta la vista del médico para sanar, si no haces lo que te dice. Ya os he dicho que no basta mirar, y que no ha de engordar vuestra ánima ni se puede hartar con sólo el ver, si no come. Habíades de estar agora en gracia. (II, p. 642)

Closely related to this technique, but somewhat different, is the rhetorical device of conformation, where an absent person is made to speak, or an inanimate object becomes eloquent. Juan de Avila makes use of this on many occasions. At times God, Christ, the Virgin, Joseph, St. John the Evangelist, Pilate, or one of the Saints will speak. In one particular sermon, number 67, five people are present, and the sermon is transformed into a kind of play, or dramatization. The action revolves around the crucifixion of Jesus, and the characters reveal their feelings about it. During the section where this occurs, we discover Joseph asking for Jesus' body, Pilate responding, St. John consoling Mary, and Mary lamenting the death of her son. All this is done in the first person -- that is, each person speaks through Juan de Avila. At the end of the section, he then interprets all that has preceded:

Era lástima de oír esta buena mujer, y entretanto bañaba los pies de Jesucristo con lágrimas de sus ojos. Lloro la Madre, lloran cuantos están presentes. Era el mayor dolor que pensáis, e puede ver, lo que allí se decía. Lloran allí los ángeles: que para mí tengo que tomaron cuerpos para venir al enterramiento de Jesucristo. Y no va fuera de razón creer que es así, pues tomaron cuerpos para hacer cosas más livianas. Sí, que de creer es que tomarían para venir a llorar junto con la Madre la muerte del mayorazgo de Dios, y para hallarse en su enterramiento. ¡Qué llanto sería! ¡Oh, bendita tu misericordia, Señor, que no hay corazón que baste a pensallo sin que se deshaga y quebrante de dolor! ¡Qué hiciera si la viéramos con estos propios ojos lo que allí pasaba? (III, p. 129)

One further example shows personification. On this occasion, San Juan puts words into the mouth of the Church:

Dice nuestra madre la Iglesia: Hasta que hagáis penitencia y os convirtáis al Dios que os crió, quiéeroos quitar los cantares de alegría y alabanzas a vuestro Dios, porque no cabe decir bien de uno y obrar mal contra él. Purificaos y alimpiaos, conoced vuestro pecado, demandad a Dios misericordia y ayuda para emendaros y comenzá a obrar como habláis... (II, p. 135)

In the above, he conveys the message of repentance, not merely from his own lips, but with the authority of the Church behind him.

As one looks further into the texts of the sermons, various uses of Scriptural texts are encountered. This is not limited only to the preaching, but rather characterizes all his works. He was immersed in Scripture, both the Old and the New Testaments. This, so characteristic of his paulinismo, is never omitted, though he varies the techniques of employing it. At times the passage is quoted, at others paraphrased. Sometimes the Latin text is stated, followed by the Spanish, or either is used separately:

Quis revelabit faciem indumenti eius? Hablando nuestro Señor Dios de las astucias y engaños del demonio, dice: ¿Quién descubrirá la faz del que tanto sabe, de su vestidura? ¿Quién descubrirá la faz para engañar del que tantas artes y mañas inventa para nos dañar? Pocos de nosotros podemos decir lo que el bienaventurado Apóstol dijo, escribiendo a los de Corinto, sobre un cierto pecado que uno de ellos había cometido: An ignoramus astucias Satanae? Y díceles que consuelen a aquel que así pecó, porque no fuese, con las astucias del demonio, traído a peor error. (II, p. 160)

The above example indicates how Juan de Avila uses paraphrases and parts of Scripture to demonstrate or clarify his meaning. He frequently does this with the Saints as well. This is a device that Estella recommends when digression is used:

El que predica ha de ir por el evangelio parafraseándole y declarándole y sacando algunos pasos de él y digresiones de

doctrina. Llámase digresión cuando, yendo por el evangelio, saca una poca de doctrina y luego vuelve al evangelio. Este estilo guarda San Crisóstomo. Y así ha de ir el predicador diciendo y haciendo, declarando el evangelio, recapitulando [y enlazando] la postrera cláusula [con] el punto de donde salió y volviendo al mismo lugar.⁷³

This will be seen more clearly when a sermon is analyzed in detail.

Another very interesting trait of his style is Juan de Avila's use of verbs. Some are unusual and are an insight into his unique expression. Often they are repeated, as are nouns or adjectives, either for emphasis or for clarification. What follows is taken from the sermons, since the styles of the various writings will be dealt with separately. There are overlapping characteristics, which is natural. But each part of the works seems to present a variation all its own. One such verb is comer. A closer look at its use will come in chapter IV, when the theme of Eucharist is examined. San Juan employs the word in an intimate fashion when speaking of receiving Communion and "eating" Christ.

Though Juan de Avila does not dwell on parts of the body to any great extent, there are references to it interspersed in his works. The words oreja and oído are often used, as is the verb vomit. In one sermon, he does list parts of the body, a very rare occasion and one which is singled out because of its unusual character. Juan de Avila attempts to translate the spiritual experience into a material phenomenon, in order to bring his listeners to an understanding of the former.

-- ¿Por qué más es la carne manjar del ánima? -- ¡Atentos!
 ¿El pan que vos coméis es la vida del cuerpo? No es; que el ánima es la causa, mediante aquel manjar que toma el estómago, y, tomándolo, cuécelo y envía su parte al hígado, y allí se torna a cocer, y hácese sangre, y repártese de allí por las venas. Porque la sangre es el asiento del ánima; toma de allí

fuerzas para vivir y toma fuerza para dar vida al cuerpo; no sé si me doy a entender; que da vida al cuerpo y al ánima.
(II, p. 715)

In the above, which is half of the message expressed in this particular section, we see definite references to parts of the body. The body is, however, only a transitory vessel. Pedro Laín Entralgo, while studying Granada's view of man, provides insights which we think also are applicable to San Juan. Granada's view of the world was based on reality versus appearances, that is to say the visible world and that which is invisible. He synthesized his perspective in an intrinsically Christian way to include God, man, and the world:

Estas tres realidades se hallan esencialmente conexas entre sí: no se puede hablar con hondura del mundo sin tener en cuenta al hombre y a Dios, ni del hombre sin tomar en consideración a Dios y al mundo, ni a Dios -- humanamente, se entiende -- sin traer a las mentes en una u otra forma la realidad del mundo y la realidad del hombre.⁷⁴

Created beings have a purpose -- that of providing man an opportunity to learn about God's creation. For Granada, therefore, creation points to God, and man is able to contemplate it in order to capture the divine message it imparts. But contemplation of the world is not the ultimate end of human life. Man contemplates in order to learn about himself and about things. Creation is but a pale reflection, and man cannot capture the entirety of God. Man's purpose is to serve his Creator rather than attain a full understanding of Him.

There is a tremendous distance between God's perfection and man's best achievements, and because of this, asceticism enters the picture. Juan de Avila strongly emphasized the theme of man's sinfulness and redemption through the Passion of Jesus. Because of the human condition, and because he lives in a world of appearances, this world

is not to be perceived as an end in itself:

El propósito del asceta, al menos del asceta cristiano, tiene por nombre menosprecio del mundo. Visto en lo que tiene de negativo, ese menosprecio es un apartamiento, un decir "no" al mundo y a la vida natural; positivamente interpretado, el contemptus vitae es un proyecto de instalación en un modo de vivir distinto del mundano, allende los intereses y las urgencias de este mundo visible.⁷⁵

With that in mind, it is possible to focus once more on the last quotation from the sermon of Juan de Avila. What follows is the continuation of that quote, and here one sees what he was actually doing -- pointing the way to another reality:

Sopló Dios en Adán: Et factus est in animum viventem. ¿Qué fue aquel soplo? El ánima que le dió. Pues así el Espíritu Santo, espíritu de vida del ánima, es soplo de vida, soplo de Dios. Pues así como no basta para que viva el cuerpo que tenga ánima, sino es menester que coma, porque morirá si no come, aunque tenga ánima, así también poco aprovecha que tu ánima tenga con que viva, si no come. (II, p. 715)

The reality of the body is present, but it must harmonize with that of the soul. And since the food of the soul is the Eucharist, it should be received, or it will die.

A verb which San Juan uses sparingly is transformar. It, more than any other, captures the complete union that the soul has with God. It is here that we discover such words as unión and comunión used in a sense which is essentially mystical. Though he does not speak of mystical prayer as such, the remarks that he makes about spiritual union are as revealing as those of the better known Spanish mystics. In the same vein as above, speaking about the Eucharist and the soul, he says:

Si mi ánima es tuya, Señor, será ánima de tu cuerpo, y vivirá él por ella y no ella por él, pues el ánima tiene vida de sí, y el cuerpo la recibe de ella. Mas no es esto así; ya lo hemos dicho, que tú, Señor, nos transformas en ti, y no tú en nosotros; que así como el ánima da vida al cuerpo, así tú la das a nuestras animas... (II, p. 802)

And again, speaking about good works, he says: "...porque sus obras eran celestiales, y así lo son las de aquellos a quien El mantiene consigo mismo y los transforma en sí." (II, p. 861) Using St. Augustine and St. Gregory, he further clarifies his meaning about the deep union of God and the soul:

Este es el misterio, que celebramos, de nuestra salvación y remedio: que no sólo somos hechos salvos por Cristo, mas en el mismo Cristo; uniéndonos consigo mismo con una unión tan íntima, dulcísima y alta, que pone en admiración a los ángeles... (II, p. 814)

In another section:

Misterio grande, unión inefable, honra sobre todo merecimiento, que el hombre y Cristo sean un Cristo, y que salvar Cristo al hombre y rogar por él sea salvarse a sí mismo y rogar por sí mismo. (II, p. 823)

The question as to why Juan de Avila stresses this so much in his writing should be asked. It is an integral part of his ideology and theology. At this time it is necessary to call attention to the fact that he was a converso, because the explanation in this writer's opinion lies in that fact. The importance of lineage, according to Juan de Avila, was eradicated by Jesus. He follows St. Paul exactly on this question.⁷⁶ When justification is discussed, this will become more evident. But at this time it is apparent that he was convinced the Eucharist was the focal point of union with Christ, and that the mystical body of Jesus was infinitely more real than the physical body of man. And it transcended all boundaries of visible reality that man was able to perceive.

In another sermon he emphasizes this fact by using influir, a verb used in a specific sense.⁷⁷ The infusion of grace has in effect made man one and the same with Christ:

...mas, sobrepujando a tanta dignidad, que seamos hechos cuerpo de El, una misma persona con El, y que el bien que El influye lo influya en sus miembros y, para decirlo en una palabra, lo influya en sí mismo, pues cabeza y cuerpo una misma persona son. (II, p. 813)

This stress on the mystical body of Christ has been related to his converso lineage:

Juan de Avila, nouveau chrétien d'ascendance juive, développe un spiritualité fortement christocentrique en Andalousie et en Extrémadoure, dans des foyers où abondent les gens de même origine que lui...

Avila, en tant qu'apôtre de Jesús crucifié, tête du Corps mystique auquel les chrétiens s'incorporent par la foi dans la rédemption et par l'Eucharistie, occupe un place centrale entre la spiritualité du service de la gloire de Dieu (celle des Jésuites, également très eucharistique à ses débuts) et celle des érasmiens espagnols, eux aussi obsédés par le «corps mystique». ⁷⁸

The knowledge that Andalucía was the area where Juan de Avila became so popular is coupled with the fact that there were many conversos there. He was indeed the apóstol de Andalucía, but he was also the apóstol de los conversos. ⁷⁹

Though the imagery is different, the mystical element is present in sermons where he speaks of the love of God. In the following, the verb herir is used, and it clearly brings to mind the Cántico espiritual of San Juan de la Cruz.

¿Qué saeta tan fuerte ni con tanta violencia puede herir a un cuerpo, como este amor que Dios infunde en el corazón hiere al ánima hasta lo más íntimo de ella? Herida es que de salud; y quien esta llaga no tiene, mal sano está. Y aunque tiene nombre de herida, dulcísima cosa es. Y sin ira tira esta saeta el Señor, y sin enojo la recibe su criatura, antes se precia de ella en los Cantares, diciendo: Herida estoy con amor. (III, p. 180)

The above example demonstrates how beautifully tender San Juan can be.

The verbs mentioned above enhance the meaning of the specific topic being dealt with, or perhaps they symbolize a reality that he

desired to make more clear. At other times, however, our writer runs a string of verbs together. This produces great movement in the sermon. Some verbs are similar in meaning, a method that Diego de Estella recommends to preachers. The use of synonyms is very helpful in articulating meaning and is characteristic of preaching throughout history:

Y si de esto siente falta [gracia y elocuencia], tome por remedio pensar consigo en su celda las digresiones y estudiando y buscando modos y manera[s] de palabras para decir una cosa por muchas vías. Y acostúmbrese en las hablas particulares a ser fecundo y hablar por muchos sinónimos, porque tomando este remedio por muchos días, quedará tan hábil, que hablará con facilidad elocuentemente.⁸⁰

In the passage below, Juan de Avila discusses what the Scriptures tell man to do. He stresses the fact that he must work, struggle, and run, as opposed to wanting to be at peace all the time. The message that life is not always easy is clear:

El evangelio, que hemos de trabajar en la viña; ya veis lo que hay que hacer en ella: hay que podar, abrir, cavar, viñar, regar, hay mucho que hacer en ella. Dícenos la epístola otro trabajo: que hemos de luchar y correr...La epístola nos manda salir a correr, luchar y esgrimir. El evangelio manda trabajar; nosotros holgar. La epístola, pelear; nosotros queremos estar en paz. (II, p. 143)

One of Juan de Avila's favorite themes was the Blessed Sacrament, as we have said. In one sermon, while explaining the benefits of receiving the Eucharist, the use of verbs gives an active role to the person listening:

El fin de quedarse Cristo acá debajo de semejanza de pan y de vino es para decirnos que, así como el uso del pan y el vino no es solamente mirarlo, sino comerlo, así el fin de los trabajos que Cristo pasó para hacerse pan nuestro y estar aquí como está no es sólo para verlo y reverenciarlo, sino para comerlo y matar nuestra hambre con El y restaurar y conservar nuestra vida. (II, p. 904)

Another interesting feature in the sermons is the usage of the nouns Médico and medicina. God is conceived of as the curer who gives

man what he needs, even though he may not want to take the cure. San Juan often speaks about man's sickness in sin, and this is another way of expressing the goodness of God in relation to man.

Muchas cosas pedimos a Dios; no nos las concede porque ve que pedimos nuestro daño. Conoce bien nuestra enfermedad; es muy buen médico, que acierta muy bien nuestra enfermedad, y cúbala, como la conoce, con medicina, conforme a la llaga que tiene. (II, p. 258)

The Eucharist is the best medicine given by God, and man should be grateful and thankful for it:

¿Cómo queréis vos que obren en vos los excelentísimos frutos de esta celestial medicina, después que la habéis recibido, si en lugar de estar recogido un buen rato, agradeciendo la merced recibida y gozando del Huésped que en vuestras entrañas tenéis, os salís luego al aire de los temporales negocios? (II, p. 838)

One of the striking things that appears primarily in the sermons and also in the Cartas, is the use of diminutives, which also remind us of Sta. Teresa. They lend a note of tenderness and compassion that no other words could. Sometimes there is only one, and at other times many are strung together:

¡Cuánto habría que estudiar en esto; que sale Jesucristo y va a visitar un enfermo y pobrecito; que no se desdeña aquella Majestad de ir a su casa, y yo no lo haga! (II, p. 621)

Estaba entonces en aquella ciudad una doncellita llamada Ester, huerfanita, desamparada, pobrecilla, que no se acordaba nadie de ella... (II, p. 639)

Este es el secreto que alcanzan los que no estriban en sus fuerzas, los bajitos, y éstos son los que alcanzan también este secreto, de: Pedid, y daros han; llamad, y daros han. Pidiéndolo como bajitos, como chiquitos, como lo pide un pobrecito al rico, que no hace sino mostralle sus llagas, descubrielle sus necesidades. (III, p. 290)

Juan de Avila also makes use of superlatives, which reflects the most cultured tendency in a language. In the majority of literary works of this period, superlatives were not widely used. When they

were found, it was in the context of religious and poetic terminology.⁸¹ In Juan de Avila's writings, they contrast God's love and mercy, and man's poor state in this life. Among the superlatives, one finds benditísimo, dulcísimo, perfectísimo, sacratísimo, delicadísimo, obedientísimo, humildísima, unísima, simplicísima, profundísimo, and grandísimo. There are others, and at times both diminutives and superlatives will appear in the same section. The contrast in the selection below is clear:

¡Obedientísimo Corazón, que cuando en el mundo vivías vida mortal fue mayor la pena que te dieron las ofensas cometidas contra tu Padre, y más atormentada fue tu ánima con el dolor de ellas que tu sacratísimo y delicadísimo cuerpo con azotes, espinas, clavos, y muerte en cruz! Y con mucha justicia se debía a tu ánima morar en una tierra que es el cielo, más lejos de haber el ella pecado, que según el sitio corporal está lejos de la partecica más baja de toda la tierra. (II, p. 679)

San Juan de Avila makes use of anecdotes in some of his sermons. These are found mainly in those of the Virgin Mary and the Saints and are what could be considered "devotional digressions". This is not something which is a general characteristic of his technique, but some of the little stories he tells are amusing and interesting. One particular sermon, number 78, has a series of anecdotes following one another. The Feast was that of St. Francis of Assisi, to whom a great many people were devoted. Included here is a section of the sermon; to get the full effect of the series, they should be read together:

Si iba por ese campo y llamaba las aves, venían y le bendecían. Mirá: Si siempre duráramos en la inocencia de Adán antes que pecare, obedeciéranos todas las criaturas. Así agora los que, mediante la gracia de Dios, se allegan a aquella inocencia, les obedecen todas las cosas como entonces. Si mandaba a las aves que cantasen, hacíanlo; y llamábalas cuando decía maitines, y decía él un verso y ellas el otro; y tenía él diferentes aves para que cantasen unas a una hora y otras a

otra. Quería él mucho a estas pajaritas que llaman cugujadas, porque decía él que parecían frailes por aquellas cresticas que tienen de plumas sobre la cabeza. (III, p. 309)

In another sermon, preached on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, he tells the story of what happened to Mary and Martha after Jesus had died:

Dicen que, después que se convirtió, nunca más miró a hombre a la cara, sino fue a Jesucristo con su Madre sacratísima. Y después que subió Jesucristo al cielo, pusieronla en un navío a ella, y a su hermana Marta, y a su hermano Lázaro, y al obispo Maximino, sin remos, sin velas, para que se anegasen. Vinieron a aportar a Marsella, ahí, en Francia. Predicó allí el Evangelio, y predicábalo con tanta gracia, que convirtió toda la isla. Su hermana, Santa Marta, hizo un monasterio de monjas y encerróse allí para servir a Dios: la primera que hizo monasterio de monjas.

La Magdalena fuése a un monte... (III, p. 277)

About St. Matthew he has an intriguing story, which though long, is entertaining. (III, p. 288) He begins the anecdote by telling the story, but somewhere along the way he interrupts with a short moral lesson. More than likely, in all cases mentioned above, the majority of the people listening were common people -- at times in his writings he refers to them as the vulgo. Because he knew his audiences so well, he chose with care what to tell them. Another section tells the story about what happened to a man who had received communion irreverently. Juan de Avila's devotion to the Eucharist is clear:

Había en una ciudad un clérigo que estaba en pecado mortal, y no por eso dejaba de comulgar cada día; y estando un día diciendo misa, ya que quería alzar, cuando pone las manos sobre el ara, vino fuego del cielo y quemóle ambas manos. Este y otros grandes males han acaecido por llegarse los hombres allí sucios. En un lugar estaba un hombre casado y era un mal hombre, que estaba en pecado mortal; y fue a confesarse con su cura, y él estaba en tal disposición, que le dijo el cura que no comulgase; y no bastó esto, sino que otro día fue a comulgar entre otros. Cuando el cura le vio que venía a comulgar, no pudiendo hacer otra cosa, dijo: «Dios juzque entre mí y ti», porque, aunque el otro se llegaba indispuerto, no puede negar el cura el santo sacramento al que se lo pide en público.

Comulgólo, y luego, antes que acabase de pasar El Santísimo Sacramento, reventó, y llevaron los diablos su ánima; abrieronle, y hallaron el Santísimo Sacramento en la boca. (II, p. 938)

While entertaining the public with a pleasing interlude, Juan de Avila teaches a moral lesson. His stories are delicate and sensitive, far different from the poor taste of some of the medieval sermons. This is the case in all his writings -- a beautiful lesson is learned from the examples.

One aspect that has not yet been dealt with is that of comparisons, either of wholes or parts. San Juan was a master of this type of expression. For Estella as well, this method was a valid means to develop a sermon:

Y no debe tener en poco las comparaciones, porque una de las más lindas gracias de púlpito son [las] comparaciones, y el Evangelio está lleno de ellas, y los profetas, y Cristo Redentor nuestro las usa mucho, por darse mejor a entender y declararse por ellas, [y] también porque quedase más en la memoria de los oyentes su doctrina.⁸²

Comparisons can take the form of giving importance to one thing in order to elevate even more something which is superior. In a sermon preached on the Nativity of the Virgin, Juan de Avila compares her to the moon:

Es la luna blanca, y la Virgen es purísima; es la luna la más veloz de todos los siete planetas, y la Virgen la más diligente y presta en el servicio de nuestro Señor que ninguna criatura; la luna es la más baja de todos los planetas, y la Virgen la más humilde que hay en el cielo ni en la tierra. Y así como la luna, aunque unas veces parece con poca lumbre, y otras no parece, y otras parece llena, y en la verdad nunca tiene menos lumbre una vez que otra, sino siempre está llena, sino que, porque no parece a los ojos de los hombres aquella parte la cual es alumbrada del sol, por eso juzgamos que tiene algunas veces poca, y ella siempre está llena, así la Virgen sagrada todo el bien y lumbre que tiene, de Jesucristo nuestro Señor, que es el sol de la justicia, le viene; y aunque muchas veces estuviese haciendo ejercicios corporales que al parecer son de poca luz, así como comer, beber, trabajar y otras cosas

de aquéostas, mas ella siempre tenía su ánima convertida y atenta a Dios, el lucidísimo sol, y con grandísimo fervor y amor y elevación de entendimiento y voluntad hacía todad sus obras, chicas y grandes, corporales y espirituales. (III, p. 6)

One also sees the tendency to link clauses with different connectives: y, sino que, por eso, and aunque. Juan de Avila does this often -- in speech it would tend to make the clauses run together more fluidly. It is furthermore the mark of a speaker who seems to be eager to get on with the sermon. His scientific observations about the moon and planets demonstrate an interest in astronomy. He was, in fact, involved with scientific inventions during his lifetime.⁸³

In the following eloquent, tender, and moving passage, San Juan uses comparisons as he directs his remarks to Christ. One finds a delicate balance in the words which produce the effect of contrasting natural beauty with the Savior while making it clear that God has been the Creator of this beauty:

El sol alumbra, caliente y alegre sin que nadie se lo ruegue, sino por su propia naturaleza; y el fuego y todas tus criaturas comunican lo que tú les diste, sin elección, sino por instinto de naturaleza que tú les pegaste, haciéndoles participantes en su modo de tu infinita liberalidad. Mas así como son en el ser más bajas que tú, no tiene que ver su liberalidad con la tuya; ellas, si se dan, no saben lo que hacen; mas tú, Señor, sabiendo qué haces, y sobre pensando, te comunicas de mejor gana y más copiosamente que ninguna de tus criaturas, ¡Oh quién entendiese, Señor, tus caminos llenos de hermoso amor! ¡Quién entendiese cómo en todas las cosas, cuando no concedes y cuando concedes, y cuando haces y no haces, halagas y riñes, el fin que en todo pretendes es nuestra satisfacción y salvación eterna! (II, p. 489)

Here we find him extolling the goodness and beauty of God, leading his listeners to the end that he has in mind -- that of praising the Creator for what He has accomplished for man. The lesson, which comes at the end, is in the form of exclamation, and it is not lost.

In the last example of comparison, the subject matter is of a

more doctrinal type. Here the human body is compared to the spiritual body of Christ, which is of much greater merit:

La cabeza es más alta que todo el cuerpo, y Cristo más alto que todos los hombres y todos los ángeles. En la cabeza están los cinco sentidos y el regimiento y gobernación de todo el cuerpo, y en Cristo toda la sabiduría, todas las gracias, el poderío y la gobernación del cielo y de la tierra. Y si de la cabeza desciende influjo de espíritus que den movimiento y sentimiento a los miembros del cuerpo, mucho mejor desciende el espíritu de la gracia de Cristo en los suyos, con que viven y obran de vida agradable y meritoria delante los ojos de Dios. (II, p. 793)

The influence of St. Paul's figure is clear, since head and body are characteristic of his expression.⁸⁴

As this study progresses, it becomes evident that Juan de Avila did indeed make use of a variety of rhetorical devices in his sermons. Whether or not he at one time spent hours perfecting his ability to preach is not known. It is clear that his speaking is not "street talk". And it is also obvious that it is not so complicated that it could not be understood by the masses to whom he preached. The blend, and that is what his style reveals, is somewhere between the two. It is refined and eloquent, but not pompous or pedantic. It is natural and fluid, while at the same time edifying and illuminating.

The final technique to be analyzed is the use of metaphors, of which there are many. The Virgin is given different titles, most of which are found in Medieval literature. Some of these include: alba, enfermera, madre de misericordia, and mensajera y madre del sol. Her neck is a torre, and she is likened to a muro. There are also appellations for Christ. At one point they are combined in the following fashion:

Que verdad digo, y verdad de Dios, que este Príncipe nuestro, Jesucristo, Médico y Pastor amoroso, está entre nosotros, y

El mismo entra en nosotros y obra en sus ovejas todo lo que obró por las calles, plazas y templo de Jerusalén. (II, pp. 833-834)

Christ is called admirable, consejero, Dios, fuerte, Pater futuri saeculi, cabeza, Princeps pacis, árbol de la vida, fuego, sol de justicia, and Capitán. One is reminded of De los nombres de Cristo of Fr. Luis de León. The search into Scripture by each man opened up new meanings of Old Testament titles given to God.

The Eucharist at one point becomes a retablo de maravillas on which God has drawn all his marvels:

¿Qué es esto? Hizo Dios un retablo, en que puso todas sus maravillas, en que está debujando su encarnación, su nacimiento y su pasión, y todas las obras pasadas que ha hecho dignas de memoria, para que, si deseas acordarte de todo, lo halles junto y nada te falte de lo que deseas, sino que lo tengas todo junto; y este manjar, con ser uno y solo, te sepa a todo lo que quieres. (II, p. 644)

Not only is the Eucharist a retablo of present blessings, but it is also a representation of future glory:

Es también retablo el santísimo Sacramento de las cosas que están por venir. Dibujadas, pintadas, recogidas están allí todas las grandezas de Dios que esperamos, que aun no son venidas. Figura es el Sacramento de la gloria que esperamos. (II, p. 657)

In the first section above, we notice the use of the second person when Juan de Avila speaks. This is very characteristic of his method. It provides, once again, the atmosphere and directness that he established while preaching. The metaphor of the retablo clarifies and makes more vivid for the people the completeness that he saw in the Eucharist. It is a familiar picture, and one to which the listeners could relate with little trouble. It is possible that he had in mind the Retablo de la vida de Cristo of Juan de Padilla, el Cartujano.

Another metaphor which is interesting is that of panes de ce-

bada. They are to be found in the wounds in the feet, hands, and side of Jesus. There are five which should be eaten. After treating all individually, he sums up the message this way:

De manera que los panes de cebada sean: el dolor de corazón verdadero de los pecados cometidos, confesarlos de verdad, pagar lo que debéis, dar limosna y perdonar las injurias. (II, p. 217)

The metaphors, as we have seen here and before, serve to embellish and vary Juan de Avila's message. They function, as for Estella, to delight, and are a means, not an end, in themselves.

In order to see how Juan de Avila developed a sermon, it would be well at this point to turn to an actual sermon and analyze its progression. The structure of a sermon should follow definite guidelines, based on the example of classical writers.⁸⁵ First should be the exhortation, followed by the doctrinal part -- that which the preacher wishes to use for instructional purposes. In the middle of the sermon are the parts of least importance, or the sections that the preacher considers "las más flojas". At the end, the climactic part, the purpose is to move the hearts of the faithful. As a general rule, the sermons of Juan de Avila follow that order, but there are variations.

We recall the different sections of a medieval sermon which were mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Though San Juan did not adhere strictly to them, his sermons are for the most part carefully divided into sections, and they do have an internal order. Whether the divisions were made by him or by his transcribers is uncertain. There are certain problems that one notices. For example, many sermons are incomplete, or begin after the initial prayer was finished. Others end abruptly with no final prayer. There are signs of editing, since frequently many etc., etc. appear.⁸⁶ This is dis-

stracting to the reader, as much of the meaning is lost. Where a long Scriptural passage has been quoted by Juan de Avila, the editor or transcriber sometimes chooses to begin with the first few words and then inject an etc., assuming that the reader knows the section by memory. Sermon 36 is an example of how tampering was done. It presents an interesting dimension, since it appears to have been begun by one scribe and completed by another. Because it is very long (fifty typewritten pages), this change is very understandable. Although San Juan preached for long periods of time upon occasion, it is unlikely that this sermon was preached as we have it today. The first part is disjointed from the rest of the sermon, and there is a mixture of styles as one progresses through it. Nevertheless, the sections that do hold together reveal that it was indeed a long sermon. This particular one was preached on the vigil of Corpus Christi, always a feast of major importance to Juan de Avila.

In spite of these alterations, there are many sermons which appear to be basically intact. And there is evidence to suggest that he did follow guidelines in preparing them. They are well organized and demonstrate that he knew where he was going with them. Sermon 28 has been chosen as an example of a complete sermon.⁸⁷ It is no more typical than many others, but it does bring together the elements we have mentioned above. Furthermore, it deals with the interesting subject of lineage, and of priests and preachers. In it the directness of expression is forcefully evident. The sermon was preached on May 29, 1552. It is a long one and must have taken from one to two hours to deliver. That was standard length for sermons at that time.

This one begins with an Exordio, the exhortation to pray and

the introduction of one of the themes to be developed -- that of the sinfulness of man and the saving grace of God: "Señor, si fuérades como nosotros; ¡qué mal nos fuera!...Si El fuera como nosotros, ¿Qué fuera de nosotros?" (II, p. 390) St. Paul is also referred to. Perhaps the quotations from the Epistle are the ones mentioned here. At the end of that section, there is the invitation to pray. Juan de Avila always included this prayer, and it was the Ave Maria.⁸⁸

The next section is the reading of the Gospel. It does not take much time, as Avila acknowledges: "Brevecito es." Shortly afterwards he begins to develop the theme of the Holy Spirit as counselor, and at one point he paraphrases the Gospel in his own words. One detail is worthy of note in this paraphrase, for it is very typical of the way in which Juan de Avila expresses himself: "Enviaros he uno... que os dirá quien soy, que aun no me conocéis bien; uno que sea Espíritu, que allá dentro de vosotros os enseñe, que ni sea menester orejas para oírle ni ojos para verle..."

By way of getting the people to listen more attentively, he might have paused at the end of that section and looked around. For he continues: "Henos aquí metidos donde yo deseaba." And he continues speaking about the good that will come from being at Mass during that week before Holy Week. Then he immediately focuses on an issue -- first by asking questions, then by answering them in a few words. Again he quotes the primary message he wants to impart: "...Si alguno no tiene Espíritu de Cristo, este tal no es de Cristo." The development continues, and San Juan uses different means to do it. He employs examples of Adam and Eve, and repeats the above section throughout. Then he strikes out against those of noble blood who perhaps consider

themselves better than others. Because of his own blood line, he keenly felt the discrimination or disdain of the cristianos viejos. One can surmise the reaction of some individuals when they heard the following. There were no doubt some raised eyebrows:

No basta, para ser hijos de Dios y subir al cielo, que hayas nacido de sangre; nada sirve que seas hijo de conde, ni de duque, ni que seas de sangre de rey. Poco es eso. El mayor serafín que está en el cielo, si no tuviese el espíritu de Cristo, no sería bienaventurado. No se da el cielo por linaje, non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis; no nacen de voluntad conforme a lo que quiere su carne; no nacen con voluntad afectada de la carne;...Aquél es verdadero hijo de Dios que hubiere nacido de agua y de Espíritu Santo... (II, p. 397)

It is a theme that Juan de Avila repeats again and again in his writings.

The next group of individuals to be singled out are the priests and preachers. It is important to note the power behind the remarks here. San Juan is not interested in placating anyone -- he wants to arouse these individuals, to make them react. He quotes Scripture, asks questions, exclaims, and exhorts. And he keeps returning to that one theme: "El que no tiene corazón de Cristo, no es de Cristo."

After getting the attention of the congregation, and turning their thoughts to the state of their own souls, he changes his tone somewhat. He now invites the people to turn to the Spirit with confidence, for He will help them. Juan de Avila did not agitate people for the sake of agitation. He always wanted them to return to God, and here we see one of the methods he used for this. At the end he exhorts them to be charitable to others and gives them some prayers to recite. Many times San Juan would recite the closing prayer himself, though it does not appear that he did so on this occasion. The sermon, as can be seen, has an internal development as well as dramatic elements.

Each of Juan de Avila's sermons is different, as one might expect. But there is an order followed. There is not, however, great stress on eloquence nor on unusual or archaic terms. He was interested in getting across the Word of God, not any other words. Because of the awareness, the respect, and the rapport he had with his audiences, many people came to hear him preach, and his sermons were both edifying and inspirational.

Conclusion

We have observed that Juan de Avila used rhetoric abundantly in his sermons. It is readily seen why Fr. Luis de Granada was so interested in the subject, and perhaps why he produced the type of writing that he did. Both of these men produced a style containing elegance that was beautiful as well as devotional. Juan de Avila ushered in a new style, not devoid of tradition, but surpassing it. He searched for a radical method, and this search brought him in contact with St. Paul, the early Fathers of the Church, and a modern world which was developing. The balance, lucidity, and clearness of his expression provided a means by which preaching could once again achieve the effectiveness it had possessed in the early days of the Church.

San Juan de Avila achieved the results for which the reformers of the sixteenth century were striving. In his sermons, he effectively eliminated the pompous, didactic, style of preaching, as well as the vulgar and hence sometimes scandalous type. The tone was intimate, warm, and personal. Rather than distance himself from his listeners, he attempted to draw them into the sermons.

His orientation was primarily Biblical, but not to the point of

ignoring his own human qualities and those of his listeners. Rather than extract a moral or theological lesson purely for instructional purposes, which Diego de Estella did for the most part, Juan de Avila blended instruction with compassion and achieved an affectionate rapport with his audiences. Preaching was for him an act of love, not one of the intellect. The methods he used to develop his sermons, for example Biblical exegesis and rhetoric, were never to be ends in themselves, but rather means to the end -- love of God and of neighbor. He in effect "personalized" preaching, and his greatness, to a large extent, comes from that fact. In our "modern" twentieth century, his example is particularly relevant, and it deserves the scrutiny of history.

Footnotes, Chapter II

¹See, for example, T. M. Charland, Artes praedicandi (Ottawa, 1936); G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (Oxford, 1966); Edwin C. Dargan, A History of Preaching (Grand Rapids, 1968); Harry Caplan, Of Eloquence (Ithaca, 1970); and Nicole Marzac, Edition critique de sermon 'Qui manducat me' de Robert Ciboule (Cambridge, 1971).

²Francisco Rico, Predicación y literatura en la España medieval (Cadiz: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1977). Other works with references to preaching include: Joseph Pérez, "Moines frondeurs et sermons subversifs en Castilla," Bulletin Hispanique, 1-2 (1965); José M. Garganta, Biografía y escritos de San Vicente Ferrer (Madrid, 1956); Antonio Martí, La preceptiva retórica española en el Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1972); Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Las dos redacciones del «Modus concionandi» de Fray Diego de Estella," Homenaje al Prof. Rodríguez-Moñino (Madrid, 1966); Jesús Martínez Bujanda, Diego de Estella (1524-1578). Estudio de sus obras castellanas (Roma, 1970); M. Bataillon, Erasmo y España (Mexico, 1966), and "Jean d'Avila retrouvé," Bulletin Hispanique, vol. 57 (1955), pp. 5-44; José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, El arzobispo Carranza y su tiempo (Madrid, 1968).

³Ibid., p. 6.

⁴Harry Caplan, Of Eloquence (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970) p. 43.

⁵See Américo Castro, La realidad histórica de España (Mexico, 1973), Aspectos del vivir hispánico (Madrid, 1970), and De la edad conflictiva (Madrid, 1961).

⁶"Ahora bien, por su propia esencia, los sermones de tipo más popular rara vez se pusieron por escrito. El Concilio de Braga, en el año 572, ya recomienda predicar al nivel del vulgo; y San Martín Dumense, que asistió a él, aclara al obispo de Astorga que era necesario preparar el elemento rústico en lengua rústica, «cibum rustico sermone condire». Pero claro es que el mero hecho de escribir impedía hacerlo «rustico sermone»." (Rico, op. cit., p. 8).

⁷Les théoriciens assimilent encore, et avec plus de justesse cette fois, le sermon à un arbre, qui sort tout entier d'une racine: le thème, qui s'allonge par le tronc: le prothème et l'introduction du thème, qui se partage en grosses branches: les membres de la division avec leur déclaration et leur confirmation, lesquelles engendrent à leur tour des branches plus petites: les membres des subdivisions, sur lesquelles apparaissent des feuilles, des fleurs et finalement des fruits: le développement. C'est dans les fruits que s'épanouit la vertu que vient de la racine en traversant le tronc et les branches. (Charland, op. cit., p. 194).

⁸Martí, op. cit., p. 17.

⁹"...el sermón de la Baja Edad Media será uno y vario, el mecanismo de serie no impedirá el toque creador y original." (Rico, op. cit., p. 10).

¹⁰Garganta, op. cit., p. 43.

¹¹St. Vincent Ferrer, Sermons de Quaresma (Valencia: Clàssics Albatros, 1973), vol. 1., p. 30.

¹²"Toda esa gama de registros, de la indignación al humor y la ternura, de lo más sublime a lo más insignificante, y, por otra parte, la multiplicidad de estilos, siempre adecuados a los más diversos temas, tan logrados en el diálogo como en el relato o la exposición teórica, confieren a San Vicente Ferrer un lugar de honor en las letras hispánicas medievales." (Rico, op. cit., p. 17).

¹³Bataillon, Erasmus y España, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

¹⁴Rico, op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁵"Las razones expuestas por Fr. Hernando no dejan de presentar resquicios para atisbar sus propias ideas espirituales, su concepción de un cristianismo purificado de escorias terrenas, de orientaciones paulinas, intimistas y evangélicas, en el que aparecen ya la mayoría de los rasgos que caracterizan la religiosidad de los erasmistas, de la piedad franciscana y del Beato Juan de Avila." Fr. Hernando de Talavera, Católica impugnación (Barcelona: Flors, 1961), p. 40.

¹⁶J. I. Gutiérrez Nieto, Las comunidades como movimiento anti-señorial (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1973), p. 34.

¹⁷Joseph Pérez, "Moines frondeurs et sermons subversifs en Castilla," Bulletin Hispanique, 1-2 (1965), p. 23.

¹⁸Fr. Luis G. Getino, Vida e ideario del Maestro Pablo de León (Salamanca: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Calatrava, 1935), pp. 92-93.

¹⁹"Lo primero que un miembro no tiene envidia; lo segundo, un miembro no apropia a sí el oficio de otro...; Lo tercero que los miembros más flacos (son) y menos parecen valer, más los honramos; lo cuarto que nos enseña amar los prójimos es que todos los miembros y ninguno tiene envidia de otro; lo quinto, que un miembro todo lo que hace a otro, todo lo reputa ser hecho a él, agora sea bien, agora mal; lo sexto, que un miembro se expone por otro...; lo séptimo, que un manjar que un miembro rescibe, todos lo resciben." Ibid., pp. 93-94.

²⁰Ibid., p. 97.

²¹Ibid., p. 89.

²²Ibid., p. 91.

²³Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Espiritualidad y literatura en

el siglo XVI (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1968), pp. 18-19.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 21-22.

²⁵Avila, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 218. Henceforth, quotations will be included in the text of this study. All are from the Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos edition. They will be listed by volume and page. Volume I contains the Introduction and the Audi, filia; volumes II and III are the sermons; volume IV includes the Comentarios bíblicos; volume V is the Cartas; and volume VI contains the Tratados de reforma.

²⁶Avila, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 65.

²⁷See, for example, Fray Diego de Estella, Modo de predicar y Modus concionandi (Madrid, 1951); Fray Luis de Granada, Los seis libros de la rhetórica eclesiástica o de la manera de predicar (Barcelona, 1977); Fr. Agustín Salucio, Avisos para los predicadores del Santo Evangelio (Barcelona, 1959); Francisco Terrones del Caño, Instrucción de predicadores (Madrid, 1960).

²⁸Granada, Vida, op. cit., p. 35.

²⁹Ibid., p. 43.

³⁰Francisco Terrones del Caño, Instrucción de predicadores (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, S. A., 1960), p. 2.

³¹Fr. Agustín Salucio, Avisos para los predicadores del Santo Evangelio (Barcelona: Flors, 1959), p. 144.

³²See Jesús Martínez Bujanda, Diego de Estella (1524-1578) (Roma: Instituto Español de Historia, 1970), pp. 77-84.

³³"Mas en esto deve irse con cuydado, para que no torzamos la voz de su natural sonido, afectando otro demasiado hueco, y retumbante. Porque nada afectado, nada que desdiga de lo natural, puede ser agradabile. Vicio que padecen los que teniendo una voz ténue, y muy delgada, quieren con los carrillos hinchados, digámoslo assí, remedar este lleno, y acrimonia de voz." (Granada, Rhetórica, op. cit., p. 473). Estella says: "Y es cierto que hay predicadores que toman tonos que, puesta esta comparación, es disparate, como se ve en la manera [de entonar] que toman para hablar de veras. Y así, como dan voces, desquiciados de su propio tono y voz natural, parece que hablan con los paredes, de suerte que sus palabras se van por alto, sin entrar en los corazones, y ellos quedan muertos y dejan al auditoria muy desabrido y descontento. Porque, como decíamos en el capítulo pasado, la oreja del oyente tiene tal instinto natural que siente cuándo va fuera do tono el predicador, y se ofende gravemente." Fr. Diego de Estella, Modo de predicar y Modus conscionandi (Madrid: Instituto Miguel de Cervantes, 1951), vol. 2, p. 158.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 37-38.

³⁵Ibid., p. 79.

³⁶Ibid., p. 18.

³⁷Martí, op. cit., p. 141.

³⁸Granada, op. cit., p. 44.

³⁹Ibid., p. 34.

⁴⁰See James L. Connolly, John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic (St. Louis, Missouri: B. Herder Book Co., 1928).

⁴¹References to Gerson are found in the following: Epistolario, pp. 625, 771, 772, 788; Comentarios bíblicos, pp. 258, 440; Tratados menores, p. 455; Audi, filia, pp. 503, 504, 690, 691, 695.

⁴²Stephen Ozment, Mysticism and Dissent (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 8.

⁴³Ibid., p. 37.

⁴⁴For example, in the explication of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, Avila says: "Dice Erasmo que el término que corresponde en el griego a «videre» significa no solamente ver, sino ver para aprender. San Crisóstomo, Jerónimo, Ambrosio y todos dicen lo contrario: que no fue para aprender, sino como a mayor para reverenciarle; y es esto conforme a lo que va tratando el Apóstol, y no lo que dice Erasmo." (IV, p. 40).

⁴⁵M. Bataillon, "Vers une définition de l'erasmisme," Colloquia Erasiana Turonensia, 1 (1972), p. 31.

⁴⁶"...el traductor no tuvo que hacer gran esfuerzo de adaptación para que este libro gozara en España una popularidad que no tenía en ninguna otra parte, sin que la Inquisición diera la menor señal de inquietud." (Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., p. 313). The question as to when this book was published in Spain is open. Dorothy S. Severin thinks it could have appeared as early as 1528. See the introduction to La lengua de Erasmo (Madrid: Aguirre, 1975).

⁴⁷D. Erasmus, La lengua de Erasmo nuevamente romançada por muy elegante estilo (Madrid: Editorial Aguirre, 1975), p. 27.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 179.

⁴⁹For a thorough study of Carranza, see J. I. Tellechea Idígoras, El arzobispo Carranza y su tiempo, op. cit.

⁵⁰J. I. Tellechea Idígoras, "Ideario ascético-pastoral de Bartolomé Carranza," Corrientes espirituales en la España del Siglo XVI

(Barcelona: Flors, 1963), p. 219.

⁵¹See M. Bataillon, Erasmo y España, especially his treatment of obispos and prelados.

⁵²Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., pp. 710-711.

⁵³"Bajo el imperio de este rigor y esta dureza, lo que pudieron ser imprecisiones, inconveniencias o deslices de forma, se convirtieron en innumerables herejías, lo que pudo ser algo pasajero y oculto, se transformó en pública infamia, en diecisiete años de cárcel, y en una página bochornosa de nuestra historia." (Tellechea Idígoras, El arzobispo Carranza y su tiempo, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 97-98).

⁵⁴"...Constantino era, sin disputa, el predicador más célebre de España, y Sevilla temía que se lo quitaran." (Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., p. 528).

⁵⁵Avila, Obras, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 198.

⁵⁶For a more thorough look at Constantino, refer to pp. 529-539 of Erasmo y España.

⁵⁷Egidio. (Juan Gil). This man was another famous preacher in Sevilla. He also proclaimed justification by faith and was similar to Valdés. See Erasmo y España, pp. 524-527.

⁵⁸An example of this is the Tratado del amor de Dios, which is not included in the sermons. Sermon 35, though considered to be one by the editors of the BAC, appears to be more of an essay.

⁵⁹Examples of these include plática no. 5, an exposition on confession; no. 8, which deals with how ecclesiastical funds should be spent; no. 12, about purgatory; and no. 13, an explanation of excommunication. Nos. 7 and 9 are heavily interspersed with Latin quotes, and no. 10 is written primarily in that language. These appear to be short essays which at one time may have been longer sermons. Says Sala Balust: "Una primera dificultad era la clasificación de los escritos predicados de Avila en sermones y pláticas. No es fácil en ocasiones deslindar, particularmente teniendo en cuenta que Avila es siempre igualmente elocuente -- aun en sus cartas y en el Audi, filia -- y que el P. Díaz, al eliminar de los tratados la mayor parte de los elementos característicos, nos ha privado de los datos necesarios." (II, p. 11) In general, the pláticas are not nearly as spontaneous, or interesting, as are the sermons.

⁶⁰Avila, Obras, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 198.

⁶¹Manresa 18 (1946), no. 2; Manresa 17 (1945), no. 3; Miscelánea Comillas 7 (1947), nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26.

⁶²Luis Muñoz, Vida, op. cit., p. 184.

⁶³Bruno Jereczek, Louis de Grenade, disciple de Jean d'Avila (Paris: Didier, 1971), p. 162.

⁶⁴"Si on la compare, par ailleurs, à la prédication grenadine se caractérise par son souci de perfection technique, esthétique et littéraire. Elle ne dénote pas l'improvisation, mais l'élaboration d'un «auteur». On y rencontre rarement le style primesautier, l'expression inachevée, les phrases nominales, les ruptures de constructions, le ton de la conversation ou de la discussion, si fréquents dans les sermons de Jean d'Avila. Le Maître se contentait de jeter quelques notes sur un feuille de papier, et ses sermons, pris au vol par des auditeurs, ont gardé la vivacité, la spontanéité, la chaleur de l'inspiration. Le sermon de Louis de Grenade est écrit, dès le départ, puis appris, ce qui lui confère une allure régulière, un aspect fini, un rythme harmonieux et sans-à-soup, et ce qui explique, en grande partie la ressemblance fondamentale entre ce genre et le genre didactique du traité ou du discours." Ibid., pp. 339-340.

⁶⁵For a detailed analysis of rhetoric in preaching see Fray Luis de Granada's Los seis libros de la retórica eclesiástica o de la manera de predicar (Barcelona: Imprenta de Juan Jolis, 1777).

⁶⁶Rebecca Switzer, The Ciceronian Style in Fr. Luis de Granada (New York: Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, 1927), p. 32.

⁶⁷"Dos necesidades de personas de éstas tiene la Iglesia: una de curas y confesores, y otra de predicadores; y entrambas se han de remediar de estos colegios.

Para los primeros se ha de proveer que oigan gramática, casos de conciencia y algo de la sacra Escritura; no en pocos años, pues no es pequeño el oficio de medicinar ánimas; antes es «ars artium», como dice San Gregorio. Y sería bien, sin gramática, estuviesen a lo menos cuatro o cinco años, para que con la edad, bondad y letras autorizaran y sin peligro trataran oficio tan alto. Y esto cuanto a curas y confesores." (VI, p. 42).

⁶⁸Books and authors that he recommends to some of his disciples include: the Passio duorum, Contemptus mundi, (Kempis), Los abecedarios espirituales (Osuna), Los cartujanos, Opera Bernardi, Confesiones (Augustine), Casian, St. John Climacus, Morales (St. Gregory). Letter no. 233 cites many works which he recommended to a priest who requested help in a certain matter. Authors not mentioned above include: St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Cyprian, Gerson, Lawrence Justinian, St. Clement, Petro Blesense, Tritgennio, St. Bonaventure, Dionisius the Carthusian, St. Thomas, Clitobeo, Bernal Díaz de Luco. In letter no. 225, he adds the Paraphrasis and Anotaciones of Erasmus (parts to be read con cautela) and Gabriel Biel.

⁶⁹Estella, op. cit., pp. 134-135.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 152.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 155.

⁷²M. Bataillon, "Jean d'Avila retrouvé," Bulletin Hispanique, 57 (1955), p. 28.

⁷³Estella, op. cit., p. 52.

⁷⁴Pedro Laín Entralgo, La antropología en la obra de Fr. Luis de Granada (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946), p. 58.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 306.

⁷⁶Two quotations from St. Paul demonstrate this: "Just as a human body, though it is made up of many parts, is a single unit because all these parts, though many, make one body, so it is with Christ. In the one Spirit we were all baptized, Jews as well as Greeks, slaves as well as citizens, and one Spirit was given us all to drink." (1 Cor. 12:12-13) The Jerusalem Bible (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc.), p. 304. Also: "Do all you can to preserve the unity of the Spirit by the peace that binds you together. There is one Body, one Spirit, just as you were all called into one and the same hope when you were called. There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God who is Father of all, through all and within all." (Ep. 4:3-6) Ibid., p. 334.

⁷⁷The Diccionario de Autoridades defines influir thusly: "En sentido moral vale persuadir, o ser causa de alguna cosa, con el consejo o dirección. Lat. influere." A following definition reads: "Influir v.a. Causar algunos efectos o inclinar a ellos, ya se hable generalmente de toda cuasa, ya específicamente de los Astros o cuerpos celestes." Diccionario de Autoridades (Madrid: Gredos, 1963), p. 267.

⁷⁸M. Bataillon, "Jean d'Avila retrouvé," op. cit., pp. 6-7.

⁷⁹When in 1554, Avila was on the verge of entering the Jesuits and taking his disciples with him, he was reticent to do so, because he thought that people would say the Order was a "synagogue". (I, p. 168) Also, Sala Balust writes about Avila's last years: "Mientras tanto, Juan de Avila sigue al frente de aquellos sus discípulos, que llevan sobre sí el estigma de ser cristianos nuevos, por la mayor parte, y han de ser pronto blanco de la Inquisición por su espiritualidad sospechosa de iluminismo." (I, p. 184) Bataillon, in Erasmo y España (p. 828) comments: "Es el alma de la predicación del cristiano nuevo Juan de Avila, que estuvo a punto de salir para la Nueva España con Fr. Julián Garcés y se quedó en Andalucía sin dejar por eso ser gran imitador de San Pablo y restaurador de la primitiva Iglesia."

⁸⁰Estella, op. cit., p. 61.

⁸¹"El superlativo en ísimo no era popular en los siglos XV y XVI, y sólo algún caso aislado se ha espigado, desde el dulcísimo de Berceo, en la lengua religiosa y poética..." Angel Rosenblat, La lengua

del "Quijote" (Madrid: ed. Gredos, 1971), pp. 189-190.

⁸²Estella, op. cit., p. 68.

⁸³F. Márquez Villanueva, in an informative article, has written about this dimension in Juan de Avila. See "Los inventos de San Juan de Avila," Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo, 3 (Sevilla, 1973).

⁸⁴"If we live by the truth and in love, we shall grow in all ways into Christ, who is the head by whom the whole body is fitted and joined together, every joint adding its own strength, for each separate part to work according to its function. So the body grows until it has built itself up, in love." (Ep. 4:15-16) The Jerusalem Bible, op. cit., p. 334.

⁸⁵"Llegado el momento en que las ciencias y las artes debían romper las moldes del Medio Evo, para dirigir sus miradas a las antiguas escuelas de Atenas y de Roma, había sonado también para la elocuencia sagrada la hora de desentenderse del espíritu y de los procedimientos de los siglos medios, siguiendo nuevos rumbos y orientaciones hasta entonces desconocidos. Imponíase, pues, a todo trance el retorno a la antigüedad clásica, a los viejos modelos, dejando a un lado los procedimientos seguidos por la Escolástica." Estella, op. cit., p. 237. (Estudio preliminar por Pio Sagüés Azcona, O.F.M.).

⁸⁶Examples are sermons 24 and 31.

⁸⁷Other sermons which appear to be basically intact include the following. The asterisk is placed beside sermons which are very good examples of Avila's technique. Where a bracket is found, the transcription of the sermon is indicated: 1[1], 2, 3, 4, 5[2], 6, 8*, 9, 10, 11, 12*, 13*, 14*, 15*, 18, 19, 21*, 22, 23, 25*, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53*, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 63, 65[1], 66, 67*, 68, 69, 70, 71*, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82.

⁸⁸See Estella, Modo de predicar, chap. 20, for an explanation of the ways of introducing a sermon.

CHAPTER III

THE CARTAS AND THE AUDL, FILIA

Part I, The Cartas

El cuidado de vuestra ánima, que nuestro Señor en el corazón me ha puesto, me hace sospechar que tenéis alguna necesidad de su ayuda, por lo cual me moví a escribir esta carta, suplicando a nuestro Señor Jesucristo obre en vos, mediante ella, lo que sabe es menester. (V, p. 228)

A study of the letters of Juan de Avila reveals, more than any other section of his writings, his inner being. As one examines them closely, certain problems arise with these letters. They are difficult to classify, not in terms of themes treated, but because many do not indicate to whom, or when, they were written. There have been numerous editions, and Sala Balust discusses this in the introduction to volume five.¹ The three indispensable editions are those of 1578, 1595, and 1618. Others followed in 1674, 1759, 1792, 1872, 1894, and 1901, but they were primarily editions based on previous ones. In 1912 García de Diego edited the letters, and in 1940 the edition of the Apostolado de la Prensa also studied them critically. These last two helped to purify the contents, since they returned to the original editions.

Sala Balust raises the question as to whether or not all the letters are authentic. He concludes that they are, but that they have not come to us in their entirety:

Pero es de lamentar que, al menos en su integridad, no hayan llegado a nosotros tal como salieron de la pluma del Maestro, sino con mutilaciones y retoques. Los discípulos de Avila, ora por la índole espiritual de sus ediciones -- recordemos que lo titulan Epistolario espiritual -- ora por no ofender la modestia de destinatarios que vivían todavía, eliminaron de las cartas todo lo que suponían matices personales o concretos, tales como el encabezamiento y, sobre todo, el final y sobrescrito de sus cartas, donde se contenía la expresión del lugar, fecha y nombre de las personas a quienes iban dirigidas. Otras veces omitieron alguna frase o párrafo que, por su realismo desencarnado, había de ofender tal vez los piadosos oídos de sus lectores; pasaron por alto una cita que les pareció comprometedora o modificaron y completaron algún pensamiento que podía ser sospechoso de heterodoxia en un momento de corrientes turbias.²

It is probable that all of the letters have not been discovered, because references to them are alluded to in catalogues of archives and in the process of beatification. There are 257 known to date.

The last problematical area is that of order. There does not appear to be any logical presentation of the various letters, and the editors of the BAC edition have chosen not to attempt one:

No se ha examinado todavía bien qué secreto orden pudo haber en el evidente desorden con que fueron presentadas la mayor parte de las cartas...Queden, pues, reunidas como en el primero momento, para que esta labor crítica sea quizá posible.³

Nor is it the purpose of the present study to try to arrange these epistles differently. Rather, they will be examined for content and style, and for an insight into who Juan de Avila was and what he accomplished in his letters.

There are, however, certain things that could be accomplished with the letters. The key seems to lie with those written to known people. Where there were one or two written, it is likely that there are more. The letters, put in sequential order according to recipients (where possible), would reveal more clearly the relationships that San Juan had with his followers and friends. For example, interesting

things happen when one reads letters such as number 142 (to Antonio de Córdoba), then number 144 (to a sick person, "vuestra merced"), then number 145 (again to A. de Córdoba). There is evidence to suggest that number 144 would be to the same man, though the recipient is not mentioned. The subject matters treated, enduring illness and preparing for death, go hand in hand. One could conclude that these letters were placed in the collection as they were given to the editors. The particular task of sorting these epistles would involve an effort of restructuring the order according to recipients and chronology, as well as attempting to ascertain where some of the others to unknown recipients might fit. Though a difficult study, it would, we believe, open up this area of San Juan's literary production and make even more obvious his role of administrator, spiritual director, and friend to some of the most illustrious people of his period.

The "instrument" or "intermediary" aspect has been examined regarding the role of preachers. We have seen that a very intimate relationship with the Spirit was necessary in order to preach the word of God so that hearts would be moved. The quote at the beginning of this chapter discloses the same idea. Juan de Avila perceived himself as a mediator through whom God might (or might not) choose to work. Though he does not say that he modeled his letters on those of St. Paul, the similarities are obvious. As do the Pauline Epistles, those of Juan de Avila examine doctrines, exhort to repentance, caution against disbelief or false doctrines, console in times of distress, stress the need for a deep life of union with God, proclaim the necessity of perseverance in times of suffering, and point out the need for humility, patience, and love of God and neighbor.⁴ The influence of St. Paul upon

Juan de Avila is noted by his two early biographers, Granada and Muñoz, and also by recent studies about him. Insofar as the letters are concerned, Granada is convinced of Juan de Avila's imitation of Pauline techniques.⁵ As one reads the two, there are similarities of purpose and content that show these two men to be of like mind and spirit. One of the most obvious comparisons of techniques that could be made is the way in which they quote Scripture. San Juan employs it in the same way as St. Paul -- as documentation or actual development of the content of his letters.

Fr. Luis de Granada's Vida contains a section on the letters of San Juan. In it he mentions the close relationship between St. Paul and the Spaniard. When dealing with the virtue of charity, as expressed in the Cartas, Granada writes:

"En lo cual también imitaba a su maestro San Pablo, que lo mismo hace al principio de sus cartas, como ya dijimos, porque el Espíritu Santo, que enseñaba al Apóstol comenzar sus cartas declarando la memoria y el cuidado y amor que tenía a aquellos a quien escribía, enseñó a éste, su imitador y discípulo, hacer lo mismo."⁶

Before continuing, it would be well to examine the concept of letter writing as it existed before San Juan's lifetime. There was a tradition of letter writing that went back to Greek and Roman times. Such authors as Cicero and Seneca had developed the art to a high degree. These ancient authors conceived letter writing as a means of "conversing" with another in his or her absence, and this notion was also adopted by the Renaissance writers such as Erasmus:

Esta tradición de la Antigüedad la recoge Erasmo, y la difunde a través del Humanismo a los diversos renacimientos nacionales. Coincide con Cicerón en acertar la epístola al diálogo: «conviene, escribe en latín, que la expresión de la epístola sea la que usan los amigos en sus conversaciones». El coloquio amistoso se empareja con la correspondencia, y la expresión

del uno conviene a la otra.⁷

Though these classical writers were the original models for the Renaissance figures, there were important men who prepared the way for letter writing to become a literary genre in Spain in the 16th century. One such man was Fernando de Pulgar (1453-1492) and the other Antonio de Guevara (1481?-1545).⁸ Pulgar was the chronicler for Isabel and Ferdinand, and his primary work was the Crónica de los Reyes Católicos, written between 1484 and 1492. Following the classical tradition based on Plutarch, Pulgar was also heavily influenced by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. He even came to be known as "el Plutarco español".⁹ Pulgar brought acute powers of observation to his writing, based on his personal experiences in court:

Las fuentes propiamente tales de nuestra Crónica son, en primer lugar, la observación directa del autor, que vive en los círculos de la corte desde los días de Juan II, está al corriente de todos los negocios de Estado, de la posición y actividad de cada una de las fuerzas políticas y de los movimientos de opinión, y ha participado en altos y decisivos asuntos diplomáticos y cortesanos.¹⁰

This direct observation gives a note of realism and is an important contribution, for it signals a departure from the didactic tone of medieval writing. For the most part, however, Pulgar's writing is rather austere and somber.

Antonio de Guevara followed in Pulgar's footsteps, and the latter's Letras were the primary inspiration for Guevara's Epístolas familiares. The similarity is not surprising:

No debe sorprender que la inspiración más cercana del género epistolar de Fray Antonio de Guevara se encuentre en la obra de Pulgar, puesto que los dos fueron humanistas casi coetáneos, grandes señores de España y cronistas reales...El oficio de historiador, el cual dejemos anotado como un subgénero entre las Epístolas familiares, tiene un paralelo exacto en las Letras de Pulgar: la guerra de sucesión entre Juana la Beltraneja e Isabel la Católica es narrada epistolariamente de idéntico modo

a como Guevara relatará la Guerra de las Comunidades. Se subraya la semejanza entre las dos colecciones de cartas al notar que los destinatarios de ambos son los grandes señores y más destacados religiosos de la Península.¹¹

Differences between the two do exist, however, and one of the primary ones is the humorous tone of Guevara's writing.

Both writers used rhetorical devices, especially antithesis and paronomasia. Guevara was especially fond of rhyming consonants within phrases, and his use of puns was extreme. It was also the reason for his great popularity:

La retórica de Guevara, que peca de un abuso de paronomasia... sin embargo, contribuyó más que nada a que la obra del mismo alcanzara una fama meteórica en la Europa del siglo XVI.¹²

Examples of these techniques are found throughout his letters. To illustrate this point, one example in which we see the use of internal rhymes appears below. The section is taken from his "Letra para don Juan Perellos Aragónés":

Dos cosas son las que jamás se deben prestar, ni de nadie confiar: es a saber, la espada que tenemos y la muger con quien nos casamos; porque parece muy bien al hombre la espada ceñida, y muy mejor parece a la muger que esté en casa guardada. La casta Lucrecia, teniendo a su marido Colatino en la guerra de los vascos, por quererla visitar el disoluto Tarquino, él a solas, y ella sola, se siguió dello que Roma se escandalizase, la guerra se desbaratase [sic], Lucrecia se matase y Tarquino se perdiese.¹³

The tone is didactic, but at the same time rather flippant. Guevara's orientation differs greatly from that of the ascetical writers such as Juan de Avila. His witticisms, plays on words, and general levity are a far cry from the moving, sober, and compassionate tone which we encounter in San Juan's letters.

Antonio Torquemada, around the year 1574, published a very interesting treatise entitled Manual de escribientes. In this work, he advises scribes on the art of letter writing. The form of the book is

that of a dialogue between the master, Antonio, and his pupils, two of whom are Luis and Josepe. Antonio does most of the talking, since he is instructing the others. It is very similar to the style of Erasmus and Juan de Valdés, where a dialogue also takes place between characters. Torquemada, in fact, quotes Erasmus at various intervals, showing how he was correct in his advice on writing letters. Torquemada defines a letter in this manner:

...digo que carta es vna mensajera fiel de n [uest] ras yntençiones y yntérprete de los pensami [ent] os del ánimo, por la qual hazemos çiertos a los ausentes de aquellas cosas que conuiene que nosotros les escriuamos y que ellos entiendan y sepan como si estando presentes se las dixiésemos por palabras, y así para solo este efeto fueron ynventadas las cartas, y no fue poco la ynvençión prouechosa, pues de tantas leguas y de tantos millares de leguas, savemos y entendemos lo que n [uest] ros amigos y n [uest] ros henemigos quieren y pretenden de nosotros, y lo que nosotros queremos saber dellos...¹⁴

We see from this that Torquemada follows the classical ideas closely. He goes on to analyze the different types of styles found in letters and where they should appear. The book is interesting, because it gives us a picture of what letters were about shortly after San Juan's death.

As we saw in the sermons, there were certain divisions that were in order. So it is with letters. The sections that should be included are the greeting, the narration, the division, the conformation and contradiction, and the conclusion. Juan de Avila's letters do have an order, but he does not follow the specific rules laid down by Torquemada regarding this matter. There is a beginning, a middle, and an end to his letters. The division, conformation and contradiction do not appear as such. This is one area in which the two are not in accord, or at least where San Juan steps away from the "classical" style. Torquemada's book treats the various types of letters that were extant

in his day. Briefly, the types include: cartas de visitaçión, de cumplimientos, de consuelo, de fauor, de negoçios, de agrauio, and de agradecimiento. As examples of some of these are seen in San Juan's letters, they will be pointed out.

There is another Saint who has been mentioned before, Sta. Teresa, who was more prolific than San Juan in her correspondence. Because she is so well-known, it seems advisable to mention her letters at this point. Many studies have been done about Sta. Teresa's style, and some deal specifically with her letters.¹⁵ The most complete study is the introduction to the BAC edition of her Cartas. The authors provide a detailed analysis of the paper, ink, and pens she used, the method in which she began and ended the letter, and how they were folded and sent. The form of the letters is dealt with, as is the content. A detailed list of the pseudonyms that Sta. Teresa used for herself and others is provided as well. We know that Juan de Avila followed similar methods for mailing and sending letters, and for addressing them, that Torquemada and the authors of the introduction describe, since such details about his letters have been made known.¹⁶

One of the similarities between Sta. Teresa and Juan de Avila is the spontaneous style of both writers. Fr. Luis de Granada is amazed by the facility with which San Juan's were written:

Y aunque lo dicho sea cosa notable, mas a mi rudeza confieso que espanta más la facilidad y presteza con que estas cartas se escribían. Porque, con ser ellas tales y tan acomodadas, y, si decir se puede, armadas con razones tan fuertes para persuadir lo que pretende, era tan fácil en escribirlas, que sin borrar ni enmendar nada, porque no le daban sus ocupaciones lugar, como salían de la primera mano las enviaba...¹⁷

While it is true that San Juan writes in a flowing manner, this spontaneous nature of his letters is at times questionable. Many of them

are little sermons, and some are essays. It is evident that he gave much thought to both the content and the form of many of his letters. The style, based on the one re-established by Erasmus, required it. Sta. Teresa's letters do appear to have been written in a rapid fashion -- speed and spontaneity were characteristic of her style. Quoting Fr. Jerónimo Gracián, the BAC introduction to the Cartas says:

De sus escritos dijo el P. Gracián: «Quizá muchos letrados no acertaran a decir una cláusula tan rodada y bien dicha como ella la dice, aunque borren y enmienden mil veces. Y ella lo escribió sin enmendar papel suyo de los que escribía y con gran velocidad; porque su letra, aunque de mujer, era muy clara, y escribía tan apriesa y velozmente como suelen hacer los notarios públicos, que me admiraba las muchas cartas que cada día escribía de su mano...»¹⁸

There are differences as well as similarities between these two saints. One of the obvious differences is the number of letters written by each. Juan de Avila, as noted, wrote 257 that are known. Even if he had produced 1,000; it would not be anywhere near what Sta. Teresa is thought to have written. There are 457 of her letters extant today, but it appears that she could have written as many as 15,000.¹⁹ Another difference is intent. San Juan's letters, for the most part, were used to instruct his disciples or friends, or to advise them in spiritual matters. Other letters to contemporaries gave advice on how to reform the Church, and in some cases, themselves. An interesting section deals with the ability to govern and the qualities that a good leader should possess. Very infrequently did San Juan ask for anything, or request funding, or mention monetary matters. And in none of the letters does he merely pass the time of day in a chatty fashion. That he dealt with monetary matters is evident, because the fifteen schools that he founded were funded to a large extent by noble families,

such as the Ferias, Arcos, and Priegos. But this comprises a small part of the letters.

Sta. Teresa, on the other hand, deals extensively with practical aspects of her reform movement and the problems confronting her, especially the founding, and funding, of convents. The letters to her family have almost all been lost, but they were many.²⁰ She also maintained correspondence with San Pedro de Alcantara, St. Francis Borgia, San Luis Beltrán, San Juan de Avila, and with many of her confessors. Many of these, including her letters to San Juan, have been lost. When faced with the gravest problems of her reform of the Carmelite Order, she even wrote to Philip II and to Pius V requesting their help.

In many aspects, San Juan wrote to the same type of people as did Sta. Teresa. But there are no letters to his family. One, number 206, is entitled "A una tía suya", and its authenticity is questionable. This is an area which is obscure and about which there is very little evidence. As one examines the letters, the great majority appear to be to priests and nuns. But there are a number written to noble families as well. Since his ideas about preaching have been discussed previously, those letters will not be treated in detail at this time.

An analysis of the letters of Juan de Avila reveals the following general breakdown:

twenty-five to priests or preachers specifically;

fifty-eight to "señoras"; these present a small problem, since the word can mean a married woman or a nun;

twenty-one to "doncellas", probably nuns;

six to "devotos"; one does not know if these were priests or lay disciples;

seven to "devotas", the same is true as above;
 seventeen to "discípulos";
 twelve to "amigos"; these could very well have been priests;
 four to "Un señor de estos reinos";
 three to "Un señor de título".

The following letters are either ones that are dated, or where the recipient is known by name:

number one, to Fr Luis de Granada, around 1544;
 number two, to Fr. Alonso de Vergara, O. P.;
 number five, to Mtro. García Arias, 1538;
 number six, to Martín de Villar, 1561;
 number eleven, to don Francisco Chacón?, 1564?;
 number twenty-seven, to the Abbess doña Isabel de Avalos;
 number 241, to the same;
 number forty-four, to doña Leonor Inestrosa;
 numbers forty-five, forty-six, and 141, to Juan de Dios;
 number fifty-four, to doña Sancha Carrillo;
 number seventy-one, to un estudiante, 1543;
 number seventy-five, to Tello de Aguilar;
 numbers 115 and 126, to doña María de Hoces and doña Inés de Hoces;
 number 140, to Antonio de Córdoba; this man was a disciple of San Juan's who entered the Jesuits, 1549;
 number 142, to the same, 1552;
 number 145, to the same, 1567;
 number 151, to the same, 1549;
 number 152, to the same (it is possible that numbers 155, 156,

and 168 are to him as well);

number 194, to the same, 1560;

number 197, to the same, 1561;

numbers 158 and 185, to Sta. Teresa de Jesus, both in 1568;

number 177, to don Pedro Guerrero, the Archbishop of Granada,
1547;

number 178, to the same, 1564;

numbers 179, 180, 181, 219, 242, 243, 244, and 248, to the
same, all written in 1565;

numbers 182 and 215, to the bishop of Córdoba, don Cristobal de
Rojas, 1565;

number 257, to the bishop of Salamanca, Rodrigo Mendoza;

number 188, to Martín Gutiérrez, S. J., 1568;

number 189, to Francisco de Guzmán, 1556;

number 190, to Ignatius of Loyola, 1549;

number 191, to P. Diego Laínez, S. J., 1559;

number 220, to P. Diego de Santa Cruz, S. J., 1550;

number 192, to Francis Borgia, 1566; also number 193, 1566;

number 196, to P. Mtro. Cañas, S. J., 1557;

number 228, to P. Mtro, Francisco Estrada, S. J., 1549;

number 239, to Francisco Gómez, S. J., 1563;

number 199, to Juan de Lequetio, 1551; also number 203;

numbers 251 and 252, to doctor Pedro López;

numbers 209 and 210, to doña María de Eges;

numbers 216 and 217, to don Diego de Guzmán; this was another
disciple who entered the Jesuits;

number 234, to a caballero, 1564;

number 235, to a señor, 1564.

Letters to important lay people, whom San Juan knew well, include the following:

numbers 186 and 187, to the Conde de Feria, don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, c. 1561;

number 119, to "A un caballero, ¿don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, conde de Feria?";

number 221, to the Conde de Feria, 1549;

numbers 218 and 249, to the condesa de Feria;

numbers 195 and 253, to the marquesa de Priego, doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba;

numbers 90 and 198, to the duquesa de Arcos;

numbers 245 and 246, to the duque de Arcos;

number 214, to the duque de Sesa, ¿don Gonzálo Fernández de Córdoba?, 1551?

The remaining are miscellaneous letters to unknown recipients.²²

San Juan wrote letters throughout his lifetime, but the majority were perhaps written after his retirement, because of illness, in Montilla in 1555. He went there at the request of the Countess of Feria, who by that time was a nun at the monastery of Santa Clara. Her husband had died in 1552, and after his death, she entered the religious life. As seen above, there are at least six letters to her and to her husband, and in them we see the very close friendship that developed between San Juan and the Ferias. In fact, after the Count died, Juan de Avila was involved with settling his estate.²³

San Juan's activities at Montilla included preaching, hearing confessions, writing to his friends and disciples, and revising the

Audi, filia. Sala Balust tells us that during this time, with the help of the Marquesa of Priego, a certain Padre Centenares and some other priests founded seven churches in Sierra Morena. They also founded hermitages, with San Juan's direction:

La vida heroica de aquellos misioneros ermitaños tiene sabor de florecillas franciscanas. Las aves, los peces y otros animales vienen a sus manos y se dejan coger para sustentarlos. Los pájaros vienen a alegrarles con sus trinos durante la comida. «Tenían en todo recurso al P. Avila. Avisábales por sus cartas lo que convenía, animándoles con que sus nombres estaban escritos en el libro de la vida. Decíales que la caridad comenzase de sí mismos, dando pasto espiritual a su alma)... (I, p. 113)

Many of the letters cited above to amigos, discípulos, or devotos, may well have been written to this group of men.

Another large group that has been noted were the ones to señoras and to doncellas. The nuns that he was closest to were those of St. Clare, the clarisas. He helped the sisters at the monasteries of San Antonio in Baeza, the Encarnación in Granada, and Santa Clara in Montilla a great deal. There are two letters to the Abbess at Granada, doña Isabel de Avalos. And it is known that his letters and other spiritual writings were read to the sisters in the novitiate there.

This feminine participation in San Juan's circle of disciples is important to note. We have seen that many of his letters were directed to women and that he had close rapport with ladies of title.²⁴ San Juan was by no means the only reformer to do this. Cisneros, as M. Bataillon points out, was friendly with women who were considered to be alumbradas. His support of Sor María de Santo Domingo, for example, shows that he was not afraid to stand by a woman whose spirituality was considered by many to be questionable.²⁵ María Cazalla, sister of the Bishop Juan de Cazalla, was also an important figure during the period.

She, in the company of her brother, advocated an intimate form of preaching. Her influence was felt among groups of priests:

De vuelta en Guadalajara, difunde la buena palabra en los palacios de la aristocracia y hace sentir su atractivo hasta entre los clérigos de Alcalá: Tovar se hace uno de sus "devotos", como antes lo había sido de Francisca Hernández.²⁶

Not surprisingly, many of these people were crístianos nuevos. Once again we see a distinct spirituality and a movement toward reform. Because of their new thinking, which was not in line with the traditional mentality of the Church, and because they were conversos, they were doubly suspect by the official Spanish Church, oriented as it was to masculine domination.

San Juan himself, when he was brought before the Inquisition, was suspect for having visited a certain woman:

Se trata de la siguiente: Juan de Avila había sido llamado más de una vez para consolar a la beata de Sevilla que vivía en casa de doña Catalina de Oviedo, y que en más de una ocasión había quedado como desmayada.²⁷

The matter was looked into, and San Juan was cleared. But the suspicion had nevertheless been proposed. And Sta. Teresa, because she was a woman and a conversa, was aware of her status as well.

From the above, then, we see that San Juan was friendly with families of high social position and rank. In addition, his letters reveal ties with some of the most important people of his time, namely, don Pedro Guerrero, St. Ignatius, St. Francis Borgia, and Sta. Teresa. The vast majority of these letters deal with spiritual affairs, and one of the most notable characteristics of them is the uniformity of style. Whether he wrote to a future saint, or to an unknown devota, the concern shown to all was genuine and deep.

Style of the Cartas

Very little has been written about the style of Juan de Avila's letters.²⁸ The references that do exist come primarily from Fr. Luis de Granada, and they are not very complete. The two sections cited above reveal the facility with which he wrote and the inner spiritual force which guided him. One additional detail that Granada provides is the ability Juan de Avila had to direct himself to people of all states. This is what he says:

En las cuales cartas se debe también notar que, como muchas de ellas se escriban a grandes señores y otros a otros medianos, también hay otras escritas muy a propósito a personas bajas, a las cuales con la misma caridad escribía él muy largo y muy de propósito, según que la necesidad lo pedía, reconociendo con el Apóstol que era deudor a sabios y inorantes. Y siendo condición natural de los hombres avisados y discretos holgar de hablar con otros tales, y no con personas bajas y de groseros entendimientos, este siervo de Dios, tan de propósito escribía a estos como a los discretos y grandes señores: como persona que no miraba en los hombres más que a sólo Cristo, que los redimió con su sangre, de donde les viene la verdadera nobleza, en cuya comparación toda otra nobleza es nada.²⁹

As with his sermons, San Juan knew to whom he was writing, and how best to express himself -- two qualities that Torquemada also views as essential.

The structure of the letters generally follows the pattern that Torquemada outlines. At the beginning of some where the recipient is known, and which have not been mutilated, we find the following designations, followed by the opening statement if one is included:

"A la muy religiosa señora, la señora Teresa de Jesús" No. 185

"Al muy reverendo padre mío, el padre licenciado Gutiérrez, predicador de la Compañía de Jesús, en Salamanca" No. 188

"Al muy reverendo señor y dignísimo padre, el padre Ignacio, prepósito de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma, mi señor"

"Muy reverendo señor y dignísimo padre" No. 190

"Al reverendísimo señor y padre mío el padre Francisco Borja,
general de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma"

"Reverendísimo señor y padre mío" No. 192

"Muy reverendo padre mío en Jesucristo" No. 193

"A la muy ilustre señora, la condesa de Feria, mi señora"

"Muy ilustre señora" No. 218

"Al muy reverendo padre mío, el padre maestro Cañas, en la
Compañía de Jesús, en Córdoba"

"Muy reverendo padre mío" No. 196

Many of the letters begin with a one sentence greeting. Presumably the designations above have been removed. There are some, written to nuns, that simply begin: "devota esposa (sierva) de Jesucristo". The greetings contain different forms, but for the most part they are as follows:

"La paz de nuestro Señor Jesucristo sea siempre con vuestra merced" No. 75

"La gracia y consolación del Espíritu Santo sea siempre con vuestra merced" No. 78

"La gracia y paz de Jesucristo sea siempre con vuestras mercedes" No. 86

After this introduction, the letter begins. Toward the beginning of the letter, a Scriptural passage is often cited.³⁰ If it is a response, which many of the letters are, Juan de Avila states that he has received the letter of the other person. Then, depending upon what will follow, he either gives his personal reactions to it, or gets right on with the matter at hand. In general, most of his letters are matter-of-fact. This does not, however, mean that they are dull or boring. San Juan's style does not permit this. As we will see, these epistles are just as animated and interesting as the sermons. But Juan de Avila does not write letters just to be doing something, nor does he waste time on unimportant details. The words in his letters are necessary and relevant to the task he sets himself.

Initially, the style is usually businesslike and instructional, if the letter requires this. Then, sometime in the middle, there will be a variation. Often it is at this point that we find the uses of exclamation and questioning, so characteristic of the sermons as well. Juan de Avila draws the attention of the reader with these variations, as well as animates him or her. Then the instruction will proceed, if that is the type of letter it is. Because the letters vary so much in content and purpose, it is very difficult to give a detailed analysis of the various parts. Some are short (a paragraph), and others are long (twelve to fifteen typewritten pages or more). One thing is evident, however: the style will change within a letter of any length. It is never all narrative, nor rhetorical, nor instructional. The variety characteristic of the sermons is also revealed in the letters. As the study progresses, variations in tone, purpose, and method will be seen.

At the end of the epistles, from the complete ones that are extant, is found the closing. This is usually in the form of a short prayer for God's blessings upon the recipient. A sampling of complete closings follows:

Perdone vuestra señoría tan larga carta. Y Cristo hincha de aquella caridad que omnia suffert.

De Montilla, 23 de mayo, [1565]

Siervo de vuestra ilustrísima señoría, que sus reverendísimas manos besa,

Joannes de Avila No. 219

...de manera que pueda sacar algún fruto de virtud, suplicando a nuestro Señor con ferviente oración le dé gracia para con que le sirva con un corazón alegre, recto y puro, y entero y limpio, que mediante su favor le dé aquí gracia y después gloria. Amen.

1553, 29 aprilis

Y si con esta carta alguna consolación recibiere, dé las gracias a Dios, de quien todo bien depende, y ruegue a Dios por mí. No. 225

El, por quien es, os tenga guardada debajo de sus alas y gra-

ciosa delante de sí, y castigüeme a mí en todo lo que fuere servido; por el cual os pido que me escribáis, aunque me conozco ser indigno de la respuesta.

De Granada, a 9 de septiembre

El que era obligado a escribiros como esclavo y no lo hizo. No. 176

In the above letter, San Juan is contrite. He acknowledges the fact that he has been lax in writing and is sorry about it. This is one of the letters that is most revealing of his feelings. One more closing follows here:

El mismo Señor perficione en vuestra merced lo que, por su santo Nombre, en su ánima ha comenzado, para perpetua gloria. Amen.

De Montilla y de marzo 12, año de 1564.
Siervo de vuestra merced,

Juanes de Avila No. 235

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the reasons for Juan de Avila's letters, it is necessary to examine some of the sections where he states what he is doing and why. There are various letters which reveal the profound responsibility he felt for his spiritual sons and daughters. In number ninety-four, we find him apologizing for not having fulfilled his obligations to a particular woman:

Perdonadme que no os he escrito esforzándoos en el propósito santo que nuestro Señor os ha dado y en la guerra que contra los demonios tenéis por el nuevo camino que habéis comenzado. Y conozco en esto mi descuido; porque así como el padre, que según la carne engendra, es obligado a mantener lo que engendró, así a quien Dios da una ánima para que, mediante su santa palabra, la engenndre para el servicio de Dios, es obligado a recrear, regalar, enseñar y esforzar en lo comenzado. Placerá a su misericordia y me dará gracia para hacer lo que hasta aquí he faltado, porque vos seáis consolada y yo salga de culpa. (V, p. 428)

In somewhat the same manner, but in a much more personal and contrite tone (Letter number 176 cited above) he develops the idea of spiritual fatherhood and of another's wellbeing in this fashion:

No sé por qué palabras os dé a entender la culpa que me

acusa y la pena que temo. Miro el mucho tiempo que ha pasado sin escribiros, habiendo vos sido encomendada a mí para que, mediante mi cuidado, vuestra ánima fuese aprovechada en el servicio del celestial Rey, pues El fue servido de recebiros por suya, mediante su palabra que yo prediqué; y he hecho como mal siervo de Cristo, que negligentemente he tratado su negocio, y negocio tan de verdad tenía por suyo, que lo hizo El cuidadoso y aun dar la vida por él. Y no sólo he pecado contra El, mas contra vos. A El he sido mal siervo, y a vos he sido mal padre, pues que ni he conservado la hacienda ni mantenídoos a vos con el mantenimiento de su palabra, cuyo despensero me hizo, para que a su tiempo, prudente y fielmente, diese a cada uno lo que ha menester. Duéleme mucho tal negligencia, y temo, como culpado, el castigo de mi culpa; no tanto que el Señor me azote o atribule o castigue con fatigas y tormentos como con permitir que a vuestra ánima no le vaya bien. Porque a quien no sabe qué es cuidado de hijos ni criarlos por su propia negligencia, justicia es que los vea morir, y muertos delante sus ojos, porque el dolor le atormentamente y le haga abrir los ojos que su descuido cerró. (V, pp. 612-613)

This example serves to illustrate how Juan de Avila's letters impart compassion and concern for another. At the same time, we see how well he was attuned to his recipient. The end of the passage recalls the well-known Carta I written to Fray Luis de Granada in 1544. The father-son or daughter relationship is one which Juan de Avila develops in different ways. In writing to Granada, he enumerates the qualities that a good father should possess:

...conviénele un corazón tierno, y muy de carne, para haber compasión de los hijos, lo cual es muy gran martirio; y otro de hierro para sufrir los golpes que la muerte de ellos da, porque no derriben al padre o le hagan del todo dejar el oficio, o desmayar, o pasar algunos días que no entienda sino en llorar... (V, p. 21)

Great vigilance, temperance, and patience are necessary, and the pain of losing children is the worst possible kind:

Porque si mueren, créame, padre, que no hay dolor que a éste se iguale; ni creo que dejó Dios otro género de martirio tan lastimero en este mundo como el tormento de la muerte del hijo en el corazón del que es verdadero padre. (V, p. 21)

This letter, perhaps the most beautiful of all, reveals some of the

most memorable pages in the spiritual literature of Spain. The qualities that Juan de Avila mentions, and the pain involved in fatherhood, can be approached from the physical or human aspect of fathering, and a great deal of benefit is derived from it. But, as we have said about the sermons, San Juan takes the worldly level and converts it to a spiritual one. There is no contradiction in terminology -- rather, there is a divinization of the word padre. Shortly after the above passage, we discover the model on which he bases his perspectives:

De arte que, si son buenos los hijos, dan un muy cuidadoso cuidado; y si salen malos, dan una tristeza muy triste; y así no es el corazón del padre sino un recelo continuo, y una atalaya desde alto, que de sí lo tienen sacado, y una continua oración, encomendando al verdadero Padre la salud de sus hijos, teniendo colgada la vida de él de la vida de ellos, como San Pablo decía: Yo vivo, si vosotros estáis en el Señor. (V, p. 22)

Turning a moment to 1 Corinthians 4:14-17, we find St. Paul writing:

I am saying all this not just to make you ashamed but to bring you, as my dearest children, to your senses. You might have thousands of guardians in Christ, but not more than one father and it was I who begot you in Christ Jesus by preaching the Good News.³¹

Juan de Avila has essentially the same view of his role of preacher and spiritual father.³²

In other letters also, the purpose of writing is mentioned.³³ It is basically the same: to act as a voicebox through whom God can deliver His message of salvation. This intimate relationship is further developed in the following example. When writing to a woman who had not heard from him for a while, he says about Christ: "Aquel mismo luce en los corazones y habla palabras de vida, aunque nosotros somos los instrumentos." (V, p. 333) In a letter to Juan de Dios he writes: "Y pues nuestro Señor quiso que yo tuviese cuidado de vos, y El nos juntó en la hermandad y amor, hagámonos una, y veréis cómo huye el

demonio..." (V, p. 519) Because of this personal concern, more of his own thoughts and feelings are expressed.

As has been seen, many of the characteristics which were found in the sermons are also present in the letters. In fact, some parts of the epistles sound like spoken passages. In letter number six, for example, Juan de Avila himself mentions the conversational tone of his writing when he says:

Concluyamos ya esta buena plática, tan buena y tan propia de ser obrada y sentida, y supliquemos al mesmo Señor que nos hace una merced que nos haga otra, pues dádivas tuyas sin ser estimadas, agradecidas y servidas, no nos serán provechosas. (V, p. 61)

The idea of "talking" through a letter establishes intimacy with the recipient. The same technique is used in the sermons. It is the basis for almost all of his techniques and characteristics of style and of literary expression.

At the risk of repeating what has already been said about rhetorical devices, a brief look at some of the same characteristics in the letters is inescapable. The use of exclamation and interrogation, for example, is widely seen in these writings. As he did in the sermons, Juan de Avila employs these devices to evoke a response and ultimately to animate the person to grasp his message. A few examples of these techniques follow -- one can see the similarities clearly:

¡Oh señor, y qué siente una ánima cuando ve que tiene en sus manos al que tuvo nuestra Señora, elegida, enriquecida en celestiales gracias para tratar a Dios humanado, y coteja los brazos de ella y sus manos y sus ojos con los propios! ¡Qué confusión le cae! ¡Por cuán obligado se tiene con tal beneficio! ¡Cuánta cautela debe tener en guardarse todo para Aquel que tanto le honra en ponerse en sus manos y venir a ellas por las palabras de la consagración! (V, p. 59)

Again, when writing to a man and exclaiming about the sufferings of

Christ, he directs his words both to Christ and to the individual to whom he is writing:

¡Oh, Señor, y qué amarga cosa es haber pecado, y cuán presto se hace llaga en el ánima, y cuánto tarda en ella el arrepentimiento! ¡Cuántas lágrimas hace derramar! ¡Cuánto quebramiento de corazón! ¡Cuán terribles tormentos, viendo que el ofendido es omnipotente para castigar, y que todo se hace delante de sus ojos para no ignorar cosa, y que aborrece tanto el pecado, que ninguna amistad hay tan firme con Dios, que si el pecado entra en medio, no basta a la deshacer!
(V, p. 120)

The instructional quality that we saw in the sermons is present here as well. The message that sin is to be avoided at all cost comes through very clearly.

Interrogatio is very evident in the letters also. The same use of repetition of words which was noted in the sermons appears in the following cases:

¿Quién no se enciende con amor con pensar: «Al Bien infinito voy a recibir»? ¿Quién no tiembla de amorosa reverencia de Aquel de quien tiemblan los poderes del cielo, y no de ofender, sino de alabarle y servirle? ¿Quién no se confunde y gime por haber ofendido a aquel Señor que presente tiene? ¿Quién no confía con tal prenda? ¿Quién no se esfuerce a hacer penitencia por el desierto con tal viático? (V, p. 58)

The following passage provides an insight into the style which is so characteristic of Juan de Avila. The mixture of exclamations, questions, verbs, and nouns all culminate in an elegant appeal and exhortation to action, and at the same time we find the realization that man is unaware of the many blessings of God. It is an example of the style which Torquemada would undoubtedly label elegante. This particular letter (number sixty-seven) was written to a señora, perhaps one of the nuns of St. Clare:

Anima mía, ven acá y dime, de parte de Dios te lo pido, ¿qué es aquello que te detiene de no ir toda y con todas tus fuerzas tras Dios? ¿Qué amas, si a este tu Esposo no amas?

¿Y por qué no amas mucho a quien mucho te amó? No tuvo El otros negocios en la tierra sino entender en amarte y buscar tu provecho aun con su daño; ¿qué tienes tú que ver en la tierra, sino tratar amores con el Rey del cielo? ¿No ves que se ha de acabar todo esto que ves, que oyes, que tocas, que gustas y tratas? ¿No ves que es todo esto tela de arañas, que no te puede vestir ni defender del frío? ¿Adónde estás cuando en Jesucristo no estás? ¿Qué piensas? ¿Qué estimas? ¿Qué buscas fuera del único y cumplido bien? Levantémonos, señora, ya, y rompamos este mal sueño. Despertemos, que es de día, pues que Jesucristo, que es luz, ya ha venido; y hagamos obras de día, pues algún tiempo hicimos obras de noche. ¡Oh si tanto nos amargase el tiempo que a Dios no conocimos que nos fuese grandes espuelas para agora con grande ansia correr tras El! ¡Oh si corriésemos! ¡Oh si volásemos! ¡Oh si ardiésemos y nos transformásemos! ¿Qué hace, señora, la criatura, pues ve a su Criador hecho hombre solamente por amor? ¿Quién nunca oyó amor como éste, que amando uno a otro, se tornase él? Amónos Dios cuando nos hizo a su semejanza, mas mucho mayor obra es hacerse El a imagen del hombre. Abajáse a nos para llevarnos consigo, hácese hombre para hacernos dioses, y desciende del cielo para llevarnos allá, y, en fin, murió para darnos vida. ¿Qué entre estas cosas esté yo durmiendo y sin agradecimiento a tan grande amor! (V, p. 67)

Because it is so personally a part of Juan de Avila, this section seems to be more moving than similar sections of the sermons. It is not uncommon to find sections like this in his letters. By nature, he wrote in an eloquent style. Another such passage is found in letter number sixty-five. Only a small portion is quoted here:

¡Oh si comiésemos! ¡Oh si nos quemásemos! ¡Oh si nos transformásemos! ¡Oh si nos hiciera un espíritu con El! ¿Qué nos detiene? ¿Qué nos estorba? ¿Qué nos engaña, que no nos llevemos a Dios?...¡No me apartes de mi Dios! ¡Oh si tanto llorásemos por Dios que de aquella agua se enciendese fuego que quemase todo aquello que de Dios nos aparta! Las lágrimas nos lavarían y el fuego nos quemaría, y seríamos animales santos todos ofrecidos a Dios en fuego. (V, p. 318)

The elements of water and fire, so much a part of mystical terminology, are evident here. San Juan's style clearly preceeds the later mystics, and indeed the Baroque writers, such as Tirso de Molina.

Use of Scripture is found abundantly in his letters. For the

most part, Scriptural texts are in Spanish, but when he writes to priests, often they appear in Latin. The quotes are used as actual parts of sentences. Because San Juan was so well versed in Scripture, it readily flows from his pen. A few examples will illustrate this:

No quita Dios sino para dar, no hiere sino para medicinar, no derriba sino para levantar, y, en fin, no mata sino para dar vida, y vida que nunca se acabe, por trabajos que muy presto se pasan. Ya descansa nuestro Padre que acá trabajó; ya tiene lo que deseó y buscó y escogió; ya coge en gozo las lágrimas que acá sembró; ya tiene Dios en seguro aquesta ánima, que nadie se la podrá llevar. Maduro estaba para cogerlo, y por eso lo arrebató Dios antes que la malicia mudase su entendimiento y el fingimiento engañase el ánima de él. No tienen los que lo aman por qué llorarlos como a muertos, pues viven delante el acatamiento de Dios, al cual agradan en la tierra de los vivos. (V, p. 225)

The above, written to a friend whose mother and brother had died, reveals the deep faith that Juan de Avila tried to impart to his friends.

Now and again diminutives appear in the letters, though not nearly as frequently as in the sermons. The same is true of superlatives. There is one interesting section, however, where two diminutives are found. It is in letter number 184, a very important one which illustrates his thinking about the alumbrados. This was the last letter that he wrote, dated May 15, 1569. He was gravely concerned about some of his disciples, and in this section he states what his thoughts about "consolations" in prayer can represent:

Avise cada uno, y procure hacer la conformidad de la voluntad de Dios, y busque esto y no gustos ni contentamientos, así en la oración como en la confesión, como en la comunión y en cualquiera otro ejercicio. ¡Oh hermano, catad qué sutil este engaño!; y yo he visto a muchos en él -- y aun los conozco y trato -- que desordenadamente desean y con grande afición querrían llegarse al sacramento santísimo de la Eucaristía por gustillos y lagrimillas, sin tener respeto al fruto de él, que es lo que se debe pretender de los sacramentos y el fin para que Jesucristo acá los dejó. (V, p. 642)

We see from this that Juan de Avila knew about, and actually dealt with,

people who were carried away by the "easy way". The diminutives in the above section are pejorative in nature, not at all endearing or tender as in other passages. For San Juan de Avila, this was a false doctrine -- there was no easy method of salvation. For Sta. Teresa as well, the message was the same: suffering must be accepted as the true way of salvation.

The use of proverbs, very infrequent in the sermons, appears more in the letters. These are homey sayings, ones which undoubtedly were familiar and appreciated by his recipients. They also demonstrate Juan de Avila's capability of using a form of the estilo llano, characterized by a more popular or common method of expression. Not surprisingly, these proverbs appear in letters to lay people and not to ecclesiastics. Because he knew the type of expression best suited to his readers, he chose to write in this way. The first example is from letter number eleven, "A un señor de este reino":

Dícese que el monje que tiene un cornado no vale un cornado. Y también podemos decir lo mismo de la persona pública; porque ya que pueda tener y poseer honra, hacienda y cosas semejables, mas ninguna, chica ni grande, ha de tener que no la tenga ofrecida al provecho común, como cosa menor a mayor. Y si un cornadito, una cosa poca, la tiene con amor propio, sin tenerla ofrecida en su corazón al bien común, como es dicho, aquélla la estorbará la ligereza de la corrida que en el oficio ha de tener, porque la hierba mala crece presto. Y lo que primero, por ser poco, le estorbaba la ligereza, después le atará los pies, para que no pueda dar paso con que cumpla su obligación. (V, p. 77)

This section shows how effectively Juan de Avila chose his words. With proverbs are mixed lessons and examples to be followed. The letter contains his thoughts on what good government should consist of. Because it is one of a kind, and because it shows a clear program for governing, the major considerations are worth noting. The general norms for good government include the following: (1) it is a difficult

job and one which requires great responsibility; (2) the dispositions of spirit necessary are love and zeal for the honor of God and public welfare; (3) the end of effective government is to make the citizens virtuous; and (4) prudence is a valuable tool, and Juan de Avila gives methods to achieve it. In the second section of the letter, there is advice on specific matters: perjury, schools for children, public women, jails, parties, and bullfights, and lastly, the good example of public officials and ecclesiastics. The entire letter is thirty-three printed pages, and it constitutes a thorough and well planned program for public officials. By nature it is very similar to the Tratados de reforma.

The second example of proverbs is in letter number 122, "A una señora de título". From what we know, it could have been to the condesa de Feria, the marquesa de Priego, or the duquesa de Arcos. In any case, Juan de Avila utilizes "spiritual proverbs":

Quien tiene pico para pedir cruz, tenga hombros para llevarla; y quien se precia de amores, ha de tenerse por muy honrada en los dolores; y a quien Dios le pareció bien, ninguna cosa que por El le pidan le ha de parecer mal; y quien le quiere, a sí misma se ha de aborrecer. (V, p. 485)

Again, this time to a "señora", whom Juan de Avila refers to as "Ilustrísima señora", he writes in a familiar and refreshing way: "Bien va así, ilustísima señora, bien va así. Más vale hiel que miel en la tierra donde Dios fue aheleado." (V, p. 501)

From these examples we find that San Juan would alter his means of expression, and though it might be homey, it was never torpe. Various characteristic expressions were found in the sermons, and they are also a part of the letters. Juan de Avila uses nouns and verbs most effectively in his letters. Certain ones become a part of his

vocabulary, and though they do not originate with him, he does use them in a unique way. As comer stood out in the sermons, so does correr in the letters. The notion of road and running, which is characteristic of St. Paul, is adopted fully by Juan de Avila.³⁴ This word is one which Sta. Teresa employs very frequently also. It is even used in the title of one of her major works, Camino de perfección. There are mystical connotations to the word, and Juan de Avila should be considered as one of the authors who developed it thoroughly. The way in which he uses the expression fits into the entire framework of his concept of this world and the other:

No conviene, hermana, a la que camina para el cielo detenerse en cosa alguna de la tierra...Desembarazada caminad al eterno descanso, y no os contentéis con hacer ese negocio como quiera, mas lo mejor y más seguro que vos pudiéredes. (V, p. 477)

The same message is repeated below, this time with the repetition of verbs which is characteristic of his style:

Y si quisiere correr por los hermosos caminos de Dios, no vaya muy cargado de tierra; que cuanto más dejare por Dios, tanto El más le dará de su gracia; y cuanta más gracia, más correrá; y mientras más corriere, más gana le dará de dejar más, por poder más correr. (V, p. 72)

The notion of a race is present in the example which follows. Man must get on with the task at hand, not looking back, and remaining calm in the face of affliction: "Guarde gran reposo en su ánima, aunque pasen carretas por él; y como hombre que va corriendo la posta en que la vida le va, que no vuelve aun la cabeza a otras cosas, así haga él a lo de acá." (V, p. 511)

In another section, he amplifies the meaning of correr and camino. It would be well to recall the passage from St. Paul referred to earlier, for this particular quote is thoroughly Pauline:

No es aquí, señor, nuestro reino, no nuestro descanso. ¿Qué es esta vida, sino un camino desde nuestra casa hasta el lugar donde nos han de matar?, pues que cada día más caminamos, y no a otra parte sino a la muerte...

Parejas corremos, y la joya es el reino de los cielos; mas no todos los que corren llevan la joya, sino quien mejor corre. ¡Cuán gran necedad sería atarse el hombre los pies y pensar que había de llevar el premio que se da a quien muy bien corre! Y no es de menos quien enlaza su ánima con afectos pesados, que no le dejan correr hacia Dios. (V, p. 545)

The need for disentangling oneself from worldly cares is absolute, for this world and the one to which we journey oppose one another: "Deseo veros desenredado del mundo, para que, vuestras cadenas sueltas, pudiédes correr tras el que corrió hasta la cruz, para desde allí correr al descanso del cielo." (V, p. 589) A case could be made to substantiate the medieval tones of these passages, especially if one recalls the Coplas por la muerte de su padre of Jorge Manrique or the style of Feliciano de Silva. But the question is whether or not the fundamental inspiration was medieval or Pauline. Because of what we know about Juan de Avila's paulinismo, it seems clear that the latter was the basic inspiration.

In order to run toward eternal life, one must be willing to fight spiritual enemies along the way. This concept of guerra is another important part of Juan de Avila's vocabulary. In various parts of the letters we see this dimension exposed, and always in the context of the whole message. Christian life for San Juan was a war: "¿No ha oído que la vida del cristiano es un continuo martirio y una molesta guerra?" (V, p. 210) One must be on the lookout for the enemy at all times, since he is always waiting to take advantage of a weak soul. The struggle, however, is not without purpose. It is necessary if one is to attain true peace and happiness in the life to come: "Porque no

es digno de la paz espiritual y del dulce amor quien no ha sido fatigado con enojosas guerras y no ha gustado la amargura de asensios de la espiritual desconsolación." (V, p. 249)

One cannot fight alone, however, for to do so would be to lose the battle. With Christ's help, man will overcome the enemies:

Ansí que, hermanos, no pensemos que la victoria de esta pelea ha de ser por nuestras fuerzas a solas; Cristo nos pone en ella, y El quiere la gloria de la victoria; El peleará por nosotros y con nosotros. No desmayemos, y veremos el favor del cielo ser con nosotros. (V, p. 375)

These struggles are closely related to the trabajos, which will be dealt with later in this chapter. The two terms are modes of expression that Juan de Avila uses to mean fundamentally the same thing. And the method to endure both is similar -- one must have patience and hope in God, for He pardons man's sins and provides strength for his weakness. In the following section, Juan de Avila is apologizing for his own seeming lack of concern for the recipient, and at the same time encouraging her to go on with the fight:

Y si, por mis pecados, algo de esto ha pasado, no desmayéis, que el Señor tenderá sus brazos y os recibirá, pues por vos se tendieron en la cruz; y suele El amar más al que huyó de la guerra, si torna con mayor esfuerzo, que al que nunca huyó y siempre fue tibio. Guerra es esta en la cual no por recibir heridas se pierde la victoria, sino por huir de la batalla y darse por vencido. (V, p. 614)

This terminology, though originating with Christ and St. Paul, has been carried down through the ages and is often linked to the special vocabulary of mysticism. S. Miriam Thérèse Olabarrieta has examined the terms used by Raymond Lull and the later Spanish mystics, and she finds certain similarities in modes of expression. The idea of combate, batalla, or guerra is a definite clue to the mystics.³⁵

Another word which Juan de Avila uses quite frequently is

huérfano, orphan. It is related to what was said initially about his idea of father and goes along with his notion of spiritual paternity. Man is, in this world, an orphan, with only one true Father in heaven. This father cares for his sons and daughters in a way that no worldly father could:

Este es el Padre cuidadoso de huérfanos, que los viste con virtud de lo alto, y los abriga debajo de su manto, y los hace entender que tienen Padre en el cielo, y que lo llaman osada y no soberbiamente Padre. Renueva lo caído, alumbra lo oscuro, calienta lo frío, endereza lo tuerto, alienta lo cansado y, dando cada día nuevas fuerzas, hace volar hasta el monte de Dios. (V, p. 219)

Thus, man's hope rests in the knowledge that God, el Padre, will comfort and care for him.

There are, in addition, other images that Juan de Avila uses to convey meaning. They have to do with certain words which emphasize his message or perhaps bring it down to a level that the recipient of the letter will understand clearly. Some of these words include cocer, barro, vaso, horno, and piedra. They appear at different intervals and once again reflect the Pauline imagery. But he goes further than does St. Paul, and develops a means of expression uniquely his own:

Vasos de barro nos llama San Pablo, y con mucha razón por cierto, pues tan blandos somos y delicados para sufrir los golpes de los trabajos. Una jarrilla sois, y por cocer habéis estado, y por eso érades tan tierna y no podíades retener ni conservar el licor que Dios os infundía. Coceros quieren, hermana; tened paciencia; metida estáis en el horno de la tribulación; sufrid agora esos fuegos y esas humaredas y obscuridades; y confiando en la sabiduría y bondad de nuestro buen ollero, ni saldréis hecha ceniza que lleve el viento ni tiznada con algún mal que se os haya pegado; antes dura para padecer, para que, aunque caigáis, no os quebréis; blanqueada del descolorido color que primero teníades y, finalmente, hábil y dispuesta para ser vaso de honra y para ser puesta sobre la mesa de Dios. (V, pp. 165-166)

If there is one image that could be said to epitomize Juan de Avila's

concept of the Christian life, it would be this one. Man must cook in the fire of trials in order to be purified and made hard in order to bear his burdens. And if one were to point to a specialized vocabulary with which to characterize this Saint, it would quite possibly revolve around these terms. Sta. Teresa used the images of garden and garden-er -- San Juan de Avila uses potter and vase or stone. It is his "ascetical/mystical metaphor":

Coceos en el fuego de la tribulación, para que seáis fuerte como ladrillo y no floja como adobe de barro, que en el agua se deshace, y seréis conveniente para piedra del cielo. (V, p. 155)

...y por eso debemos mucho mirar que le respondamos con un santo recelo y temor de la caída, y conocimiento de nuestra flaqueza, y confianza amorosa en aquellas manos, en los cuales estamos como barro en manos del ollero... (V, p. 306)

In another section, the same words are repeated: "Para esto, tal ofrézcase como un poco de barro en las manos de este soberano Ollero..." (V, p. 556)

Another word which he employs frequently is fuego. It connotes different things, as will be seen. The word is known to be commonly used by spiritual writers, especially by mystics, and it often takes on the meaning of God's love when used by others. For Juan de Avila it also means that, and he uses the contrast of water and fire:

Mas el amor verdadero crece entre los trabajos; porque más fuerza pone a sufrir, mientras más viene que sufrir; y como se ase de Dios, vence a los trabajos, y ninguna agua basta para apagar este fuego que del cielo descindió. (V, p. 172)

The paradox of water burning in fire is also present: "Este tan rico en bondad y amor, que arde como fuego en agua, éste es de Dios." (V, p. 414) The fire of the Holy Spirit cannot be quenched, for it sets the inner being of man on fire in such a way that no evil can enter:

Porque así es poderoso este Espíritu, y su fuego que hacia

arriba sube, haciendo amar y confiar de Dios, que ninguna agua de tristeza y tribulación lo puede apagar, mas, siempre vivo y metido en las entrañas, abrasadas tan de verdad que mata todo lo que mal vive y hace que ni aun la misma muerte no venza al que El ha mortificado con aquesta venida. (V, p. 218)

The Eucharist is also a fire that burns. In the following section, one senses the tension and urgency which we have seen before:

Y sobre todo alleguémonos al fuego que enciende y abraza, que es Jesucristo nuestro Señor, en el Sacramento Santísimo. Abramos la boca del ánima, que es el deseo, y vamos sedientos a la fuente de agua viva; que, sin duda, poniendo la miel en la boca, algo gustaremos, y el fuego en el seno calentarnos ha. Y después y antes del comulgar tengamos algún aparejo; y los mejores son la fe cierta que vamos a recibir a Jesucristo nuestro Señor, y el pensamiento y amor de su pasión, pues en su memoria se hace. (V, p. 353)

Another image is that of cáscara and máscara. In both cases, these words represent the outer man, or the flesh, which perishes. Juan de Avila uses them in opposition to the eternal, spiritual, and inner life of man. In letter number twenty-nine, he writes to a woman whose loved one has died, and he delicately reprimands her thusly:

Basta ya, señora, la fiesta hecha a la carne. Baste el tiempo que se ha ocupado en roer lo amargo de la cáscara. Entra ya en lo secreto del corazón, y adore allí al Señor, que esto hizo, y déle gracias porque la tuvo por digna de darle a beber de su misma copa. (V, p. 205)

In another letter, he explains to a woman that she must rid herself of external preoccupations and be ready to suffer for Christ:

No sea ella como los judíos, que se escandalizaron en nuestro Señor porque no trajo descansos y prosperidades temporales, antes trajo lo contrario. Y por esto, así como monas royendo la cáscara amarga, pensaron que todo era así, y así arrojáronlo lejos de sí, y perdiéronlo, y fueron ellos perdidos. (V, p. 493)

One sees here an example of comparison. As he did in the sermons, Juan de Avila employs this device to illustrate his message.

In the following section, the dichotomy between appearances and

reality is apparent. It brings to mind the distinction between lo invisible and lo visible that has been referred to before. An allusion to Platonic thought can also be perceived, though indirectly. It could be that Avila had read a translation of Erasmus' Silenos de Alcibiades, which appeared in Valencia in 1529.³⁶

Mire, mire no le engañe la falsa apariencia y pintadas máscaras, que no son sino máscaras con que convidan y engañan ánimas. Y si estas sombras le parecen bien, alce el corazón al cielo, donde están las verdades de esto que acá parece algo. (V, p. 536)

The above has a great deal to do with how Juan de Avila perceived the world, mundo, as we will see in chapter V.

In the analysis of the sermons, a few references to the verb transformar were mentioned. There are additional ones in the letters, and in these cases they are related to the deep love that God has for man. The Lover and Beloved were the source for much inspiration among the spiritual and mystical writers. Juan de Avila was no exception:

Su Amado es, y más Amador que Amado; con amor la azota, con amor lo reciba, para que responda al tono que el Señor le habla. (V, p. 170)

Habéis de saber, hermana, que el amor del cielo tiene a los santos transformados en un querer con el de Dios nuestro Señor. (V, p. 186)

No creo que era menester tracer más testimonios para probar la grandeza de este amor, porque la mesma razón dice que éste es el amor que saca al hombre de sí y lo transforma en Dios su amado. (V, p. 190)

And in the last quote, one again discovers the use of verbs which are so characteristic of his style: "No viváis en vos, que moriréis; arrojaos en El, transformáos en El, dormid en El, y encontraréis con aquel dulcísimo panal que sobrepuja toda dulcedumbre." (V, p. 377)

The use of verbal forms together is as much a part of the letters as it was of the sermons:

Encerrémonos dentro de nos y digamos: En mi nidillo moriré; y escudriñemos las raíces de nuestro corazón...; y cortemos el amor de la honra...Esto no se hace jugando ni dormiendo, mas reventando y velando, y llorando y pidiendo la mano a quien todo lo puede... (V, p. 387)

And in a passage that later authors might well have imitated, we find the prelude to something resembling La vida es sueño:

Acuérdese que el Señor echó fuera de casa a los que lloraban una moza muerta, diciendo: Que no era muerta, sino que dormía; porque entre cristianos el morir no es sino dormir hasta el día de despertar a tomar nuestros cuerpos para reinar con Cristo en cuerpo y en ánima. Y piense vuestra merced que por quien llora no está muerto, sino duerme, y sueño de paz; pues vivió y murió como buen cristiano. (V, p. 455)

As one reads the letters, the theme of trabajos appears over and over. Because it is so important, this particular aspect deserves special attention. San Juan de Avila actually develops a theology of suffering in the epistles, and it should be considered as one of his fundamental messages. Sta. Teresa de Avila also refers to this abundantly in her writings. It is a primary concept in both writers.³⁷

Too many references exist to list them all at this time, but some of the most important ones will be mentioned.³⁸ There are five principal causes of suffering revealed in the letters: (1) persecution, (2) sickness, (3) temptations, (4) death of another or impending death of oneself, and (5) internal suffering which can produce a variety of reactions. In addition, suffering can be brought on by riches or too much prosperity.

The first type, persecution, resulted from problems that people faced regarding their way of life. Many of Juan de Avila's disciples, as stated, were suspected of being alumbrados, and this caused the Inquisition to persecute them harshly. Closely related to this type of suffering is the dichotomy between those who follow the Gospel and

those who do not, the mundanos. In letter number two, we find Juan de Avila writing to one of his disciples:

¿Por ventura es vuestra reverencia el primer atribulado, porque se pasó a Cristo? ¿O será el primero desamparado de los que padecen por Cristo? ¿No ve, padre mío, que la causa por que somos perseguidos no es nuestra, sino de Dios? ¿No ve que le va a El la honra en ella?...Causa es de Dios y deshonoras son de Dios aquellas que a los servidores de Dios se hacen; como es honra de Dios y causa suya cuando a sus chiquitos hacemos bien y honramos. (V, pp. 30-31)

In letter number fifty-six he writes to a group of religious women who were finding it difficult to sustain themselves because of adverse reaction to them. Evidently they were complaining bitterly about their fate, because one of the rare moments in which Juan de Avila reprimands strongly is found here. The letter is directed to a group of "mujeres devotas", quite possibly some beatas whom he advised:

No seáis maliciosas y sospechosas, que, si os saludan, penséis que os maldicen. No seáis víboras, que la dulzura de las flores que la abeja torna en miel, torna ella en ponzoña. Sabed contar con Dios, pues y una vez os abrió los ojos...El lo envía para que más y más confiéis en El; no lo toméis para entristeceros y derribar vuestro corazón con desconfianza. (V, p. 296)

Again he writes to a group of friends who were troubled, and a reference to Seneca is discovered:

A esto nos debemos esforzar, como Séneca decía, porque si el dolor es poco, no es mucho que se sufra; y si es mucho, no es poca, mas mucha la gloria que de sufrirlo se sigue; y por esto no hay excusa para no sufrir. (V, p. 376)

Though Seneca is not quoted often, the spirit of estoicismo he was noted for is also apparent in Juan de Avila. He elevates the concept, however, to the divine sense -- that of suffering for Christ.

In writing about sickness, Juan de Avila is compassionate -- undoubtedly because he was himself sick for eighteen years and could sympathize with illness. He refers to his own sufferings, but never

does so in a complaining fashion.³⁹ His message to those who are sick is to endure and hope in the love and mercy of God. In these sections we find great tenderness and understanding. When writing to a friend of his, perhaps don Pedro Fernández de Figueroa, he says:

Tenga vuestra señoría por cierto que esto que le envía es mensaje de amor y de paz, aunque parece cruel guerra y azote, y que, como a pece grande, le trae río abajo y río arriba hasta cansarle, no por cansarle, que su padre es, y no se deleita con verle padecer, sino para que, viéndose cansado, se vaya a Jesucristo a descansar, y sea de El recibido con brazos abiertos; y entonces dirá Cristo: «Porque gozases de este abrazo te envíe aquel azote; y por sanarte en lo más, te herí en lo menos; y por medio de lo que parece ira te he hecho participante en mi misericordia». (V, p. 125)

The cross is also to be remembered when suffering physically, for the bodily pain of Jesus was greater than any pain man could bear. The crucifix is referred to as a mirror, espejo, to which one should turn in time of adversity. This mirror reflects man's sins, in the light of Christ's perfection:

Mírese, señora, en este espejo, y verá bien las manchas de su rostro; pues aun cuando más mansa ha estado, si se coteja con la mansedumbre de El, será su mansedumbre como ira; y su obediencia, cotejada con la de El, será muy suelta, y su humildad muy soberbia. Mas el mundo ciego piensa que no hay otros pecados sino los que él conoce por malos. Otros son los ojos de Dios, otra la regla que nos mide, en la cual muchas veces se halló falto lo que en los ojos de los hombres parecía muy justo y cabal. (V, p. 490)

Letters of consolation, whether it be concerning illness or death are frequent.⁴⁰ Juan de Avila demonstrates in them a profound understanding of grief and at the same time is unwavering in his own conviction about the value of suffering. He also views sickness as something which beautifies a person in the eyes of God, if the suffering is borne well. He encourages people to accept it and indeed sees in it a way to quicken one's final arrival to complete union with God:

Priesa, señora, priesa, que es tarde y hemos andado poco y queda mucho por andar para llegar al lugar de la eterna holganza. Dicen que está bien cargada de enfermedades; sea en buena hora, que así estará hermosa delante los ojos de Dios, como esposa ataviada, con preciosas joyas...

Priesa, pues, señora, a padecer, que hasta aquí regalo ha sido nuestra vida; y si otra cosa nos parece, es por nuestra tibieza, que con poco se contenta. Priesa a nos humillar, a nos despreciar, y querer ser por su amor despreciados. (V, p. 497)

One can see from the above quotes that San Juan looked upon sickness as a means of growing in the spiritual life. Because Jesus suffered, suffering has become sanctified and should be accepted as a gift rather than a curse.

Temptations present a different dimension, because in many cases they are related to the devil, demonio, or evil spirits. The devil can cause vacillation in maintenance of faith and can tempt persons to a life of pleasure. When faced with temptations, Juan de Avila explains that people should not waver or become unduly worried about them. God will often cause interior or spiritual suffering, and the action that man must take is to submit to it:

Y no se maraville de quedar algunas veces como encallada y que no ve luz ni norte donde atine, sino que todo le parezca tinieblas; que Dios quiere meter a los suyos en tales trances, que ellos, por necios que sean, ven muy claro que no les aprovecha su juicio sin fuerzas; mas no los desampara ni deja en aquel abismo de obscuridad y desmayo; mas sácalos, o luego o al tiempo que a El place, y salen humillados y más confiados de Dios. (V, p. 433)

In the same letter to this woman he explains what is occurring in her soul. Here, Juan de Avila discusses discernment of spirits in a way which is enlightening, but not overly complex. He uses contrasts to point out the differences of the two forces at work in her soul:

Señora, si desea vuestra merced saber qué es lo que tiene, oiga: Dos hijos trae en su alma, y el uno pelea contra el otro, y dan pena a la madre. El uno es instinto e inspiración de

Dios; el otro es tentación del demonio; el uno es manso y lleno de paz; el otro es turbación y regaño. Consuela el uno a su madre en los trabajos que pasa, y dícele que se pasarán presto y que más merece Dios que sufra por El; y el otro dice que vida tan larga y siempre trabajos, ¿quién los ha de llevar? El uno esfuerza, diciendo que Dios acabará lo comenzado; el otro desmaya y trae desesperación, tanto, que fatigadas algunas madres con pena tan cruda y continua, dicen: Si estos puertos hay que subir en el camino de Dios, ¿para qué me metí en este camino? (V, p. 434)

In the above, we see not only contrasting words, but also the use of personification. The forces become two sons, and the woman becomes their mother. This demonstrates Juan de Avila's ability to simplify, but not distort, a very complex situation. Discernment of spirits was no easy task, but in this case, so as not to confuse or worry this woman, he puts the case clearly. Recognizing that she would probably not understand the theological explanation, and would more than likely be distraught by it, San Juan words the facts in such a way that they are clearly differentiated. It is only one example of the psychological insight that allowed him to respond to people as they were, not as they might have appeared to be.

The next cause of suffering to be dealt with is the internal suffering sent by God. This can come in a variety of ways, not from any particular adversity, and it is the most common type found in the letters. Juan de Avila treats it in very much the same way that he did the others. One aspect which has not yet been mentioned, but which is in evidence constantly, is the need for confidence. There is, as regards suffering, an underlying optimism. Juan de Avila is not necessarily happy about the pain or anguish it causes, but he places it in a hopeful context:

Por tanto, no os escandalicéis ni turbéis por cosas que os vienen, pues que todo viene dispensado por las manos que por vos y en testimonio de amaros se enclavaron en la cruz. Y si

queréis entender lo que os viene o el intento para que Dios os lo envía, sabed que son pruebas para que seáis examinada, y después, como a persona fiel en la prueba, seáis coronada de justicia de la mano del mesmo Señor. (V, p. 145)

Disillusionment or lack of confidence are faults which Juan de Avila does not accept. He finds in them a weakness of conviction, or tibiaza. His message is to be confident that God will take care of the problem. Along with this comes the need to sublimate the spiritual and place little importance on the corporal.

The verb padecer plays a great part in dealing with the types of suffering we have seen. It is one of Juan de Avila's favorite verbs, and he uses it over and over. But though it has the meaning of to suffer, padecer goes a step further and signifies to endure. We will examine a few passages where this verb appears:

Y así lo que es de Dios llamado no debe esperar placeres, mas trabajos; no regalos, mas desconsuelos; y con lo que los mundanos huyen, que es el padecer, con aquello el Hijo de Dios se ha de mantener...Aparejaos a padecer y no padeceréis; porque, cuando el padecer es amado, no es padecer, mas gozar; y cuando es huído, más viene y más pena da. (V, p. 321)

In a succinct statement, he writes: "Amar es padecer, amar es sufrir; amor de Jesucristo es hacer bien a quien mal nos hace." (V, p. 643)

And again: "Mas, señora, entre todo lo que acá hay para agradar al Señor, escojamos el padecer por su amor, que esto es lo más alto, seguro y cierto." (V, p. 183) In a letter to his disciples, this frequently quoted sentence appears: "«¡Padecer! ¡Padecer por amor de Cristo!»." (V, p. 301) The last selection here develops the idea more clearly, but it must be kept in mind that references to this are ever present in the letters:

E quien no es fuerte a padecer mucho, no diga que ama a Cristo mucho, porque no hay amor sin dolor acá. Espero en Dios que, así como acá le da dolores y trabajos, en el otro mundo le

tiene guardado descanso. Aunque harto galardón es padecer por tal Señor; y así como ninguna cosa hay tan para desear en la otra vida como gozar con Cristo, así no la hay en esta otra tal como padecer con El y por El. Sufra de buena gana, pues que ha de ser coronada, que los trabajos que pasa le vienen para ganar corona. (V, p. 440)

A few words remain to be said about Juan de Avila's style. If one were to situate it within the framework of Torquemada's book, the types that would be most relevant are estilo delicado and elegante. Though he does treat Scripture, and according to Torquemada, this should be done with the estilo graue, Juan de Avila does not become ponderous or overpowering. His writing is gracious and refreshing. San Juan can also be very delicate when it is required. Delicacy does not mean softness, necessarily, but it does involve prudence and ingenuity. In the following quote from a letter to don Cristóbal de Rojas, Bishop of Córdoba (1565), he expresses his thoughts in a round about fashion, but nevertheless comes to the point:

Con la merced que Dios me hizo de darme a vuestra señoría por padre y pastor, y con la licencia, ima mandato de la Escritura, que dice: Interroga patrem tuum et annuntiabit tibi, me atrevo a suplicar a vuestra señoría me diga qué es el fin y pretensión de Jesucristo en hacer a vuestra señoría presidente de este concilio, por un rodeo no pensado. Acceptus est regi minister intelligens, y por serlo vuestra señoría es razón que no deje pasar esta ordenación de Dios sin entenderla y corresponder a ella con la reverencia y diligencia y fidelidad que a tan gran Señor y a tan importante obra suya de debe. Y porque entiendo que vuestra señoría me ha de mandar que diga lo que de esto siento, lo diré, aunque con algún temor del mucho amor que a vuestra señoría tengo, el cual suela cegar los ojos de los prudentes, de los cuales yo no soy, y por eso tengo más por qué temer mi determinación. (V, pp. 630-631)

After this lengthy introduction, worded delicately so as not to offend, but not falling into obsequiousness, San Juan tells this bishop that reform of all bishops and bishoprics is needed! It is a marvelous example of how tact mixes with directness in his words and thoughts. He shows prudence, but his message comes through in an unmistakable way.

In a letter to a priest (number 161), he delicately expresses "confusion" at being called a teacher by one who should have no teacher but Christ, and who does not want to write because he is a disciple:

Recebí la carta de vuestra merced y obró en mí lo que otras suyas; conviene a saber: nacimiento de gracias a nuestro Señor por los dones que le da, según las palabras dan testimonio de lo que está en el corazón. Y también obró en mí mucha confusión de haberme llamado maestro y padre del que ya pensaría hacerme nuestro Señor merced de acertar a ser su hijo y discípulo. Y especialmente me confundió, y aun penó, venir en el fin de la carta que había muchas que me escribír, y que no lo hacía por guardar el decoro de oyente y di[s]cipulo. No es cosa que se puede llevar adelante, porque no es cosa que pierda yo por querer aprovechar a vuestra merced. Y si de esta arte lo ha de hacer, haráme oír y callar. (V, p. 583)

In the above passage, Juan de Avila does not hurt his recipient's feelings, but at the same time he lets him know how he feels.

If San Juan can be delicate, he can also be very direct and forthright. His knowledge of the people to whom he wrote provided him with the unique gift of perception. To people who could bear correction, he wrote that type of letter. To those who could not, he phrased corrections in a way that would be acceptable. The following passage reveals the type of correction directed at people who could accept it:

Más querría reñir con vos que regalaros, y por ventura sanaríades más aína, como las mujeres que, por ser tratadas de sus maridos un poco áspero, se hacen ellas fuertes y para mucho...

¿Qué habéis, sierva del Crucificado, que tanto os quejáis? ¿Quién os asombra, que tanto teméis? ¿No sabéis que no suelta Cristo tan presto las ánimas que una vez toma? ¿No sabéis que, aunque es celoso y las castiga por cosas al parecer muy livianas, que no por eso las deja de amar? (V, p. 379)

To a preacher, he is no less harsh. In fact, he minces no words in telling him that he lacks faith:

Por tentación cierta tengo la desconfianza de salvación que vuestra merced dice; y no sólo por cierta, mas por necia; que tal nombre merece la que no se quita con los bienes que tenemos en Cristo, como si este negocio fuese obra de nuestras

manos o premio de nuestros méritos, y no antes gracia de Dios por Jesucristo. Ensanche vuestra merced su pequeño corazón en aquella inmensidad de amor con que el Padre nos dio a sú Hijo, y con El nos dió a sí mismo, y al Espíritu Santo y todas las cosas. (V, p. 580)

Though these quotes show force and directness, they are not offensive or demeaning in any way. Juan de Avila does not want to offend the people to whom he writes, for to do so would be to make them angry or resentful. Thus he is tactful, but firm, in messages such as the above.

The estilo gracioso, which Torquemada thinks can be used beneficially, and which at times Sta. Teresa employs as well,⁴¹ is not evident in Juan de Avila's letters, nor indeed in any of his writings. His spirit was sober, and though his style is interesting and entertaining, humor is not in evidence. His letters, as are his sermons, are a reflection of a man dedicated to his office and to his followers, who took both seriously. He was not interested in levity or wit, but rather in the edification, and ultimate salvation, of those with whom he came in contact.

More could be said about the letters and about their recipients, particularly regarding the order and contents of each. This would entail a more thorough examination, and whether or not the puzzle could ultimately be solved is at the present material for conjecture. Because his style is uniformly eloquent, an analysis on that basis provides little information on which to found an opinion. The letters, therefore, must be judged on their own merit, without knowing in most cases to whom they were intended.

Part II, The Audi, filia

The Audi, filia, Juan de Avila's best known work, has a complicated history and one which dramatically reveals the climate of his times. Because two editions are extant, one before its prohibition by the Inquisition (that of 1556), and the other after his death (1574), it is possible to trace the changes he, or others, felt it necessary to make after the first edition, which came out, at least in the opinion of Sala Balust, without San Juan's permission. This is not resolved, however. There is a question as to whether or not San Juan knew about the first publication. M. Bataillon finds it difficult to believe that Juan de Avila was unaware of it, while Sala Balust is of the opinion that he did not.⁴² In any case, because of lack of clarity on the doctrine of justification, he revised the work and amplified or deleted certain parts that needed amending.⁴³

Before beginning the literary analysis of Juan de Avila's most significant spiritual work, it is necessary to have some understanding of its origins and the problems encountered by its author between 1556 and 1569. The book appears to have been begun either while San Juan was imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1531 or immediately afterwards. It was written at the request of, and for the spiritual direction of, Doña Sancha Carrillo. It started out as a brief instruction on prayer based on a verse in Psalm 44. Juan de Avila used a text which reads: "Oye, hija, y ve, e inclina tu oreja, y olvida tu pueblo y la casa de tu padre. Y codiciará el rey tu hermosura." When San Juan sent the few pages to her, she and some friends asked that he amplify it. This he did, and the result was the Audi, filia. Sala Balust, when analyzing the two editions, comes to the following conclusion:

La variedad de estilos y repeticiones de ideas a través del tratado, incluso en la edición de Alcalá en 1556, nos había hecho pensar en distintas partes, obra de tiempos diversos, reducidas luego a una unidad, tomando como nervio del esquema las palabras de los versículos 11 y 12 del salmo 44: Audi, filia, et vide...⁴⁴

Marcel Bataillon was the first to make a possible connection between letter number twenty and this work.⁴⁵ He advances the possibility that the letter was a basis for the future book. It has come to us in three different versions, and the titles are the following: "A una mujer que sentía mucha ausencia y disfavores de nuestro Señor", "A una persona que estaba tentada"; and "A cierta persona devota". There are similarities between the letter and one particular section of the Audi, filia, and certainly the theme of the epistle corresponds to the larger work.⁴⁶ In the following passage, Bataillon suggests the connection between the two and also exposes one of the problems posed to the Inquisition:

Que le lettre 20[2] soit une ébauche partielle de l'Audi filia ou le développement d'un de ses thèmes, nous sommes ici en présence d'un des thèmes fondamentaux, dont l'expression intrépide, imprimée en 1556, apparaîtra bientôt comme de saveur «illuminée et luthérienne». Le comble du «luteranismo», pour le grand inquisiteur de 1559, c'était la spiritualité du «Benefizio de Cristo», l'affirmation que les seuls mérites capables de sauver le pécheur sont ceux de la Passion du Christ.⁴⁷

The genesis of the idea for the book could well have come to Juan de Avila from St. Jerome's letter: ad Eustochium, Paulae filiam, De virginitate. It begins with the same biblical text, and Sala Balust concludes: "...no podemos menos de sospechar que ha sugerido a Juan de Avila la idea de hacer sobre el mismo tema un comentario más adaptado al ambiente español de la primera mitad del XVI."⁴⁸ There are numerous quotes from St. Jerome in the book. In the Audi, filia I, for example, St. Jerome is cited at least ten times.⁴⁹ Another source which

undoubtedly influenced San Juan was Juan de Valdés. A comparison of some of their works will be included in chapter IV, and very important areas of agreement will be seen.

The Audi, filia, then, grew from a few short pages to become a full length manual. Evidently the book was passed around among San Juan's disciples and friends during the years that followed its initial writing, because in the edition of 1556, dedicated to the Conde de Palma, San Juan mentions errors and false doctrines that have somehow cropped up in it. In the dedication there is explicit mention of these changes:

...Y con pensar esto, me he estado hasta ahora y me estuviera de aquí adelante en lo que toca a la impresión de este libro, sino que los días pasados vino a mis manos, y, leyendo en él, vilo trastrocado, borrado y al revés del como yo le escribí: que, siendo por mi compuesto, yo mismo no le entendía. Y parecióme que ya que no se perdiese mucho en estar tan depravado que ninguno pudiese aprovecharse de él, mas no era cosa de sufrir que sacasen daño de él, por las muchas mentiras peli-grosas que en él había, y cada día acaecieran más, porque cada uno que trasladaba añadía errores a los pasados. (I, p. 433)

The fact that the above appeared in the dedication makes it difficult to believe that Juan de Avila was unaware that the book was, in fact, going to be published. The first edition was by Juan de Brocar in Alcalá de Henares. It was complete with a prologue and dedicated to Luis Puerto Carrero, Conde de Palma.

The second edition (1574) was amended by Juan de Avila in accordance with the censure of Fray Juan de la Peña. It is also possible that San Juan himself wanted to make some modifications as well as expand upon his favorite idea, such as prayer. The second prologue mentions the appearance of the first edition, which as it states, came out without the correction of its author:

Y al cabo de pocos días supe que se había impreso un tratado sobre este mismo verso, y con título de mi nombre, en Alcalá de Henares, en casa de Juan de Brocar, año de mil quinientos cincuenta y seis. Maravilléme de que hobiese quien se atreva a imprimir libro la primera vez sin la corrección del autor, y mucho más de que alguno diese por autor de un libro a quien primero no preguntase si lo es; y procuré con más cuidado a entender en lo comenzado, para que, imprimido este tratado, el otro se desacreditase; mas las enfermedades, que después acá aún han crecido, y haber añadido algunas cosas, han sido causa que mas presto no se acabase. (I, p. 547)

This prologue does not deny that the book, as it first appeared, was Juan de Avila's. But it takes careful steps to make it known that he was not responsible for its appearance and that he now wants it discredited. Whether this is, as M. Bataillon suggests, a "pious falsification" or a genuine prologue written by Juan de Avila, is a matter for speculation. It is our opinion that well intentioned disciples could have fabricated it, for the first prologue mentions corrections already made. But until further evidence is revealed, the matter will probably remain unresolved.

The climate in Spain between 1554 and 1569 became more and more tense, due to certain groups of individuals who were leaning towards Protestant doctrines. Men such as Constantino de la Fuente and Mtro. García Arias were imprisoned by the Inquisition in Sevilla in 1559. Both were accused of Lutheranism. It is interesting to note that Juan de Avila had written to García Arias in 1538 (letter number five). This will be discussed in chapter IV. Briefly, the communication contains advice on prayer, and a program to be followed. San Juan advises reading Erasmus, Osuna, Cassian, and Henry Herp. Above all, he counsels interior prayer, recogimiento, which is a primary theme of the Audi, filia as well. García Arias was at one time prior of the Jerónimos of St. Isidore. Sala Balust reveals that he feigned piety and was,

in fact, "...más bien hombre regalado, inconstante, artero y de erróneas doctrinas en materias de fe."⁵⁰

The Council of Trent had by this time issued the famous decree on justification. As we shall see, the first Audi, filia is not as clear on the subject as is the revision. With the weight of the Council behind it, the Inquisition became more rigid and suspicious than it had been. The appearance of Juan de Avila's book, squarely in the middle of this period, was for him an unfortunate event. Another group of "protestants" was also discovered in Valladolid in 1559. Prominent people that were arrested include Cazalla, Fr. Domingo de Rojas, and don Carlos de Seso. Associated with them was Bartolomé Carranza, and in their trial the name of Juan de Avila also appeared. Sala Balust provides details about these happenings which are important for a complete understanding of what transpired between Carranza and Fr. Luis de Granada, and of the influence of Juan de Avila upon Carranza, via their mutual friend (Granada).⁵¹

The Inquisition, in 1559, published an Index on which appeared many books which had heretofore been accessible to the public. This was in the form of a catalogue, and it listed all works which could be considered pernicious, dangerous to the faith, heretical, or scandalous:

Entre los libros espirituales que se prohibían figuraban varios de Enrique Herp, Taulero, Savonarola, Dionisio Richel... y algunos otros de autores españoles contemporáneos de gran predicamento: San Francisco de Borja, Fr. Luis de Granada, Fr. Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda y el P. Mtro. Avila. El libro de este último, incluido en el Catálogo, era el Aviso y reglas christianas compuestas por el Mtro. Avila sobre aquel verso de David: Audi, filia, etc. Se vedaban, además, «todos cualesquier sermones, cartas, tractados, oraciones o cualquier escritura escrita de mano que hable o tracte de la Sagrada Escritura o de los sacramentos de la Santa Madre Iglesia y religión cristiana por ser artificio de que los herejes usan para comunicarse sus errores».⁵²

Mention has already been made of Carranza's trial, especially regarding language used in his sermons, in chapter II (page 71). Because there was much suspicion by the inquisitors, especially Valdés and Melchor Cano, it was not safe to publish, or preach, anything that remotely sounded like Lutheranism. In addition to the Audi, filia, two other of Juan de Avila's writings were censored in 1559 -- his letter number twenty, and his Tratado del amor de Dios.⁵³

The first encounter Juan de Avila had with the Inquisition resulted in his imprisonment, as we have seen, and in a very stern warning not to continue making questionable statements in his sermons, under pain of excommunication. The second meeting appears to have been less dramatic, because the wording is much softer. The censure aims primarily at Lutherans, and alumbrados dejados, and also pelagianism. Sala Balust cites examples of the wording which were used by Fr. Juan de la Peña, the representative of the Inquisition: "«Explíquese», «Añada», «Esta palabra se podía quitar, si pareciere», «Diga, si pareciere», «Si mi parecer se tomase en este caso», «Téplense aquellas palabras...»"⁵⁴ The entire document appeared in the 1963 edition of the Audi, filia, prepared by Juan Esquerda Bifet. As one reads it, two important recommendations stand out: (1) the need for clarification of justification and (2) the necessity of changing wording, especially when dealing with faith and prayer. At one point in the censure, Peña refers to Trent directly:

En el Concilio Tridentino se definió que "fides mortua est vera fides et per consequens quod habitus fidei, qui est donum Dei, manet in peccatoribus." De manera que la fe muerta es verdadera fe, como el cuerpo muerto es verdadero cuerpo, aunque no vivo. Esta es la comparación que puso Santiago, sicut corpus sine ánima, etcétera. Esta anotación baste en este capítulo para buen entendedor y advierta que lo principal que ay que enmendar en este libro es esto.⁵⁵

Juan de Avila counters the censure by adding an entire section on faith, (Chapters 35-44). He is unable to do what Peña asks, and hence there is no mention of living and dead faith. Instead Juan de Avila extols the great gift that God has infused in man's soul by giving him faith. As one reads the following section, there is no question about the life-giving quality of faith:

Esta fe no está arrimada a razones ni motivos, cualesquiera que se puedan traer; porque quien por aquéllos cree, no cree de tal manera que su entendimiento quede persuadido, sin quedarle alguna dubda o escrúpulo. Mas la fe que Dios infunde está arrimada a la Verdad divinal, y hace creer con mayor firmeza que si lo viese con sus propios ojos, y tocase con sus propios manos, y con mayor certidumbre que la que tiene de que cuatro son más que tres, o de otra cosa de éstas, que las ve el entendimiento con tanta claridad que ni tiene escrúpulo, ni las puede dubdar, aunque quiera. (I, p. 660)

This is one example of Juan de Avila's method of reacting to Trent and to the ideas that were suggested to him in light of it. He is not at all negative, nor contradictory. He does not bow to the pressures, but uses them to come up with a positive and comprehensive view. As we will see in chapter IV, when dealing with justification and prayer, his spirituality is not molded by the Council's decrees. What he considers to be reasonable and realistic criticisms, he takes into consideration. But his inner convictions are never changed.

A further example of Juan de Avila's reaction to the censure can be seen in his thinking on prayer and the emotions that may or may not accompany it. In the Audi, filia, I, he makes it very clear that tears are not to be desired or looked for, but that if they do come, they should be accepted:

Si el señor da lágrimas, o semejantes sentimientos, débense tomar, mas querer el hombre tomarlos por fuerza, no es cordura, mas débense de contentar con hallarse presente con vista sosegada y sencilla, a lo que el Señor pasó, y mirar al amor con que padecía, y cuán grandes tormentos y deshonoras eran los que

padecía. Con otros mil pensamientos buenos que el Señor suele dar, dejando en las manos de Dios lo que toca a tener devoción o lágrimas. (I, pp. 480-481)

Though the censure of Peña does not specifically mention emotion, it does counsel that beginners ought to be careful not to get carried away by devotions and thus allow their minds to wander from one pleasurable thing to another:

Y el gusto que después tienen no es de devoción verdadera, sino de aver cumplido su voluntad en dexar lo que les dava pena. Y en fin, nace de la común delectación que tienen los hombres con la variación. Paréceme que un hombre bien exercitado en esto podría fácilmente obviar este inconveniente y dar el consejo de manera que ni los flacos tomen ocasión de variar facilmente ni los mayores piensen que an de meditar por fuerza lo que ellos imaginen y que allí an de hallar a Dios, aunque Dios no quiera, y no adonde el es servido de ser hallado.⁵⁶

Juan de Avila is clearly in agreement with Peña on the point of not seeking pleasure in prayer. He also stresses the fact that good confessors are necessary if one is to follow the right path. But in Audi, filia II, he reiterates the position taken in the first edition -- adding to it a further admonition about uneducated guides in the spiritual life:

Y si con esto les dan los sentimientos y dichos, no los desechan, antes los agradecen, mas no como a cosa más principal. Y aunque entiendo que hay un amor de Dios tan abrasado que no sólo no saca lágrimas, mas aun las seca e impide, también os digo que hay otro tierno, que hace tener estos sentimientos y dichos en la parte sensitiva y ojos del cuerpo, sin que sea cosa culpable; pues la doctrina cristiana no es doctrina de estoicos, que condenan las buenas pasiones. Y pues Cristo lloró y se entristeció, bastarnos debe para creer que estas cosas son buenas, aunque en varones perfectos. ¡Oh cuánto mal ha hecho a sí y a otros, gente sin letras, que ha tomado entre manos negocios de la vida espiritual, haciéndose jueces de ella, siguiendo solamente su ignorante parecer! Y dígolo por hombres, que ha habido engañados, a quien parecían mal estas cosas. (I, p. 745)

His message is absolutely clear: affective prayer is as valuable as discursive, intellectual, or speculative prayer. Though Peña and the

Council of Trent did not encourage this mentality, it is obvious that Juan de Avila was not about to give it up. Love could not be denied or abandoned -- or relegated to a thought process. If the heart spoke, then it must be listened to. His ideas are summed up in a sentence found in the Audi, filia II: "Y sabed que este negocio más es de corazón que de cabeza, pues el amar es fin de pensar." (I, p. 746)

As one reads Peña's censure, it becomes evident that it is, as Sala Balust maintains, a sympathetic document. There are no threats and the tone is not harsh. Of all the changes recommended, it is the area of justification that is most crucial. Though this will be dealt with in further detail, it is appropriate to point out at this time that Juan de Avila did heed Peña's remarks on this issue. The Audi, filia I, according to the representative of the Inquisition, is not clear enough when it comes to justification by faith and works:

Ase pues de hablar con gran cautela en esta materia de manera que cuando se hablare de justificación, nunca se atribuya a fe sin pintar con ella la charidad.⁵⁷

In the Audi, filia II we read:

Y si a alguno parece que se nombra muchas veces la fe, atribuyéndole la justicia, y que por la fe somos hechos hijos de Dios y participantes de los merecimientos de Jesucristo, y semejantes efectos que convienen a la gracia y caridad, no es porque la fe sola para esto baste, mas, porque el sentido de la Escritura, cuando le atribuye aquellos efectos, es entender de la fe formada con la caridad, que es vida de ella. (I, p. 665)

United to charity is the need for penitence and acknowledgment of sin. And this is where the radical Pauline approach to salvation comes in. Man, on his own, has not deserved salvation. It is only through the merits of Christ that he is saved. And it is this approach that separated men like Juan de Avila and Valdés from the prelates who had proclaimed the decree on justification at Trent.⁵⁸ Although we do per-

ceive a change in the two editions of the book, it is apparent that Juan de Avila maintains his own peculiar way of approaching the subject of salvation. It is not the position of Trent, and not that of Luther. But it is thoroughly Pauline, and based solidly upon Scripture.

There is some question as to when the censure was written. Esquerda Bifet concludes that it was after 1556 but before the nineteenth of August of 1559, when it was discovered by the Inquisition. He asks a series of questions about this:

¿Fué escrita esta censura de Peña antes o después del Catálogo?
 ¿Acaso fué el voto oficial dado por Peña ante el Santo Oficio y los inquisidores quisieron retenerlo para sustraerlo a posibles curiosidades capaces de desvelar secretos? ¿O se trata simplemente de una censura privada e íntima, amigablemente enviada al Maestro para que se guardase la ropa en adelante?⁵⁹

The conclusion he draws is that this issue is impossible to judge, but that whatever the motivation, Juan de Avila was familiar with, and followed the advice of, the document.⁶⁰ We have seen, however, that this is not altogether the case.

The tone of the censure, as was said, is polite. There is no malice involved, and it appears that of the alternatives proposed by Esquerda Bifet, the last one could well be the answer. It is known that Juan de la Peña defended Carranza in his trial.⁶¹ And it is likely that he was trying to spare Juan de Avila the pain of another confrontation with the Inquisition. Juan de la Peña evidently had a great deal of respect for him. From the unknown young man of thirty-one or thirty-two years of age, Juan de Avila had now become a figure of renown and wisdom. He was fifty-nine years old, retired in Montilla, and admired by people not only in Spain but in Italy as well. That he was able to achieve this position, while at no time abandoning his austere and revolutionary stance, is a measure of his greatness.

In Montilla, then, he began the revision which had been in his mind since the book had been censured. This revision was completed in 1564, and by 1565, copies of the book were once again in circulation. It is this one that his disciples published after his death.

Notice of the new manuscript, approved this time by the bishop of Córdoba, came to the attention of the inquisitors. It was examined by them, and in 1568, just months before Juan de Avila died, final approval was granted:

La respuesta está dada con un sentido de veneración evidéntísima. Alguien velaba por él desde el Consejo. No conocemos las relaciones que todos y cada uno de aquellos señores pudieran tener con el Maestro; pero sabemos que el futuro obispo de Salamanca, Francisco de Soto Salazar, que había sido provisor del prelado cordobés don Diego de Avala y Esquivel, sentía una viva admiración por el Mtro. Avila.⁶²

Juan de Avila, as we have seen before, had influential friends who supported him. Evidently in this case too, they came to his assistance. The little book, begun as a few pages written by San Juan in his youth, was a source of concern for him throughout his lifetime. And even in the final months before his death, he was still editing and revising it. It is, in many respects, the book of his life.

What were the motivations behind the book, and why did San Juan write it? In the prologue to the first edition, we read the following:

El intento del libro es dar algunas enseñanzas y reglas cristianas, para que las personas que comienzan a servir a Dios, por su gracia sepan efectuar su deseo. Y estas reglas quise más que fuesen seguras que altas, porque, según la soberbia de nuestro tiempo, de esto me pareció haber más necesidad. Danse primero algunos avisos, con que nos defendamos de nuestros especiales enemigos, y después gástase lo demás en dar camino para ejercitarnos en el conocimiento de nuestra miseria y poquedad, y en el conocimiento de nuestro bien y remedio, que está en Jesucristo. (I, p. 433)

Juan de Avila's idea was to provide a guide to the spiritual life, focusing primarily on two things: (1) man's sinful state and (2) justifi-

cation and salvation through Christ.

The doctrinal differences between the two editions are treated in detail by Sala Balust in the above-mentioned introduction. He comes to the conclusion that basically and substantially the two editions contain the same material:

Las supresiones, como se ha podido observar al hacer la confrontación de los dos esquemas, son muy raras. Todo esto nos quiere decir que, en lo sustancial y en conjunto, la doctrina espiritual del Mtro. Avila expuesta en el Audi, filia de 1556, es sana, segura y tradicional. Quien quiera emprender con él camino de la perfección no dejará la oración vocal, ayunará, tendrá vigiliass y hará limosnas. El P. Avila le encomendará el recurso a los santos; le aconsejará que se ayude en su oración de libros piadosos y también de imágenes devotas, y le hablará con encomio de la obediencia de las Ordenes religiosas, le exhortará a rezar «por los que en purgatorio están»; le pondrá en guardia contra los alumbrados...⁶³

Though the doctrine and teachings are primarily the same, there are very interesting differences which we will examine. Before doing so, however, the original edition will be studied. Certain sections which differ in wording will be mentioned. By nature, the Audi, filia is clearly organized and structured. It differs in this respect from the sermons and letters and thus varies from what we have heretofore seen. One thing is similar, however, and that is the author's intent to instruct. In all of Juan de Avila's writings, we find this a motivating force.

Briefly, the structure of the first edition is the following.

We base our division on that of Sala Balust:

- I. Audi, filia
 - A. A quien no debemos oír
 - 1. Lenguaje del mundo
 - 2. Lenguaje de la carne
 - 3. Lenguaje del demonio
 - B. A quien debemos oír
 - A Dios, por la fe
- II. Et vide
 - A. Con los ojos del cuerpo

- B. Con los ojos del ánima
 - 1. A sí mismo
 - 2. A Cristo
 - 3. A los prójimos
- III. Et inclinam aurem tuam
 - A. Positivamente
 - 1. A la palabra de Dios
 - 2. A la enseñanza de la Iglesia católica
 - B. Negativamente
 - 1. Malas revelaciones del demonio
 - 2. Discreción de espíritus
 - C. El Señor nos da ejemplo
- IV. Et obliviscere populum tuum
El mundo malo y vanidad de nobleza de linaje
- V. Et domum patris tui
La casa es la propia voluntad; el padre, el demonio
- VI. Et concupiscet Rex decorem tuum
 - 1. La hermosura no es la del cuerpo
 - 2. Sino la del alma

Rhetorical devices such as anafora, polyptoton, exclamation, interrogation, metaphors, comparisons, and paraphrases have been discussed in the sermons and letters. The Audi, filia is not different in this respect. Once again Juan de Avila brings to his readers an interesting and varied context upon which to meditate.

The Audi, filia II presents some very interesting alterations, both in doctrine and in style. Because the doctrinal differences have been presented so clearly (Volume I, pages 402-427), we will deal with them only insofar as they affect the method of expression that San Juan chose the second time. Basically, the doctrinal differences are of two kinds:

...1) las que, impregnadas de un paulinismo de corte más o menos erasmista -- valdesiano, se prestaban a malas interpretaciones, por no acomodarse su formulación a los moldes nítidos y definitivos de Trento y constituir, en algunos casos, el santo y seña de los innovadores; 2) las que aclaran un lugar oscuro, suprimen un ejemplo inoportuno, desarrollan un punto demasiado conciso, enmiendan una interpretación no aquilatada.⁶⁴

The first stylistic difference that one notices is a change in the order of the first parts of the Audi, filia. The structural varia-

tion in the second follows that pattern below:

- I. Audi, filia
 - A. A quien no debemos oír
 - 1. Lenguaje del mundo y honra vana
 - 2. Lenguaje de la carne
 - 3. Lenguaje del demonio
- II. Et inclina aurem tuam
 - A. Positivamente
 - B. Negativamente
- III. Et vide
 - A. Con los ojos del cuerpo
 - B. Con los ojos del anima
 - 1. A sí mismo
 - 2. A Cristo
 - 3. A los proximos
- IV. Et obliviscere populum tuum
- V. Et domum patris tui
- VI. Et concupiscet Rex decorem tuum

The major change is the reverse order of parts two and three. From the point of view of continuity of content, the second order is the more sensible. The most important differences in content are briefly listed here:

- I. In the Audi section:
 - A. An additional chapter about lenguaje del mundo is added (chapter four)
 - B. Three chapters (eleven through thirteen) about causes of losing chastity
 - C. An amplification about remedies for disillusionment (chapters nineteen through twenty-four)
 - D. An in-depth clarification of the word fe (chapters thirty-two through forty-four)
- II. Et vide, et inclinam aurem tuam

Basically, these two sections remain intact, though the order is reversed. One section about false revelations has been almost completely deleted. But there are signi-

ficant additions in the second edition:

- A. Eleven new chapters have been added on prayer (chapters seventy through eighty-one). Not all are original. Juan de Avila uses part of the first edition, but expands upon it in depth.
- B. The section on justification has been amplified considerably. Chapters eighty-eight through ninety-three are new.

III. The fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are, with the exception of minor corrections, intact. There is one new chapter (101) which affirms the authority of the Church.

The second edition, though written in the same vein and manner as the first, contains personal touches that are not in evidence in the 1556 edition. At times, Juan de Avila employs the first person, giving the reader the impression that he is speaking to him or her personally: "Y porque adelante se hablará más largo de esta materia, cuando se hable del propio conocimiento, no os diré más agora." (I, p. 597) "Ni tampoco he dicho esto, porque estas cosas de sí sean malas ni desaprovechadas..." (I, p. 619) And in the next instance he speaks of his failing health: "Y porque tenía deseado y pensado de proseguir esta materia más larga, y pasar a la consideración de la divinidad por el escalón de la santísima ánima de Jesucristo nuestro Señor, y mi poca salud no da lugar, no os digo más;..." (I, p. 765) The last example comes at the end of the section on prayer: "Y concluyo con esto, con avisaros que..." (I, p. 766) This change from the second person to times in which the first is used gives a somewhat more personal touch to the sections of the second edition. They are, however, few and far

between, and the over-all effect is one of a less spontaneous work.

Style of the Audi, filia

The use of exclamations, so evident in the sermons particularly, but also in the letters, is carefully employed by Juan de Avila in the Audi, filia. Though at times he wants to emphasize a point, or perhaps move his readers, the primary emphasis is not on this. We see a more reserved approach. Apart from short exclamations, there are only two or three sections which contain anything approaching the extensive use of exclamation that we have noticed before. The first one appears in the section extolling the great love God has for man:

¡Qué ocasiones busca para hacer bien a los hombres! ¡Y a cuántos por un pequeño servicio ha hecho no pequeñas mercedes!
 ¡Cuántos ruegos a los que de El se apartan, para que a El se tornen! ¡Cuántos abrazos a los que a El vienen! ¡Qué buscar de perdidos! ¡Qué encaminar de errados! ¡Qué perdonar de pecados, sin darlos en rostro! ¡Qué gozo de la salud de los hombres! (I, p. 515)

The other example is when he is speaking of the benefits and beauty of the redemptive blood of Christ. We see a brief comparison of it to rubies in the following instance:

¡Oh sangre hermosa de Cristo hermoso, que, aunque eres colorada más que rubíes, tienes poder para emblanquecer más que la leche!
 ¡Y quién viera con cuánta violencia eras derramada por los sayones y con qué amor eras derramada del mismo Señor? ¡Cuán de buena gana, extiendes, Señor, tus brazos y pies, para ser sangrado de brazo y tobillo, para remediar nuestra soltura tan mala que en deseos y obras tenemos! Gran fuerza ponen contra ti tus contrarios, mas muy mayor fuerza te hizo tu amor, pues que te venció. (I, p. 534)

In both instances, Juan de Avila is carried away by an emotion which he wishes to express and impart to the reader. And in the second instance, he directs himself to Christ in the form of a prayer of praise. But San Juan's primary intent is not to delight, or to move the soul of his reader. This book presupposes that he or she is interested in serious-

ly pursuing the spiritual life. Therefore, he does not need to animate as much as to instruct. The style, then, in general, is more somber and uniform.

The characteristic use of interrogatio is more in evidence than exclamation. It is, as we have seen, one of Juan de Avila's favorite means of provoking a reaction. Once again, however, it is used quite sparingly. There are short questions interspersed through the work, but only about ten instances where a series appears. A few of these will be examined. In the first section, San Juan asks who can be frightened of the devil if they believe all is from God:

¿Cómo temerá al demonio quien cree que ninguna cosa puede sin darle Dios el poder? ¿Pudieron quizá los demonios tocar en Job, o en su hacienda, o siquiera ahogar los puercos de los generarios, sin tener licencia primero de Dios? Pues quien no puede tocar a los puercos, ¿podía tocar a los hijos? (I, p. 454)

The insistence here is on faith and confidence in God. The questions only serve to emphasize the message.

In the second passage, the use of repetition of the first word in questions is used. Also evident is the use of metaphors when referring to Christ. San Juan here is stressing the importance of knowing oneself, as well as the source of all man's blessings. Use of Scripture is also very important in this quote:

Porque si la más recia palabra de un padre para su hijo, o marido con su mujer, que la tiene en grande abundancia, es apartarla de su amparo y riquezas diciendo: «Vete de mi, y de mi casa», ¿qué será salirse el ánima y irse de Dios, sino desterrarse de todos los bienes, y caer en todos los males? ¿Dónde iremos, dijo San Pedro a Cristo, que palabras de vida tenéis? ¿Dónde iremos, Señor, que fuente de vida tienes, y tú solo la tienes? ¿Dónde iremos, alegre luz, sin la cual hay tinieblas? ¿Dónde, pan y vino, sin el cual hay hambre mortal? ¿Dónde, firmísimo amparo, sin el cual la seguridad es peligro? ¿Dónde irá la oveja, estando en todas partes cercada de los lobos, si el pastor la desabriga y alanza de sí? (I, p. 462)

Scripture in the Audi, filia is abundant, and San Juan uses it

often to explain something that he wants to clarify. For example, he quotes a passage of Old Testament Scripture and then proceeds to explain what the corresponding New Testament figure is. In the following selection, he again directs himself to Christ and speaks out about the treacherous capture of Jesus at Gethsemane. Use of questions, exclamations, and symbols combine to express the emotion that is in evidence, and, in addition, Juan de Avila paints a picture for the reader. The passage recalls the scenes in some sermons. This particular section is not contained in the first Audi, filia. It is an addition that San Juan made:

Cercáronme muchos becerros; y los toros gruesos me rodearon; abrieron sobre mí su boca como león que brama y hace presa. (Ps. 21, 13-14) Mas, aunque en el huerto de Getsemaní te fueron, Señor, a prender una capitania de mil hombres del brazo seglar, sin la gente enviada por los pontífices y fariseos, los cuales con mucha crueldad te cercaron y prendieron; mas a quien mirare la muchedumbre y grandeza de todos los pecados del mundo que han cercado tu corazón, poca gente le parecerá la que aquella noche te fue a prender, en comparación de los que cercan a tu corazón. ¡Qué vista, Señor, tan espantable! ¡Qué retablo tan feo, y para dar tanta pena, traías delante de ti, cercado de nuestros grandes pecados, significados por los becerros, y de los muy grandes, significados por los toros! ¡Quién contará, Señor, cuan feos pecados han acaecido en el mundo, que presentados delante tu inefable limpieza y santidad, te pornían espanto, y como toros con bocas abiertas arremetían a ti, pidiendo que tú, Señor, pagases la pena que tanta maldad merecía? ¡Con cuánta razón se dice adelante que fuieste derramado como agua, con tormento de fuera, y tu corazón fue derretido como cera, con fuego de dolores de dentro! ¡Quién, Señor, dirá que puede más crecer el número de tus dolores, pues tan sin número son nuestros pecados? (I, pp. 761-762)

Another example of this scriptural interpretation is found when San Juan explains predestination by using a quote from Psalm 30:

Sed por eso humilde y agradecida a este Señor, de quien tanta necesidad en todo tiempo tenéis, y conoced que estáis colgada de El y todo vuestro bien depende de su mano bendita, según decía David: En tus manos, Señor, están mis suertes. Y llama suertes a la gracia de Dios, a la eterna predestinación, las cuales vienen por la sola bondad de Dios, y se conceden a aquel a quien él con su justo, aunque oculto juicio, es servido de

dallas, y así como si él os quita el ser que os dió tornaréis nada, así, quitándoos la gracia, quedaréis pecadora, y quitándoos su predestinación, quedaréis reprobada y condenada. (I, pp. 477-478)

The comparison with the second edition regarding this quote is very revealing:

Y llama suertes a la gracia de Dios y a la eterna predestinación, las cuales por la bondad de Dios vienen y se conceden a quien se conceden. Y así como si El os quitase el ser que os dió os tornaréis nada, así, quitándoos la gracia, quedaréis pecadora. (I, p. 723)

The first section is more fluid and more typical of San Juan's style. His tendency to link clauses and use opposing words disappears in the second edition. This latter reveals a truncated, and somewhat dry, approach. And it also changes the meaning subtly. The mystery of God's inscrutable, and bountiful, grace is removed from the second quotation. The Scriptural passage has been eliminated, and a more dogmatic approach is seen in the latter text. Is this San Juan's change, or that of the disciples who published the second edition? We cannot know for certain, but the possibility of tampering is something that cannot be ruled out.

One further example shows the explication of scriptural passage by way of symbolic interpretation. San Juan is explicating the section from Job: En la sombra duerme, y en lo secreto de la caña, y en los lugares humildos. He explains it thusly:

Sombra son las riquezas, porque no dando el descanso que prometen...como son espinas, experimenta el que las tiene que no son riquezas, mas sombra de ellas...Caña es la gloria de este mundo, que cuando de fuera mayor parece, tanto de dentro está más vacía...Lugared humildes son las almas relajadas con los carnales deleites... (I, p. 525)

We have mentioned polyptoton when speaking of the sermons and letters. The same word or a variation of it appears in the same sen-

tence or section. Once again, this is seen often in the Audi, filia. The examples that are most evident are the variations of guerra, pelea, oír, orejas, oídos, and ver. We will begin with the first two.

Guerra, combate, pelea, and batalla are terms which appear often, especially in the first part of the book when Juan de Avila explains the temptations of the devil. Examples of this include:

Y la guerra de esta enemiga, allende de ser muy enojosa, es más peligrosa, porque combate con deleites, que son armas más fuertes que otras. (I, p. 437)

Es tanta la invidia que de nuestro bien tienen los demonios que por todas las vías tientan que no gocemos lo que ellos perdieron; y cuando en una batalla van de nosotros vencidos, o, por mejor decir, de Dios en nosotros, mueven otras y otras, para si alguna vez hallaren algún descuidado a quien traguen; mudan armas y género de batalla, pensando que a los que no vencieron en una vencerán en otra. (I, p. 454)

One of the very few proverbs found in the work comes in connection with these words: "Y acuérdate que vale más buena guerra que mala paz." (I, p. 442) In the same vein, he states: "Y si uno, siendo tentado y guerreado en su carne, tiene este propósito bueno en su ánima, con mayor firmeza que el que no tiene ni siente tentaciones, más casto será éste combatido que el otro por la paz." (I, p. 443)

The following passage, though long, provides an added insight into the use of metaphors in explaining Scripture. Since it involves the combat we are discussing, it is included here. Not only are the combative terms repeated, but so are others pertaining to the explication of a passage in the Song of Songs. It is a beautiful, tender, balanced, and carefully worded section and one which brings together many characteristics of Juan de Avila's style:

Y porque el vencimiento de esta batalla más se hace por arte de contentarnos con lo que viene, y de tener confianza, mientras [sic] más el demonio nos la quiere quitar, que por vía

de fuerza, queriendo evitar que no nos vengan estos pensamientos, pues que no son en nuestra mano, por eso dice el esposo a la esposa en los Cantares: Cazadnos las pequeñuelas zorras, que destruyen las viñas, porque nuestra viña ha florecido. La viña de Cristo nuestra ánima es, plantada con su mano y regada con su sangre. Esta florece cuando, pasado el tiempo en que fue estéril y seca, comienza nueva vida y fructifera al que la plantó. Mas porque a los tales principios suelen acechar estas y otras tentaciones del astuto demonio, y les suelen dañar con hacerles desmayar, trayéndoles pensamientos tan feos estando ella ternececa y en flor, por eso nos amonesta el esposo florido, que pues nuestra ánima, viña suya, ha florecido, que tengamos manera para cercar estas importunas tentaciones. En decir cazar, da a entender que ha de ser por maña y no por fuerza. Y en decir que son zorras, da a entender que son tentaciones solapadas, que pareciendo ir a herir en una parte, hieren en otra. En decir pequeñas, da a entender que para quien las conoce no son grandes, porque el solo conocerlas es vencerlas; y a quien le parecen grandes, es el que con su temor y poco saber las hace grandes. Y en decir que destruyen las viñas, da a entender cuánto daño hacen en los hombres que no las conocen, hasta traerlos algunas veces a tanto enojo, que de enojados, como no les quita Dios las tales tentaciones, vienen por miserable consejo a consentir en ellas, y algunas veces pasa tan adelante este mal que, por no sufrir guerra tan cruda en el camino de Dios, lo dejan y se dan abiertamente a pecar, pensando por allí huir de ellas; o, si esto no hacen, algunos suelen venir a desesperar, por no sufrir guerra tan cruda. (I, p. 452)

In the Audi, filia II, the above section has been altered. The clause "...y les suelen dañar con hacerles desmayar, trayéndoles pensamientos tan feos estando ella ternececa y en flor..." has been omitted. Also, the end, where por no sufrir guerra tan cruda appears twice, has been changed so that the phrase no longer appears:

Y en decir que destruyen las viñas, da a entender que hacen mucho daño en los hombres que no las conocen; porque, amedrentados y desconfiados de salir con el negocio de Dios, dejan su camino, y con miserable consejo danse abiertamente a pecar; pareciéndoles que hallan más paz por el camino ancho de la perdición que por el estrecho de la virtud que lleva a la vida. Y los fines de éstos, si al buen camino no tornan, muchas veces es tal que trae muy ciertas señales de eterna perdición, como la Escritura dice: Al que se pasa de la justicia al pecado, Dios le aparejó para el cuchillo, que quiere decir, para el infierno. (I, p. 621)

This second passage is much more blunt and to the point than the first.

It is revised in such a way that there remains no doubt about the road to perdition. The omission of the diminutive also tends to make the section less tender. For those of us who read the passage today, the first appears to be the more pleasing of the two. Perhaps the idea of guerra and combate was too reminiscent of the Enchiridion of Erasmus. Or maybe the section was not strong enough in its initial form.

The verb oír, coupled with the nouns orejas and oídos, take us into an area which is characteristic of Juan de Avila's expression and approach to the interior life. We will see the same thing when discussing ver and mirar. This has to do with the exterior and interior aspect of man, the visible and invisible, or the flesh and the spirit, which has been mentioned before. Nowhere in his writings does Juan de Avila make this point as clearly as he does in the Audi, filia. From the outset, in the beginning words, the distinction is made:

Lo primero que nos es amonestado en estas palabras es que oyamos. Y es la causa, porque, como todo el fundamento de la vida espiritual sea la fe, y ésta entre en la ánima por el instrumento de la voz, mediante el oír, razón es que seamos amonestados primero de lo que primero nos conviene hacer; porque muy poco aprovecha que suene la voz de la verdad divina en lo de fuera, si no hay orejas que la quieran oír en lo de dentro, ni nos basta que, cuando fuimos bautizados, nos metiese los dedos el sacerdote en los oídos, diciendo que fuesen abiertos, si los tenemos cerrados a la palabra de Dios, cumpliéndose de nosotros lo que de los ídolos dice el profeta: Ojos tiene [n] y no ven, orejas tienen y no oyen. (I, p. 435)

The above passage emphasizes what has been said about the preaching of the word of God -- inspiration based on faith and divine truth comes from within.

As the Audi, filia develops, this process of listening is amplified and clarified. The repetition of the word is abundant in the following section:

Mucho nos hemos detenido en avisar que cerremos nuestras orejas de estas malas hablas; queda ahora de oír la primera palabra, en que el profeta David nos amonesta que oyamos. Y pues no hemos de oír a la diversidad de los ya dichos lenguajes, desearéis saber a quién hemos de oír. Brevemente digo que a solo Dios, que es la summa verdad y es oído con gran provecho del que le oye, según él dice: Oyéndome, oídme; y comed del bien, y deleitarse ha en grosura vuestra ánima; inclinad a vuestra oreja, y venir a mí. Oíd y vivirá vuestra ánima, y haré con vosotros un sempiterno concierto. (I, p. 457)

The scriptural quote from Isaiah 55 does much to embellish the above. It reinforces all that has gone before, and in its invitation Juan de Avila hears a section of Scripture that he wants to include. The Audi, filia II completely revises the section, deleting both the scriptural passage and most of the other words:

Todo lo que hasta aquí se os ha dicho ha sido daros a entender a quién no habéis de oír, y daros para ello los avisos que habéis leído. Resta deciros a quién habéis de oír, para que cumpláis la primera palabra que el Profeta dice: Oye, hija. (I, p. 635)

The censure by Peña has nothing to say about this specific section. Perhaps the quote from the Old Testament was thought to be overly "Judaic" in the eyes of the inquisitors. This particular part of the second edition is altered extensively, for Juan de Avila inserts chapters about faith at this point which are not at all present in the first edition.

The idea of inner and outer hearing is further seen in a section in which Juan de Avila once again emotionally directs himself to Christ. The contrast of speaking and being quiet is also present:

¡Oh bendito sea tu callar, Señor, que de dentro y de fuera en el día de tu prisión callaste: de fuera, no maldiciendo, no respondiéndome; y en lo de dentro, no contradiciendo, mas aceptando con mucha paciencia los golpes y voces, y penas de tu pasión, pues tanto habló en las orejas de Dios que antes que hablemos seamos oídos! (I, p. 514)

This contrast between inner and outer, or appearances versus

reality, progresses a step further with the next section of the psalm, et vide. There are eyes with which we see, the ojos de fuera, and then there are the ojos interiores. Involved with all this is the image of mirror (espejo) which has been noted before. The entire process becomes one of mortifying the outer sense in order to perceive truth with the inner eye. Juan de Avila uses the verb mirar in the following passage very carefully. At one point, it almost sounds as though he is playing with words, as the phrasing at the end is very clever, and the word takes on different meanings:

Y creed, por cierto, que una de las más ciertas señales del corazón recogido es la mortificación en el mirar, y del corazón disoluto, la disolución del mirar. No hay pulso que tan cierto declare lo que hay en el cuerpo cuando el ojo declara lo que hay en el ánima, de bien o de mal. Por lo cual el esposo alaba a la esposa de los ojos, diciendo: Tus ojos son de paloma, dando a entender que son honestos como los de la paloma, que suelen ser negros. Miremos, pues, cómo miramos, si no queremos pagar llorando lo que pecamos mirando. (I, p. 461)

After the introductory section of the book, there is a very long part about prójimos and how they should be viewed. The verb mirar is again used to develop the concept of seeing one's neighbor as Christ sees him. Repetition of the word is evident:

Y para esto habéis de notar que aquél mira bien a sus prójimos, que los mira con ojos que pasen por sí mismo y pasen por Cristo...Y con aquella compasión le mire y remedie y sufra, con que se mira a sí mismo y desea ser de los otros mirado y remediado... Hombre que todos quieren que miren por él, y le consuelen, y él ser desabrido y descuidado para con los otros, no merece llamarse hombre, pues no mira a los hombres con ojos humanos, que deben ser piadosos. (I, p. 490)

The verb mirar takes on a new and more profound meaning with Juan de Avila. It not only means to look at, but also to look into oneself and to watch out for one's neighbor with the "eyes of Christ" rather than one's own.

Ultimately, one must look at Christ, for in Him, one sees oneself. This is where the mirror image is developed. In a passage too long to quote entirely, Juan de Avila combines repetition, exclamation, Scripture, contrasts, and images, in order that man be able to see himself in Christ, so as to see reflected in Him one's inner being. It is in the section dealing with the beauty of the soul. What follows are excerpts from the passage:

Oíd, doncella, esta voz y mirad a este hombre, que por un indigno pregonero de Cristo os es pregonado. Mirad a este hombre, para oír sus palabras. Este es el maestro que el Padre nos dió. Mirad a este hombre, para imitar su vida, porque no hay otro camino para ser salvos, si él no. Mirad a este hombre, para haber compasión a los que mal lo querían. Mirad a este hombre, para llorar, porque nosotros le paramos tal cual está por nuestros pecados. Mirad a este hombre, para le amar, pues padece tanto por vos...Mirad, pues, doncella, a este hombre, porque no puede escapar de muerte quien no lo mirare, porque así como alzó en un palo Moisés la serpiente en el desierto, para que los heridos mirándola viviesen, y quien no la mirase muriese...

Mirad, pues, en la haz de vuestro Cristo, creyendo en El, confiando en El, amando a El y a todos por El. Mirad en la faz de vuestro Cristo, pensando en El y cotejando vuestra vida con El, para que en El, como en espejo, veáis vuestras faltas y cuán lejos vais de El, para que, conociéndoos por fea, toméis de sus lágrimas y de su sangre, que por su cara hermosa veréis correr, y alimpiéis vuestras manchas. Mirad vuestro Cristo, y conoceréis quién sois vos, porque tal cual está El de fuera, tal érades vos de dentro, que por eso se vistió de vuestra fea semejanza, para destruirla y darnos su imagen hermosa...

Mirad, pues, a Cristo, porque os mire Cristo. Vos veréis a vos en El, y El verá a sí en vos, porque ni era propia de El la imagen que tiene de tanta afeción, ni es propia del ánima la imagen hermosa que tiene, y así como no habíades de pensar que El había hecho alguna cosa por la cual mereciese tomar sobre sí imagen de feo, así no penséis que habéis vos merecido la hermosura que El os ha dado de gracia... (I, pp. 539-540)

In Christ, then, man is able to see himself reflected, and Christ also sees Himself reflected back. This is only accomplished by the inner vision. It calls to mind Sta. Teresa's descriptions of her visions, though Juan de Avila does not go into any actual prayer experiences. One of the characteristics of the Audi, filia is, in fact, to avoid de-

liberately the mystical approach. Perhaps this was a precaution because of the general climate of the times, but it could also stem from an unwillingness, or an inability, to express the ineffable nature of mystical prayer.

The idea of entrando (going inside) is emphasized strongly by each writer -- another link to the similarities between them. Though Sta. Teresa does not explicitly develop the mirror image, she uses the technique of reflection in her writings.⁶⁵ This is only one example of a possible connection in style between the two saints. As one reads Sta. Teresa and refers back to Juan de Avila, striking parallels are seen. Evidence points to the probability that Sta. Teresa must have read the Audi, filia at one time or another. This in no way detracts from her own original style and contribution, but it would explain where some of her stylistic devices and indeed inspirations, might have come from.⁶⁶

A stylistic connection between St. Jerome and Juan de Avila was mentioned earlier. The same case can be made for a stylistic similarity with St. Augustine as well. In the course of the Audi, filia, San Juan frequently quotes from both of these authors. At the risk of being repetitive, examples which San Juan quotes directly from these authors follow. The reader will see the similarities between the writers. St. Jerome uses opposites and repetition in the quote below:

"Ninguna cosa había más alegre que su gravedad, ni más grave que su alegría. Ninguna cosa más suave que su tristeza, ni más triste que su suavidad...Su palabra callaba, y su callar hablaba; ni muy tardo ni presurado su andar; su hábito, de una misma manera; su limpieza era sin ser procurada; y su vestido, sin curiosidad; y su atavío, sin atavío." (I, p. 529)

Though not identical in style, echoes of the above are heard in the fol-

lowing. San Juan, however, makes more use of verbs in his contrasts:

Y, porque ninguno sin él estaba, no tenía este gran sacerdote qué ofrecer por los pecados del mundo, sino a sí mismo, haciéndose hostia el que es sacerdote, y ofreciéndose a sí mismo limpio, por limpiar los sucios; el justo, por justificar los pecadores; el amado y agradado, porque fuesen amados y recibidos a gracia los que por sí eran desamados y desagradados. (I, p. 517)

Ya pide uno con deseo una cosa y otra, y a las veces contraria; ya hacen, ya deshacen, lloran y alégranse; ya quieren desesperar, ya se ensalzan vanamente...desean una cosa y hacen otra... (I, p. 520)

The following passage from St. Augustine concerns the beauty of Christ.

From a rather lengthy quote, it is a clear example of anaphora, a repetitive device often used by San Juan. The relationship is evident:

"Hermoso, pues, es en el cielo, hermoso en la tierra, hermoso en el vientre de la Madre, y hermoso en los brazos de ella, hermoso en los milagros, hermoso en los azotes, hermoso convidando a la vida, hermoso no teniendo en nada la muerte, hermoso dejando su ánima cuando expiró, hermoso tornándola a tomar cuando resucitó, hermoso en el sepulcro, hermoso en el cielo, hermoso en el entendimiento..." (I, p. 542)

Augustine's quote here is very repetitive. San Juan, though using this technique, varies it after a few phrases, as seen in the sermons. It is certainly not unusual to find many similarities between Juan de Avila and these early Church figures, for we have said before that they and St. Paul were the models for the 16th century reformers. The effort was not to imitate them exactly, but rather to bring their example into a more modern, and Spanish, context.

Another characteristic of San Juan's style is the use of comparisons. In the sermons, especially, these are seen. But a few exist in the Audi, filia as well. Examples of these follow:

Todo lo dicho, y más que se pudiera decir, suele ser medio para alcanzar esta preciosa limpieza; mas muchas veces acaece que así como teniendo piedra y madera, y todo lo necesario para edificar una casa, nunca se nos adereza el edificarla, así también acaece que, haciendo todos estos remedios, no alcancemos la castidad deseada. (I, p. 441)

In each case, with these comparisons, the message becomes more identifiable and pleasing. The next one is accentuated with a series of verbs:

Mas agora sea pensando, agora imaginando, agora mirando o oyendo cualquier cosa de fuera, luego ha de recurrir al corazón, en el cual ha de tener el hombre su aposento y ejercicio, estando recogido dentro de sí, como abeja solícita que dentro de su corcho hace la miel. (I, p. 482)

Creedme que, así como en un pergamino no pueden escribir, si no está muy raído, quitado de la carne, así no está el ánima aparejada para que el Señor escriba sus gracias en ella hasta que estén en ella estas afecciones, que nacen de carne, muy muertas. (I, p. 522)

In the next example; San Juan develops the concept of the body, this time the physical body of man. The Audi, filia II changes the context in places, generally making the passage shorter and less vivid. The latter is not included here, because we have already seen similar alterations.⁶⁷

Un cuerpecillo nos dieron nuestros padres, y tan vergonzosamente engendrado que es asco pensarlo, y decirlo, y es tal este cuerpo que mancha en ánima, que Dios cría limpia y la infunde en él. Como cuando un limpio da una manzana limpia en manos de un leproso, que con sólo tomarla la ensucia. Un cuerpo nos dieron, lleno de mil necesidades y flaquezas, y proprio para hacer penitencia en sufrirlo. Un cuerpo, que, si un solo cuerezuelo le quitasen de encima, los muy hermosos son abominables. Un cuerpo, que, mirándolo por defuera blanco, y considerando las cosas que dentro de sí encierra, no diréis que es sino un vil muladar, cubierto de nieve...Un cuerpo perezoso como asno y malicioso más que mula; y si no, probá a dejarlo sin freno, que ande él como quisiere, y descuidaos un poco de guardaros de él, entonces veréis lo que tiene. (I, p. 524)

The similarity with the Contemptus mundi (Imitation of Christ) by Thomas à Kempis is readily noted here. It is not at all surprising that San Juan includes such passages in his writings, since his first published work was a translation of that spiritual classic. It appeared in Sevilla in 1536 with the title Contemptus mundi nueuamente romanzado. Though the translation has traditionally been thought to have been that

of Granada, there is evidence that it was, in fact, Juan de Avila who wrote it.⁶⁸

Certain sections of the Audi, filia are strongly worded -- not against vices, necessarily, but when the author is trying to emphasize a point by making comparisons. When speaking of knowing oneself, for example, San Juan says:

Porque el efecto de este ejercicio no es solamente entender que sois mala, mas sentirlo y gustarlo con la voluntad, y hallar tomo en vuestra maldad e indignidad, como quien tiene un perro muerto a sus narices. (I, p. 469)

And when speaking about a woman who is concerned about beauty, he bluntly states:

Muy poca honra cataría el puerco al oro que en su hocico tuviese, y no dejaría, por mucho que resplandeciese, de ensuciarlo y meterlo en el hediondo cieno; así es la mujer loca, que emplea su hermosura, sin algún asco, en mil vanidades, hediondecas, ya de cuerpo, ya de ánima. (I, p. 528)

Though he does not write like this often, strong words do appear at times. He does not shy away from confrontation of issues nor hesitate to speak his mind. In all probability there were other sections which were harsher and were subsequently toned down by editors. His expression is bold and forthright, and perhaps that is why M. Bataillon has called him "l'intrépide imitateur de saint Paul..."⁶⁹ He is not intending to offend, but rather to cause the reader to take notice. These examples demonstrate a sense of realism and an awareness of natural processes. This ability to be so direct and explicit is one of the important characteristics of San Juan's style. He succeeds in using these types of expressions without falling into vulgarisms or poor taste. A sense of propriety permeates his thought and writing, leading to a blend which allows him to speak roughly or softly, as each instance

warrants.

We have previously noted the dichotomy between the body and spirit, and visible and invisible. But it seems that there is more to this than would initially meet the eye. Juan de Avila places too much emphasis on the idea of sickness and cure for it to be glossed over lightly. His use of the terms médico and medicina, used before, point to a deep concern for man's sickness of both body and soul.

Another man who also was very much interested in this was Bernardino de Laredo (1482-1540). He was a medical doctor and was the physician of D. Juan III of Portugal. His best known work, Subida del monte Sión, was first published in Sevilla in 1535 and four editions followed later in other cities.⁷⁰ Fr. Juan Bautista Gomiz, O. F. M., has characterized Laredo's spirituality as one of feeling, but he is not at all a sentimentalist. Gomiz also cites influences of Laredo upon both Sta. Teresa and San Juan de la Cruz, especially in the area of prayer and the love of God. There is another element which, regarding Juan de Avila at least, is of importance, for the similarities of expression are quite close at times, especially concerning the body (cuero), and the need for knowing oneself.⁷¹ The latter theme was also a favorite of Juan de Valdés, and once again in Laredo we see a certain mark of paulinismo that was so characteristic of many writers. We are interested here, however, in the references to the body.

Laredo, as does San Juan, stresses the need for denying oneself and looking upon Christ as the mirror of humility. Man thus comes to the realization that he is a sinner:

Porque para conversar con Cristo, que es suma sabiduría y espejo de humildad, más fundamento requiere que por cierta cuenta y reglas venga a conocimiento de quién es, hasta haber asco de sí;

y sepa que tiene pocas palabras para poder intimar lo vero de su vileza...⁷²

Man's nature is compared to mud, and it is even worse than a brick, because a brick remains substantially the same if broken, but a man's body passes into such a state of corruption that no one wants to be near him:

Lodo sois ambos a dos, y aun es el vuestro más vil y de más vil corrupción; y si se coció con el fuego, elemento es también vuestro, y tiene hoy una ventaja, que aunque se quiebre permanece en la substancia, que muestra hasta que se esconda su ser, y tú, al tiempo que te quiebras, pasas en tal corrupción, que no hay nadie que te quiera; si no, mira a la experiencia.⁷³

Laredo dwells on the corruptible state of man's body, no doubt partly because as a doctor he was well aware of what happened to it. At one point he asks: "Porque, ¿cuál cieno es más vil que el de un putrefacto cuerpo?"⁷⁴ Another time he refers to the body as miserable estiércol and miserable materia. Laredo, as does Juan de Avila, strongly emphasizes the destructible and perishable nature of man's body, and thus the outer and inner man is differentiated. The Contemptus mundi is very much in evidence in this perspective.

Though San Juan does not dwell on this as much as does Laredo, certain expressions and comparisons he makes are very much the same. When, for example, he speaks of the need for self knowledge, this is what we hear:

Miradvos porque os conozcáis y tengáis en poco; porque no hay peor engaño que ser uno engañado en sí mesmo, teniéndose por otro que del que lo es. Lodo sois de parte del cuerpo, pecadora del parte del ánima. Si en más que esto os tenéis, ciega estáis y deciros ha vuestro esposo: Si te conoces hermosa entre las mujeres, salte y vete tras las pisadas de tus manadas, y apacienta tus cabritos par de las moradas. (I, p. 462)

And in another section, he develops this idea further. Here one sees certain similarities of expression with those found in Laredo:

Y mirad, como una piedra con el peso que tiene es inclinada a ir hacia bajo, así, por la corrupción del pecado original que traemos, tenemos un[a] vivísima inclinación a las cosas de nuestra carne y de nuestra honra, y de nuestro provecho, haciendo ídolo de nosotros, y obrando nuestras obras no por amor verdadero de Dios, sino por el nuestro estamos vivísimos a las cosas terrenales, y que nos tocan, y muertos para el gusto de las cosas de Dios; manda en nosotros lo que había de obedecer, y obedece a lo que había de mandar. Y estamos tan miserables que, debajo de cuerpo humano y derecho, traemos apetitos de bestias y corazones encorvados hacia la tierra. ¿Qué os diré sino que en cuantas cosas faltas, y feas, y secas, y desordenadas viéredes, en tantas miréis y conozcáis la corrupción y desorden que el hombre que está en pecado tiene en sus sentidos y obras? (I, pp. 475-476)

Juan de Avila, in the above quote, moves from the physical into the spiritual corruptibility of man. Both aspects were for him very important, but the highest priority was the state of the soul. For both Laredo and San Juan, this aspect of corruptibility was fundamental. Neither one was morbid about it, but they certainly saw the need for complete redemption and cure through Christ. As we will see in the next chapter, San Juan viewed man's sinful being as transformed through the merits of Christ. The emphasis is on the spirit, the mystical body of Christ, the love of man and of neighbor, and not at all on natural, physical bloodlines of humanity. We have already noted that the converso had reason for stressing the former and not the latter. In these instances, this reality is borne out once more.

As we return to the analysis of specific stylistic characteristics, one notices a tendency to link clauses and sentences by various connecting words. This is very much in evidence in the Audi, filia. San Juan's style, naturally fluid, tends to run on, and at times he seems unwilling, or unable, to slow the process down by use of a period. If he does use one, the next sentence is often begun by a conjunction or an adverb. The example below illustrates this clearly:

Y esto no es maravilla, porque, pues siendo nada tú nos heciste; y, antes que te lo supiésemos pedir, nos mantuviste en el vientre de nuestra madre, y fuera de él, y, antes que pudiésemos conocer lo que tanto nos cumplía, nos diste adopción de hijos y gracia del Espíritu Santo en el santo bautismo; y antes que muchos pecados nos derribasen, tú nos guardaste; y, cuando caímos por nuestra culpa, tú nos levantaste y buscástenos, sin buscarte nosotros; y, lo que más es, antes que naciésemos, ya eras muerto por nos, y nos tienes aparejado tu cielo, no es mucho de quien tanto cuidado has tenido, antes que lo tuviesen de ti, lo tengas en esto, que viendo tú lo que habemos menester, nos lo des, no esperando a que nos cansemos en te lo pedir, pues tú te cansaste tanto en pedirlo y ganarlo por nos. (I, p. 514)

Added means by which Juan de Avila maintains the interest of his readers is by making the passages active. As with the sermons and the letters, verbs frequently appear in a series. Two instances are cited below, since they are some of the best examples of this technique. We recall Estella's advice to say things in a new fashion. The following section demonstrates the use of opposite realities, when San Juan compares what God has done for man and how man has responded:

El cual es la sabiduría que nos enseña y el verdadero camino por donde vamos sin tropiezo; y el verdadero pastor, por el cual, en cuanto hombre, somos mirados, y el cual, en cuanto Dios, nos mira, quitándonos los peligros de delante, en los cuales ve que hemos de caer; teniéndonos firmes en los que nos vienen; librándonos en los que por nuestra culpa hemos caído; cuidando lo que nos cumple, aunque nosotros hacemos descuidos; acordándose de nuestro provecho, aunque nosotros nos olvidamos de su servicio; velándonos cuando dormimos; teniéndonos consigo cuando nos queríamos apartar; llamándonos cuando huimos; consolándonos cuando venimos; y teniendo en todo y por todo un tan vigilante y amoroso mirar con nosotros, que todo, y en un tiempo, nos lo ordena a nuestro provecho. (I, p. 518)

The use of different verb forms, the present tense and the present participle, combine in the above to create an atmosphere of tenderness on the part of God, and the sound of the participles helps to soften the tone of the section.

But Juan de Avila also uses infinitives, commands, and other

forms, as in the following sample:

Haced cuenta que estáis ya en el paso de vuestra muerte, lo más verdaderamente que lo pudiéredes sentir, diciéndoos a vos misma: «Llegar tiene algún día esta hora de mi acabamiento, no sé si será esta noche o mañana, y pues ciertamente ha de venir, razón es que piense en ello». Pensad cómo caeréis mala en la cama, y cómo habéis de sudar el sudor de la muerte. Levantarse ha el pecho, quebrantarse han los ojos, perderse ha el color de la cara, y con grandes dolores se apartará esta juntura tan amigable del cuerpo y del ánima. Amortajarán después vuestro cuerpo, y poneros han en unas andas, y llevarlo han a enterrar cantando unos, llorando otros. Echaros han en una breve sepultura; cobijaros han con tierra; y, después de haberos pisado, quedaros heis sola y seréis presto olvidada. (I, pp. 467-468)

The above is a realistic view of what happens when a person dies. San Juan effectively paints a picture for the reader, in order to evoke a response of repentance and the realization that life is, in fact, very short.

Certain parts of the 1574 work are original, and for that reason they are as important as the first edition. One section in particular is of interest at this time, for it takes us another step along the way to an understanding of Juan de Avila's thought and expression. It has been noted that a number of chapters (seventy through eighty-one), dealing with prayer, were added in the 1574 version. Because the theme itself is material for the next chapter, this will not be developed at the present time. But the style of the section is worthy of note.

We have spoken of the exterior/interior dimension previously. In the Audi, filia II, San Juan expands upon this in ways which open up the mystical aspect of his writings. It is one of the clearest, and most intimate, revelations of his prayer experiences. The dichotomy of inside/outside is ever present, and he uses different comparisons to expand upon it. At times he speaks of a templo, with an outside room.

The choice of wording clearly refers to a Hebrew place of worship:

Después de haber entrado en la primera sala exterior del templo del verdadero Salomón, que es considerar a Cristo en lo exterior, y después de haber, con el cuchillo de la divina palabra, sacrificado vuestras irracionales pasiones, que es oficio que se hacía en la sala del templo que se llamaba Sancta, resta, si hemos de proseguir el camino, que procuremos de entrar en el Sancta Sanctorum, lugar más precioso, y fin de otros lugares. Y si preguntáis cuál sea éste, dígoos que el corazón de Jesucristo nuestro Señor, verdaderamente Santo de Santos. Porque, así como El no se contentó con padecer en lo de fuera, sino amando de corazón, así no debéis vos de parar en mirar e imitar lo que de fuera padece, si no entráis en su corazón para mirarlo y para imitarlo. (I, pp. 754-755)

The verb mirar is very much in evidence here also. The idea of a building, seen above, is further developed, though along somewhat different lines, when San Juan at one point speaks of "stairs" which lead along the inner road:

...y, yendo rezando, piensen, aunque brevemente, en aquel mismo paso; y tengan alguna imagen devota a que miren, y lean libros de la pasión; porque muchas veces acaece, de estos escalones, subir al ejercicio del pensar interior. Y, si el Señor quisiere que no suban más, agrandézcanse por quererlos llevar por aquel camino. (I, p. 766)

In one particular section, the image of dwelling is explained in a manner that involves a comparison such as we saw in the first section above, that of templo. But here San Juan combines the temple, or dwelling, with the heart, and a variety of images are evoked:

Y ya os he avisado que vuestra morada ha de ser en vuestro corazón, donde como abeja solícita, que dentro de su corcho hace la miel, habéis vos de encerraros, presentando al Señor lo que de fuera se os ofreciere, pidiéndole su lumbre y favor, como lo hacía Moisés en el corporal tabernáculo. Y si se os ofreciese de fuera alguna hiel de tentación, huid a vuestro Señor, dejaréis a vuestros amigos burlados, vencidos y fuera de casa. Porque, como el daño que os podían hacer era mediante el pensamiento, cerrado éste muy bien, no hay por dónde os puedan entrar. (I, p. 746)

We see in all this not a mere putting together of a few thoughts on prayer, but an actual treatise on a specific methodology. Juan de

Avila, by using comparisons and analogies, further opens the door which Sta. Teresa and Juan de la Cruz will pass through. It is not possible here to compare Sta. Teresa's prayer method with that of Juan de Avila, but from what has been said above, we see similarities of expression, as well as thought. The idea of moradas, for example, is expanded by Sta. Teresa in the Castillo interior. We include two examples from the Moradas to verify the similarities:

Pues consideremos que este castillo tiene -- como he dicho -- muchas moradas, unas en lo alto, otras en lo bajo, otros a los lados; y en el centro y mitad de todas éstas tiene la más principal, que es adonde pasan las cosas de mucho secreto entre Dios y el alma.⁷⁵

In the next section, Sta. Teresa tells how to get in the castle. It is no less than going inside oneself:

Pues tornando a nuestro hermoso y deleitoso castillo, hemos de ver cómo podremos entrar en él. Parece que digo algún disparate; porque si este castillo es el ánima, claro está que no hay para que entrar, pues se es él mismo; como parecería desatino no decir a uno que entrase en una pieza estando ya dentro. Mas habéis de entender que va mucho de estar a estar; que hay muchas almas que se están en la ronda del castillo, que es adonde están los que le guardan, y que no se les da nada de entrar dentro ni saben qué hay en aquel tan precioso lugar ni quién está dentro ni aun qué piezas tiene. Ya habréis oído en algunos libros de oración aconsejar al alma que entre dentro de sí; pues esto mismo es.⁷⁶

We see here a similarity between the templo of Juan de Avila and the castillo-palacio of Sta. Teresa, but the terminology is distinctive.

Juan de Avila, in only this particular place, uses a very pertinent verb, cavar. It is not employed in the first edition and is thus interesting to notice. Once again, it is related to the inner aspect of man's heart, and is stronger than even entrar:

Mas, si con lumbre del cielo caváis más, y escudriñáis este relicario de Dios, lleno de inefables secretos, veréis dentro de él tales efectos de amor que nos pongan en mayor admiración que lo que de fuera pasó. (I, p. 759)

Mas, si caváremos en lo más dentro del corazón del Señor, halláremos en él dolores por los pecados que los hombres han hecho, y dolores por los pecados que nunca hicieron. (I, p. 762)

And finally: "¿Quién, Señor, podrá escudriñar, por mucho que cave en tu corazón, los inefables secretos de amor y dolor que están encerrados en él?" (I, p. 763) The verb, though used very sparingly, serves to give the impression of actually digging, of working, and of searching.

If one were to doubt San Juan's mystical tendencies, and indeed experiences, one clear example of this type of relation with God is seen below. It is not included in the first edition. San Juan here comes the closest he ever does to the edge of that vast expanse of writing which we call "mystical literature". It pertains, not at all surprisingly, to the method of prayer, and he repeats the notion of templo:

Haced vos así; determinad de morir o vencer; porque, si no salís con victoria de vuestras pasiones, no podréis pasar adelante en el ejercicio de la familiar conversación del Señor. Porque aquel dulcísimo sueño, que con sosiego en sus brazos se duerme, no es razón que se dé sino a los que primero han peleado, y con trabajos vencido a sí mismos. Ni pueden gozar de ser templos quietos del pacífico Salomón, si primero no son labrados con golpes de mortificación de pasiones, y quebrantamiento de voluntad. Ni el humo, que las pasiones no mortificadas causan en el ánima, deja tener la vista tan clara como conviene para mirar al Rey en su hermosura; ni dejan haber aquella pureza que ha menester el ánima para unirse con Dios, a modo de casta esposa, por un modo particular, secreto, y guardado para aquellos a quien el Señor lo quiere dar, después de haber trabajado muchos años y con mucho amor, como hizo Jacob por Raquel. (I, p. 754)

Words such as morir o vencer, dulcísimo sueño, sosiego, en sus brazos se duerme, pureza, unirse, casta esposa, and secreto are characteristic of mystical vocabulary. If one were to chose a particular passage that typified much of Juan de Avila's thoughts, and one which demonstrates his ability to explain himself, this one would be a very good example. None of it appears in the Audi, filia I, and we cannot help but think that the years in Montilla were enhanced by the type of prayer described

above. One glimpses the same idea that St. John of the Cross will express later, especially in the dulcísimo sueño, que con sosiego en sus brazos se duerme.

It can be seen, then, that though the second edition was revised in part upon the recommendation of the Inquisition, Juan de Avila amplified, happily for us today, the section on prayer. If certain other sections of the second edition are less expressive and spontaneous than the first (which they are), this one is more so. This section on prayer reveals the thoughts of a mature and experienced person. If one were to summarize the contents of these chapters, the following ideas would be fundamental:

1. Prayer is an intimate and personal communication with God, and it is possible for all. Everything man does should begin with prayer.

2. The first means to arrive at communication with God is to do penance. Mortification of the senses plays an important role in the development of a deep prayer life.

3. The second step to be taken is to meditate upon the Passion of Christ, in order to come to an appreciation of His humanity as well as His divinity. The end of this meditation of the Passion will be to imitate it.

4. Emotion, which can cause tears, is not bad, but in itself it can be deceiving. Devotion must be spiritual, not sensual. Intellectual involvement in prayer, though helpful, must not be an end in itself.

5. One should have confidence in the mercy and compassion of God, for He alone is the one who has saved man from his sins.

6. The highest form of prayer is interior prayer, not external devotions. It is in one's heart that God is known.

One can ask why San Juan felt it necessary to insert this section. It was perhaps because he saw a void which he thought needed filling -- and one which the decrees of Trent do not address. In the last years of his life, the aspect became more and more important to him. He ended where Sta. Teresa and St. John of the Cross resumed. There is little doubt that he perceived the life of prayer to be the fundamental act of a Christian.

The two editions of the Audi, filia provide a basis for comparison, both of style and thought, which no other part of his writings do. One can trace the development of the younger man, so thoroughly absorbed in St. Paul, to the older and wiser teacher who does not fundamentally change his initial views but who rather tempers them by experience.

But the second edition also poses problems for the reader. Some have been mentioned above. One cannot, for example, be absolutely sure that all the changes were made by San Juan himself. The Audi, filia II contains various references to the decrees of Trent which are not found in the first. There are not many, but they are important to examine, however briefly. The first one appears in chapter forty-four, San Juan's revision concerning justification. He says here that faith alone is not enough for salvation:

Y si la Escritura dice que por ella son los hombres justificados, atribúyesele esto, no porque ella sola sea bastante, mas como a principio y fundamento y raíz de todo lo bueno como lo dice el Concilio Tridentino. (I, p. 667)^{??}

His reason for inserting this is to refute those who are luke-warm in

faith and who do not wish to go through the "trabajos" which accompany a Christian life. Whereas the Council wishes to dispel the Lutheran doctrine of salvation by faith alone, San Juan's primary concern seems to be to encourage a sense of perfect charity.

The second reference to Trent comes in chapter fifty-seven. It is very short, but it demonstrates that San Juan was aware of the controversy about biblical translations: "El cual lugar os declararé, según la letra griega y edición Vulgata, a la cual el Concilio Tridentino nos manda seguir, puesto caso que, según la letra hebrea, tenga otro sentido." (I, p. 700)⁷⁸

As of 1546, the Vulgate was the only admissible translation. We find no refutation of this by Juan de Avila, but it can be surmised that his inner sense of truth was disturbed.⁷⁹ For a student of Scripture such as he was, it must have appeared incongruous that the Council would not allow free study of it. There is an interesting section in the Memorial primero (1551) which reveals what San Juan thought of the decree of Trent which required the study of Scripture. He is critical of those who make laws and do not comply with them:

Dice este santo concilio: Haya en las iglesias lección de santa Escritura. Bien mandado está por cierto; mas, ya que haya quien la lea porque se lo paguen, pregunto: ¿Quién lo oirá? Ya se ha probado a hacer esto en nuestros tiempos en algunas catedrales, y lo que de ello se ha sacado es que, de tanta muchedumbre de clérigos como en ellas hay, ninguno, o uno o dos, no de los más principales, van a oír; y, si algunos legos vienen también, se cansan; y así, se deja el negocio, o se hace sin fruto por falta de oyentes. (VI, p. 34)

In the same vein he adds shortly afterwards:

Dice también, y muy bien, este santo concilio que declaren los curas a sus parroquianos el Evangelio. Pregunto: ¿Qué es de los curas que lo sepan entender y tengan modo para declararle y vida para ser oídos? Los más no lo entienden. Y hay algunos de tal vida, de los pocos que lo entienden, y conocida por tal,

que no osarán hacer esto; o, si lo hacen, se seguirá mas escarnio de ellos o de lo que predicán que daño de no predicar. (VI, p. 35)

Though he agrees with the essentials of the decree, San Juan in no way approves of the way in which it is handled by those who promulgated it. He recognizes corruption and laziness and is offended and angered by it.

The last two references to Trent again deal with justification. In the first, San Juan cites the Council only in passing when referring to faith and works: "...sin la cual las tales buenas obras no podrán ser meritorias, como el Concilio Tridentino lo dice." (I, p. 774) Lastly, he uses the Council to corroborate what he has already said: "Y de esta manera se concuerda lo que el Concilio Tridentino dice que la justicia es nuestra, porque por ella, sujetada en nosotros, somos justificados..." (I, p. 795)

We see, then, that San Juan cites the decrees occassionally, but that he does not base his own ideas on them per se. There are certainly similarities in the views of each. But once again it seems that where agreement is apparent, there was a tradition of Catholic thinking that had preceded, or that was in the developing stages. What is evident throughout both editions is that San Juan maintains an independent attitude. In the first work, his own spirituality is exposed. In the second, the Council and the censure by Peña are considered. There are things that he does conform to, but one cannot help but think that he does so because he too perceives the necessity of these amendments in view of Protestant developments. He never, however, jeopardizes his own strong convictions of the importance of the beneficios de Cristo, prayer, and a living, vital faith.

As one looks at the Audi, filia overall, its literary beauty

stands out. It is clear, carefully developed, and organized. There are no unnecessary digressions, for Juan de Avila is not one to ramble on about unimportant matters. What could have been by nature an abstract and dry manual on prayer becomes, in his hands, a personal and intimate work -- one which while dignified in tone never loses the human qualities of compassion and concern for others. The notion of spiritual fatherhood is in evidence throughout the book, and San Juan develops his ideas with his disciples and friends in mind. As a manual and guide to the spiritual life, the Audi, filia deserves a place among the classics of its kind.

Footnotes, Chapter III

¹For a detailed analysis, see pp. 4-9 of vol. 5. There are seventeen editions listed with the contents of each.

²Avila, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 11.

³Ibid., p. 15.

⁴Granada, in his Vida, says about his letters: "En las cuales una [sic] veces consuela los tristes, otras esfuerza los pusilánimes, otras exhorta a padecer por Dios trabajos, otras mueve los ánimos al menosprecio del mundo, al dolor de los pecados, a poner toda su confianza en Dios, y otras a otros afectos y virtudes semejantes. Lo cual hace con tanta fuerza de razones y consideraciones, y testimonios y ejemplos de la Santa Escritura, que deja al hombre consolado y esforzado y persuadido en lo que él pretende." Granada, Vida del Padre Maestro Beato Juan de Avila y partes que ha de tener un Predicador del Evangelio (Madrid: Apostolado de la Prensa, S. A., 1943), pp. 42-43.

⁵Fr. Luis de Granada writes: "«Fue nuestro predicador -- escribe -- muy devoto del apóstol San Pablo y procuró imitarlo mucho en la predicación y en la desnudez y en el gran amor que a los prójimos tuvo. Supo sus epístolas a coro. Fueron maravillosas las cosas que de este santo Apóstol predicaba y enseñaba. Teníale singularísimo amor y reverencia; y así en las epístolas que nuestro predicador escribió le imitaba maravillosamente»." (Avila, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 10-11).

⁶Granada, Vida, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

⁷Francisco López Estrada, Antología de epístolas (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, S. A., 1961), p. 10.

⁸Other important writers of letters who preceded the Golden Age are Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Cardinal Cisneros, Diego de San Pedro (who wrote an epistolary novel, Cárcel de amor), Juan de Segura, and Juan Luis Vives.

⁹Fray Antonio de Guevara, Epístolas familiares (Zaragoza: Clásicos Ebro, 1969), p. 12.

¹⁰Hernando de Pulgar, Crónica de los Reyes Católicos, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1943), p. 29.

¹¹Antonio de Guevara, op. cit., p. 11.

¹²Ibid., p. 14. Another opinion reiterates this: "No es posible negar al obispo Guevara la mas donosa naturalidad, una facilidad asombrosa y una instrucción vastísima, aunque poco ordenada, mal digerida y muy redundante. Tiene el defecto de jugar demasiado con las palabras...También se exalta y declama algunas veces; pero su decir deleita mas que mueve, y seduce mas que persuade." Epistolario español, Notas por Don Eugenio de Ochoa (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,

1945), vol 13.

¹³Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁴Antonio Torquemada, Manual de escribientes (Madrid: Imprenta Aguirre, 1970), pp. 173-174.

¹⁵See, for example, Sta. Teresa de Jesús, Obras completas (Madrid, 1969). The volume containing the Cartas contains a very thorough introduction by Fr. Efrén de la Madre de Dios, O. C. D. and Fr. Otger Steggink, O. Carm. In addition, see, Helmut A. Hatzfeld, Santa Teresa de Avila (New York, 1969); Sor M. Magdalena Isquierdo Lague, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Madrid, 1963); and Prof. Nilo Pereira, "Estilo literario de Santa Teresa," Semana de Santa Teresa (Recife, 1973).

¹⁶The introduction to the complete works of Juan de Avila (vol. 1, p. 273) provides the following information about his letters: "Empleaba de ordinario para cada carta un pliego de papel de tamaño folio. El reverso de la segunda hoja solía quedar en blanco. Según el uso de entonces, doblaba primero el Padre Avila el pliego por la mitad; y luego volvía a doblarlo en el mismo sentido, de manera que quedase como una faja apaisada, cuyos extremos juntaba entre sí después de hacer por el medio de la faja una nueva doblez. Con una tira de papel alargada de forma triangular, que en ocasiones recortaba del margen inferior de la última hoja, cerraba la carta. Corrientemente dejaba en el interior del pliego la parte más estrecha del recorte, haciendo salir al exterior, por una ranura practicada en una de las caras del pliego ya cerrado, la porción más ancha de la tira. Esta abrazaba ambos bordes, y era pegada con engrudo sobre la otra cara. Sobre el papel engrudado imprimía el P. Avila su modesto sello de metal, en que había mandado grabar un cáliz con una hostia encima, a los lados, una I y una S. En el anverso escribía el Maestro las señas del destinatario." His devotion to the Eucharist is again evidenced by the fact that it was imprinted on his seal.

¹⁷Granada, op. cit., p. 48

¹⁸Sta. Teresa, Cartas, op. cit., p. 26.

¹⁹Del examen histórico de dichos años sería más acertado asignar por lo menos dos cartas por día como término medio, que suman en total 14.000 cartas. Y si añadimos la correspondencia anterior al año 1562, rebasamos sin dificultad las 15.000 cartas. Y creemos que el número real no puede rebajarse mucho menos; más bien creemos que sería mayor." (Sta. Teresa, Cartas, op. cit., p. 55).

²⁰"Sus mejores cartas serían las escritas a Indias, donde estaban sus hermanos, que mantuvieron con ella constante relación epistolar. Pero todo aquello se ha perdido, a excepción del billete de 1546 y la carta a Indias de 1561." (Ibid., p. 55).

²¹An interesting study, and one which would bring to light more about the place of letter writing in ascetical-mystical literature,

would be a comparison of the letters of these two saints. It is not within the scope of the present work, but interesting comparisons could be made between their perception of such words as mundo, trabajos, demonio, recogimiento, engaños, humildad, paciencia, honra, amor, and prójimos. The similarities between the two on these matters are profound, and a complete study would expose a more thorough picture than has heretofore been revealed. Because Juan de Avila was so highly regarded by Sta. Teresa, evidence points to a lasting influence by him.

²²Sala Balust classified the letters in the order of their numbers and recipients. It is this system which has been referred to in the present classification. He did not, however, make the break-down as extensively as has been done here.

²³"Juan de Avila no abandonó los negocios del conde difunto. Conservamos dos cartas de pago, firmados por él con fecha 22 y 23 de diciembre de aquel año, mandando pagar la ración y posada del capellán de la condesa, en P. Juan Ruiz, y a un alcaide de Aguilar cincuenta mil maravedís por dos caballos «que el señor conde le tomó» y «por la posada que hobo de haber del año pasado que el señor conde le ocupó el castillo y hobo de tener otra casa por alquiler»." (Ibid., p. 143).

²⁴"Las visitas del Mtro. Avila a Santa Clara eran frecuentes. Allí estaban sor Ana de la Cruz, la santa condesa de Feria y dos hermanas de la marquesa de Priego, doña Isabel Pacheco y sor María, que comunicaban con él cosas de su espíritu...En casa de los marqueses de Priego tenía también el Padre Mtro. Juan de Avila varias personas que se gobernaban por su dirección. Además de la marquesa vieja, doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba, se confesaban con él la hija de la condesa de Feria, que se llamaba también Catalina como su abuela; doña Teresa Enríquez, hermana de la marquesa; doña Aldonza de Aguilar y María de Saavedra." (Avila, Obras, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 224-225).

²⁵"Es 'un nuevo género de latría que ahora pulula', como escribe ya en 1509 el cronista Pedro Mártir de Angleria a propósito de la más célebre de todas ellas, Sor María de Santo Domingo. Esta hermana de la tercera orden dominicana, conocida en su tiempo con el sobrenombre de la 'Beata de Piedrahita', se hace entonces notable por sus éxtasis, durante los cuales permanece como muerta, tendida con los brazos en cruz. Aunque es una mujer iletrada, tiene fama de igualar a los más sabios teólogos gracias a luces sobrenaturales. Se llama con tal certidumbre compañera y esposa de Cristo, que los dominicos se dividen en dos bandos al discutir el valor de sus revelaciones. El debate se somete al Papa, que encarga a su legado la tarea de examinar el caso de esta mujer con ayuda de los obispos de Burgos y Vich. Cisneros le es muy favorable. La investigación la deja limpia de toda sospecha, y sólo sirve para la glorificación de su santidad y de su ortodoxia." (M. Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., pp. 69-70).

²⁶Ibid., p. 179.

²⁷Avila, Obras, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 41.

²⁸The introduction to the edition of the BAC (pp. 260-273) contains a section on the letters. Among the characteristics mentioned are: (1) the gift Juan de Avila had in adapting to his recipients, (2) tardiness at times in responding to letters, (3) refinement of spirit, (4) avoidance of temporal affairs for the most part, (5) endearing qualities at times, and (6) frankness and communicativeness with his friends.

²⁹Granada, Vida, op. cit., p. 49.

³⁰"Pues de esta manera este amoroso padre, así en estos lugares como en otras de sus cartas, mayormente a los principios de ellas, trabaja como prudente ministerio del Evangelio por aficionar los corazones de los fieles a su persona, porque de esta manera los aficionase a su doctrina." (Granada, op. cit., pp. 40-41).

³¹The Jerusalem Bible, op. cit., p. 295.

³²This notion of spiritual fatherhood is present throughout the letters. References are to be found on pages 20, 135, 246, 259, 261, 263, 265, 313, 350, 426, 428, 442, 481, 506, 526, 613, and 774. One of the most beautiful sections is that on page 506, letter no. 134. It was written to a woman who was somewhat unsure of herself. Juan de Avila comforts her and exhorts her to trust in a loving father. The section reads: "Que su único refugio, en todo lo que le viene, «su padre» es, con corazón y con boca; y ni por pensamiento le pasan malicias de desconfianzas con «su padre», ni otra cosa más de «mi padre». Bastarnos debería, señora, esta palabra «mi padre», si nosotros fuésemos niños y hijos. No más que «mi padre», señora, no más, no más; todo lo otro es mi enemigo, mi perdición, mi flaqueza, mi engaño. No haya «yo» en mi arrimo, no «yo» en amor, no «yo» en nada, sino «mi padre» en todo y en mí." (5, p. 506).

³³See, for example, nos. 41, p. 245; 47, p. 271; 50, p. 279; 55, p. 291; 76, p. 358; 184, p. 650.

³⁴"Not that I have become perfect yet: I have not yet won, but I am still running, trying to capture the prize for which Christ captured me. I can assure you my brothers, I am far from thinking that I have already won. All I can say is that I forget the past and I strain ahead for what is still to come. I am racing for the finish, for the prize to which God calls us upwards to receive in Christ Jesus. We who are called 'perfect' must all think this way. If there is some point on which you see things differently, God will make it clear to you; meanwhile, let us go forward on the road that has brought us to where we are." (The Jerusalem Bible, op. cit., p. 341).

³⁵S. Miriam Therese Olabarrieta, The Influence of Ramon Lull on the Style of the Early Spanish Mystics and Santa Teresa (Washington D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1963) pp. 70-71.

³⁶"Alcibíades, en el Banquete platónico, compara la rústica corteza del gran Sócrates con aquellas cajas que mostraban por fuera el

rostro de Sileno, pero en las cuales se guardaban, como dice el autor del Gargantúa, 'las finas drogas, pedrerías y otras cosas preciosas'. La imagen, que se había hecho proverbial entre los sabios, sirve aquí de punto de partida a Erasmo...Pero Erasmo, como se adivinará, se eleva hasta Cristo, imagen de la suprema sabiduría que arroja de sí todas las pompas y se reviste de las apariencias más humildes; San Juan Bautista y los Apóstoles son también Silenos a su modo. Los relatos del Antiguo Testamento, las parábolas del Nuevo, exigen asimismo que saltemos por encima de las apariencias para sorprender un divino secreto. Pero, de modo inverso, hay que saber despojar de sus oropeles las falsas grandezas, descubrir al tirano bajo los atributos de la realeza, al hombre de guerra o al hombre de negocios bajo los ornamentos episcopales, al hombre sensual y lleno de pasiones bajo la vestimenta de fraile, el bandidaje bajo el nombre de 'justa guerra', la preparación de la guerra bajo el hermoso nombre de paz; finalmente, hay que dar con la Iglesia verdadera (a saber, el pueblo de los fieles) tras la jerarquía eclesiástica," (M. Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., pp. 309-310).

³⁷For an informative study on this subject (it constitutes one of the two full length books written on Juan de Avila), see Antonio Berengueras de Vilar, La abnegación en los escritos del Beato Juan de Avila (Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 1959).

³⁸Some letters deal with suffering in depth. Among these are nos. 2, 19, 22, 23, 39, 48, 81, 87, 161, 184, 235. Allusion to the subject appears in almost every letter that was written by Juan de Avila, in one way or another.

³⁹Examples of references to his own suffering include: "Aunque las nuevas no sean alegres, huelgo de las saber, para que sean espuela a mi tibieza para llamar al remediador con mayor ahínco; y por esto no se deben dejar de escribir, y quizá hubiera aprovechado haberse escrito, cuando he tenido más salud para escribir y orar." (5, p. 305) "Dilatado he la respuesta de la carta de vuestra merced, esperando tener alguna mejor dispusición, para con mejor aparejo pedir a nuestro Señor la respuesta que vuestra merced ha de responder a El;..." (p. 449) In a rare expression of pain and a description of his illness, he admits: "Desde principio de octubre me ha ido de salud tan flacamente, de un dolor de cabeza y corrimiento a los ojos, que no he podido hacer esto, aunque lo he deseado. Y aunque agora ha cesado el dolor, no el corrimiento, que según dicen, va a más andar a hacer cataratas." (p. 621).

⁴⁰Letters of consolation include the following: 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 (quite possible written to the same person, the conde de Feria, though we do not know for certain); 27, 28, 29, 32, 37, 39, 51, 78, 81, 92, 106, 107, 117, 123, 137, 144, 145, 172.

⁴¹"Once more her calm self, however, Teresa seems to treat everybody with more love and charity than before. And with her increased charity, oddly enough, there comes also a heightened sense of humor. Teresa's feeling for the comic can be at times jubilant and even excessive. But in such a mood her practical sense in dealing with

the 'world' seems unequalled." Helmut A. Hatzfeld, Santa Teresa de Jesús (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969), p. 132.

⁴²M. Bataillon explains his position and that of Sala Balust in the following section. It is clear that the two are not in agreement: "D'autre part, D. Luis Sala, sans nier l'autenticité avilienne du texte imprimé à Alcalá, pense que Maître Avila ne l'aurait jamais publié en 1556 sans avoir précisé ses formules sur la justification en se référant aux décrets du Concile de Trent. D'ou l'hypothèse que l'auteur, ayant préparé en 1546 l'impression de son livre, l'avait alors ajournée en apprenant que le concile s'occupait de la justification. La publication sans retouche, en 1556, s'expliquerait par l'intervention malavisée d'un disciple, sans doute le licencié Francisco García, un prédicateur de l'Université de Baeza que prêchait à Alcalá, en 1556, «por mandato del P. Mtro. Avila» (d'après le registre de comptes de l'Université où est mentionné son salaire pour cette mission). Mais est-il croyable qu'un disciple de confiance ait ainsi trahi les intentions du Maître, qui devaient être bien connues à Baeza, dans un milieu où la publication de l'Audi, filia était souhaitée depuis longtemps? Est-il compréhensible, si Jean d'Avila se sentit trahi et compromis par cette publication, qu'on ne trouve nul désaveu formel de sa part avant la préface posthume de 1574? Il est plus raisonnable de tenir cette préface pour une pieuse falsification." (M. Bataillon, "Jean d'Avila retrouvé," op. cit., p. 24) Later on in the article, Bataillon clarifies his position: "Jusqu'à preuve du contraire, dans l'état actuel de notre documentation, c'est cette préface que j'incline à croire due à un disciple trop bien intentionné, et je pense que l'édition de 1556, si hardie ou inopportune qu'elle pût sembler en 1559, avait bel et bien été imprimée avec l'agrément de Jean d'Avila." (Ibid., p. 27).

⁴³The most thorough study done on this manual of prayer is contained in the introduction of the BAC edition (vol. 1, pp. 186-214 and pp. 393-427). Sala Balust provides an analysis of the differences between the two editions. Rather than repeat them in the present study, the reader is advised to refer to this introduction. The break-down is complete, and the different sections that appear in each edition are placed side by side. Not only does Sala Balust list these differences, but he also goes into some of the doctrinal variations contained in each. This work is indispensable if one is to approach the Audi, filia in a complete way.

⁴⁴Avila, op. cit., vol 1, p. 186.

⁴⁵M. Bataillon, "Jean d'Avila retrouvé," op. cit., p. 20 and following.

⁴⁶The following passages, when read together, reveal the similarities with each other. M. Bataillon quotes briefly from the letter in his article. We include a more lengthy citation, and the section from the Audi, filia. "Señora, no os desmayéis, que más tenéis por qué confiar que no desconfiar; más son de vuestra parte que de la contraria; más amada sois del Rey celestial que aborrecida del león infernal, y más cuidadoso y fuerte tenéis el velador para os ayudar que los ace-

chadores para os hacer mal. Y no temáis, señora, a los demonios: sin licencia de Dios para entrar en el cuerpo no tienen poder. Si teméis a vuestros pecados, tened firme esperanza que son perdonados, no por lo que vos habéis hecho, mas por lo que Cristo pasó; y mirá que tan bien podéis errar por no creer en la paga que en El tenéis como en no creer vuestra deuda que por vos hecistes. Mucho debéis, mas mucho más pasó Jesucristo por vos. A mucha ira provocaron a Dios nuestros pecados, mas a mucha amistad le provocaron los merecimientos de nuestro Señor, habiendo muerto en cruz por vuestros pecados. No hay ya que temer a pecados, si no nos falte la fe. Allí fueron todos muertos en su muerte, como los felisteos con la muerte de Sansón. Allí fueron ahogados como los egipcianos en el mar Bermejo etc." (5, p. 152) "Así que, doncella de Cristo, si nos quisiere el demonio cegar en nuestros pecados, digamos que no son sino pocos y chicos, y nuestros bienes muchos y grandes. Pocos son nuestros pecados, no en sí, mas comparados a los muchos merecimientos de Jesucristo. Muchos son nuestros bienes, no en nosotros, mas en Cristo, que nos dio lo que El ayunó, oró, y caminó y trabajó; y sus espinas y sus azotes, y clavos y lanza, muerte y vida, haciéndonos participantes en todo mediante los sacramentos y fe. Cuantas son las misericordias del Señor, tantos podemos decir que son nuestros merecimientos; y cuantos son los bienes de Cristo, en tantos tenemos parte nosotros. Y así como en el mar Bermejo fueron ahogados Faraón y los suyos, que perseguían a Israel por las espaldas, así, en la sangre y merecimientos de Cristo, son los pecados que hemos hecho ahogados, que ninguno queda. Por tanto, cerremos las orejas a este lenguaje, y hagamos ir avargonzado al demonio, como lo fue de uno [s], de los cuales dijo: «Estos me han vencido, porque cuando yo los quiero ensalzar, ellos se abajan, y cuando yo los quiero abajar, ellos se ensalzan»." (1, p. 449).

⁴⁷M. Bataillon, "Jean d'Avila retrouvé," *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁴⁸Avila, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 187.

⁴⁹References to St. Jerome in the first edition are found on pp. 438, 439, 465, 485, 494, 504, 522-524, 529-531. In the Audi, filia II, Juan de Avila refers to him even more often.

⁵⁰Avila, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 199.

⁵¹Juan de Valdés is also brought into the picture, since his Consideración was found among the papers of one of Juan de Avila's disciples, when Carranza was brought before the Inquisition: "Recordemos que la Consideración de Valdés es encontrada, cuando se hace el proceso de Carranza, entre los papeles de Fr. Luis de la Cruz y en poder del jesuita don Antonio de Córdoba, un discípulo adictísimo del Mtro. Avila, que en marzo de 1558, es decir, en vísperas del proceso de Valladolid, habla todavía con sincero encomio, en carta al padre Laínez, de aquel «Fr. Domingo de Rojas, siervo de nuestro Señor y amigo de otros frailes, que no son nuestros...» No puede maravillarnos que, entre los libros de Carranza examinados en su proceso, figure algún tratadillo avilino, e incluso «unas notas a la exposición del salmo Audi, filia, hecha por el Mtro. Avila». En estas obras, como hemos de ver, pudo

saborear conceptos muy vivos y expresivos sobre el gran misterio y beneficio de Cristo." (Ibid., p. 204) Tellechea Idígoras also treats this extensively in his book, already cited, El Arzobispo Carranza y su tiempo.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 205-206.

⁵³"Ya hemos dicho (nota 2) cómo, juntamente con el Catecismo de Carranza, fueron censurados por Melchor Cano y Domingo de Cuevas unos tratados del P. Avila, en concreto la carta 20 y el Tratado del amor de Dios." (Ibid., p. 204, note no. 51).

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 208, note no. 62.

⁵⁵Avila, Avisos y reglas cristianas (Barcelona: Flors, 1963), p. 316.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 318.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 317.

⁵⁸See chapter four for a more detailed study of this subject.

⁵⁹Avila, Avisos y reglas cristianas, op. cit., p. 312.

⁶⁰"La lectura de estas notas críticas y el estrecho reflejo de las mismas en la redacción segunda, hasta en detalles insignificantes, confirman la sospecha de que el Beato hubo de conocer esta censura, que respira toda ella ánimo benevolente y busca más que nada el evitar toda posible dificultad para el autor y sus lectores." (Ibid., p. 319).

⁶¹"Estos dos beneméritos padres dominicos [Antonio de Santo Domingo y Juan de la Peña] habían tomado parte activa en la defensa de Carranza, amigo y hermano de hábito de ambos, en los meses angustiosos que precedieron a su prisión. Actuaron en su nombre ante el Santo Oficio y trataron de suavizar tensiones existentes dentro de la Orden." (Ibid., p. 310).

⁶²Avila, Obras, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 211.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 402-403.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 403-404.

⁶⁵Two quotes from her Castillo interior serve to clarify this: "Estando hoy suplicando a Nuestro Señor hablase por mí, porque yo no atinaba a cosa que decir ni cómo comenzar a cumplir esta obediencia, se me ofreció lo que ahora diré para comenzar con algún fundamento: que es considerar nuestra alma como un castillo todo de un diamante o muy claro cristal, adonde hay muchos aposentos, así como en el cielo hay muchas moradas." (Sta. Teresa, Obras, op. cit., p. 522). And again: "Es de considerar aquí que la fuente y aquel sol resplandeciente que está en el centro del alma, no pierde su resplandor y hermosura, que siempre

está dentro de ella y cosa no puede quitar su hermosura. Mas si sobre un cristal que está al sol se pudiese un paño muy negro, claro está que, aunque el sol dé en él, no hará su claridad operación en el cristal." (*Ibid.*, p. 528). Helmut Hatzfeld also refers to the reflection technique when he says: "It is as though, at the beginning of the baroque age, Santa Teresa were attempting something like a mirror technique, something like a theatre within a theatre, a picture within a picture." H. Hatzfeld, Santa Teresa de Avila (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967), p. 61.

⁶⁶One more example is relevant. A verb which Avila uses, though sparingly, is asir. "No estemos, pues, tanto asidos de las cosas, por buenas que nos parezcan..." (vol. 1, p. 451). "...de arte que no se os quede asida en vuestras manos punta ni repunta de loca soberbia..." (vol. 1, p. 474). We know that Sta. Teresa uses the word desasir or desasimiento frequently, "Ahora vengamos al desasimiento que hemos de tener, porque en esto está el todo, si va con perfección." (Sta. Teresa, Obras, op. cit., p. 388). "Desasiéndonos del mundo y deudos y encerradas aquí con las condiciones que están dichas, ya parece lo tenemos todo hecho y que no hay que pelear con nada." (*Ibid.*, p. 392). "Un desasimiento grande de todo y deseo de estar siempre, o solas, u ocupadas en cosa que sea provecho de algún alma." (*Ibid.*, p. 688).

⁶⁷If the reader wishes to compare the two passages, the second one is found on page 815.

⁶⁸"El primero en sostener esta tesis fue J. Tarré, La tradición española de la «Imitación de Cristo»...Sus argumentos son poderosos: (1) Los conceptos y estilo de la introducción son de Avila; su reciente proceso inquisitorial puede explicar la ausencia de su nombre. (2) Hasta 1555 el nombre de Granada no va unido a ninguna edición del Kempis, y en ese año figura no como traductor, sino como autor de un tratado que se le añade «Contemptus mundi nuevamente romansado y corregido...» (3) Ninguna de las ediciones hechas en Portugal mientras vive allí Fray Luis de Granada atribuye a éste la traducción... (4) La primera edición que le hace traductor es una de Madrid de 1571... (5) Una nueva edición sevillana de 1587 da este título, que resume bien la historia de la traducción: «Contemptus mundi el más cumplido que hasta agora se á impresso. De nuevo corregido por un padre de la Compañía de Iesus conforme al original latino, y en la antigua y común traducción que reformó el padre Maestro Avila...» (Avila, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 66-67, note 11).

⁶⁹M. Bataillon, "Jean d'Avila retrouvé," Bulletin Hispanique, no. 57 (1955), p. 6.

⁷⁰Místicos franciscanos (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1948), vol. 2, pp. 16-17.

⁷¹Other comparisons could be made regarding the need for quiet prayer, loving God and one's neighbor, the merits of Christ, and the influence of St. Paul.

⁷²Místicos franciscanos, op. cit., p. 45.

⁷³Ibid., p. 48.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 60.

⁷⁵Sta. Teresa, Obras, op. cit., p. 523.

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 524-525.

⁷⁷The part in the decrees of Trent which corresponds to this is found in session VI, ch. 8. It reads: "But when the Apostle says that man is justified by faith and freely, these words are to be understood in that sense in which the uninterrupted unanimity of the Catholic Church has held and expressed them, namely, that we are therefore said to be justified by faith, because faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification, without which it is impossible to please God and to come to the fellowship of His sons; and we are therefore said to be justified gratuitously, because none of those things that precede justification, whether faith or works, merit the grace of justification." Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1950), pp. 34-35.

⁷⁸The decree reads: "Moreover, the same holy council...ordains and declares that the old Latin Vulgate Edition, which, in use for so many hundred years, has been approved by the Church, to be in public lectures, disputations, sermons and expositions held as authentic, and that no one dare or presume under any pretext whatsoever to reject it." (Ibid., p. 18).

⁷⁹Bataillon studies the history of Biblical exegesis in Erasmo y España. The problem arose with Antonio Nebrija, who felt that the Hebrew text would be valuable to use, along with the Greek and Latin. He came in conflict with the Inquisitor General, Fr. Diego de Deza, who confiscated Nebrija's papers. This was the beginning of many confrontations of this kind. The most well known is perhaps that of Fray Luis de León. See Aubrey Bell, Luis de León (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925) and Adolphe Coster, "Fray Luis de León," Revue Hispanique (1921), vols. 52, 54.

CHAPTER IV

PREDOMINANT THEMES IN THE WRITINGS OF SAN JUAN DE AVILA

As we approach the treatment of themes in the works of Juan de Avila, clear separations are very difficult to achieve, for he often intermingled his thoughts in any given section of his writings. What follows is therefore an attempt to isolate these themes in a comprehensible fashion.

Prayer

In the discussion of the Audi, filia, the importance of prayer was brought out. It is the most important theme which recurs in San Juan's writings, for to him it was essential for all religious activity. There is more to be said about this aspect because the controversy between the alumbrados recogidos and dejados has yet to be discussed.¹

Isabel de la Cruz, a Tertiarian Franciscan, was one of the first to proclaim dejamiento as a spiritual movement. Essentially, her idea was that the Holy Spirit was the only inspiration which counted. She felt free to go against the teachings of her religious superiors because she considered them to be bound (atados) by ceremonies and rules. Isabel also believed that regardless of a sinful life, divine light was nevertheless present. This was an heretical view for which she was denounced before the Inquisition in 1519.²

The fundamental teaching of the dejado was based upon the concept of "letting oneself go" (dejarse), guided by God's love. Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, one of the most important figures in the movement, believed that only God's love was the means of man's salvation. Nothing that man could do would ever be worthy or capable of divine favor. Alcaraz was therefore suspicious of any religious practices. He felt that God was free to bestow his grace as He wished, and that man never merited it.³ Alcaraz' doctrine did not include prayer as a method to reach union with God. Man, in effect, is incapable of doing that, since he is inherently sinful and must be totally dependent upon God.

Another aspect of this movement is that of its approach to visions and ecstatic states. Neither Isabel de la Cruz nor Alcaraz was interested in this type of spirituality:

La tendencia de los "dejados" se caracteriza por una gran desconfianza hacia toda manifestación llamativa de amor divino. Las gracias sobrenaturales que una espiritualidad ambiciosa se complace en publicar, las tienen ellos por engaños del demonio, y aun sospechan que son pura comedia.⁴

With regard to prayer, this approach had nothing in common with medieval mystical prayer, or the steps in a mystical "ladder". There was, for Alcaraz, no intermediary between God and man, and nothing could prepare man for God's love.

The question of alumbrados, or iluminismo, is a difficult one. Joseph Pérez has presented it as a mixture of movements:

En somme, l'illuminisme espagnol présente des analogies et des points communs avec un certain nombre des mouvements caractéristiques de la révolution religieuse de XVI^e siècle: franciscanisme, érasmeisme, luthéranisme, mais il ne saurait se réduire à aucun entre eux...où l'on peut en parler comme d'une secte constituée...il semble qu'on puisse le ramener à la doctrine du dejamiento, l'abandon à Dieu, que présente trois caractéristiques: christianisme intérieur, négation de la volonté, antiintellectualisme.⁵

In addition to this, depending upon which source one refers to, are the recogidos. Some include these under the term alumbrados, while others do not.⁶ It is clear that one of the primary exponents of the recogidos was Francisco de Osuna. Osuna was rooted in the medieval tradition of the Church and in the Church Fathers. His thesis was to prove that the method of prayer called recogimiento was the path toward mystical transformation of the soul in God. Works did not save man, but they were helpful for ultimate justification. Essentially, man should strive to purge himself of all attachments to the world, and that included discursive thinking. It was the spiritual, not the intellectual dimension, that was important in prayer. Osuna's Tercer abecedario is a guide to prayer, and it was considered to be one of the primary sources for spiritual learning. In this work, Osuna deals with recollection, and in various parts of the text, he clarifies what the word means. Two brief examples follow. One can see immediately the similarity with expressions that Juan de Avila uses:

Since the fountain of life is so near us that we need not go out of ourselves to seek it, it would be well for us to enter ourselves and cleanse the fount of our heart and guard it afterwards.

The exercise of recollection tolerates no going forth, for the very name teaches us that we must be very thoughtful and immersed within ourselves; so that every soul that practices should be, so to say, cloistered, with his heart for his cell, with recollection for its door.⁷

Contrary to the dejados, this spirituality permitted, and in some cases, encouraged emotion, affection, and visions or ecstasies. Tears, according to Osuna, were not unusual when experiencing God's love.⁸ Spiritual consolations, according to him, were a gift from God which one should praise. Humility was one of the most important vir-

tues to strive for, and Osuna called it "this tiny precious stone that ennobles all who find it."⁹ The Franciscans were the ones who developed this type of spirituality, and it is one of the types that was to influence Juan de Avila and the later mystics.

Another figure of primary importance is Juan de Valdés (1498?-1541), a known follower of Alcaraz. When discussing Osuna and Valdés, Domingo Ricart summed up the importance of both in this fashion:

A Osuna y Valdés pertenece el mérito de haber contribuido en forma decisiva a hacer de la lengua castellana un instrumento adecuado para la expresión de los conceptos más elevados y de las experiencias espirituales más profundas. A ellos les ha tocado la responsabilidad de manipular la prosa castellana y moldearla hasta convertirla en un medio de expresión adecuado para los menesteres de la literatura religiosa. Su estricta formación humanística y teológica, su estilo impregnado de un fuerte sabor popular y una conciencia de las posibilidades expresivas de nuestro idioma hablado, gobernados siempre por su instintivo buen gusto y su aristocratismo espiritual, hacen que estos dos escritores ya hayan acusado, desde un principio, los rasgos que han de caracterizar la buena literatura religiosa del Siglo de Oro.¹⁰

Speaking particularly of Juan de Valdés, Ricart also describes him as a functional writer -- one who chooses appropriate words to express his thoughts. Valdés is a catechist, a biblical commentator, a translator, an essayist, and above all a vital writer (escritor vital): "Piensa escribiendo, o mejor hablando".¹¹ His constant preoccupation is with clarity.

In terms of spirituality, Ricart places him in the category of a tercera fuerza espiritual. That is to say, he did not belong to any established church, nor even to a sect. He and those who thought as he did were a force at work in the Spain of their time. The importance of this force does not radiate from numbers, but rather from the energy and vitality it exhibited. It was an individualistic, intellectual,

aristocratic movement -- one imbued with a spirit of modernity and reform.¹²

Nieto, in his aforementioned book on Valdés, devotes a section examining Alcaraz' influence on Valdés. Evidently it was extensive:

But probably Valdés would never have interpreted Paul in this way or would never have felt himself free from the tradition of Patristic and medieval thought if Alcaraz had not taught him a more radical and independent way of reading and interpreting the Scriptures by the illumination and guidance of the Holy Spirit in the human mind.¹³

Valdés, then is linked to the alumbrado movement. And both Ricart and Bataillon also place him in the erasmista tradition of reform.¹⁴

One of Valdés' most important works is the Diálogo de doctrina cristiana, published in Alcalá in 1529 when Valdés was very young, perhaps around eighteen years of age. We recall that Juan de Avila also studied at Alcalá during these years. That he was familiar with Valdés in one way or another is clear, for the doctrine of the méritos de Cristo of the two is almost identical. It is also interesting to note here that Osuna had published his Tercer abecedario in 1525. With the publication of these two major works, the stage was set for future writers, such as Juan de Avila. Our author draws heavily from both, and to deny their influence would be to omit an essential element in the understanding of his views.

According to the Diálogo and the Alfabeto cristiano, the essential act in a Christian's life is prayer, understood by Valdés to be a private and interior act. Prayers are not magical formulas to elicit certain effects. The interior dimension is emphasized throughout the works. It seems similar to the concept that Osuna has of recogimiento:

Muy engañado estáys, que ni lo digo por los vnos ni por los otros; ¿Sabeís, padre, quién es varón spiritual? El que gusta

r siente las cosas espirituales y en ellas se deleyta y descansa; y de las corporales y exteriores ningún caso haze, ... antes las menosprecia como cosas inferiores a él...¹⁵

In the Alfabeto cristiano, the stress on secrecy of prayer is seen. After quoting Matthew 7:7, Valdés says:

Per queste parole ci insegna Cristo che l'orazione nostra ha de essere secreta, si per fuggire l'ambizione come perché l'ánimo quieto nello esteriore puí agevolmente s'acqueta nello 'nteriore...Dimodoché perché la orazione sia buona ha da essere in secreto, con poche parole e con molto affetto, e con onesta e guista dimanda e con intiera fede e confidanza che Iddio ci darà quello che gli dimanderemo.¹⁶

The Pater Noster is the principal prayer, since it comes from the Gospel and was the prayer that Christ taught his apostles. It is as Bataillon puts it, a way of meditation: "Es una purificación interior por la cual el alma se libra del amor propio y del farisaísmo, confiesa su nada y se entrega en manos de Dios, único que puede iluminarla."¹⁷ In the Alfabeto cristiano, Valdés includes a description of the type of prayer he wishes his disciple Julia Gonzaga to practice. It is to be tranquil and free from confusion:

Voglio che ritroviate Iddio e non voi, se volete esser libera della contradizione, confusione, inquietudine, scontentezza ed altri puí di mille inconveniente, dalli quali no vi potrete giamai liberare; ma, mentre che troverete Iddio, troverete pace, serenità, quiete, contentezza, allegrezza e spirito e una tacta infinità di beni spirituali che non saprete come coglierli.¹⁸

There are, in all this, fundamental differences between Valdés and Osuna. Basically they exist in their concept of human nature. Though this carries us into the next section of the present chapter, we include at this point the section from Nieto's book which defines this radical difference. If this is not clarified, Juan de Avila's positions will also remain obscure. The issue ultimately rests in the question of man's ability, or inability, to love God, and hence the question

of justification by faith or by works arises. Alcaraz and Valdés see man as incapable of doing anything to warrant God's love, while Osuna takes the traditional approach which calls for both faith and works to gain it. We shall see shortly how San Juan fits into the picture.

When we turn to Juan de Avila's thoughts on prayer, mention of both recollection and "letting go" is found. It should be stated that he was not in favor of the kind of prayer that was characterized primarily by consolations. The importance of suffering and asceticism has already been discussed, and on the subject of prayer he is no less strict. His personal prayer life was rigorous, and he counseled his disciples to follow a rigid schedule.¹⁹ In our opinion, there is little doubt that Juan de Avila did experience mystical prayer. What is of interest is that he did not, or could not, express these experiences. He did have, however, clear ideas about prayer and its authentic characteristics. He has specific remarks about dejamiento and recogimiento.

In the Platicas espirituales (Volume III), he has the following distinction to make between the recogidos and the dejados:

Unde dicitur: aliud es dejamiento, aliud recogimiento, que es apartamiento de lo de acá y recogerse hacia Dios, como la que hila y coge el hilo, y acógese a Dios, que es torre de homenaje. Y es muy lejos del recogimiento aquella mortandad y flojura, antes está el ánimo muy fuerte y fornido en ella, y ama mucho, etc. Y así en el recogimiento y recogido, aunque el entendimiento obra poco o nada, la voluntad obra con gran viveza, y amat fortiter. Y éste es gran remedio para vencer tentaciones e imaginaciones; éntrese el recogido en el retrete de su recogimiento, y ciérrese la puerta tras sí y déjese los enemigos fuera, que más segura cosa es vencer huyendo del golpe que no resistiendo aunque algunas veces cumple resistiendo.
(III, p. 401)

One sees here that though one is recollected, the will continues to function. This is in contrast to the dejado and condemns the latter. This rejection of the dejado mentality is one of Juan de Avila's

strongest positions regarding prayer. He sees the totally passive aspect of it as harmful, and thus in his teachings on prayer he takes great care to clarify and negate it.

It is in the letters that San Juan most clearly puts forth his ideas about the prayer of his friends and disciples. In most cases these instances are in refutation of the dejados' total dependence on their certainty that they are inspired by the Holy Spirit. He sees this as a danger to be avoided:

Dos cosas hay en que muchos han errado, y de errores irremediables: una cuando vienen a decir: «El espíritu de Dios me enseña, y él me satisface»; porque entonces le parece que sujetarse a parecer ajeno es creer más a hombre que a Dios, y huyen de su remedio, poniendo por título la honra de Dios como en la verdad sea su propia soberbia. La otra cosa es alzarse con la palabra de Dios y con el entendimiento de ella. Estos suelen mucho ensalzar la honra de la divina palabra, y es tanto su yerro, que, pensando que ellos se rigen por ella, son regidos por su propio sentido, porque quieren entender la palabra de Dios como a ellos parece y no de otra manera; y, en fin, diciendo que la sola palabra de Cristo ha de reinar, vienen a querer que reine su propio sentido, pues ellos quieren ser los que den el sentido a la palabra de Dios, y la hacen que quiera decir esto o aquello. (V, p. 68)

One of the most explicit parts on the dejados and recogidos appears in letter number ninety, written to the Duquesa de Arcos. It is significant to note that the recipient is a lady of noble rank. Evidently, as Bataillon, J. Pérez, and A. Márquez point out, the aristocracy was involved in the alumbrado movement.²⁰ In this letter, Juan de Avila clarifies the difference between orthodox and heretical spiritualities:

Y aquel dejar de hacer las cosas porque le parece mejor no hacellas, por quitar la propia voluntad, es engaño del diablo, y huya de él; sino haga lo que ve que conviene según buena razón, y lo que es menester hacer y cumplir, y no tener el corazón caído y sin nervios, sino un corazón que tenga dentro de sí otro corazón y esfuerzo. Que una cosa es dejamiento de corazón, y otra recogimiento de corazón. Los dejados son flojos y están

caídos, como un corazón descoyuntado y sin fuerza; los recogidos traen el corazón esforzado y unido, y no caído, sino alzado a Dios y a lo que es menester; no mortecinos, sino avivados y diligentes en lo que conviene; y aunque ocupados en Dios, no faltan a los que son obligados, sino como pueden se esfuerzan a cumplir con ambas cosas. (V, p. 419)

Thus he makes a definite distinction between the dejados and the recogidos, and it is the latter type that he advocates.

In 1569, just months before he died, Juan de Avila wrote a letter to one of his disciples in which he mentioned the fears that he had regarding the tendencies of some of his followers. It is a letter explaining the true love of God as opposed to one that is not and is an impassioned plea to return to mortification of the senses and an awareness of false doctrines that were in evidence. In particular, he counsels against devotion which is solely sensual in nature:

Y así veréis que, cuando Dios llama a un alma por mucha abundancia de gracia y dones suyos, no responde el hombre a saborcillos ni gustos, sino con una viveza dentro, muy interior y entrañable, fundada en un deseo vivo de padecer por quien le llamó, y en la determinación del cumplimiento de la voluntad de Dios...

Esta es la verdadera muestra del verdadero siervo de Dios, y éste es el verdadero del los muy amados de El, no dulzorcillos ni contentamientos, sino grandes sufrimientos en los trabajos y ejercicios, en angustias, en infamias, testimonios, pobrezas, necesidades y cosas que tienen por fin lastimar y deshacer la misma carne. (V, pp. 645-646)

In this particular aspect, he differs from Osuna, who advocated demonstrations of emotion.

About visions, either of the imagination or corporal, he is also very precise. Though he does not say they are unorthodox, he does warn against praying for them. The following is taken from his letter to Sta. Teresa in 1568:

Visiones imaginarias o corporales son las que más duda tienen, y éstas en ninguna manera se deben desear; y si vienen sin ser deseadas, aun se han de huir todo lo posible, aunque

no por manera de dar higas, si no fuese cuando de cierto se sabe ser espíritu malo; y, cierto, a mí me hizo horror las que en este caso se dieron, y me dio mucha pena. Debe el hombre suplicar a nuestro Señor no le lleve por camino de ver, sino que la buena vista suya y de sus santos se la guarde para el cielo, y que acá lo lleve por camino llano, como lleva a sus fieles; y con otros buenos medios debe procurar el huir de estas cosas. (V, p. 574)

It is interesting to note that in this particular instance he appears to be more like the dejados than the recogidos. Visions are not to be sought out.

Juan de Avila, however, in no way favored the dejado mentality, and though he was accused of having iluminista tendencies, he took pains to clarify his thinking on matters of spiritual importance. He was suspicious of those who professed to have ecstatic visions and did not want to get involved with them.²¹ That there was confusion during the period in which he lived is evident. The Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith had crept into Spain, and though Nieto denies that Alcaraz was influenced by Luther, certainly similarities existed between the dejados and the heretical monk. Juan de Avila himself stressed the interior dimension of prayer, the intimate and personal union with God. Because of the climate in which he lived, he was forced to make absolutely clear what his position was. If one chooses to follow the categorization of alumbrados dejados and alumbrados recogidos, he could be one of the latter.

As we examine recogimiento more fully, particular aspects of his methodology become apparent. In various places he speaks of mental prayer, and again the letters are a primary source for this. We have already mentioned the Audi, filia basically as being a manual of prayer. In itself, it is also a primary expression of his thinking on this sub-

ject. In letter number fifteen, he says simply: "Y llamo orar al gemido que sale del corazón por las ofensas de nuestra vida pasada, y el firme propósito de renovar nuestra vida." (V, p. 126) One ought to pray constantly, and the place of prayer is not of primary importance:

La samaritana preguntaba que dónde había de orar, y el Señor responde que en todo lugar y en espíritu; y así ha de hacer el cristiano, que en todas sus obras ha de orar al Señor, no en monte ni en templo sólo, sino en comer y beber, dormir, y salud, enfermedad, refiriéndolo todo a Dios y gozándose en todo por recibirlo de la mano de Dios. (V, p. 239)

The need for quiet recollection is of paramount importance. It is something that he mentions on various occasions:

Metámonos en nuestro corazón y cerremos las puertas, que así entró Cristo a sus discípulos, y allí callemos, oyendo a Dios, que es mejor que hablar nosotros a Dios; porque nuestras palabras suelen ser mentirosas, y las que hablamos, siendo habladas de El, son verdaderas. (V, p. 357)

Y, por tanto, tenga vuestra merced cuidado de guardar su ánima limpia de imaginaciones desaprovechadas y pensamientos mortecinos, para que no impidan la secreta habla con el Señor, que pide silencio con las criaturas; porque hablar a ellas y a El, es imposible. (V, p. 562)

In a letter to Doña María de Eges, he says:

Haced vos ansí, doncella de Cristo; sed escasa de gastar el tiempo por guardarlo para gozar de Cristo; hablad poco, para poder más hablar en la secreta oración; haced fuerza a vuestras condiciones, por estar mansa y humilde, y toda tal cual Jesucristo quiere que estéis... (V, p. 700)

This inner mental prayer of Juan de Avila was undoubtedly misunderstood by those who were traditionally oriented to vocal prayer and the external devotions of the Church. His methodology departs from that and could have been misconstrued to mean an orientation to the unorthodox position of the dejados. In some cases, there was probably a very fine line that would divide the two types of devotions. But for Juan de Avila there was no confusion of the issue.

In the Audi, filia, San Juan outlines a method for prayer, especially using the Passion of Jesus. It was his favorite inspiration. This particular orientation had its roots in traditional medieval devotion. He does not repudiate this but rather makes it an essential ingredient of his teaching. In this regard, he differs from the extreme element in the iluminista group. These people saw no benefit from meditation on the Passion and felt it was a hindrance to true prayer.²² It is interesting to note that on this issue Sta. Teresa followed the example of Juan de Avila. At various times in the letters he puts forth a schedule to be followed and recommends books to be read. In letter number 236, written to a disciple, is found a series of counsels for prayer. The following is a brief summary of the method which he recommends:

1. Upon awakening, one should pray in a secret place: "...estando en quietud y sosiego, el cuerpo en la postura que mejor se hallare, de rodillas, sentado, en pie o postrado, pondrá delante la imaginación a nuestro Señor Dios, que está allí y en todo lugar..." (V, p. 778)

2. Recalling God's goodness, one should turn within to see what faults he has committed.

3. After that, thoughts about the Passion are in order: Monday -- Christ in Gethsemane; Tuesday -- Christ being whipped; Wednesday -- The crowning of thorns; Thursday -- Christ on the cross; Friday -- Christ's suffering and death; Saturday -- The burial; Sunday -- The Resurrection. The order may be varied if desired. To achieve a knowledge of the Passion, Granada's books Libro de la oración y meditación and Guía de pecadores are helpful.²³

4. Three considerations should be the fruits of this prayer: to achieve a realization of God's love through Christ; to have hope in God because of Christ; to attain greater charity and love of one's neighbor.

5. When one receives a particular grace in prayer, distractions should be avoided as much as possible in subsequent daily activities. In order to do this, Osuna's Tercer abecedario is helpful.

6. At night, another hour and a half should be devoted to prayer. Once again, the examination of conscience is recommended. One ought also to think about his or her own death, the final judgment, and ultimately the delights of heaven.

7. Great confidence and joy should be attained because of the merits of Christ. "Este punto de la confianza en los merecimientos de Cristo es de grandísima importancia y cosa que en grandísima manera honra a Dios, porque es lo que Cristo ganó." (V, p. 788)

At the end of the letter, he sums up his doctrine, going over the important points once again. This particular epistle is more of a treatise than a letter, and it sets forth Juan de Avila's methodology. In it we find the seeds for future writers on prayer to discover and cultivate. In letter number five, to Mtro. García Arias, he once again outlines a daily schedule for prayer, this time calling for two hours of prayer in the morning and the same at night. It is a rigorous outline and one which Juan de Avila himself followed. The need for secrecy is stated very plainly:

Lo que en su corazón pasa con Dios, cállelo con grande aviso, como del callar de la mujer casada lo que con su marido pasa en la cama, y no diga palabra por la cual le puedan tener en algo, mas en toda disimulación y llaneza conversará con sus prójimos, para que no les sea estorbo para la oración del Señor...No descubrir su corazón es cosa que le ayudará para mucho sosiego. (V,

p. 55)

San Juan here takes great pains to advise against talking about one's private prayer. He evidently knew that to do so could be very dangerous in his times, and for this reason he probably chose not to talk or write about his own experiences. An important difference between Sta. Teresa and San Juan de Avila is that she was greatly interested in describing her visions and mystical experiences. The problem of literary expression enters here, for she felt the necessity of creating a vocabulary which could be used to impart her message. Sharing her experiences with others, to be used in teaching or learning prayer, was also important to her. Because of the need she saw to communicate, she devised a literary vocabulary rich in metaphors and images which allowed for her expression. Juan de Avila, on the other hand, felt no such need. Prayer experiences were secret and should remain so. His severe spirituality might have considered such revelations unnecessary or even embarrassing. His intent to teach centered on the method of achieving a deep prayer life, not to expose it to others. Hence, he was motivated to establish an ascetical methodology. Sta. Teresa, leaving behind that asceticism, moved daringly into the realm of expressing her mystical prayer experiences in writing. For a woman, and a conversa, this was an extraordinary step.

This type of prayer is not for everyone, however. The Audi, filia contains a section which states this fact plainly. For reasons such as physical or emotional illness, too many daily distractions, or scruples, certain people could be harmed by practicing this particular kind of prayer:

Deben éstos consolarse y saber que el espíritu de orar es dádiva

de nuestro Señor liberalmente dada a quien El es servido, y pues a ellos no se la da, débense contentar con rezar vocalmente algunas devociones o pasos de la Pasión...conténte[n]se con lo que les diere. (I, p. 482)

Neither is Juan de Avila adamant on specific rules to be followed, for each person is different and will experience prayer individually:

Y por eso es muy loable cosa, poniéndonos en nuestro ejercicio, ir con libertad y no estar atados a nuestras reglas, ni estar congojosos en cómo pensaremos lo que deseamos; mas, con tranquilidad y santo descuido, así pensar el paso que solemos que no impidamos a la mano de Dios, si a otra parte nos quisiere llevar.²⁴ (I, p. 483)

Humility is an essential virtue if one is to have a deep prayer life. Juan de Avila reiterates the need for it throughout his writings. Pride (soberbia) must be eradicated as soon as possible for real progress in the spiritual life.

Nor should a person desire to progress rapidly, for God generally works slowly in the soul, and to desire great progress can lead to disaster:

Más dura y más aprovecha lo que va más poco a poco, y más imprime una palabra después de haber estado en oración que diez sin ella. No en mucho hablar, mas en devotamente orar y bien obrar está el aprovechamiento. (V, p. 46)

After examination of his thoughts on prayer it can be asked why Juan de Avila revealed his thinking on it so precisely. The Audi, filia II contains key chapters about it (chapters seventy-six through eighty-one) which, as we have said, are not present in the 1556 edition. Could it have been that he felt the need for such a declaration because he noticed the lack of such material in the decrees of Trent? As one examines those decrees, there is not one in which mental prayer is treated as a separate subject matter. In the Index, it is not mentioned.²⁵ Though Trent was concerned with declaring dogmatic truths,

as well as reforming the Church, it seems ironic that in the decrees of reform this element, which ultimately is the source of individual reform, is not treated. Perhaps the issue of iluminista tendencies was one that the prelates did not want to grapple with. Or perhaps they took the need for prayer for granted. It is absolutely clear that Juan de Avila did not.

As one achieves an overall view of San Juan de Avila's teachings on prayer, it is evident that he was an individual who had an intense prayer life and who could teach others. His method is rigorous, but not inflexible. And while he places emphasis on secret, interior prayer, he also counseled vocal prayer. He did not advise using the imagination nor did he emphasize visions, but neither did he eliminate that type of prayer activity. And while inspiration could indeed come directly from the Holy Spirit, he saw the dangers of private individual interpretation. The words which could perhaps be best applied to his approach would be prudence balanced with wisdom. He took the best of the traditional approach to prayer and blended it with parts of the radical method practiced by the alumbrados. Following the example of St. Paul and the Church Fathers, he desired to renew his inner spirit and that of the persons whom he met.²⁶

Self Knowledge (Conocimiento de Sí)

If there is one key to Juan de Avila's thinking (and also that of Valdés), it is the need for knowing oneself. In all phases of his writings this concept is reiterated, from the first Audi, filia, throughout the letters, sermons, minor writings, and again in the Audi, filia II. The idea is certainly not a new one, for we find it in me-

dieval writing as well. Robert Ricard, in an article entitled "El socratismo cristiano", has examined this aspect of Juan de Avila's thinking. The axiom of Socrates, "Know Thyself", is the one which was handed down and adopted by Christian writers such as St. Paul and St. Bernard. The fundamental message for the latter writers was a moral lesson:

Se ve que las consideraciones del Beato Juan de Avila sobre el conocimiento propio tienen esencialmente una significación ascética y un alcance moral: se trata sobre todo de fortalecer en el alma la virtud de la humildad, sin la cual no hay perfección verdadera.²⁷

One of the clearest exponents of the need for self-knowledge was Thomas à Kempis. His classic, The Imitation of Christ, sets the tone for the later reformers who adopted the position that in God's eyes man is essentially an abject creature:

He who knows himself well is mean and abject in his own sight, and takes no delight in the main praise of men.²⁸

And again the message is repeated:

The highest and most profitable learning is this: that a man have a truthful knowledge and a full despising of himself. More, not to presume of himself, but always to judge and think well and blessedly of another, is a sign and token of great wisdom and of great perfection and of singular grace.²⁹

Juan de Avila took this section of the Imitation, as did Juan de Valdés, and made it a cornerstone of his theology.

Self-knowledge leads to the realization that man is a sinner and that he must change or improve himself. In a letter to one of his disciples, San Juan writes:

...en el conocimiento propio está la seguridad de nuestra conciencia, y es la obra más señalada y más cristiana en que puede un alma ejercitarse. Y tomo el conocimiento en este sentido, que quien dice conocimiento dice enmienda, y el que no se enmienda o trata de ello no se conoce, porque tanto terná uno de conocimiento propio cuanto tuviere de enmienda. (V, p. 766)

The way to self-knowledge is to turn within oneself. This going inside, pointed out in his approach to prayer, is once again reiterated when he speaks of what can be found within one's soul. In the following selection, we find our author using another comparison. It is taken from the Audi, filia:

Y si me dijeres: ¿Dónde hallaré esta joya del propio conocimiento?, dígoos que, aunque es de mucho valor, entre el establo y entre el estiércol de vuestra poquedad y defectos la habéis de hallar. Quitad los ojos de las vidas ajenas, no os entremetáis en saber cosas curiosas, volved vuestra vista a vos misma, y perseverad en examinaros, que, aunque al principio no halléis tomo en conoceros, como quien entra de la claridad del sol a una cámara obscura; mas, perseverando en sosiego, poco a poco veréis lo que en vos hay, aunque sea en los muy secretos rincones. (I, p. 465)

By coming to a complete knowledge of self, one is able to better understand, and hence love, one's neighbor. This love of other, so important in both Valdés and Juan de Avila, is another theme which recurs in both authors. It begins with a full realization of man's state, and God's goodness and mercy toward man:

Conozcámonos, pues, y seremos conocidos de Dios; juzguémonos y condenémonos, y seremos absueltos por Dios; pongamos los ojos sobre nuestras faltas, y luego todo nos sobraré; consideremos nuestras miserias y aprenderemos a ser piadosos en las ajenas; porque, según la Escritura dice, de lo que hay en ti aprenderá lo que hay en tu prójimo. (V, p. 110)

Knowledge of God, then stems from knowledge of self, and without the latter, the former is impossible.

Justification

The theme of justification was of unquestionable importance at this time. The emergence of Lutheranism in the early part of the 16th century magnified the problem. The relative openness that had been characteristic of the period of Charles V gradually was stifled, and the confrontation between Protestantism and Catholicism grew in scope

and in importance. Orthodox reform, such as that proposed by Erasmus, was in question, and the reformers found themselves required to take a firm position on certain issues. Freedom of the will was disputed -- the traditional Catholics held that it was a gift from God, and the new Protestants declared that this freedom did not exist. The religious tensions could not have been stronger.

It is in the Audi, filia I and II that we can see the change in the views of Juan de Avila. The first edition, which we recall he wrote as a young man, reveals a vision of faith which sounds like Valdés. The following sections, taken from the Audi, filia I will be compared to Valdés' views. Then the Audi, filia II will be discussed, along with some other writings, and we will see the differences between these two men who began, evidently, with a very similar outlook. The reasons why they went separate ways is not totally clear. But their writings record that this was the case. In reality, their separateness does not seem to be to us today as important as their likenesses. San Juan chose to remain within the framework of the Church, whereas Valdés chose to leave Spain and go to Italy. Important differences do exist between these two men, but there are fundamental similarities as well.

In the Audi, filia I, Juan de Avila remarks about faith on various occasions. It is absolutely necessary for man to believe in order to be saved. A few examples follow:

...como todo el fundamento de la vida espiritual sea la fe...
(I, p. 435)

Veis aquí cuán grandes bienes nos trae al oír a Dios, y con cuánta atención debemos oír esta palabra que nos manda que oya-mos. Este oír a Dios es por la fe; la cual no es enseñanza humana, mas divina, porque no creemos a las Escrituras como a palabras de Esaiás o Jeremías, o de San Pablo o de San Pedro,

ni creemos más el evangelista que fue testigo de vista de lo que escribió que al que no lo fue, mas recibimos estas palabras como dichas de Dios por la boca de ellos, y a Dios creemos en ellos. Y por eso nuestra fe imposible es dejar de ser verdadera, como es imposible la suma verdad de Dios dejar de ser. (I, p. 458)

Y cuando hablamos de fe, no entendaís de fe muerta, mas de la viva, la cual dice San Pablo que es fe que obra mediante el amor. (Ibid.)

True Christian faith was not to be based upon one's lineage, and one was not a Christian because he was born of Christian parents. Basing his ideas upon St. Paul, Juan de Avila concluded that faith was a gift from God, and that love, which is the end and perfection of it, was also a gift poured out by the Holy Spirit.

Juan de Valdés has the following remarks about faith:

...essendo così che la felicità dell'uomo consiste in conoscere con lume di fede Iddio per Cristo e nella unione dell'anima con Dio mediante la fede, speranza e carità. Alla quale felicità solamente arriva il vero cristiano.³⁰

In the following passage from Valdés, we see a definite similarity between Juan de Avila's and Valdés' concept of fe viva and fe muerta:

Y mirate, signora, che, quando dico fede, non intendo della fede che solamente crede l'istoria de Cristo, perché questa può ben stare e sta senza carità; e imperò la chiama san Giacomo fede morta, la quale tengono i mali cristiani e tengono similmente i demoni dello 'nferno. Ma intendete che, quando dico fede, intendo di quella fede che vive nell'anima, guadagnata non con industria ne con artificio umano, ma mediante la grazia di Dio, con lume sovranaturale, la qual fede dà credito a tutte le parole di Dio...³¹

We see from this brief resume that, regarding the importance of faith, as well as that of prayer, Juan de Avila and Valdés have very similar views. It is first of all a gift from God, through Christ and the Holy Spirit. Out of faith comes love, and both authors stress the necessity to love one's neighbor. Faith is to be a living, vital belief, not a dead and perfunctory thing. In Scripture is found the mes-

sage of truth, revealed by God for those whom he loved. Confidence and hope are characteristic of Christians -- despair does not belong.

In the Audi, filia I, San Juan does not place any emphasis on works as being important for salvation. Charity and love of neighbor are stressed, as they are also in the Diálogo. This issue, however, was of great importance, for it came to be considered as one of the dividing lines between Catholicism and Protestantism. Valdés did not find great merit in works, as we have seen, since nothing man could do would warrant God's grace. But Juan de Avila, who stayed within the traditional framework, did make clear upon occasions what his position was. The Audi, filia II contains a number of chapters which are not in the first edition. As he did with the issue of prayer, he now does with that of faith and justification. In chapter forty-four is found his refutation of those who believe that only faith (sola la fe) is necessary for justification. The following are excerpts taken from the chapter. From them we see that he took a strong position against the Protestants:

Mas, si alguno quisiere atribuir a esta fe, que por sola ella se alcanza la justicia y perdón de los pecados, errará gravemente, como lo han hecho los que lo han afirmado. (I, p. 664)

Palabra es de la divina Escritura que por la fe se da la justicia; mas que por sola la fe, invención humana es, y error muy necio y perverso. (I, p. 664)

Stressing the need for love, as an effect of faith, Juan de Avila goes on to say that both are needed for justification -- and that contrition for sins is another requirement:

Y pues fe y amor se requieren, cierto habrá dolor de pecados, pues no dejarán de dolelle las ofensas graves que ha hecho contra Dios al que le ama sobre todas las cosas, como parece en la Magdalena y en los pecadores que se convierten a Dios. (I, p. 665)

Knowledge of one's sins, however, is not enough. Man must do penance for them. This was another difference between Juan de Avila and Valdés. Though the latter saw the need for contrition, a confession directly to God appears to have been enough.³² The former states that it is not:

Mas quien, movido por esto, dijese que por solo el conocimiento del pecado se perdona el pecado, no erraría poco...Y tan sin fundamento sería decir que por sola la fe se alcanza, porque la Escritura en algunas partes no haga mención sino de ella. Porque por esta razón podríamos echar fuera del negocio a la fe, pues en otras partes hable la Escritura que se perdonan los pecados, sin hacer mención de la fe, por la penitencia o por otras cosas. Mas la verdad católica es que se requieren unas y otras, como disposiciones para alcanzar el perdón y la gracia. (I, p. 665)

The Council of Trent had taken up this issue, and San Juan was very aware of the conclusion it came to -- faith alone was not enough for salvation:

Y si la Escritura dice que por ella son los hombres justificados, atribúyese esto, no porque ella sola sea bastante, mas como a principio y fundamento y raíz de todo lo bueno, como lo dice el Concilio Tridentino. (I, p. 667)

The Audi, filia II is not the only place where San Juan makes his thoughts on the matter known. In his letters and in the Biblical commentaries his position on the need for confession is clear. Works are required, but they are a result of faith. Without faith, and without the grace of God won by Christ, works would be nothing. This is expressed in letter number forty-four, written most probably to Doña Leonor de Inestrosa. She was troubled by scruples and in this letter Juan de Avila attempts to put her mind at rest:

Este Señor es fundamento certísimo, en quien debemos estribar; que nuestras obras, muchas de ellas, son tales como caña flaca y quebrada [Is. 36:6], que quien a ella se arrima, antes se horada la mano que se pueda sustentar en ellas; y las que son buenas y de valor, por la gracia de Dios lo son, ganada por los merecimientos de Jesucristo, en los cuales me gloriaré, y en su gracia que me ganó; mas en mí mismo no, sino en mis flaquezas [2 Cor. 12:5]. (V, p. 264)

In a letter to a disciple, he distinguishes between two kinds of works, exterior and interior:

Hermano, las buenas obras son en dos maneras: unas son exteriores, así como rezar, ayunar, dar limosna, no jurar, no mentir, no murmurar, no hacer mal al prójimo, no le enojar y otras semejantes obras. Otras hay que están en lo dentro de nosotros, que son un corazón encendido en amor de Dios y del prójimo, un profundo sentimiento de nuestra indignidad, un entrañable agradecimiento a las mercedes de Dios, una reverencia que a la divina majestad tenemos, que nos tornamos delante de su grandeza como si fuésemos nada, con otros muchos sentimientos interiores que decir no se pueden... (V, p. 312)

The reader is left with little doubt as to which type of works Juan de Avila considers more important. The inner dimension of love, humility, and reverence is of foremost importance. And as one reads the Diálogo, the same emphasis on God's grace is present. The difference between them lies in the fact that Valdés perceived external devotions as inconsequential, and Juan de Avila did not. We must also recognize that San Juan had the opportunity to further amplify his thinking in the Audi, filia II. Valdés, because of his death in 1541, could not know what Trent would say.

There is another distinction that can be made in terms of grace -- whether or not it is infused. Nieto maintains that for Alcaraz and Valdés, grace is not infused:

Grace, for Alcaraz and Valdés, is a personal relationship between God and man, in which, because He is gracious and loving, we can and must absolutely trust. For them, grace is not something which is not God Himself; for grace is not a plurality of "graces" which we see in the gifts of creation, or a grace which might be "hidden in our soul" without being ourselves aware of it, as is the case with Osuna, so that one may speak of "first grace," "second grace," etc.³³

Juan de Avila, however, does hold the position that grace is infused. This is evident when he discusses his ideas on justification in one of his letters, number eighty-five:

La justificación no es sino una resurrección del anima que estaba muerta en pecados y agora vive por el espíritu de la vida que Dios le infundió por la muerte de su Hijo bendito. Y así como sería muy loco un cuerpo que atribuyese a sí el vivir y el moverse, y no al ánima que en él está y le da vida, así es muy ciega el ánima que la vida de las buenas obras que siente tener piensa que es de sí misma y no del espíritu de la vida que Dios lo infundió. (V, p. 391)

When examining the question of works and penance, we find that differences arise. Juan de Avila, in his later years, parts company with Valdés on matters that would infringe upon strict orthodoxy. The choices that each made were different, and the paths that they were to take were determined by those decisions.

Justification, for both Valdés and Juan de Avila, originally depended completely upon the concept of the beneficios de Cristo, which will be examined next. It is interesting to study this in the light of the decree on Justification (1547) promulgated at Trent. We said in the preceding chapter that San Juan's spirituality did not conform to Trent, but that it was not necessarily heretical. The above quotation, giving his definition of justification, could not be more explicit. In one sentence he says what justification is -- a resurrection of the soul that was dead in sin and now lives by the spirit of life which was infused in it by God through the death of Jesus. That definition, found in an undated letter, is essentially the one he uses in the Audi, filia II. There is one particular chapter in the latter work (eighty-four) that is not found in the first edition. This is where Juan de Avila expands upon his concept, probably because of Trent. Rather than affirming the promulgation on justification, he reiterates his own deep conviction about the need for interior prayer. One sees here an attempt at synthesis, one which succeeds beautifully. His approach is open and receptive. It is doubtful that Protestants or non-Christians would

have condemned it, though they would not necessarily have agreed with all it says. The quote is long but deserves to be read in its entirety:

...y El [Cristo] es el oído del Padre, pues que la gracia y favores con que somos oídos, por El los tenemos. Que, quitado esto aparte, como ninguno hay justo de sí, ninguno sería oído de sí. Y así como, por el grande amor que el Señor nos tuvo, tomó nuestros males por suyos, y los pagó con su vida y muerte; y con el mismo amor que nos tiene, aunque ya está en el cielo, si un chiquito suyo está desnudo o vestido, harto o hambriento, dice que El mismo lo está; así, cuando nosotros oramos, El ora en nosotros, como dice San Agustín; y cuando nosotros somos oídos de Dios, dice que El es oído, por aquella inefable unión que hay entre El y los suyos, significada por nombre de esposo con su esposa, y de cabeza con su propio cuerpo; al cual amó tanto que, aunque ordinariamente vemos que pone uno su brazo para recibir el golpe por salvar la cabeza, mas este bendito Señor, siendo cabeza, se puso delante del golpe de la Justicia divina, y murió en la cruz por dar vida a su cuerpo, que somos nosotros. Y después de habernos vivificado, mediante la penitencia y los sacramentos, nos regala, defiende y mantiene como a cosa tan suya que no se contenta con llamarnos siervos, amigos, hermanos o hijos, sino, para enseñar más su amor y darnos más honra, nos pone su nombre. Porque por esta inefable unión de Cristo, cabeza, con la Iglesia, su cuerpo, El y nosotros somos llamados un Cristo. (I, pp. 775-776)

The delicacy and tenderness with which he treats the great mystery of redemption and justification is readily apparent. All the essential elements of dogma are present, and the tone is calm and peaceful. Juan de Avila is not threatened, nor is he on the defensive.³⁴ He has profound confidence in the knowledge that the union of Christ and His people is unbreakable and eternal.

The Méritos (Beneficios) of Christ

Related to Juan de Avila's concern with justification is his treatment of the beneficios (or méritos) de Cristo. There are instances in which he specifies what these méritos are. Essentially, they are the works that Christ performed, and continues to perform which lead to man's salvation. We listen to him on two occasions -- the first

is sermon nineteen and the second from the Audi, filia I:

Empero, la causa por donde me parece a mí que se hace este regocijo, es porque se desenvuelven los méritos de Jesucristo cada vez que se aplican a la conversión de un pecador. Así, se desenvuelven los azotes, corona y llagas de Jesucristo, y su sangre, y tormentos, porque fueron más agradables a Dios que todos los ángeles y arcángeles... (II, p. 296)

To Sancha Carrillo he describes the redeeming qualities of these méritos and their greatness:

Pocos son nuestros pecados, no en sí, mas comparados a los muchos merecimientos de Jesucristo. Muchos son nuestros bienes, no en nosotros, mas en Cristo, que nos dio lo que El ayunó, oró, y caminó y trabajó; y sus espinas y sus azotes, y clavos y lanza, muerte y vida, haciéndonos participantes en todo mediante los sacramentos y fe. Cuantas son las misericordias del Señor, tantos podemos decir que son nuestros merecimientos; y cuantos son los bienes de Cristo, en tanto tenemos parte nosotros. (I, p. 449)

This latter section is omitted in the Audi, filia II. In fact, the entire section on how to remedy temptations of the Devil is not included in the revised edition, and Juan de Avila carefully avoids using the terminology he did in the earlier work. It is evident that something caused him to change the content of the original, and we conclude that it was in part the ramifications of the oppressive spirit in Spain around 1558. Another factor may well have been the opinion that was expressed at Trent about the doctrine of the beneficios de Cristo.³⁵ The prelates at the Council, while not condemning the doctrine, did not condone it either.³⁶ In addition, Peña's censure warned against using specific terminology, in this case demonios y angeles, which might be dangerous.³⁷

The issue of justification by works or faith was at stake, and to have approved outright of the doctrine would have, in the eyes of the priests at Trent, given freer rein to the Protestants. After much deliberation, for there were advocates of the doctrine of the beneficios

at the first session of Trent, the prelates decided on a solution. It closed the door on further development of these ideas:

La solución del Concilio, en que convinieron todos, fué la de que no se puede, sin especial revelación, tener certeza de fe infalible de nuestra justificación. Se cerraba el paso a la certeza de fe, como propiedad normal del estado de gracia, pero no a una certeza moral tal que excluye toda angustia y toda sensación de desaliento.³⁸

The question was a delicate and difficult one. If at the commencement of the deliberations of the Council there was an open spirit, it is evident that as time went on this willingness to remain flexible disappeared. Juan de Avila knew he was surrounded by inflexible attitudes, and while undoubtedly very unwilling to alter his views, he saw that something had to be done. The changes were, we believe, based more on prudence than on anything else.

Juan de Avila and Juan de Valdés shared common ideas, and the latter's influence is clearly seen. The message of both is clear -- the way to salvation has come to man through the Passion, death and resurrection of Christ. Without this, man would remain forever in a state of sin and condemnation. But because of this great gift, it is now possible for man to be redeemed. We shall see how closely these two writers coincide on the issue.

In the Diálogo, Valdés makes the following observation. Speaking of Adam and Eve, he says:

Y por esta desobediencia y poca fe, que tuvieron en creer más al demonio que a Dios, perdieron el estado de la inocencia, y fueron echados del parayso terrenal; y por el mismo caso, todos los que éstos dos nascemos, somos concebidos y nacidos en pecado, y quedamos hijos de yra y de maldición, sujetos a mil malas inclinaciones, a mil trabajos y fatigas, y en fin, a pena eterna.

Pero como nuestro Dios es tan misericordioso, aun al tiempo que les daua el castigo de la culpa, les dio esperança del remedio délla, diziendo al demonio que, de la muger que auía engañado, auía de nacer quien le rompiese a él la cabaça, y

cobrasse lo que la muger auía perdido. Esto dixo él por su vnico hijo Jesu Christo, Dios y Señor nuestro.³⁹

The message clearly reflects one of St. Paul's fundamental messages -- original sin. The theology of Juan de Valdés was centered around the figure of Jesus, something which separates him from some alumbrados who evidently did not think of Him as a savior.⁴⁰ There is hope and consolation to be had because of Christ, and man must not despair.

Juan de Avila's thinking on this is clarified in the Audi, filia, the Sermons, and in the Epistles. Whereas Valdés emphasizes the sinful state of man, San Juan, while not negating it, always looks beyond to the compassion and mercy of God. The following passage, full of contrasts and typical of his style, points out the saving actions of Jesus:

El [Jesús] era bendito y nosotros malditos; trocamos personas, tomó El el lugar de maldito, que era el tormento de cruz que se debía a nosotros, y tomamos nosotros amistad con Dios y el ser hijos suyos y herederos del cielo, con otras mil bendiciones que eran de Jesucristo bendito. ¡Oh maravilloso trueco, que la vida muera, para que viva la muerte! La bendición es maldita, para que la maldición sea bendita; es herido el sano, para que sane el enfermo; el Hijo como esclavo tratado, y el mal esclavo es adoptado por hijo; tratan cruelmente al que merece misericordia, y cae el buen tratamiento y regalo sobre quien merece el infierno. (V, p. 113)

This tender element is present in most of Juan de Avila's writings on the subject. In the letters especially, he encourages his recipients to place their hope and trust in God and not to despair. And, once again, the interior dimension is present. In the following, he permits himself to speak with the voice of Christ:

No desmayéis, que no os desampararé aunque os pruebe: vidrio sois delicado, mas mi mano os tendrá. Vuestra flaqueza hace parecer más fuerte mi fortaleza. De vuestros pecados y miserias saco yo manifestación de mi bondad y misericordia. No hay cosa que os pueda dañar si me amáis y de mí os fiáis. No sintáis de

mí humanamente, según vuestro parecer, mas en viva fe con amor; no por las señales de fuera, mas por el corazón, el cual se abrió en la cruz por vosotros, para que no pongáis duda en ser amados en cuanto es de mí parte, pues veis tales obras de amor de fuera y corazón tan herido con lanza y más herido de vuestro amor por de dentro. (V, p. 150)

Again and again in the letters we find consolation and a message of hope. God, who has loved man so much, will not abandon him because of transgressions.

There are two beneficios that San Juan considers more important than all the others: the Eucharist and the gift of the Holy Spirit. Both are dealt with throughout his writings, but a particular designation is provided for each in the sermons. The "Sermones del Santísimo Sacramento" comprise numbers thirty-three through fifty-nine, and the "Sermones del Espíritu Santo" numbers twenty-seven through thirty-two. We have already mentioned the importance of the Eucharist and why Juan de Avila would be inclined to emphasize it so much (chapter II, page 96).

Sin and Salvation

These are themes which San Juan de Avila refers to continually, and though they do not always appear overtly, one of the underlying premises of his thinking is that man is essentially a sinful being. Valdés emphasized the same thing. Related to sin, and inseparable from it, are the notions of salvation and faith. The two are inextricably linked, for without salvation through Christ and faith in Him, man could not be saved. Juan de Avila always approaches this question from the point of view of God's pardoning man:

Nunca acabáis de creer que Dios os ha perdonado. Hacéis dos males: uno, que defraudáis a Dios las gracias que le habéis de dar por haberos perdonado vuestros pecados; y lo otro, que

perdéis el fruto que recibe el ánima de pensar: «perdonado me ha Dios por su misericordia y bondad»). . . El ánima que piensa que Dios no le ha perdonado, alas tiene debajo de piedras grandes, que no le dejan volar a Dios. . . (IV, p. 207)

The death and resurrection of Christ have, in fact, made it possible for man to never sin again. Past sins are redeemed through the blood of Christ, but care must be taken if man is to remain in the state of grace:

La sangre de Cristo ahoga pecados pasados y da remedio para que de aquí adelante no hagáis mal. Dirá alguno: «Cristo murió por mis pecados y los pagó. No va nada en que peque». No ha de ser así, sino aprovecharme para mis pecados pasados: me los perdonó Dios y me los ahogó en su sangre, y dióme esfuerzo para que de aquí adelante no le ofenda. Para no pecar, es menester esfuerzo y cuidado. Esto nos ganó Cristo. De esto nace a muchos que se quisieron aprovechar del remedio de la sangre de Cristo, para perdonar sus pecados pasados; y no se quisieron aprovechar para tomar esfuerzo para no pecar. Esto es de la grandísima bellaquería y flojedad que en nosotros hay. (IV, p. 299)

Juan de Avila's approach on the matter is a very positive one. Though he is outspoken and direct in pointing out the harm of a sinful life, there is the ever-present message of hope. Condemnation turns to urging to repentance, and thus ultimately to salvation -- if certain basic conditions exist:

Creed que, si os arrepentís de vuestros pecados, y pedís a Dios perdón de ellos, y alegáis la sangre del cordero Jesucristo, y os confesáis y tenéis propósito de no ofender más a Dios, antes que digáis una palabra, os tiene Dios perdonado. Creedme, que es tan lijero para os perdonar, que tiene más gana de os perdonar que un hombre hambriento tiene de comer. El perdón que Dios nos hace es por la sangre de Jesucristo. Firmada está la cédula de nuestro perdón, y no con tinta, sino con sangre consagrada de nuestro Señor. (IV, p. 208)

Though by nature sinful, man, because of Christ's actions, now enjoys the possibility of living with God. As we see in the following passage from sermon fifty-seven, the spirit has vanquished the flesh, and original sin has been obliterated:

La carne de Adán, carne de criatura era; la carne de Jesucristo, carne de Dios es. Si mi daño me vino por carne de hombre, mi remedio me vino por carne de Dios. Carne de Adán, ¿cómo me daño? Porque era concebida en pecado; la carne de Jesucristo, concebida por el Espíritu Santo; pues ¿quién es más fuerte, el pecado o el Espíritu Santo? Pues si el daño nos vino en carne concebida en pecado, y el bien y el remedio nos viene por carne concebida por Espíritu Santo, mayor es la de aquél para dañar; mayor es esta limpieza que aquella suciedad; más eficaz es esta gracia que aquel pecado; cuanto ésta excede al hombre, tanto excede mi remedio a mi mal. Por carne vino la muerte, por carne se nos da la vida. Si eso es así, luego de parte de Cristo, todos estamos vivos, y la harina está echada en la olla. Ya va fuera la muerte, ya tenemos vida.
(II, p. 910)

Juan de Avila adheres to St. Paul very closely in the above passage.

One has only to look at the latter's Epistle to the Romans to find the same thoughts.⁴²

Though he is more critical of Christians who do not practice their religion than of those outside the faith who have not yet heard the Christian message, there is no room for disbelief when it comes to the true religion:

No hay Dios fuera de nuestro Dios; no hay salud sino en la sacra humanidad de Jesucristo. Y quien allí no huyere y se encorporare con ella, siendo miembro suyo de aquella Cabeza, no vivirá, y la ira y castigo de Dios serán ejercitados en él. No hay perdón de pecados, no gracia de Dios, no merecimiento de la vida eterna, ni entrada allí sino por Jesucristo, y en Jesucristo nuestro Señor.
(II, p. 809)

Following in St. Paul's footsteps, we find that Juan de Avila is no less forthright and convinced of the way to salvation. His thoughts on the matter are traditional teachings, but the approach is absolute. There can be no other way except through Jesus, and through the love which God has bestowed on man.

Faith in the mercy of God is another aspect of salvation which he emphasizes. If one has faith in the ability of God to forgive, there is nothing to worry about. Writing to a woman who was undergoing temp-

tations, he writes:

A mucha ira provocaron a Dios vuestros pecados, mas a mucha amistad le provocaron los merecimientos de nuestro Señor, habiendo muerto en cruz por vuestros pecados. No hay ya que temer a pecados, si no nos falta la fe. (V, p. 152)

This was included in letter number twenty, which we mentioned in chapter III as being a possible prelude to the Audi, filia I. The letter would then have been written early in his career. One can see the definite similarities between Valdés and Juan de Avila here. The severity of judgement is totally lacking. Consolation, hope, and tenderness are the notes which predominate. In the following passage the message is again clear -- mankind has been saved through the actions of Christ and is now free:

Murió por nosotros, y fue su intento librarnos de los pecados pasados, para que, libres de ellos, no volviésemos a la miseria en que antes estábamos; para que, habiéndonos visto en tan mal estado, siendo ya libres de él por la muerte de Jesucristo, huyésemos una enfermedad que no se cura sino con la sangre de Jesucristo, un cautiverio que no se pudo excluir, sino dando en precio tan inmenso tesoro. (IV, p. 30)

Forgiveness of sins has, in fact, been accomplished. But repentance is also necessary. In the Audi, filia I, there is an entire section devoted to the need for a good confessor. It is interesting to note the qualities Juan de Avila deems necessary for a guide of souls. The confessor should be wise in the ways of God and know by just a few words what kinds of temptations people are having. He should not be harsh, nor impatient when a penitent asks something over and over. Above all he must be willing to help when grave problems arise and provide consolation:

Ore, pues, el confesor, y busque oraciones ajenas; y encomienda al penitente la enmienda de su vida; y déle buena esperanza de parte de nuestro Señor, que él cumplirá las promesas que de su parte de dieron con fe; y enseñe al penitente que ningún pen-

samiento, por sucio y malo que sea, no puede ensuciar el ánima, cuando no es consentido. (I, p. 453)

One looks in vain here for any tone of condemnation. The emphasis is on the qualities the confessor must possess, not the penitent. Sta. Teresa de Avila echoes these same sentiments in her Vida. Toward the beginning of the book she observes:

Por que yo no hallé maestro -- digo confesor, que me entienda -- aunque le busqué, en veinte años después de esto que digo, que me hizo harto daño para tornar muchas veces atrás, y aun para del todo perderme porque todavía me ayudara a salir de las ocasiones que tuve para ofender a Dios.⁴²

It is clear that the role of the confessor was to teach and guide, not merely to dispense the sacrament of penance.

In the Audi, filia II, San Juan continues to counsel repentance, but he now makes it clear that true forgiveness comes from Christ through the Catholic Church. This is another change prompted by the rigorous mentality which characterized the period. In sermon number seventy-six, there is specific mention of the luteranos. But we note that it is only some of them who do not counsel repentance:

¡Gran doctrina, que por el amor se perdonan los pecados!
El amor cubre la muchedumbre de los pecados. (1 Peter 4:8)
Porque mucho ama, mucho le suelta, porque entiendan los hombres que no se perdonan los pecados durmiendo, sin movimiento de corazón. Error es de esos necios luteranos, a lo menos de algunos de ellos, que se perdonan los pecados sin movimiento del corazón. Menester es movimiento de amor, movimiento de dolor, movimiento de vergüenza. (III, p. 275)

Again, the tone is not harsh. Though correcting an error, Juan de Avila points at the end to the need for sorrow. It is, ultimately, the crucial thing. Far from frightening people, his approach would encourage them to come to him for guidance and forgiveness. And judging from what we have said about the results of his preaching, the mercy of God must have been transmitted through his example.

Death

The theme of death is given a positive treatment by Juan de Avila. And once again, the message of comfort and consolation is present. Many of his letters, as we have seen, were written to persons who were suffering. Death is viewed as a trabajo that must be endured. In essence, it is the last thing a person does before achieving eternal life. So no matter how difficult it seems to be, death is the means of passage to eternal life:

No me pesa que vuestra señoría tenga temor de la muerte, porque, aunque es cosa penosa, no es peligrosa, y muchas veces enviada por nuestro Señor para que con esta espuela hagamos lo que con la del amor no hacemos. Y El, como es Padre de misericordia, suele guiar estos negocios de arte, como temor y esperanza, nos ayuden a andar el camino, el cual será bien allanar y aparejar pues para todo suceso aprovecha y para ninguno daña...

No nació vuestra señoría para sí, sino para Dios; y antes que naciese ya estaba comprado por Jesucristo, el cual consigo, precio de tanta ventaja, nos compró, para que los que vivimos, como dice San Pablo, no vivamos para nos, sino para El... (V, pp. 132-135)

Letters were also written to those who had lost a loved one. Though Juan de Avila acknowledges the grief that people feel, he does not encourage it. While compassionate, he chides those who grieve too much. The Christian message of faith in life after death was for him the most important reality. Two letters illustrate this clearly -- numbers twenty-eight and twenty-nine. The heading tells us that both are written to a lady of nobility whose sister, a nun, had died. In our judgment, both were written to the same person. It is not coincidence that they refer to the same event, nor that they follow one another. In both, Juan de Avila gently scolds the woman for letting passion rule her grief. Excerpts from each follow:

Suplico a vuestra señoría mire con muy despiertos ojos que, como no tenemos licencia para los demasiados placeres, tampoco la hay

para la demasiada tristeza, pues en lo uno y lo otro debemos ser sujetos a la santa ley de Dios. (V, p. 197, no. 28)

The end of this letter reveals the positive outlook that must be assumed:

Gozosa está ella con ello; esténlo los que la aman. Y cuan delantera es en el amor, séalo en el gozar; pues el verdadero amor quiere el bien del amado, aunque sea con pérdida propia. Y cese ya el luto y tristeza, porque nuestro Señor no se ofenda, y ello no reprehenda, como Santa Inés a su madre, el tiempo que ni a vivos ni muertos aprovechará, ni a sí, mas a todos daña. (V, p. 202)

In the following letter, he speaks about the fact that rather than accepting the sister's death with resignation, the woman has become more disconsolate. Beginning on a compassionate note, San Juan becomes more reprimanding as he goes on. At one point we read:

Basta ya, señora, la fiesta hecha a la carne. Baste el tiempo que se ha ocupado en roer lo amargo de la cáscara. Entre ya en lo secreto del corazón, y adore allí al Señor, que esto hizo, y déle gracias porque la tuvo por digna de darle a beber de su misma copa... (V, pp. 204-205)

Ending the letter on a hopeful and encouraging note, he once more makes clear what his position is and what the woman's ought to be:

Y camine a donde está la que este mundo amó; pues que los males que aquí nos fatigan, a Dios nos constriñen que vamos. Y peleando con su corazón, desechará la tristeza; pues habiendo celebrado pasión, es razón que celebre resurrección, y así goce de la ascensión y corona del cielo, que es de gozo y se gana con muchos trabajos. (V, p. 207)

Consoling others is not the only means of treating death. In the Tratados de reforma we discover an interesting social message that Juan de Avila proclaims. It revolves around the refusal to allow people who are condemned to death to receive the Eucharist before dying. He finds this practice reprehensible and cruel:

En nuestra España hay una mala costumbre, y es que no dan el sacramento del altar a los que han de justiciar con muerte. ¡Cosa digna de mucha reprehensión que, al tiempo de mayor ne-

cecesidad, le quiten al cristiano su remedio y fortaleza! Van los pobres a un camino tan dificultoso y por medio tan trabajoso como es ser atormentados hasta morir en los tormentos, y niéganles el viático en un tal camino y lo que les ha de dar fortaleza para llevar con paciencia su tormento. No es esto caridad, sino crueldad y falta de verdadero conocimiento. (VI, p. 303)

Juan de Avila once again goes against the established social practice and comes out in favor of a more humane and compassionate law. Again we see a progressive spirit at work.

Frequency of Communion

During the period in which San Juan de Avila lived, there was much controversy about how often the Eucharist should be received. Certain segments of the alumbrados were accused of receiving it too frequently and of experiencing visions and revelations afterwards. Sala Balust provides parts of a document written by Fr. Alonso de la Fuente, O. P. which contains accusations against the alumbrados in Extremadura. One of these regards the frequency with which they received communion:

2. [Comulgan con frecuencia a los suyos, a veces] con muchas formas... [dando] a entender que con más formas se da más gracia. Cuando comulgan tienen gustos sensibles, con muchas formas sienten mayores gustos, con pocas formas menores gustos... Otras veces tienen hambre sensible y se van como rabiando a buscar la comunión y si no las comulgan se mueren y padecen mil tormentos y se van a comulgar dos y tres leguas y comulgan secretamente muchas veces en un día por matar el hambre que llaman hambre del Señor.⁴³

Fr. Alonso was prone to exaggeration, but this practice was apparently abused.

Juan de Avila deals with the subject in various parts of his writings. It does not appear frequently, but when it does, he makes his position clear: people should be encouraged to receive the Eucharist often, at least once a week. For many non-reformers, this was entirely too much. But for San Juan it made good sense and was according to

God's law. He not only recommended it generally on a weekly basis, but he saw no problem in having people receive it daily. In the Tratados de reforma, his position is firm:

Y no sé por qué ponen tasa en la comunión, pues el glorioso San Agustín no osa condenar a los que comulgan cada día, ni reprehender; y la causa es porque, si está aparejado, es bueno; y, si no, es malo. Y también amonesta que comulguen cada domingo; y esto no a sacerdotes, sino a todos los cristianos... Y es tanto mal poner esta tasa a la comunión, que no solamente es contra los doctores de la Iglesia, mas aun contra el mismo Dios. (VI, p. 516)

In letter number three, he deals extensively with this theme. His position is a tolerant one -- rules cannot be laid down for all persons. Different needs must be dealt with, and individual consideration given: "...no ha de ser regla lo que unos hacen para que lo hagan otros." (V, p. 39) And again in sermon fifty-eight, his position is reaffirmed:

El que frecuenta el comulgar, dificultosamente pecará, porque anda continuamente con aquel recelo, guardándose con mil ojos, poco olvidado; pero el que colmulga de año en año, como anda olvidado de si y descuidado, tras cada paso da de ojos. Gran salud es comulgar muchas veces, y así lo aconsejaron los santos. (II, p. 936)

We see, then, that Juan de Avila was not in favor of the once-a-year reception. Because the Eucharist was the primary life-sustaining nourishment for a Christian, he should receive it as often as possible. If this were done, the possibility of sinning would be made more difficult.

The union achieved by receiving the Eucharist is not symbolic -- it is real, almost visceral in nature. Juan de Avila often uses key words, such as comer, to expand upon this concept of food, and he uses body images to develop these thoughts: "Más dulce, más sabroso te nos has guisado, Señor, en manjar que lo es toda la leche y miel que hay en el mundo." (II, p. 674) And once again:

No piense nadie, no, que el estar el Señor allí encerrado es el

fin por qué está allí; medio es para otra cosa; y si quieres saber para qué está guisado y proporcionado, bien puesto debajo de aquella pequeñez; para desde allí dar un salto y meterse en las entrañas de nosotros pequeños, para que recibiendo de nosotros posada, tener ocasión de ser El la nuestra en el cielo. (II, p. 676)

In speaking about the lack of conviction among certain people when they receive communion, he sometimes reprimands them in his remarks. The Eucharist should be received with great devotion and in a prayerful manner, and when it is not, he spares no words in speaking his feelings:

¡Oh gente grosera, que no sabéis sino de la tierra, no estimáis sino el mantenimiento del cuerpo! Dios os dé su luz y orejas interiores con que sepáis oír y entender el Pan divino que ese Maestro, a quien preguntáis, que del cielo vino, os dará...

Gente grosera y tosca, sin fe y sin prudencias; que ya que ellos se engañaban en la manera de entender, preguntáranle al Señor, y dijérales que no entendía El que habían de comer su carne sagrada así a bocados y a tajadas como la carne de un animal, que la cortan en la carnicería. (II, p. 886)

The Eucharist is for Juan de Avila the true bread of life. But the use of comer also becomes a means for symbolic eating as well. At one point he says: "Pues ¿qué hay en el paraíso? ¿Qué hemos de comer? -- Bondad y verdad; cosas que ni ojos lo oyeron, etc." (II, p. 213) He likewise devises ways of using parts of the body, especially teeth, to clarify his meaning. His language becomes that of a person using images to convey meaning, and it is intriguing:

Digamos del buen comer. Las fuerzas del ánima son los dientes. Daisos a estudiar aritmética o filosofía, y andáis a buscar una verdad, y cuando la halláis, quedais muy contento y muy harto vuestro entendimiento. Aquella fuerza con que pensó aquella verdad, es el diente del ánima. (II, pp. 711-712)

Depending upon circumstances, the Eucharist could be received more frequently by a person who appeared to be less virtuous than others. Particular needs might lead to this:

Y claro es que, aunque una persona sea menos buena que otra,

puede la menos buena tener alguna causa justa de comulgar alguna vez y más a menudo que la otra más buena, por haber mayor necesidad, o por estar alguna temporada con más aparejo, o por otras particulares causas que no concurren en la más buena. (V, p. 38)

Juan de Avila's attitude, then, is in general a flexible one which allows for an individual's personal situation.

In letter number one, however, he does propose a guideline which others might follow: the common people (vulgo) ought to receive communion three or four times a year; the medianos can receive it nine or ten times; people in religious orders every fifteen days; married people every three weeks to a month; and those who are especially touched by God should receive it every week. (V, p. 24)

Juan de Avila makes a distinction when it comes to most married people. If a married couple receives the Eucharist often, it might be that neither person knows what it is all about. Perhaps because he saw so many abuses in marriages, he was led to draw the following conclusion:

Incitar a que vivan de arte que merezcan comulgar cada día, esto sí: San Ambrosio lo aconseja; mas creer que haya muchos casados que hacen esto que es menester para cosa tan alta, yo no lo creo, y absténgome de no lo juzgar. (V, p. 41)

The reality of the situation was that married people were supposed to abstain from sexual activity if they received the Eucharist daily, and for a certain number of hours before if they received it less frequently. Juan de Avila evidently did not think that most couples were holding to that rule. There were some, however, who were, and he speaks frankly about the differences between the two types:

Tengo creído que éstos no sólo no saben qué es comulgar, mas ni aun qué es orar; porque el Apóstol aconseja que para orar se aparten los casados, teniendo por impedimento de ello el usar el conyugal ayuntamiento; y cuando teme que hay peligro de la parte de la carne, dice que revertantur in idipsum. Y conozco

yo casados que él y ella se dieron a la oración, y como fueron entrando en ella, entendieron que no venían bien uso de matrimonio y familiar plática y comunicación con Dios, y, movidos y enseñados con sola esta experiencia, apartaron la comunicación de la carne por tenerla con el Señor, que es espíritu; e ya tres años que viven así. (V, p. 40)

Though the early Church Fathers did recommend daily communion for married people, he does not do so for one reason: in those times married people were full of the Holy Spirit and lived virtuous lives. People in Juan de Avila's day, for the most part do not, and hence once a week is enough:

Y no harán poco si reciben al Señor bien de ocho a ocho días; y esto no todas; y algunas más a menudo, que, como he dicho, no hay una regla para todos. (V, p. 42)

The sacrament of the Eucharist cannot be taken lightly. Preparation must be made to receive it, and people must abstain from falling into sin. As with other aspects of San Juan's life, prudence and balance are reflected in his views. Underlying all is the pervading notion of God's gifts to man and man's obligation to a loving Father. The beneficios de Cristo, whether they be the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, or the gifts of the Holy Spirit, have been freely given, and man has been redeemed through the Passion of Christ. This doctrine is of paramount importance in Juan de Avila's thinking. In its context, the meaning of suffering in all its possible ramifications, takes on greater importance.

Women and Marriage

There were various currents at work in Juan de Avila's time concerning the position of women, adultery, clandestine marriages, and the sacrament of matrimony itself. Bruno Jereczek, in an article entitled "La femme, l'amour et le mariage d'après Jean d'Avila," discusses at-

itudes concerning women and marriage during the sixteenth century.

The general concept of women, according to theology, was that they were inferior beings. There was an anti-feminist feeling -- one which tended to view women as sorcerers, visionaries, or superstitious beings:

Dans l'ordre spiritual, toute initiative féminine provoque la suspicion et, volontiers, selon le mot de l'inquisiteur Général Fernando de Valdés, on se montre adversaire «des choses de contemplation pour les femmes de charpentiers».

Because of this, women were disregarded by many. Lack of education, improper care, and neglect of moral training were not uncommon. With regard to this, Luis Vives had in 1528 expressed his concern over this sorry state. In his Instrucción de la muger christiana he upheld the dignity of women and did, in fact, put them on an equal intellectual level with men.⁴⁵ In addition to poor education, the problem of clandestine marriages was widespread and was one that concerned a number of reformers, both before Trent and at the Council itself. Erasmus and Vives, for example, had declared themselves against this type of marriage, and many who saw the harmful effects of these unions were in favor of banning them.⁴⁶ The delicate question arose, however, as to whether or not divorce should be permitted in cases of adultery. This issue was a natural outgrowth of rethinking the clandestine marriage question. Erasmus lent his support for allowing divorces in such cases, thus going against traditional Catholic thinking.⁴⁷ It was also a point that was criticized by Protestants, some Catholics, and orientals. The Protestants accused the traditional Catholics of being rigid, even tyrannical, and the Orientals had historically allowed divorce in the case of adultery.⁴⁸

Shortly before Juan de Avila and other sixteenth century re-

formers struggled with the problems confronting marriage, Erasmus had raised major issues, especially the question of religious vows and divorce. In some cases he directly opposed orthodox traditional views.⁴⁹ His concept of marriage was that it was not necessarily a sacrament, but rather a "mystery". He was also one of the first to elevate the relationship between man and wife to that of a perfect friendship:

Erasmus était un des premiers, peut-être le premier, à assimiler l'amour finicien à l'amour conjugal; à faire du septième sacrement l'«idée» d'amitié éternelle, incorruptible entre mari et femme, plutôt que celle de la grâce efficace.⁵⁰

Juan de Avila was very much concerned with this question as well. He did not, however, agree that divorce was the remedy for unhappy, adulterous marriages. For him, matrimony was a sacred institution:

¿Cómo es este sacramento? Mira, casados, dónde habéis de mirar. Vuestro casamiento representa aquel encendido amor con que Cristo nos amó y se juntó con nosotros; pues así como El trató a su esposa la Iglesia, así tratad vosotros a nuestras mujeres, y las mujeres a vuestros maridos. (II, p. 127)

A man should never consider abandoning his wife, nor vice-versa: "Dejar su mujer por otra, ni pensarlo; ni ella a él por otro." (II, p. 130) The union of matrimony is irreversible, and Juan de Avila follows the traditional teaching that man and wife become joined as one.

Along with Vives and Erasmus, he sustained the dignity of women, and saw them as beings equal in the sight of God. The view of eternity was the important one, as we have seen before. Marriage was but a preparation for life after death, and what was begun on earth was to be completed in Heaven:

La vraie réalité, ce qui vous attend dans l'autre monde, se prépare dans celui-ci. Grâce à Jésus-Christ et à l'immense bienfait de sa rédemption, l'homme et la femme peuvent être justifiés, s'ils le veulent, agréables à Dieu et héritiers du royaume

céleste. Là réside la vrai grandeur de la femme, comme celle de l'homme, et aussi sa joie et sa liberté intérieure.⁵¹

Juan de Avila was well aware of the abuse of women, and he spoke out against men who made false promises to them. If a man did wrong a woman, he was bound to marry her. In the Pláticas espirituales, he makes this very clear. The quote is long, but as we read it through, his logic and clarity of thought are quickly noticed. There is no rhetoric here -- but rather a well presented, concise, and straightforward case:

Primeramente, si le dijo de futuro que se casaría con ella, ya por la cópola en uno se hizo de presente; demás de esto, diciéndolo de presente y no teniendo voluntad de cumplirlo, no es matrimonio, porque matrimonio es libre consentimiento; mas no por eso deja de ser obligado de casarse con ella y a hacerle verdad lo que le prometió, que fue darle su cuerpo y casarse con ella; y así ella le entregó el suyo, porque éste fue contrato de cuerpo y no se puede pagar sino con cuerpo, y no con dotalla ni con metella monja, si no hobiere tanta disparidad en las personas que fuese cosa que no compliese casarse. Monja no se debe meter, porque es fuerza y no de voluntad, que, si tú te casases con ella, no se metería monja, y el tal estado no se debe tomar por fuerza. Pues casarle con otro es cosa muy peligrosa, porque, viendo el marido que tiene tan gran falta, pónese a peligro que la mate, o que pase mala vida, y que tenga con qué darle en la cara toda la vida, llamándola mala mujer; y por eso debe casar con ella, especialmente, como dije, teniendo ella intención, cuando se le entregó, de no por otra cosa, sino por el casamiento, que si por dineros fuera o por cierta cantidad, parece que dándole por lo que ella lo hizo, que se satisface, y esto para su casamiento. (III, pp. 421-422)

One sees that Juan de Avila defends the right of women to be married if they have been promised that by a man. It would have been easy to excuse the man, saying that the situation would never have taken place without the woman's consent. But San Juan does not see it that way. If a man has wronged a woman, then he is obligated to marry her.

Juan de Avila does have remarks to make about clandestine marriages, and he follows the reform ideas put forward by Erasmus. In the

Tratado of 1551 he proposes that a marriage not be valid unless there are witnesses present.⁵² In the following passage, we see his compassionate, but at the same time very realistic, vision:

Cerca del matrimonio, sacramento de la Iglesia, conviene mirar los grandes males que de clandestinos matrimonios se siguen y cuán difícilmente se pueden curar. Causanse aborrecimientos entre padres e hijos y entre todos los que entendieron en el casamiento; y muchas veces se revuelven pueblos, con daños y muertes. Y acaece casarse la moza con uno secretamente y después no osarlo decir por temor de su padre; o, si lo dice, no es creída; y, no osando contradecir la voluntad del padre, consiente ser casada in facie ecclesiae con otro, y así viven en pecado mortal por haber sido válido el primer matrimonio, y muchas veces consumado con cópola. ¿Qué hará esta triste mujer, que ni puede tomar el primero ni le dejarán huir del segundo? Algunas de las cuales sabemos haberse ahorcado por la grandeza del mal y falta del remedio. (VI, p. 58)

The tragedy which might result from such arrangements is vividly accentuated in the above passage.⁵³ Juan de Avila saw that for a remedy to be effective, marriages needed to be made public. These opinions have created much controversy regarding the decree on marriage promulgated at Trent. But before turning our attention to that, there are other considerations which should be brought out. For San Juan had a comprehensive view of women and their position.

He discusses, for example, the type of woman a man should look for. He has no interest in women who might have, or desire, money but who are not virtuous:

Buscá un arrimo de doncella virtuoso, una buena fama de honestidad y recogimiento y que no quiere galas ni locuras y demasías, y esta tal vale más con poco que otra con muchos millares de ducados, y aunque no lleve nada, Dios lo acrecentará y suplirá de manera que os esté bien...Esto sea lo principal, buscar virtuosa mujer. Si accidentalmente tiene dineros, bien, y si no, también. (II, p. 128)

In the same sermon (number six) he outlines the responsibilities that a man has regarding his wife. They are essentially to maintain and treat his wife well and to be faithful to her. The woman's obligations

are the same. This corresponds to the practices of other religions as well:

Que lo demás no hay nación que no le haya parecido mal, por bárbara que sea, que es quitarse uno a otro la mujer o hacerse uno a otro tal traición. Halo abominado este el moro, el judío, el turco, no ha habido generación, por irracional que sea en leyes y costumbres y vida y conversación. ¡Desventurado de aquel que desata este vínculo! ¡Malaventurado del que desata y aparta esta unión! (II, p. 130)

Juan de Avila perceived another problem in Spain -- that of families being unable to marry off many daughters because of the high cost of weddings and dowries. This he dealt with in the Causas y remedios de las herejías (1561). Not only are weddings too costly, but people are given to spending money on vain and pompous finery at the expense of their children. Some fathers, being unable to pay for marriage, have little choice but to put their daughters in convents against their will. He views this as something untenable and an abuse which must be corrected. At the same time, he sympathizes with the fathers:

Gran tiranía pasa comúnmente en meter los padres a sus hijas monjas contra la voluntad de ellas...Y, aunque para quitar esta tiranía se puedan pensar algunos medios que parecen convenientes, así como mandar que ninguna entrase si no constase, por examen de otra persona, que entra de su voluntad, o poner censura a la prelada que la recibiese o al padre que la metiese, es tan grande el aprieto que los padres tienen cuando se ven con tres o cuatro hijas, que, por ricos que sean, no las pueden casar todas según su estado, como ellos dicen, ni tampoco les parece cosa hacedera, mas llena de mucho peligro, y así es la verdad, tenerlas en casa... Y así, el mejor remedio, y que curase este mal de raíz, era que los casamientos no estuviesen tan dificultosos de hacerse, así por las subidas dotes como por la superfluidad de las pompas y excesivos gastos que en ellos hay; de manera que no tiene vocación para ser monja pudiese casarse; y, sin este medio, yo no sé otro que cure este mal, que es causa de grandísimos males. (VI, pp. 189-190)

There are relatively few references to women as such in Juan de Avila's writings. Two very interesting sections do exist, nevertheless, in the epistles, and they are worthy of note. Both occur in letters to

San Juan de Dios, the man entrusted with administrating a hospital for poor and orphaned individuals. Juan de Avila, counseling his disciple, speaks of the problems that arise when women are around. He admonishes Juan de Dios to be particularly careful of them. In letter number forty-five he writes:

Y por eso os torno otra vez a encargar que busquéis algún ratico para rezar vuestras devociones, y que oigáis cada día misa y el domingo sermón; y en todo caso os guardéis de tratar mucho con mujeres, porque ya sabéis que el lazo que el diablo arma para que caigan los que sirven a Dios, ellas son. (V, p. 267)

Again, in letter number 141, he warns:

E mirad mucho que las mujeres que traéis para servir a Dios os son grande impedimento y costa, y sería mejor no tener que guardar, sino casarlas luego o ponerlas con señoras a quien sirviesen, que de otra manera ellas se perderán y darán con todo en el suelo. (V, p. 519)

These statements could be misconstrued in our time to reflect an attitude of chauvinism or superiority. The reality is that Juan de Avila was conscious of protecting women against abuses. He was also realistic enough to know that they could be, and often were, a source of temptation for men. We saw his same concern for women in the Audi, filia -- women trying to live a holy life must not come into contact with many men, either.

Another consideration, to which we have alluded to above, is the role that San Juan de Avila may have played in the decree on matrimony promulgated at Trent. Laureano Castán has studied this matter and concludes that there is substantial evidence to prove that his reform document passed through the hands of Don Pedro Guerrero to the prelates at Trent. He also states that it was this document which was used by the Spaniards to combat the leniency of many Italians who were in favor of retaining clandestine marriages.⁵⁴ Castán exhibits a firm stance

in maintaining his position -- one that he considers practically irrefutable:

Sin el Memorial 1º del Beato Avila no hubiera tenido Guerrero el dibujo original sobre el cual calcó la primera redacción del decreto; sin este mismo documento avilista es probable que ni en la Reformatio ab hispanis concepta, ni el anteproyecto del decreto de esta sesión hubiera incluido tan decididamente la irritación de los clandestinos; sin la autoridad del gran Maestro Avila es más que probable que ni hubiera habido en los padres españoles tanta constancia en defenderla frente a la irreductible oposición que hemos visto por parte de tan esclarecidos padres conciliares.⁵⁵

And according to Castán, Juan de Avila's role in the matter was decisive.⁵⁶

Certainly there is no argument about the position taken by San Juan de Avila regarding clandestine marriages. We have already seen that he, and many others, were opposed to it. The question here is whether it was his opinion that swayed the Spaniards at Trent, or rather that of someone like don Pedro Pacheco, Domingo de Soto, Melchor Cano, or Guerrero himself. C. Gutiérrez in Españoles en Trento gives startling figures as to the numbers of Spaniards present during the three convocations of the Council. He estimates that there were a total of around one thousand and says that at each session the Spaniards were larger in number than at the preceding one.⁵⁷ The interest in sacramental reform dated back to at least 1547, long before Juan de Avila wrote his Memorial and before the decree on Matrimony was finally promulgated in 1563. According to Hubert Jedin, it is difficult to know what the negotiations were during the discussion of the sacraments, since the diary kept by Massarelli was extraordinarily scanty.⁵⁸ It is also true that the decree on reform of clandestine marriages had little trouble in getting passed in the twenty-fourth session.⁵⁹

By 1562, Guerrero's role in the Council was somewhat limited. He had been very active in the period after 1551, but toward the end of the sessions Philip II's policies caused great division among the Spaniards, and Guerrero no longer had the influence he had wielded earlier. Antonio Marín Ocete in his study El arzobispo Don Pedro Guerrero (1970) discusses this matter. Evidently the Marqués de Pescara, official ambassador of the King to Trent, traveled back and forth and spent little time there. This caused grave problems in communication between Philip II and the Spanish prelates. And the King himself seemed uninterested in resolving the situation. Guerrero was left to his own devices.⁶⁰ The entire question is clouded, and any clear view of Juan de Avila's role, or indeed specifics about Guerrero's participation, is difficult to attain.

It is when the decree of Trent is examined in light of Algunas advertencias al Concilio de Toledo (1565) that Juan de Avila's positions become most clear. Though generally in favor of what the Council has proclaimed, he takes issue with the very heart of the clandestine marriage problem. For him, Trent has not spelled out the question of validity of marriages before and after the Council. He questions whether these marriages are valid in the light of Trent and whether, in fact, the decree has clouded the issue even more. Regarding session XXIV, ch. II, Juan de Avila says:

Examínese y declárase si agora se podrán casar los que antes del concilio habían contraído aquesta cognación espiritual fuera de los grados aquí señalados o no, sino que se entienda que de nuevo no se contraiga y que queden los pasados en su fuerza. Y parece ser verdad lo primero, porque la razón del concilio es quitar estorbos y marañas, y sería dejar muchas si lo primero quedase en su fuerza. También parece lo mismo por lo que se dice en las últimas palabras del capítulo: «omnibus inter alias personas huius spiritualis cognationis impedimentis omnino sub-

latis»). La misma dificultad se ofrece en el 3º y 4º capítulos.
(VI, p. 330)⁶¹

We find, then, that he has reservations about this particular aspect of the document of Trent. As will be seen, it is not the only one that he questions. Though it is conceivable that Juan de Avila was in part responsible for the elimination of clandestine marriages, there are problems that arise when trying to prove it. Our judgment is that he was in agreement with the majority of Spaniards at Trent on this issue, and not vice-versa.

On the whole, Juan de Avila's concept of marriage was closer to the spiritual idea of Erasmus than to a legalistic notion of contract.⁶² But on the issue of celibacy, we find the two parting company. San Juan was very much in favor of a celibate priesthood, while Erasmus was of the opinion that marriage would be equally acceptable:

Since the aim of Christian perfection can be realized in any condition of life and since true piety is a matter of the heart, not of clothing or foods or outward observances, the religious life can be exercised in a marital state as well as, or perhaps better than, in a monastic state, thinks Erasmus. Marriage for Erasmus, the Christian pedagogue, is then a school for Christian living, in which husband and wife maintain with each other a chaste and holy relationship determined not by perverse pleasure but by a desire for progeny to be educated in the principles of the philosophia Christi.⁶³

Juan de Avila, subscribing to chaste marriages, only once mentions the possibility of marriage for clergy. It comes in an indirect fashion as he criticizes the morals of corrupt clergymen. But it does show that he was not absolutely closed to the idea. At least it might be an alternative to existing conditions. We find this in his ideas about reform of the priesthood:

Los males que hay en los eclesiásticos por la falta de la castidad son más notorios que queríamos; y tanto, que hagan ser cuestión dudosa si sería bien fueran casados, por evitar el mucho mal que ahora hay. (VI, pp. 59-60)

As a perspective on Juan de Avila's ideas about marriage emerges we discover that he follows the traditional teachings of the Church for the most part. It is indissoluble, it is a sacrament, and celibacy should be maintained by priests. However, he proposes remedies for existing abuses and also sees the need for a stricter definition of what constitutes the marriage bond.⁶⁴ He emphasizes mutual love and respect, as well as total fidelity. Through marriage, as well as through celibacy, one is capable of living a holy life. But it is God's laws that must be followed if this is to be done. The virtuous life must be lived by all.

Love of God and of One's Neighbor

The last major theme to be treated is that of Juan de Avila's stress on love of neighbor (prójimo). The idea is certainly not an original one. But for the reformers of the 16th century, it became a focal point on which to direct their attention regarding social reforms. The question of poverty and how to remedy it was of uppermost importance to these men. J. A. Maravall discusses the position of the humanist in society and how he, as an intellectual, functioned within 16th century Spain. With the new emphasis on the individual came the realization that there was oppression directed against writers and critics. Those who had wealth had power, and a conflict between them and the poor arose:

Esa lucha, ciertamente, se produce entre ricos y pobres, sin olvidar que ricos equivale en esa contraposición, a quienes poseen en sus manos el poder político. Es la protesta contra los que tienen todo, de parte de quienes no encuentran razones válidas para no obtener ellos la parte de disfrute en los bienes de la civilización que creen que les corresponde.⁶⁵

This issue had already surfaced in the Comunidades wars. Juan de Avila

and other reformers, such as Pablo de León (page 50), were aware of the consequences of this unleashed hostility against the ruling class. The question of distribution of wealth was crucial, as was that of just government. Getino, when speaking of Fr. Pablo, says that he harbored an ideal of reform of property which up until the present day has not been realized. And this desire for reform prompted him to political activities.

Fr. Pablo promovió, empujó, cultivó el ideal comunero, que si en su fin era sano y aun justo, en sus procedimientos tenía que apoyarse en una democracia al borde de la demagogia, del desenfreno popular, de la guerra civil.⁶⁶

Fr. Pablo developed what one might call a "theology of charity", in which the types and effects of it were carefully examined. Juan de Avila's thoughts correspond to a great degree to those of the Dominican.

In the first half of the 16th century a dispute arose regarding the distribution of wealth and how best to cope with the poor. The issue had been given concrete form by Juan Luis Vives in 1525, when he published De subventione pauperum. Essentially the issues were whether or not poor people could beg in any territory, whether or not they should be examined beforehand, and if an organized type of almsgiving should be adopted. There was concern among the reformers about these issues, and it was concretized by Domingo de Soto and Juan de Robles. Soto was of the opinion that charity knew no boundaries and that it would be un-Christian to limit almsgiving. Robles thought that an organized type was needed and that beggars should be examined to see if they were indeed deserving. This latter position was a step towards a businesslike way of handling the situation and was innovative. But neither side emerged victorious, and the issue remained unresolved.

Juan de Avila had definite ideas about the need for almsgiving.

He saw it as an obligation on the part of the rich. In one of his letters (number 198, c. 1554), to the Duquesa de Arcos, he goes into what one might call "social correctness" of almsgiving. Initially he thanks her for giving money and assures her that it is well spent. Then he adamantly refutes those who say that alms should not be given to a province other than that which the person is from:

Posible es que haya parecido a algunos que, por ser esta limosna fuera de la tierra de vuestra señoría, no sea bien dada, pues debe más a sus vasallos que a los extraños...No hay de esto duda, sino que, siendo todas las circunstancias iguales entre el vasallo y no vasallo, mejor es remediar al vasallo...Mas, concurriendo en el no vasallo otras circunstancias que pesan más que ser vasallo, ¿por qué nos hemos de atar entre cristianos a esta o a esta tierra, pues la caridad no se puede estrechar por tierras ni reinos, haciendo, como nos hace, miembros de un mismo cuerpo? (V, pp. 677-678)

Though recognizing what one might call territorial limits, Juan de Avila does not perceive them as valid. The mystical body of Christ is the reality upon which he founds his thinking. Thus we find agreement with Soto on this point.⁶⁷

Alms should not be given reluctantly, either. Liberality is needed. In sermon number two we find the characteristic urgency of Juan de Avila's invitation to give:

No te fatigues, que si recibieres al pobre, a ellos recibes [Jesús y María]; y si de verdad creyédes esto, andaríades más solícito a buscar quién hay pobre en esta calle, y os saltaríades unos a otros para hacer el bien que pudiédes. Hermanos, limosnas, vestí los desnudos, hartá los hambrientos, y no os contentéis con dar una blanca o una cosa poca, sino dad limosna en cantidad, pues que ansí os lo da Dios; no seáis cortos en dar, pues Dios en tan largo en daros a vosotros; no deis blanquillas por Dios, pues que Dios os da a su Hijo a vosotros. Haced limosnas para recibir bien esta Pascua a Cristo. (II, p. 65)

Giving goes hand in hand with receiving, and he parallels the two. Unless one gives alms, the implication is that one is not a true Christian.

As one reads Juan Luis Vives, it is evident that Juan de Avila echoes many of his ideas about helping the poor. Vives speaks about the need for educating the young, of decent government which will see that decent teachers are provided, of the wastefulness of gambling and spending money foolishly, and of justice and equality in distributing wealth. He views asistencia social as a precept of natural law.⁶⁸ His program of public works is likewise well thought out. It is a remedy which allows people to work themselves out of poverty:

Para que a los artífices no les falten oficinas, ni a los pobres les falten oficinas, asígnase a cada artífice, por autoridad pública, cierto número de los que no pueden tener para sí fábrica alguna; si alguno aprovecha bien en su facultad que abra oficina; así a éstos, como a los que el magistrado asignare algunos aprendices, encomiéndeseles, lo uno, las obras públicas de la ciudad, como imágenes, estatuas, vestidos, cloacas o lugares comunes, fosos y edificios, lo otro, aquellas obras que fuese necesario hacer en los hospitales, para que los caudales o rentas que desde el principio se dieron a los pobres, se consuman entre los pobres.⁶⁹

At one point in the Comentarios bíblicos, Juan de Avila uses the same words as Vives to express how strongly he feels. We quote the sections from both passages. Vives says:

Ya mostré el buen sentido en que nadie tiene cosa suya; ladrón es, vuelvo a decir y robador, todo aquel que desperdicia el dinero en el juego, que lo retiene en su casa amontonado en las arcas, que lo derrama en fiestas y banquetes, el que lo gasta en vestidos muy preciosos o en aparadores llenos de varias piezas de oro y plata, aquel a quien se le pudren en casa los vestidos, los que consumen el caudal en comprar con frecuencia cosas supérfluas o inútiles; finalmente no nos engañemos: todo aquel que no reparte a los pobres lo que sobra de los usos necesarios de la naturaleza es un ladrón, y como tal es castigado, sino por las leyes humanas, aunque también por algunas de éstas, a lo menos lo es, y ciertamente lo será, por las divinas.⁷⁰

Juan de Avila, stressing the spiritual brotherhood involved, expresses himself with equal force:

Siendo como somos hijos de Dios, somos todos hermanos, y no es

de hermanos buenos que unos tengan muy demasiado y que otros se mueran de hambre. No es ley de hermanos que uno esté desnudo y que a otro le sobren ropas y locura. A no tener hermanos con necesidad, fuera cosa pasadera; mas teniéndolos como los tenemos, esas cosas excesivas en el vestir, no solo es locura, mas aun es robo. Que robáis a vuestro hermano, pues no le dais lo que es suyo. Así lo dice San Agustín, y San Ambrosio, y San Basilio: que cuando lo que nos sobra gastamos en vanidades, que robamos las cosas ajenas. (IV, pp. 353-354)

The above quote comes from the Comentario on the first epistle of St. John. The dating of these writings is difficult, but Martín Hernández is of the opinion that they were written between 1537 and 1545. If that is so, we find Juan de Avila taking firm positions on such matters at the time that the Soto-Robles dispute culminated in written form in 1545.⁷¹ It is clear, then, that the interpretation of the Gospel commandment goes far deeper than merely a pious interpretation of loving one's neighbor. The objective involved was to remedy the situation of the poor, and for San Juan and others it involved becoming actively concerned with civil society. "Love of neighbor" became a social cause, and certain reformers included it in their writings.⁷²

This subject was also treated by Juan de Avila in an essay entitled Tratado sobre el amor de Dios. Sala Balust calls it "esa perla de la literatura teológico -- ascético española, núcleo central de toda la doctrina del Apóstol de Andalucía."⁷³ It is not known when he wrote it, but in 1559 it was censured by Melchor Cano, along with Carranza's Comentarios al catecismo. This Tratado is by no means the only place where Juan de Avila treats the theme. It is found in his letters, sermons, biblical commentaries, and in the Audi, filia.

One of the most beautiful expressions of God's love occurs in the above-mentioned Tratado. Here San Juan combines a prayer with exclamations, questions, and intimate feeling. It reminds one, once again,

of the poetry of San Juan de la Cruz:

¡Tirado ha la ballesta y herido me ha el corazón! Agora sepa todo el mundo que tengo yo el corazón herido. ¡Oh corazón mío! ¿Cómo te guarecerás? No hay médico que le cure si no es morir.

Cuando yo, mi buen Jesús, veo que de tu costado sale ese hierro de esa lanza, esa lanza es una saeta de amor que me traspasa; y de tal manera hiere mi corazón, que no deja en él parte que no penetre. ¿Qué has hecho, Amor dulcísimo? ¿Qué has querido hacer en mi corazón? Viene aquí por curarme, ¡y hasme herido! Viene a que me enseñases a vivir, ¡y hácesme loco! ¡Oh dulcísima herida, o sapientísima locura!, nunca me vea yo jamás sin ti. (VI, p. 388)

Love, for Juan de Avila, is the basis for all actions, and unless it is present, anything that man does will not be pleasing in the eyes of God. This love of God, radically opposed to self-love, must be the one for which man strives. It will often bring suffering, as opposed to consolations:

No aciertan los que piensan que da Dios aquí los consuelos y regalos para que nos alcemos con ellos, no, sino para que, enforzados con ellos, suframos la carga que nos quiere echar. Y por esto, algunos amadores de sí mismos -- y por eso flojos -- no quieren tratar con nuestro Señor, porque les parece que no los deja gozar a su placer de lo que ellos querrían, y fingen amar a Dios y ámanse a sí, Y no entienden que el amor con sólo amor se contenta y no se busca a sí mismo; y con tener contento al Señor, lo están ellos, mortificados a su propia voluntad por vivir a la de El; porque dos vivos en un corazón no pueden estar, por ser la casa corta y el estrado angosto, y no hay para dos, como dice Isaías. (V, p. 36)

An added dimension to this was that Juan de Avila developed a program for governing well. Justice must be rendered by those who govern towards those whom they govern. In chapter III, this was mentioned briefly. But at this time we will look at his social message in greater detail, for it is a ramification of his amor del prójimo.

Basically, his concept, as is that of Erasmus, is one of service, not power. This is true for bishops, priests, princes, kings, and nobles. In letter eleven, written perhaps to Don Francisco Chacón in

1564, Juan de Avila outlines his ideas in a forthright, sensible, and clear fashion. While seeing government as an instrument for material betterment, he placed greater emphasis on the spiritual dimension:

Con la cual verdad se deben desengañar los que piensan que lo principal de la buena gobernación consiste en restaurar los muros de la ciudad, en empedrar las calles, proveer de mantenimientos y, a lo más, castigar bien los delictos y dar a cada uno lo suyo cuando traen pleito. Buenas son estas cosas y necesarias, mas ni son bastantes ni las principales. El fin que debe pretender el que gobierna república es hacer virtuosos a los ciudadanos, según afirman todos los filósofos que de esta materia hablaron. Y como la virtud esté en [el] ánima, que es la principal parte del hombre, así se han de ordenar las cosas de la república, de manera que el principal ciudadano se ponga en lo que es principal y fin y paradero de todo lo otro, sin que se deje de proveer lo que es menos, aunque necesario para alcanzar lo que es más. (V, p. 79)

The good example of the leader will encourage imitation on the part of the followers, and bad conduct will do the same:

Miren los mayores que hacen, que aquello ha de ser seguido, o para salvación de ellos, si buen ejemplo dan, o para su damnificación, si malo. (V, pp. 118-119)

Selfishness or desire for gain must not enter into the picture. One who governs should remember the example of Christ, who was the supreme Pastor. And by following His example, if punishment needs to be administered, it will be done so out of love, not for vengeance. A strong message of compassion issues forth from all that Juan de Avila writes.

It is one of his primary characteristics:

Y no sólo es el amor necesario para esta parte tan principal, que es hacer a los súbditos buenos, mas aun también lo es para usar bien de la menos principal, que es el castigo. Porque castigar sin amor, cerca está de venganza o de crueldad o dureza de corazón; y por esto, muy lejos del castigo humano y muy más lejos del castigo cristiano. (V, p. 82)

The need for real wisdom and prudence is also essential if one is to govern well. One must take care not to practice deception. For this reason, a good confessor is necessary:

Y cosa es muy importante que el tal gobernador elija confesor que tenga las dichas dos partes, de ciencia y de espiritual vida, y que sea desinteresado de toda vida humana pretendencia y desocupado de todo otro negocio, porque si ha de usar bien su oficio, terná tanta ocupación en guardar de peligros de conciencia de quien tantos negocios dependen, que no le vagará a entender en otros. (V, p. 96)

Scripture should be the basis for judgment, because the divine Law handed down by God is ultimate truth and justice.

About oaths (juramentos) and notaries (escribanos) Juan de Avila is adamant. He spares no words in saying what his thoughts about them are. The public notaries receive some of his harshest words, for he sees them lying, twisting the truth and breaking promises. It is a view of the social malaise of the time in which he lived. And because he could perceive so well the lack of justice, he was able to attack the abuses thusly:

Los que en este caso más desenfrenados están son los escribanos, que, jurando todos guardar el arancel de estos reinos, casi ninguno lo guarda...Cuéntase los contractos, testamentos, actos judiciales y, en fin, todas las escrituras que hacen y todas las veces que las hacen, y súmense cuántos perjuros habrá cada día en esa ciudad; y cuéntense todos los demás que se hacen en el reino, y parecerán ser tantos, que no haya corazón cristiano donde entre esta consideración que sea capaz de recibirlos sin reventar de dolor ni sin temor del castigo que tantas y tales ofensas merecen. (V, pp. 97-98)

Judges should be responsible for rectifying this situation, and a good leader will see that it is done.

Oaths or promises should not be taken lightly, because a person might easily perjure himself. If an oath is sworn, it must be done after much thought. If this is not the case, the oath may well lead one to mortal sin:

En ninguna manera juréis. Quiere decir que no juréis por vuestro pasatiempo -- a cada palabra: «juro tal» -- , que de esa manera es pecado mortal; puesto caso que no jura mentira, porque jurando muchas veces, pónese a peligro de mentir con

juramento. Aquellos que tienen por costumbre de jurar a cada palabra, sin mirar lo que juran, no le debe el confesor absolver, hasta ver si procura de enmendarse; y débele de detener la absolución quince o veinte días. (IV, p. 200)

This, as we see, is a very grave matter, and one which caused Juan de Avila much concern. It reflects his desire to effect a comprehensive reform of moral life among the citizens of the reign. This prohibition of swearing by oaths had in addition grave social consequences. It was, as Bataillon puts it, "una revolución para la sociedad civil y religiosa".⁷⁴ This practice was among the tenets condemned by the Inquisition in the Edicto against the alumbrados in 1525. Juan de Valdés also spoke out strongly against oaths.⁷⁵ The Biblical commandment, forbidding taking the name of the Lord in vain, was adopted by him absolutely. No form of oath was acceptable. Juan de Avila, then, by reiterating this thought, placed himself in direct opposition to the civil and religious authorities of his day.⁷⁶

The last passage to be quoted here is one from his "Advertencias necesarias para los reyes", written around 1546. The work once again reflects the thoughts of a progressive and modern mind -- one capable of analyzing the economy. In the passage, San Juan turns his attention to the causes for the decline of Spain, and we find the reasons he gives for her present state:

Y, escudriñando las causas de esta causa de los dichos pecados, parece que pueden ser tres; la primera, el castigar Dios con temporales adversos por nuestros pecados, según la Escritura divina da testimonio. La otra, el mucho gastar; y la otra, el poco ganar. Estas cosas, de pocos años acá, han puesto en tanto estrecho a estos reinos, que cotejando la abundancia de los tiempos pasados (aunque no muy remotos) con las necesidades presentes, parece que aquel tiempo era figurado por las siete vacas gruesas de Egipto, y éste por las seis flacas; y, mirando la diversidad de los precios de las cosas, parece otro mundo este que el pasado. Gimien esto los vasallos del reino bajos y altos, y las necesidades son muy manifiestas a quien trata con ellos. (VI, p. 219)

A closer look at the above reveals a man who was acutely aware of the economic situation and its causes. The mention of too much spending and too little earning clearly analyzed the problem, and his advice, had it been taken, would have been well heeded. We know already that he managed the monetary affairs of some of his friends. This economic astuteness put him in conflict with the institutional Church and those who saw no need for involvement in fiscal matters. Juan de Avila's perception of the economic crisis was not far-fetched. He distinctly saw the road ahead, the problems of inflation, and lack of economic and financial responsibility. He had a keen vision of society, and this permitted him to penetrate the causes for its critical state. This vision allowed him to perceive the foundation on which society rested. He was not distracted by superficial events.

Throughout this chapter, the focus has been on major themes which run through Juan de Avila's writings. We have seen that he, as were other reformers, was concerned with the crucial issues confronting the Church and society at large. His view was progressive and modern -- he had successfully broken out of the traditional mold. Because of this modernity, his views were largely ignored by those in high positions. Many of these same problems, the question of faith, divorce, the importance of confession, and the status of women are still being discussed. The issues of human justice, oppression, and poverty are still with us. Juan de Avila's answers in his time were considered to be too daring, and it is conceivable that four hundred years later some of them might still be.

Footnotes, Chapter IV

¹For clarification on this issue, see M. Bataillon, Erasmus y España, op. cit.; José C. Nieto, Juan Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation, op. cit.; Antonio Márquez, Los alumbrados (Madrid: Taurus, 1972); Joseph Pérez, "Des «Alumbrados» aux «Chuetas»," Bulletin Hispanique, 3-4 (1974), pp. 509-529.

²Nieto, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

³"The implication of this concept of God's love and man's utter incapacity to do anything for his salvation were to undermine almost every single doctrine of the liberum arbitrium...The theocentrism of Alcaraz is so radical that this theology can be understood only when it is illumined in the light of his concept of love as something which is given from above, and not as something which man shares, because of his spirituality, with God. The antithesis between sin and grace, divine love and human, grace and works, God's gift of salvation and sanctification and man's incapability even to desire to love God without making this love a means for man's meritorious work, is radical and uncompromising. The only formula capable of expressing it briefly is the dejamiento o dejarse al amor de Dios." (Ibid., pp. 69-70).

⁴M. Bataillon, Erasmus y España, op. cit., p. 171. J. Pérez reiterates this fact, distinguishing between the dejados and the recogidos, or between the alumbrados and the Franciscans: "Isabel de la Cruz et Alcaraz condamnent en effet les visions, révélations, extases, où se complaisent volontiers certains adeptes de la réforme franciscaine, toutes choses auxquelles le grand Cisneros n'était pas défavorable. Les Franciscaines seraient plutôt partisans de recueillement -- recogimiento -- dont l'expression la plus riche est le Tercer abecedario d'Osuna, tandis que l'illuminisme pencherait pour l'abandon à Dieu -- dejamiento -- que exclut «toute manifestation voyante d'amour divin». Les alumbrados ne sont pas de visionnaires." (J. Pérez, "Des «Alumbrados» aux «Chuetas», op. cit., p. 511).

⁵J. Pérez, "Des «Alumbrados»", op. cit., p. 512.

⁶J. Nieto includes both the dejados and the recogidos under the term alumbrados. A. Márquez and J. Pérez tend to limit the term to the dejados, and M. Bataillon follows the division of both under the umbrella of illuminismo.

⁷Francisco de Osuna, The Third Spiritual Alphabet (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne Ltd., 1931), p. 171.

⁸"Then, brother, whosoever you may be, however far you may have advanced, forbear not to weep. Remember, it is only mankind that weeps, and the more manly you are, the more you should do so. S. Augustine says that the more saintly a person is and full of holy desires, the more tears he should shed during prayer." (Ibid., p. 205) That this type of prayer was characteristic of Juan de Avila as well is attested to by Granada: "«Decía él Misa con tantas lágrimas y devoción -- nos

dice Fr. Luis -- que la ponía a los que la oían..)» Hasta tres horas tardaba alguna vez en decir la santa Misa, y era ello con tanta devoción y lágrimas, que dejaba a las veces empapados los corporales y manteles." (Avila, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 248-249) His preaching also was emotional upon occasion: "No era infrecuente que el auditorio porrumpiera en llanto. Pedro Ximénez, que le oyó las últimas veces que predicó en Granada, recuerda en los procesos que «hasta los muchachos que le oían lloraban, y cuando acababa el sermón era cosa maravillosa ver la gente que le seguía, besándole las manos y la ropa», y aun los pies le hubieran besado, si él no se lo hubiera impedido." (Ibid., p. 285).

⁹Osuna, op. cit., p. 405.

¹⁰Juan de Valdés, Diálogo de doctrina cristiana, Intro. por Domingo Ricart (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1964), p. 13.

¹¹Domingo Ricart, Juan de Valdés y el pensamiento religioso europeo en los siglos XVI y XVII (Kansas: The University of Kansas, 1958), pp. 10-11.

¹²"Al concepto rígido y externo de autoridad -- dogmática e institucional -- sustituyen el sentido espiritual e interno, íntimamente más competente, exteriormente más flexible. Al concepto integral, compulsorio e intransigente de iglesia, sustituyen un sentido libertador, individualista y tolerante, mucho más próximo a lo que será más tarde el concepto de secta." (Ibid., p. 23).

¹³Nieto, op. cit., p. 191.

¹⁴M. Bataillon states: "de acuerdo con esta concepción del cristianismo, Cristo completa la ley estrictamente obligatoria con consejos cuya observancia es facultativa. Precisamente por eso, todo el mundo juzga revolucionarios a los alumbrados discípulos de Alcazar y al Obispo Cazalla cuando sostenían que no existen consejos en el Evangelio, sino que todo en él es mandamiento. Esta doctrina impregnada de evangelismo radical se denunciaba como coincidente con la enseñanza de Erasmo en el Enquiridion." (Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., p. 349).

¹⁵Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁶Juan de Valdés, Alfabeto cristiano (Bavi: Laterza, 1938) p. 108.

¹⁷M. Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., p. 358.

¹⁸Valdés, Alfabeto cristiano, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁹Granada provides details about Juan de Avila's prayer life. He prayed for two hours in the morning and another two at night. He went to sleep at 11:00 P.M. and awoke at 3:00 A.M. During the morning,

after prayer, he celebrated Mass. From 2:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. he saw people who came to him. And from 6:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M. he either heard confessions or went to confession himself. (Granada, Vida, op. cit.).

²⁰J. Pérez states: "L'illuminisme espagnol est né dans la Castille urbanisée des premières années du siècle, dans le cours seigneuriales et les salons de la riche bourgeoisie. M. Bataillon avait déjà attiré l'attention sur ce point; A. Márquez y insiste de nouveau à juste titre. L'hérésie se développe à l'intérieure d'un cercle que paraît avoir pour centre Guadalajara, plus exactement le palais des ducs de l'Infantado; de là, elle rayonne en Nouvelle-Castille, vers Escalona, où elle s'abrite dans un autre château, celui du marquis de Villena." (Pérez, "Des Alumbrados", op. cit., pp. 505-506).

²¹One such instance of his unwillingness to become associated with persons professing to have visions is recounted by Sala Balust, who cites Menéndez y Pelayo. During his last stay in Córdoba, Juan de Avila was urged to visit Sor Magdalena de la Cruz. It was said that she had visions and made prophesies. But he did not go to see her, and shortly afterward, in 1544, she was found to be an imposter and was jailed by the Inquisition. (Avila, Obras, vol. 1, p. 96).

²²For clarification on medieval devotions, see M. Bataillon, "Chanson pieuse et poésie de dévotion," Bulletin Hispanique, 27 (1925), pp. 228-238. He states specifically: "Méditer sur la Passion consistait à se représenter les cordes qui attachaient le Christ à la Colonne...à évoquer le calice, la couronne d'épines, les clous, la lance..." p. 233.

²³Sta. Teresa advocates this type of prayer as well: "Tenía este modo de oración, que, como no podía discurrir con el entendimiento, procuraba representar a Cristo dentro de mí; y hallábame mejor -- a mí parecer -- de las partes adonde le veía más solo. Parecíame a mí que estando solo y afligido, como persona necesitada, me había de admitir a mí. De estas simplicidades tenía muchas. En especial me hallaba muy bien en la oración del Huerto: allí era mi acompañarle." (Sta. Teresa, Obras, op. cit., p. 57).

²⁴To show how closely Juan de Avila and Sta. Teresa agree on this matter, we include the following: "Digo todos, porque hay muchas almas que aprovechan más en otras meditaciones que en la de la Sagrada Pasión; que, así como hay muchas moradas en el cielo, hay muchos caminos." (Ibid., p. 86).

²⁵Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, op. cit., p. 590.

²⁶Jereczek, when speaking of Granada, alludes to this type of prayer: "Ainsi, doctrine et exemple de Jean d'Avila tracent des lignes convergentes qui définissent une authentique prédication selon le Christ et selon saint Paul. Au contact du Maître, Louis de Grenade, peu après son arrivée à Escalaceli, abandonne de genre académique et

savant auquel il s'était exercé à Valladolid et que ouvrait la porte aux extravagances et aux travers que signale Fray Agustín Salucio chez les prédicateurs de son époque." (Jereczek, op. cit., pp. 288-289).

²⁷Robert Ricard, "El socratismo cristiano," Estudios de la literatura religiosa española (Madrid; Gredos, 1964), p. 53.

²⁸Kempis, Thomas à, The Imitation of Christ (New York: Image Books, 1955), pp. 32-33.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 33-34.

³⁰Valdés, Alfabeto cristiano, op. cit., p. 13.

³¹Ibid., p. 49.

³²On the subject of confession, Valdés seems to say that though at times it is useful, unless a man falls into mortal sin it is not necessary. In fact, man can go through life without going to confession: "Quanto a lo primero, deuéisles dezir que la confesión se dio para remedio del pecado; quiero dezir, para que si después de recebida el agua del baptismo pecáremos, conociendo nuestro pecado r confessándolo, nos perdona Dios. Dicho ésto, les diréis quán gran bien es no tener necesidad de confessarse en toda su vida." (Valdés, Diálogo, op. cit., p. 78).

³³Nieto, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

³⁴In contrast to this, one can read the thirty-three canons of Trent concerning Justification. They all begin "If anyone says" and end "let him be anathema". (Canons and Decrees, op. cit., pp. 42-46).

³⁵See Fr. Domingo de Santa Teresa, Juan de Valdés (Roma, 1957). It contains an analysis of Valdés' doctrine and its repercussions at Trent. Essentially, the question was one of justification and man's role in it. There were two approaches: one was to be saved by Christ, and the other by oneself. Domingo de Santa Teresa explains: "Pretender justificarse por Cristo o por sí mismo; por la fe, es decir, por la aceptación de la justicia de Dios ejecutada en Cristo, o por las propias obras." p. 182.

³⁶"Tanto en el Concilio, como después en los procesos que sufren, distinguieron su postura y su doctrina de las de Lutero. Si sus fórmulas no son tridentinas, no son por eso luteranas, y el contenido espiritual que querían defender con ellas es católico, y no ha estado condenado por Trento, sino reasumido en fórmulas completas y libres de equívocos y vaguedad." (Ibid., p. 315).

³⁷"En el renglón que se sigue un poco más abaxo dize y oir demonios como oir ángeles. Esta palabra se podía quitar si pareciere porque ofende a algunos flacos." (Avila, Avisos y reglas cristianas, op. cit., p. 313).

³⁸Domingo de Santa Teresa, op. cit., p. 312.

³⁹Valdés, Diálogo, op. cit., pp. 103-104.

⁴⁰A. Márquez has this to say about these alumbrados: "Si hay algo que distinga a los alumbrados dentro de las corrientes de la Reforma es esta ausencia de Cristo en sus doctrinas. Aunque se admita que tanto Isabel como Alcaraz aceptasen a Cristo como modelo y Señor, no está claro que lo considerasen como Dios ni siquiera como modelo único." (A. Márquez, op. cit., p. 172).

⁴¹One example would be: "If it is certain that death reigned over everyone as the consequence of one man's fall, it is even more certain that one man, Jesus Christ, will cause everyone to reign in life who receives the free gift that he does not deserve, of being made righteous. Again, as one man's fall brought condemnation to everyone, so the good act of one man brings everyone life and makes them justified. As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by one man's obedience many will be made righteous. When law came, it was to multiply the opportunities of falling, but however great the number of sins committed, grace was even greater; and so, just as sin reigned wherever there was death, so will grace reign to bring eternal life thanks to the righteousness that comes through Jesus Christ our Lord." (Jerusalem Bible, op. cit., pp. 274-275).

⁴²Sta. Teresa de Jesus, Obras, op. cit., p. 20.

⁴³Sala Balust, "En torno al grupo de alumbrados de Llerena," op. cit., p. 516.

⁴⁴Bruno Jereczek, "La femme, l'amour et le mariage d'après Jean d'Avila," Hommage a Amédée Mas (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972), p. 119.

⁴⁵"Este libro austero, exigente para las mujeres, las elevaba a la igualdad intelectual con los hombres, demostrando para con ellas, al mismo tiempo, aquella humana y amistosa comprensión a la cual se debía también el gran éxito de los Coloquios de Erasmo entre el público femenino. Situaba la educación de las doncellas en una atmósfera ideal, hecha de ternura, de severidad también, y, sobre todo, de pureza escrupulosa." (Bataillon, Erasmo y España, op. cit., p. 634).

⁴⁶Vives deals directly with marriage in De officio mariti and Erasmus does so in Christiani matrimonii institutio.

⁴⁷"However, on the basis of this conception of the essence of marriage, Erasmus did not favor free, extralegal marriages. On the contrary, he sharply opposed what he considered to be one of the major evils of his day, clandestine marriages, and proposed some modification in marriage law concerning the all-sufficiency of words of the present for the contracting of marriages, which made this evil possible. He urged that such marriages be declared invalid, or if valid, that divorce be allowed when the union that resulted was not a true union." John B. Payne, Erasmus. His Theology of the Sacraments (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1970), p. 118.

⁴⁸Luigi Bressan, Il canone tridentino sul DIVORZIO PER ADULTERIO (Roma: Universita Gregoriana Editrice, 1973), p. 77.

⁴⁹Emile Telle, in Erasmus de Rotterdam et le septième sacrement (Genève, 1954), clarifies these views: "Bref, l'Institutio Matrimonii Christiani aggravait la situation d'Erasmus vis-à-vis des orthodoxes surtout, 1^o parce qu'il allumait guerre ouverte entre voeu matrimonial et voeu monastique, 2^o qu'il conjugait le 6^e et le 7^e «mystères», 3^o qu'il lançait avec Luther l'offensive contre les officialités, 4^o qu'il continuait à plaider la cause de divorce total, 5^o et qu'il était tombé dans un concept néo-platonicien du culte matrimonial, concept hostile à la théologie sacramentaire du mariage et favorable à un mysticisme de mauvaise aloi, repugnant aussi bien aux luthériens qu'aux humanistes." (pp. 419-420).

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 419.

⁵¹Jereczek, "La femme, l'amour et le mariage... op. cit., p. 133.

⁵²This is in accord with the solutions to clandestine marriage problems proposed by Erasmus: "Publications des bans, présence d'un prêtre au moment de l'échange des paroles de présent, présence de témoins et des parents surtout, suffiront à entraver les impulsions bien naturelles de jeunes gens, qui au XVI^e siècle comme à toute autre époque, voulaient entrer dans la nasse «sponte» et non «coacti», quittes à le regretter plus tard." (Telle, op. cit., p. 224).

⁵³For clarification of the status of clandestine marriages, see Justina Ruiz de Conde, El amor y el matrimonio en los libros de caballerías (Madrid: 1948). This work illustrates how common such marriages were during the medieval period. They were valid, though not licit, until the decrees of Trent were adopted in 1564. The varying types of clandestine marriages made them difficult to recognize and in many cases hard to deal with if there was a problem in the marriage later.

⁵⁴See Laureano Castán, "El origen del capítulo «Tametsi» del Concilio de Trento contra los matrimonios clandestinos," Revista Española de Derecho Canónico, 4 (1959), pp. 613-665.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 664-665.

⁵⁶The following quotes reflect how convinced he is of this: "El Beato Avila en su Memorial primero se fija solamente en los matrimonios clandestinos estrictamente dichos, o sea, en los contraídos sin testigos. Y así es como quedó definitivamente sancionado en el célebre decreto tridentino; tan tridentino como español, tan español como avilista." (p. 664) "¿Quiérese una más clara prueba no solo de la inspiración avilina de este segundo capítulo, sino, además de que el Memorial del Maestro Avila en manos de Guerrero fue el modelo en que se calcó el primero?" (p. 665).

⁵⁷See C. Gutiérrez, Españoles en Trento (Valladolid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Instituto «Jerónimo Zurita», 1951), pp. 68-69.

⁵⁸Hubert Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1961) pp. 375-379.

⁵⁹"La nullité des mariages clandestins fut votée par le concile sauf par une cinquantaine d'opposants, dont Simonetta, Madruzzi, Hosius (absent mais qui faisait présenter par écrit un requête sur ce point), appuyés finalement par Morone lui-même qui fit renvoyer, par prudence, la dernière decision au pape." Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1946), vol. 15, p. 1477.

⁶⁰"La posesión de Pescara había restringido inevitablemente la actividad directora de Pedro Guerrero, aunque el embajador no estuviese habitualmente en Trento. Hasta el 10 de mayo ha sentido el prelado granadino la responsabilidad de una jefatura de hecho, revalidada por el apoyo y el consejo de Francisco de Vargas y del propio Rey. Ahora actúa sin cesar, conforme, a su criterio y a su estrecha conciencia, pero se advierte que, salvo en casos graves en que parecía necesario adoptar una decisión ha limitado algo sus iniciativas." Antonio Marín Ocete, El Arzobispo don Pedro Guerrero (Madrid: C.S.I.C. Instituto Enrique Flores, 1970), vol. 2, p. 651.

⁶¹See in addition his comments on chaps. 4, 8, 9, 10, vol. 6, pp. 330-331.

⁶²"Mutuality of love makes the marriage. Where this element is lacking, there is in reality no marriage. In line with his total thought Erasmus is intent upon emphasizing more strongly than ever the medieval scholastic and canonical tradition and personal inward element as over against the legal and sacramental." (Payne, op. cit., p. 118).

⁶³Ibid., p. 111.

⁶⁴The remedies for clandestine marriages have been discussed. There is another which deals with celibacy. Candidates for the priesthood should be older, and orders should not be conferred until prescribed ages are met: "Cierto, conviene que sea más tarde, y cuanto más, mejor; porque tenga más tiempo para deliberar, y cuando se obligare, no esté la carne tan fuerte para ser vencida. Sea a los viente y cinco años el subdiaconato, y a los viente y siete el diaconato, y a los treinta el presbiterado..." (VI, p. 60) The Council of Trent sets ages for these also. The difference is notable: subdiaconate, twenty-two years; diaconate, twenty-three; priesthood, twenty-five. (Canons and Decrees, op. cit., pp. 171-172).

⁶⁵J. A. Maravall, La oposición política bajo los Austrias (Barcelona: Ediciones Ariel, 1972), pp. 47-48.

⁶⁶Getino, op. cit., p. 14.

⁶⁷Not only does Juan de Avila concur with Soto on this particular issue, but he also cites him at least seven times in the reform documents. He agrees with Soto that bishops should visit their provinces on a regular basis, confessors should be examined by the bishop and should be virtuous men, and ecclesiastical offices should never be put up for sale. These remarks appear in the Advertencias al Concilio de Toledo.

⁶⁸"Faltar al deber de asistencia social es incurrir en delito ante los preceptos del derecho natural." Juan Luis Vives, El pensamiento vivo de Juan Luis Vives, ed. Joaquín Xirau (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1947), p. 39. For further information on Vives, see Alice Tobriner, A Sixteenth Century Urban Report (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971).

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 222.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 213.

⁷¹Both works can be found in one volume, under the name of Soto: Deliberación en la causa de los pobres (Madrid, 1965). Soto's book comprises the first 129 pages. Robles' Réplica is found from pp. 147-301.

⁷²See, for example, Juan de Cazalla, Lumbre del alma (c. 1528); Juan de Valdés, Diálogo de doctrina cristiana (1529); Fr. Alonso de Madrid, Arte de servir a Dios (1521); Fr. Diego de Estella, Meditaciones del amor de Dios (1578).

⁷³Avila, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 353.

⁷⁴Bataillon, Erasmus y España, op. cit., p. 349.

⁷⁵See Juan de Valdés, Diálogo de doctrina cristiana.

⁷⁶Erasmus had reflected the same thoughts in his Lengua (1528). His words are extremely critical of this practice: "El príncipe quando toma la posesión del estado jura, jura el pueblo y celébrase con grandes cerimonias. Examina los artículos que juran, y verás tanta burla como de que juran los que se graduan doctores, o en artes, o en derechos, o en theología. Juran los que entran en algún cargo y administranlo de tal manera como si juraran de se perjurar... Los que se ordenan una y dos vezes juran de ser obedientes a su prelado y al papa. Juran los notarios, los obispos, y los monges a sus abades. Examina pues las obras, y hallarás que todo está lleno de perjuros, y no penséys que juran por Júpiter... o por Hércules, sino por la cruz de Jesu Christo, por los sagrados evangelios, por la salvación de su ánima, y como que todo esto sea poco, parten aquella sacratíssima hostia, y ésta es la mayor y más religiosa obligación." (D. Erasmus, La Lengua de Erasmo nuevamente romançada por muy elegante estilo, op. cit., p. 81).

CHAPTER V

THE IDEOLOGY OF JUAN DE AVILA

Until this point, the writings of San Juan de Avila have been examined in light of his style and major thematic content. It is time now to focus attention on his ideology -- the ideas that underlie his intellectual creativity.

There is no doubt that Juan de Avila was influenced by the fact that he was a converso. His thinking was permeated by the realization that in certain ways he was an outsider in an "Old Christian" world. The Inquisition made this painfully clear to him, as we have seen, and his close relationships with other conversos also help sustain that fact. During the course of this study, we have seen that his thoughts were closely related to others of the same background. It is not the purpose of this work to give undue importance to this aspect of his life, but because it has not been dealt with in depth before, it is important to state the fact clearly and without hesitation. Undoubtedly many of his contacts were with cristianos viejos who were interested in the same thing he was. But he clearly felt most comfortable with people who shared the same problems he was facing. Perhaps because of this his world view was somewhat different than that of the institutional Spanish Church. For his was, as we have stated already, a radical and Pauline vision of the world.

There are two principal aspects of his writings that underlie

his ideology: the insistence on reform and a world view which goes beyond this world of visible reality to the invisible world of the spirit. In the present chapter, these two elements will be examined. Neither is seen only in Juan de Avila. It has been shown that others were of like mind. But he does give unique form and substance to these ideas through his preaching and writing.

The Council of Trent and Juan de Avila's Reform

It could be said that the desire for reform was present in all Juan de Avila's writings. In his letters, the Audi, filia, and the sermons is found the underlying message of change. It is in his Tratados de reforma, however, that we find his thoughts most clearly expressed. Some of these have already been discussed. They were not brought to light until the present century. In 1936, P. Huberto Jedin, S. J. discovered these Tratados written for the Council of Trent. Juan de Avila wrote them in either 1561 or 1562. In 1941, R. Sánchez de Lamadrid, S. J. found the Tratado entitled Advertencias al concilio de Toledo, (1565-1566). Then in 1945, P. Camilo Abad, S. J. published two unedited Memoriales to the Council of Trent. In 1946, P. Luis Sala Balust brought to light another reform document, the Tratado de las causas y remedios de las herejías (1561). The brief introduction to Volume VI of the BAC edition of Juan de Avila's works contains an analysis of these writings. The reader is advised to refer to it for more specific details.¹ In all, there are extant nine manuscripts which deal with reform. Basically, these writings revolve around two events, Trent and the Council of Toledo.²

In the previous chapter we alluded to the possibility that San

Juan's reform decrees may not, in fact, have had much impact on the Council of Trent. Most critics are of the opinion that his Memoriales were crucial to some decrees promulgated. But there are chronological, ideological, historical, and personal considerations which make it difficult, if not impossible to accept such conclusions.

If the Memoriales did get to Trent, it was because of the fact that don Pedro Guerrero took them there. When, however, one looks at the history of the Council, many of the things that Juan de Avila supposedly wrote for Trent in the 1551 Memorial had been dealt with in 1546-47.³ A brief look at the essential decrees promulgated in those years is helpful:

1. Decree concerning the canonical Scriptures (April 8, 1546)
2. Decree concerning original sin (June 17, 1546)
3. Decree of reform of 1546
 - a. Chapter I: The establishment of lectureships in holy scripture and the liberal arts
 - b. Chapter II: Preachers and the word of God and questors of alms.
4. Decree concerning justification (January 13, 1547)
5. Decree concerning reform
 - a. It is proper that prelates reside in their churches
 - b. No one holding a benefice that requires personal residence may absent himself except for a just cause
 - c. Transgressions of secular clerics and of regulars who live outside their monasteries shall be corrected by the ordinary of the locality
 - d. Bishops shall visit all churches as is necessary

6. Decree concerning the Sacraments (March 3, 1547).

The Memorial I (1551) refers in various places to the decrees already promulgated at Trent and at the Council IV of Toledo. It is evident that Juan de Avila had read them and it appears that this document is his response. How else do we interpret the following?

Y éste es el punto principal del negocio y que toca en lo interior de él, sin lo cual todo trabajo que se tomare cerca de la reformation será de muy poco provecho, porque será, o cerca de cosas exteriores, o, no habiendo virtud para cumplir las interiores, no dura la dicha reformation por no tener fundamento.

Y para este dicho fin que he propuesto, diré primero en común y después en particular lo que siento. (VI, p. 36)

Juan de Avila is obviously giving his personal views in this Memorial I on things already promulgated. As we proceed, this becomes more and more evident. It seems unlikely that this was a formal document, for some of the language he uses is very blunt. It is the kind that would be written to a friend, in this case don Pedro Guerrero. In the section on the reform of the priesthood, San Juan does not seem to be in absolute accord with the spirit in which the decrees have been promulgated:

Porque el mandar es cosa fácil y sin caridad se puede hacer; mas el llevar a cuestras flaquezas ajenas con preseverante corazón de las remediar e hacer fuerte al que era flaco, pide riqueza de caridad...y pues prelados con clérigos son como padres con hijos y no señores con esclavos, prevéanse el papa y los demás en criar a los clérigos como a hijos, con aquel cuidado que pide una dignidad tan alta como han de recibir; y entonces tendrán mucha gloria en tener hijos sabios y mucho gozo y descanso en tener hijos buenos, y gozarse ha todo la Iglesia con buenos ministros. (VI, p. 36)

The father-son image, so much a part of his concept of minister and faithful, is beautifully put forth. There is no room for arrogance or for displays of authority. Ironically, in the same year that Juan de Avila wrote this, we find the Council of Trent issuing its decree on

reform. One searches in vain, in the entire document, for anything vaguely resembling the letter or the spirit of the above quote. Instead we read:

Since it is properly the office of bishops to reprove the transgressions of all their subjects, this especially must claim their attention, that clerics, particularly those appointed to the cura animarum, be not wicked, nor lead a disorderly life with their connivance. For if they permit them to be given to evil and corrupt morals, how shall they reprove the lay people for their transgressions when these can by one word repulse them for permitting clerics to be worse than they?...Wherefore, bishops shall admonish their clergy, of whatever rank they may be, that in conduct, speech and knowledge they be a guide to the people of God committed to them; being mindful of what is written: Be holy, for I also am holy.⁴ (C.T., p. 105-106)

Juan de Avila does not deny abuses or corruption; indeed, his entire Memorial I is written to correct them. But the tone of the document is not negative. He sees the improvement of the ecclesiastical state coming from the quality of people chosen to be priests. When comparing the state of the present (which he does not like) with that of the early church (which he admires) he expresses himself forcefully:

Mas ahora, como hay en la Iglesia tanta muchedumbre de carne mortecina, por fuerza lo han de oler, aun de lejos, los cuervos; y ¿quién los detendrá, que no vengan hambrientos y desalados a la comer, hasta picarse y arañarse sobre ella unos con otros?
(VI, p. 38)

Nothing stops this type of person from entering the priesthood in the present times, he says, and the only way to weed them out is to make the life so needy of virtue that "los malos cuervos que venían a buscar carne muerta, hallando, en lugar de carne muerta, vida y espíritu vivo."
(VI, p. 38)

Concrete remedies include reform of education: "...si quiere la Iglesia tener buenos ministros, que conviene hacellos." This involves careful schooling and caution in selecting candidates. About the

latter, Juan de Avila is adamant. Some of his strongest words appear when he is speaking about the lack of virtue in ordained ministers:

Cerca de la vida de dignidades, canónigos y racioneros, cosa conocida es a todos que la fábula del mundo, y el terrero de los legos, y el escándalo común de la Iglesia son ellos, pues, por la mayor parte, ni predicán, ni leen, ni confiesan, ni aun dicen misa casi en todo el año; y muchos viven con deshonestísima compañía, sin que nadie sea parte para podérsela quitar. Y son algunos tan desvergonzados, que en trajes profanos y aderezos de sus personas compiten con los más profanos del mundo. Y aun cantar en un coro, siendo tan fácil, no lo saben o no lo quieren hacer...En lo cual es mucho razón que este sagrado concilio provea y quite este oprobio de Israel y tan grande abominación que está sentada en lugar de Dios. Y para esto no era menester hacer nueva ley, sino guardar la antigua y desenterrar la regla de la virtud, que sepultaron los malos con su mal vivir... (VI, p. 49)

Here again, we find him stressing the need for virtue, not legalism.

Citing former Councils, earlier Church fathers, and St. Paul, he places emphasis on the interior life and the need for compassion and humility.

Pompousness, pride, and intemperance are to be eliminated: "Caigan, pues, los ídolos de soberbia e intemperancia de los eclesiásticos..."

(VI, p. 53)

Up until now we have seen that Juan de Avila, at least in the first Memorial I, was elaborating upon the decrees promulgated at Trent in 1546-47. Chronologically, it is difficult to ascertain whether this document was written before the second session (1551-1552) or not. If it was, the decrees of Trent shed little light on its influence at the Council. When we look at them, some interesting facts become apparent. This is what was accomplished:

1. Decree concerning the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist (October 11, 1551);

2. The most holy sacraments of penance and extreme unction (November 25, 1551);

3. Decree concerning reform; Bishops and their responsibilities;

4. Decree for proroguing the session (January 25, 1552);

5. Decree suspending the Council (April 28, 1552).

Approximately two-thirds of the way through the Memorial I, there is a sub-title which the editors of the BAC have inserted. It reads Algunas advertencias particulares. The continuity of the entire Memorial I changes at this time, and it does, in fact, read like the Algunos advertencias al sínodo de Toledo (1565-66). It is possible that this section of the Memorial I might belong to the Advertencias rather than to the Memorial I. There is evidence to support this conclusion. In the Memorial I, page fifty-nine, we read:

Los impedimentos que del matrimonio nacen de la cognación espiritual no sirven sino de lazos, de los cuales dificultosamente pueden salir. Parece que sería cosa conveniente quitarlos, salvo en el primer grado. Y mándese que no toque más de un compadre, porque se usa ir muchos y tocan todos, y no sirve sino de multiplicar lazos. (VI, p. 59)

In the Algunas advertencias we find a section that appears to follow the above perfectly. It was cited before in chapter IV when discussing marriage:

Examínese y declárese si agora se podrán casar los que antes del concilio habían contraído aquesta cognación espiritual fuera de los grados aquí señalados o no, sino que se entienda que de nuevo no se contraiga y que queden los pasados en su fuerza, y parece ser verdad lo primero, porque la razón del concilio es quitar estorbos y marañas, y sería dejar muchas si lo primero quedase en su fuerza. (VI, p. 330)

As further evidence, one can also ask why the latter part of the Memorial I is so disjointed and deals with so many unrelated themes. Somehow this section might have gotten separated from the Advertencias. If these facts are true, then it is obvious that the latter part of the

Memorial I, especially the well-known part on clandestine marriages that we have already referred to, did not have any effect on the decrees at Trent and that they were written two to three years after Trent had recessed for the last time.

Following the Memorial I in the BAC edition is the "Lo que se debe avisar a los obispos", supposedly written in 1551. The editors of the BAC are unequivocal in their opinion that it was written for Trent, and they also allude to the one fact that also poses problems for that conclusion:

Como se ve, son avisos casi todos entre sí inconexos, la mayor parte de los cuales (como se puede ver por las notas de la edición) se repiten luego al Concilio de Trento. Esto solo bastaría para darnos a entender que se habían dirigido al Concilio Tridentino. Pero, ¿con qué fecha? ¿Para qué convocatoria? (VI, p. 23)⁵

The question arises as to what Council these brief, unconnected writings were directed. It is virtually impossible to believe that Juan de Avila would have written such disjointed thoughts to the members of the Council. We have shown from the analysis of his style that he was an organized and coherent writer. His thoughts do not wander, nor does he jump from one thing to another. This document, then, seems to be what the others are -- reactions, or clarifications, written in the light of Trent, and not for it.

Chronologically, we have seen that the decree of the Eucharist was followed immediately by that on penance and extreme unction and then the obligations of bishops. Juan de Avila begins the "Lo que se debe avisar" thusly: "Primero y principalmente, cerca de la honra del Santísimo Sacramento del cuerpo y sangre de Cristo..." (VI, p. 71) After citing a few abuses of the Sacrament, he then goes on to clarify what

the bishops' duties are. The document is in no way complete. In fact, the last part of it disintegrates into random sentences which have no continuity at all (cf. pp. 74-76).

In the Memorial I, pages 56-57, the part which commences the random writings, we find him dealing with confession. There are four paragraphs concerning it (27, 28, 29, 30). When we go to pages 72-73, the same subject is treated. By this time we are into "Lo que se debe avisar a los obispos". As one can see, the reader of these documents is confused and perplexed. The general consensus in the past has been that they were written for the Council of Trent and that as a result, the Council was moved by these writings.

Antonio Marín Ocete, cited above, is one of the few to state that the Memorial I was not, in fact, in tune with what most of the Spanish bishops were advocating:

La posición unilateral de Juan de Avila, al enfocar las causas de los problemas religiosos que agobiaban a Europa, parece muy radical en este documento. No creo que pueda identificársele totalmente con el pensar común de los españoles.⁶

But he goes along with the thinking of most that Juan de Avila, through Guerrero, did have a role to play.⁷

Camilo Abad, who in 1945 published the two previously unedited Memoriales, also addresses the issue of San Juan's influence on Trent:

Difícil es precisar qué influencia pudieron tener en Trento las observaciones de nuestro Beato. En sí mismas, como verá el lector, las consideraciones eran muy poderosas, y el encargado de presentarlas persona de grandísima influencia, como jefe que fué del grupo español, principalmente en el último período del Concilio donde se dió el decreto sobre los seminarios. Pero no es fácil señalar en concreto la parte que Don Pedro Guerrero pudo tener con sus conversaciones, con sus dictámenes, con su actuación íntima, en el resultado magnífico de aquella determinación.⁸

These remarks were made in 1945, and since then Marín Ocete has fur-

nished us with a study on Guerrero. He has devoted two volumes to the Archbishop, but in effect, there is very little specifically about his role at Trent, except that he led the Spaniards in the renewed controversy about the issue of residence for bishops. Juan de Avila had definite things to say about this question, as we shall soon see. But the issue had already been raised in the first session of Trent (see H. Jedin). His contributions were not original in this respect.

It is safe to say, after the considerations above, that the impact of the Memorial I in the Council's decrees is questionable, and in fact may be unfounded. The choppy sections may belong to another, more coherent writing, specifically that of Algunas advertencias al Sínodo de Toledo (1565-66). From the Introduction to Volume VI of the BAC, we know that the decrees on reform were found in various places. When in 1623 his process of beatification was begun, the edict mentions various of Juan de Avila's works. The wording regarding Trent is very interesting because it links Trento with Toledano:

En 1623, en el edicto para las informaciones del proceso de beatificación y canonización del P. Avila, se nos da cuenta de su producción literaria con estas palabras: «Imprimió algunos libros: del Audi, filia, Santísimo Sacramento y Epistolario, de grande espíritu. Escribió unas Advertencias al Santo Concilio de Trento y Toledano, sobre la ejecución de lo decretado por el de Trento, y otro Tratado contra las herejías. Y dio una Instrucción para el gobierno del reino, muy útil para la Iglesia Católica». (VI, p. 4)

Muñoz mentions two more works, the Reformación del estado eclesiástico and Anotaciones al concilio de Trento. And in works submitted by the Jesuits in 1739, for the eventual beatification and canonization procedures, there are two additional ones: «Otro [cuaderno] con 25 hojas, que parece ser Instrucción para el S. C. T. Otro en sesenta y ocho hojas, sobre la práctica del mismo concilio». (VI, p. 4) Is it possible

that the work mentioned in 1623, combining the council of Trent and that of Toledo, somehow became separated and that part of it was designated "Trent" instead of "Toledo"? The Jesuit offerings designate S. C. T. -- it could be either council. This position must be deemed a possibility. It must be stated also that the Memorial II (1561) further obscures the issue. Let us examine it for a minute.

The editors of the BAC have chosen to divide the Memorial II into two parts (though it is under the title Memorial II in the book). The first part deals with De las causas de las herejías. For the present it does not concern us. What does is the second part, beginning on page 145, paragraph fifty-three. This section, according to C. Abad and the editors, was originally the Advertencias al concilio de Trento. It consists of fifty pages and spells out reforms which should be enacted for people in general and for the secular clergy. It does give specific details about how faith can be developed and how heretics are to be dealt with. Because of this, it is again confusing to us why there has been so much insistence on separating the document mid-stream and saying that only half of it was directed to Trent. If there were a burning issue which needed remedying at Trent, it would be the causes and remedies of heresies. But the editors have carefully proven that the first part was, in fact, written after Trent.

Juan de Avila's references to heretics do not end, however. Shortly after the section begins, we find him mentioning herejes: "...pues que las astucias de los herejes llegan a tanto..." (VI, p. 147) Further on he does so again: "Cosa es de mucho escándalo para los fieles y para herejes el sacar tan presto y tantas veces esta espada [excomunió]n]..." (VI, p. 168); "Indecente cosa es a la vida cristiana y de

mal ejemplo para los herejes y infieles los llantos y mesarse las mujeres sobre los difuntos..." (VI, p. 177); "...y, porque es gente muy sobre sí, y comúnmente tiene poca reverencia y respeto a los eclesiásticos y cosas de la Iglesia, de lo cual nacen las herejías que vemos..." (VI, p. 179) At least two more references are found on pages 182 and 183. (Luther) It is true that Juan de Avila writes about heretics in other works as well, so these references in themselves shed little light on this section. One could question, nevertheless, whether he meant to continue the previous document.

There are other places, however, which lead one to ask whether this was directed to the council of Trent, or to a Spanish Council, or in some cases to the King himself. Why, for example, would Juan de Avila refer to specific things that the King should do? About the education of rich youth and nobles, he says:

Otras muchas veces ha acaecido esto, y acaecerá si no se pone remedio; el cual era que la majestad real tomase muy a cargo este negocio... (VI, p. 178)

Esta era propia lección del obispo; y, para que del todo fuese bien hecho, habíales de mandar el rey que la oyesen. (VI, p. 179)

About games of chance he writes: "Facil cosa sería remediar este mal si se entendiése cuán prejudicial es y quisiese el rey tomarlo a pechos."

(VI, p. 179) When referring to excessive luxury, he states: "Un mal hay en España que es causa de muchos..."; shortly afterwards he adds:

"...y en tal parará el reino cuyo rey dejase a sus súbditos seguir las vanidades cerca de aquestas cosas que se les antojaren." (VI, p. 181)

This particular section sounds very much like what he deals with in the Advertencias necesarias para los reyes. The latter, in order of publication, follows immediately after the Memorial II. Again, is it possi-

ble that these entire sections were the original ones referred to above as Instrucción para el gobierno del reino? There are no conclusive answers to be found.

The editors of the BAC have carefully footnoted sections in which Juan de Avila's writings and the decrees of Trent conform. This is a difficult, and valuable task. But as one reads the decrees and goes then to San Juan's works, discrepancies are found.

We deal now with the last reforms of Trent, and the Algunas advertencias al Sínodo de Toledo of Juan de Avila. The first notable disagreement that we find on his part is over whether people who have no means of livelihood are to be excluded from sacred orders. The Council's decree states that they are to be:

...The holy council decrees that henceforth no secular cleric, though otherwise qualified as regards morals, knowledge and age, shall be promoted to sacred orders unless it be first legitimately established that he is in peaceful possession of an ecclesiastical benefice sufficient for a decent livelihood...⁹

San Juan de Avila's position is exactly the opposite:

Y, si este canon se observa con rigor, será ocasión muy grande para [que] los que tienen deseo de la dignidad no quieran seguir las letras, mirando que, aunque sean muy letrados, si en serlo han gustado su hacienda, no tienen de ordenarlos. No sé yo cuál hombre habrá que tenga buen juicio el cual estima más para sacerdote a un ignorante y rico que a un buen letrado y pobre y con virtud. Pues el rico, con ser rico, siendo virtuoso, debe de admitirse al sacerdocio por este canon, ¿por qué no admitirán al buen letrado y virtuoso, pues esto es mayor disposición para que lo admitan? (VI, p. 315)

This is one instance of disagreement. We will see more. But at this point, another fact should be brought out.

As one goes through these Algunas advertencias, which, as we have said, constitute the primary source for knowing Juan de Avila's thoughts about specific decrees, it is evident that there are large

gaps. This is obvious, for example, as we approach session twenty-three. About Chapter I of the decree concerning reform, we find this: "De aquesto se trató en el cap. 1 de la sesion 6". (VI, p. 324) But when we look back to the beginning of the Algunas advertencias, we find that they commence with session fourteen. The logical conclusion is that the first part of this critical analysis is missing. For why would Juan de Avila begin it with the fourteenth session? The point by point commentary also skips whole sessions at a time. It is doubtful that as learned and careful a person as Juan de Avila would have intentionally done this. And in fact, he did not. For some reason the Advertencias al concilio de Toledo have been published separately from Algunas advertencias al sínodo de Toledo. But the latter picks up where the former leaves off. Why, then, this interruption? The editors have chosen to separate them because, as they explain, there were in some manuscripts some other papers:

Se nos ocurre una explicación: el escrito tridentino intercalado son, como diremos después, aquellos «papeles que se escribieron para la primera vez»...Estos «papeles», que en Montilla, como vemos por los mss. enviados a Roma, se conservaron independientemente, debieron de conservarse en Granada entre los pliegos de lo que últimamente se advirtió para el concilio provincial de Toledo... (VI, p. 15)

This reasoning is difficult to understand. It seems that in order to prove that the decrees were written for Trent, all kinds of arguments are called for. In our opinion, however, it is probable that as they stand now, the reform documents are in a state of confusion and disorder.

We said that Juan de Avila is not in accord with the Trent decrees at times, and instances have been cited above. There are more. For instance, Chapter IV of the reform section (Session Twenty-three)

reads:

No one shall be admitted to the first tonsure who has not received the sacrament of confirmation; who has not been taught the rudiments of the faith; who does not know how to read and write, and concerning whom there is not a probable conjecture that he has chosen this manner of life that he may render to God a faithful service and not to escape fraudulently from civil justice.¹⁰

For Juan de Avila, this is hardly enough. He wants stricter measures:

Convenía mucho remediarse tantos males; y con sólo el remedio que el concilio da en el capítulo 4, scilicet, «probabilis coniectura», que no lo hacen por lo dicho, sino «animo clericiandi», no se remedia. Porque en muchos se engañará el obispo y muchos otros lo engañaran a él, según la humana malicia está en la cumbre. (VI, p. 325)

About the age when one may receive an ecclesiastical benefice, Trent said fourteen (Chapter VI, Session Twenty-three, page 168). For San Juan, this is too young:

Mírese esto con advertencia, porque ¿cómo estará en verdad lo que se manda en aquel capítulo 3, si por lo que se dice en éste queremos dar un beneficio servidero de los que tienen anejo ministerio sacerdotal a mozos que sean de catorce años o poco más? (VI, p. 326)

About Chapter XI of the same session, which deals with regulations on reception of minor orders, Trent is not specific enough for San Juan. He recommends that the Synod of Toledo be more clear:

Y parece que sería bueno que en el sínodo se señalasen las más ordinarias que pueden suceder; porque, aunque no fuesen precisas estas para no poder dispensar en otras de las allí señaladas, podrían tomar forma para saber cómo se habrá de haber en las otras que sucedieren. (VI, p. 328)

We skip now to session twenty-five (1563), where the Council deals with monks and nuns. The issue is whether monasteries can be permitted to exist on alms alone. Trent has decreed that they can:

But in the aforesaid monasteries and houses, of men as well as women, whether they do or do not possess immovable properties, only such a number of persons shall be determined upon and retained in the future as can be suitably maintained either from

the revenues of the monasteries or from the customary alms...¹¹

Juan de Avila sees problems with this. Initial fervor of donations can subside, thus leaving the monasteries destitute:

Hacer monasterios, principalmente de monjas, en confianza de limosna, no es cosa segura y de fiarse de las que al presente se hacen. Porque al principio, por la devoción, acuden muchas; y después parece que hay suficientemente, y resfríase la devoción, y falta limosnas, y quedan necesitadas las monjas, o muy ocasionadas a cosas que no convenían, para buscar su sustento. (VI, p. 338)

This particular problem had immediate application in Spain, especially regarding the Carmelite reform being undertaken by Sta. Teresa de Avila. She initially resisted the notion of having income other than donations, and this caused trouble for her convents. She did, however, change her position on the matter.¹²

In other instances, for example excommunication, Juan de Avila clarifies the legalistic decree of Trent, but he approaches the issue compassionately -- people must not be punished unjustly. (VI, p. 342) The tone and treatment are different, though in essence, he is in accord with the decree.

Where, then does this leave us? We can see that San Juan certainly agreed with much of what was promulgated at Trent, and he disagreed with some of the decrees as well. There are parts of the reform documents that have yet to be put in a logical order, and the larger question of his possible impact upon Trent remains clouded. Unless concrete evidence that don Pedro Guerrero advanced Juan de Avila's ideas is found, and that the bishops at Trent voted the way they did because of these ideas, we must conclude that the prelates at Trent acted as they did because the issues needed to be remedied. To assume that Trent went along with Juan de Avila (or vice-versa) would, we feel, be unjust and

contrary to his spirit and approach. Had the situation been what so many have said it was, and San Juan's thoughts been adopted, the whole question of the Reformation would have been dealt with differently. For he saw that these problems of heresy needed to be dealt with from within -- not as a reaction to the outside. It is the same concept that Erasmus had.¹³ This is most clearly spelled out in the Causas y remedios de las herejías.

His opening remarks do not condemn the heretics. Rather, he anguishes over the fact that those who were brothers in Christ, members of the mystical body, and who at one time acknowledged the Pope as their vicar, are no longer part of the fold. From there, he proposes to analyze the causes of this parting. The first is a bad conscience, not on the part of the heretics, but rather on the part of the Church itself. The process was one that happened gradually, and the results are seen in Juan de Avila's time:

Tomada, pues, esta verdad, probada por razón, experiencia y autoridad, y considerando cuán miserablemente estaba caída la Iglesia en lo que toca a la pureza de la vida cristiana en el tiempo que estos lobos robadores se levantaron y la acometieron para que perdiese la fe, no tanto nos maravillaremos de haber habido gente que los haya creído y recibido sus herejías cuanto de cómo no los ha seguido más gente en el error, pues habrá grande flaqueza en buena vida. (VI, p. 83)

The second cause is negligent pastors and false teachers. The leaders of the flock became less interested in shepherding than accumulating personal wealth, and hence false doctrines sprang up in an atmosphere of vice and greed. San Juan's language is strong as he expresses himself regarding this:

Porque, ahora se entienda por estas bestias del campo la crueldad de las infieles, ahora se entienda la bestialidad de los vicios, ahora los monstruosos irracionales de las herejías, los unos, y los otros, y otros males hemos experimentado en el

discurso de la Iglesia y en los tiempos presente. Y la suma verdad, que es Dios, cuyo testimonio es irrefragable, afirma haber venido todo este mal por no haber pastor que hubiese cuidado lo que tocaba a la necesidad y provecho de sus ovejas. (VI, p. 89)

Prelates must be responsive to the people, and they should be an example to them. Preachers also are to be aware of their responsibility. Juan de Avila explains how they should preach. Mere doctrine does not suffice:

La cual doctrina, aunque sea verdadera y necesaria, no es bastante para edificación de las ánimas; y conviene, para usar bien de ella, que con doctrina de palabra de Dios y de los Santos, dicha con calor del Espíritu Santo, sean movidos los corazones de los oyentes a seguir lo mejor y a huir de los pecados pequeños para no caer en los grandes. (VI, p. 94)

As we saw in Chapter II, this ability to move the hearts of listeners was one that San Juan saw as absolutely essential for a good preacher. A further example of this need for holy preachers is furnished as he discusses the Indians of America: "Cosa es notoria haber dicho los indios occidentales viendo la mala vida de los cristianos: «Si cristianos van al cielo, no queremos ir allá, por no estar con tan mala gente»..." (VI, p. 98) This attitude is similar to that of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1565).¹⁴

The third cause is the justice of God, which permits some sins as punishment for others. The gentiles, as well as the Jews, were punished for lack of faith and for transgressions:

Y por esta misma regla que el soberano Juez castigó a estos soberbios y gentiles, castigó también a los ingratos judíos, y aún con más justa razón, por les haber dado mayor conocimiento que a ellos, del cual usaron muy mal, como parece por los pecados que los profetas cuentan que cometía aquel pueblo, en castigo de los cuales cegaba Dios a los mayores del pueblo, y eran hechos falsos profetas, induciendo a adorar dioses falsos. (VI, p. 111)

But the major blame must fall on the Christians. The message of revelation has been passed on to them, and they have neglected to nurture and

care for it:

Y, pues ha habido muchos cristianos que usan mal de conocimiento tan alto, de fe tan excelente, no es maravilloso que los haya herido Dios con este terrible castigo de dejarlos caer en herejías como a los pasados. (VI, p. 113)

The remedies of heresy consist primarily in living a life of virtue -- by practicing penance and sacrifice. Once again he begins the section on remedies by alluding to the heretics as those who were previously "nuestros hermanos". Because Christians have hardened their hearts and refused to live well, God has castigated them with a terrible punishment:

Y, porque nuestra dureza era tan grande que todo esto no bastaba a la ablandar, y nuestra ceguedad tan miserable que con tantos golpes no cobrada vista, hace el Señor en nuestros tiempos el terrible castigo, que, sin comparación, excede a los pasados, de entregar las ánimas de tantos cristianos en manos del crudelísimo Satanás, permitiendo que fuesen herejes en castigo de no haber vivido como buenos cristianos. (VI, p. 121)

The times are such that the Antichrist is coming soon, and people must be extra wary about false prophets.

A further remedy of heresies is having good leadership in the Church. The Pope must bear the ultimate burden:

Y como el papa sea el mayor de ellos, hanle de caber a él, si quiere gozar de nuestra salud, los mayores trabajos, porque de muerte de cruz o de mortificación de ellos no puede escapar. (VI, p. 131)

The Pope must be an example to bishops, who will in turn be examples to priests and to the faithful. Without that, however, Christians will have no leader, and hence no one to follow. If this document was written in 1565, the Pope would have been Pius IV. Juan de Avila directs to him words which are encouraging and still which proclaim the plight of the Church and the obligation that the Papacy has:

Atribulado está el pueblo cristiano y necesitado de consolación

y esfuerzo de su capitán y pastor; y, pues no puede visitar a todos con su persona, envíeles hombres religiosos, poderosos en palabras y en obras, que de su parte los visiten, consuelen y esfuerquen, animándolos a penitencia y ofreciéndoles su favor, aunque sea dar la sangre por su remedio. (VI, p. 133)

The challenge is there. An effort must be made by the Church leaders, and above all the decrees of Trent must be put into effect. No one is more able to do this than the Pope, and Juan de Avila puts the task to him in no uncertain terms:

Porque de muy poco efecto será la determinación del concilio, si falta quien la ejecute, y ninguno hay que tanta obligación tenga a ejecutar ni que con tanto provecho lo pueda hacer como el papa, al que todos los prelados deben obediencia. (VI, p. 134)

Not only must the Pope be a good spiritual leader, but kings and people of high social position also have a grave responsibility. Reform of courts must be brought about, and Christian temporal leaders must conform to the life of penance and virtue. Unless this happens, the situation, urgent already, will become virtually impossible to correct: "Entiendan, por los castigos de diversas maneras que en nuestros tiempos han acaecido, que está Dios enojado, y que es menester penitencia y emienda muy de verdad." (VI, p. 144)

This ends the section which has been designated in the Introduction as the original Causas y remedios de las herejías. It is Juan de Avila's best, most organized, and most far reaching writing on reform. In it he presents a logical and balanced means for combatting heresies. The contrast with the approach of Trent is remarkable. Trent is not compassionate, nor understanding, nor does any real concern for those who have wandered from the faith come through. Instead, the answer seems to imply condemnation or reproof. We must conclude that on this issue, Juan de Avila's spirit is far removed from that of the decrees of Trent.

It is now time to look at his ideas about reform more specifically. His ideas about the reform of the priesthood can be found primarily in the Memorial primero al concilio de Trento, in the Advertencias al concilio de Toledo, in the Pláticas a sacerdotes, and in the Tratado sobre el sacerdocio (written before 1563).

The primary responsibility of any priest is, as we have said before, to pray:

Quiere el Señor que, aunque el pueblo con su mala vida esté tan atemorizado que ni tenga osadía para estar en pie delante su acatamiento ni ose alzar los ojos al cielo, que el sacerdote sea tal, que con la limpieza de la vida y amigable trato y particular familiaridad que hay entre Dios y él, no sea derribado con temor, como está el pueblo, mas tenga una santa osadía para estar en pie, y llegar al Señor, y suplicarle, y importunarle, y atarle, y vencerle, para que, en lugar de azote pesado de justo juez, envíe abrazos de Padre amoroso. (III, p. 501)

Juan de Avila sees no room for cowardice -- he requires that a priest be active and courageous in his faith. The intermediary aspect is present in the above quote, for he himself felt the great responsibility of his office. The grave state of the Christian Church is directly related to the lack of prayer on the part of its leaders:

Y porque hay falta de esta oración en la Iglesia, y señaladamente en el sacerdocio, que, como San Gregorio dice, es la parte principal de ella, por eso ha derramado el Señor sobre nosotros su ira, que no se quitará hasta que esta oración torne, pues su ausencia ha sido causa de muchos trabajos, y plega a Dios no vengan mayores. (III, p. 503)

One of his harshest criticisms is leveled at priests who rush through the Mass and who say it with little fervor or interest. He calls such men "malos sacerdotes", and the Tratado sobre el sacerdocio contains various pages referring to them. At one point he remarks: "Pues el sacerdote malo no representa a Cristo nuestro Señor sino en las palabras y en lo de fuera, mas en las costumbres y el tratamiento representa a los que le causaron la muerte y amarga pasión." (III, p. 519)

In the following section the harshness which is sometimes seen in his writings is clearly in evidence. We perceive the boldness in these words:

Consagrado, pues, Cristo y recibido no en sepulcro nuevo, mas en un revolcadero de puercos infernales, acabada el sacerdote su misa y dicha muy apriesa, sálese a sus negocios y tór-nase a sus pecados, sin respeto, temor ni vergüenza de la traición que ha hecho al Señor, para que así sea semejable a la desvergüenza de Judas, que ni el respecto a la presencia del Señor, ni la lealtad que se debe a los que juntos comen en una mesa, ni las amenazas ni las blanduras del Señor, ni el haberlo recibido en su pecho, como los otros apóstoles, le movieron al arrepentimiento y sentimiento de su pecado; ni le estorbaron a salir de la presencia del Señor a poner en efecto la maldad de su corazón. (III, p. 522)

One can imagine what effect these words would have had on the majority of priests during that period! A secular priest, and in addition a converso, dared to speak thusly about his fellow priests. Such words would do little to endear him to certain powerful figures in the Church.

But Juan de Avila did not stop there. In the Advertencias he wrote about the need to reform the bishops as well. Contrasting the early Church with the present situation, San Juan's criticism is severe and reprimanding. It is among the harshest that issues from his pen:

Así es agora de temer no suceda, en lugar de la pobreza de la mesa, banquetes sumptuosas y delicadas comidas; en lugar de los huéspedes pobres y peregrinos, los señores ricos y poderosos; en lugar de la lección sagrada, los truhanes o música profana; en lugar de las exhortaciones con que el obispo eran los convidados apacentados con espiritual pasto, la fructa de la ponzoña de las murmuraciones, con que matan sus almas; a los retratos devotos, tapicerías tan deshonestas, que bastan a deshonestar las almas de los que las miran; y a los discípulos de la virtud que servían entonces, gente que se pueda decir maestra de maldad. Y ansí, la antigua virtud se muda en disolución y majestad profana. (VI, p. 233)

He goes on to call the bishops "lobos y tiranos". The bishop's house ought to be a place where souls are cured, people are consoled, temptations are eliminated, and where the poor can come for relief. And the

bishop should be the doctor who cures the wounds of those who come to him.

In another hard passage, Juan de Avila likens the present bishops to butchers who live on the meat of the faithful. Characteristically, he finishes the passage on a positive, and in this case compassionate, note:

Miren, pues, los perlados que no les eligieron para carniceros, que compran el ganado para lo matar, y pesar, y sacar dineros de sus carnes y sus pieles, sino para pastores criadores del ganado, que los apacienten en los pastos de ciencia y doctrina, quitándoles la mala hierba, dándoles abrevaderos limpios, untándoles la roña y llevándoles sobre sus hombros, aunque sea con no dormir de noche, no reposar siesta... (VI, p. 237)

Another important aspect of reform, which is related to the education of priests, is the Christian education of the young. It has been mentioned previously, but in the Tratados Juan de Avila presents a program for education in Christian doctrine. Above all, he stresses the need for good preparation on the part of the teachers. Not only must they know doctrine, but they ought also to love and be responsive to children:

El que ha de enseñar la doctrina debe ser muy humilde, manso, benigno y amoroso, y debe mostrar mucha alegría con todos; porque para tratar con niños débese acomodar, en cuanto pudiere, a sus condiciones, para que le tengan amor. Y pida siempre la gracia del Señor para estas cosas, y paciencia para tratar con hijos de tantos padres. Porque no pierda el fruto de su trabajo, téngalos a todos por hijos propios y que ha de dar cuenta de ellos a nuestro Señor si no los doctrina bien. (VI, p. 478)

It is interesting to note here that Juan de Avila wrote a Doctrina cristiana que se canta. Written for adults and especially children, it was a work that his disciples carried to Italy. It was published there in Italian in 1556. Evidently this Doctrina became the common one used in Andalucía, Castilla, and in the schools of the Jesuit

fathers.¹⁵ The editors of the BAC edition have this to say about it:

Aficionado era Juan de Avila a poner en verso popular las verdades de la doctrina y a traducir los himnos sagrados; las solemnidades, la música que a veces añadía y los versos le servían de elementos pedagógicos de primer orden.¹⁶

Carlos María Nannei, in a book entitled La «Doctrina cristiana» de San Juan de Avila (Pamplona, 1977), studies this aspect of Juan de Avila's writing in some detail. Initially, he cites other catechetical works which preceded the Doctrina. There was, for example, a previous work by Hernando de Talavera, Breve y muy provechosa doctrina de lo que debe saber todo cristiano (1496). In Sevilla in 1512, a provincial council also promulgated norms for catechism. Further Doctrinas include those of Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, Fr. Domingo de Soto, Bartolomé Carranza, and Fr. Domingo de Valtanás. During the first half of the 16th century, there was a powerful movement of reform regarding the teaching of catechism.¹⁷ But Juan de Avila's main thrust was toward children, something that differentiated him from many of the other writers. Fernando de Contreras, whom we have mentioned in Chapter I, was evidently his inspiration regarding this particular phase of his development:

Contreras tenía un estilo particular en la enseñanza de catequesis, quizá influenciado por el erasmismo de Alcalá, pero también con tonalidades propias, que surgían de su profunda conciencia cristiana. Lo manifiesta en especial en la educación de los niños.¹⁸

San Juan's Doctrina is characterized by a personal tone, especially designed for simplicity and for teaching children. The style is primarily a combination of poetry and dialogue, again not original with him. Nannei points out, however, that Juan de Avila differs in his methodology. Whereas previous Doctrinas may have been lengthy and difficult to memorize, his is not: "Las preguntas y respuestas de la Doc-

trina Cristiana son rápidas, incisivas, encadenadas unas a otras y muy aptas para ser retenidas por la memoria."¹⁹

Juan de Avila's practical mind is also at work, for he has specific instructions as to how the Doctrina should be used by teachers of children as well as of adults. In the sermons we saw how well he was able to adapt to his audiences. Here again the same sensitivity is revealed:

La doctrina que va resumida en coplas y los quince misterios para rezar el rosario, es para hombres rudos o de mala memoria, que saben las cuatro oraciones que desde niños aprendieron, y no pueden aprender más, y, si algo aprenden, con trabajo, y luego lo olvidan, por no recitarlo como las oraciones que cada día dicen; especialmente para hombres del campo, como son pastores, gañanes, caminantes, trajineros, carreteros y trabajadores, etc., a los cuales primero se les ha de dar a entender, y después enseñarles cosa que canten, que es lo que a ellos más aplace para pasar sus trabajos, y así cada día lo cantaran, y quitarán cantares malos y sabrán lo que son obligados; y de esto hay experiencia. (VI, p. 480)

Vision of the World

Having arrived at this particular point, it is apparent that Juan de Avila's spirituality is similar to that of only a few others of his time. His proximity to Talavera has been acknowledged, as well as his affiliation with Carranza, Valdés and the later Spanish mystics. But he does not fit into the mainstream of the Spanish Church nor into the mold fabricated by the Council of Trent. While a product of his age, he is also characterized by a sense of independence and self-awareness that permitted him to transcend the pettiness and reactionary mentality which surrounded him. His suffering was personal and real, and yet his perspective of reality allowed him to penetrate much more deeply than many the matrix of a complex Spanish society and religion in the 16th century. What could appear paradoxical is nothing more, or nothing

less, than the total vision which characterizes a mystic's approach to reality. The inward journey was as much a part of his thrust as the outer dimension. Because he was able to unify both directions, and perceive the validity and importance of each, his was a unique vision. It is to this that we turn at this time.

One interesting aspect that draws attention is his continued references to the Antichrist. Here we find the closest relationship of Juan de Avila to St. Paul, as well as his strict interpretation of St. John the Evangelist, these two saints being the foundation upon which he built.²⁰ Though St. Paul is the primary source and inspiration, as one examines Juan de Avila's writings closely, there are a large number of quotes from St. John. Not surprisingly the two Comentarios bíblicos that Juan de Avila chose to do were on Galatians and the First Epistle of St. John. The latter is where he elucidates his thoughts about the coming of the Antichrist, and so we turn to it at this time. Martín Hernández thinks that it was written in 1546 and that it probably was a compilation of sermons that San Juan preached.

Whether or not Juan de Avila believed that the second coming of Christ was imminent, as did St. Paul, is perhaps matter for theological study. But if he did, the urgency of his writings, his stress on suffering and penance, and his views of the Antichrist all tie in closely together.

A brief look into the world of St. Paul will help to clarify this complex area. It is by no means a thorough view, nor is it intended to be. Certain concepts of St. Paul are important, because they provide a background against which Juan de Avila's thoughts can be examined. One of the most important ideas is the meaning of Christ's coming into

the world. That event made present all that was past and future:

The most fundamentally new thing in Paul's eschatology is his insight that the sending, death upon the cross, and resurrection of Jesus constitute the turning point in the ages. Allied to this as closely as may be is the other insight which he reasoned out and developed as never before, that man, in God's sight lost, sets his seal on the world, and that this man is the recipient of God's act of release in time. The time of faith has thus become the time between Christ's death and resurrection and his future.²¹

Thus, a purely apocalyptic view of the end of the world does not fit in with St. Paul's theology. The fundamental message is that life is based on grace. To live that life "means that from first to last the believer's action is oriented on God's antecedent act in Christ."²² This, then, demands that a Christian be directed to Christ, and not to the world.

His concept of the world, however, does not include fleeing from it, as paradoxical as that may seem. Bornkamm explains:

In Paul's view, Christian life is as far removed from fallenness into the world as it is from flight from it. Faith releases the Christian so he can be independent of the world and at the same time puts him under obligation to stand up to its testing.²³

This idea is very similar to Juan de Avila's world view. He speaks often of the distinction between two "worlds", but his life revolved around prayer and confrontation of the world's problems. This approach could in part explain why he did not continue to live within the framework of an Order. In addition, we have seen that his sympathies were on the side of the "revolutionary" Jesuits, who were not cloistered as such.

St. Paul had a different concept of time. Rather than past, present, and future, the saving event has already taken place. The expectation of the second coming of Christ is present in many of his let-

ters:

The reason why time is foreshortened and running out is that Christ's imminent coming again and the end of the world are at the very door -- so near that many in Paul's own generation would live on to experience them...This is also the context of the directions and counsels in 1 Corinthians 7, and they may not be divorced from it. Nevertheless, for Paul this implies -- far from a cosmic memento mori -- that believers in Christ have already been called to a new existence...and that accordingly their only concern is with the Lord, now present in the Spirit and soon to come in judgment and salvation.²⁴

As we examine Juan de Avila's thoughts on the world, salvation, and eschatology, they are closely related to what has been said about St. Paul. His reform writings express the absolute need for an inner conversion of heart. As the century drew on, San Juan appears to have become more and more distressed with the current situation in Spain. In a letter to a preacher, number 167, he has this to say:

Mas ¡ay de nosotros!, que hemos venido a tiempo, que está el corazón del hombre casado con la tierra; y de este casamiento, ¿cómo saldrán hijos para el cielo?...Pienso yo, padre, que estamos a la fin del mundo, pues estamos en el cabo de los pecados y olvido de Dios; y no sé adónde puede llegar más esta dureza y desprecio de la palabra de Dios y insensibilidad para los negocios del alma. (V, p. 595)

It is by no means the only reference to the last days or to the desperate situation of the Christian Church. In sermon number fifty-six, he has the following to say:

Grandes novedades hay en el mundo que dan muestras no sólo de su vejez, mas de su acabamiento; y, según la doctrina evangélica, el estar los hombres descuidados de la venida del juicio, es una gran señal que ya está a la puerta. La pestilencial doctrina de Lutero y los que le han seguido es un gran testimonio de que ya vienen los mensajeros muy cercanos del Anticristo, cuya persecución ha de ser tan recia, que sería muy justo, aunque se tardase su venida, comenzar a aparejar a los cristianos y darles armas para que estuviesen en pie en guerra tan fuerte, cuanto más teniendo tan poco uso de padecer tormentos por confesión de la fe, y que con razón se debe temer que en persecución tan grande faltarían muchos; pues si los días de ella no se abreviasen, ningún hombre quedaría que fuese salvo. (II, p. 900)

We see here that San Juan considers Luther to be the herald of the Antichrist. Commenting on 1 John 2:18-19, he makes his position very clear:

Si San Pablo dice que antes que venga el juicio habrá amotinamiento [2 Thes. 2:3-10], este hereje lo ha tenido bravísimo. Tengo esto por grandísima señal: que verná presto el fin, y sospecho ser éste el mensajero del Anticristo; y fúndome en esto que he dicho de San Pablo. (IV, p. 264)

That he felt the coming of the Antichrist to be imminent is brought out again in the Causas y remedios de las herejías:

Y débese advertir que, a venir el dicho anticristo de aquí a dos o tres años o ahora, parece que no nos podríamos quejar de nuestro Señor por no nos haber avisado de la tal venida; porque, si no es el mismo venir, otra condición no parece faltar, y para el venir no es menester mucho más de lo que ahora hay. (VI, p. 125)

But Juan de Avila is not satisfied with declaring Luther the precursor. He goes a step further and makes the statement that corrupt Christians are at times worse than heretics. The force of his words is as strong today as it was four hundred years ago:

Gran dolor es, y dígoos la verdad que el día del juicio se ha de levantar la reina de Sabba y la ciudad de Níneve para condenar esta gente; levantarse han los infieles para nos condenar, porque, no teniendo ellos fe, fueron menos malos que nosotros. Quiere decir que ver que, siendo nosotros hijos de Cristo por adopción, hay entre nosotros tantas carnalidades, tantos robos, tantos logros, tanta vanidad, tantos trajes y locuras, que los que dicen con las lenguas que siguen a Cristo crucificado, tanto lo contradigan en las costumbres; de ver el día del juicio que fuimos nosotros más malos que los infieles, será más feo nuestro pecado y será mayor y más confusa nuestra condenación. (IV, pp. 139-140)

One sees here the anguish, pain and frustration that must have prompted such expression. Surrounded by greed, false devotion, a corrupt clergy, and a worldly outlook, Juan de Avila wrote words that penetrate that reality and present a lucid view of what he saw and felt about it.

When speaking about el mundo, San Juan seems to approach it as do St. Paul and St. John. If one examines the Gospel of John, for ex-

ample, one finds many similarities in the approaches of both men to the world. One such example is:

If the world hates you, remember that it hated me before you. If you belonged to the world, the world would love you as its own; but because you do not belong to the world, because my choice withdrew you from the world, therefore the world hates you. Remember the words I said to you: A servant is not greater than his master. If they persecuted me, they will persecute you too; if they kept my word, they will keep yours as well.²⁵

We recall what Juan de Avila wrote to his disciples when they were faced with persecutions from the Inquisition. His entire stress on suffering goes hand in hand with this gospel approach to it.

Another perspective comes by way of contrasts -- this world and the other are not one and the same:

Conviéneos, señora, echar de vos lo visible, si queréis gozar de lo invisible; conviéneos dejar, si queréis recibir; decir de no a cualquiera cosa que a vos venga, por decir a Dios de sí. Vaso sois, echad toda la hiel, y recibiréis miel. (V, p. 241)

We see the distinction that he makes between the opposing visible world and that which is invisible. It is obvious which is the "real" one.

The following passage reveals the same perspective:

Gran luz nos es ver a Dios acá abajo, para saber por dónde hemos de caminar por le agradar. Y pues camina al revés del mundo, escojamos de qué guía más nos fiamos, que a entrambas no podemos seguir; y la del mundo para en error, pues Cristo es verdad que salva a los que la creen y siguen. (V, p. 255)

Persecutions and sufferings can become sublime, if man chooses to orient himself to the crucified Christ. Once again Juan de Avila transforms that which is problematical into something sanctified and, in the following case, beautiful:

Crucifiquemos nuestra carne con El, porque no vivamos según los deseos de ella, mas según el espíritu. Si el mundo nos persiguere, escondámonos en sus santas llagas, y sentiremos las injurias por tan suaves como una música acordada y las piedras preciosas, y las cárceles palacio, y la muerte se nos tornará vida. (V, p. 316)

The world as a transitory phenomenon is reiterated time and time again. One finds mystical terminology used when Juan de Avila refers to it as captivity, imprisonment, or exile:

Pues está el mundo tan en maligno y nuestras fuerzas son tan pequeñas, que somos como flaca candelica entre muchos vientos, que en faltando diligente guarda se nos apaga. Tal es la desventura de los que vimos en este destierro; y por eso los que seso tienen, gimen y temen y desean salir de aquí. (V, p. 533)

To a woman whose husband had died, he writes:

No llore, pues, vuestra merced «la muerte» a solas; llore «la vida», y dé gracias a Dios que la ha ya medio librado de aqueste cieno y la libraré cuando El sea servido del todo. Digo «medio librado», porque el marido y la mujer una cosa es, y lo medio de vuestra merced que está fuera de aqueste mundo, está bien y en libertad; y lo medio que es vuestra merced, está acá en captiverio y miseria. (V, p. 363)

The final aspect of "world" to be dealt with is that of the passing of time -- that which could conceivably be termed an eschatological point of view. The transitory nature of life is something which man must perceive. It is only a preparation for the eternal life to come. San Juan de Avila sees the dichotomy between the world of those who have been blinded and those who follow their own minds rather than the will of God. He is very similar to St. Paul in this respect. In the following section we see how much stress he places on not bowing to the pleasures of the present world:

No penséis que perdéis algo en perder este mundo; que lo más alto es de muy poco valor, y lo que más florido parece se pasa como un vapor breve y se marchita como flaco heno. (V, p. 323)

A realistic approach to the decomposition of the body once again demonstrates how vivid his expression could be. This particular dimension of his writing brings to mind medieval as well as later Baroque writers, especially Calderón, Gracián, and in certain respects Quevedo:

Mirad, hermana, el fin de las cosas, y no seréis engañada

por ellas; que en una sepultura para toda la flor del mundo y la lindeza de la carne, y gusanos comen al cuerpo, por mucho que a placeres y regalos se haya dado; y con gran hedor demuestra la carne lo que es y cuán engañado es quien la sigue. (V, p. 431)

When writing to a friend whose son had died, he tenderly brings the Christian outlook into focus for the bereaved father:

Hale sacado de la peligrosa guerra de este mundo y llevádole a la tierra de paz, donde goce de las victorias que aquí ganó contra los pecados, que son los enemigos de Dios. Y pues quien tiene corazón del mundo se suele gozar cuando su hijo es prosperado en los bienes del mundo, el padre cristiano que ha de tener corazón de Cristo, que es el celestial, gócese con más razón con haber venido a su hijo un reino, que, aunque no se vea acá, no por eso deja de ser verdadero, antes por eso más cierto y verdadero, porque no es a estos ojos visibles. No penséis que se os ha muerto, pues no es muerto quien con Dios vive. (V, p. 456)

This optimism is expressed throughout his writings. For no matter how bleak the world appears (and toward the end of Juan de Avila's days he certainly viewed it as such), there is the hope and reality of the invisible, and true, eternal life. The theme of "desengaño", characteristic of the later writers, is at times previewed in his works. But he is anything but a disillusioned person.

Honra is another facet of his multi-faceted perspective about the world. At different times Juan de Avila refers to the honor of being dishonored for Christ: "Si a Cristo amamos, en la deshonra hallaremos honra, y en los trabajos descanso, y en lo que el mundo aborrece y escupe hallaremos tesoro." (V, p. 277) In a letter to his disciples, he expands upon this idea and adds to it the dimension of compassion that God has for those who suffer for Him:

¡Oh hermanos míos muy mucho amados! Dios quiere abrir vuestros ojos para considerar cuántas mercedes nos hace en lo que el mundo piensa que son desfavores, y cuán honrados somos en ser deshonrados por buscar la honra de Dios, y cuán alta honra nos está guardada por el abatimiento presente, y cuán blandos, amorosos y dulces brazos nos tiene Dios abiertos para recibir a los heridos en la guerra por El, que sin duda exceden

sin comparación en placer a toda la hiel que los trabajos aquí pueden dar. (V, p. 299)

Two more brief passages will further emphasize this point. It is interesting to note that Sta. Teresa also speaks often of honra. Her view of it, as well as of the world, is very much the same as that of Juan de Avila.²⁶

Américo Castro, in De la edad conflictiva, suggests some reasons for the conversos flight into the religious or spiritual realm. Because the converso was not looked upon favorably by the vulgo, the former was in need of asserting his identity in a world which was unfriendly. But the converso also was aware of the cultural heritage that was his. And so, he rose to protect himself from attacks against his person. Castro has this to say about Sta. Teresa in particular:

No pienso que exista relación de causalidad entre el misticismo de Teresa Sánchez de Cepeda (la futura santa) y su conciencia de pertenecer a una familia de conversos. Pero sí creo que el ardor y furia espirituales con que la santa se entregó a Dios y se lanzó a su defensa le sirvieron de firma protección y de refugio frente al ataque inicuo de quienes hallaban máculas de judaísmo en quienes eran paradíjmas de cristiandad. Tal era el drama íntimo de muchos cristianos nuevos, a veces más sinceros y fervorosos que muchos viejos...

Teresa se refugiaba en el propio juicio, fortalecido por el favor divino gracias al cual se sentía elevada sobre "la opinión del vulgo". De la más ínfima bajeza, la conciencia oprimida se sentía alzada gloriosamente a la suprema eminencia. La huida del mundo en este caso, en vez de acobardar exaltaba al huidizo.²⁷

It cannot be denied that the status of the converso in Spain during the 16th century was one fraught with problems. Nor can the fact that most of the great literary figures of that time were of Jewish background be obscured. They were the educated class, stemming from a rich cultural tradition.

The theme of "honra", according to Castro, presents two dimensions: one of establishing one's essential being and the other of tran-

scending social "opinion":

De religiosa, la cuestión se convirtió en esta otra; en la de quién se creía con derecho y con poder para figurar en primera línea dentro del imperio español, para destacarse en modo preminente y no temer ser relegado a un último término.²⁸

For the person involved with religion, such as Sta. Teresa and San Juan de Avila, the question of honor was twofold -- that of the honor of this world and that of the honor of God and eternal life. For Juan de Avila, the importance of the latter opinion of honra was essential: "Mucho os quiere honrar allá; no procuréis la honra de acá." (V, p. 393) And in another letter, the point is repeated:

La honra que vuestra merced recibe en esa tierra, aborrézcala y súfrala como una cruz, pues no menos debe dar pena al cristiano la honra que al mundano la deshonor. (V, p. 711)

Closely related to this concept of mundo and honra, and another fundamental aspect of his ideology, is his perception of linaje. As a converso, he felt keenly the pressures and discrimination of being a member of a "minority". It has been mentioned that this is why he stressed the concept of the mystical body of Christ so strongly. His ideological make-up decried the divisions set up by men against other men on the basis of blood. Again, it is reasonable to conclude that social values could have influenced his views of the world as being "el de acá" and "el de allá". Granted, there is a paradox in the Christian view of the world, no matter who is involved. But his "world" was Spain, and the situation of the converso there was unique. This could explain the fact why he was so much like St. Paul and why the Spirit was so essential to his message of love and possible union with God. In the Audi, filia he writes:

La nobleza del linaje no da la igualdad de naturaleza, mas la ambición de la codicia; y ninguna diferencia puede haber entre

aquellos a los cuales el segundo nacimiento engendró, por el cual así el rico como el pobre, el libre y el esclavo, es de linaje, y sin él no son hechos hijos de Dios. Y el linaje de carne terrena es oscurecido con el resplandor de la celestial honra. Y en ninguna manera ya parece, pues que los que eran antes desiguales por honras del mundo son igualmente vestidos con nobleza de honra celestial y divina. Ningún lugar hay ya allí de linaje, a los cuales el alteza del nacimiento divino los hermosea. (I, p. 523)

In the commentary to the Epistle of John, he once more focuses on this spiritual dimension of true adoption as a son:

En esta hermosura de ser hijo de Dios por gracia, no hay diferencia de gentil ni de judío, de circuncidado y de prepucio, bárbaro y [es] cita, siervo y libre. Y en otra parte dice San Pablo: No hay diferencia del hombre a mujer, mas Cristo es todas las cosas «in omnibus». La liberalidad. Cristo es linaje, y por eso no se hace mención del linaje de la carne. Su linaje es nuestro, su hermosura es nuestra, su saber nuestro, por manera que bien dice el gloriosa San Juan: Para que nuestra compañía sea con el Padre y con su Hijo Jesucristo: con la divinidad de Dios y con la humanidad de Jesucristo. (IV, p. 130)²⁹

The salvation of man was accomplished by the death and resurrection of Christ, and the intimate and very real spiritual union is the lineage which for Juan de Avila is the most important.

This process is taken one step further when he speaks of espiritualización. The closeness, in fact oneness, of a soul with God is nowhere better explained than in one of his sermons on the Holy Spirit:

Mas ¿cómo la diremos a esta junta que el Espíritu Santo quiere hacer y hace con tu ánima? Encarnación no; pero es un grado que tanto junta el ánima con Dios y un casamiento tan junto y tan pacífico, que parece mucho encarnación, aunque por otra parte mucho diferencien. Porque la encarnación fue una tan altísima unión del Verbo divino con su santísima humanidad, que la subió a sí a unidad de persona; lo cual no es acá, sino unidad de gracia; y como allí se dice encarnación del Verbo, se dice acá espiritualización del Espíritu Santo... Finalmente, si no pierdes la gracia, andará [el Espíritu Santo] tan a tu lado, que nada puedas hacer, decir ni pensar, que no pase por su mano y santo consejo. Seráte amigo fiel y verdadero; jamás te dejará si tu no le dejas. (II, p. 431)

This degree of union with God permeated Juan de Avila's total outlook.

Union in the Spirit extended to others, and in a very real sense this permitted him to deal with people in the intimate way in which he did. Through his style we have seen a very personal approach. People were not abstract beings to be dealt with objectively. They were creatures who had the potential to be "spiritualized".³⁰ The key, as always, was to lead a virtuous life -- and so the cycle returns to prayer and asceticism.

We have already pointed out that Paul was also an "outsider" to Jews. His conversion experience made him so. And in the eyes of some Jews, he was, and is, considered to be a "nihilistic mystic" -- the type which destroys a given order to establish another.³¹ St. Paul's vision went against the established religious order of his day. Juan de Avila's approach could not have been so radical, for he was not about founding a new religion. But his approach was nevertheless revolutionary. The established order needed radical changing. This he saw, and that was what he fought for. The perception of the mystic goes beyond this world and recognizes, indeed lives by, a supra-real world. All his actions point to that which is not of this world, but rather that core in which all is made one, through faith, love, and action. As one looks at the history of mysticism, what matters most is the vision that the mystics have. The society and history of their period is indeed important. And placing them in the context of these aspects helps to clarify their peculiar spirituality. But the unique relationship with the supernatural is that which is most important. The "worldly", as most people perceive it, simply disappears in this context.

Conclusion

Let us focus attention on the contributions of San Juan de Avila. His literary style demonstrates the dynamism and spontaneity of a modern methodology. He was able to free the rhetorical tradition from its medieval trappings, while at the same time retaining, and making good use of, the effectiveness of rhetorical techniques. His style reflects balance, lucidity, refinement, and affection, and because of these qualities, it emerges as one of the best of the period. Juan de Avila's understanding of the human psyche is evident in the different variations he was able to use while writing. Showing a great capacity for sensitivity, he said what he had to say with clarity and frankness but was never offensive to his readers.

Juan de Avila was, as we have said, responsible for the renewal of the preaching of his time. By learning from the early Church fathers, such as Sts. Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and Chrysostom, he was able to achieve the directness, spontaneity, and conversational approach that had been lost in medieval times. And he lifted what had become the generally vulgar type of preaching of the 15th century in Spain to the dignified position which he was convinced it deserved.

He also achieved an intimate and personal communication which was to flower and bear great literary fruit in later mystical writers. His insights into prayer, and into the ascetical life, provided a fundamental base for future writers to build on. They became a cornerstone for the mystical literature which emerged shortly after his death.

This saint was able to perceive his world, the Spain of his time, and present answers to the problems facing it. His scientific, progressive, and modern approach was unique. Had that mentality been

adopted by the Spanish ecclesiastical and civil leaders, the history of Spain and Europe would have been altered. His concern for the poor and his understanding of economics could have been instrumental in preventing the rapid and unfortunate decline of the richest and most powerful empire. A concrete example of this scientific approach is Juan de Avila's invention of a type of hydraulic water system.³² This inventiveness was looked upon with dismay by the Church leaders who saw little need for such occupations.³³ They looked negatively at any new technology, for by its very newness it was suspect.

San Juan de Avila was a man of action, rather than reaction. When, for example, he was faced with the reality of a schismatic Christian world, he did not react against it and become defensive. Rather, though disillusioned by it, he offered concrete proposals for remedying the situation in depth. His sadness did not give way to despair, nor did he attempt to escape. He offered practical solutions -- and it should be said that they were reasonable, though difficult, ones to follow. For himself, his "theology of suffering" provided a basis for action and a means by which to cope with temptations and hardships. His message was one of sacrifice and reform -- one which was not heeded. What he proposed was either incomprehensible to many who might have listened to him, or they chose merely to ignore it. But the greatness of his individual efforts cannot be dismissed in view of later developments. This man stood apart from the majority during his lifetime, and he would undoubtedly do so again today. It is interesting to see that the crucial reforms which he called for in the sixteenth century (education and reformation of the priesthood) were again the subject of some of the promulgations of Vatican Council II.

We include at this time a brief look at Vatican II and Juan de Avila. It will serve to illustrate just how modern his approach was. In the "Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church", a small part of the introduction reads:

The bishops also have been designated by the Holy Spirit to take the place of the apostles as pastors of souls and, together with the Supreme Pontiff and subject to his authority, they are commissioned to perpetuate the work of Christ, the eternal Pastor. For Christ commanded the apostles and their successors and gave them the power to teach all peoples, to sanctify men in truth and to give them spiritual nourishment. By virtue, therefore, of the Holy Spirit who has been given to them, bishops have been constituted true and authentic teachers of the faith and have been made pontiffs and pastors.³⁴

Over four hundred years ago, Juan de Avila said the same thing.

Other areas of importance in Vatican II are the renewal of religious life and the training of priests. Both were very much in Juan de Avila's mind, and there have been few who have equalled his thorough program for the education of priests. We find the following areas treated in the present-day documents: (1) more intensive fostering of priestly vocations, (2) major seminaries, (3) greater attention to spiritual training, (4) the revision of ecclesiastical studies, and (5) attention to strictly pastoral training. One need only to read San Juan's Tratados to find these same ideas.

Another document, "Declaration on Christian Education", was also promulgated by Vatican II. Stress on the Catholic school system is seen, as well as the role of parents in Christian education. The fundamental "right" to education is also examined. One paragraph reads:

The Church as a mother is under an obligation, therefore, to provide for its children an education by virtue of which their whole lives may be inspired by the spirit of Christ. At the same time it will offer its assistance to all peoples for promotion of a well-balanced perfection of the human personality, for the good of society in this world and for the development of a world more worthy of man.³⁵

Juan de Avila, in his non-compromising way, might well have re-worded the last sentence to read: "...for the attaining of virtue in society and for the purpose of making man more worthy of this world (i.e., God's creation)." For his program appears to be more concrete and far-reaching. We include sections here to show the contrasts. One of his primary messages is the importance of the virtuous life of those who teach children:

Tómese, pues, en las ciudades y pueblos menores algunas casas capaces y desocupadas, así como hospitales y casas semejantes, si las hay -- y, si no, háganse de nuevo, -- en las cuales sean enseñados los niños a leer y escribir por algún maestro lego, como es costumbre; el cual conviene, así por razón como por el peligro de los tiempos, que sea examinado y hallado hombre de recta fe y de buenas costumbres... (VI, p. 147)

And we also find a very practical consideration:

También conviene que las escuelas sean bien capaces y en sitios saludables, porque, a no ser tales, suelen ser ocasión de enfermar los niños y de que los padres que algún lustre tienen no los quieren enviar allí. (VI, p. 149)

He includes practical means of educating orphans, the ignorant people in the country, and suggests having a night school where working people could attend. The catechetical work should be done in the language of the common people, not in Latin.

From all this we find that Juan de Avila did indeed possess a modern outlook and that many of his reforms fit into the context of Vatican II. Though the twentieth century offers more diversified problems, the fundamental issue of reform and strengthening the faith from within is not different. The issue in San Juan's time was the implementation of decrees promulgated by various Councils. The challenge today remains basically the same.

Another feature of his personality is the fact that during his lifetime he shunned high positions and remained suspicious of power.

He saw it as corruptible and harmful. For Juan de Avila was "alienated" from that world of pomp and circumstance. It had, over the years, been a cause of anguish, suffering, and injustice to him. Above all, that arena spoke to him of hypocrisy and self-indulgence. It went against everything that he stood for.

Juan de Avila was what one might be tempted to call a "modern St. Paul". Certainly his approach was radical, and he did rely on St. Paul's writings. But his was also a radical Gospel approach. He returned to the writers who had been most like himself in their origin, and he related best to their uncompromising Christian doctrines. But he also incorporated a tradition beginning with the Church fathers and progressing to people like Sts. Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Bonaventure, and Francis of Assisi. To negate the mark of Franciscan spirituality would be to ignore an area that had a profound influence on his sensitive and compassionate nature.

He was both a man of his time and a man ahead of it. And as with great literary figures, the measure of his greatness radiates from the framework of the period in which he lived and wrote. Some of the reforms he advocated no longer seem feasible to us. But the spirit in which they were proclaimed, and the vision with which they were perceived, are of lasting value. His writings permit us to penetrate a period of history which is rich in literary and artistic production, and one which at the same time remains a mystery. Above all they allow us to view the faith and optimism of a man who did not capitulate in his convictions. It is that faith which resounds in all of his writings and which caused him to transform adversity into positive and thoughtful action.

His total literary production exhibits a completeness that has been found in very few authors. The manual for the spiritual life, the Audi, filia, was acclaimed not only by Spaniards but also by the English, Italians, Germans, and French. Translations of the work are found in each of these languages.³⁶ It remains today a classic of its type.

Juan de Avila's sermons stand out as excellent examples of the renewal of preaching advocated by the reformers of the sixteenth century. The fact that so many remain, some in two or three transcriptions, attests to the importance given them. And, as we have shown, subsequent authors who wrote about preaching referred to him as a model. Perhaps his greatest contribution is in this area. His ability to communicate ideas, the intimate nature of the sermons, and the eloquence with which he spoke are without a doubt of major importance.

But as one examines each area of his literary production carefully, it becomes readily apparent that each aspect is, in fact, a part of a whole which could represent a small facet on a multi-faceted diamond. Each section stands out as equal to, and at times superior to, other similar writings of his time.

If we turn to the letters for a moment, the importance given them by other European countries is most revealing. More than the Audi, filia, these letters were translated and circulated outside Spain.³⁷ It was to his friends and disciples, however, that the epistles were undoubtedly most precious. For each one contains a message of hope, or comfort, or advice. The individuality of the letters reflects the care and concern of a man dedicated to his office of pastor of souls.

The Tratados de reforma, perhaps the most misunderstood of his writings, speak to us of the urgency of renewal of spirit and of the

correction of abuses in the Church. We have seen that the Memoriales, allegedly written for Trent, do in fact pose grave problems which make it virtually impossible to conclude that they were instrumental in the final promulgations of the Council. Our opinion at this time is that in reality Juan de Avila and his writings played a negligible role at Trent.

Early in his career, perhaps between 1540 and 1545, he wrote the Comentarios bíblicos. They demonstrate the care with which he approached Scripture. The commentary of Galatians is organized and follows the epistle verse by verse. It is his most complete study of a single scriptural writing. As he does with the commentary of 1 John, Juan de Avila stresses the value of moral lessons to be learned from these letters. The works complement each other and reveal the excellent command that he had of Scripture. This interest in Scripture was crystalized, as we said earlier, in the establishment of the Facultad de Biblia at the University of Baeza in 1546. Juan de Avila knew that it was essential for preachers to have a thorough knowledge of the Bible. He thus exhibits an affinity with those who were to become known as the biblistas, notably Benito Arias Montano and Fr. Luis de León. Following the footsteps of Erasmus and Valdés, he also developed a keen faculty for biblical exegesis.

Other writings, though classified as "minor" by the BAC editors, round out the picture of Juan de Avila's literary production. His Tra-tado del amor de Dios is one of the most beautiful works about God's love to be found. The Doctrina cristiana also stands out as an important catechetical device used for teaching the principles of the Christian faith.

When placed in the context of other recognized saints and writers of his time, Juan de Avila's position of importance becomes eminently clear. It was he who assisted Ignatius in establishing the Jesuits in Spain and who sent many of his most illustrious disciples to him. And it was he to whom Sta. Teresa turned for guidance when she began her career as a spiritual and mystical writer. Juan de Avila was involved in the direction that St. Francis Borgia's life was to take, and he was responsible for the conversion of San Juan de Dios. He was a model for others to imitate, not only personally, but literarily as well. Fr. Luis de Granada is a prime example of this. San Juan de Avila, about whom little is known, deserves the attention that others of his time have received. Perhaps now that our world is embarking upon the twenty-first century, that attention will be forthcoming.

Footnotes, Chapter V

¹Avila, op. cit., vol. 6, pp. 3-28.

²"Los distintos tratados de reforma del Apóstol de Andalucía los agrupamos ahora fácilmente en torno a dos puntos: Trento y Toledo, que, a su vez, no son más que dos facetas de un solo cristal: el concilio y su aplicación." (Ibid., p. 27).

³An interesting detail relative to this is provided by Marín Ocete: "Si Juan de Avila no pudo acompañar a su amigo a la asamblea tridentina, no dejó de prestarle su consejo lleno de caridad apostólica, y «...dióle un memorial, con avisos divinos para reformatión de la cristiandad, en especial del estado eclesiástico», añade el biógrafo Muñoz y confirmólo Ruiz de Mesa, aunque ni uno ni otro dieron particular noticia de su contenido y aún el segundo pensaba que había cesado la necesidad de imprimirlo, remediados en la cristiandad los males que se pretendían reformar, cuando se escribía." (Marín Ocete, op. cit., p. 182) We undoubtedly see here a reference to the decrees of Trent of 1546-1547 and possibly the session of 1551-1552.

⁴Canons and Decrees, op. cit., pp. 105-106.

⁵Avila, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 23.

⁶Marín Ocete, op. cit., p. 185.

⁷"En el desarrollo de las sesiones conciliares a que asistió después Pedro Guerrero, veremos la influencia que en los respectivos cánones tuvieron estos consejos del maestro." (Ibid.).

⁸P. Camilo M. Abad, "Los dos memoriales del Beato Avila para Trento," Miscelánea Comillas, 3 (1962), p. 29.

⁹Canons and Decrees, op. cit., p. 137.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 167.

¹¹Ibid., p. 219.

¹²"No sólo mudó de parecer, antes juzgó que era mucho mejor tener renta: Siempre soy amiga de que sean los monesterios u del todo pobres u que tengan manera que no hayan menester las monjas importunar a nadie." Efrén de la Madre de Dios and O. Steggink, Tiempo y vida de Santa Teresa (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1968), p. 296.

¹³The Enchiridion spells out the inner reform that must be accomplished in the soul. The need for prayer, meditation on Scripture, the dichotomy of flesh and spirit, and the notion of the mystical body are included in it. This book was translated into Spanish in 1524. There is little doubt that Juan de Avila read it.

¹⁴"Considérese ahora por Dios, por los que esto leyeren qué

obra es ésta y si excede a toda crueldad e injusticia que pueda ser pensada y si les cuadra bien a los tales cristianos llamarlos diablos, y si sería más encomendar a los indios a los diablos del infierno que es encomendar a los cristianos de las Indias." Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias (México: Colección Metropolitana, 1974), pp. 109-110.

¹⁵Avila, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 359.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 358.

¹⁷"En definitiva, que en vísperas del Concilio de Trento, y durante su transcurso, tenemos en España un gran movimiento de reforma, que se intenta sobre todo a partir de la enseñanza del catecismo." Carlos María Nannei, La «Doctrina cristiana» de San Juan de Avila (Pamplona: Ed. Universidad de Navarra, S. A., 1977), p. 77.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 59. For further information on Contreras, one can see G. de Aranda, Vida del Siervo de Dios, exemplar de sacerdotes, el Venerable Padre Fernando de Contreras (Sevilla, 1692).

¹⁹Ibid., p. 103.

²⁰About the importance of St. Paul's influence, Martínez Hernández writes: "Escritos, gestos y vida, todo en el era paulino...Habla de Pablo en sus cartas, en la dirección de almas, en la calle y en el púlpito. Cita sus textos en lengua vulgar, lo que a veces da motivo de escándalo a personas demasiado timoratas." (Avila, op. cit., vol 4, p. 11).

²¹Günther Bornkamm, Paul (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) p. 199.

²²Ibid., p. 201.

²³Ibid., p. 205.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 206-207.

²⁵The Jerusalem Bible, op. cit., p. 180.

²⁶One example follows from the Camino de perfección: "Tengo para mí que honras y dineros casi siempre andan juntos, y quien quiere honra, no aborrece dineros, y que quien los aborrece que se le da poco de honra...La verdadera pobreza trae una honra consigo que no hay quien la sufra; la pobreza que es tomada por solo Dios -- digo -- no hay menester contentar a nadie sino a El; y es cosa muy cierta en no habiendo menester a nadie, tener muchos amigos." (Sta. Teresa, Obras, op. cit., p. 364).

²⁷Américo Castro, De la edad conflictiva (Madrid: Taurus, 1961), pp. 191-192.

²⁸Ibid., p. 37.

²⁹Sta. Teresa echoes these feelings: "Nuestro Señor me quiso dar luz en este caso, y así me dijo una vez cuán poco al caso harían delante del juicio de Dios estos linajes y estados; y me hizo una reprehensión grande porque daba oídos a los que me hablaban en esto, que no eran cosas para los que ya tenemos despreciado el mundo." (*Ibid.*, p. 868).

³⁰Another example of the degree of this union is found in another sermon: "Si alguno me quiere bien, guarde mi palabra. ¿Qué amores tan bien pagados son amar a Jesucristo! ¿Bendito sea el Señor! ¿Hemos de amar de balde? ¿Qué nos habéis de dar porque os amemos? Dice Cristo nuestro Redemptor que vendremos a él, y moraremos en él, que lo tomaremos por posada. ¿Quién son los que han de venir? El Padre y el Hijo y el Espíritu Santo; porque dondequiera que ellos van, va el Espíritu Santo: todas las personas de la Santísima Trinidad; ¿cómo quien no dice nada! Y no nos iremos luego -- dice nuestro Redemptor; -- moraremos en él, haremos nuestra habitación...Espanto pone, hermanos, ver el cuidado que toda la Santísima Trinidad tiene y el amor tan grande con que anda tras el hombre." (II, pp. 409-410).

³¹"And it is indicative of one of the enormous tensions that run through the history of Judaism that this most destructive of all visions should have been formulated in its most unrestrained form by one who rebelled against the Jewish law and broke away from Judaism." Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 29.

³²See Francisco Márquez, "Los inventos de San Juan de Avila," *op. cit.*

³³"Decir ingeniería en aquellos siglos equivalía en la práctica a referirse a extranjeros, casi siempre alemanes o italianos." (*Ibid.*, p. 5).

³⁴*Documents of Vatican II* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1975), ed. by Austin P. Flannery, pp. 564-565.

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 729-730.

³⁶Italian translations appeared in 1581, 1610, 1759, and 1769. The French came out in 1588, 1623, 1662, and 1954. Germany produced editions in 1601 and 1620, and England one in 1620. The actual titles and editions can be found on pp. 35-47 of vol. 1 of the BAC edition.

³⁷France published the letters in 1588 (four editions), 1608, 1630, 1653, 1857, 1927. Some are not complete. Italy did so in 1590, 1593 (two editions), 1601, 1612, 1614, 1668, 1669, 1728, 1863, and 1937. Certain ones appeared in England in 1631, 1632, and 1904. Portugal produced an edition in 1762.

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