



Library and
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-33462-1

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-33462-1

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.


Canada

The Flame that Enkindles All

*Francisco de Osuna, the Exercise of Recollection, and the Overarching Law
of Love*

by

© Bradley Wolcott

A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Religious Studies

Memorial University of Newfoundland

May 2007

St. John's
Newfoundland

Abstract

Francisco de Osuna was an important figure in sixteenth century Spain. He authored a number of spiritual texts, including The Third Spiritual Alphabet and the Ley de Amor. Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet examines the exercise of recollection, while his Ley de Amor is concerned with the law of love. Modern scholarship has primarily focused on Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet, while, at the same time, ignoring his Ley de Amor. This thesis will demonstrate that Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor does not deserve to go unnoticed, as many of its ideas underlie those ideas contained within the Third Alphabet. This thesis will also put Francisco de Osuna into perspective by comparing his own ideas with those of other Franciscan writers who lived during his time.

Acknowledgments

I acknowledge that this thesis would not be possible without the support of many people and organizations. In particular, I thank my supervisor, Dr. David Bell, whose knowledge, suggestions, and guidance were invaluable.

I also thank Dr. Tom Robinson, Dr. Hillary Rodrigues, and Mr. Craig Ginn for giving me an interest in Religious Studies.

I am grateful to my father, Greg Wolcott, for helping me edit this thesis.

I also acknowledge the generous financial support from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and Memorial University.

Finally, I wish to thank all of my friends and family who supported me these past two years, especially my wife Raquel.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter I: The Life of Francisco de Osuna	3
Chapter II: The Third Spiritual Alphabet and the Exercise of Recollection	17
Chapter III: The Ley de Amor	46
Chapter IV: The Flame that Enkindles All	68
Chapter V: The Franciscan Order and the Law of Love	89
Conclusion	111
Bibliography	112

Introduction

Francisco de Osuna was a Spanish Franciscan writer who lived during the sixteenth century. He was the author of a number of books on various subjects, including the exercise of recollection and the law of love. These two subjects serve as the foundation for two of Fray Francisco's larger works: the Third Spiritual Alphabet and the Ley de Amor. The Third Alphabet is primarily concerned with recollection, while the Ley de Amor, as the title suggests, focuses on the law of love. Nevertheless, in spite of these differences, if one studies these two texts together, it becomes apparent that they are intertwined. The reason being is that the law of love underlies many of recollection's stages.

Unfortunately, modern scholarship has neglected to study this connection, and, instead, has focused primarily on Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet. As such, modern scholarship has presented an unbalanced view of Fray Francisco's concept of recollection and of the Franciscan himself. The following thesis will present a clearer picture of Fray Francisco's recollection by examining his Third Alphabet in light of his Ley de Amor. In doing so, this thesis will also put Fray Francisco into perspective, as his Ley de Amor more fully demonstrates his Franciscan background.

The thesis will be divided into five major sections. The first section will be a short biography of Fray Francisco. In addition to examining Fray Francisco's life, this section will also examine the major events that were shaping the Spanish Franciscan Order at the time.

The second section will be devoted to Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet and its ideas concerning recollection. In order that the reader may better understand the exercise of recollection, this section will briefly demonstrate the origins of the exercise. This will be followed by an examination of Fray Francisco's own notion of recollection, from its beginning stages to its end goal.

The third section will examine Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor. As this text is logically organized, this section will, for the most part, examine it chapter by chapter.

The fourth section will contain the main argument of this thesis. Here, Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet will be discussed in connection with his Ley de Amor. This section will demonstrate how the law of love underlies each of the stages of recollection.

The fifth, and final, section will put Fray Francisco into perspective, and, furthermore, it will demonstrate how Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor gives a clearer picture of the author than does his Third Alphabet. The reason being is that the Ley de Amor more fully demonstrates his Franciscan background. This idea will be explained using the works of Bernadino de Laredo, St. Pedro of Alcántara, Diego de Estella, and Juan de los Ángeles. Each of these writers was a Spanish Franciscan who lived around the time of Fray Francisco. In examining the texts of these writers, it will be shown that within the Spanish Franciscan Order the law of love has a greater importance than does the exercise of recollection.

Chapter I: The Life of Francisco de Osuna

Francisco de Osuna was born during the latter half of the fifteenth century.¹ His name is derived from his birthplace of Osuna: a Spanish town approximately ninety- six kilometres north of Seville. Little is known about the early life of this Franciscan, except that his family was in service to the counts of Ureña.² This is clear from Fray Francisco's First Spiritual Alphabet, wherein he dedicates the book to Juan Téllez Giron: the fourth count of Ureña. Here, Fray Francisco writes that as a child he 'lived off the crumbs that came from Giron's table.' He also claims that his ancestors served Giron's household for a very long time.³ Giron was an important figure in the town, as he established its Colegio-Universidad de la Inmaculada Concepción in 1548, and various monasteries in the area, including a Franciscan convent in nearby Morón.⁴ Furthermore, in 1562, King

¹ There is no consensus on the exact year of Francisco de Osuna's birth. Laura Calvert (Francisco de Osuna and the Spirit of the Letter [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 1973], 11), Mary E. Giles ("Introduction," in The Third Spiritual Alphabet, Francisco de Osuna [New York: Paulist Press, 1981], 5), and Fidèle de Ros (Un maître de Sainte Thérèse, le père François d'Osuna, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine spirituel [Paris: Beauchesne, 1934], 6) estimate it to be somewhere around 1492, while E. Allison Peers (Studies of the Spanish Mystics, 2 vols. [London: Methuen and Company, 1924], 1:66) and P. Miguel Angel ("La vie franciscaine en Espagne entre les deux couronnements de Charles- quint," Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos XVIII [July/August 1914]: 1) place it around 1497. This lack of consensus stems from differing interpretations of Fray Francisco's claim that, as a youth, he was present at the battle of Tripoli in 1510 ("*cum praesentialiter puer adessem victoriae tripolis, quam hyspani obtinuerunt*") [Fray Francisco, Sanctuarium Biblicum, as quoted in Ros, 6]). Miguel Angel interprets this passage to mean that Fray Francisco accompanied his father to Tripoli when he was approximately twelve to fourteen years of age, thus placing his birth at, or around, 1497 (Miguel Angel, XVIII:1). Ros, however, disagreed with such an interpretation. Instead, he believed that Fray Francisco must have been at least eighteen, as there would be no point in bringing any children younger than this to battle (Ros, 6). Furthermore, according to Ros, the term for 'youth' in Latin (*puer*) can denote someone who is seventeen to nineteen years of age, thus placing Fray Francisco's birth at, or around, 1492 (*ibid.*).

² Giles, "Intro," 5.

³ "*Como yo dede niño me aya criado a vras migajas e mis antecessores ayan sido criados familiares de vra casa.*" Fray Francisco, as quoted in Ros, 5, n. 2.

⁴ Alfonso Pozo Ruiz, "Juan Téllez Giron: IV conde de Ureña 1494-1558," 1 February 2006 <http://www.personal.us.es/alporu/historia/osuna_fundador.htm>

Phillip II named Giron's son the first Duke of Osuna, which would begin a powerful line of dukes in the area.⁵

The first major episode that we know of in the life of Fray Francisco is that in 1510 he witnessed the Battle of Tripoli, in present-day Libya. Some years earlier, Queen Isabella had asked her successors to recapture Northern Africa from the Moors. Cardinal Cisneros took her request upon himself, and under his direction a number of Moorish lands were taken, including Peñon de la Gomera (an island off of Morocco) in 1508, and Oran (a city in present-day Algeria) in 1509.⁶ Later, in 1510, General Pedro Navarro led the Spanish Army to the Mediterranean port of Tripoli. Within a mere eleven hours, Navarro and his 15,000 men were able to annex the city.⁷ Years afterwards, Fray Francisco would recount the battle in a Latin sermon that he dedicated to St. James.⁸ Here, Fray Francisco credited the saint with the victory, as it was on his feast day (July 25th) that the battle occurred.⁹

St. James seemed to play an integral role in the life of Fray Francisco, as after the Battle of Tripoli he made a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela,¹⁰ a city in the province of Galicia, where, tradition states, the body of St. James is buried. According to legend, the saint went there to preach in the first century, and afterwards returned to Palestine,

⁵ One such powerful duke was Don Pedro Téllez Giron (1579-1624). By the early seventeenth century, he had become the Viceroy of Naples, possessed a powerful fleet of boats, and waged an unofficial war against the Venetian Republic (Reginald T. Davies, The Golden Century of Spain: 1501-1602 [London: Macmillan, 1967], 240).

⁶ Ros, 14.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Francisco de Osuna, "Sermon for St. James," in Sanctuarium Biblicum (Toulouse: 1533). Bibliographic information is taken from Peers, Studies, 1:351, n. 380.

⁹ "Unde in die signanter sancti Jacobi Majoris obtenta est Tripolis victoria tam facili congressu quod decem milibus sarracenorum trucidatis." Fray Francisco, Sanctuarium, as quoted in Ros, 17, n. 1.

¹⁰ Fray Francisco records this event in the Fifth Spiritual Alphabet. His description of it can also be found in Ros, 31, n. 1. Ros believed that the pilgrimage probably took place somewhere between 1510 and 1513 (Ros, 32).

where Herod Agrippa executed him in 44 C.E. Agrippa refused to bury the body, but St. James's disciples were able to recover it and bring it back to the northwest of Spain. Here, they secretly laid the saint to rest in one of the surrounding forests.¹¹

Fray Francisco gives very little detail about the pilgrimage, but Ros suggests that it may have signalled the beginning of Fray Francisco's religious vocation.¹² Using biographies of contemporary Franciscans as a template, Ros estimates that Fray Francisco became attracted to the priesthood when he was in his late teens or early twenties: around the time of his pilgrimage to Compostela (c. 1510-13).¹³ If this were the case, Fray Francisco probably spent the next three years studying Latin and rhetoric. Afterwards, he would be professed as a member of the Friars Minor of the Regular Observance and would have to study for at least another eight years. If all went according to plan, and if Ros's timeline is correct, Fray Francisco would have been ordained in the Franciscan Order at, or around, 1520.¹⁴

At this time the Spanish Franciscans were experiencing some major changes, particularly in regards to its two main branches: the Conventuals and Observants.¹⁵ The

¹¹ "Santiago: History and Legend," 27 January 2006
<<http://www.red2000.com/spain/santiago/history.html>>

¹² Ros, 33.

¹³ For example, Ros illustrates that a similar timeline of events can be found in the lives of P. Gonzaga (future General of the Franciscan Order) and Francisco de Ortiz (Ros, 42-3).

¹⁴ Ros's full explanation of this hypothesis can be found in *Un Maitre*, 30-46. As Ros admits, this timeline is not certain, as it is based on the lives of other Franciscans and not on Fray Francisco himself. Furthermore, in order for this timeline to work, one first has to accept Ros's estimation that Fray Francisco was born in 1492 (p. 3, n. 1). As with Fray Francisco's date of birth, Ros's timeline of Fray Francisco's studies is not accepted by every scholar. Peers, for example, claims that Fray Francisco probably entered the priesthood when he was very young (around the age of thirteen), and, furthermore, probably did not journey to Compostela until he was well into his studies (Peers, *Studies*, 1:66). Peers, however, does not explain how he comes to this conclusion.

¹⁵ The origins of the two branches lie in Italy with a small hermitage called Brughiano. In the fourteenth century, a friar by the name of John de Valle began the monastery, which rests in an inhospitable region on the borders of Umbria and the Marches. The community was centred on the idea of Franciscan reform, in

main distinction between the two groups was that the latter strictly ‘observed’ St. Francis’s rule of poverty, while the former was thought to have lost sight of it.¹⁶ Up until the beginning of the sixteenth century the Observants were the minority in Spain, but this would change with Cardinal Cisneros and the Spanish Inquisition.¹⁷ In 1507, Cisneros was made Inquisitor General and one of his first tasks was to reform the Franciscan Order (to which he belonged). He visited its monasteries, burned their privileges, and confiscated their revenues. The purging had its effect, and by 1508 the Conventuals had lost much of their influence.¹⁸ Years later, in 1517, the Observants became the major Franciscan branch under the Papal Bull of Union.¹⁹ It was to this same group that Fray Francisco took his vows in the early sixteenth century.²⁰

This reversal of power, however, would not be the only major event for the Spanish Franciscans at the time. The Order was also experiencing a dispute over the prayers of recollection (*recogimiento*) and abandonment (*dejamiento*). The main difference between the two concerned the role of the individual in reaching God. In recollection, the soul was thought to participate actively in the mystical process: it was

the hope of returning to St. Francis’s ideals of absolute poverty, humility, and simplicity (John R. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the Year 1517* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968], 369). Soon, the reform caught on, and by 1368 those who followed it were called the Observants (ibid., 372). By the early fifteenth century, the Spanish Franciscans had Observant monasteries in La Aguilera and El Abrojo (ibid., 379).

¹⁶ For example, at around the time that the two branches split apart, certain Franciscan monasteries were known to be very wealthy. Many friars collected handsome sums for their prayers and by people who wished to have mass said for them. Furthermore, many friars still possessed the money they had prior to joining the Order (Moorman, 354-6). As John Moorman writes, “[the Franciscan friars] were engaged in all kinds of financial transactions. Some had personal incomes from rents and kept their own banking accounts. Some made money by acting as inquisitors, or by buying and selling” (ibid., 357).

¹⁷ Giles, “Intro,” 6.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ It should be noted that the Bull, published by Pope Leo X, affected Franciscans everywhere, and not just those in Spain (John Abela, “History of the Franciscan Movement,” 3 February 2006 <<http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/fra/FRAht06.html>>).

²⁰ Giles, “Intro,” 6.

conscious of itself, and, in turn, the divine.²¹ Abandonment, on the other hand, maintained that passivity was needed to approach God. The divine, in other words, did the acting, while the soul remained passive.²² In 1523, Fray Francisco became directly involved in this conflict. While in Salceda, he was made a ‘consultant on questions of mental prayer’, wherein he took the side of those who practiced recollection.²³

Around the same year, Fray Francisco became involved in another dispute. This one concerned the Spanish Inquisition and a group called the *alumbrados*. The origins of the group lie with the philosophy of illuminism, as put forth by Desiderius Erasmus. Illuminism held the belief that God’s grace needed to be interiorised, thus putting less emphasis on rituals and sacraments.²⁴ Erasmus’s ideas were widely accepted within Spain, and would play a key role in shaping the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá.²⁵ At one point, during the early 1520’s, Cardinal Cisneros even offered Erasmus a chair at Alcalá (a position he would decline).²⁶ Yet, by the mid 1520’s, a number of Spanish religious figures had taken illuminism to its extremes.²⁷ These people were referred to as ‘the enlightened ones’ or *alumbrados* (sometimes called *illuminati* in Latin).

For the most part, the *alumbrados* were actually composed of Franciscan monks/nuns.²⁸ As such, many were familiar with the prayer of abandonment. This type

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid. I have kept the discussion between these two types of prayer to a minimum, as both will be explored in more detail in due course.

²³ Ros, 44-6. Ros was able to gather this information from the *Orbis seraphicus* (as cited in Ros, 46, n. 1). The *Orbis seraphicus* is a set of volumes on the general history of the Franciscan Order.

²⁴ Giles, “Intro,” 4.

²⁵ Ibid., 3-4.

²⁶ Stanley G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism: A Historical Overview* (Madison: Methuen and Company, 1924), 40.

²⁷ Giles, “Intro,” 4.

²⁸ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), 72.

of prayer, combined with an exaggerated form of illuminism, led the group to believe that the only way to God was through a form of nihilism. All external acts/rituals had to be discarded. These included virtuous deeds, external devotion, vocal prayer, penance, the Eucharist, and reading the Bible.²⁹ Furthermore, it was thought that once an individual had ‘become enlightened’ (*alumbrar*), then they were safeguarded against any future sin. At this point, the grace of God had completely cleansed them.³⁰

Such beliefs were clearly contrary to the teachings of the Church, and, in 1524, the Inquisition began to arrest the *alumbrados*.³¹ Yet, in spite of the Inquisitor’s efforts, the *alumbrados* did not quickly die out. By the late sixteenth century they were travelling from city to city in order to avoid the Inquisition. The group was able to survive until the 1620’s when the Inquisitors finally caught up with them in Seville. They arrested the *alumbrados*’ remaining leaders under the orders of the Count Duke of Olivares, a powerful friend of King Phillip IV.³²

As with many Franciscans during the 1520’s, Fray Francisco had some connections to the *alumbrados*,³³ but the full extent of this relationship is uncertain.

²⁹ Giles, “Intro,” 4.

³⁰ Ibid. This is a very broad description of the *alumbrados*’ belief system. There were exceptions to it, as each sect of the *alumbrados* held slightly different ideas (Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth Century Spain: The Alumbrados* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992], 3). For example, according to Alastair Hamilton, “those [*alumbrados*] investigated in Baeza . . . can be said to have led an intermediate position, [and] the *alumbrados* of Llerena and Seville are a far cry from those of Toledo” (ibid.). However, to discuss each of these distinctions would be beyond the scope of this thesis, thus I have been forced to make some generalizations. For a more thorough investigation of the group’s ideas, the reader may be referred to Hamilton, 25-132.

³¹ Ibid., 51.

³² Ibid., 123-5.

³³ For example, as previously mentioned, the *alumbrados* were primarily composed of Franciscan monks/nuns. Furthermore, the group tended to gather in towns with Franciscan monasteries or retreat houses, including Valladolid, Guadalajara, and Salceda (Giles, “Intro,” 7-8). Finally, many Franciscans who were not within the group itself would still exchange letters with certain *alumbrados* (Miguel Angel presents a list of such Franciscans in XVII:210).

Miguel Angel has proposed that Fray Francisco was on a special mission from his superiors to witness the group's actions. According to the scholar, Fray Francisco pretended to sympathize with the *alumbrados* in order to be present at their speeches and to examine their methods. Afterwards, he would convey this information to the Inquisition, who would then use it in future trials against the group.³⁴ Many scholars, however, do not accept this theory, or, at least, pay it no attention. Ros, for example, believes that there is nothing to verify Miguel Angel's assumptions.³⁵ Furthermore, the biographies on Fray Francisco by Calvert and Peers do not even mention it.³⁶

More certain is the fact that Fray Francisco had some ties with the *alumbrada* Francesca Hernández and her defender in the Inquisitorial process: Francisco de Ortiz. Hernández was born during the latter half of the fifteenth century to a poor family in the town of Canella. Initially, she wished to join a convent, but her family could not afford the education that she needed.³⁷ Instead, she became a *beata*: a woman that was not aligned with any religious order, but who still devoted her life to God. As a *beata*, Hernández soon made friends with a number of men who generously gave her money and lodgings. She was waited upon by servants, slept in beds of fine linen, and, for a while, lived in the

³⁴ "On a l'impression, dit le Révérend Père, que désireux de se rendre parfaitement compte des phénomènes qu'il aurait à décrire dans son traité, ce Maître de recueillement n'hésitant pas à prendre part à des réunions plus ou moins clandestines dans lesquelles enseignaient et dogmatisaient les docteurs de l'erreur et, peut-être même, à passer extérieurement pour leur disciple, a fin de s'initier soit au bon, soit au faible de leurs systèmes et de pouvoir par comparaison, en dégager la véritable Voie de l'union avec Dieu." Miguel Angel, XVII:179.

³⁵ Ros, 96.

³⁶ This is in spite of both scholars claiming to have used Miguel Angel's articles in their research: Calvert, 13; Peers, *Studies*, I:352, n. 390. It should be noted that two other scholars on Fray Francisco, Mary Giles ("Intro," 8) and Melquiades Andres Martin ("Osuna [François de]," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 19 vols., ed. Marcel Viller, et. al. [Paris: Beauchesne, 1982], 11:1048), briefly mention Miguel Angel's theory, but present nothing further to substantiate it.

³⁷ Mary E. Giles, "Francisca Hernández and the Sexuality of Religious Dissent," in *Women in the Inquisition*, ed. Mary E. Giles (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 75.

residence of a royal accountant by the name of Pedro de Cazalla.³⁸ Furthermore, because of their generosity, Hernández was thought to have sexual relations with several of these same men.³⁹

Due to her lifestyle, and her association with the *alumbrados*, the Inquisition arrested Hernández on March 31, 1529.⁴⁰ Her trial would drag on until 1534, when she was fined and ordered to break any former ties with the *alumbrados*.⁴¹ According to Eduard Boehmer, it was during these trials that Hernández claimed to be a friend of Fray Francisco⁴². On a similar note, Ros maintains that Fray Francisco carried a consecrated chaplet that Hernández had given to him.⁴³ Nevertheless, the Inquisition never investigated Fray Francisco for this relationship (or, at least, there is no evidence of it), which may indicate that the two of them were not very close. For instance, Francisco de Ortiz, a friend of Fray Francisco's (and a fellow Franciscan), was forced to stand trial for the same reason.

Ortiz was born in Toledo in 1497. Some years later, as a member of the Friars Minor, he attended the University of Alcalá, where he was known to be an excellent

³⁸ Ibid., 76.

³⁹ For instance, in 1519, the Inquisition suspected Hernández of having 'improper relations' with three of her disciples: Bernardino de Tovar (an eminent Greek scholar), Diego de Villareal, and Antonio de Medrano. All three of them, plus Hernández, were summoned to the Inquisitor's court, but, in the end, no charges were laid. Afterwards, Hernández was kept under surveillance in Valladolid (Hamilton, 52-3).

⁴⁰ Giles, "Francisca," 77-8. It should be noted that Giles believes that Hernández was not an *alumbrada* in the fullest sense of the word. According to Giles, she was an *alumbrada* only insofar that she relegated external rituals to a secondary status. Furthermore, Hernández actually taught the prayer of recollection (ibid., 79). Nevertheless, a number of scholars still call Hernández an *alumbrada* (or, at least, assume that she had close ties with the group), including Hamilton (19-20), Ros (77-105), and Calvert (18).

⁴¹ Kamen, 88.

⁴² Eduard Boehmer, *Franziska Hernandez und Frai Francisco Ortiz, Anfänge Reformatorischer Bewegungen in Spanien unter Kaiser Karl V* (Leipzig: 1865), 26. Boehmer does not elaborate on this idea any further.

⁴³ Ros, 96. Ros gives no further details regarding this information, nor does he give its source.

student.⁴⁴ According to Ros, Fray Francisco was attending the university at the same time (c.1518-22), and if this were the case, both would have taken the same classes, and may have studied together under the instructions of Ciruelo, Miranda, and Lebrija.⁴⁵

Afterwards, Fray Francisco and Ortiz journeyed to the town of Pastrana, where both taught the local laity in the prayer of recollection.⁴⁶ Ortiz's contacts with the *alumbrados*, in particular Hernández, began around this time (c.1522). By 1523, he was already making frequent journeys to Valladolid in order to visit the *beata*.⁴⁷ He was advised to end this relationship by Antonio Calcena (the future bishop of Tortosa), but Ortiz ignored the warning.⁴⁸ His trips would continue until 1529, when the Inquisition arrested Hernández and some of her followers, including Ortiz.

Yet, unlike the others who were arrested, Ortiz was not detained for having heretical beliefs.⁴⁹ Instead, "his principal crime was his overriding devotion to the *beata*."⁵⁰ Ortiz's admiration for Hernández was made evident in a speech that he gave during one of these trials, wherein he claimed, "[Hernández] had not come to impose a new way of life, but to 'end the blindness' which had led men to concentrate on external things. The revolution she was about to accomplish was purely spiritual."⁵¹

⁴⁴ Ibid., 98, n. 1.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 46.

⁴⁶ Hamilton, 30.

⁴⁷ Ros, 98, n. 1.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 89.

⁴⁹ Hamilton, 84. In fact, Ortiz's beliefs were known to be extremely traditional. For instance, Hamilton claims that Ortiz's mysticism was 'thoroughly orthodox' (ibid., 84). Elsewhere, Ros asserts that Ortiz did not have the same doctrinal view as the *alumbrados* ("[Ortiz] *ne doit rien aux Alumbrados au point de vue doctrinal*" [Ros, 99]). Ros would go to state that Ortiz practiced a form of recollection that was similar to that of Jean Gerson and St. Bonaventure (ibid.).

⁵⁰ Hamilton, 84.

⁵¹ Ortiz, as cited and summarized by Hamilton, 20.

As with Hernández before him, Ortiz claimed to be friends with Fray Francisco during these trials,⁵² but, yet again, the full extent of their relationship is unknown. In spite of these denunciations, Fray Francisco appears to have been free from suspicion.⁵³ As far as we know, he was never summoned to the Inquisitor's court,⁵⁴ and, during his lifetime, the Inquisition did not censor Fray Francisco's body of work.⁵⁵

In all, Fray Francisco authored eight Castilian books and six Latin texts devoted to Christian spirituality.⁵⁶ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these works were exceedingly popular, appearing in a total of fifty-nine editions in Belgium, France, Italy, and Spain.⁵⁷ Six of these texts were written as a set, each one given the title 'Spiritual Alphabet' (*Abecedario Espiritual*), referring to the idea that each chapter in the book would begin with a different letter.⁵⁸ The First Spiritual Alphabet⁵⁹ was written as a

⁵² Boehmer, 26.

⁵³ Giles, "Intro," 8.

⁵⁴ Many other spiritual writers, even those who are highly regarded today, were not so lucky. St. Teresa of Ávila, for example, was denounced to the tribunal of Cordova in 1574. A former novice had accused her of fraudulence, and of emphasising a dangerous form of mental prayer. The charges, however, would later be dropped (Hamilton, 121). Elsewhere, Luis de León spent four years (1572-76) in the Inquisitor's jail on account of belittling the Vulgate and translating the Song of Songs into Spanish (Aubrey F. G. Bell, Luis de León [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925], 111).

⁵⁵ Calvert, 18. Fray Francisco's Gracioso Convite de las gracias del Santo Sacramento del Altar was suppressed in 1559, but this was some years after his death (ibid.). The Inquisitors were suspicious of the text's insistence on frequent communion (Hamilton, 111). According to Ros, there was nothing heretical in Fray Francisco's ideas, but the Inquisition was being overly cautious on account of the spread of Lutheranism, and a re-emergence of the *alumbrados* (Ros, 219-20).

⁵⁶ Only six of these texts will be explored, all of which are Fray Francisco's Alphabets. Within the limits of this study, it is clearly impossible to examine every one of Fray Francisco's works. For the entire list of his books the reader may be referred to Peers, Studies, I:349-52.

⁵⁷ Calvert, 11. For the complete record of these publications (including their publication dates, editors, and locations) the reader may be referred to Miguel Angel, XVIII:6-7.

⁵⁸ The primary reason being is that it served as a memory tool (Calvert, 15). Fray Francisco was not the only one to use the alphabetical format at the time. For example, the Protestant Valdés wrote the Alphabeto cristiano in 1546, and P. Gracián wrote the Alphabeto Spiritual in 1614 (Miguel Angel, XVIII:1-62).

⁵⁹ First published in Seville in 1528 (Peers, Studies I:349, n. 325).

preface to the prayer of recollection.⁶⁰ It concentrates on the Passion of Christ, and “aims at doing so in a more spiritual manner than works commonly published at the time.”⁶¹

Fray Francisco wrote the Second Spiritual Alphabet⁶² for those of an active life, with little time for prayer or devotion. It discusses a variety of subjects, including the nature of love, how to guard the senses, and preparation for mass.⁶³ Ros states that it examines these same subjects with eloquence and richness, and borrows themes from society, as well as nature.⁶⁴

The Third Spiritual Alphabet⁶⁵ is Fray Francisco’s best-known work and primarily focuses on the prayer of recollection. For Fray Francisco, this is a lengthy process that involves many stages. The first part of the book, for example, examines the rather straightforward practices of humility, ridding oneself of evil thoughts, and having compassion for others. However, as one advances in the practice, the higher stages become more and more subtle, and ultimately involve the stilling of one’s understanding or “becoming blind in order to see God”.⁶⁶

The next in this series is the Ley de Amor (sometimes referred to as the Fourth Spiritual Alphabet).⁶⁷ It demonstrates that love underlies many of Christianity’s ideas and practices (including recollection). As Fray Francisco states in its dedication, “Christian[s] [are] obliged to have in [their] first intention the love of God in all that

⁶⁰ Calvert, 24.

⁶¹ Peers, Studies, I:68.

⁶² First published in Seville in 1530 (ibid., I:349, n. 330).

⁶³ Ibid., I:68.

⁶⁴ Ros, 319.

⁶⁵ First published in Toledo in 1527 (Peers, Studies I:350, n. 335).

⁶⁶ Fray Francisco, Third, 96.

⁶⁷ First published in 1530 (no location given) (Peers, Studies I:350, n. 341).

[they] do.”⁶⁸ For Fray Francisco, this inevitably means that all of God’s laws, and most of the Biblical narrative, can be reduced to the law of love.

The Fifth Spiritual Alphabet⁶⁹ is broken into two parts. The first part is directed to ‘the poor’ (or ascetics), while the second part is addressed to ‘the rich’ (or priests). For both parts, Fray Francisco’s main intent is “to draw men away from the love of false riches and to make them poor in spirit.”⁷⁰

Fray Francisco’s series comes full circle with the Sixth Spiritual Alphabet.⁷¹ Following the first book in the set, it returns to the wounds of Christ. According to Calvert, “[it] is the most lyric of Osuna’s works.”⁷² At the end of the Sixth Alphabet is a table of the scriptural texts that Fray Francisco used in the series, as well as an index to each of his other Alphabets.⁷³

Fray Francisco’s work influenced many people, but the most famous is undoubtedly St. Teresa of Ávila.⁷⁴ When she was approximately twenty years old, a pious uncle gave to her a copy of Fray Francisco’s Third Alphabet.⁷⁵ According to her autobiography, St. Teresa began to practice Fray Francisco’s way of prayer, and used his

⁶⁸ “*el cristiano es obligado a tener en la intención primero el amor de Dios en cuanto hiciere.*” Francisco de Osuna, Ley de Amor, in Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos: Místicos franciscanos españoles I (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1948), 221. Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the Spanish and French quotes in this study are my own.

⁶⁹ First published in Burgos in 1542 (Peers, Studies I:350, n. 347).

⁷⁰ Fray Francisco, as quoted in *ibid.*, I:68.

⁷¹ First published in Seville in 1554 (*ibid.*, I:350, n. 350).

⁷² Calvert, 26.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Concerning the six Alphabets, Laura Calvert argues that there is an underlying continuity between each one of them in her book Francisco de Osuna and the Spirit of the Letter. Through literary criticism, she examines the fundamental motifs, metaphors, and ideas behind Fray Francisco’s texts. In doing so, Calvert demonstrates that each one of the Alphabets present a slightly different interpretation of various symbols, including the eagle, heart, and Virgin Mary (Calvert, 17).

⁷⁴ Apart from St. Teresa, Ros suggests that Fray Francisco may have influenced, in some form or another, the writings of Juan de Ávila, St. John of the Cross, and St. Peter of Alcántara. However, to elaborate on these connections would be beyond the scope of this thesis. For the way in which Fray Francisco may have influenced these writers, as well as others, the reader may be referred to Ros, 607-41.

⁷⁵ Peers, Studies I:65.

text as her spiritual guide: “during the first year...I did not know how to practice prayer, or how to recollect myself, and so I was delighted with the book [The Third Alphabet] and determined to follow that way of prayer with all my might.”⁷⁶ St. Teresa’s copy of the book still exists today, and is preserved by the nuns of Ávila. Whole passages of the text are underlined and the margins are filled with the saint’s notes.⁷⁷

This connection is important, as St. Teresa is today widely read and studied, while Fray Francisco and his works remain in relative obscurity. As such, many scholars feel the need to illustrate this link between the two writers. Peers, for example, examines this connection in his Studies of the Spanish Mystics.⁷⁸ Elsewhere, Giles does the same in her introduction to The Third Alphabet,⁷⁹ as does Melquiades Andres Martin in his sound article on Fray Francisco in the Dictionnaire de Spiritualité.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, some of these same scholars are quick to point out that Fray Francisco should not be studied on the merits of this connection alone. Giles, for instance states, “Francisco de Osuna’s role in the development of Spanish mysticism is so significant that it is imprudent to assess him principally in relation to one or another of the more celebrated mystics.”⁸¹

When Fray Francisco was not writing, he was busy travelling, or helping his Order with various projects. Around 1530, for instance, he was elected Franciscan Commissary General to the Indies: a job that entailed overseeing all the friars of the

⁷⁶ St. Teresa of Ávila, Life, in The Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus, 3 vols., trans. E. Allison Peers (London: Sheed and Ward, 1957), 1:23.

⁷⁷ Peers, Studies 1:66.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 65-6.

⁷⁹ Giles, “Intro,” 1.

⁸⁰ Martin, “Osuna”, 11:1049.

⁸¹ Giles, “Intro,” 33.

American provinces.⁸² It seems, however, that Fray Francisco declined the offer, possibly due to poor health,⁸³ or, according to Alonso de Torres, because he felt that his vocation lay rather in writing.⁸⁴ In 1532, Fray Francisco journeyed to Toulouse for the General Meeting of the Franciscan Order.⁸⁵ One year later, he was in Paris, staying at the city's convent for the Observant Franciscans. While there, Fray Francisco would publish a set of Latin sermons on John the Evangelist, entitled Pars Meridionalis.⁸⁶ Fray Francisco then travelled to Antwerp (1534-6), where he would publish four more Latin books on various subjects, including the Incarnation and the Virgin Mary.⁸⁷ After 1536, his life is hidden from us.⁸⁸ Even the date of his death is uncertain, though it is evident that he died before the April of 1542.⁸⁹

⁸² Peers, Studies I:67. This information is found in the Seville edition (June 7, 1531) of Fray Francisco's Norte de los Estados, wherein the author is described as "Comisario general de la Orden de San Francisco en las provincias de las Indias del mar oceano" (as cited in Peers, Studies I:67, n. 1). As Peers points out, this title is not found in any extant publications prior to this one. However, Miguel Angel suggests that there may have been an earlier publication of the Norte that is now lost (Miguel Angel, as cited in *ibid.*, 67, n. 1 [no page numbers given for Miguel Angel]). If this is the case, then Fray Francisco may have been elected to this position between 1528 and 1530. Otherwise, the date remains somewhere between the end of 1530 and June 7, 1531 (*ibid.*, 67, n. 1).

⁸³ For example, while in the Low Countries, Fray Francisco battled with catarrh (*ibid.*, 66, n. 5)

⁸⁴ "In the year of 1535 [Peers shows this date to be earlier] the learned Fray Francisco de Osuna was elected Commissary General of the Empire [of the Indies], but excused himself, saying that it behoved him to continue writing and publishing his works" (Torres, as quoted in Peers, Studies I:67, n. 2)

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁸⁶ Ros, 144.

⁸⁷ Ros, 139-46. This was not the full extent of Fray Francisco's travels. For example, he also visited Lyon, Aachen, and Cologne. For a more extensive description of Fray Francisco's journeys, the reader may be referred to Ros, 106-59.

⁸⁸ Peers, Studies I:66.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* This is made clear from Fray Francisco's Fifth Alphabet, wherein the bookseller, Juan de Espinosa, claims, in its dedication, that Fray Francisco is dead (Calvert, 16). He does not give the exact date of Fray Francisco's death, but the text was first published in April, 1542 (Ros, 168). This brings up the possibility that Fray Francisco did not actually write parts of the Fifth Alphabet, as he died prior to it being published. Furthermore, as previously noted, Fray Francisco did not write its dedication. Nevertheless, Calvert believes that Fray Francisco wrote the entire book, minus its dedication, as "the content of [it] is so consistent with that of the others [referring to Fray Francisco's Alphabets]" (Calvert, 25).

Chapter II: The Third Spiritual Alphabet and the Exercise of Recollection

The spiritual exercise of recollection means much more than simply “recalling one’s past.”¹ In essence, the activity invites practitioners to ‘re-collect’ themselves into their very centre. They are to gather together their thoughts, prayers, speech, and memories. At the same time, practitioners must expel parts of their being that are at odds with the rest. This may include any action (internal or external) that will hinder them from simplifying their life and, in turn, growing closer to the divine.²

Extremely important to this task is the practitioner’s will.³ The success of recollection does not wholly depend upon Divine Providence. In fact, as Evelyn Underhill states, it is only the sheer determination of the practitioner that can guarantee success: “it [recollection] will be evoked by the mystic’s love, and directed by his reason; but can only be accomplished by the strenuous exercise of his will.”⁴ Hence, the initial act of

¹ It should be noted that the languages of French and Spanish do not have the same confusion. In French, for example, the word used to describe this practice is ‘*recueillement*’, which means meditation. Elsewhere, Spanish uses the word ‘*recogimiento*’, which can mean a number of things, such as to gather together, collect, bring in, welcome, and take refuge.

² Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism* (New York: Meridian, 1955), 313.

³ This is the key characteristic that separates the practice of recollection from the practice of abandonment, as the latter is fatalistic in character. For example, Marcel Viller describes abandonment as “a kind of abdication of the will and a suppression of the activity of the soul (*une sorte d’abdication de la volonté et une suppression de l’activité de l’âme*).” Marcel Viller, “Abandon,” in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 19 vols., ed. Marcel Viller, et. al. [Paris: Beauchesne, 1982], 1:26. Those who practice it feel that temptations are not to be fought with. God (or fate) allows temptations to arise in order that one’s soul may be purified (ibid., 31-2). Abandonment also believes that complete perfection is attainable in this lifetime (ibid., 33-4). This is based upon the assumption that the merging of the soul with God is a single act, never to be repeated (Underhill, 325). Once God allows for this unity, then the practitioner can no longer be tainted by sin (Viller, 33-4). Finally, as the name of the practice suggests, it calls one to abandon everything to the will of God. This includes even salvation, which is attained by paradoxically rejecting it (P. Pourrat, “Abandon: le faux abandon,” in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 19 vols., ed. Marcel Viller, et. al. [Paris: Beauchesne, 1982], 1:36). Many of these same characteristics can be found in the belief system of the *alumbrados* (pp. 7-8). For Francisco de Osuna’s involvement in the dispute over recollection and abandonment, the reader may be referred to pp. 6-7.

⁴ Underhill, 313.

recollection is in no way spontaneous, but, rather, intensely deliberate. It requires the practitioners' steadfast concentration at all times.

Recollection usually begins with some form of meditation upon one aspect of divine reality: the names or attributes of God, fragments of scripture, or an incident in the life of Christ.⁵ While the practitioners concentrate on such things, the external world is thought to grow more and more dim. According to Underhill, the practitioners' faculties are still wide-awake at this time, though they are no longer conscious of what is around them.⁶ During this stage, those practicing recollection still feel a strong sense of selfhood, and, furthermore, they are acutely aware of the duality between themselves and God.⁷

This process will eventually lead the practitioners to the higher stages of recollection, namely the Prayer of Quiet.⁸ In this state, the reflective powers are almost completely suspended. The practitioners have entered into a strange silence that

⁵ Ibid., 314.

⁶ Underhill, 315.

⁷ Ibid., 315. This may be one of the reasons as to why recollection was so popular within Spanish mysticism. According to Peers, Spanish mysticism was extremely personal and individualistic (Peers, The Mystics of Spain, [London: George Allen Unwin, 1951], 34). It did not seek to lose the self entirely. Instead, it sought to rid itself only of "those affections for pleasure with respect to all that is not God" (St. John of the Cross, as quoted in *ibid.*, 34).

⁸ Not all scholars/practitioners of recollection believe that the Prayer of Quiet is included in its practice. For example, Underhill gives separate headings to recollection and the Prayer of Quiet. According to Underhill, both are part of the mystic's stage of orison, but the Prayer of Quiet occupies a higher state (Underhill, 316). St. Teresa of Ávila also separated the two practices. She conceived of the mystical life as a series of mansions. The Prayer of Quiet was at the heart of her fourth mansion, while the prayer of recollection was the doorway leading into it (Peers, Studies, I:142). Though the two practices were intertwined, they still remained distinct (*ibid.*, 141). This was not the case, however, for Francisco de Osuna. He believed that recollection was not one stage in the mystical pathway, but, rather, the entire pathway itself. According to Peers, "recollection is to him [Fray Francisco] *one* state, *one* exercise, with variations of greater or lesser importance" (*ibid.*, 79). What this means, in theory, is that, for Fray Francisco, the Prayer of Quiet was in no way distinct from recollection. Therefore, as this paper is concerned with Fray Francisco and his ideas, we shall treat the two practices as if they are one and the same.

transcends their understanding.⁹ This experience is still considered, at least by some, to be part of recollection, though it is slightly different from the earlier stages of the practice. At this point, recollection no longer rests on the practitioners' concentration, but, rather, it becomes more spontaneous.¹⁰ Friedrich von Hügel, for instance, wrote of this stage: "[it is] a living, somehow self-acting recollection with God, His peace, power, and presence, right in the midst of this rose of spiritual fragrance."¹¹

Nevertheless, the practitioner's will is not entirely discarded in these higher states. There is still a place reserved, though small, for individual action.¹² This is well exemplified in St. Teresa of Ávila's account of the Prayer of Quiet, whereby she claims that it is her own action that will ultimately bring her into God's presence: "All her [the soul's] powers are at rest. She understands, but otherwise than her senses, that she is already near her God, and that if she draws a little nearer, she will become by union one with Him."¹³

According to Underhill, these higher experiences can be discussed in one of two ways. First, they can be described in negative terms, devoid of any affirming characteristics. Mystics who follow this model generally feel that any positive description of these states would be inadequate. Thus, they resort to phrases such as 'emptiness' or a 'divine dark.'¹⁴ Meister Eckhart, for instance, describes these higher stages as ones of "forgetting and not-knowing."¹⁵ On the other hand are those mystics

⁹ Underhill, 317.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Friedrich von Hügel, as quoted in *ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 321.

¹³ St. Teresa, as quoted in *ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 318.

¹⁵ Meister Eckhart, as quoted in Underhill, 319.

who feel that some description of these states, albeit an imperfect one, is better than none.¹⁶ For example, St. Teresa writes of the Prayer of Quiet in positive terms, whereby she claims, “it is a sort of peace in which the soul establishes herself, or rather in which God establishes the soul.”¹⁷

For Christianity, underlying this entire structure is the notion that God calls all of his followers to perfection, as they were previously made in his image. Recollection is thought to be a way in which individuals can wilfully perfect themselves, and, in turn, draw nearer to God.¹⁸ According to Kieran Kavanaugh, the final encounter with the divine takes place in one’s centre: the same place where the practitioner had earlier ‘re-collected’ their entire being.¹⁹

Though recollection was popular within some Christian circles, its origins are to be found in Greek philosophy. According to Hermann-Josef Sieben, Plato’s ideas are at the very root of the practice.²⁰ For example, Plato believed that the soul was distinct from the body, and that one needed to purify one’s soul in order to rise above the mundane: “purification...consists in separating the soul as much as possible from the body, and accustoming it to withdraw from all contact with the body, and concentrate itself by itself, and to have its dwelling, so far as it can, both now and in the future, alone by itself, freed

¹⁶ Fray Francisco falls into this category, as will be demonstrated in pp. 42-3.

¹⁷ St. Teresa, as quoted in Underhill, 321.

¹⁸ Kieran Kavanaugh, “Spanish Sixteenth Century: Carmel and Surrounding Movements,” in Christian Spirituality: Post Reformation and Modern, ed. Louis Dupre, et. al. (New York: Crossroads, 1991), 71.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Hermann-Josef Sieben, “Recueillement,” in Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, 19 vols., ed. Marcel Viller, et. al. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1982), 13:247-8.

from the shackles of the body.”²¹ Plato would go on to state that this activity should be the philosopher’s main occupation.²²

These ideas would later influence the Neo-platonic thinking of Plotinus,²³ whose writings had a tremendous impact on the early Christian Fathers and their ideas regarding recollection. For example, both St. Augustine of Hippo and Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite drew upon his ideas when writing about the practice.²⁴ After such thinkers, recollection continued to be an important part of the Christian world. This was especially

²¹ Plato, *Phaedo*, trans. Hugh Tredennick, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato, Including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton, et. al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 50, n. 67c-d. This quotation also appears in Sieben, 13:249. Such ideas are similar to Fray Francisco’s ‘negative recollection’, which will be examined in pp. 39-42.

²² Plato, *Phaedo*, 50, n. 67d. Beyond the idea of separating the soul from the body, Plato’s practice had other things in common with Christian recollection. For one, he believed that the practitioner’s will directed the exercise (ibid., 47, n. 64e). Secondly, Plato thought that it was best performed when the soul was free from distractions, such as sight and sound (ibid., 48, n. 65c). Fray Francisco, for instance, also thought that the five senses hindered one’s progress in recollection (Fray Francisco, *Third*, 190). We need not, however, discuss these similarities further since Fray Francisco never refers to Plato in his *Third Alphabet*, in spite of the philosopher’s texts being available in Spain as early as 1513 (“Consulta al Catálogo Colectivo,” 5 March 2006 <<http://www.mcu.es/ccpb/ccpb-eng.html>>). For a more extensive description of Plato’s role in the development of Christian mysticism, the reader may be referred to Andrew Louth’s *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 1-17.

²³ As with Plato, Plotinus’s ideas had similarities to the practice of Christian recollection. For example, he believed that life’s ultimate aim was the purification of the soul (Sieben, 249). For Plotinus, this was best performed by unifying one’s life, or by bringing together both the divine and mundane (Jennifer Yhap, *Plotinus on the Soul: A Study in the Metaphysics of Knowledge* [London: William Benton, 1952], 126). One would do so in the hopes of reaching the Intellectual Principle/Divine Mind, which, according to Plotinus, was the highest aspect of the cosmos and the place where un-embodied souls reside (Plotinus, *Enneads*, trans. Stephen Mackenna [London: Faber and Faber, 1969], 139). Plotinus further describes the Intellectual Principle as being “for ever repugnant to distinction and to partition” (ibid.), hence the need for one to unify one’s life before approaching such a state. Fray Francisco, however, never mentions Plotinus in his *Third Alphabet*, in spite of the philosopher’s texts being available in Spain as early as 1492 (“Consulta”). For a more extensive description of Plotinus’s role in the development of Christian mysticism the reader may be referred to Louth, 36-51.

²⁴ Sieben, 250-1. Both of whom Fray Francisco directly refers to in his *Third Alphabet*. There is no need to reiterate the impact that Plotinus had on each of these writers, as it has already been documented by Jos Stiglmayr (“Dionysius the Pseudo Areopagite,” in *New Advent: On-line Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 5 March 2006 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05013a.htm>>), and Peter Brown (*Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, 2nd ed. [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000], 241-2). It should be noted that Dionysius also depended upon the writings of Proclus, a disciple of Plotinus, for his ideas regarding recollection (Stiglmayr). For instance, in his *Elements of Theology*, Proclus declares, “Every manifold in some way participates unity” (Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, 2nd ed., trans. Eric R. Dodds [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992], 2).

true of the Medieval Period and may be seen in the writings of St. Gregory the Great, Meister Eckhart, Henry Suso, and Johannes Tauler.²⁵ However, it was not until the sixteenth century in Spain that the practice became exceedingly popular and highly systematized.²⁶ For a large number of Spanish writers, recollection was an important theme in their works. For instance, both Bernadino de Laredo and St. Teresa devote at least some part of their writings to the practice.²⁷

Yet no one devoted as much space to recollection, or had as much insight into the exercise as Francisco de Osuna in his Third Spiritual Alphabet. For example, Fray Francisco's work is over six hundred pages long and focuses almost exclusively on recollection. To further exemplify, Melquiades Andres Martin's study of recollection, Los Recogidos, grants more space to Fray Francisco and his ideas regarding the practice than to any other writer on the subject.²⁸ Other scholars also hold Fray Francisco and his Third Alphabet in very high esteem. Mary Giles, in the foreword to her translation of Fray Francisco's work, claims, "[he] should be assessed and remembered for having clarified and disseminated some of the most delicate understandings and experiences of the mystical way during a period that was crucial to the Golden Age of Spanish

²⁵ Sieben, 251-5. Of these figures, Fray Francisco mentions only St. Gregory the Great in his Third Alphabet.

²⁶ A comprehensive history of recollection within Spanish mysticism is far beyond the scope of this paper. For a detailed account of its history, the reader may be referred to Melquiades Andres Martin's Los Recogidos: Nueva vision de la mística española (1500-1700) (Madrid: Fundacion Universitaria Española, 1975).

²⁷ For example, the reader may be referred to Bernadino de Laredo's The Ascent of Mount Sion, trans. E. Allison Peers (London: Faber and Faber, 1950), 256-9; and, St. Teresa of Ávila's Interior Castle, in The Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus, trans. E. Allison Peers (London: Sheed and Ward, 1957), 2:240-6.

²⁸ Martin dedicates fifty- seven pages to Fray Francisco (most of which are solely concerned with The Third Spiritual Alphabet). The only other writers to receive comparable space are Bernadino de Laredo and Juan de los Angeles, who receive thirty-seven and thirty-four pages respectively.

mysticism.”²⁹ Louis Cognet also declares, “the Third Alphabet is both brilliant and readable.”³⁰

Fray Francisco begins his text by dedicating it to Diego López Pacheco (1456-1529): “many people love this book”, he writes, “but I judge your love greater than theirs, and even mine, and so dedicate it to you because your greater love makes the book yours by right.”³¹ At the time of the book’s publication, Pacheco held many titles of note, including Duke of Escalona, Marquis of Villena, Count of Sant Estevan, and Chief Majordomo of the Royal House of Castile.³² He was also deeply involved with the Spanish Franciscans, as he established the convent of la Concepción Francisca de Ayllón, and, furthermore, was named the Patron General of the Order.³³ Apart from the idea that Pacheco seemed quite fond of Fray Francisco’s work, the extent of the relationship between the two is unknown.³⁴

In the following section, or Prologue, Fray Francisco claims that the practice of recollection is not for all.³⁵ Furthermore, he writes that one needs to be wary when practicing such an exercise, as one may be deceived into thinking that they are on the correct path, but, in fact, are far from it.³⁶

²⁹ Giles, “Foreword,” in Third, xvi.

³⁰ Louis Cognet, Post-Reformation Spirituality, trans. P. Hepburne Scott (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1959), 31.

³¹ Fray Francisco, Third, 36.

³² *Ibid.*, 35.

³³ “Marqueses de Villena (Segovia),” 7 March 2006 <<http://www.fuenterrebollo.com.Heraldica-Piedra/marqueses-villena-segovia.html>>

³⁴ Of all the scholars on Fray Francisco, only Ros mentions Pacheco in any detail (Ros, 649-50); however, he does not write anything about Pacheco’s relationship to Fray Francisco.

³⁵ Fray Francisco, Third, 38. At the same time, for Fray Francisco, no one is to consider themselves incapable of practicing recollection on account of their unworthiness: “God does not discriminate, this communion is just as available to you, whoever you are, as to other people, for you are no less made in the image of God than others, nor do I think you desire this good fortune any less than they” (*ibid.*, 47).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 38-9.

The Prologue ends with Fray Francisco describing the benefits of creation, and how the initial contemplation of it can lead one to God: “creation helps not only men but also angels who...when they were created, ascended to knowledge of the Creator by contemplating in order the works of the six days.”³⁷ According to Fray Francisco, there will later come a time when one needs to rise above creation and contemplate God alone, just as Christ, through the Resurrection, left the world of flesh to rest solely in the spirit.³⁸ Fray Francisco makes it clear, however, that it is not creation itself that eventually impedes one’s progress to God, but, rather, it is “our smallness to deal with everything at once...the defect is within us rather than in creation.”³⁹

After the Prologue, Fray Francisco begins the Alphabet itself, yet its twenty-two treatises are rather unorganized. As Peers claims, “there is no plan, and little cohesion, in any of Fray Francisco’s writings. Passing from one subject to another as his thoughts and

³⁷ Ibid., 41.

³⁸ Ibid., 43.

³⁹ Ibid., 40. In speaking of creation in this manner, Fray Francisco surely drew upon earlier Franciscan and Augustinian ideas. For instance, John Moorman claims that one of the defining characteristics of St. Francis of Assisi’s spirituality was the “love of nature in all its forms” (Moorman, 303). This is well exemplified in St. Francis’s “Canticle of the Sun”, wherein he proclaims, “Praise be to Thee, my Lord, with all Thy creatures, Especially to my worshipful brother sun, The which lights up the day, and Through him dost Thy brightness give; and beautiful is he and radiant with splendour great; of Thee, most high signification gives” (St. Francis of Assisi, “The Canticle of the Sun,” in The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi, Ugolino de Monte Santa Maria, trans. W. Heywood [New York: Vintage Books, 1998], 117). After St. Francis, St. Bonaventure further elaborated on creation’s role in contemplation. According to St. Bonaventure, the way to God is like a set of rungs in a ladder, each one bringing the soul that much closer to the goal of ecstatic rapture (Moorman, 305). At the bottom rung, Christians are to present themselves to the “whole material world as a mirror through which [they] may pass over to God, the supreme Craftsman” (St. Bonaventure, as quoted in Moorman, 305). A similar motif occurs in the writings of Bernadino de Laredo (a fellow Franciscan, and contemporary of Fray Francisco’s). Fray Bernadino compares the mystical life to that of ascending a mountain. For Fray Bernadino, the initial stage of the journey requires one to contemplate on creation: “learn to recognize God always in all creatures, beginning with the smallest, with a lentil, or an ant... knowing that there is no creature, however small, that points not the way to God and to self knowledge” (Fray Bernadino, 18). Such ideas, however, are actually older than the Franciscan Order, as they are also found in the writings of St. Augustine. For instance, in The City of God St. Augustine claims, “all natures, then, inasmuch as they are and therefore a rank and species of their own, and a kind of internal harmony, are certainly good...God...is to be praised in view of the natures he has made (St. Augustine of Hippo, The City of God, trans. Marcus Dods [New York: Random House, 1950], 384).

feelings prompt, he makes no attempt to rectify the arbitrariness of treatment which to some extent his choice of the medium of the ‘Alphabet’ imposes upon him.”⁴⁰ For instance, Fray Francisco does not actually define the practice of recollection until the Sixth Treatise, even though the previous treatises mention the exercise a number of times. Elsewhere, in the Eleventh Treatise, Fray Francisco briefly refers to what he believes is mysticism’s ultimate goal: ‘the higher memory of God’ (*la memoria más alta*). This idea, however, is barely at the book’s halfway point, and, furthermore, is never mentioned again.⁴¹ Therefore, because of the text’s disorderly nature, the following description of Fray Francisco’s Third Alphabet will not proceed treatise by treatise, but, rather, will attempt to organize Fray Francisco’s practice of recollection from its earliest stages to its end goal.⁴²

Fray Francisco claims that recollection goes by a number of names, including mystical theology,⁴³ concealment, enkindling, spiritual ascension, and refuge from the storm.⁴⁴ Yet, according to Fray Francisco, none of these names capture the practice’s

⁴⁰ Peers, *Studies*, I:69.

⁴¹ This idea of Fray Francisco’s will be discussed in due course. It is mentioned at this point only to illustrate the disorderly nature of Fray Francisco’s Third Alphabet.

⁴² Many scholars disagree with the assumption that Fray Francisco’s Third Alphabet is disorganized. For example, Giles claims that its structure is coherent (Giles, “Intro,” 30), and Martin states that it has logical planning (Martin, *Los Recogidos*, 108). Ros also writes of it: “taken separately, the treatises often offer a satisfactory order in the succession of [their] chapters [*les traités pris à part offre souvent un ordre satisfaisant dans la succession des chapitres*].” Ros, 413. Both Ros and Martin, however, do not elaborate on their ideas any further. Giles believes that the book is coherent because its first twelve treatises examine the journey of recollection itself and the final treatises are devoted to certain problems that the practitioner may encounter (Giles, “Intro,” 22). Yet, she writes little more on the subject, and furthermore, does not address the problems of organization that I previously stated.

⁴³ Of all the names listed, Fray Francisco devotes the most space to ‘mystical theology’. He differentiates it from speculative theology by claiming that the latter “teaches about God so that we can meditate on him as the highest truth, whereas [mystical theology], presupposing the first truth, goes on to love him as the highest good” (Fray Francisco, Third, 161). According to Fray Francisco, one is to seek mystical theology above all else (*ibid.*, 163).

⁴⁴ Fray Francisco, Third, 163-8. This list is not exhaustive, and the reader may be referred to the aforementioned pages for more names.

essence as well as *recogimiento*, which means, “to join together or to unify scattered parts.”⁴⁵ For Fray Francisco, this idea can be applied to all stages of the practice, such as the gathering together of the exterior person inside of itself, the ‘re-collection’ of the members of one’s body, and, most importantly, the unification of God with humankind.⁴⁶

Such an exercise, Fray Francisco states, has its roots in the life of Christ. According to the Franciscan, Jesus ventured into the desert to practice recollection,⁴⁷ and Christians are to follow suit.⁴⁸ Yet, Christ did not perform such action for his own sake, but, rather, for humanity’s: “it was for us, not him, that he had to retire into the desert to pray, thereby encouraging us to follow his example. We are not to spend forty days, but forty years in the desert of contemplation.”⁴⁹

Before one is to begin the practice of recollection, one must first cultivate some important virtues, such as thankfulness and humility.⁵⁰ Of thankfulness, Fray Francisco states that Christians should be ever grateful for the gifts that God has given them. He continues by claiming that the more thankful one is for such gifts, the more one shall later receive.⁵¹ According to Fray Francisco, if one is unsure of the best way to give God

⁴⁵ Ibid., 169.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 169-74.

⁴⁷ Matthew 4:1-11; Mark 1:12-3; Luke 4:1-13.

⁴⁸ Fray Francisco, *Third*, 159-60.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 160. According to Fray Francisco, there was no need for Christ to retire into the desert, as he was able to pray anywhere. Furthermore, Jesus did not have to separate himself from people in order to practice recollection, as he was always removed from the sin of the world (ibid., 159). Thus, the only reason he did so was to set an example for his followers.

⁵⁰ This is not to state that these same virtues will be discarded in recollection’s higher stages, but, on the contrary, they will grow with the practitioner. For instance, Fray Francisco claims that one who is in the advanced stages of recollection may experience a type of thankfulness that they never before felt (ibid., 70-3). He describes this state as one where the “soul is flooded with our Lord’s love and it bursts forth and overflows on our lips, rushing forth in thanksgiving of such sweetness that the soul would like to be consumed, and it is exceedingly gladdened in the Lord, its tranquil conscience witness to our feelings of being loved by God” (ibid., 71).

⁵¹ Ibid., 68-70.

thanks, then one should observe his creation: “It would take too long to describe the gratitude of animals. So great is their acknowledgement of thanks that we mortals find it difficult to believe what is written of them, and I believe it is our stinginess in giving that makes us reluctant to admit that gratitude in animals is deeper than our own.”⁵²

Afterwards, Fray Francisco lists seven specific things that one should be grateful for, such as Christ’s Death and Resurrection, one’s baptism, and God’s promise of heaven.⁵³ He elaborates on this final point by claiming that such a guarantee can be found in almost every Gospel passage.⁵⁴ Further on, Fray Francisco states that one should not think it outlandish to thank God for heaven prior to even tasting it, as the “condition of [it being met] lies not in him but is contingent on our finishing the race.”⁵⁵

Beyond such things, Fray Francisco also reminds the reader that they should not neglect to thank God in adversity,⁵⁶ as well for his ‘private favours’. By ‘private favours’ Fray Francisco is referring to those things that are hidden in one’s soul, and for which there is no reasonable explanation.⁵⁷ As an example, he relates the story of St. Francis meeting God disguised as a beggar. According to the story, the Lord asked St. Francis for alms, but St. Francis had nothing to give him. Thus, God told him to reach into his breast

⁵² Ibid., 68. For example, Fray Francisco writes, “when the little birds sing and chirp in greeting to the sun, who is to say that they do not sing thanks to the sun for coming with light and happiness to free them from the cold and peril of the night” (ibid.). Such ideas can also be found in the stories of St. Francis of Assisi, wherein he implores the birds of the field to show God their gratitude, and they do so by singing songs to the Lord (St. Francis, *Little Flowers*, 37).

⁵³ Fray Francisco, *Third*, 86-96. In these same pages, Fray Francisco claims that one also should be thankful for God detaching one from the world, helping one bear good fruit, allowing one to convert others for his sake, and allowing one to come to him through recollection.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 91.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 92. Fray Francisco’s explanations as to why one is to be thankful for Christ’s Death/Resurrection and one’s baptism will be discussed in due course.

⁵⁶ “We should not thank God begrudgingly for adversities, especially if we consider that he does us no small favour by allowing us to assist Simon of Cyrene to carry the cross and remember that we could suffer no evil unless God permitted it for our welfare” (ibid., 76).

⁵⁷ Ibid., 81.

pocket, where he found three pieces of gold. Fray Francisco continues, “He [St. Francis] had found what he himself had not put there or seen placed there, for in addition to the public favours that God gave him, Francis possessed others that the Lord had bestowed so secretly that Francis himself could not discern them.”⁵⁸

Another important virtue to have in recollection is humility. According to Fray Francisco, one will not get far in the practice unless one first develops a meek heart: “meekness is the guest of prayer...if one grows, so does the other; if one is absent, the other languishes.”⁵⁹ Fray Francisco continues by stating that prayer and humility are to be as Martha and Mary, who together welcomed Jesus into their home.⁶⁰

For Fray Francisco, a humble person is one who is “moderate and temperate in everything; their wrath tamed, they are not impetuous, but calm. They are sweet and mild, not harsh, no bitter word galling their mouths ...[they] are more truly human than those who are not.”⁶¹ Furthermore, Fray Francisco claims, humble people will rejoice in the opportunity to rectify their sins. In order to do so, they will diligently examine their conscience, and beg others to point out their wrongdoings.⁶² On a similar note, Fray Francisco writes that such persons wait at the door of mercy, but are not so presumptuous to enter it. They feel themselves too unworthy for such action on account of their own defects. Thus, they wait upon the hands of the Lord to bring them in.⁶³

⁵⁸ Ibid., 83. This story can also be found in Considerations on the Stigmata, in The Little Flowers of St. Francis and Other Franciscan Writings, ed./trans. Serge Hughes (Winnipeg: Mentor-Omega, 1964), 163. This version, however, does not claim that God was disguised as a beggar.

⁵⁹ Fray Francisco, Third, 109.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 109-10; Luke 10:38-42.

⁶¹ Ibid., 108.

⁶² Ibid., 510.

⁶³ Ibid., 511.

Nevertheless, these are only external signs of humility, and, for Fray Francisco, such actions do not necessarily make one humble. According to the Franciscan, meekness is a hidden attribute, and it “must be sought in hidden ways, as one who pretends not to notice honours and favours because he does not want attention drawn to himself. Humility is offended by outward display; it is very quiet and makes no sound.”⁶⁴ Fray Francisco further claims that only God is able to see a person’s meekness. The attribute works in a paradoxical way, he writes, in that if people believe they are humble, then surely they are not.⁶⁵

Once one begins to grow in these virtues, then one can start the practice of recollection, which, according to Fray Francisco, has two different, but equally important, forms: general recollection and special recollection. He outlines both of these in the Fifteenth Treatise of the Alphabet. Here, he claims that general recollection is a state, whereas special recollection is an exercise.⁶⁶

To further elaborate, Fray Francisco declares that general recollection can be practiced anywhere and at any time. One does not need to set aside one’s work in order to enter into it, but, rather, one is to go about one’s day “continuously alert with [one’s]

⁶⁴ Ibid., 512.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 506. “The height of pridefulness is to judge ourselves humble” (ibid.). According to Peers, Fray Francisco’s descriptions of a humble person are more comprehensive than any other Spanish writer of spirituality (Peers, Studies, I:73). On a separate note, Fray Francisco claims that some of his ideas concerning humility are taken from the writings of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (Fray Francisco, Third, 506). St. Bernard describes a humble person in his Treatise on the Steps of Humility and Pride: “Brought face to face with themselves, they are forced to see things which fill them with shame. When they are distressed to see what they are, they long to be what they are not, and fear that they will never be by their own efforts. They grieve deeply over themselves, and the only consolation they can find is to judge themselves severely. They hunger and thirst after righteousness and despise themselves utterly out of love for the truth” (St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Treatise on the Steps of Humility and Pride, in Selected Writings, ed./trans. G.R. Evans [New York: Paulist Press, 1987], 115).

⁶⁶ Ibid., 386-91; Peers, Studies, I:81-90.

heart pacified and sealed, caring not for human things.”⁶⁷ He continues, “This recollection is a moderation and serenity in the soul that is as quiet as if becalmed and purified and disciplined in harmony within.”⁶⁸ Fray Francisco then gives the reader some practical advice about general recollection. He writes that if one is in a crowd, then one is to lower one’s eyes to the ground and intensely fix one’s gaze upon it. In doing so, the practitioner’s heart will be less prone to wander.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the practitioner will be as Jesus, who, while on the cross, lowered his gaze prior to sending the Spirit to the Heavenly Father.⁷⁰

Unlike general recollection, special recollection can be practiced only at certain times. Fray Francisco claims that this exercise requires at least two hours per day. He advises the readers that they practice it at noon, as this is the quietest time possible.⁷¹ Furthermore, they are to find a quiet place that is conducive to this type of prayer, preferably away from civilization.⁷² Fray Francisco describes this type of recollection as one where

You retire secretly to pray silently to the Lord, leaving aside absolutely every other occupation and business so as to devote yourself exclusively to total recollection without your concern being fragmented. At such times you are to consider yourself as dead to all other things, that they neither belong to you nor you to them, and you are to beg and order them to leave you alone.⁷³

⁶⁷ Fray Francisco, *Third*, 387.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 387.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 390.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 391; John 19:30.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 388.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 398. For instance, Fray Francisco reiterates that Jesus retired to either the desert or the mountains to practice recollection (*ibid.*).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 388.

For Fray Francisco, both types of recollection are difficult, and they are best done under the guidance of a teacher: “it is true that all the arts and sciences of the world need teachers if knowledge of them is to be transmitted...no one has been born with knowledge already instilled in him...[and] we mortals need teachers to lead us out of ignorance.”⁷⁴ Fray Francisco further writes that practitioners should not expect God to be their sole instructor, as he has a tendency to help only those who first help themselves.⁷⁵

In the Eighth Treatise of the Alphabet, Fray Francisco gives a number of characteristics that one is to seek in teachers. First, they should be able to instruct by example, and not just by words, as actions are a better teaching tool.⁷⁶ In this regard, Fray Francisco relates the analogy of an eagle instructing its offspring in the art of flight (or contemplation). Fray Francisco writes that the eagle “urges his children to fly [by] flying over them with wings extended.”⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Fray Francisco, Third, 220. It appears that Fray Francisco believed that both types of recollection require a teacher, as he does not indicate otherwise. Part of what contributes to this uncertainty is that Fray Francisco writes about the practice’s need for a teacher in the Eighth Treatise, but does not explain about the two types of recollection until the Fifteenth Treatise. This example only further illustrates the disorderly nature of Fray Francisco’s Third Alphabet.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 207.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 206; Deuteronomy 32:11 (“He is like an eagle because he urges his children to fly, flying over them often with wings extended” [Fray Francisco, Third, 206]). All Biblical quotes will be taken from one of two sources. If Fray Francisco quotes the passage, then they will be taken directly from his books. If, however, he does not quote the passage, then they will be taken from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate. The reason being is that Fray Francisco, like other Spanish writers at the time, would have referred to the Vulgate in his studies. On a separate note, Calvert points out that the eagle is a common motif in many of Fray Francisco’s writings (Calvert, 60-3). Other than a teacher of contemplation, the bird may also represent Christ, or, surprisingly, the Devil. For instance, in the Seventh Treatise of the Third Alphabet, Fray Francisco describes how eagles sometimes hunt deer. He claims that the bird will first cover its wings in dust, then descend upon the deer and shake the dust from its feathers. This action, Fray Francisco writes, blinds the deer, which “unable to see...plunges down a precipice that sometimes is so steep it is dashed to pieces, in which case the eagle does what it pleases with the beast” (Fray Francisco, Third, 192). According to Fray Francisco, in this analogy the eagle represents the Devil, who can sometimes blind the contemplative with evil thoughts (ibid., 193; Calvert, 63).

On a similar note, Fray Francisco claims that good teachers will always find time to practice recollection, even while instructing others in the exercise. Their own advancement in the practice should always take precedence over their pupils: “if God invites you to dinner, feed your own soul first, then you will be able to provide for others. Give the leftovers to the poor, and be sure that your alms do not come from the meal that is essential for your soul but is from what is in excess.”⁷⁸

Finally, and most importantly, a teacher should have experienced recollection’s higher stages: “if you are searching for a teacher, use every possible ethical means to ascertain if he is experienced in prayer and himself undergone what he is about to teach.”⁷⁹ If instructors are experienced, Fray Francisco explains, then they should be able to understand what their pupils are going through at each stage of the exercise.⁸⁰ Furthermore, they will be able to encourage their students by explaining all the good favours that God has granted them through recollection.⁸¹ At the same time, Fray Francisco makes it clear that experience has nothing to do with age: “a teacher should not be disqualified for lack of grey hair. Venerable grey hairs do not outnumber good habits, and kindness easily substitutes for age.”⁸²

Nevertheless, such experience does not come easily, as the practice of recollection has many stages. One of the first stages that Fray Francisco mentions in his Alphabet is the binding together of one’s sensuality (person) with one’s conscience (spirit). He claims that the two must walk together in peace, with one’s person submitting to one’s

⁷⁸ Fray Francisco, Third, 234.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 230.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 229.

spirit at all times.⁸³ Fray Francisco states that this relationship should be like the bond between two brothers. In a proper relationship, he writes, the eldest (or spirit) will always be in control, and, furthermore, both will be willing to give their lives for Jesus, just as St. Andrew and St. Peter did.⁸⁴ Fray Francisco continues, “Following Christ, reason and sensuality are to be crucified on the cross of penitence so that we can say theirs is true brotherhood.”⁸⁵

On the other hand, in an improper relationship the older brother will concede to the younger, like Esau did with Jacob.⁸⁶ According to Fray Francisco, in people where this relationship is found, reason “thinks only of enjoying worldly things and hunting out pleasures of corruptible flesh, and even if they try and defend their actions as being requisite to their life and well-being, reason still does not support them but complains that such grossness jeopardizes it.”⁸⁷

Another important stage in Fray Francisco’s notion of recollection is the gathering together of one’s heart (or mind). Fray Francisco implores the reader to not let one’s heart be divided, as it acts like a broken vessel, and is never able to hold wisdom.⁸⁸ He continues by claiming that this stage is difficult and requires the grace of God. Yet, one cannot rest in his grace alone, as the imperative ultimately still lies with the practitioner: “do not lament that grace does not come to you, for the truth of the matter is

⁸³ Ibid., 58.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 62.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.; Genesis 25:34.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 51; Ecclesiasticus 21:14 (“The heart of a fool is like a broken vessel which cannot hold all wisdom” [Fray Francisco, *Third*, 51]). Giles mistakenly notes this passage as Ecclus. 21:17 (ibid., 51, n. 11).

that grace is complaining about you and how you have failed it. It is we who fail God, for God never abandoned anyone who faithfully searched for him.”⁸⁹

Fray Francisco then writes of two different ways to unify one’s heart, the first of which is conveniently found in the First Treatise of the text. Here, he claims that a divided heart is like the scattered tribes of Israel. The four cardinal passions of joy, hope, sadness, and fear pull the heart in different directions, just as the four tribes of Israel broke up the kingdom of Judah.⁹⁰ According to Fray Francisco, one must ‘re-collect’ these four passions with their corresponding virtues: joy with justice, hope with temperance, sadness with prudence, and fear with fortitude.⁹¹

The second way of unifying one’s heart is found in the Fourth Treatise of the Alphabet. Here, Fray Francisco compares one’s heart to a castle.⁹² He claims that the enemies of the flesh, the external world, as well as the Devil are constantly trying to enter into it. Yet, each of these enemies can be defeated: the flesh with chastity, the external world through generosity, and the Devil by charity.⁹³ Fray Francisco continues by stating that one is to be extra vigilant in guarding the castle’s doors: “if you were to fortify a city against enemies with enormous bulwarks and encircle it with thick, strong walls, secured from above with towers, and if you did all this yet failed to bolster one small door, be

⁸⁹ Ibid., 55.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 55-6; Isaiah 11:12-13.

⁹¹ Ibid., 56-7.

⁹² This is a common motif in many spiritual writings. Fray Francisco, for instance, claims that he borrows this analogy from St. Gregory the Great and St. Isidore (ibid., 121). St. Teresa also wrote an entire book, The Interior Castle, using this motif.

⁹³ Ibid., 120.

assured that the enemy you foiled in so many other ways would find entry through this one door.”⁹⁴

For Fray Francisco, the heart has three such potential doors. The first of which is one’s understanding. At this gate, Fray Francisco claims, one must set cherubim at its entry, in the same manner that God guarded paradise. According to Fray Francisco, cherubim represent knowledge of heavenly things.⁹⁵ The second entrance that one must guard is one’s will. Here, one is to secure it with divine love, which destroys matters of the world.⁹⁶ The final gate that Fray Francisco writes of is the external or sensual self. According to the Franciscan, this is the most dangerous of all the gates, and, therefore, one is to guard it with a sword. Fray Francisco claims that this sword, “cut[s] off every occasion of evil, [and] threaten[s] and punish[s] possible antagonists with immediate pain.”⁹⁷ For Fray Francisco, if one is able to protect one’s heart and, furthermore, ‘recollect’ its passions, then it will turn into an earthly paradise. At this point, the Lord will take residence there, as a king who has a country home in which to relax.⁹⁸

One aspect of the practitioner’s heart/mind that Fray Francisco does not mention until the Eleventh Treatise is the memory. For Fray Francisco, there are two stages to ‘recollecting’ one’s memory. First, one must try not to think about those things that may impede one’s progress in the exercise, such as one’s past riches, injuries done against the practitioner, and one’s past pleasures.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Ibid., 121.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 126.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 127. Both the understanding and will play important roles in the practice of recollection, and will be discussed in due course.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 127.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 124.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 292-3.

The second stage involves keeping the memory occupied with spiritual things at all times. For example, Fray Francisco writes that one is to recall the day that one joined a religious order, and give thanks for how one's life has changed for the better since then.¹⁰⁰ Further on, he claims that one should also remember Christ's Passion, as well as one's Heavenly Father.¹⁰¹

Fray Francisco elaborates on this final point, whereby he states that this memory is obviously difficult, as one cannot occupy one's mind with invisible matters.¹⁰² Thus, he claims, one is to recall the Lord's visible manifestations, or those aspects of creation through which he works. For example, Fray Francisco writes that it is not food itself that provides nourishment for those who are hungry, but, rather, it is God working through the food.¹⁰³ He continues, "[it is] God rather than honey who sweetens: for honey without God would not be sweet whereas God without honey would be. So when you constantly remember what you are to eat and wear and everything else you need, you should be remembering God who provides through these what you need from them."¹⁰⁴

Apart from the memory, one is also to gather together one's will. In the Fifteenth Treatise of the Alphabet, Fray Francisco declares that this is most essential to the practice

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 295. Fray Francisco does not believe that recollection is limited to those of religious orders (p. 23, n. 35); however, there are places in the text where Fray Francisco writes to a specific audience. At times, he directs his ideas to those of a religious life, such as when he writes about the benefits of one's cell (ibid., 252-8), the evils of leaving one's order (ibid., 260), as well as the above idea. There are other times when he directs his comments to those of an active life. For example, in the Fifteenth Treatise of the text, Fray Francisco states that wealthy landowners should assign most of their duties to their workers so that they may have at least two hours a day to practice recollection (ibid., 389).

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 296-300. In this regard, Fray Francisco quotes St. Bernard of Clairvaux: "The devotion which is more worthy than all other things is the continuous remembering of God and the constant striving of the mind after an untiring love for him so that the servant of God may be found at any hour of the day working to practice the exercise and endeavouring to progress or delight in the sweetness of the experience and the pleasure of enjoying it" (St. Bernard, as quoted in ibid., 297-8).

¹⁰² Ibid., 298.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 299.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

of recollection.¹⁰⁵ According to the Franciscan, one is to be like the lover in the Song of Songs, who did not wait for the Lord, but, instead, left to seek him.¹⁰⁶ Such lovers, Fray Francisco claims, only need to hear God's voice in order for their will to be inflamed by his love.¹⁰⁷ Fray Francisco continues, "when the candle of the soul is lit from within by the fire of love and sends up the smoke of holy desire, it is inflamed perfectly in the love of divine fire of God even before the flame reaches it."¹⁰⁸

According to Fray Francisco, once the will is unified with God's, then the practitioner of recollection can turn towards their understanding. He makes it clear, however, that it must be done in this order, as the desire for knowledge can easily become an obsession unless one first tempers it with a strong will.¹⁰⁹ Fray Francisco continues, "You first must be prudent in order to be learned. If you think about this carefully, you will realize that it is exceedingly difficult to acquire prudence and that education can never supply the brains that nature denied."¹¹⁰ Elsewhere, he writes,

A multitude of books is no more than great spiritual dissolution, excessive work, lack of repose, a burden for the memory, food that will not fill the stomach, and cosmetics to cover up deficient knowledge so as to deceive the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 403. In spite of the will being very important to the practice of recollection, Fray Francisco does not devote much space to it, and, therefore, neither will I. For instance, the only place where Fray Francisco writes exclusively about the will is in Chapter 6 of the Fifteenth Treatise, but this section is limited to only two and a half pages (ibid., 402-4). Nevertheless, the reader can still find scattered passages throughout the text that pertain to the will, some of which have already been cited elsewhere, such as pp. 33-4.

¹⁰⁶ Fray Francisco, Third, 402; Song of Songs 5:6.

¹⁰⁷ Fray Francisco, Third, 402.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 316; Ecclesiastes 1:17-18 ("I have given my heart to know prudence and learning, error and foolishness; and I realize that in these things also there was labour and affliction of the spirit, for there is much indignation in much wisdom and he who adds knowledge, adds sorrows and work" [Fray Francisco, Third, 316]).

¹¹⁰ Fray Francisco, Third, 316-7.

stupid into believing that since they possess the books, they must surely understand them.¹¹¹

For Fray Francisco, there are two ways that one can ‘re-collect’ the understanding. The first of which, he claims, is through study, yet he writes nothing more on this subject. The second, and presumably the more important way, is through prayer. Fray Francisco claims that prayer can aid the understanding in three different ways. For one, the practitioners (on account of their prayer) may hear a voice outside of themselves. Fray Francisco claims that this voice is usually subtle, and barely discernable like a soft song.¹¹²

The second manner is through a voice inside of the practitioner, as if it were heard in the ear of his or her heart.¹¹³ Of the state caused by this voice, Fray Francisco writes, “At times the capacity of the soul is so enlarged in quietness and gentleness that it seems to see and understand all the world and the services being rendered to God everywhere and it feels happy in those things.”¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, Fray Francisco claims that one should be wary of both of these voices, as there is no guarantee that they are from God. According to the Franciscan, they may, in fact, be of the Devil, who, “operates so subtly you might think [that] he was an angel.”¹¹⁵ Thus, Fray Francisco warns the reader to not

¹¹¹ Ibid., 318.

¹¹² Ibid., 320.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 321.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. St. Teresa writes of similar ideas in her *Interior Castle*. For instance, in Chapter 2 of the text, she claims that the Devil may appear as an angel of light (St. Teresa, *Interior Castle*, 2:211). Elsewhere, she writes that one is to be cautious of the voices that one hears during prayer (ibid., 262).

make quick decisions based on these voices, and to always seek advice about them from a learned teacher.¹¹⁶

According to Fray Francisco, the third, and most important, way to learn from prayer is through silence. He writes of this subject in the Twelfth Treatise:

It [this type of prayer] is so secret that the soul itself is not aware of it at the time, but later it realizes that discretion is increasing within along with the good wisdom to direct his own affairs and those of others prudently. Then, too, he understands, without understanding the source of his understanding.¹¹⁷

In this prayer, Fray Francisco claims, “the soul can seize and snatch God away with bonds of charity and love, for God does not know how to deny love; on the contrary, he promptly surrenders, like a heron when a falcon plunges to seize it.”¹¹⁸

Such prayer, it should be noted, belongs to recollection’s negative way. This way is different from those stages of the practice that have been discussed already, as it attempts to transcend the self and to rest in the Lord alone. At this point, it is thought that

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 320-1.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 321.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 322. Surprisingly, Fray Francisco does not write about the need to bring together the memory, understanding, and will. The closest that he comes to writing about all three together is in the Twelfth Treatise of the *Alphabet*, wherein he declares that the understanding and will are the two principal wings of contemplation. According to Fray Francisco, both need to work together if the contemplative is to ascend to heaven (ibid., 315-6). Nevertheless, he does not mention the memory in these same pages. This is surprising because Fray Francisco refers to St. Augustine many times in his *Alphabet*. For St. Augustine, an important aspect of contemplation is the gathering together (or ‘re-collecting’) of the memory, understanding, and will. For instance, in his book *On the Trinity* he writes that all three parts of one’s being are intertwined, and each one cannot exist without the other: “Since, therefore, memory, understanding, will are not three lives, but one life; not three minds, but one mind; it follows as a certainty that they are also not three substances, but one substance” (St. Augustine of Hippo, *On the Trinity*, in *An Augustine Synthesis*, ed. Erich Przywara [New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1958], 148). What is more, for St. Augustine, is that the unity of these three aspects is an image of the Trinity in the soul (Jones, 79-80). The individual soul is similar to the Trinitarian God because it is thought that the Lord made humanity in his own image (Jones, 79). As Fray Francisco never refers to any of these ideas, I will not discuss the subject further; however, for more information on it the reader may be referred to David Bell’s *The Image and Likeness: the Augustinian Spirituality of William of St. Thierry* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1984) 44-7.

the faculties become a hindrance to recollection, and, therefore, one needs to seek God in silence.¹¹⁹

Fray Francisco makes it clear, however, that recollection's negative way is no more important than the exercise's positive aspects. According to the Franciscan, one cannot exist without the other: "to enter into oneself or above oneself...are the two principal things found in this devotion and those that we should pursue most eagerly and that will bring the greatest contentment to our hearts."¹²⁰ In the text's Seventeenth Treatise, Fray Francisco further elaborates on this idea by referring to Christ's two natures. Here, he claims that the practitioner of recollection can follow Jesus in one of two ways: either by running after his humanity (positive recollection) or by flying towards his divinity (negative recollection).¹²¹

According to Fray Francisco, recollection's negative way goes by a number of names, including the 'emptying of ourselves', 'spiritual emptiness', and 'spiritual suspension'.¹²² As with the positive aspects of recollection, this way also has a number of steps. Fray Francisco writes about one of these steps in the Fourth Treatise of the Alphabet. Here, he claims that one must rise above creation, and, furthermore, empty

¹¹⁹ Martin, Los Recogidos, 112. Peers claims that recollection's negative way can be found only in special recollection (Peers, Studies, I:82). He does not, however, elaborate on this idea, and, furthermore, Fray Francisco does not specifically mention it. Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe otherwise, as Fray Francisco writes that one can perform general recollection during everyday tasks, and, therefore, it still requires one's faculties (p. 29-30).

¹²⁰ Fray Francisco, Third, 266.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 464.

¹²² These phrases can be found in Peers, Studies, I:82. Unfortunately, he does not present the Spanish equivalent of these phrases. Peers's translation of Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet is slightly different from Giles's, as these exact phrases cannot be found in her translation. The other expressions that Peers refers to are 'repose of contemplation' and 'quiet and recollected contemplation' (*ibid.*, 82).

one's heart of all things.¹²³ Fray Francisco continues, "so long as a glass is held in a trembling hand, it cannot be filled to the brim without spilling. In like manner, the heart held in the trembling, restless hand of thought cannot be perfectly filled with the Lord until we steady it so it can abound with his plenitude."¹²⁴ He later compares this process to a servant preparing his or her home for a king. According to Fray Francisco, prior to a king's arrival the servant is to empty his or her house of everything, as well as clean it inside and out.¹²⁵ Once the king (or Lord) arrives, Fray Francisco claims, he shall fill it with "whatever is necessary for his service and comfort."¹²⁶

On a similar note, Fray Francisco also states that one must be blind in order to see God.¹²⁷ In the Third Treatise of the Alphabet, he writes that if one makes an attempt to draw near the Lord using the senses, then one shall either go mad or perish.¹²⁸ Fray Francisco continues, "Attracted by the light that in the darkness of night shines all the more brightly, we are like gnats, for if we try to fly close, we are burned as they are when they circle near the candle."¹²⁹ Instead, one is to approach God in the same manner that

¹²³ For this idea Fray Francisco drew upon both St. Paul and St. Anselm. For instance, Fray Francisco quotes Hebrews 13:9 ("It is very good to steady the heart and make it stable with grace" [Fray Francisco, Third, 131]) and 1 Corinthians 13:11 ("when I was a child, I spoke like a child, I understood like a child and thought like a child, but when I became a man, I emptied and poured out the things of the child" [Fray Francisco, Third, 134]). He also quotes St. Anselm: "Devoting yourself to God, you will rest in him; enter into the privacy of your soul, casting out everything and leaving God alone" (St. Anselm, as quoted in *ibid.*, 131).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* In this regard, Fray Francisco writes about the Bethsamites who died because they looked upon the Ark of the Covenant (Numbers 4:15). According to Fray Francisco, "God ordered such a harsh punishment in order to condemn the cursed error of those who claimed to know the essence of God and to see it naked in this mortal life without regard for the mirror of the creatures where he shines" (Fray Francisco, Third, 103-4).

Paul came to Jesus: completely blind and dependent upon him.¹³⁰ In doing so, Fray Francisco writes, God will lend the practitioner his own eyes, and will “direct them so as not to go astray, or rather it is more accurate to say that God takes them where they would not know how to go even if they could see.”¹³¹

Fray Francisco makes it perfectly clear that to still the understanding does not mean to transcend thought completely: “the recollected do not consider that recollection is tantamount to thinking nothing at all; if that were the case, those who sleep, unless they dream, and the stunned would be perfect.”¹³² On the contrary, Fray Francisco states, negative recollection allows one to understand everything, insofar that the practice unites one’s mind with God, who, alone, is the source of all.¹³³

As one grows in recollection’s negative way, this will lead one to the Prayer of Quiet. Fray Francisco’s description of this prayer can be found in the Twenty-First Treatise of the Alphabet, or the book’s climax. Here, he eloquently describes this state:

The science of love is marvellous and most admirable and praiseworthy, that silence wherein the understanding is profoundly quieted, receiving the sublimely contenting knowledge of experience. We clearly realize that when

¹³⁰ Ibid, 101; Acts 9:8. Fray Francisco states that the essence of this story is about Paul’s spiritual blindness, rather than corporal blindness (ibid.). In the same vein, Fray Francisco later writes on how both Elijah (3 Kings 19:13) and Moses (Exodus 33:20) needed to cover their eyes when they were in God’s presence (Fray Francisco, Third, 102-3).

¹³¹ Ibid., 100-1. In this regard, Fray Francisco quotes Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite : “Since this understanding is from God and does not treat base things, we are ordered to root out the exterior sense, which includes not only the functioning of both outer and inner senses but interior ones as well” (ibid., 106). Fray Francisco also draws upon the writings of St. Bonaventure for these ideas (ibid.). In his Souls Journey into God, for instance, St. Bonaventure writes, “Strange, then, is the blindness of the intellect...[as] our mind, accustomed to the darkness of beings and the images of the things of sense, when it glimpses the light of the supreme Being, seems to itself to see nothing. It does not realize that this very darkness is the supreme illumination of our mind, just as when the eye sees pure light, it seems to itself to see nothing” (St. Bonaventure, The Soul’s Journey into God, trans. Evert Cousins [New York: Paulist Press, 1978], 96-7).

¹³² Ibid., 563.

¹³³ Ibid., 565.

lovers are present to each other, they fall silent and the love that unites them supplies the want of words.¹³⁴

Further on, Fray Francisco writes,

[In the Prayer of Quiet] the understanding sleeps and the will rests because the soul is united with God and made one spirit with him. Then the Sabbath of Sabbath reigns: when fancy rests, which used to toil with the imagination, a quietude comes into the will and it no longer needs the fuel of speculation, for it is ignited and enkindled in that which is never consumed and there burns brightly within it the fire of love that never dies out.¹³⁵

According to Fray Francisco, this prayer is able to transform one's soul: "silent, quiet, desiring nothing more, it [one's soul] is content; it falls asleep in its very self, forgetful of its human weakness, for it sees itself made like God, united in his image."¹³⁶ At this point, Fray Francisco claims, one becomes like St. John, who, after the Passover meal, reclined in the Lord's breast.¹³⁷

Surprisingly, the Prayer of Quiet is not actually the highest aspect of Fray Francisco's mysticism, even though his descriptions of it are found in the climax of the Alphabet.¹³⁸ Fray Francisco writes of a higher spiritual experience in the book's Eleventh Treatise, wherein he claims that there is a type of memory that transcends recollection

¹³⁴ Fray Francisco, Third, 558.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 558-9.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 561.

¹³⁷ Ibid.; John 13:23.

¹³⁸ Some scholars believe that the highest aspect of Fray Francisco's mysticism is the Prayer of Quiet. Peers, for example, writes, "It seems fairly clear that the writer of the Alphabet had no conception of a higher state than that of Spiritual Betrothal, and not much more than a dim idea of that" (Peers, Studies, I:94). In another section of the same chapter, Peers refers to Fray Francisco's idea of spiritual betrothal as the Prayer of Quiet (ibid., 80). Nevertheless, John Jones convincingly argues otherwise in his essay entitled, "Honey Without God: Francisco de Osuna's Higher Memory". Much of the following information is taken from Jones's study.

itself.¹³⁹ In order to achieve it, Fray Francisco states, one must first die to the Prayer of Quiet. Once this death occurs, one will then be resurrected into the ‘higher memory of God’ (*‘la memoria más alta’*).¹⁴⁰ Such a state, Fray Francisco writes, “consists of representing God in his pure essence...seemingly raising him [the practitioner] from death to life and vitalizing his innermost being and heart and eyes so that he lives for naught else but God because his memory is naught else but God.”¹⁴¹

Fray Francisco claims that this memory is not of the sensitive kind, but, rather, operates on the intellectual level. By ‘intellectual memory’, Fray Francisco means that one is able to retain a universal, and non-fragmented image of something.¹⁴² He further elaborates on this idea by describing the Lord in such terms, “In a lofty way, we remember God as unlimited being, immeasurable kindness, beginning without beginning, end without end, fullness that leaves nothing empty, invincible power, knowing that ignores nothing.”¹⁴³ As one grows in this state, Fray Francisco claims, the memory of God will become imprinted on the heart, and one will inevitably grow closer to him.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ Fray Francisco, *Third*, 300; Jones, 78-9.

¹⁴⁰ Fray Francisco, *Third*, 300; Jones, 83.

¹⁴¹ Fray Francisco, *Third*, 300-1.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 301. As opposed to one’s sensitive memory, which preserves only particular qualities of something (*ibid.*). Fray Francisco is surely drawing upon St. Augustine’s definition of intellectual memory for his own ideas about the subject, even though Fray Francisco does not cite St. Augustine. According to St. Augustine, the intellectual memory is purely a mental process, having no connections to the physical world. Furthermore, it has the ability to provide people with wisdom or *a priori* knowledge (Bruce Bubacz, *Saint Augustine’s Theory of Knowledge: A Contemporary Analysis* [New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1981], 165). For this reason, St. Augustine calls the intellectual memory “the head or eye of the soul” (St. Augustine, as quoted in *ibid.*).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 301; Jones, 84.

¹⁴⁴ Fray Francisco, *Third*, 302-4.

Yet, according to Fray Francisco, one cannot be perfectly united with the Lord in this lifetime.¹⁴⁵ The reason being, he writes, is that one's soul will always be tied to one's body so long as one lives. Thus, any experience or knowledge of God that one receives first has to be channelled thorough one's faculties.¹⁴⁶ Fray Francisco continues,

He [God] cannot be known by the soul's spiritual senses so long as the soul is a prisoner to the flesh and the bond between flesh and spirit forces it to understand everything it is to know through the flesh. That miserable soul still coupled with the flesh will not work in contemplation as freely as if it were liberated.¹⁴⁷

Nevertheless, for Fray Francisco, one must still strive after the perfection of recollection, as this is the only sure way to the Lord.¹⁴⁸ For this reason, he urges the reader through the stages of active recollection, passive recollection, and the 'higher memory of God.' Fray Francisco writes that one should never give up in this exercise like the "sailors [who] persevere amidst enormous dangers, [or the] travellers among highwaymen, [or the] knights among their enemies [who do not faint or die]."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ "We cannot know God in himself while we live" (ibid., 102); "Recollection cannot be perfected in this life, but it can be begun" (ibid., 600).

¹⁴⁶ Fray Francisco, Third, 102.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 601.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 603.

Chapter III: The Ley de Amor

Francisco de Osuna's Ley de Amor was first published in 1530 in Spain (the exact location is unknown).¹ Evidently, the book became quite popular, as it was re-published in 1536 (Burgos), 1542 (location unknown), 1551 (Valladolid), and 1556 (Valladolid).² The 1536 edition bears the title, Ley de amor y quarta parte del Abecedario espiritual,³ thus placing it in line with Fray Francisco's previous three alphabets. This title, however, is a misnomer, as the book does not actually follow the alphabetical format.⁴ Peers believes that Fray Francisco probably never thought of the book as an 'alphabet', but its publishers exploited the title because the Franciscan's previous three alphabets had enjoyed considerable success.⁵

As the centuries passed, the Ley de Amor lost much of its initial popularity. For instance, the most recent edition of the text is over fifty years old,⁶ and, furthermore, it has never been translated into English. As of yet, there does not exist any adequate study of the Ley de Amor. One of the best attempts thus far is Ros's chapter in Un maître de Sainte Thérèse, but that is limited to a mere eleven pages.⁷

¹ Miguel Angel, XVIII:6.

² Ibid., 6-7.

³ The original title page to the 1536 edition appears in Fray Francisco, Ley, 214.

⁴ The only exception to this rule is a small section at the end of Chapter 24. Here, Francisco de Osuna lists sixty reasons in alphabetical order as to why Christians are to love God (ibid., 445-8). This section will be explored in pp. 58-9.

⁵ Peers, Studies, I:68, n. 3.

⁶ Published in 1948. Refer to p. 14, n. 68 for bibliographic information.

⁷ Ros, 364-75. Ros's chapter is broken into two short sections, of which the first explores the law of love in very general terms. This includes demonstrating the law of love's connection to the law of grace (ibid., 367), as well as examining the love that one should have for one's enemies (ibid., 369). The second section of Ros's chapter briefly examines the influences on Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor, in particular Richard of St. Victor. However, this discussion is extremely limited. For example, Ros points out that Fray Francisco cites Richard of St. Victor twenty-five times and seems to refer to nineteen different texts of his (ibid., 373-5), but Ros merely lists these citations and does not explore how the ideas of these two writers are in any

Nevertheless, in spite of its relative obscurity, the Ley de Amor is still highly praised. For example, in his introduction to the latest edition of the book, Juan Bautista Gomis claims, “[the Ley de Amor] is magnificent in truth, of sovereign eloquence, and of profound theological knowledge.”⁸ Elsewhere, Gaston Etchegoyen declares, “the [Ley de Amor] exposes, with its rich allegories and fresh images, the asceticism and mysticism of love.”⁹

Fray Francisco begins the Ley de Amor by dedicating it to Francisco de los Cobos. At the time of the book’s publication, Cobos was an advisor to Charles V, as well as the commander of León.¹⁰ Cobos was born in 1477 into a modest family in Ubeda. As a youth, he served in the households of many Spanish nobles, including Hernando de Zafra and Lope Conchillos.¹¹ Such connections eventually brought Cobos into the service of Charles V, under whom he worked from 1516 to 1529.¹² During this time, Cobos’s main tasks were to advise the king in Spanish and to accompany him on various expeditions to England, Italy, and Africa.¹³ As a result of his loyal service, Charles V spoke very highly of Cobos. For instance, in his Instrucciones y consejos del emperador Carlos V a su hijo Felipe II al salir de España en 1543, Charles wrote that “[Cobos] has

way similar or distinct. More than anything, Ros’s short chapter demonstrates the need for further study of the Ley de Amor.

⁸ “[el Ley de Amor] es magnífico de verdad, de soberana elocuencia, [y] de profundo saber teológico.” Gomis, “Introducción,” in Fray Francisco, Ley, 219.

⁹ “[la Loi de amour] expose, sous de riches allégories et de fraîches images, l’ascèse et la mystique de l’amour.” Gaston Etchegoyen, L’Amour Divin: essai sur les sources de sainte Thérèse (Paris: Bordeaux, 1923), 41. This quotation can also be found in Peers, Studies, I:68, n. 4 and Ros, 364.

¹⁰ Ley, 221.

¹¹ “Francisco de los Cobos,” 21 June 2006 <<http://www.artehistoria.com/historia/personajes/5607.htm>>.

Zafra was a secretary to the Spanish kings (“Historia de Castril,” 26 June 2006 <www.medynet.com/usuarios/flopezo/gtcastril.htm>). Conchillos was a wealthy nobleman who controlled all the land in Arasibo, Puerto Rico. The Spanish Crown gave him the land in 1515 (“Arasibo,” 25 June 2006 <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arasibo>>).

¹² Ros, 650.

¹³ Ibid.

experience in all my affairs and is very informed.”¹⁴ Further on, Charles tells his son that he would never find a better worker.¹⁵

Surprisingly, other than the Dedication’s initial two sentences, Fray Francisco does not directly address Cobos. Instead, Fray Francisco writes about the need for one to contemplate on creation, just as he did in the Prologue to the Third Spiritual Alphabet.¹⁶ As with Fray Francisco’s connections to Diego López Pacheco,¹⁷ nothing is known about his relationship to Francisco de los Cobos.¹⁸

In the Ley de Amor’s following section, or Prologue, Fray Francisco claims that Christians are to diligently seek the love of God. One way to do this, according to Fray Francisco, is by reading certain books: “If you are a faithful Christian, you have to flee from books that bring error to the understanding, as they are the books that teach heresy and bring wrong affection to the will...and look, as a secure source, [for a] book that enkindles you in sovereign love.”¹⁹ He later states that the Bible is the most important of these texts, as divine love is at its very heart.²⁰

Another book that reveals the love of God, Fray Francisco writes, is the Ley de Amor.²¹ As such, he claims, one is to read it using both the love of reason and the love of affection. The love of reason, according to Fray Francisco, requires one to study each

¹⁴ “[Cobos] tiene experiencia de todos mis negocios, y es muy informado.” Charles V, as quoted in Ros, 651.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Refer to p. 24.

¹⁷ Refer to p. 23.

¹⁸ Of all the scholars’ writings on Fray Francisco, only Ros mentions Cobos in any detail (Ros, 650-1), but he does not write anything about Cobos’s relationship to Fray Francisco.

¹⁹ “Si tú eres fiel cristiano, has de huir así de los libros que traen error al entendimiento, como son los libros que saben a herejía, como de los libros que traen mala afición a la voluntad... y busca, como nido seguro, libro que te encienda en el soberano amor”. Fray Francisco, Ley, 229.

²⁰ Ibid., 230. Not surprisingly, this is an important topic for Fray Francisco, and will be discussed in due course.

²¹ Ibid., 231.

word carefully and justly, and, in so doing, determine that God's love underlies everything. The love of affection, on the other hand, entails that the reader turn his or her will affectionately to God.²² Fray Francisco claims that these two types of love act as one's eyes, and both are needed to fully contemplate the Lord.²³

Following its Prologue, the Ley de Amor is broken up into fifty-one chapters. These chapters are logically organized, and, according to Laura Calvert, "[they] follow the circular course of the Law of Love from heaven to earth and back again."²⁴ For example, the first sixteen chapters examine how the law of love relates to God and other heavenly beings.²⁵ Here, Fray Francisco describes the love of the angels, as well as the love that is found in the Trinity. Chapters 17 to 30 deal with how God's love interacts with humanity, and, furthermore, how humans are to love the Lord in return. Chapters 31 to 44 examine the ways in which humans can express love to one another. Finally, the last chapters return to heavenly things, and, once again, speak about the love of God.²⁶ Therefore, because Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor is clearly structured, the following description of it will proceed, for the most part, chapter by chapter.²⁷

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 232. Fray Francisco further elaborates on these two types of love in Chapter 8 of the Ley de Amor. Here, he claims that intellectual love is to be found in God the Father, who "is pure spirit and does not have flesh or blood...he does not love anything with passion or affection (*es puro espíritu y no tiene carne ni huesos...ninguna cosa ama con pasión ni afición*).” Ibid., 290. The love of affection, on the other hand, is to be found in Christ, who “by being truly human, was moved with the affections and sentiments of love (*por ser verdaderamente hombre, se movía con las aficiones y sentimientos de amor*).” Ibid., 291.

²⁴ Calvert, 25.

²⁵ The only exceptions are Chapters 5 through 9, which discuss how the law of love pertains to the early Hebrews.

²⁶ The only exceptions are Chapter 45 (which examines the law of love and the Devil), and Chapter 49 (which is addressed to bishops).

²⁷ Some of these chapters will not be explored in this chapter. The reason being is that either these chapters present very little new information or because they will be discussed in the next chapter.

In Chapter 1, Fray Francisco claims that there are two laws of love: one positive, and the other natural. According to the Franciscan, the positive law of love depends upon the will, and, hence, is changeable. It is with this love, Fray Francisco writes, that God loves humanity.²⁸ The natural law of love, on the other hand, depends upon nothing, and, hence, is unchangeable. Fray Francisco claims that this love is found in every human being, regardless of time or place.²⁹ He also states that God loves himself with this love, and, furthermore, it is the foundation of all the Lord's attributes and properties.³⁰

In Chapter 2, Fray Francisco elaborates on the law of love and its relationship to the Lord. Here, he writes: "If you had a circumference of a compass that had an infinite circle... greater than the circle of heaven, and in the middle you give a point, it is clear that you would be able to bring infinite lines of the circumference to the point... [then] you will be able to sense the proportion of the law of love that God has in eternity with each one of the chosen."³¹

Further on, Fray Francisco states that God's love cannot be affected by humanity's sin. According to the Franciscan, humans sin against God in three different

²⁸ Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 234-5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 234.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 235. After Chapter 1, Fray Francisco does not distinguish between the positive law of love and the natural law of love. Instead, he refers to only the law of love in general. Nevertheless, in certain chapters it is quite obvious whether Fray Francisco is referring to the positive or natural law of love. In Chapter 2, for instance, he writes about the love that God has for humanity. As Fray Francisco previously mentioned, this love depends upon the Lord's will, and, thus, belongs to the positive law of love. In other chapters, however, the specific law that Fray Francisco is referring to is more difficult to discern. Therefore, from this point onward, I will not make a distinction between the two laws, but, following Fray Francisco, I will refer to only the law of love in general.

³¹ "*Si hubiese una circunferencia de compás que hiciese un cerco infinito... mayor que el cerco del cielo, y en medio diceses un punto, claro está que podrías traer infinitas líneas de la circunferencia al punto... [entonces] podrás barruntar la proporción de la ley de amor que el Señor tuvo ab aeterno con cada uno de los escogidos.*" *Ibid.*, 243.

ways. First, they think evil thoughts, which Fray Francisco likens to throwing rocks at the Lord.³² Second, humans speak of evil things, which are akin to shouting abuses at God. Lastly, Fray Francisco claims, humans sin against the flesh, which is analogous to piercing the hands of Jesus with a knife.³³ Yet, according to the Franciscan, none of these actions can separate one from the love of God.³⁴

Fray Francisco then ends Chapter 2 by imploring his soul to always keep the law of love: “Guard well, my soul, the law of love, according to all its possibility, contemplating the endless charity that your friend [God] had with you before you were born...he loved you in all his eternity, [and, hence,] you ought to love him in all your time.”³⁵

In Chapter 3, Fray Francisco continues on the subject of heavenly things, whereby he discusses the love of the angels. According to the Franciscan, God created the angels at the same time that he created the earth. Fray Francisco further claims that the Lord instilled a goodness in the angels that was different from his own. The angel’s goodness, Fray Francisco writes, lacks all that is evil, while the goodness of God contains all that is good.³⁶

³² Ibid., 245. Fray Francisco claims that these are the same rocks that the Devil told Jesus to turn into bread (Matthew 4:3; Luke 4:3), but Fray Francisco does not elaborate on this idea.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ *Guarda tú, pues, ánima mía, la ley del amor, según toda su posibilidad, contemplando la interminable caridad que tu amigo tuvo contigo antes que fueses, para que en siendo lo amases... él te amó en toda su eternidad,[y, así,] tú lo debes amar en todo tu tiempo.* Ibid., 251.

³⁶ Ibid., 254.

Another gift that the Lord gave to the angels was the law of love. According to Fray Francisco, angels, unlike humans, can fully comprehend this law.³⁷ The reason, he writes, is that angels are not aware of this law by mere words (as humanity is), but, rather, by the examples of love shown to them by God.³⁸ Fray Francisco claims that the angels use the law of love for two principal tasks, the first of which is to serve humanity.³⁹ The second (and more important) task is to praise God.⁴⁰

Later on, in the chapter, Fray Francisco compares the love that the angels have for God to the sun. According to the Franciscan, both the sun and angelic love are continuously moving. By this idea, Fray Francisco means that the angels are always moving towards the Lord.⁴¹ Another characteristic that angelic love shares with the sun is that both possess great heat. For instance, Fray Francisco writes that the love of the angels is inflamed with great ardour.⁴²

In Chapters 5 through 9, Fray Francisco strays from the subject of divine love, and, instead, writes about the law of love and the early Hebrews, as well as the law of grace.⁴³ He returns, however, to the topic of divine love in Chapter 10. Here, Fray Francisco writes about the love that is to be found in the Trinity.

Fray Francisco begins Chapter 10 by quoting II Corinthians 13:13: “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the charity of God, and the communication of the Holy Spirit

³⁷ According to Fray Francisco, humans cannot fully comprehend the law of love until they reach heaven. This idea of Fray Francisco’s will be explored in due course.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 252.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 256-7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ These chapters will be explored in due course.

be with you all.”⁴⁴ According to the Franciscan, this passage reveals different aspects of the Trinity’s love. The ‘grace of Jesus’, for example, signifies Jesus’s love for humanity, while the ‘charity of the Father’ denotes heavenly love. Finally, Fray Francisco writes, the ‘communication of the Holy Spirit’ symbolizes the relationship between the lover (humanity) and the beloved (the divine).⁴⁵

Afterwards, Fray Francisco turns his sole attention towards the charity (or love) of the Father. According to the Franciscan, there are ten things that reveal the greatness of the Father’s love. Fray Francisco claims that these ten things are like the Ten Commandments, but instead of being written on tablets of stone, they are written on the heart of humanity.⁴⁶

One thing that reveals the greatness of the Father’s love, Fray Francisco writes, is that the Father loves humanity, even though humanity is unworthy of his love. Fray Francisco elaborates by asking the readers to compare their own depravity to the sovereignty of God: “Who are you, Lord, and who am I? Where in me, the poorest of men, [is] so much wealth that the Father...lowers himself to me?”⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *La gracia de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, y la caridad de Dios, y la comunicación del Espíritu Santo, sea con todos vosotros.*” Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 308. One may note that Fray Francisco uses the word ‘charity’ (*caridad*), rather than ‘love’ (*amor*). In Christian theology, however, charity usually refers to the friendship between God and humanity. As charity requires divine love, it is considered to be the highest form of love (Jordan Aumann, “Thomistic Evaluation of Love and Charity,” *Angelicum* vol. 55 [1978], online article: <<http://www.op.org/domcentral/study/aumann/charity.htm>> [28 September 2006]). Jordan Aumann, for instance, writes that charity “springs from a source that far transcends human love and enables us to participate even now in that divine good which is our All. Such a love, coming from God, who is Love, enables us to return to him in an ecstasy of self-forgetfulness and to embrace our fellow-man in that same love, without becoming possessive or possessed by any human love” (Aumann).

⁴⁵ Fray Francisco *Ley*, 308.

⁴⁶ “*En las tablas de tu corazón has de escribir estas palabras que salieron del Corazón de Jesús, porque ningún olvido pueda apartar de ti el amor que el Padre celestial te tuvo.*” Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 312. Fray Francisco does not elaborate on this analogy.

⁴⁷ “*Quién eres tú, Señor, y quién soy yo? De dónde a mí, el más pobre los hombres, tanto bien que el Padre... se abaje a mí?*” Ibid., 313.

Another thing that reveals the greatness of the Father's love, Fray Francisco claims, is the generality (*generalidad*) of his love.⁴⁸ By this idea, Fray Francisco means that nothing lies outside the love of the Father. The reason being, he writes, is that "every creature in some manner reflects the Passion and Resurrection of Christ."⁴⁹ Further on, Fray Francisco, in the same vein as St. Paul, declares, "all the creatures obtain part, each one in its own manner, of the glory that this sovereign Father has given to his children."⁵⁰

Fray Francisco continues on the subject of the Trinity in Chapters 11 through 15. Here, he discusses the law of love and its relationship to Jesus (Chapters 11 and 12), as well as its relationship to the Holy Spirit (Chapters 13 and 15).

In Chapter 11, Fray Francisco claims that humanity is redeemed by the love of Jesus: "[Who freely] abandons the bonds of his [Christ's] love? In whose hearts has his charity not spilled? ...We are justified in his blood, we overcome everything because Christ loved us."⁵¹ Fray Francisco makes it clear that Jesus's love extends to everyone, even to sinners. In this regard, Fray Francisco uses the analogy of a doctor caring for his sick child. He asks the reader to imagine a doctor who has many children, including one child who has become insane (*loco*).⁵² According to the Franciscan, a good father/doctor would 'forget' about his other children, and turn all of his attention to this one child. In so doing, Fray Francisco claims, the father would suffer many injuries and shed many

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ "*toda criatura en alguna manera refloreció en la pasión de Cristo y resurrección*". Ibid.

⁵⁰ "*todas las criaturas alcanzarán parte, cada una en su manera, de la gloria que este Padre soberano ha de dar a sus hijos*." Ibid; Romans 8:19-23. For the remaining eight things that reveal the greatness of the Father's love, the reader may be referred to Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 314-7.

⁵¹ "[*A quién deja*] *sueltos los lazos de su [Cristo's] amor? En cuyos corazones no ha derramado su caridad? ...somos justificados en su sangre, en todo vencemos por Cristo que nos amó*." Ibid., 319; Romans 5:9.

⁵² Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 323.

tears in the hope that his child would become well again. In the same manner, Fray Francisco states, Jesus turns all of his attention towards sinners in the hope that they would end their evil ways.⁵³

Fray Francisco further writes that the life of Christ was nothing less than a continual and intense act of love.⁵⁴ He demonstrates this idea in Chapter 12 with the story of the Last Supper. Here, Fray Francisco claims that the story's true meaning is that Christ invites everyone to partake of his love. According to the Franciscan, the food in this story is figurative: it represents the divine love of God, with which Christians are to become increasingly filled.⁵⁵

After writing about Jesus, Fray Francisco explores how the law of love relates to the Holy Spirit. In Chapter 13, he claims that the love of the Holy Spirit inflamed the Father and the Son with the work of creation, as well as the work of humanity's redemption.⁵⁶ Fray Francisco further writes that the Holy Spirit is "benign, cheerful and free and sweet, gentle and lovable, in order to enlighten us in love and inflame us in its everlasting charity and to destroy our hardened hearts through its affections."⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibid. This analogy is similar to Matthew 9:12: "But Jesus hearing it, said: 'They that are in health need not a physician, but they that are ill' " (Douay-Rheims). Fray Francisco, however, does not cite this passage.

⁵⁴ Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 322. Fray Francisco does not show how every episode in the life of Christ was an act of love. The only stories that Fray Francisco explores in any detail are the Last Supper and the 'Washing of the Feet'. For Fray Francisco's interpretation of the 'Washing of the Feet', the reader may be referred to p. 75.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 329. In this regard, Fray Francisco quotes St. Cyprian: "The eating of this flesh is a greed and a desire for the permanence of Christ...and [by eating this flesh] we confer in us the sweetness of charity, which joins together our taste and our hearts with the infused taste of love (*El comer de esta carne es una codicia y un deseo de permanecer en Cristo... y [en el comer de esta carne] colamos en nosotros la dulcedumbre de la caridad, que se junte a nuestro paladar y a nuestras entrañas un sabor infuso de amor*)."

Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 338.

⁵⁷ "benigno, alegre y liberal y dulce, suave y amable, que para nos encender en amor y nos inflamar en su caridad perdurable y deshacer en su bienquerencia nuestros empedernecidos corazones." Ibid., 338-9.

Later on, in Chapter 15, Fray Francisco follows St. Augustine in declaring that the Holy Spirit is the mutual will of the Father and of the Son. He elaborates on this idea with Revelation 22:1: "He [the angel] showed me a river of water of life, clear as crystal, which proceeded from the seat of God and of the Lamb."⁵⁸ In this passage, according to Fray Francisco, the river represents the Holy Spirit, which, like crystal, is incorruptible.⁵⁹ He further writes that the throne symbolizes the united will of the Father and of the Son, from which the river (or Holy Spirit) proceeds.⁶⁰ Fray Francisco continues,

rivers leave from high mountains and circle the valleys, forming in them great fruit; and in this manner, the Holy Spirit leaves from those heights and sacred mountains, which are the Father and the Son, [and] it circles all the new choruses of angels, refreshing them with its graces in order that they are always filled with the fruit of eternal glorious life, feeling watered with that river of love that leaves from the place of delights, which is the will of God."⁶¹

According to Fray Francisco, the law of love is found not only in the Trinity, but it also extends to humanity. In Chapter 5, Fray Francisco writes that God instilled the law of love in Adam and Eve in order to make them equal to the angels.⁶² He further claims that the two were created to populate those areas left vacant by the fallen angels. Adam and

⁵⁸ "Mostrome un río de agua viva, resplandeciente como cristal, que procedía de la silla de Dios y del Cordero." Ibid., 353.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ "los ríos salir de montes altos y cercar los valles, haciendo en ellos gran fruto; y de esta manera, saliendo el Espíritu Santo de aquellos altos y santos montes, que son el Padre y el Hijo, [y] cerca todos los nueve coros de los ángeles, refrescándolos con sus gracias para que siempre lleven fruto de vida eterna glorioso, siendo regados con aquel río de amor que sale del lugar de los deleites, que es la voluntad de Dios." Ibid., 354.

⁶² Ibid., 271.

Eve's new home, Fray Francisco states, was placed on the outskirts of heaven, where they would quickly be admitted if they persevered in the law of love.⁶³

Later on, in the same chapter, Fray Francisco claims that the entire story of Adam and Eve demonstrates God's love for humanity.⁶⁴ Every one of God's actions, Fray Francisco writes, displays the intimate relationship that he has with his children: "to form them with his hands, and to breathe into them with his mouth, ...and to bring them by hand to the great garden that...he created, not so much that they might work for him...more for their recreation than by necessity."⁶⁵

According to Fray Francisco, the rest of the Old Testament further displays God's love for humanity. In Chapter 7, for example, Fray Francisco claims that the law given to the Hebrews was nothing more than the law of love. Fray Francisco writes that the Old Testament law was sometimes called 'the law of fear' (*ley de temor*), as it was difficult to understand and impossible to uphold.⁶⁶ Yet, according to Fray Francisco, the law of love is hidden in each of God's commandments in the Old Testament.⁶⁷ For example, during the Passover God commanded the Israelites to paint their doors with lambs' blood.⁶⁸ The reason being, Fray Francisco claims, was to foreshadow the saving blood of Christ.⁶⁹ Another example is the Lord commanded the lepers to show their unclean heads

⁶³ Ibid., 272.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 273.

⁶⁵ "*formarlo con sus manos, y espirarle con su boca, espiráculo de vida, ... y traerlo de la mano a la mejor floresta que él crió, no para que trabajase... más por su recreación que por necesidad.*" Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 285.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 286. For this idea, Fray Francisco cites Ephesians 2:15-6: "Making void the law of commandments contained in decrees: that he [Christ] might make the two in himself into one new man, making peace. And might reconcile both to God in one body by the cross killing the enmities in himself" (Douay-Rheims). Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 286.

⁶⁸ Exodus 12:7.

⁶⁹ Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 287. This idea is similar to Romans 3:24-5: "Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, Whom God hath proposed to be a propitiation, through faith

to the priests.⁷⁰ According to Fray Francisco, the real meaning of this law is that sinners are to humbly and clearly confess their sins.⁷¹ As a final example, the Lord declared that all males be circumcised. Fray Francisco writes that this law signifies the importance of baptism, in order that one may be ‘cut off’ from the sin into which they were born.⁷²

Humanity, however, is not to rest solely in God’s love, but, as Fray Francisco writes, humanity is to also love God in return. In Chapter 24, Fray Francisco lists sixty reasons in alphabetical order as to why humanity is to love God.⁷³ For example, Fray Francisco states that the letter L stands for “God is called son and spouse” (“[*Dios*] *Llámase hijo y esposo*”).⁷⁴ According to the Franciscan, Jesus is not only the Son of God, but also the spiritual son of his followers’ hearts. Furthermore, Fray Francisco writes, Jesus is called spouse because he marries his followers’ souls.⁷⁵

As another example, Fray Francisco claims that the letter P stands for “God made for you a father and mother” (“*Padre y madre se te hizo*”).⁷⁶ Fray Francisco elaborates by

in his blood, to the shewing of his justice, for the remission of former sins” (Douay-Rheims). Fray Francisco, however, does not cite this passage.

⁷⁰ Fray Francisco does not cite this idea; however, he may be referring to Leviticus 10:10: “[The Lord told the priest Aaron,] you may have knowledge to discern between holy and unholy, between unclean and clean” (Douay-Rheims).

⁷¹ Osuna, *Ley*, 287.

⁷² Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 287. This final idea is similar to Romans 2:29: “But he is a Jew who is one inwardly and the circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit not in the letter: whose praise is not of men, but of God” (Douay-Rheims). Fray Francisco, however, does not cite this passage.

⁷³ This is the only section of Fray Francisco’s *Ley de Amor* that follows the alphabetical format. For each letter, Fray Francisco lists two or three reasons as to why Christians are to love God. In this way, Fray Francisco is able to list sixty things. For Fray Francisco’s entire list, the reader may be referred to *Ley*, 445-8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 446.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 446-7.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 447.

stating that humans are to love God because he has given them a father who corrects them, and a mother who cajoles them.⁷⁷

As a final example, Fray Francisco writes that the letter U stands for “God’s love is useful to you” (“*Util es a ti su amor*”).⁷⁸ According to Fray Francisco, God’s divine love is useful to humanity for three reasons: for predestination, creation, and redemption.⁷⁹

In various chapters, Fray Francisco describes how humanity is to love God. In Chapter 19, for instance, Fray Francisco writes that there are two ways in which humans can express their love for the Lord. First, they can love him with affirmative love (*amor afirmativo*). According to the Franciscan, affirmative love requires one to follow God with one’s entire heart, soul, and mind.⁸⁰ The second type of love, he claims, is negative love (*amor negativo*). Fray Francisco writes that this love requires humans to flee from their evil desires. If they are able to do so, Fray Francisco states, then the Lord will replace their evil desires with the desire to seek him alone.⁸¹

In the same chapter, Fray Francisco writes that it is very important for Christians to show their love for God on Sundays.⁸² According to the Franciscan, on this day one is obliged to perform three tasks: to cease corporal work, to attend mass, and, most importantly, to love the Lord.⁸³ Fray Francisco continues, “[all] are obligated...to have

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid. Fray Francisco does not elaborate on this idea.

⁸⁰ Ibid.; Matthew 22:37.

⁸¹ Ibid., 414.

⁸² Ibid., 421.

⁸³ Ibid.

some part in the mass, which they immediately offer to God, adoring him and revering him and raising our will to him, of which one cannot do without love.”⁸⁴

In Chapter 22, Fray Francisco further writes of how humans are to love the Lord. In this chapter, he includes a reference to John 21:15-7, wherein Jesus asks Peter three times if he loves him, and each time Peter responds, “Yes Lord; you know that I love you”. According to Fray Francisco, this simple phrase contains three distinct parts. Each of these parts, Fray Francisco writes, reveals different aspects of Peter’s love for Jesus, and, in turn, reveals how the rest of humanity is to love God.

Fray Francisco claims that the first part of the phrase (‘Yes Lord’) is not only spoken with Peter’s mouth, but also with his head and heart.⁸⁵ Furthermore, Fray Francisco writes, the word ‘yes’ signifies that Peter’s love for Jesus excludes everything else.

According to Fray Francisco, the second part of the phrase (‘you know that’) signifies the certainty of Peter’s love. The reason being, he claims, is that nothing is more certain than what God knows, and, furthermore, that which God knows the most about is love. Fray Francisco later writes that humanity is to share in the certainty of Peter’s love for God.⁸⁶

Finally, Fray Francisco claims that the third part of the phrase (‘I love you’) denotes that Peter’s love for Jesus lies in the present: “[Peter] does not say ‘I have loved

⁸⁴ “[*todos*] son obligados...a tener alguna obra en lugar de la misa, que inmediatamente ofrezcan a Dios, adorándolo y reverenciándolo y levantando a él nuestra voluntad, lo cual no se puede hacer sin amor.” Ibid. Fray Francisco may have included a discussion about this topic in order to confront the *alumbrados*, who believed that external actions (including attending mass) could not bring one closer to the Lord (pp. 7-8).

⁸⁵ Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 430-1.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

you’ or ‘I already loved you’, but [by speaking] in the present he puts in effect the work of his love, affirming it more by work than by word.”⁸⁷ Afterwards, Fray Francisco writes that humans are to follow Peter’s example by loving God through their present-day actions.⁸⁸

As humans grow in their love for God, Fray Francisco states, they will sometimes feel his presence.⁸⁹ In Chapter 19, Fray Francisco describes this feeling: “we have the presence of God when we feel him in our soul and [when] he delights us in his love, because he infuses [us with a] sweetness that gives sufficient testimony of his presence.”⁹⁰

According to Fray Francisco, once a person feels the presence of God they are not to let him go. In this regard, he quotes Song of Solomon 3:4: “I found him whom my soul loves, I held him and will not let him go until I put him in the house of my mother and in the chamber of her that bore me.”⁹¹ Afterwards, Fray Francisco elaborates on this passage: “This soul was not content in finding or having God, but the soul swore not to leave him until it put him securely in the most secret place of its mother’s house, in order to help keep and possess him most surely.”⁹²

⁸⁷ “[Pedro] no dice ‘amerte he’ o ‘ya te amé’, sino de presente pone en efecto la obra del amor, afirmándolo más por obra que por palabra.” Ibid., 431.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 456-7.

⁹⁰ “tenemos presente de Dios cuando lo sentimos en el ánima y nos deleitamos en su amor, porque él infunde dulcedumbre que da suficiente testimonio de su presencia.” Ibid., 457.

⁹¹ “Hallé al que ama mi ánima, túvelo y no dejaré hasta meterlo en la casa de mi madre y en la cámara de la que me engendró.” Ibid., 458.

⁹² “No se contentaba esta ánima con hallar a Dios ni con tenerlo, sino que jura de no dejarlo hasta lo poner en seguro en lo más secreto de la casa de su madre, para que se lo ayude a conservar y poseer más seguramente.” Ibid.

While loving God, Fray Francisco claims, humans are also to love themselves, as well as each other. In Chapter 32, Fray Francisco demonstrates how one is to love oneself through various acts of compassion, all of which are normally performed for others. For example, Fray Francisco writes that one is to visit the sick. By ‘visiting the sick’, he means that one is to examine one’s conscience, and, after doing so, one is to allow the love of Jesus to heal one’s guilt.⁹³

Another act of compassion, Fray Francisco writes, is freeing the captives. According to the Franciscan, one’s sins are like mud and bricks. These sins, Fray Francisco writes, are used by demons to ‘build a prison around each sinner.’⁹⁴ In this regard, he quotes Romans 7:23: “I distinguished in [my] members one evil law that held captive the law of [my] sinful soul.”⁹⁵ The way that one can free oneself, Fray Francisco declares, is by turning towards Christ and the Cross.⁹⁶

As a final example, Fray Francisco writes that one is to welcome travellers. According to the Franciscan, one’s soul is like a traveller who does not have a permanent home. For this reason, Fray Francisco claims, one is to say to one’s soul, “Enter, blessed of God, because you are outside.”⁹⁷ Fray Francisco then elaborates on this idea: “You will not be blessed if you do not recognize your own soul within you...because there is not a reasonable place for your soul in the diversity of this world.”⁹⁸

⁹³ Ibid., 514-5.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 516.

⁹⁵ “*conocía en [mis] miembros una mala ley que llevaba captiva la ley de [mi] ánima al pecado.*” Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 517.

⁹⁷ “*Entra, bendito del Señor, porque estás fuera.*” Ibid., 519.

⁹⁸ “*no serás bendito si no recogieres en ti tu ánima, ... porque no hay conveniente lugar para tu ánima en el diversorio de aqueste mundo.*” Ibid.; 1 Corinthians 4:11 (“Even unto this house we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no fixed abode” [Douay-Rheims]). According to Fray Francisco, the other acts of compassion are feeding the hungry, giving water to the thirsty, clothing the naked, and

In Chapter 35, Fray Francisco no longer discusses self-love, but, instead, explores the law of love and friendship. Here, he gives the reader five signs of a true friend. The first sign, Fray Francisco writes, is that true friends desire life for one another. False friends, on the other hand, desire death for one another, in the hope that they may inherit the other's belongings. For this reason, Fray Francisco claims, it is easier to find true friendship amongst the poor.⁹⁹

Another sign of true friends, Fray Francisco states, is that they communicate joyfully and honestly with one another. False friends, on the other hand, cannot perform this task, as their sin has removed much of their joy, and replaced it with sadness and despair.¹⁰⁰

The fifth, and final, sign of true friends, Fray Francisco writes, is that they will share in each other's happiness and sorrow. In doing so, he claims, true friends act as doves, which always fly together. False friends, on the other hand, walk by separate paths, and do not share the same will or opinions.¹⁰¹

While loving one's friends, Fray Francisco states, one is to also love one's parents. In Chapter 39, he claims that the love of one's parents should take precedence over all other forms of earthly love.¹⁰² According to the Franciscan, parents share the

burying the dead. For Fray Francisco's description of these acts, the reader may be referred to *ibid.*, 515-22, as well as p. 71.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 541.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* According to Fray Francisco, the other signs of true friends are: true friends desire goodness for one another, and true friends perform good works for one another (*ibid.*, 541-2). Fray Francisco writes that he took these five signs directly from Aristotle's *Ethics* (*ibid.*, 541, n. 6). The *Ethics*, however, contain some slightly different signs, such as: true friends live with one another, and true friends share in each other's tastes (Aristotle, *Selections*, ed./trans. William D. Ross [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955], 276)

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 571.

ability to create with the Lord, and, therefore, one needs to love them with ‘strong love’ (*‘amor fuerete’*).¹⁰³ Fray Francisco describes this love as “[the love] that is prepared to put oneself in danger for the beloved.”¹⁰⁴

Nevertheless, Fray Francisco also makes it clear that one’s love for one’s parents should never overshadow one’s love for God. In this regard, he quotes Hebrews 12:9: “We had for instructors the fathers of our flesh and we kept them in reverence. Should we not be even more willing to obey the Father of spirits and live?”¹⁰⁵ One ought to obey one’s parents, Fray Francisco claims, only if their commandments do not contradict the law of love. For example, if one’s parents wish for one to go for a walk, but God wants one to listen to mass, one should obey the Lord. Or, if one’s parents wish for one to be arrogant, but God wants one to be humble, one, once again, should obey the Lord.¹⁰⁶

In Chapter 40, Fray Francisco declares that one is to also love one’s enemies. According to the Franciscan, this commandment is extremely difficult to follow: “[My enemy] dishonours me and I do nothing evil to them? ...[My enemy] ruins my reputation and I say nothing evil to them? ...[My enemy] scrutinizes my good works and I conceal their evil secrets?”¹⁰⁷

Therefore, in order to help the reader, Fray Francisco outlines various ways in which one can show love to one’s enemies. The first way, he claims, is that one can present gifts to one’s antagonists. As an example, Fray Francisco writes that Jacob sent

¹⁰³ Ibid., 571-2.

¹⁰⁴ “[*el amor*] que está aparejado a ponerse a peligro por el amado.” Ibid., 572.

¹⁰⁵ “*Tuvimos por enseñadores a los padres de nuestra carne y teníamoslos en reverencia. Y no obedeceremos mucho más al Padre de los espíritus y viviremos?*” Ibid., 570.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 571.

¹⁰⁷ “[*mi enemigo*] me deshonra y que no le haga mal? ...[*mi enemigo*] me roe la fama y que no diga mal de él? ...[*mi enemigo*] me espulga mis obras buenas y que yo encubra sus secretos malos?” Ibid., 580.

Esau a gift of hundreds of animals.¹⁰⁸ After doing so, Jacob declared, “I have appeased him [Esau] with the gifts that go before [me].”¹⁰⁹ Upon receiving the gift, Esau ran to meet Jacob, and the two of them embraced.¹¹⁰ Fray Francisco also relates the idea that Jesus offered his ‘precious body’ as a gift to Judas. According to the Franciscan, Jesus did so in the hope that it would awaken Judas’s love and destroy his hate.¹¹¹

Another way, Fray Francisco writes, that one can show love to one’s enemies is by forgiving them. In Chapter 43, he emphasises this idea with a reference to Matthew 18:21-2: “[Peter asked Jesus,] ‘Lord, if my brother sins against me even seven times, should I forgive him, and release him from his offence?’ ... [Jesus then replied,] ‘I not only say to forgive him seven times, but I say to forgive him seventy times seven, as much as he sins’.”¹¹² According to Fray Francisco, Christ directed his response to Peter because he was the greatest of all the disciples. In doing so, Jesus wished to reveal that no one was excluded from this commandment, including bishops, cardinals and even the pope.¹¹³

In the following chapter, Fray Francisco explains why one is to forgive one’s enemies. The reason, he writes, is that Christ will not forgive his followers unless they first can forgive each other.¹¹⁴ In this regard, Fray Francisco refers to the ‘Parable of the Unforgiving Servant’ (Matthew 18:23-35), wherein a king asks one of his followers,

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 584; Genesis 32:13-5.

¹⁰⁹ “*Aplacarlo he con los dones que van delante.*” Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 584; Genesis 32:20.

¹¹⁰ Genesis 33:4.

¹¹¹ Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 585.

¹¹² “[*Pedro preguntó a Jesus,*] ‘*Señor, si pecare mi hermano en mí hasta siete veces, perdonarlo he, y soltarle he la ofensa?*’ ...[*entonces Jesus respondió,*] ‘*No sólo te digo que lo perdones siete veces, más aun digo que lo perdones setenta veces siete, si tantas pecare.*” Ibid., 611.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 614-5.

“Shouldst not thou then have had compassion also on thy fellow servant, even as I had compassion on thee?”(Douay-Rheims)¹¹⁵ Afterwards, because the servant refused to forgive his fellow man, the king sent him to be tortured until he had repaid his entire debt.¹¹⁶

Once one is able to forgive one’s enemies, according to Fray Francisco, one will be blessed with patience, gentleness, interior joy, and, most importantly, one will become familiar with the love of God.¹¹⁷ Fray Francisco elaborates on this final idea: “if your adversary robbed you or offended you and you acted gracefully and glorified God for the injustice that you received, the mercies that you produced are infinite.”¹¹⁸

In the concluding chapter of the Ley de Amor, Fray Francisco returns to the subject of divine love. Here, he states that love is the only thing that one can hope for in heaven, as God does not possess anything else.¹¹⁹ According to Fray Francisco, the love of God is compared to many things, including a shield, a fountain, and the sun. He writes that the Lord’s love is like a fountain because it fills the blessed that are in heaven.¹²⁰ God’s love is also compared to a shield, Fray Francisco claims, because it defends and protects those who love him.¹²¹ Finally, the Lord’s love is like the sun because it lights the paths of those who are still on earth. In like manner, Fray Francisco asks God’s love

¹¹⁵ Matthew 18:33.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 18:34.

¹¹⁷ Fray Francisco, Ley, 621-2.

¹¹⁸ “*si tu adversario te robó o te ofendió y hiciste gracias y glorificaste a Dios por la injusticia que recibiste, infinitas son las mercedes que fructificaste.*” Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 685.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 685-6.

¹²¹ Ibid., 686.

to descend to his followers “like the rays of the sun in order to elevate [them] like vapours to the everlasting glory.”¹²²

Hence, as Laura Calvert previously stated, the Ley de Amor comes full circle with its concluding chapter. The text ends where it began: with a description of God’s divine love. In between, Fray Francisco relates how the law of love shapes and directs the path of humanity, and how humanity, in turn, responds to this love.

¹²² “*como los rayos del sol para elevar[los] como vapores a la perdurable gloria.*” Ibid.

Chapter IV: The Flame That Enkindles All

The history of scholarship regarding Francisco de Osuna has primarily focused on his Third Spiritual Alphabet, rather than his Ley de Amor.¹ This may clearly be seen in the major studies done on the Franciscan by E. Allison Peers,² Melquiades Andres Martin,³ and Fidèle de Ros.⁴ In concentrating on the Third Alphabet, these scholars have presented a somewhat unbalanced view of Fray Francisco. There is more to his teaching than the practice of recollection, and there is more to his practice of recollection than what is contained in the Third Alphabet. Once one studies the Ley de Amor, it becomes apparent that the law of love underlies many of Fray Francisco's ideas about recollection.

Such a notion is not new to the world of scholarship, and certain scholars have already commented on the similarities between Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor and his Third Alphabet. Peers, for example, notes that the Ley de Amor is closest to the Third Alphabet in spirit,⁵ and Ros claims that both texts complement one another,⁶ but neither scholar further elaborates on these ideas.

Given the lack of a comprehensive comparison of Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor and his Third Alphabet, this section will examine, in detail, how the ideas of Fray

¹ Much of the Third Spiritual Alphabet's popularity may stem from its influence on St. Teresa of Ávila (pp. 14-5)

² In his Studies of the Spanish Mystics, Peers devotes fifteen pages to Francisco de Osuna's Third Alphabet (Peers, Studies, I:70-85), but only a paragraph to his Ley de Amor (ibid., 68). In fairness to Peers, however, his study is devoted to Spanish mysticism alone, and, as he states, Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet has "the best claim [of all of Fray Francisco's texts] to the title mystical" (ibid.).

³ The entire chapter on Fray Francisco in Martin's Los Recogidos (107-67) is devoted to Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet. In fairness to Martin, however, his study, as the title suggests, is dedicated to the practice of recollection alone. Of all of Fray Francisco's texts, only the Third Alphabet examines the practice of recollection in any detail.

⁴ In his Un maitre, Ros devotes seventy-one pages exclusively to Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet (Ros, 57-105; 340-63), but only eleven pages to his Ley de Amor (364-75).

⁵ Peers, Studies, I:68.

⁶ Ros, 375.

Francisco's two texts are connected. Some of these connections are fairly obvious, as Fray Francisco writes about the law of love in his Third Alphabet, and examines the practice of recollection in his Ley de Amor. Other connections, however, are not so apparent, and, hence, they will need some elaboration.

One obvious connection can be found in the Sixteenth Treatise of the Third Alphabet. Here, Fray Francisco writes that the law of love is the foundation of recollection: "Since the cornerstone of this exercise is love for God without which we cannot become perfectly recollected in him, it is absolutely necessary to expend all our energy to intensify this love so that we can be not only recollected but sealed in God."⁷ Fray Francisco further claims that the more one loves God, the more he will enter one's heart.⁸ If, however, one withdraws one's love for God, then, "the Lord departs...but he goes off hesitantly, turning around the head of his holy inspiration so that we may yet come to our senses and realize that we are the losers."⁹

The Ley de Amor also declares that the law of love and recollection are intertwined. In Chapter 27, for instance, Fray Francisco writes that, "Jesus became lost...in order that the faithful lovers who follow recollection look for him with more fervour."¹⁰ In this regard, Fray Francisco relates the story of Mary and Joseph losing Jesus in Jerusalem.¹¹ According to the Franciscan, men and women traditionally walked in separate groups while travelling to and from the Passover. Due to this custom, Joseph

⁷ Fray Francisco, Third, 415.

⁸ Ibid., 407; John 14:23 ("Jesus answered, and said to him [Judas]: 'If any one love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and will make our abode with him' " [Douay-Rheims]).

⁹ Fray Francisco, Third, 407.

¹⁰ "[Jesús] se hizo perdido...porque los leales amadores que siguen el recogimiento lo busquen con más fervor." Fray Francisco, Ley, 467.

¹¹ Luke 2:41-52.

thought that Jesus was with his mother, and Mary believed that Jesus was with Joseph.¹²

Upon determining that their son was no longer with them, Mary and Joseph became anxious. Mary's soul, Fray Francisco writes, became like a restless sea with various winds of thought.¹³

Nevertheless, because it was night, both parents were unable to search for Jesus until the next morning.¹⁴ According to Fray Francisco, this 'searching after Jesus' denotes the exercise of recollection.¹⁵ Furthermore, he claims, the law of love governs this exercise, for if one is diligent in searching for Jesus, one's love for the Lord will grow.¹⁶ In this regard, Fray Francisco writes, "Feel my soul, that which the Virgin felt upon finding...the love of her soul."¹⁷

These are the only two instances in the Ley de Amor and the Third Alphabet where Fray Francisco explicitly relates the law of love to the exercise of recollection. Nevertheless, the law of love governs many of recollection's stages, and, in this way, Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor complements his Third Alphabet. The following section, therefore, will demonstrate how each stage in recollection is directly tied to the law of love.

Fray Francisco writes in his Third Alphabet that before one is to begin the practice of recollection, one must first cultivate some important virtues, including thankfulness

¹² Fray Francisco, Ley, 467-8. The Gospel of Luke does not actually state that the men and women travelled in separate groups.

¹³ Fray Francisco, Ley, 468-9. Fray Francisco further claims that Mary cried out, "My God, why have you abandoned me (*Dios mío, por qué me dejaste?*)?" Ibid., 469; Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34.

¹⁴ Fray Francisco, Ley, 468. The Gospel of Luke does not indicate that it was night when Mary and Joseph realized that Jesus was not with them.

¹⁵ Ibid., 472.

¹⁶ Ibid., 475.

¹⁷ "*Siente ánima mía, lo que podía sentir entonces la Virgen hallando... al que amaba su ánima.*" Ibid., 469-70.

and humility.¹⁸ In his Ley de Amor, however, Fray Francisco further states that all virtues originate from love: “[love is the] virtue of all other virtues that pertain to life.”¹⁹

Fray Francisco elaborates the idea that love underlies all other virtues in Chapter 32 of the Ley de Amor. Here, as previously illustrated, he demonstrates how one is to love oneself through various acts of compassion, all of which are normally performed for others.²⁰ One such act, Fray Francisco writes, is ‘clothing the naked’. According to the Franciscan, the pain and the hurt of one’s sins can cause one’s virtues to be ‘stripped bare’. In response, one is to ‘clothe one’s virtues’ on account of one’s self-love.²¹

Another connection between the cultivating of one’s virtues and the law of love is found in the Sixteenth Treatise of the Third Alphabet. Here, Fray Francisco states the opposite of what he later wrote in the Ley de Amor: namely, that love does not lead to virtues, but, rather, virtues lead to love.²² In this regard, Fray Francisco writes of two men who are able to fly. One man, he states, continually gazes at the ground, as his mind is occupied with where he has flown. The other man, however, only looks ahead, as his mind is focused on where he will fly. According to Fray Francisco, the second man is more perfect than the first because he sets his sights on love, rather than his own virtues.²³ Fray Francisco further explains this analogy:

¹⁸ Refer to pp. 26-9.

¹⁹ “[*amor es la*] virtud de todas las otras virtudes que pertenecen a la vida.” Fray Francisco, Ley, 688.

²⁰ Refer to pp. 62.

²¹ Fray Francisco, Ley, 518-9. For this idea, Fray Francisco refers to Colossians 3:12: “Then clothe yourselves as the elect of God, holy and beloved, [with the] heart of mercy, benignity, humility, modesty, [and] patience (*Pues vestíos así como escogidos de Dios[,] santos y amados, entrañas de misericordia, benignidad, humildad, templanza, [y] paciencia*).” Ibid., 519.

²² Fray Francisco, Third, 423-4.

²³ Ibid., 424.

Considering this example carefully, you will realize how to draw love from virtues and set it in the lofty God to whom we soar. The philosopher considers his end to be virtue itself, but for the Christian, it is only a means for arriving at the goal of perfect love for God; hence, the Christian does not seek virtues for their intrinsic pleasure but because he knows that without them it is impossible to accomplish his purpose of loving God perfectly.²⁴

In the same chapter, Fray Francisco writes that one should not only draw love from one's own virtues, but also from the virtues of others. "Love", he claims, "is like a bee that extracts honey from every flower for its hive, delighting and rejoicing in the good of others and appropriating it to offer the Lord as its own sacrifice."²⁵

The two virtues that Fray Francisco writes the most about in regards to recollection are thankfulness and humility. Concerning thankfulness, Fray Francisco lists seven things in his Third Alphabet for which one should be thankful.²⁶ Included in this list are Christ's Death/Resurrection and the practice of baptism, each of which have close ties to the law of love. In the Second Treatise of the Third Alphabet, Fray Francisco eloquently describes why one is to be thankful for Christ's Death and Resurrection:

Men should bless the Lord [because he]... sacrificed his life for our miserable one, paying in his grief over our death and captivity an enormous price for a vile thing, and shedding his precious blood to refresh earthly man and bring him to life so that we who were dead in sin could flourish in life...He was beaten to ease the sting of justice's whip, which we truly

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 426. In this regard, Fray Francisco quotes Gregory the Great: "Even the good things we cannot emulate in others are ours through love; similarly, the deeds we perform are the property of lovers who love them in us. Thus envious people should remember the power of charity that makes the works of others ours without any effort on our part. Neither toiling nor fearing, we possess the goods of others through love, and whereas some vainglory always accompanies our own good deeds, there is none in those of others that we possess by love." Ibid.

²⁶ Fray Francisco, Third, 86-96; p. 27.

deserve. He was falsely honoured on earth so that we may be truly honoured in heaven.²⁷

Not surprisingly, in his Ley de Amor, Fray Francisco relates Christ's Death and Resurrection to the law of love. For instance, in Chapter 11 he writes that the 'flames of Christ's love' act as a sacrificial fire. According to the Franciscan, Christ sacrificed himself in these flames by dying on the cross. Christ did so, Fray Francisco writes, for both sinners and saints.²⁸

Another thing that one should be thankful for in regards to recollection is one's baptism. In his Third Alphabet Fray Francisco relates the practice of baptism to Moses and the Israelites crossing the Red Sea. According to the Franciscan, Moses represents a baptized person, and the Red Sea symbolizes the baptismal waters.²⁹ Upon reaching the other side of the sea, Moses praised God, "Let us sing to the Lord: for he has been magnified gloriously: he cast horse and soldier into the sea."³⁰ In a similar manner, Fray Francisco writes, Christians are to praise God for his gift of baptism.³¹

In the Ley de Amor, Fray Francisco demonstrates that the law of love and the practice of baptism are connected. In Chapter 16, for instance, he declares that the waters of baptism are nothing more than the "waters of love."³² Fray Francisco then elaborates this idea: "[in the water of baptism] the soul enters to bathe in order to cleanse itself with

²⁷ Ibid., 86-7.

²⁸ Fray Francisco, Ley, 325. The connections between Christ's Death/Resurrection and the law of love will be further explored in pp. 78-9.

²⁹ Fray Francisco, Third, 88.

³⁰ Ibid.; Exodus 15:1. In this analogy, the horse and soldier represent sin and the Devil respectively (Fray Francisco, Third, 88).

³¹ Ibid.

³² Fray Francisco, Ley, 362.

the help of its celestial spouse [the Holy Spirit], who washes the blemishes from the daughters of Zion.”³³

Later on, in the same chapter, Fray Francisco writes that the Lord performs two different works of love through baptism. The first work, he claims, is that the Lord forgives one’s sins.³⁴ This forgiveness is necessary, Fray Francisco states, if Christ is to institute a ‘new law of love’. According to the Franciscan, once Christ founds this new law, then one can sing a ‘new song of love’ to the Lord.³⁵

The second work of love that God performs through baptism is that he gives one the privilege to enter his eternal kingdom.³⁶ In this regard, Fray Francisco quotes Titus 3:5-7: “According to his [God’s] mercy, he saved us by the washing of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Spirit, who abundantly poured over us, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, so that justified with his grace we are heirs according to the hope of eternal life.”³⁷

As with the virtue of thankfulness, humility also has close ties to both the practice of recollection and the law of love. In Chapter 40 of the Ley de Amor, Fray Francisco writes that one can show love to one’s enemies by humbling oneself before them. Fray Francisco relates two biblical stories that display this humility/love: David bowing before

³³ “[en la agua de bautismo] el ánima se entra a bañar para que más limpia se ayunte con su esposo celestial [Espíritu Santo], que lava las mancillas de las hijas de Sión.” Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 363.

³⁵ Ibid. The ‘new song’ that Fray Francisco is referring to is the same song that Moses sang to God in Exodus 15:1 (ibid).

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ “Según su misericordia, nos hizo salvos por el lavamiento de la regeneración y renovación del Espíritu Santo, que derramó sobre nosotros en abundancia, por Jesucristo nuestro Salvador, para que justificados con su gracia seamos herederos según la esperanza de la vida eterna.” Ibid.

Saul,³⁸ and Jesus washing the feet of Judas.³⁹ Concerning the first story, Fray Francisco writes that by bowing before Saul, David was able to win the king's heart. This simple act of humility, Fray Francisco states, caused Saul to be filled with tears of repentance.⁴⁰ Concerning the second story, Fray Francisco writes, "Christ...humbled himself before the feet of Judas, and washed them with...diligence and charity...[as Christ] wanted to have a point of love with him [Judas] more than with the others."⁴¹

After one cultivates the virtues of thankfulness and humility, then one can begin the practice of recollection itself. In his Third Alphabet, Fray Francisco writes that one of the first stages of recollection is the gathering together of the heart's (or mind's) four cardinal passions: joy, hope, sadness, and fear.⁴² Fray Francisco later demonstrates in his Ley de Amor that the law of love is connected to these four passions. In Chapter 24, for instance, he writes that the only time that one should experience joy is in the presence of God's love.⁴³ Concerning hope, Fray Francisco claims that so long as it is based in the love of God it is "more favoured by God than any other virtue."⁴⁴ Sadness can also be connected to the law of love, though this connection is not as obvious as joy or hope. According to Fray Francisco, the only time that one should feel sad is when one does not fervently feel God's love.⁴⁵ Finally, he writes, fear is related to the law of love when one

³⁸ 1 Samuel 24:8-22.

³⁹ John 13:5.

⁴⁰ Fray Francisco, Ley, 584; 1 Samuel 24:16.

⁴¹ "Cristo...se humilló a los pies de Judas, y se los lavó con...diligencia y caridad...[así Cristo] quiso tener con él un punto de amor más que con los otros." Ibid., 584.

⁴² Fray Francisco, Third, 55-7; p. 34.

⁴³ Fray Francisco, Ley, 443-4.

⁴⁴ "más favorecido y ayudado de Dios que ninguna virtud." Ibid., 444.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

feels afraid of losing the love of God.⁴⁶ If one applies all four passions to the law of love, Fray Francisco claims, then these passions will act as the four wheels of Elijah's chariot, and will transport one into the presence of the Lord.⁴⁷

According to the Franciscan, the gathering together of the heart's four passions is a difficult process, and, therefore, it requires God's grace.⁴⁸ In his Third Alphabet, Fray Francisco writes that one should request the grace of God at this stage of recollection, as "Our Lord...will bestow it [grace] freely as encouragement to search for him and go to him."⁴⁹ Yet in his Ley de Amor, Fray Francisco states that the law of grace is actually nothing more than the law of love. In Chapter 9, for instance, Fray Francisco writes, "It well appears that charity and grace are not able to be separated...if one is in grace without charity, it would be [like bringing] together... justice and injustice, ...which is impossible."⁵⁰

Afterwards, in the same chapter, Fray Francisco demonstrates how love and grace are one and the same. He does so by revealing that both things perform exactly the same tasks. For example, both the love and grace of God justify humans by forgiving their sins.⁵¹ In this regard, Fray Francisco cites 1 Peter 4:8 (which states that one is justified by God's love),⁵² as well as Titus 3:7 (which proclaims that one is justified by God's

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Fray Francisco, Third, 55; p. 33-4.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ "*Bien parece que la caridad y la gracia no se pueden apartar... ca estando uno en gracia, sin caridad, seria juntamente... justo y injusto, ... lo cual es imposible.*" Fray Francisco, Ley, 305. For a description of charity/love, the reader may be referred to p. 53, n. 44.

⁵¹ Fray Francisco, Ley, 305.

⁵² "But before all things have a constant mutual charity among yourselves: for charity covereth a multitude of sins" (Douay-Rheims).

grace).⁵³ A second task that the two things share in common is the ability to make one lovable to God.⁵⁴ For this idea, Fray Francisco refers to John 14:21 (wherein Jesus states that those who love him will also be loved by the Father),⁵⁵ as well as Hebrews 12:28 (which proclaims that grace makes one agreeable to the Lord).⁵⁶ As a final example, Fray Francisco writes that both love and grace help to form one's virtues.⁵⁷ In this regard, Fray Francisco cites both 1 Corinthians 13⁵⁸ and 1 Peter 1:13.⁵⁹

Another stage in the exercise of recollection is the gathering up of one's memory. Fray Francisco writes about this stage in the Eleventh Treatise of the Third Alphabet, which contains the heading: "Advises Us to Keep God in Our Memories, Saying: Remember God Constantly."⁶⁰ Fray Francisco later writes in his Ley de Amor that this act is closely tied to the law of love. In Chapter 24, for instance, he claims that one is to love God with all of one's memory. According to Fray Francisco, one needs to be like the wife of Isaac, and constantly meditate on and think about the mysteries of love.⁶¹ These meditations, he writes, will act as firewood placed in the altar of one's soul. Once

⁵³ For Fray Francisco's translation of this passage, the reader may be referred to p. 74.

⁵⁴ Fray Francisco, Ley, 305.

⁵⁵ "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them; he it is that loveth me. And he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father: and I will love him and will manifest myself to him" (Douay-Rheims).

⁵⁶ "Therefore, receiving an immovable kingdom, we have grace: whereby let us serve, pleasing God, with fear and reverence" (Douay-Rheims).

⁵⁷ Fray Francisco, Ley, 306.

⁵⁸ "...charity is patient, is kind...[it] beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things..." (Douay-Rheims).

⁵⁹ "Wherefore, having the loins of your mind girt up, being sober, trust perfectly in the grace which is offered you in the revelation of Jesus Christ" (Douay-Rheims). For the other reasons as to why love and grace are one and the same, the reader may be referred to Ley, 306-7.

⁶⁰ Fray Francisco, Third, 292. See further, *ibid.*, 292-300; p. 35-6.

⁶¹ Fray Francisco, Ley, 443. There is no mention in the book of Genesis of Rebekah meditating.

ignited, this ‘firewood’ will engulf one’s heart in the flames of love, in order that one’s heart may be a sacrifice for God.⁶²

Fray Francisco further explains how one is to love God through one’s memory in Chapter 21 of the Ley de Amor. Here, he writes, “the memory enters into God when...[we think about] his love that moves in us, or the good angel that guards us, or the good company with whom we have conversation, or the universality of the bodily creatures, all of whom, although they are unable to speak, ...relate to us the glory of God.”⁶³

Another way that one can occupy one’s memory with the love of God, Fray Francisco claims, is by meditating on the Passion of Christ.⁶⁴ In Chapter 29 of the Ley de Amor, for instance, Fray Francisco states that Christ’s Passion finished the work of redemption, and it revealed the love that Christ had for everyone, including his enemies.⁶⁵ In the same chapter, Fray Francisco examines how specific events in the Passion pertain to the law of love. One such event, he writes, was when Jesus was nailed to the cross with his arms out-stretched. According to Fray Francisco, this aspect of the crucifixion was foreshadowed in Exodus 9:29, wherein Moses said to the Pharaoh, “When I am out of the city, I will open my palms to the Lord, and the thunders will cease, and the hail will be no more.”⁶⁶ Concerning the hail that Moses speaks of, Fray Francisco claims that it

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ “*entera la memoria de Dios cuando.. [pensamos sobre] el amor suyo mueve en nosotros, o el ángel bueno que nos guarda, o la buena compañía con quien tenemos conversación, o la universalidad de las criaturas corporales, que todas, aunque no saben hablar, ... nos cuentan la gloria de Dios.*” Ibid., 415.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 485.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 487.

⁶⁶ “*Cuando fuere salido de la ciudad, extenderé mis palmas al Señor, y cesarán los truenos, y no habrá granizo.*” Ibid., 486.

represents punishment for one's sins, though, as the verse suggests, this punishment was abolished once Jesus lovingly died upon the cross.⁶⁷

Another event with connections to both the Passion and the law of love is the destruction/reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem. According to Fray Francisco, the new temple represents Jesus's precious body.⁶⁸ Fray Francisco elaborates this idea by showing that the love of Jesus allows everyone to enter his 'new temple':

Those who...have lost Christ! Come to the beautiful door of the temple, which is the wound of his side ...do not take long to come in, because his sacred body is [a] protective temple, which does not have one, but five doors, and all are open in order to receive those that come to look for him.⁶⁹

As one unifies one's memory in recollection, one is to also unify one's will. In the Fifteenth Treatise of the Third Alphabet, Fray Francisco writes that the will is the main requisite for prayer.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, as with one's memory, he also makes it clear that one's will is closely tied to the law of love. In Chapter 4 of the Ley de Amor, for instance, Fray Francisco writes that, "the fount of love is the will."⁷¹

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 490. Such an idea can be found in John 2:19-21: "Jesus answered, and said to them: Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. The Jews then said: six and forty years was this temple in building; and wilt thou raise it up in five days? But he spoke of the temple of his body" (Douay-Rheims).

⁶⁹ "*Los que... habéis perdido a Cristo!, venid a la hermosa puerta del templo, que es la llaga de su costado... no tardéis en venir, porque su cuerpo sagrado es [un] templo de mucho amparo, que no tiene una, sino cinco puertas, y todas abiertas para recibir a los que vienen a lo buscar.*" Fray Francisco, Ley, 490.

⁷⁰ Fray Francisco, Third, 402. See further Fray Francisco, Third, 402-4; p. 36-7.

⁷¹ "*la fuente del amor es la voluntad.*" Fray Francisco, Ley, 266. The connections between love and the will are also found in the writings of St. Augustine. For instance, he writes, "My weight [or will] is my love; by it am I born whithersoever I am borne" (St. Augustine, as quoted in Etienne Gilson, The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine, trans. L. E. M. Lynch [New York: Random House, 1960], 134). In the same pages, St. Augustine defines his will as a weight that constantly moves his soul towards a place of rest. This place of rest, he claims, is nothing more than love (ibid.).

Afterwards, in the same chapter, Fray Francisco demonstrates that there are various aspects to the will, each of which need to be driven by the law of love. For example, one's will can work in either a positive or negative direction; either moving towards that which it wants, or fleeing from that which it detests. If, Fray Francisco writes, one's will is directed by heavenly things, then it will strive after love, but flee from evil.⁷²

Concerning the 'positive direction' of one's will, Fray Francisco further writes that it is broken up into two more categories: 'to want out of friendship' (*querer de amistad*) and 'to want out of greed' (*querer de codicia*). Wanting out of greed is not necessarily bad, Fray Francisco claims, so long as it is tempered with the love of wanting out of friendship.⁷³

After one's will is, literally, 're-collected', then one can turn one's attention towards the understanding. In the Third Alphabet, Fray Francisco writes that the understanding is one of the 'principal wings of contemplation', and it is needed if one is to soar towards God.⁷⁴ Nevertheless he further states in his Ley de Amor that the law of love must direct one's understanding. Fray Francisco illustrates this idea by examining the story of Adam and Eve and the Tree of Knowledge.

In Chapter 5 of the Ley de Amor, Fray Francisco questions why Adam and Eve would eat from the Tree of Knowledge. According to the Franciscan, it was not because

⁷² Fray Francisco, Ley, 266.

⁷³ "Allende de esto, has de saber que siempre hay concierto en estos dos quererres, porque ninguna cosa amamos con querer de codicia sin que amemos otra primero con querer de amistad." Ibid., 267.

⁷⁴ Fray Francisco, Third, 315. See further Fray Francisco, Third, 315-22; pp. 37-9.

they had a gluttonous appetite, or because the fruit was incredibly beautiful.⁷⁵

Furthermore, Adam and Eve did not eat of the Tree in order to gain an understanding of the earth, as they already possessed such an understanding: “[they knew] the properties of all the herbs, rocks, animals, and stars, and anything that God created.”⁷⁶

Instead, Fray Francisco writes, they ate the fruit in order to gain a better understanding of humanity, and, in turn, to become like God: “Man was missing only one thing in order to become another God on earth...and [this thing] that he missed was the complete knowledge of things that occur to men; ...to entirely discern and separate...the beautiful from the vile.”⁷⁷

Such knowledge, Fray Francisco claims, is not necessarily bad in and of itself, but the fault of Adam and Eve lies in the fact that they went to an ‘outside source’ for this knowledge. According to the Franciscan, God’s greatest desire is that humans come to him for their understanding, as God wants nothing more than to enter into a loving relationship with each of his followers.⁷⁸

After one has ‘re-collected’ one’s memory, will, and understanding separately, then one can gather them up together. Fray Francisco only partially explores this subject in his Third Alphabet. The closest that he comes to writing about all three aspects together is in the Twelfth Treatise, wherein he declares that the will and understanding

⁷⁵ Fray Francisco, Ley, 275.

⁷⁶ “[ellos conocían] las propiedades de todas las hierbas, y piedras, y animales, y estrellas, y cualesquier cosas que Dios crió.” Ibid., 276.

⁷⁷ “Sola una cosa faltaba al hombre para ser otro Dios en la tierra... y [esta cosa] que le faltaba era el cumplido conocimiento de todas las cosas que suelen acaecer a los hombres; ... enteramente discernir y apartar... lo precioso de lo vil.” Ibid.

⁷⁸ “Item, no quiso nuestro Señor dar al hombre juntamente tanta ciencia como al ángel, porque él quería ser su muy familiar consejero, para que así ganase más por menudo el amor; así que en todo guardó el Señor ley de amor; pues, por más ser amado.” Ibid., 278.

are the two wings of contemplation.⁷⁹ To further illustrate this idea, Fray Francisco claims that one's will and understanding must work together, otherwise one will be "like a rower who tries to put into a quiet port with just one oar or a swimmer endeavouring to reach shore using but one arm."⁸⁰

Such an idea can also be found in the Prologue of Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor. Here, he states that there are two types of love: the love of affection and the love of reason, each of which have close ties to one's will and understanding.⁸¹ According to Fray Francisco, the love of affection requires one to turn his or her will affectionately to God.⁸² The love of reason, on the other hand, entails that one study the subject of love, and, hence, it requires one's understanding.⁸³ For Fray Francisco, these two types of love act as one's eyes. Furthermore, both types of love need to work in unison if one is to fully contemplate the Lord.⁸⁴

As one grows in one's love for the Lord, one will then be led to recollection's negative way or the Prayer of Quiet. Fray Francisco devotes the Twenty-First Treatise of his Third Alphabet to this subject, wherein he writes, "we should employ all our solicitude to seek this calm...for this is of such importance that all our good depends upon it."⁸⁵

In the same treatise, Fray Francisco demonstrates that the law of love is the driving force behind the Prayer of Quiet. He claims, for instance, that in the Prayer of

⁷⁹ Refer to p. 39, n. 118.

⁸⁰ Fray Francisco, Third, 315.

⁸¹ This subject has already been explored in pp. 48-9; however, because these two types of love have close ties to the Third Alphabet and the practice of recollection, they will be explored again.

⁸² Fray Francisco, Ley, 231.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 232.

⁸⁵ Fray Francisco, Third, 553. See further ibid., 547-62; pp. 42-3.

Quiet, one “form[s] [a] brief prayer that at once penetrates the heavens. I do not call this prayer brief because it will not endure but because it uses no means other than love to reach God; and love can immediately join with him.”⁸⁶ Elsewhere, Fray Francisco eloquently writes of the Prayer of Quiet:

O how indescribable and unexplainable is the silence ordained by love between God and the soul when God flows down on the soul like a river of peace and a stream of sweetest honey; when the waters of Siloe run in silence from the living fountain; when words cease and deeds arise; when the soul is quiet, not knowing what it asks, for all its desires have been met; when the Lord is quiet, seeing nothing to reprehend in the one who loves so sublimely; when the soul sees itself chaste because of this love that flows from it to the Creator and clean because it possesses the Lord who destroys all sin and washes the white dove with the purest milk of grace.⁸⁷

Up to this point in the chapter, recollection’s (and the law of love’s) specific stages have been explored, but the ‘general states’ of each practice have not been discussed. For Fray Francisco, there are three such ‘general states’ in the practice of recollection: the state attained by beginners (*principantes*), by those making some progress (*aprovechantes*), and by the perfect (*perfectos*).⁸⁸ He examines each of these states throughout his Third Alphabet. For example, in the Fourteenth Treatise Fray Francisco explains that there are three types of sadness that pertain to each of these three states. The beginners, he writes, feel sad at having offended God. The proficients, on the other hand, experience sadness when they no longer sense God’s presence. Finally, Fray

⁸⁶ Ibid., 556.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 558. Other passages in the Third Alphabet also demonstrate the connections between the Prayer of Quiet and the law of love. These passages can be found in *ibid.*, 558-9. I will not quote them here, as I have already reproduced them in p. 42-3.

⁸⁸ Peers, Studies, I:90. Peers points out that these three states correspond to the classic progression of purgation, illumination, and perfection (*ibid.*). For an in-depth description of these states the reader may also be referred to Underhill, 167-444.

Francisco claims, the perfect sometimes feel sad without knowing the source of their sadness.⁸⁹

Further on, in the Eighteenth Treatise, Fray Francisco writes of how contemplation relates to each of these three states:

So let beginners frequently retire into themselves...and sorrow over their past evil lives. And may this done in silence of patience, as I have said, and in the hope of advancing. Let proficient draw inward from the scatterings of the heart in perfectly still silence and the hope of actual grace they expect to receive soon from their generous Lord. And let the perfect go within themselves by keeping vigil over recollection with their hearts alert and fixed on God in profound silence with respect to all creation and with such firm, resolute hope that with desire they will be transported to heavenly things.⁹⁰

Fray Francisco also applies these three states to the law of love in his Ley de Amor. In Chapter 48, he demonstrates how beginners, proficient, and the perfect relate to the three aspects of Solomon's temple (1 Kings 6-7): the court, the sanctuary, and the sanctuary of sanctuaries.

The beginners, Fray Francisco writes, can be found in one of three distinct places in the temple's court. The first place, he claims, is on the outer court, where everyone,

⁸⁹ Fray Francisco, Third, 383. Fray Francisco describes the sadness sometimes felt by the perfect: "Some experience this sense or see with the eyes of the soul a kind of shadow or mist or smoke descending over their heads, which terrifies them because they do not know what it is, and they struggle to cast it off as something unsubstantial, saying it is a phantom" (ibid., 381). According to the Franciscan, this sadness is beneficial, as it will help one grow closer to the Lord (ibid., 382). Peers claims that this sadness is akin to the 'Dark Night of the Soul', though the two are not exactly the same (Peers, Studies, I:93). Unfortunately, Peers does not further elaborate on this idea.

⁹⁰ Fray Francisco, Third, 493. Fray Francisco further explains the differences between these three states in ibid., 274; 278-83; 351.

including the animals, is able to gather together. Fray Francisco believes that this part of the patio is unclean, and it symbolizes those beginners who still live in mortal sin.⁹¹

On the other hand, the second part of the temple's court, Fray Francisco writes, is clean, as not everyone is allowed in this part of the temple. For Fray Francisco, the second court refers to those beginners who have left mortal sin behind and have asked God to forgive their sins.⁹²

Finally, Fray Francisco declares, the temple's third court contains those beginners who are like the priests who, "offer their limbs to God in the altar of penance, sacrificing their flesh with fasts and discipline, taking against their flesh the knife of severity and crucifying their flesh...[from] the vices and evil desires that they found within themselves."⁹³

As one grows in the law of love, then one becomes a proficient in love. This state, for Fray Francisco, is symbolized by the temple's outer sanctuary. As with the beginners, the proficient has three distinct grades, each one represented by an object found in the temple's sanctuary. According to Fray Francisco, the first grade of the proficient is related to the 'altar of perfumes.' This altar, he writes, is a figure of spiritual penitence. Here, one does not offer animal sacrifices, but, rather, one offers one's own soul.⁹⁴

The second grade of the proficient, Fray Francisco claims, is symbolized by the table of sanctified bread. According to the Franciscan, the temple priests knead and cook this bread, and, later, they place it on the table, where it becomes quite hard. This 'hard

⁹¹ Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 652.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 652.

⁹³ "ofrecen en el altar de la penitencia sus mismos miembros a Dios, sacrificando sus carnes con ayunos y disciplinas, tomando contra sus cuerpos el cuchillo del rigor y crucificando sus carnes...[de] los vicios y malos deseos que hallan en ellas." *Ibid.*, 653.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 654.

bread' is obviously difficult to eat, and, for Fray Francisco, it represents the difficulty of performing spiritual tasks. Nevertheless, for the proficient at this stage, such obstacles are needed if they are to grow in their love for God.⁹⁵

The third grade of the proficient, Fray Francisco writes, is related to a candelabrum with seven golden branches.⁹⁶ According to the Franciscan, the light that this candelabrum gives off represents the proficient's newly acquired spiritual knowledge.⁹⁷

After one has obtained this spiritual knowledge, then one can enter the sanctuary of sanctuaries. According to Fray Francisco, this part of the temple is extremely secret, and it pertains to those who have perfected the law of love. As with the beginners and proficient, the perfect have three different grades, each one corresponding to a different object found in this part of the temple. The first grade of the perfect, Fray Francisco writes, is represented by a praying cherub with extended wings.⁹⁸ For Fray Francisco, the cherub symbolizes knowledge of God that only the perfect possess. This knowledge is different from that which was represented by the candelabrum, as it is only found "in the fervent lovers [who] raise themselves up primarily through meditation and [who] continue thinking about the divine properties that most induce divine love."⁹⁹

The second grade of the perfect, Fray Francisco claims, is tied to the Ark of the Covenant. According to the Franciscan, the Ark represents the perfect who continually

⁹⁵ Ibid., 654-5.

⁹⁶ 1 Kings 7:49.

⁹⁷ Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 655. Unfortunately, Fray Francisco does not elaborate on this 'spiritual knowledge.'

⁹⁸ 1 Kings 6:23-8.

⁹⁹ "en los fervientes amadores [quien] se alza mayormente por meditación y [quien] continuo pensamiento de las divinas propiedades que más inducen al divino amor." Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 656.

contemplate on the love of God.¹⁰⁰ Fray Francisco, however, does not further elaborate this idea.

The final grade of the perfect is symbolized by an unpainted table of gold.¹⁰¹ According to the Franciscan, this table is made of gold because the metal best represents the pure love of God. Gold, Fray Francisco claims, helps illuminate and beautify all other metals, just as God's love makes everything agreeable to him. The perfect that are at this grade, Fray Francisco writes, replicate the love of God by performing good works for others.¹⁰²

The state of the perfect, however, cannot be achieved in this lifetime.¹⁰³ The reason being, for Fray Francisco, is that one can never perfectly know God while on earth, and, hence, one can never perfectly love him.¹⁰⁴ Yet, as with the exercise of recollection,¹⁰⁵ one must still strive after the perfected law of love, as a "knight who does not abandon the fight even if he sees the impossibility of winning."¹⁰⁶

As demonstrated, then, Fray Francisco's law of love and exercise of recollection are intrinsically connected. Both require the attributes of thankfulness and humility as their respective starting points. Furthermore, both recollection and the law of love entail that one gather together one's heart (mind), will, and understanding. Finally, and most

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ 1 Kings 7:48.

¹⁰² Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 657.

¹⁰³ "*do se muestra por qué nos dió el Señor tan gran 'ley de amor', aunque no es por entero guardable en esta vida.*" Ibid., 381. Fray Francisco writes about the same idea in *ibid.*, 424; 685.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 381-2.

¹⁰⁵ For Fray Francisco's idea that recollection cannot be perfected in this lifetime, the reader may be referred to Fray Francisco, *Third*, 600-3; p. 45.

¹⁰⁶ "*caballero que no deja de pelear aunque ve serle dificultosísima la victoria.*" Fray Francisco, *Ley*, 382. This quote is almost identical to Fray Francisco, *Third*, 603; p. 45.

importantly, both are needed if one is to arrive at the Lord. As such, it is impossible to fully understand Fray Francisco's Third Alphabet without also reading his Ley de Amor.

Chapter V: The Franciscan Order and the Law of Love

If one studies only Francisco de Osuna's Third Alphabet, then (as previously illustrated) one cannot fully comprehend Fray Francisco's spirituality. However, studying only this work of Fray Francisco also creates further problems in the world of scholarship. If one does not examine Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor in conjunction with his Third Alphabet, then one will be presented with a rather distorted view of Fray Francisco, or, at the very least, a very one-sided view of the man. One cannot dismiss the Ley de Amor when speaking of Fray Francisco for the text convincingly demonstrates that he was a product of his Franciscan training. The overarching theme of the Franciscan Order, from its very beginning, was love, rather than recollection. For instance, Mary Giles claims that one of the marks of Franciscan spirituality is that it is affective, or driven by love.¹ Juan Alborg also writes that the Order's main focus is the "science of love."² It is true that one may get this sense when reading the Third Alphabet, especially in regards to its Sixteenth Treatise.³ Nevertheless, it is the Ley de Amor that more fully demonstrates this Franciscan characteristic.

This section will put Fray Francisco into perspective by examining the major spiritual texts by four Franciscan authors who lived during his time: Bernadino de Laredo, St. Pedro of Alcántara, Diego de Estella, and Juan de los Ángeles.⁴ In doing so, this section will reveal that Fray Francisco had much in common with his fellow Franciscans, including an emphasis on grace, thankfulness, the Prayer of Quiet, and, most importantly,

¹ Giles, "Introduction," 12-3.

² Juan L. Alborg, Historia de la Literatura Española, volume I (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1966), 485-6.

³ Refer to p. 69.

⁴ Other than Francisco de Osuna, these are the only Franciscans to appear in Peers's Studies of the Spanish Mystics.

the law of love. As such, this section will also demonstrate to the reader the importance of studying Fray Francisco's Ley de Amor, as love, and not recollection, is the underlying theme in each of the following Franciscan texts.

The Franciscan Order's emphasis on love began with its founder: St. Francis of Assisi. One can see the importance that St. Francis placed on love in the stories told about him, as well as the writings attributed to him. One such example is the story of St. Francis and the community of lepers. The story goes that upon completing the chapel at San Damiano, St. Francis turned his attention to the lepers surrounding Assisi. As he had no alms to bring them (since St. Francis had taken a vow never to touch money), he could only nurse the lepers, all the while singing songs to cheer them. St. Francis would bathe them, change their straw beds, and even share their dinner bowls.⁵

Another example of St. Francis's insistence on love is evidenced by Chapter 17 of his "Rule of 1212." The chapter is a description of how one is to be a missionary among the Saracens⁶ and other unbelievers. At the end of the short chapter, St. Francis extols his followers that, "no matter where they are, the friars must always remember that they have given themselves up completely and handed over their whole selves to our Lord Jesus Christ, and so they should be prepared to expose themselves to every enemy, visible or

⁵ Edith M. Almedingen, St. Francis of Assisi: A Great Life in Brief, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 58.

⁶ A medieval term used to designate the Arabs, and, in a larger context, all Muslims ("Saracens," 15 August 2006 <<http://www.encyclopaedia.com/html/s/saracens.asp>>).

invisible, for love of him.”⁷ St. Francis would go on to justify this claim with a number of New Testament passages, including Mark 8:35⁸ and Matthew 5:10.⁹

One final example of St. Francis’s love can be found in his “Letter to All the Faithful.” The writing appeals to its readers to sanctify themselves through prayer, mortifications, and the sacraments. Furthermore, it exemplifies St. Francis’s hope that humanity could establish a time of peace through forgiveness and loving one’s enemies.¹⁰ Francis begins the letter with these words: “To all Christians, religious, clerics and lay folk, men and women; to everyone in the whole world, Brother Francis sends his humble respects, imploring for them true peace from heaven and sincere love in God.”¹¹

After St. Francis’s death, the Franciscan Order continued to be driven by love. This idea is evidenced in the writings of two of the Order’s most prominent figures: St. Bonaventure and Jacopone da Todi. In St. Bonaventure’s The Soul’s Journey into God, he explains that one needs to let go of one’s understanding, and be driven by affection alone:

But if you wish to know how these things come about, ask grace not instruction, desire not understanding, the groaning of prayer not diligent reading, the spouse not the teacher, God not man, darkness not clarity, not light but the fire that totally inflames and carries us into God by ecstatic actions and burning affections. This fire is God, and his furnace is Jerusalem; and Christ enkindles it in the heat of his burning passion.¹²

⁷ St. Francis of Assisi, “The Writings of St. Francis,” trans. Benen Fahey in St. Francis of Assisi: Omnibus, ed. Marion Habig (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1972), 44.

⁸ “For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel, shall save it” (Douay-Rheims).

⁹ “Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice’s sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven” (Douay-Rheims).

¹⁰ Placid Hermann, “Introduction to a Letter to All the Faithful,” in St. Francis of Assisi: Omnibus, 91.

¹¹ St. Francis of Assisi, “Letter to All the Faithful,” trans. Placid Hermann in *ibid.*, 93.

¹² St. Bonaventure, 115.

Jacopone da Todi, an author of many poems concerning the virtue of love, also eloquently writes,

Love, O Love, I am possessed of thee
 Love, Love, my Love, O take me in a sigh!
 Love, glad and spent I lie.
 O Love, my Bliss, O Lover's Kiss!
 O quench my soul in Love!¹³

Such thinking was also prevalent amongst the Spanish Franciscans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Francisco de Osuna was not the only writer to demonstrate the tremendous importance of love during this time in Spain. Other Franciscan writers, such as Bernadino de Laredo, St. Pedro of Alcántara, Diego de Estella, and Juan de los Ángeles, also were driven by affective spirituality.

The first such author to be examined is Bernadino de Laredo, whose writings, like Fray Francisco's, had a tremendous impact on St. Teresa of Ávila.¹⁴ Fray Bernadino was born in 1482 in Seville. Initially, he hoped for a career in medicine, and in order to pursue such a goal he attended universities in France and Spain. Nevertheless, Fray

¹³ Jacopone da Todi (no translator given), as quoted in Moorman, 307.

¹⁴ When St. Teresa was approximately twenty years old, she began to experience a major crisis in her life. She describes this crisis in her autobiography: "I spent nearly twenty years on the stormy sea, often falling in this way and each time rising again, but to little purpose, as I would only fall once more...I can testify that this is one of the most grievous kinds of life which I think can be imagined, for I had neither joy in God nor any pleasure in the world" (St. Teresa, *Life*, 48). During this time, St. Teresa believed that such experiences were the work of the Devil (Peers, "Introduction," in Fray Bernadino, 11). In 1556, however, St. Teresa found a book that explained to her that such experiences were, in fact, from God. This book was Bernadino de Laredo's *Ascent of Mount Sion*, which St. Teresa writes about in her autobiography: "Looking through books to see if I could learn how to describe my method of prayer, I found one, called *The Ascent of the Mount*, which describes the union of the soul with God, all the symptoms I had when I was unable to think of anything" (St. Teresa, *Life*, 149). St. Teresa further declares, "it seems now that he [Fray Bernadino] was prophesying what the Lord did afterwards with me" (ibid., 152).

Bernadino soon decided that this was not the right path for him, and in 1510 he joined the Franciscan convent of San Francisco del Monte. Fray Bernadino remained at this convent until his death in 1540.¹⁵

During his life, Fray Bernadino wrote a handful of books, including two medical texts¹⁶ and a treatise on the mysteries of Saint Joseph.¹⁷ The most important work of Fray Bernadino's, however, was his Ascent of Mount Sion. Concerning this text, Peers claims, "were it not for the Ascent of Mount Sion... and the influence which it had on St. Teresa, Fray Bernadino would have long since been forgotten."¹⁸ For this reason, the Ascent will be the only text of Fray Bernadino's to be studied in this section.

The Ascent is primarily focused on contemplative prayer, especially the Prayer of Quiet. The text's forty-two chapters follow no discernable pattern, as Peers notes, "[the Ascent] reveals no kind of logical progression of the author's thought, and has no clear plan: it is less like a treatise than a series of essays."¹⁹ For example, Fray Bernadino randomly discusses the subjects of vocal prayer, communion, grace, and humility. Along with these subjects, he also examines the exercise of recollection²⁰ and the overarching importance of love.

Fray Bernadino's exploration of recollection is confined, for the most part, to Chapter 22. Here, Fray Bernadino defines recollection as the bringing together of one's

¹⁵ Peers, Studies, II:34-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 321.

¹⁸ Peers, "Introduction," in Fray Bernadino, 13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁰ It should be noted that Fray Bernadino's conception of recollection slightly differs from that of Fray Francisco's ideas about the practice. As with St. Teresa, Fray Bernadino believed that recollection and the Prayer of Quiet were separate exercises, in contrast to Fray Francisco. For instance, Fray Bernadino thought that recollection caused the Prayer of Quiet, but that the two states were not one and the same (Fray Bernadino, 153; Peers, "Introduction," in Fray Bernadino, 30).

dispersed thoughts, the gathering up of one's understanding, and the 're-collection' of one's faculties.²¹ Such a process, he writes, requires one to retire into oneself, like a wave returning to the open sea: "At every high tide, the waters of the sea swell and are enlarged, and are heaped up like the mountains with hollows inside, and then the tide recedes and the sea withdraws into itself the water that it had put forth. The return of the water to the place whence it came is a case of re-flexion [or recollection]."²² Fray Bernadino further compares this process to a hedgehog or turtle withdrawing into its protective armour.²³ Apart from Chapter 22, the only other place in his Ascent where Fray Bernadino speaks of recollection in any detail is Chapter 25. Here, he reminds the reader of the importance of one's will in recollection: "the recollected man knows all that gold [or contemplation] will do if he perseveres with strenuous effort, and with great care, and much fervour."²⁴

Though recollection has a place in Fray Bernadino's Ascent of Mount Sion, the author gives much more space, and importance, to the subject of love. For example, as with Fray Francisco, Fray Bernadino makes it perfectly clear that love underlies recollection. In Chapter 22 of the Ascent, Fray Bernadino writes that recollection is driven by one's affective nature.²⁵ Elsewhere in the same chapter, he writes that in recollection one's soul is not aware of anything except love.²⁶

²¹ Fray Bernadino, 151.

²² Ibid., 152. For Fray Bernadino, 're-flexion' is one aspect of the exercise of recollection. 'Re-flexion' specifically refers to the gathering together of one's thoughts (ibid., 150).

²³ Ibid., 152. Fray Francisco also compares a recollected person to a hedgehog in his Third, 173.

²⁴ Fray Bernadino, 163.

²⁵ Ibid., 150.

²⁶ Ibid., 153.

According to Fray Bernadino, love also underlies the Prayer of Quiet. Chapter 9, for instance, contains the heading: “The Practice of Quiet Causes the Soul to Rise up on the Wings of Love.”²⁷ Fray Bernadino further explains this idea: “[In the Prayer of Quiet] the soul is raised up suddenly, through pure love, by the affective way alone, to union with its most loving God, without the intervention of any thought, or operation of the intellect, or understanding, or natural reasoning.”²⁸ Elsewhere in the same chapter, Fray Bernadino claims that in the Prayer of Quiet, “our Lord and loving Physician visits the soul that is faint with love of Him, He brings it into a state wherein it neither can escape from the arrows of love, nor desires to do so.”²⁹

As one grows in the Prayer of Quiet, Fray Bernadino claims, then one becomes perfected³⁰ in the contemplative life. He explains that love underlies this ‘perfect state’ in Chapter 10, which contains the heading: “In What Blessed Wise Love Prevails in Perfect Contemplation.”³¹ Fray Bernadino elaborates this idea:

So in the end the Divine clemency and the combat of love, with its many blows- I mean by this the touches exchanged by our loving Lord and the soul that is sick with love for Him- arouse much fervour, which follows upon these many blows, and this fervour, so often as the soul is pleased to soar in love to God, of a sudden awakens the affections; and then, as the soul rises, it is taken captive, and in its turn takes Him Who took it.³²

²⁷ Ibid., 100.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 101.

³⁰ Like Fray Francisco, Fray Bernadino uses the general classifications of beginner, proficient, and perfect.

³¹ Fray Bernadino, 103.

³² Ibid.

There are many other chapters in Fray Bernadino's Ascent that are devoted to the subject of love,³³ but none more so than Chapter 40. Here, Fray Bernadino lists twenty-four non-biblical verses about love, such as, "Love goes where it wills-and none prevents it"³⁴; and, "He who ceases not to desire-cannot cease loving."³⁵ For each of these verses, Fray Bernadino explains to the reader what they mean, with explanations ranging from short paragraphs to full pages.³⁶ Fray Bernadino then ends the chapter with a series of aphorisms that he composed about Jesus. Included in this list of aphorisms are two lines that contain the essence of Fray Bernadino's Ascent: "He who is to find Christ- must seek Him with love. If Christ is to be found- love is the way to seek Him."³⁷

The subject of divine love is a key component of another Spanish Franciscan text: St. Pedro of Alcántara's Treatise on Prayer and Meditation. St. Pedro was born in 1499 into the town from which his name is derived.³⁸ When he was sixteen, St. Pedro joined the Franciscan house of Manjarez under the direction of Francisco de Fregenal.³⁹ In 1538, he was elected Provincial of the Extremaduran Province, and, then, in 1559, he was appointed Commissary General of the Discalced Franciscan Reform.⁴⁰ It was during this time that St. Pedro made acquaintances with St. Teresa. She had invited the priest to the Convent of the Incarnation in order to speak to him about certain doubts that plagued

³³ Apart from those chapters discussed, love is also the main subject of Chapters 15, 16, 23, 26, 30, and 31.

³⁴ Ibid., 226.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ As most of the information that Fray Bernadino gives to the reader is fairly obvious, I will not discuss his explanations about the verses. For Fray Bernadino's explanations, the reader may be referred to *ibid.*, 226-52.

³⁷ Ibid., 253.

³⁸ Peers, Studies, II: 81.

³⁹ Ibid., 82.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 83-4.

her.⁴¹ In St. Pedro, St. Teresa found a man whom she greatly respected, and she constantly sought his advice on spiritual matters.⁴² Upon St. Pedro's death in 1562, St. Teresa would write, "What a grand picture of it [Christ's suffering] has God just taken from us in the blessed Fray Peter of Alcántara! The world is not yet in a fit state to bear such perfection...his spirit was as robust as any in the days of old, so that he was able to keep the world beneath his feet."⁴³

In all likelihood, St. Pedro left behind a number of books, but his Treatise on Prayer and Meditation was the only book of his to survive until the present-day.⁴⁴ St. Pedro's main intent in writing the Treatise was to provide the poor with a cheap and simple book about meditation and devotion. St. Pedro further explains this idea in the text's dedication to Rodrigo de Chaves:

Most magnificent and devout Signor: I should never have compiled this little treatise or consented to its publication had you not often commanded me to write something on prayer, in short and compendious form, and clearly, so as to be of service to all. This cheap and slender volume will be accessible even to the poor who cannot buy more expensive books, and, being written clearly will profit the simple who are not rich in understanding.⁴⁵

As with Fray Bernadino's Ascent, St. Pedro's Treatise discusses both the exercise of recollection and the importance of love. Concerning recollection, St. Pedro mentions the exercise only a few times in his text. One such instance can be found in

⁴¹ Ibid., 79.

⁴² Ibid., 80.

⁴³ St. Teresa, Life, 176.

⁴⁴ Peers, Studies, II:84.

⁴⁵ St. Peter of Alcántara, Treatise on Prayer and Meditation, trans. Dominic Devas (London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1926), xii.

Part I/Chapter 9. Here, St. Pedro claims that one needs to use one's imagination in recollection. According to St. Pedro, one should picture each detail in the life of Christ as if these events were taking place within one's own heart.⁴⁶ He further describes these ideas in Part I/Chapter 12, wherein he writes,

Though it be necessary to maintain this attention and recollection of heart, it is fitting, on the other hand, that this attention be restrained and measured, that it may not injure the health nor impede devotion, for there are indeed some, as we have said, who injure the brain by the excessive efforts they make use of to be attentive to their thoughts.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, though St. Pedro rarely refers to recollection, most of his Treatise is devoted to the subject. Each chapter of his text is primarily concerned with meditation, which, as Evelyn Underhill points out, is where recollection begins: “[In meditation] the self...falls gradually and insensibly into the condition of reverie; and, protected by this holy day-dream from the more distracting dream of life, sinks into itself, and becomes in the language of asceticism ‘recollected’.”⁴⁸

Though meditation (or recollection) may be one of the major themes of St. Pedro's text, he makes it perfectly clear that this exercise cannot be accomplished without love. For example, St. Pedro writes, “one should strive to avoid, in this holy exercise [meditation], an excessive use of the speculative intellect, endeavouring to treat the matter in hand with the affections and sentiments of the will.”⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Ibid., 90.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 107.

⁴⁸ Underhill, 314.

⁴⁹ St. Pedro, 104.

For St. Pedro, not only does this idea apply to meditation-as-a-whole, but it also applies to the specific things on which one should meditate. In Part I /Chapter 2, for example, St. Pedro claims that one needs to meditate on one's past sins. He implores the reader to think of the ways in which they have not followed the Ten Commandments. In this regard, St. Pedro writes, "How have you used your eyes, if not to gaze upon vanity? And your ears, if not to listen to falsehood? And your tongue, if not in every fashion of oath and slander? And your taste and smell and touch, if not in pleasures and sensual caresses?"⁵⁰ According to St. Pedro, the reason that one is to think about such things is so that one may see one's own nothingness, and, in turn, love God alone. St. Pedro elaborates this idea: "Rest awhile in the consideration of this nothingness- for this is all you have, the remainder is all God's- that thus you may see plainly and distinctly what you are and what he is, your poverty and his riches, and how little, in consequence, you should trust in yourself and esteem yourself, and how much you should trust in him, and love him and glorify yourself in him."⁵¹

Another subject of meditation with close ties to love is the 'benefits of God'. St. Pedro discusses this subject in Part I/Chapter 2, wherein he writes, "Consider, to-day, the benefits of God. Render thanks for them to the Lord, and enkindle in yourself a deeper love of One who is so good to you."⁵² St. Pedro claims that there are four such benefits that can deepen one's love for the Lord. The first benefit is creation, particularly the creation of one's soul. Of this idea, St. Pedro declares, "note well that in giving you this soul, all else is given you, for there is no perfection at all in any creature which man, in

⁵⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁵¹ Ibid., 13-4.

⁵² Ibid., 38-9.

his own measure, does not possess.”⁵³ The second benefit of God is conservation.

Concerning this idea, St. Pedro claims that the only reason that one is alive is because of God’s providence.⁵⁴ The third and fourth benefits of God, which are fairly straightforward, are redemption and vocation respectively.⁵⁵

One final example of a subject of meditation with close ties to love is the Eucharist. St. Pedro writes that one is to meditate on this sacrament during the time that one meditates on Christ’s Passion. While doing so, one is to keep in mind that love is the driving force behind the Eucharist. In this regard, St. Pedro writes,

To understand something of this mystery [the Eucharist], remember, to begin with, that no human language can express the magnitude of the love which Christ has for his spouse the Church...During so long an absence he [Christ] wished to leave his spouse a companion that she might never find herself alone, and thus he left her this sacrament.⁵⁶

After one has meditated on the Eucharist and Christ’s Passion, St. Pedro writes, one needs to pray for God’s love. According to St. Pedro, one is to spend more time on this exercise than any other.⁵⁷ In Part I/Chapter 11, he outlines this prayer, which begins, “Above all these virtues, give me, O Lord, thy grace, that I may love thee with my whole heart, with my whole soul, with all my strength and with my whole being, for thus thou dost bid me do.”⁵⁸ St. Pedro’s prayer then continues for another five pages, all of which express his yearning for God’s love. The prayer ends with these eloquent words: “O all

⁵³ Ibid., 39.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 39-40.

⁵⁵ For St. Pedro’s ideas regarding redemption and vocation, the reader may be referred to *ibid.*, 40.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 49-50.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 97.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 98; Matthew 22:37.

ye blessed saints and angels, who burn with love of your Creator, above all, ye Seraphim who set heaven and earth aglow with your love, do not forsake this poor and wretched heart, but purify it- like the lips of Isaias- from all its sins, and enkindle it with the flame of your most ardent love, that it may love the Lord only, seek him alone, and in him alone for ever and ever rest and dwell. Amen.”⁵⁹

Such yearning for divine love is the major theme of another Spanish Franciscan text: Diego de Estella’s Meditations on the Love of God. Fray Diego was born in 1524 in the town from which his name is derived. His family was relatively wealthy, and, hence, they had the means to send him to the University of Salamanca. It was here that Fray Diego took the Franciscan habit in (or around) 1550.⁶⁰ Afterwards, he would write two of his more famous works: the Book of the Vanity of the World and the Meditations on the Love of God.

Though his Meditations and Book of the Vanity brought Fray Diego success, they may not have altered his life as much as his Expositions of the Gospel of Saint Luke. First published in 1575, the book was not passed by the General Council of the Inquisition. In order to placate the Council, Fray Diego modified the book and had it re-published in 1578.⁶¹ This new edition, however, was also censured. The Council composed a list of one hundred and sixteen points that they deemed to be unorthodox in Fray Diego’s Expositions. These points ranged from Fray Diego’s criticisms of bishops

⁵⁹ Ibid., 102.

⁶⁰ Peers, Studies, II:172.

⁶¹ Ibid., 175.

to his views of received teachers of the Church.⁶² It was in the midst of these accusations that Fray Diego passed away at the relatively young age of fifty-four.⁶³

Today, only Fray Diego's Meditations on the Love of God has remained popular. Modern scholars, such as Ricardo León, claim that it is filled with "joyful vehemence" and "impulsive lyricism".⁶⁴ Elsewhere, Peers writes, "Of all Estella's writings, the Meditations is that which we now read with the greatest pleasure."⁶⁵ Such thinking is sharply contrasted with other modern scholars' views of Fray Diego's Book of the Vanity. Menéndez y Pelayo, for example, claims, "the Book of the Vanity of the World [is a] work both arid and prolix, [and] edifying rather than literary."⁶⁶ These views are reflected in the number of recent publications that each book has received. Fray Diego's Meditations, for instance, received modern Spanish editions in 1960⁶⁷ and 1965,⁶⁸ as well as an English translation in 1939.⁶⁹ His Book of the Vanity, on the other hand, has not been re-published since 1908,⁷⁰ and has not been translated into English since 1622.⁷¹ On account of Fray Diego's Meditations relative popularity and the difficulty in finding his Book of the Vanity, only his Meditations will be examined in this section.

As with the other Franciscan texts explored in this section, Fray Diego's Meditations is primarily concerned with two themes: the exercise of recollection (or

⁶² Ibid., 175-6.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ricardo León, as quoted in *ibid.*, 181.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 175.

⁶⁶ Menéndez y Pelayo, as quoted in *ibid.*, 181.

⁶⁷ Madrid: Editorial Cisneros ("Hollis Catalogue," 28 August 2008 <<http://lib.harvard.edu/catalogs/hollis.html>>).

⁶⁸ Madrid, Ediciones: Rialp, S.A. (*ibid.*).

⁶⁹ Diego de Estella, Meditations on the Love of God, trans. Julia Pember (London: Sheed and Ward, 1939). This is the edition that I will be referring to in this chapter.

⁷⁰ Madrid (no publisher given) (Peers, Studies, II:348, n. 1594).

⁷¹ S. Omers: C. Bosccard ("Hollis Catalogue")

meditation) and divine love. Concerning recollection, Fray Diego mentions the exercise only once in his Meditations. In Chapter 3, he declares, “Recollect thyself, O my soul. Enter into silence and solitude and consider the riches which fall to thee in thine inheritance of Grace.”⁷² Nevertheless, though Fray Diego only once refers to recollection, most of his Meditations is devoted to the subject. As the title of the book suggests, each chapter is concerned with meditations on divine love. As previously demonstrated, the exercise of mediation is a starting point for recollection.⁷³

The subjects of meditation in Fray Diego’s text range from creation, Christ’s Passion, and the Eucharist. He makes it perfectly clear, however, that underlying each of these subjects is nothing more than divine love. For example, Fray Diego writes about meditating on creation in Chapter 1:

All things created unite in the love of their Creator, and from them I hear one tongue declaring His Majesty and Goodness. In obedient love creation speaks to us. The skies with celestial beauty; the sun and the moon with their clear light; the luminous stars; the planets moving in majesty; the waters with music, grand and sweet; the green fields with flowers of different colours are all from His Divine Hand...Thy lovers, dear Lord, search for Thee in Thy works. Thy lovers, dear Lord, will find Thee there.⁷⁴

Concerning Christ’s Passion, Fray Diego writes that the body of Christ acted as a sacrifice for humanity. Due to this sacrifice, humanity is to love Christ, and, in turn,

⁷² Fray Diego, 10

⁷³ Refer to p. 98.

⁷⁴ Fray Diego, 1-2.

humanity is to follow him wherever he may go, even to the Cross.⁷⁵ Fray Diego writes about this need to love and follow Christ in Chapter 4:

Most Sweet Lord, I understand this obligation. Let me not put it aside. Oh, let me be blood-stained from this offering. Oh, let me be fast nailed to this Cross. O Cross, make place for me, that I may be stretched on thee, and yield up the Body of my Lord. O Crown of Thorns, stretch thee wide that my head, too, may be encircled by thee! O Nails, release those innocent Hands and crucify my heart, wounding it with compassion and love...Count me then, O Saviour dear, among those over whom Thou dost reign for life or death. For I now see myself captive to the power of Thy Love.⁷⁶

One final subject of meditation with close ties to love in Fray Diego's text is the Eucharist. Of this subject, he writes,

Thou dost desire, O Lord, to incorporate us into Thy Body and to give us Thy Blood. Enraptured by Thy Love, we become one in Will and one in Heart with Thee. What is it to drink Thy Blood but to be sealed on the soul, to bind my soul with Thy Soul with inseparable chains and ties of love! Wishing to lead me by love, Thou carest to come to me hidden in this sacrament most holy.⁷⁷

In Chapter 8, Fray Diego describes the ultimate reason why love should always underlie one's meditations:

The power of love is great and wonderful. Love perforce makes one to become like to that which one loves and like to that which one attains by love. There is nothing in life which unites and cements so firmly as love. It unites

⁷⁵ Ibid., 20.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 20-1.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 24.

one to the beloved, and more, it transforms the lover into the beloved one. Love is nought else than a mutual and uniting strength.⁷⁸

One final Spanish text that demonstrates the Franciscan idea of the over-arching importance of love is Juan de los Ángeles's The Loving Struggle. Fray Juan was born in 1536 in the town of Corchuela. In all likelihood, he first studied in his hometown, but he later attended the University of Alcalá, where he learned Greek and Hebrew. Afterwards, he took the Franciscan habit, though the time or place of this occurrence is unknown.⁷⁹

In 1589, Fray Juan wrote his first book entitled Triumphs of the Love of God. The book was not very successful, but Fray Juan persevered as a writer and soon found success with his Dialogues of the Conquest of the Spiritual and Secret Kingdom of God in 1595. He continued to write into the seventeenth century, and wrote six more works on various subjects, including the mass and the Song of Songs. During this time, Fray Juan battled ill health, which never left him and eventually led to his death in 1609.⁸⁰

Of all of Fray Juan's works, only his Loving Struggle is readily available today. Eladia Gómez-Posthill translated the text into English in 2000.⁸¹ This marked the first – and the only time – that any of Fray Juan's works have been translated into English.⁸² This also marked the first time in almost one hundred years that any of his works have appeared in print. The last time this occurred was in 1915 with Fray Juan's Diálogos de la Conquista del Reino de Dios compuestos.⁸³ Due to the fact that only his Loving

⁷⁸ Ibid., 41.

⁷⁹ Peers, Studies, II:283.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 284-5.

⁸¹ Juan de los Ángeles, The Loving Struggle, trans. Eladia Gómez-Posthill (London: Saint Austin Press, 2000). This is the edition that I will be referring to in this section.

⁸² Jerome Bertram, "Preface," in Fray Juan's The Loving Struggle, ix.

⁸³ Madrid: M. Mir (Peers, Studies, I:378, n. 865).

Struggle is easily accessible, this will be the only text of Fray Juan's to be examined at length in this section.

In his Loving Struggle Fray Juan combines the Song of Songs with the story of Jacob wrestling the Lord.⁸⁴ For Fray Juan, love is a wrestling match in which both opponents wound each other.⁸⁵ He further explains this idea in Part I/Chapter 4:

But because he [God] loves me, and it is this love that wounds and hurts, should I not repay him in the same coin! Have I not licence to love God and wound him with my love? Only to Love is it given to struggle with God, and God in his love wants nothing more than to be loved in return, and this is the requital he desires and hopes for.⁸⁶

In Part I/Chapter 5, Fray Juan claims that one way to wound God is through humility. It is only when God lifts one up from the ground, he writes, that one can declare victory over the Lord. According to Fray Juan, such obedience to God will surely bind one to him.⁸⁷

Later on in the same chapter, he writes of another way in which one can wrestle with the Lord:

There are many fighters known to have achieved victory by boldly hurling themselves against their opponents. We can do that too. Those who abandon themselves in God, not trusting their own worth, are rewarded accordingly in favour and grace. So, go on, abandon yourself in God, throw yourself at his mercy.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Genesis 32:22-31.

⁸⁵ Bertram, xi.

⁸⁶ Fray Juan, 17.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 22-3.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 25.

Nevertheless, Fray Juan declares the easiest and surest way to wound God in love is through ejaculatory prayer.⁸⁹ He gives the reader an example of such a prayer in Part I/Chapter 14:

O good Jesus! You are my only hope, you are my only refuge! You are my only love! Beautiful Spouse, sweetness of my soul! Essence of my essence, heart of my very heart, delightful calm! My true joy, my hopeful consolation! Brilliant day of eternity, serene light of my heart! Resplendent dwelling, paradise of my soul! You are my beginning, you are all I need! What else could I possibly want on earth or heaven! You are the only truth, you are the only good, my Lord! Seduce me with your fragrance so that innocently, joyfully, indefatigably, I may chase after the odour of your lifegiving ointments!⁹⁰

The second half of Fray Juan's work is primarily concerned with how God's love is to be found in the 'Dark Night of the Soul.'⁹¹ Fray Juan describes this state in Part II/Chapter 7:

Sometimes he [God] hides so exclusively that, keen foxhounds though we might be, we are left with no trace as to where or how to perceive his scent. When someone does not want to be noticed, he will not move. He will not dare blink or breathe... This is how God behaves with the soul at this time: secretly and silently, that the soul might believe herself abandoned and forgotten.⁹²

Later on in the same chapter, he further describes this state:

⁸⁹ Ibid., 75.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 77.

⁹¹ It should be noted that Fray Juan does not actually use the phrase 'Dark Night of the Soul'. However, Jerome Bertram, in his preface to the *Loving Struggle*, claims that Fray Juan is describing this exact phenomenon (Bertram, xii).

⁹² Fray Juan, 132.

We turn to God with the desire to want only him, but these horrors, confusedly and contemptuously, throw us off his presence. We pray, but the gates of heaven seemed to have turned to impenetrable bronze. God seems deaf now and the Guardian Angel is nowhere to be seen. We turn to the Holy Scripture and get as much inspiration from it as if we were reading a stone. The horrors of hell no longer frighten us, the consideration of heaven does nothing to awaken us.⁹³

Yet, according to Fray Juan, it is only in this darkness that God's love can be found: "He [God] is there, at the very heart of those enduring trials and tribulations that so hurt and prick the soul. That is where God is. Do not despair, my soul, do not despair! Do not give up now! Do not go searching for him in greener pastures, you will not find him there. Amidst brambles and thorns: that's where you will find him."⁹⁴

If one perseveres at this stage, Fray Juan writes, then one will be transformed in the love of God. He describes this transformation in Part II/Chapter 14: "This death, the saints say, takes place when the soul gently coasts and steals away into the arms of her Beloved and there, well anchored now, moors, her eyes away from the world, all things spiritual now."⁹⁵

It is obvious that love is the under-lying theme of Fray Juan's text: love is that which drives one to God, and love is that which ultimately binds one to him. In this way, Fray Juan's text is no different than any of the other works explored in this section. One slight difference, however, is that Fray Juan never mentions the exercise of recollection (or meditation), as his work is primarily concerned with the 'Dark Night of the Soul.' Nevertheless, other works of Fray Juan's do explore recollection, such as his Dialogues of

⁹³ Ibid., 133-4.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 136.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 183.

the Conquest.⁹⁶ Here, he describes the exercise as being “like a strong castle of the soul, wherein the soul shuts itself that it may not have to fear its enemies, and, recollecting all its senses, withdraws them from outward things.”⁹⁷ As with the other Franciscan writers explored in this section, Fray Juan claims that such an exercise is accomplished by no other means than love.⁹⁸

The writings of Bernadino de Laredo, St. Pedro of Alcántara, Diego de Estella, and Juan de los Ángeles have much in common with the writings of Fray Francisco. For instance, as with Fray Francisco, this group of Franciscan writers explored the subjects of discerning ‘God’s favours’, the importance of one’s will, and the centrality of Christ’s Passion. Yet, there are also some slight differences between Fray Francisco and these other Franciscans. One such difference concerns the Prayer of Quiet and the exercise of recollection. As previously illustrated, Fray Francisco believed that these two spiritual states were intrinsically one. Other writers, such as Bernadino de Laredo, however, thought that recollection caused the Prayer of Quiet, but that the two states were not one and the same.

Nevertheless, in spite of these differences, one major similarity stands out when one compares Fray Francisco to his contemporaries: namely, that love is the only means to God. In putting Fray Francisco into perspective, it becomes evident that love is the driving force behind the Franciscan Order. This idea, in turn, makes it clear that the Ley

⁹⁶ As previously mentioned, this text of Fray Juan’s is difficult to obtain. Therefore, the following description of its contents will be taken from Peers’s Studies, I:303-7.

⁹⁷ Fray Juan, as quoted in *ibid.*, 305-6.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 307.

de Amor, rather than the Third Alphabet, better demonstrates Fray Francisco's Franciscan background.

Conclusion

In examining Francisco de Osuna's Ley de Amor and Third Spiritual Alphabet, it has been demonstrated that the law of love underlies the exercise of recollection. Such a conclusion has two implications in the world of scholarship on Fray Francisco. First, it is clear that the Third Alphabet cannot be studied alone (which, for the most part, has been the case for scholars). The reason being is that this text by itself does not fully contain Fray Francisco's spirituality. Secondly, the Ley de Amor better illustrates the Franciscan background of the writer. The reason being, as previously illustrated, is that the law of love, and not recollection, is the driving force behind the Franciscan Order.

Though Francisco de Osuna's spirituality is (at times) quite simple, it is still complex enough to require the two separate, but inter-connected, ideas of recollection and the law of love. Fray Francisco may have been writing about the will and understanding when he claimed that one without the other would be like trying to fly to heaven with only one wing.¹ This analogy, however, just as easily applies to the law of love and recollection, as, for Fray Francisco, both are needed if one is to fully arrive at the Lord.

¹ Fray Francisco, Third, 315-6.

Bibliography

Abela, John. "History of the Franciscan Movement." 3 February 2006
<<http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/fra/FRAht06.html>>

Alborg, Juan L. Historia de la Literatura Española. Vol. 1. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1966.

Alcántara, St. Peter of. Treatise on Prayer and Meditation. Trans. Dominic Devas. London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1926.

Almedingen, Edith M. St. Francis of Assisi: A Great Life in Brief. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.

Ángeles, Juan de los. The Loving Struggle. Trans. Eladia Gómez-Posthill. London: Saint Austin Press, 2000.

"Arasibo." 25 June 2006 <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arasibo>>

Aristotle. Selections. Ed. William D. Ross. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955.

Aumann, Jordan. "Thomistic Evaluation of Love and Charity." Angelicum. Vol. 55 (1978). 28 September 2006. Online article:
<<http://www.op.org/domcentral/study/aumann/charity.htm>>

Ávila, St. Teresa of. Interior Castle. The Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus. 3 Vols. Trans. E. Allison Peers. London: Sheed and Ward, 1957: 2:187-351.

------. Life. The Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus. 3 Vols. Trans. E. Allison Peers. London: Sheed and Ward, 1957: 1:1-300.

Bell, Aubrey F.G. Luis de Leon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

Bell, David N. The Image and the Likeness: The Augustinian Spirituality of William of St. Thierry. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1984.

Boehmer, Eduard. Franziska Hernandez und Frai Franzisco Ortiz, Anfänge Reformatorischer Bewegungen in Spanien unter Kaiser Karl V. Leipzig: 1865.

Bonaventure, St. The Soul's Journey into God. Trans. Evert Cousins. New York: Paulist Press, 1978.

Brown, Peter. Augustine of Hippo: A Biography. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Bubacz, Bruce. Saint Augustine's Theory of Knowledge: A Contemporary Analysis. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1981.

Calvert, Laura. Francisco de Osuna and the Spirit of the Letter. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 1973.

Clairvaux, St. Bernard of. Selected Writings. Ed./trans. G. R. Evans. New York: Paulist Press, 1987.

Cognet, Louis. Post-Reformation Spirituality. Trans. P. Hepburne Scott. New York: Hawthorne, 1959.

"Consulta al Catálogo Colectivo." 6 March 2006
<<http://www.mcu.es/ccpb/ccpb-eng.html>>

Davies, Reginald T. The Golden Century of Spain: 1501-1602. London: Macmillan, 1967.

Estella, Diego de. Meditations on the Love of God. Trans. Julia Pember. London: Sheed and Ward, 1939.

Etchegoyen, Gaston. L'Amour Divin: essai sur les sources de sainte Thérèse. Paris: Bordeaux, 1923.

"Francisco de los Cobos." 21 June 2006
<<http://www.artehistoria.com/historia/personajes/5607.htm>>

Giles, Mary E. "Francisca Hernández and the Sexuality of Religious Dissent." Women in the Inquisition. Ed. Mary E. Giles. London: John Hopkins University Press, 1999: 75-97.

Gilson, Etienne. The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine. Trans. L. E. M. Lynch. New York: Random House, 1960.

Habig, Marion, ed. St. Francis: Omnibus of Sources. London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1972.

Hamilton, Alastair. Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth Century Spain: The Alumbrados. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Hippo, St. Augustine of. An Augustine Synthesis. Ed. Erich Przywara. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1958.

------. The City of God. Trans. Marcus Dods. New York: Random House, 1950.

“Historia de Castril.” 26 June 2006 <www.medynet.com/usuarios/flopezo/gtcastril.htm>

“Hollis Catalogue.” 28 August 2006 <<http://lib.harvard.edu/catalogs/hollis.html>>

Hughes, Serge, ed./trans. The Little Flowers of St. Francis and other Franciscan Writings. Winnipeg: Mentor-Omega, 1964.

Jones, John N. “Honey Without God: Francisco de Osuna’s Higher Memory.” Spain and its Literature: Essays in Memory of E. Allison Peers. Ed. Ann L. Mackenzie. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997: 77-88.

Kamen, Henry. The Spanish Inquisition. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965.

Kavanaugh, Kieran. “Spanish Sixteenth Century: Carmel and Surrounding Movements.” Christian Spirituality: Post Reformation and Modern. Ed. Louis Dupre, et. al. New York: Crossroads, 1991: 69-92.

Laredo, Bernadino de. The Ascent of Mount Sion. Trans. E. Allison Peers. London: Faber and Faber, 1950.

Louth, Andrew. The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

“Marqueses de Villena (Segovia).” 7 March 2006
<<http://www.fuenterrebollo.com.Heraldica-Piedra/marqueses-villena-segovia.html>>

Martin, Melquiades Andres. Los Recogidos: Nueva vision de la mística española (1500-1700). Madrid: Fundacion Universitaria Española, 1975.

-----, “Osuna (François de).” Dictionnaire de Spiritualité. 19 vols. Ed. Marcel Viller, et. al. Paris: Beauchesne, 1982: 11:1037-51.

Miguel Angel, Fr. P. “La Vie Franciscaine en Espagne entre les deux couronnements de Charles-Quint.” Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos XVII (March /April 1913): 167-225; XVII (September/October 1913): 157-216; XVIII (July/August 1914): 1-62; XIX (March/April 1915): 193-253.

Monte Santa Maria, Ugolino de. The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi. Trans. W. Heywood. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.

Moorman, John R. A History of the Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the Year 1517. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

Osuna, Francisco de. Ley de Amor. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos: Místicos franciscanos españoles I. Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1948: 217-701.

------. The Third Spiritual Alphabet. Trans. Mary E. Giles. New York: Paulist Press, 1981.

Payne, Stanley G. Spanish Catholicism: A Historical Overview. Madison: Methuen and Company, 1924.

Peers, E. Allison. Studies of the Spanish Mystics. 2 vols. London: Methuen and Company, 1924.

------. The Mystics of Spain. London: George Allen Unwin, 1951.

Plato. Phaedo. Trans. Hugh Tredennick. The Collected Dialogues of Plato, Including the Letters. Ed. Edith Hamilton, et. al. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961: 40-98.

Plotinus. Enneads. Trans. Stephen MacKenna. London: Faber and Faber, 1969.

Pourrat, P. "Abandon: le faux abandon." Dictionnaire de Spiritualité. 19 vols. Ed. Marcel Viller, et. al. Paris: Beauchesne, 1982: 1: 25-49.

Proclus. The Elements of Theology. 2nd ed. Trans. Eric R. Dodds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Ros, Fidèle de. Un maître de Sainte Thérèse, le père François d'Osuna, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine spirituel. Paris: Beauchesne, 1934.

Ruiz, Alfonso Pozo. "Juan Téllez Giron: IV conde de Ureña 1494-1558." 1 February 2006 <http://www.personal.us.es/alporu/historia/osuna_fundador.htm>

"Santiago: History and Legend." 27 January 2006
<<http://www.red2000.com/spain/santiago/history.html>>

"Saracens." 17 August 2006
<<http://www.encyclopaedia.com/htm/s/saracens.asp>>

Sieben, Hermann-Josef. "Recueillement." Dictionnaire de Spiritualité. 19 vols. Ed. Marcel Viller, et. al. Paris: Beauchesne, 1982: 13: 247-55.

Stiglmayr, Jos. "Dionysius the Pseudo Areopagite." New Advent: On-line Catholic Encyclopaedia. 5 March 2006 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05013a.htm>>

Underhill, Evelyn. Mysticism. New York: Meridian, 1955.

Viller, Marcel. "Abandon." Dictionnaire de Spiritualité. 19 vols. Ed. Marcel Viller, et. al. Paris: Beauchesne, 1982: 1: 1-25.

Yhap, Jennifer. Plotinus on the Soul: A Study in the Metaphysics of Knowledge. London: William Benton, 1952.



