"MOLINOS AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SPIRIT OF QUIETISM."

A Thesis

for the Degree of Ph.D.,

in the University of Edinburgh

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OCTOBER 1935.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY.
INTRODUCTION:

Beneath the anti-Reformation rigourism of the 17th century Spain and Italy, a school of thought was developing — and teaching men a doctrine of stillness and non-resistance. This is the school whose history and aims we now propose to investigate.

The principal idea of this research is not only to judge the immediate influences which caused Molinos to expound his doctrine of Quietism, but to trace the close cultural contacts between the old and the new, and to draw attention to that particular mystical and semi-mystical atmosphere to which Spain was exposed by reason of its geographical and political position.

As this thesis is only a chapter in the history of movements I have not attempted to do more than briefly outline the antique elements which might help to further our understanding of this growth of Quietism and the quietistic spirit in the 17th Century. Yet these elements must not be regarded as unimportant.

Nor have I attempted to claim that Miguel de Molinos is an original mind, nor do I credit him with aiming to establish a synthesis between the hidden past and the present, between the Roman Church with its hard stone walls of ritual and formalism, and the Reformed Church with its freer atmosphere stimulating/
stimulating to creative effort.

Rather, we must look upon Molinos as the leader of a movement of men seeking a faith which exalts the individual above the Church; men who had a desire to find a direct road to God without the help of intermediaries.

For them Molinos formulated the theory and practice of the Inner Life.

It may be of worth to trace some of the many streams from the Quietistic Spring. It might be suggested, though it may not be possible to prove, that Molinos is the source refreshing many spiritual movements of that age - Quakerism and various religious Reforms - but we must not be surprised that certain similarities prove a world wide exchange of ideas. A comparison of dates of different translations of "The Spiritual Guide" bears testimony to the influence of Molinos on the life of the age.

It was a new emphasis, a seeking to bring the breath of life and the warmth of love to the religion of the 17th century. It was an attempt to liberate human thought, to break away from stereotyped formalism and dogma both of which were deadening the life of the Roman and of the Reformed Churches in that sterile period.

In short his work and his failure is one act in the drama of the soul's struggle against external things.
CHAPTER 1.

ROOTS OF QUIETISM: NEOPLATONISM, DIONYSIUS.

We may briefly define Quietism as a variety of mysticism whose fundamental principles are: that it is necessary to annihilate oneself in order to be united to God; that the most perfect love of God consists in holding oneself in a state of passive contemplation, without reflection, or using any of the faculties of the soul; and being indifferent to anything that may happen to us in this state of quietude. In this state there is no need of prayer, or good works, or following any discipline.

This mystic system culminates in Miguel de Molinos (1628-1697) a Spanish priest, who set the doctrine in order, gave it literary form, and became known from one of his key ideas as "Conquistador de la Nada" the conqueror of the Nothing - as Unamuno names him.

Our problem being to find a fuller answer to the questions "What is Quietism?" and "Who were the Quietists?" makes it necessary to answer another question, "Whence?"

Most Spanish students up to a recent date regard Quietism as, in the main, having its foundations in the aberrations/
aberrations of Teresan mysticism. Dean Inge supports this largely. But an increasing number in Spain hold that other and alien influences materially assisted and guided this development. If we trusted Molinos himself, he would have us believe that all of the thoughts of the Guia Espiritual came direct from the Holy Spirit. To that we might reply as Von Hügel does to a similar claim made by George Fox: "Behind George Fox was all the gospel of St. John".

For Quietism is a unity knit to a long past, and is therefore a very complex movement. We cannot say that any one man was the sole author: we know it did not issue ready born from the brain of Molinos. Our task is to trace some of its sources, and tabulate some of the various movements and forces which were behind it, and which determined the nature of its development. "There are two types of piety," says Professor Heiler "which are at one in the pursuit of life, love and blessedness ... the religion which affirms, and that which negates personality; the experience of God which leans on history, and that which dispenses with history ... transformation of the world, and flight from the world."(1)

Though to most it was thought to be ever the part of Christian philosophy to live among the shadows, to order them/

them, and to discipline them; there has ever been in Christianity the conflict of two tendencies, corresponding to differences in human temperament; "one of attachment, a religious society which mingles with and moulds the non-religious association of human life. And a world fleeing religion, a school of solitude wherein single heroic souls learn to practise a maximum of detachment". (1) The one relies upon organisation "to will, to plan, to work are wholly man's; man can, therefore must". (2) Such a spirit must, of necessity, think more of the formal outward organism of the church. The other temperament finds its strength in the inward thought "the word is very nigh ... in thy heart". (3) Hence there is a tendency to rest rather than to do; to wait for that word of power: the only desire being for that unity in which God is visualized by St. John "I and the Father are one".

Since the mere power to do comes from God, therefore "the true and essential preparation for any action ... in life, seems to be the repose of one's own powers; the absence of all efforts of self direction, of all strain and striving, the annihilation of all confidence in one's own capacities, the complete quiet of the 'creature'". (4)

(2) Martindale, St. Augustine, p.22.
(3) Dt., 30. 14.
The two temperaments can coalesce and form a balanced type such as a St. Paul, who thirsts in his soul for God, passing over "the weak and beggarly elements" of external forms into the rapt moment when "I live,yet not I, but Christ liveth in me". Yet he does not contemn the framework of the Christian society as he gives directions about worship, rules about fasting, and ordinances.

In Greek thought we have Aristotle and Plato, whose names have become symbols of like opposing principles. It is outside our purpose to study the real Aristotle with his dualism, his eternity of the world, his far-away God, his philosophy of reason. He had his influence, though Aquinas, who counted himself a disciple of the great Greek, chose only such parts of him as fitted into the Church's teaching.(1)

We are rather concentrating on the great service of Plato in maintaining and moulding the faith of the early Church in a time of extreme philosophic difficulty. Also we are acknowledging the debt of the mediaeval Church to the Platonic School in its struggle between religious perception, and meddling dialectic.

Plato stood as the symbolic leader of all those who believed in the personal apprehension of the Divine by the human/

human conscience. All such had the Platonic desire to obtain a vision of Beauty and of Deity, not by heart-searching, but by loving: for — they believed that God was meant to be enjoyed, and not analysed.

This is mysticism: that rich and many sided type of religion; that effort of the mind to grasp the Infinite.

Our task is not to detail a history of mysticism, but rather to show how easily and how everywhere it developed a quietistic tendency. The effort in mysticism has been to keep detachment and contemplation within reasonable limits — for these ideas which are central in mysticism contain in them a temptation to take a passive attitude, not only to God, but to life.

Von Hügel will have it that "there are two currents in mysticism itself. In one the decisive terms are Passivity, in which the soul is, and receives; Fixedness; and Oneness. In the other the great words are Action; Growth; Harmony."(1)

It is our purpose in this thesis to trace the first current in its many windings, though to the student of Quietism some knowledge of the other stream is essential. This Platonism of "Growth and Harmony" though it is not a passing phase of thought, is not of such primary importance in influencing Spain, nor had it at any time such a tendency to Passivity/

Passivity as that Neoplatonism which reached Spain and mediaeval Europe under the name of "the theology of Aristotle". (1)

In 204 there was born in Egypt, Plotinus the founder of the Neoplatonic School, which arose in Alexandria, and was transferred to Rome, where it flourished 244-270. There Plotinus taught that all things are emanations from the One, and all knowledge leads to the One. In the mystic state we can have contact with the One, but it demands much preparation, through prayer; much purifying of the body, through fasting; and much concentration. The soul then becomes aflame with love and longing. The experience comes seldom, for the way is uncharted and each one makes for himself the flight of the alone to the Alone. (2) Incidentally, it was that teaching about preparation, with its scorn of the body which caused Brehier to claim that the roots of Plotinus' thought are in Hinduism not Hellenism. (3) Plotinus holds that "every soul in its natural character loves God and desires to be one with Him, after the manner of a maiden ... the love of the beautiful for the Beautiful." (4) Salvation is the return to the original unity; "we find union with God by sinking into the depth of our inner consciousness" "deliberately shutting the eye to all external/

(2) Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 95.
(3) Brehier, L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age, p. 252.
external things." This Dean Inge explains is "the closed eye" the rapt "contemplation" of Plotinus and Proclus.\(^1\) Inge finds also the Molinistic prayer of quiet in Plotinus. His doctrine is the basis of the teaching of St. Macarius, who believed in a gradual ascent through contemplation into a fuller knowledge of God, a deification, or absorption in the Divine.

The saint dwelt at Scete, not far from Alexandria, in the time of Athanasius; and became the guide of a great number of desert monks.\(^2\) In a letter to them, quoted by Dom Wilmart, he writes: "After trial, the Holy Spirit raises a man above all things created; he enables him to walk in the right path; to keep up a continual prayer in his heart ... therefore the faithful Christian receives an intense interior light, profound and hidden; and consequently becoming as though plunged into joyful contemplation, he loses mastery over himself."\(^3\) In many passages of this quality we hear the very words of Molinos.

At the Conference of Constantinople in 533, mention was made of a mystical writer who was destined to acquire very great celebrity, the Pseudo-Dionysius. Who was he? He may have been the pupil of Proclus: or he may have been Stephen Bar Sudai/

\(^2\) Professor Watt's New College Lectures, Spring term, 1934.
\(^3\) Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, Jan. 1920.
Sudai, of the School of Edessa. The latter supposition would explain the Persian and Syrian influences in his doctrine. He himself acknowledged Hierotheus as his master: that Hierotheus "whose system was not Pantheism but Pan-Nihilism."

Dionysius, however, managed to steer his thought from shipwreck on these dangerous rocks, and gave a Christian colouring to Neoplatonism.

He teaches that there is a mystic way to God; not the intense mortal concentration of Plotinus, but the "Via Negativa", which was so much the later teaching of the Middle ages, viz. to strip the soul of every natural and human attribute in order to attain the supernatural and the divine. (1) It was, as Professor Paterson explains, "the ideal of self-emptying, which involved the purification of the mind from sensuous images of every kind, and its reduction to a condition of utter darkness and silence." He tells how he enjoyed that union more than once, and how he prepared for it in a way similar to the Quietistic practice. "To me it seems right to speak without words, and to understand, without knowledge, that which is above words and knowledge: this I apprehend to be nothing but the mysterious silence and mystical quiet which destroys consciousness, and dissolves forms. Seek therefore, silently and mystically, that perfect and primitive union with the Arch-Good." (2)

Dean/

(1) Professor Watt, idem.
Dean Inge adds "it is the religion of the Brahmins masquerading in clothes borrowed from Jewish allegorists, half-Christian gnostics, Manicheans, Platonizing Christians, and pagan Neoplatonists."

We find in Dionysius the doctrine of the three ways: the Purgative; the Illuminative; and the Unitive. Through him this division has become the standard for all later exponents of mysticism. To explain it, he writes "Moses was enjoined first to purify himself, then he saw the light from the smoking mountain, and then the face of God. It is after the soul has been freed from the world of sense that it enters the mysterious obscurity of holy ignorance ... to be lost in Him, who can neither be seen nor felt." (1)

He, further, explains that Quietude and Silence are necessary, since "only like can know like"; and "God is peace" and "Repose", "the One all perfect source ... of the Peace of all"; and He is Silence "the angels are, as it were, the heralds of the Divine Silence".

In silence then "let the intelligent soul transcend intelligence and it forgets itself ... Closed, ... mute and silent ... and sheltered, not only from exterior but also from interior impulses; he is made God." (2) This is deification,

the principle of Eckhart, the doctrine of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and the teaching of the Illuminati.

It is only fair to Dionysius to say that he guarded against one error of Quietism, by an express warning that mysteries can only be taught to the initiate "the heavenly and the earthly Hierarchy have the power, and task to communicate... to their subjects according to the dignity of each."(1)

It may be suggested that it is unlikely that Greek thought could have any possible influence in Spain. But Dionysius was translated by Sootus Erigena in the ninth century, and his works become the text book of mystical theology for all the western world. In our next chapter we hope to show that Spain was the meeting place of two streams of thought, one passive and fatalistic from the east, one active and tumultuous from the west; or as Senor Madariaga puts it "a border country like Russia, in which East and West mix their spiritual waters, Spain wavers between two life philosophies and cannot rest."(2)

In the meantime we see how like are the waters in the two streams, as we recall Ibn Gabirol (Avicebron), the Spanish exponent of Averrhoism, speaking of God as "the One who has no bounds or ends" "with whom union was brought about by the withdrawal from desires and from objects of sense."(3). While Leon/

(1) Dionysius, Divine Names, 1.8. quoted by Robert, "Dionysius the Areopagite."
(2) Madariaga, Spain, p. 110.
(3) Abelson, Jewish Mysticism, p.117.
Leon Hebraeo in "Del Origen del Amor" sings of a union of the corruptible with the Eternal by means of the love that... gives them a desire to be deified in His Divinity."(1)

On the Christian side of Spanish life we have the great neoplatonic influence of the Victorines, who depended on the Pseudo-Dionysius. This was accentuated by Thomas Aquinas whose "bias was Platonic, though his School gifts were Aristotelic."(2)

Dean Inge rightly points out the absence of Hellenic influence on Sta Teresa, but he, wrongly, we believe, finds the same fault with St. John of the Cross. It cannot be said that we find in him an advanced stage of humanistic ideals; for classical teaching in Salamanca in his time was not built on a broad Hellenic basis. Don Gonzalez de la Calle considers that "in the Sixteenth Century and in the University of Salamanca humanistic culture was Latin rather than Greek": but in the college archives of 1552 there is a receipt for "certain books which we had to obtain from Venice for the Library". Among these we find Plato, Plotinus, Sappho and Euripides.(3) And a closer reading of the works of St. John of the Cross would have shown Dean Inge that the Saint had much/

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(2) Dom Vaughan, Life of St. Thomas of Aquin, p. 671.
much Platonic idealism. However it be, about the classical influences on the mind of St. John of the Cross, there is no doubt that "others of their contemporaries were of a different type, whose writings ... entitle them to an honourable place in the roll of Christian Platonists ... We find in them the most characteristic doctrines of Christian Neoplatonism; the radiation of all things from God, and their return to God; the immanence of God in all things; ... in Luis de Leon, the Augustinian doctrine of Christ and his members as 'one Christ'; Diego de Estella, with his insistence upon disinterested love; Juan de Ávila's admonition to close the eye of sense; and Luis de Granada exhorting men to rise through the 'contemplation' of nature to God".\(^1\)

When we examine closely the works of Luis de Leon (1527 - 1591) we find "La Perfecta Casada" crowded with quotations from Plato and Plotinus, from Jewish and Hellenic sources, joined with much knowledge of Latin classics.

Even from the Inquisition prison he asks for his Aristotle bound in sheepskin. There is a booklover's accuracy in "it will be found in the shelves on the right as you enter the monastery cell". He wants his Homer, "bound in sheepskin with red edges" "it will be found in the shelves where the works of/\(^1\)

of St. Justin are." And his Plato "in black calf"; and Pindar, "bound in black leather with gold edges." (1)

There is then evidence for the valuable judgment of Unamuno "Luis de Leon was first of all a Platonist, ... a spirit in which the Epicurean and the Stoic merge in the Christian, — Fond of peace and quiet and harmony." (2)

Even men like Blessed Juan de Ávila (1500 - 1569) and Juan de los Ángeles (1536 - 1609) who were more mystics than humanists, sought to instil this love of Hellenic and Neoplatonic thought into their disciples. Both read Plotinus, and Aristotle and both recommend the reading of Plato in Greek every evening. (3) In addition, we find Juan de los Ángeles writing in true Dionysian fashion about Union with God. "Here there is the greatest tranquillity and the greatest silence, for no form of created things reaches this centre, and in regard to it we are deified, or divine, or so like God, that wisdom calls us gods. This intimacy, empty, void and formless is raised above all created things, above all feelings and powers of the soul; it transcends time and place and here the soul remains in a perpetual union and unity with God, who is its beginning." (4)

We/

(1) Fitzmaurice Kelly, Fray Luis de Leon, pp.207 & 83.
(2) Miguel de Unamuno, Ensayas, p.166.
(3) Juan de Ávila, Epistolario Espiritual, p.68.
(4) Juan de los Ángeles, Dialogos de la conquista, p.37.
We cannot follow the details of how the Neoplatonic and Dionysian influence reached out to touch most things in 16th Century Spain. We find it, for example, (in a small degree, it is true) in such a formal theologian as the Jesuit Suarez (1549-1617) whose central contention that man can reach God, by an intuitive vision, for "God is in man as the spark in the flint" at once betrays the source of his thought.

We find the Dionysian teaching in full strength, in Blessed Henry Suso (b.1295) a man of tender human sympathies who had a profound influence, through his book "The Eternal Wisdom" both on the followers of the beaten paths, and on the mystic-quietists of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain.

"His imagination concentrated itself upon the Eternal wisdom, radiant in form, rich and overflowing with love". That wisdom must be sought in the innermost sanctuary of the soul, in its most secret recesses. All desire must be overcome, all cravings put down "as if one were dead". Thus "the soul can contemplate God without intermediary".(1)

Arintero the learned Dominican professor of Salamanca quotes from "The Eternal Wisdom": "Whoever desires to feel God inwardly, whoever desires to hear His secret words ought to remain in a continuous abstraction".(2)

In/

(2) Arintero, Questiones Místicas, p. 229.
In a letter to his disciple Sister Isabel he writes further about this abandonment "extend your wings ... that is the superior part of your soul ... Advance courageously, as St. Dionysius says, towards the simple unity, putting to one side your inner and outer feelings, and abandoning the natural work of your reason."(1) But more than by the thought of "Wisdom" he was attracted by the idea of God as "the Abyss", "the Darkness", "the Wilderness", "the Obscurity", "the Inner Night", "the Refuge in the Nothing, where there is an annihilation of all the things one can imagine or name."(2)

We can recognise in Dionysius the same spirit, almost the same words as Henry Suso was to use "And thou, dear Timothy, in thy intent practice of the mystical contemplations, leave behind both thy senses and thy intellectual operations, and all things known by sense and intellect, and all things which are not and which are, and set thyself, as far as may be, to unite thyself in unknowing with Him who is above all being and all knowledge, for by being purely free and absolute, out of self and of all things, thou shalt be led up to the ray of the divine darkness, stripped of all, and loosed from all.(3)

This leap to God, "the short cut" as Sta. Teresa names it/

(1) Idem. p.305.
(2) Baruzi "St Jean de la Croix", p.651.
it, this intuitive knowledge of God appealed to the Spanish mind; and if it is true as Unamuno claims, that "mysticism is the only philosophy of Spain" it is equally true that "the Castillian soul desires knowledge not by meditation which goes and comes and demands effort, but by contemplation without work, contemplatio sine labore cum fructu, as Richard of St. Victor has it.\(^1\) Another observer puts it "the Spaniard shows readiness to undertake vast enterprises, but lack of patience for sustained detailed labour in completing the task begun".\(^2\) This dislike of the wearisome intermediate stages shows itself in the Spaniards' lack of critical power, his dislike of the logical process, and the discipline of sustained thought. Hence the "via negativa" casting aside all hope and fear, all thought and action, all life and feeling appealed to the eastern quality of his character. Hence, too, the attraction of the thought of "the soul plunged into an ocean of light, love, God, the mind abstracted from all finite things and concentrated on God the One Reality".\(^3\)

Glover has remarked "the Neoplatonist lived on quotations". Certainly the Spaniard does. "The mystery of quietness", "the obscure right of the soul", "the passive way" made/

\(^2\) Northup, An Introduction to Spanish Literature, p. 20.
made no demand on his reasoning power and seemed to explain so much.

There is another quality in the Spanish character, that of chivalry, which made this Dionysian mysticism attractive. This mysticism meant, sooner or later, an aloofness from actual life, a kind of contempt expressed or implied by a superior attitude, occult knowledge, and finer sensibility. All this added to a loyal love for the "small transfigured band" appealed to that very strong quality of lofty superiority; making mysticism an aristocratic faith.

We shall see all these influences touching Molinos through books, through blood, through temperament. Valencia where he passed his formative years was a city where the cultural currents of the Orient and the occident had met from the Roman era and the result of their action and reaction had made a people largely sympathetic, and able to absorb new things. Ramón Lull, the semi-heretic, had found them ardent supporters. El Greco had met a welcome there before he passed on to Toledo. Within a few miles of each other there were the great ruins of a temple of Artemis and the Cathedral of Valencia. Doric and Saracenic, Punic and Gothic can be traced in its buildings. The Spirit of Ancient Greece slept in its stones and made a city more Greek than any city of the Mediterranean/
Mediterranean. We can only suggest that here Molinos had a tangible link with the Greek world. To say more would be to raise the complex problem of contacts, in which there is more speculation than light.
It must be obvious in our plan of study that we cannot dismiss the contact of Islam and Christianity in Spain for eight centuries, as a merely deplorable raid from Arabia, without issue. A struggle, physical, intellectual, and religious which lasted for centuries, with varying success and failure, must have affected both sides, even though they never compromised and never hit on a happy mean which might yield some outward compensation for so long a feud.

We say "outward", for in Islamic mysticism there was something which helped spiritual souls to a high place of union.

It is a somewhat striking fact that Islam, that hard monotheistic morality, should develop a mystic quality at all. The Mahomedan feared God and obeyed the Koran so that there seemed to be nothing in his faith approaching the idea of intuitive love.

Yet we have to explain how on the Eastern fringe of the Arab world, at Basra and Bagdad there rose up a mystic party, the Sufis, who in the very centre of Moslem orthodoxy worked out a faith in a communion of love with God, instead of an/
an attitude of fatalism and dread.\(^1\)

Islamic scholars will not admit that there are external influences of any consequence. They hold that there was a desire in the souls of men, amid the growing worldliness of Islam, for an "Islam of the heart" which showed itself in simple unworldly piety. These seekers taught themselves the prayer of detachment, the idea of Union, and sought to develop a spirit of pure love and abandonment - which doctrines are those of a passive quietism.

Menendez y Pelayo, the erudite Spanish critic is the chief supporter of another view, namely that all quietism, Arabic and Spanish, "with its wish for annihilation belongs to Buddhism ... and Brahmanism" (he adds as an after-thought).\(^2\)

There are several general features of resemblance between Buddhism and Sufism, which might imply more than mere coincidence. Both lay stress on contemplation; intellectual abstraction; the extinction of all passion and desire; both also keep a similar goal in view, absorption.

Thus at first-sight the core of Buddhism and Sufism might be thought to be Nirvana as Subhadra's Catechism defines it "Nirvana is a state of mind or heart in which all desire for life or annihilation, all egoistic craving has become extinct, and with every passion, every grasping desire, every fear, all ill-will/


ill-will, and every sorrow. It is a state of perfect inward peace, accompanied by the imperturbable certainty of having attained deliverance, a state words cannot describe, and which the imagination of the worldling tries in vain to picture to himself. Only one who has himself experienced it knows what Nirvana is."(1)

And in regard to evil, we have in Buddhism a teaching which approaches the later Passivism of the Basra mystics, a teaching which is repeated, almost word for word, by the Alumbrados of Spain and the Illuminati of Italy: "the Buddha says 'if the world was made by Ishvara deva, there should be no doing right or wrong; for all, both pure and impure deeds must needs come from Ishvara deva ... again if Ishvara deva be the maker, all living things should silently submit."(2)

Supporting the contention of Menendez Pelayo we have Mgr. Farges, and Count Gobineau affirming that that churchless, prayerless, bookless passivism is transplanted Buddhism.(3)

Indirectly strengthening this theory of borrowing, Lane-Poole asserts that the Arab owed his science, mathematics, astrology/

(1) Quoted in Pratt, India and its faith, p. 379.
(3) Farges, Mystical Phenomena, p.146.
Gobineau, Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale, p.72.
astrology to the older Indian wisdom, even the so-called "Arabic numerals" are in the Arab world rightly named "Indian". (1)

Mahaffy would even claim that Buddhistic influence reached beyond Arabia to the Hellenic world. "Asoka" he adds "gave full scope to the strong missionary spirit of the Buddhist priests, and we are told in his inscriptions that their Apostles reached into the Kingdoms of the Hellenistic world." (2)

Nicholson with his great knowledge of the middle East would disagree on many points with these writers, yet desiring to be fair to their view of the matter he tells us that for nearly 1000 years Buddhism had been powerful in Eastern Persia, chiefly in the city of Balk where there were many Asokan monasteries. Balk became a great source of Sufi mystics; and these carried through the Arab world the use of the Buddhist rosaries, and the Buddhist practice of abstraction. (3)

According to Bréhier two conceptions of the Sufis, viz: annihilation, and a passionless intellectual serenity are strictly Buddhist ideas: and as proof of the wide spread fascination of Indian ideas for the middle East,cites the third/

(1) Lane-Poole, Moors in Spain, p. 144.
(2) Mahaffy, The Alexandrine Empire, p. 139.
(3) Nicholson, Mystics of Islam, p. 17.
third century romance of Apollonius of Tyana, where the hero finds, "on the banks of the Ganges, a wisdom superior to that of the Egyptians."(1)

Confronted with such various opinions and such a weight of authority, we can only say that the supposed points of similarity are not numerous and seem entirely inconclusive. Any strength which this view possesses is derived from the proximity of India and Arabia.

Looking beyond this geographical reason we have no evidence that, after the Asokan impulse, the Buddhists were ever propagandists. And in the eighth century A.D. Buddhism had become Passivism and as a living force had disappeared from India at the very date when Islamic mysticism was reaching its fullest powers. Conscious imitation of Buddhism seems therefore quite incredible in spite of the weight of Menendez Pelayo.

Moreover there is this very important difference between the early Sufis and Buddhism. The Indian makes himself moral, the Sufi becomes moral through knowing and loving God. The Sufi knows nothing about the four steps of Buddha, nothing about the doctrine of Karma, nothing about the soul's pre-existence. The nihilistic tendency of Buddhism was utterly/

(1) Bréhier, L'Eglise et L'Orient au Moyen Âge, Intro.
utterly against the Arab spirit, which was always individualistic. "There is in sufism a conception of the passing away of the individual self in Universal Being ... which is very far from the passionless intellectual serenity of Nirvana". (1)

We reach the conclusion that it is very doubtful if India had any more than a very superficial influence on Sufism, and can agree with Nicholson "the origin of sufism cannot be traced back to a single definite cause".

A less far fetched view is to regard sufism as the development desired by those who felt a personal call to a personal religion. We see Islam, a growing organism, at first intolerant of any idea from outside, but unable to find in the Koran an adequate explanation of how to reach God. The religion of the Law needed a religion of the spirit to supplement and fulfil it.

Round about it was an Oriental Christianity, which had absorbed the ideas and adopted the language of the Neoplatonic school. This, powerfully, affected the Arab. It gave him an ideal of inner piety and of the transformation of the inner man, by which he could become a friend of God. At Basra the traditionalists denounced the idea of pure love and said that friendship between man and God was not Islamic but Christian/

Christian. Ibn Sirin prayed Farquad Sinti, a disciple of Hasan of Basra to "rid thyself of thy Christianity". (1)

The negative way of the Pseudo-Dionysius was known even in Bagdad. The "Mystical Theology" had been translated into Syrian so that "about 850, Dionysius was known from the Tigris to the Atlantic". (2) From 9th century Spain, Benalarif of Ameria writes "to arrive at the transcendent God a man must put away hope and desire ... all preoccupations, cares and worldly affections ... by virtue of abstraction of mind. On thus arriving at God, a man can neither will nor hope nor desire". (3) And from Basra in the very same decade we shall collect thoughts which are equally stamped with the Dionysian impress.

There is no direct evidence but much internal evidence of the influence of Gnosticism. About the year 900 we find one learned Sufi teaching that the adept is emancipated from all positive dogmas and obligations.

It now remains for us to consider Sufism in itself, and to see how these men, at first ascetics, orestatics became Quietists.

Following the sufi rule of prayer and retirement we find/

(1) Massignon, Lexique, p.131.
(3) Encicl. Espasa, Art. "Benalarif".
find one of the earliest of them, Rabi'a of Basra, teaching her disciples a doctrine of pure love, detachment and self-abandonment. Very beautiful is her expression. "O my Lord, the stars are shining and the eyes of men are closed, and the Kings have shut their doors, and every lover is alone with his beloved, and here am I alone with Thee."(1) A like beauty is in Al-Hallaj "Glory unto Thee in whatsoever Thou doest, and glory unto Thee in whatsoever Thou willest."(2)

The traditionalists complained that the Sufis were emancipating themselves from the most sacred ties of religion, but their reply was "their fate was marked on the eternal tables of Allah's providence; nothing can alter that". This was the root of their quietistic doctrine that the perfect were sinless, - when they gave themselves in complete and unquestioning surrender to the divine will, in definite self-abandonment. That led on to an unbreakable mystical Union. "When the love of God dominates our hearts we receive from Him the grace of divine and permanent friendship. And God forgives theft, adultery, drunkenness and all vices because of this grace," as Rabah - ibn Qaysi teaches(3) Jonayd taught a ruthless "shedding of all ... memory, intelligence, will ... until we reach annihilation in Him in whom we hope". (4) Ghazali goes further "let him reduce his/

(1) Smith. Rabi'a the Mystic, p. 27.
(2) Massignon, Lexique, p. 102.
(3) Massignon, Lexique, p. 195.
(4) Idem. p. 275.
his heart to a state in which the existence of anything or its non-existence are the same to him."

Jalaluddin has thought out two Molinistic (in the worse sense) doctrines: "see in your own heart the knowledge of the Prophet, without tutor, without preceptor"; and "the man of God is beyond infidelity and faith. To the man of God, right and wrong are both alike." Baba Kuhi, the 11th century Sufi of Shiraz sums up all these passive teachings:

"Like a candle melting in His fire,
Amid the flames outflashing - only God I saw.
I passed away into Nothingness, I vanished
Only God I saw."(1)

Massignon's comment is "it is not a transformation of the soul ... but annihilation, for it is in love, chiefly sexual, and wine that the Sufi finds his own path between the world of sense and the world of spirit. In these passive ideas the transcendent is realized. It ends in nihilistic quietism."(2) Count Gobineau adds this criticism "this quietism, this passive disposition of spirit which surrounds with a nimbus of inert sentiment all conceptions of God, of man, and of the universe is the running sore of all Oriental countries." And Massignon is equally definite about the Sufi influence. "They are Islamic passivists intellectually/

(2) Massignon, Lexique, p. 286
intellectually fossilized, smokers of supernatural opium."(1)

THE CURRENTS OF ISLAMIC INFLUENCE.

The spread of Islam as a cultural phenomenon is as yet imperfectly known, but we can see how it came to Spain.

There was the great direct stream through the conquest of the Visgothic Kingdom when all Spain, except a corner in the remote North-west came under the Crescent.

Then there were the streams of Mediterranean trade. Bréhier gives records of the colonies of Levantines, Italians, and Catalans in Gaul, Italy, Spain, who went eastward as far as China, bringing back wines of Gaza, linen of Tyre, palms of Jericho and spices and silks from the extreme Orient.(2)

Not enough allowance has been made for this economic intercourse of merchant adventurers.

Pilgrimages, too, took many to Palestine; over 12,000 went in one year from North Italy itself. Up to the 11th century the Latin Church continued to enjoy the advantages guaranteed to them by the efforts of Charlemagne.

A letter of the year 869, written by Theodosius, Patriarch of Jerusalem to his colleague of Constantinople, praises the good will of the Saracens who permitted the Christians to build/

(1) Idem. p. 287.
build churches and to live according to their own laws "they are just and do us no wrong, nor any kind of violence".

The Crusaders discovered the attraction of the East; they adapted Arab dress, food, habits, and were interested (too much so, the enemies of the Templars said) in the culture of the Arab world.

It is outside our task to do more than add the Crusader as one more link binding Europe and Asia; but we might suggest that those five centuries of Crusading heroism had very fruitful results for Europe and left in the minds of the Renaisssance and modern people of the Mediterranean lands a certain large underlying tolerance.

In addition there was the important part the Arab people took in Spain itself. Nowhere did Mahomedan civilization attain a greater glory than under the Caliphs of Cordova. Their Universities and towns attracted lovers of learning and lovers of luxury from all Europe. Marriages between Christian and Moorish families were not uncommon, and "it was not considered any disgrace" says Richard Ford "for a Christian knight to serve under the banner of the Moors."

Christian subjects of the Moors (Mozarabs) under that tolerant people, were another connecting link. So numerous were they that they had their own order of the Mass, and Cardinal Ximenez, though he hated the Arabs, had, from policy, to order the/
the general use of the Mozarabic Ritual in many churches in Castile and Andalucia. (1)

In the architecture of Spain we have further evidence of the Moorish influence. Even Christian churches bore the impress of their Arab, or Mozarab builders, in horse shoe arches etc. Aragon, especially is very rich in these showing how far reaching the artistic culture of the Arab was. (2)

Ramón Lull.

On the Christian side of thirteenth century Spain there stands out Ramón Lull; a Christian with a wide sympathy for Arabic thought, and a great love of the Arab. Born in Palma de Mallorca in 1255 Ramon Lull there began a life that reads like a novel. He was converted by a romantic glimpse of the vanity of the world, and gave himself up to two loves, religion and knowledge.

He learned Arabic, and in 1275 founded a missionary college of Oriental studies near Palma. As a Franciscan missionary he journeyed to Syria and Armenia; taught Arabic at Paris; founded a School of Oriental studies at Rome; and in 1315 was stoned to death in Algeria. So passed this adventurous man, theosophist and missionary, artist, theologian and philosopher. A man of action with a catholic mind but not altogether/

(1) Bona, Opera, Vol. 2. p. 634.
(2) Gomez-Moreno, Iglesias Mozarabes, p.40
altogether of the Catholic Church. Menendez Pelayo says "he was more or less suspected of Pantheism, and of a desire to submerge his soul in the Infinite". That is putting it mildly. His treatise against Averroes, it is true, had been approved: but the Inquisition found in his "de Articulis Fidei" a taint of the metaphysics of the Cabbala, and much of the Passivism of the Arab philosophy he loved. Chiefly he was accused of saying "ubi philosophia Platonis desinit, ibi, incipit Cabbalae sapientia."

The Franciscans defended his orthodoxy, the Tomists(1) attacked him as a sower of errors. Eymerich, Inquisitor-General of Aragon forged a Bull against him in the name of Gregory the eleventh.(2) It condemned 20 volumes of his writings. The chief errors were: "true charity consists in loving God"; "the love is false which is caused by the hope of Paradise, or of temporal blessings"; and "the lover and the Beloved are so united in the Beloved that they are one actually in essence; one essence, substance, and nature undivided.

To complete this story: the councillors of Barcelona deliberated on the act of Maestro Eymerich and joined with Valencia in a protest to the Pope against his enormous crimes saying/

(2) Obras de Lull, Intro.
saying "they were with Valencia with single arm and single heart".\(^{(1)}\)

The Papal Archives were examined and no such Bull was found, so the Congregation condemned Eymerich of forgery and falsehood.

If Ramón Lull in the North had through his love of Arab thought drawn upon himself the vindictive hatred of the formalists; in the South the Murcian Ibn Arabi\(^{(2)}\) had through his adherence to a degenerate neoplatonism, and a polluted Sufism introduced a type of thought which angered the strict supporters of the Koran. He is a monist, "man is the substance of every attribute wherewith he endows God; when he contemplates God he contemplates himself and God contemplates Himself when He contemplates man." He thinks of the world as 2 Triads (1) the One: the Universal Intelligence: the Universal Soul (2) Pure Being: the Perfect Man: the Phenomenal World. His doctrine as he worked it out meant that one, by an intuitive knowledge, advances on to a mystic perfection culminating in a mystic Union of the Soul with God i.e., Pure Being.

In that spiritual Union he asserts that it is God who appears to every lover in the image of his beloved.\(^{(3)}\)

Thus we find in Spain, as we found in Basra, that Sufism degenerates into a dangerous Passivism which dispenses with the

\(^{(1)}\) Archivo Municipal de Barcelona, 1390-1392. Fol. 34.
\(^{(2)}\) Massignon, Lexique, p.247 ff.
\(^{(3)}\) Bension, The Zohar, p.45.
necessity for moral discipline and renunciation.

That is why Massignon denounces Ibn Arabi as "the evil genius of Islamic mysticism in Spain, divorcing it from moral life and causing it to stagnate in a speculative quietism."

His teaching, which can only be hinted at here, has its general points of coincidence with the teaching of the Alumbrados as we shall see when we study those passivists of 16th and 17th Century Spain. It is therefore of importance to us to recall this great exponent of quietism.
A different type of Arab thinker was Averroes the originator of the revival of Aristotelian and Platonic thought. Born at Cordova in 1126 Abu'l Walid Mohammed Ibn Ahmad, was in turns a student of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy.

He himself was a Neoplatonist of the Alexandrian School, mystical and passive. His translation of Aristotle was the beginning of that movement in favour of free investigation inaugurated at Bagdad, and of which the end is not yet. Po Michael Scot who lived and studied at Toledo in the early days of the 13th century belongs the honour of introducing the works of Averroes to Christian Europe. Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon were his disciples in England; Frederick the second his devout admirer in Sicily. To them he was the most stimulating of thinkers with his doctrine of the inner life; and union with God through steady contemplation. He stirred up an equal measure of hatred, being called by many churchmen "the Patriarch of Antichrist." We may leave it to Lecky to sum up the judgment of posterity "it was upon European Christendom, yet slumbering in the 12th century, that the light of reason flashed forth from Cordova."

In Spain itself there was, as we have seen, a great friendliness/

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(1) Dozy, Récherches, pp. 224-225.
(2) Renan, Averroes et l'Averroïsme, p.52.
(3) Idem, pp. 205-208
friendliness towards the Moors. We can gauge the real feeling from two episodes, one from the time when the Moorish power was at its zenith, and the other when it was almost destroyed. The Cid the national hero of Spain had taken service with the Moorish King of Zaragoza, and had fought against the Moorish King of Valencia. Unamuno notes approvingly that in the Chronicle of the Cid there is no trace of any feeling of bitterness against the Moors. (1)

Bension (2) tells us that in that same city of Zaragoza (now Christian) there was an Arabic department in the University in the 16th Century. In 1595 the Inquisitor of Aragon complained that the Moriscos of Zaragoza still kept the fast of Ramadan, and did not observe the Roman feasts, nor did they eat pork or drink wine though they lived and traded among the ordinary population. Nothing was done against them.

A few years later, when the King had ordered the expulsion of these Moriscos, the Aragonese deputies petitioned against the cruel measure on the ground that "they were good neighbours, peaceful fellow-citizens, and men who would be no danger to the Kingdom".

(1) Unamuno, Ensayas, p. 140.
(2) Bension, The Zohar, p.17.
(3) Longas, Vida Religiosa de los Moriscos, p.65.
Jewish Influences.

We cannot omit all mention of the Jewish contribution to the mystic riches of Spain. It is beyond our knowledge to treat at length of the writers of the Cabbala, or the Zohar who were the equals of Ibn Arabi, Averroes, and Ramón Lull in denying the flesh for the sake of the spirit, and in their effort to reach truth through the silence of deep absorption.

Like to these Moorish and Christian Scholars was the discreet Hasdai ben Saprut, doctor and prime minister of the great Caliph Alderran the third. This was the Jew who founded the Academy of Cordova which had such far reaching results in spreading Neoplatonic and Arabic philosophy in Europe. (1)

Another such man was Maimonides (1135-1204).

"This great spirit so conciliatory and harmonious, doctor and naturalist, theologian and philosopher, comparable to St. Thomas in some respect" as Menendez Pelayo admiringly says. (2) He spent all his life teaching the one doctrine "the principal thing in the inner life is not to make an image of God, not to think God, but to love Him." In love man reaches a steady contemplation in which he is lost. (3)

Several times we have mentioned The Zohar, the great book/

(1) Menendez Pelayo, Influences Semeticas, p.383.
(2) Idem, p. 385.
(3) Bension, The Zohar, p.64.
book of Jewish medieval mysticism. It is a product of Spain, with elements from the Talmud, from Neoplatonism and Gnosticism. Doctor Abelson finds in it echoes of Sufism, transmitted from the Jews of Persia to the Jews of Spain, "the stream flowing through many lands picking up thoughts as it flowed along."(1)

The Zohar is important because of its emphasis on the supremacy of inward first-hand religion over the dogmatism of outward traditionalism. It gives a picture of man, conscious of the part played by the inner impulse urging him to seek and to find a pathway to the presence of God. It is given to man to have that close contact with God. And as for evil, or sins which would hinder their contact? Evil, sin and their personifications the demons are really externals. Evil has no being, and is a sort of illusion. Hence it may be ignored.

That Jewish thought could not be ignored we have the evidence that Clement the Eighth (1592-1604) put on the Index the Talmud, the Zohar, and all Cabbalistic books.(2)

As for the relations of the three faiths in Spain: there is the view that everything of value in Spanish culture come from Semetic sources. We have already noted the far reaching influence of the School of Cordova. Burke relates how Peter the Venerable/

(1) Abelson, Jewish Mysticism, p.117.
Venerable the friend of Abelard, came to Cordova where he learned Arabic. He actually had the Koran translated for him by the English priest Robert of Reading, the Archdeacon of Pamplona.

This was to serve as a companion to the Latin translations of the Talmud and the Cabbala already made. Peter himself writes that he found at Cordova many learned men from Germany and England. (1) Even St. Thomas admits seeking details of the Lumen Gloriae not among the Fathers, but among the Moslem philosophers. (2)

Asín, himself, in his challenging book speaks of the influence of Jewish teachers at Rome and Verona, carrying Arab philosophy, with far reaching results on many literary men of Italy, including Dante. There is such a striking resemblance between Ibn Arabi and Dante in "the moral architecture of the Inferno" that Asín argues for Dante's deep knowledge of Islamic tradition. (3) His general sympathy is shown, when he places Averroes and Avicenna in Limbo, which theologically is indefensible, while Thomas Aquinas, and Sigier of Brabant, the champion of Averroism, find themselves side by side in Paradise. (4)

(1) Burke, the History of Spain, Vol. 1. p. 86.
(3) Idem, p. 259.
(4) Paradiso, Canto 10.
Without labouring the point further we may agree with Gebhart "The Arabs influenced all mediaeval life. (1) Hence the surprise of finding certain Spaniards who simply deny the learning and culture of the Moors of Spain. In a recent life of Cardinal Ximenez we find the author writing "the poverty and coarseness of this civilization never passed beyond the stage of barbarism." It is not easy to be patient about such crass ignorance when we remember that the writer's hero Ximenez had carted out of the Alhambra a huge pile of Korans and priceless illuminated MSS, to be burned in the public square of Granada.

The very deadness of the intellectual life of Spain for a century, after the expulsion of the Moors, might be taken as evidence of the value of their contribution to the life of the nation.

Those who would depreciate the worth of that contribution are few in number. In more recent years there has grown up a Spanish group of influence who value the work of Arab and Jew in Mediaeval Spain. Latorre may serve as an example. Writing of Juan de Ávila he thinks the value of his work is enhanced by the combination of the philosophy of Plato with many traces of rich Islamic mysticism and Cabbalastic learning. (2)

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(1) Gebhart, L'Italie Mystique, P.23.
(2) Latorre, El Beato Juan de Ávila, p.106.
These recent investigators speak of the men of the three faiths as having in their mysticism and passivism a like quality of intensity, a clarity, a courage and a daring as they made their exploratory way along the paths to the Universal Source. They meditated on the eternal mysteries beneath the same sky, they mingled in the same schools, they had a like measure of values temporal and eternal; they borrowed, as we have seen, ideas one from the other, influenced and stimulated one another. These things come by their inheritance of their common Spanish race.

We may conclude the history of their relationship by an allegory of Ramon Lull. Three sages, a Jew, a Christian and a Saracen set out on a journey, and each pursuing a different route arrive at the same place, the feet of God. (1)

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(1) Bension, The Zohar, p.42.
CHAPTER 3.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF MYSTICISM (a) SPAIN
(b) THE NETHERLANDS.

In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to outline the origin and evolution within the Greek and Islamic worlds of the Spirit of Quietism; to observe its promise, its disappointment, and its decay so often, into an inert passivism. Now we study it in Christian Spain.

After the centuries of struggle against the Moors, there had emerged a militant and triumphant Spain where the heroic individualism of the Spanish character had been so welded into a unity, that the nation moved in a mass formation, in a way she never did before, nor since. The impetus weakened after the capture of Granada, though there remained sufficient national energy to carry her on to far reaching adventures in the New World, and in the Netherlands. There was in all that Spain did, at this time, the sense of something high and spiritual, so that we can understand the dispassionate observer of the portrayed types of the Elizabethan adventurer and the Spanish conquistador saying, "the one is the face of a man who conquers the world, and the other that of a man who storms the heights of heaven."

Soon that nobler quality disappeared and the high road of adventure became the trail of men (with some great exceptions) who were as mercenary as any of that age. With the/
the steel of the Spanish infantry and the power of the Inquisition they made a path of blood and gold. What spirit of high endeavour remained sent a few on a path of mystical individualism.

It has been contended that mysticism was the reply of Spain to the questioning renaissance spirit. Northup will have it that "the golden age of the mystics was the revolt of the nobler natures of Spain against the Paganism of the Renaissance".\(^{(1)}\). We might agree so far as to say that, every great movement is a reaction against something that has gone before, and in the worldliness, amorality and luxury of the Italian Renaissance there was much to atone for by a return to the purity and simplicity of an inner life.

However we know that the Inquisition which in twelve years had crushed the incipient Protestantism of Spain felt itself capable of dealing with any dangers of the Renaissance. So effective was it that Menendez Pelayo making a claim that the Inquisition was a fosterer of culture cannot produce any evidence for that claim beyond the fact that it permitted to be printed beautiful books on Geometry, splendid maps, and treatises on the Fauna of Mexico\(^{(2)}\). The fact that Luis de Leon had to suffer an Inquisition prison for five years, because/

because he said the Song of Solomon was only a pastoral idyll; and that El Greco had many weeks in a dungeon because of the unorthodox length of the angels' wings in one of his paintings, (1) hardly support the claim about the Inquisition's interest in inquiry and learning. That secret tribunal sternly repressed all intellectual freedom and left Spain in a peninsular isolation "where men were changed into gloomy fanatics sunk in ignorance and superstition, retaining hardly a trace of their former buoyancy and healthy independence". (2)

There is more truth in the theory that the mystics of Spain, those "Knights-Errant of the Spirit" as Unamuno names them, were permitted to grow as allies of the Church in its counter-Reformation campaign.

For "Mysticism is the philosophy of Spain" and when Rome had need of a Catholic mystical revival, a doctrine of the inner life, to stem the tide of Protestantism, she could not find what she required in the Papal Court. In Italy, Mysticism had always been allied with protests about liberty in State and Church, but in Spain as Dean Inge says (3) free thought was so sternly repressed that these tendencies of mystical religion/

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(1) Barrès. El Greco. p.43.
(3) Idem. p. 214.
religion which were antagonistic to catholic discipline were never allowed to display themselves.

Spanish mystics remained orthodox Romanists, subservient to their "directors", so that Rome could depend on the Mysticism which had its centre in Spain. Add to this, for some only, a further reason, for the rise of mysticism in Spain, was the tendency of the Spaniard to borrow without much critical discrimination from Averroes and Plotinus, from the poetry of Plato and the logical subtleties of Aristotle, giving them all a Christian baptism, and out of them all making for himself a bridge to help him over the unfathomable gulf between Creator and creature.

This roughly, is the spiritual background of Spanish mysticism. We might count as a factor the country itself. The high austere land of Castile with its bare mountains, its hard desert-like hills, its treeless plains, had something of that death-in-life quality that, like the Thebíad, drives the human spirit back into itself.

In this land the great mystics of that Spanish Golden Age developed the rich technique of a mysticism which a deep thinker of Spain defines as "an aspiration to the possession of God by a loving union; a state of the soul, in which the spirit illumined by the flame of love, attains perfections and attributes of being to which dry reason never comes". (1)

We/

(1) Menendez Pelayo, De la Poesía Mística, p.9.
We might well begin our list with the name of Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). Melchor Cano the great Dominican of Salamanca will have it "of Ignatius, I know on good authority that he fled from Spain, and that a process had been begun against him while the Alumbrados were being hunted out". (1)

This is the only evidence on that side; and as we see in Loyola, a man of intensity and energy, with little tolerance of mere emotion, we must describe him as a spiritual ascetic rather than a mystic.

It is doubtful too, if Dean Inge is not right in classing Sta. Teresa and St. John of the Cross as belonging to the militant rather than the mystic type of Christianity. (2) However, it is important, if we want a real insight on the period, to consider these two central figures.

Born at Ávila in 1515, Teresa after a somewhat worldly youth, in an ardent romantic hour joined the order of the Carmelites. She passed through a lax period of years with them; never willing to give up the life of prayer and self-negation, yet desiring to do so. "I passed nearly twenty years on this stormy sea, falling and rising, but rising to no good purpose, seeing that I went and fell again." (3)

Then/ 

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(1) Caballero, Vida de Melchor Cano. p.137.
(3) Teresa. Life of Sta Teresa, Chap. 1.
Then "prayer became solid like a house" and at the age of 41 the Saint's full mystical life began. In two years she passed from the states she named "quiet" and "union" and reached the heights of contemplation.

At 45 she founded the order of the Barefooted Carmelites. Under a strict primitive rule, she and her four poor orphan novices wrought a great revolution in Spain. Most of the great mystical teachers of the age touched her life: Luis de Granada was her favourite author; Juan de Ávila was her friend and director; St. John of the Cross became her confessor and continued her work in the monasteries of Spain; and Luis de Leon was one of the early editors of her works.

These works consisted of her autobiography "Life Of St. Teresa" and "The Book of Foundations". They reveal clearly her mystical experiences and let us know the inner and outer events of her life. "The Interior Castle" gives the fullest and most orderly account of her Spiritual life. All her works have the same racy quality of speech, often with a caustic criticism of the pretensions of those nuns who were ever claiming special consolations and visions.

It was an age of many absurdities, when nuns and devotees were claiming to be the mother of our Lord, His Spouse, His sister. The shrewd common sense of Teresa had no patience with these visionaries.

St./

(1) Menendez Pelayo, Heterodoxos. Vol. 5. p.211.
St. John of the Cross (1542-1591) an ardent monk met Sta Teresa in 1567. In spite of rather overawing her, "Lord deliver me from people who will not allow anything but absolute perfection"! he became her confessor and gave her and her nuns great encouragement to practice mental prayer.

A storm arose over this prayer. Members of the unreformed Carmelites, feeling that her practical reforms were too severe, welcomed this opportunity of discrediting Teresa's work. They said this new practice was not orthodox and that it puffed up her nuns with spiritual pride. The Inquisition forbade it, declaring that the Pater Noster, and Ave Maria, were sufficient for nuns: John of the Cross was taken to the prisons of the Holy Office in Toledo.

Asked, afterwards, if he had received consolations from God during this 9 months horror, he answered that it was all suffering, body and soul. Yet here he wrote most of "The Spiritual Canticle." It is his later and better known work "In an obscure Night" which takes us into the gloom and darkness of spiritual night. He lets us see the naked soul with a desire and a dislike of "quietude" going into the Nothingness, where all wandering thoughts can be buried in the abyss of obscure faith.

"The Ascent of Mount Carmel" lets us into a further experience, where we are bidden to prize the hours of aridity and interior darkness more than those of conscious communion, because they bring "a diminished satisfaction with self" and
The doctrine of these two mystical teachers deserves some attention, as with additions by some and subtractions by others, it represents the teaching of all the Spanish mystics of that spiritual 16th century.

We might select, as distinctive, the theory of mental prayer; prayer of union or quiet; spiritual night; contemplation.

Sta Teresa has a bitter passage in which she scoffs at those who are "too much addicted to reciting a number of vocal prayers in a great hurry, as if it were a task to be done." As a corrective, she and John of the Cross taught the theory of mental prayer which they had learned from the Abecedario Espiritual of Francisio de Osuna. To Osuna mental prayer is "nothing else than an intimate loving friendship with God, a friendship developed in solitude." In solitude the desire for God is born, the friendship is the fruition. The one is the beginning, the other the perfect result.

Fray Diego de Estella teaches a like practices, only in his fine humanistic way he adds a warning in his advocacy of this prayer, to those who would use it as a drug, "do not flee from the world, and hide yourself in God, through horror of the world, but from love of God."

Such loving thoughts God-ward brings a feeling of desire/

(1) Sta Teresa. Way of Perfection. Ch. 21.
(3) Diego de Estella, Centenario. p. 134.
desire for absorption "being lost in loving thoughts", and prepare the soul for the prayer of Union or Quiet. This is not the quiet of the Passivist, which is a mere cessation of thought. "Thinking nothing" says Osuna "is thinking all things"; for "nothing can come of nothing."(1) He, like John of the Cross advises a "holy laziness", and Teresa would support him, as her comment "the soul must do nothing in the matter of the understanding which is always a troublesome fellow" shows.

In this prayer of Union or Quiet, the Soul does nothing: there is even an abstraction from the exercise of its natural and spiritual powers. It does nothing of its own accord, but only through a loving intention to God, "without wishing to feel or see anything further than just let itself be carried by God."(1)

The soul has not in this prayer reached the full assurance about God. It must pass through "the dark night of the Soul". This, in the teaching of Juan de los Ángeles, is a state of misery or anguish, where the soul is deprived of all comfort or guidance; there is no gleam of light; there is a fear of hell; and in addition an unsatisfied hunger for God.(3)

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(3) Juan de los Ángeles, Dialogos de la Conquita, 6 Sect.4.
Sta Teresa reveals how ill at ease she was "in very great dryness and darkness"; a "divine darkness" where the soul suffered "the wonder of love".

We must go to that lonely sensitive John of the Cross to understand the full horror. "In this passive night the soul finds no more taste or consolation, either in the things of God or in any thing created" (1) "At times come temptations so dreadful and of such horror, thick darkness of the understanding; man, all but despairing knows not whither to turn his head, nor hopes for aught but death". (2).

Azorin, with fine psychological insight writes about John of the Cross "this blackness dominates all his thought. He is in the dry fields and is thinking of a fountain. He knows where it bubbles up and runs; he piles up thought and metaphor and phrase about the little spring. But it is all spoiled for the poet; for in the manner of Edgar Allan Poe, he recalls the haunting darkness, "Aunque et de noche". However it is night. (3).

He found great comfort in the thought that this was the "Divine Dark" of Dionysius; not the darkness which results from a negation of the understanding, but that divine darkness which is somehow bound up with rapture and is really excess of light/ 

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(1) John of the Cross, Ascent of Mount Carmel. 1.9.
(2) Idem. In an Obscure Night.
light. "Like a man gazing at the sun he sees nothing"(1).

He took further comfort from the thought, (which is also found in Ruysbroeck), "Aristotle says that as the eyes of the bat looking at the sun contract, so our understanding is blinded, face to face with that which is most luminous in God, and He becomes all shadowy to us . . . so that the more clear are the things of God . . . the more obscure for us".(2)

He was helped also by his thoughts of Christ for "Spanish mysticism", as Inge has pointed out, "was almost like a Reformation, with a steady devotion to the person of Christ and to Him alone, which gives it a sort of kinship with evangelical Christianity".(3)

We see that spirit of the man in the revealing verse

"All things I then forgot,
My cheek on Him who for my coming came.
All ceased and I was not, leaving my cross of shame,
Among the lilies and forgetting them".

Sta Teresa with that same glowing love for the person of Christ finds her strength there "Thoughts may go straying even among the cruel and venomous beasts which dwell on the outskirts of the Castle, while the soul remains united to/

(2) Ascent of Mount Carmel. 2 Chap. 7.
to Him in the upper chambers ... in the most exalted form of contemplation". (1)

According to the theory of these great Spiritual doctors, it is not necessary for all souls to pass by the dark way of Spiritual Night. There is "The short cut" "the way of contemplation". The Jesuit Baltshasar Alvarez, one of Teresa's most enlightened guides taught, "contemplation is not for some select souls only", but "all men may be initiated to journey in this path of interior repose". (2)

This teaching raised a tempest of opposition. Many Jesuits attacked their fellow member, affirming that this was the error of the Alumbrados and the Quietists; and that it was directly against the Ignatian method. Alvarez found so many supporters both inside and outside his own order, & the opposition died down.

Sta Teresa and St. John maintain that the Soul can quickly pass from the state of mental prayer to that of contemplation. In a year, usually - and this applies to everyone, "in each of these Carmelite convents, hardly a single nun would be found who had not advanced beyond meditation; all the others had attained to perfect contemplation". (3)

This/

(1) Interior Castle. 7. Chap. 21.
(2) Saudreau. The Degrees of the Spiritual Life, Vol.2.par 3.
(3) Sta. Teresa. Foundations. 4.
This sweeping generalization was suspect by the Inquisition, and some rigid traditionalist, immediately after her death, tampered with the original MS so that it read the opposite of her statement. The Stanbrook Edition of her works, printed after careful scrutiny by members of her own and other orders has restored the text, so that it now reads as we have it above.(1)

To reach that perfect stage of contemplation, the soul must be passive. "Cast out of your mind all the phantoms, species, images and created forms whatever; that you may consider God in the inner recesses of your soul", is Sta Teresa's parallel to the teaching of John of the Cross on holy passivity "a detachment from all knowledge and all acquired forms"(2).

In face of this quietistic teaching, it would be difficult to maintain, as Fr. Saques does that "Spanish mystics always exalted the will as an active element". (3)

Juan de los Angeles gives a truer impression of their attitude of passivity when he affirms that in contemplation "God commands all the senses and faculties to be still, the eyes to see not, the ear to hear not, the understanding to reflect not, the reason to reason not, the imagination to cease"(4).

(3) Diego de Estella. p. 133.
(4) Dialogos de la Conquista. 8 Sect. 7.
Contemplation demanded, sometimes, the abandonment of everyday duties "formerly it wanted courage to forsake relations, friends, or possessions. Now it finds even their rightful claims a burden; it fears contact with them lest it should offend God".\(^{(1)}\) "Even thoughts, however holy and devout, must be abandoned if they invade the soul at moments of incoming contemplation."\(^{(2)}\) "All that reasons in the soul ought to die".\(^{(3)}\)

It can easily be realized that such a doctrine did not lend itself to a system of rigid control, even by the wisest of "directors". There was always in it a centrifugal tendency, a flying off at a tangent. With high souls, there was an anchoring quality in their active Christianity; their emphasis on work, warfare, struggle as distinctive as, and not unlike the qualities in Bunyan's Christian. The soul may wait for a while in some garden of delight; soon it must pass on to responsibilities. But mysticism itself is an inner religion and "even in its most submissive guise an independent and turbulent spirit"\(^{(4)}\).

These Mystics of Spain may be orthodox, thanks to their fundamental temperaments, and the Inquisition; they may avoid many pitfalls of mysticism, but the "turbulent spirit" is/\(^{(4)}\)

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\(^{(1)}\) Teresa. Interior Castle. 5. 2.
\(^{(2)}\) Idem. Way of Perfection. Ch. 21.
\(^{(3)}\) Idem. Life of Sta Teresa. Ch. 5.
is there. There is implicit, an indifference to forms and rituals; an abandonment of outer ceremonies; of rosaries, litanies, stations of the Cross, of confession itself; which things interrupt contemplation, cramp the soul, and hinder it from the all-at-once view of God.

The Christo-centric quality, which Dean Inge sees in Sta. Teresa, and St. John of the Cross, gave a satisfactory appearance of orthodoxy. And we cannot doubt the sincerity of the latter when he declares "Christ is the complete vision of God; and Christ is all my vision". But we doubt his psychological self-analysis. As Baruzi\(^1\) the latest scholar to examine the thought of St. John says "St. John was not sunk in the God-made-Man Jesus Christ, but in God, transcendental and boundless." And about his developed thought, Baruzi reaches the conclusion that "his mystic system is rigorously and metaphysically a return to the One; a return of the soul ... into God Himself."

We might reach a similar conclusion about Sta. Teresa. In "the Interior Castle" in the seventh innermost chamber, human personality "will be all but annihilated and absorbed into the Divine\(^2\).

If we have given the impression that this absorption is/

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is that of a Buddhist nirvana, we must correct it by recalling the intense individualism of the Spaniard. To him "the Otherness" of himself proved "the Otherness" of God. As Fr. Saques puts it "Spanish mysticism recognises the distinction between the Divine Reality and the human, between the subject and the Object of mystic contemplation"(1) The importance given to knowledge of oneself, the energetic affirmation of human personality, saved from the idea of Absorption, not only the orthodox mystics, but also Molinos himself. Menendez Pelayo, whose Roman orthodoxy makes him always so unfair in his criticisms of Molinos has to admit "With his Nihilistic Buddhism, the soul, dead to every activity, retired into its higher self, sinking itself in the Nothing as its centre, waits for the breath of God, but conceives itself as substantially distinct from Him."(2)

We are not called upon to settle the vexed question, "who was the founder of Quietistic Mysticism". Dean Inge makes the claim that it was Peter of Alcantara(3), Lea says it was St. John of the Cross(4), and Vaughan affirms that St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross were greater quietists than Molinos.(5)

We believe we must go back beyond them for the beginnings of/

(1) Diego de Estella, p. 132.
(2) Menendez Pelayo, De la Poesía Mística, p. 46.
(3) Inge p. 218.
(4) Lea, Religious History of Spain, p. 225.
(5) Vaughan, Hours with the Mystics, p. 172.
of Quietism; but we have noted, as impartially as we could, that quietist teaching in most of their characteristic doctrines. We recall, too, that St. John was more than suspect by the Inquisition. Even as late as 1723, Fr. Arboil wrote "Mistica fundamental por el glorioso y beato Padre St. Juan de la Cruz", which work, Heppe claims, is an apologia to clear his hero from all suspicion of Quietism. (1) We know, too, that Molinos felt he was heir of St. John's mantle, and was teaching his traditional doctrine. In one of his extant letters he claims that his teaching about the quick transition from meditation to contemplation was learned from St. John. (2)

THE NETHERLANDS.

Instead of following any further the course of mysticism in Spain, we shall take a brief glance at the movement in the Low Countries. The first name is that of Scotus Erigena (3). He came about 847 to the Court of Charles the Bald, where he translated or interpreted Dionysius for the western mind - teaching the underlying unity of nature. "The allness of God fascinated him", the thought that the Universe proceeds from and returns to God. God therefore is the source of all that is. He is "creans non creatata", and the goal of existence is unification with God, or deification. It was left to the unorthodox Amalric/

(1) Heppe, Geschichte der Quietistichen Mystik, pp.447-448.
(2) Hables, Epistolario de Molinos, p.64.
(3) Professor Watt's Lectures, Spring Term, 1934.
Amalric of Bena to carry on this teaching. We need not consider his Pantheism. It is sufficient, for our purpose, to remember that Amalric, dying in Rome, left behind him a secret society among clergy and laity, which claimed to be above all sin and superior to sacraments and ceremonies.

In spite of many decrees against it, and the burning of 10 of its members, it still flourished in the 13th century.

Master Eckhart\(^1\) was also influenced by Erigena; though Karl Pearson thinks his leading ideas are from Averroes; and Dean Inge considers that there are many Platonic elements in his thought. Pope John the 22nd in 1329 condemned these propositions of Eckhart:

"The glory of God shines equally in all things".

"Love is independent of hope or reward."

"He who asks for a particular thing asks amiss."

He also condemned Eckhart's interpretation of "The word is very nigh thee "which left no place for any intermediary between God and man.

Tauler (1290-1361)\(^2\) comes among those mystics who approach God by the "Via Negativa"; emphasising not what God is, but what He is not, which is, as Inge says "mysticism blindfolded."

Though Tauler is the bitter enemy of all Quietism he is near the quietist/


\(^2\) Saudreau, Life of Union with God, par. 285, & 250b.
quietist position when he writes "God is Nothingness, but is accessible to him who has neither will nor reason."

"Trample ... underfoot everything, ... yourself, as well as heaven, earth, and all things contained therein; cast all into God, and dwell in Him keeping in eternal Union with Him," and this even stronger statement "the spirit is submerged in the depths of divine Ocean so that ... I see naught but God."(1)

The same dangerous teaching is found in "the Brethren of the Free Spirit",(2) "a society who by their implicit faith in the inner Light resembled the Quakers". In spite of the penalties of non-conformity they revolted against the traditional belief and discipline, teaching the quietist doctrine that love takes the place of all church services. They regarded themselves as free, and united to God without any intermediary, raised superior to all the exercises and offices of the church. When they love, they lose themselves in God as a drop of water in the Ocean and "when they reach perfection, i.e. complete absorbtion in God ... they do not obey any law since their will is identical with God's will."(3)

Gerson (1363-1429) the learned Chancellor of Paris University/

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(1) Poulain, The Graces of Interior Prayer, Ch. 3. Sec. 39.  
University counsels the following of the "Via Negativa": both he and Blessed Suso express great distrust of meditations (i.e. reasoning or discoursing), and exalt contemplation, "mentis in Deum suspensae elevatio" when God draws men, without resistance, the will being subdued in utter passivity.

Chiefest among these mystics of the Flemish School is Jan Van Ruysbroeck(1) a secular priest who founded a monastery of contemplatives, at Groenendal, near Brussels. He wrote in a style so obscure that we have to read him in the works of Henry Harphius his disciple. According to Harphius, Ruysbroeck teaches a direct Union, without any intermediary between God and man: in which man rejects all formalism "the real malady of the spirit."

In its essence Diety is Unity without form "an imageless desert, which ever corresponds with Eternity." Therefore "keep thy soul naked and bare, empty of all sense images, and you shall be One with God". "The hidden Sons... have died in Him." This death is the abolition of all thought, all feeling, and the suppression of all individual life.

In his most definite and ordered work "The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage" Ruysbroeck follows the three Dionysian stages. In the third "Vita contemplativa super-essentialis"

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(1) D'Aygalliers, Ruysbroeck the Admirable, pp.45. ff.
the object of contemplation is the essence of God Himself seen "in divino lumine".

Here the mysticism of Ruysbroeck is bordering on the ideas of the Quietists whom he hated. But attacking them we find that the Quietism he scorned had a strange attraction for himself. This is the only explanation of his statements:— "the hidden truths are not arrived at by study or research; we attain to them by renouncing ourselves ... to God"; and "our aspiration should be an extinction of thought, and of affection; a kind of infinite renunciation in God, by which the soul ... abandons itself so wholly unto Him, that it no longer possesses any understanding or will."

We recognise our sketchy treatment of this great School of Mysticism. Our purposes being that of tracing the quietist element in their teaching, we have stressed their emphasis on contemplation, without noting the spirit of religious revival, which is obviously in them. In praising contemplation they opened to the believing soul the doors of the eternal and visible church: though by doing so, they showed men the inadequacy and the secondary role of the visible Church.

Our main reason for looking at this Flemish movement is this: that printing in Spain was so controlled by the Inquisition; books by Spanish authors were so suspect; the organisation/
organisation for distributing and selling such Spanish works was so poorly developed, that Flemish books formed almost the only religious literature in Spain. Juan de los Angeles, writing about the year 1600, does not give the name of any Spanish author, but recommends the books of devotion of Tauber, Gerson, and "that most learned German, Ruysbroeck"(1).

Ruysbroeck's works were available in Latin in 1538, his "Seven Grades" in Italian in 1565, and his complete works, in Spanish, were published in the latter half of the 17th Century.

Melchor Cano, the learned, renowned and furiously impetuous professor of Salamanca, pleaded at the Council of Trent, for the prohibition of all these writers; and, in 1559, succeeds so far, that the Curia placed on the Index, the Institutions of Tauler "he is one of the Illuminati and a Quietist"; the Theologica Germanica and all the works of Harphius; and was disappointed because he could not add the works of Ruysbroeck.(2)

Rousselot argues that the Flemish Mystics did not affect Spain(3) - though with such external and internal evidence of contacts it would be hard to support this statement. Further, when we consider the close relationship of the two countries under the same monarch it would seem impossible for one to live isolated from the other.

Flemish/

(1) Juan de los Angeles, Dialogos, 10. Sect. 16.
(2) Sandrean, Life of Union, Sect. 349.
Flemish merchant princes brought the treasures of their land to Spain. "The Netherlands had by means of the Spanish wars acquired commerce, wealth, virtual independence, and maritime power"\(^{(1)}\) so that a rich civilization had grown up in Flanders. Flemish artists and craftsmen enriched the churches of Spain with their carvings and tapestries; while Spanish Infantry fought round the Priory of Groenendal, and came home in times of peace or truce to tell what they had heard.

Dutch and German soldiers shared in the triumphs of Philip the Fourth (1621-1665) when the French armies poured down into Catalonia and Aragon.

It is not easy to say how much of another nation's culture soldiers might carry, though the leisurely warfare of that age left much time for intercourse. If there were many men in the Spanish armies like those thoughtful soldiers pictured by El Greso in his "Surrender at Breda" we might suppose they brought back many ideas from Flanders.

But books travelled as well as men. And the books from the North brought a breath of fresh thought, which touched the devitalized church life of Spain. It was a blending of mystical and political aspirations. The overworked Holy Office tried to burn these aspirations out of those tempestuous rich cities/

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cities of Flanders, but they found, in that land of liberal ideas, men who were ready to die for them. The Inquisition failed.

However, as we shall see in the next chapter, some of these ideas reached Spain in garbled versions, producing that movement of strange aberrations and fantastic errors - Alumbradismo. These ideas reached Valencia and there touched the spirit of an obscure priest, making him the apostle to his age of a religion of inner liberty.
CHAPTER 4.

THE ALUMBRADOS OF SPAIN.

It is more than a little unfortunate that the religious life of the Moors in Spain, has been treated by biased contemporaries, who have underlined the divergences between Christian and Moor. There is, however, a certain small amount of evidence available which lets us see a people so very strict in the practice of their faith that the Archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, in an address to his clergy said "to make our people and the Moors good Christians, we must make them copy our faith, and our people copy their (the Moors') good works." (1)

Senor Longas cites further evidence, which goes to show that among the Christians who lived under Moorish rule, and among the Moors who were converted to Christianity, there was an intense religious life. In Murcia, Granada, Seville and Estramadura, the districts peopled by these religious warm-blooded folk, there was a population ready for any new faith. It was in these provinces that Alumbradismo took hold. The name was first used about a Franciscan Friar of Ocana "Alumbrado con las tinieblas de Satanas" "enlightened by the utter darkness of Satan" who preached that he had a revelation to beget/

(1) Longas, Vida religiosa de los Moriscos, p. 75.
beget prophets with divers holy women. In 1586 Juan de los Angeles(1) alludes to this, when writing to confessors and directors advising them to remember the dangers of the past in Estramadura "even so we had our experience in those years ... with them and their disciples, who were ever in rapture and had such experience of consolations that their strength and bodily power failed them, except in unclean acts; ... their limbs often completely numbed, ... and deprived of feeling."

Such movements were endemic in Spain. In one form or another passive quietism had swooped down on the land alluring some, and terrifying others.

Priscillian had taught some form of it, in 379, under the name "the magic of Egypt and Persia"(2). The 13th century Beghards of Catalonia and Valencia maintained a very definite passivism. A man could arrive at such perfection that he became incapable of sinning, even in thought. In that state of impeccability he could freely concede to the body anything it desired, for the roots of sensuality were mastered and dead. In that state neither prayer nor fasting are of profit. The Beghards condemned the veneration of the Host, and said that to consider the Humanity of Christ disturbed pure contemplation.

After this sect, there arose the Fratricelli(3), called/

(1) Dialagos, 6.4 and 4.9.
called in Spain "the Heretics of Durango. In 1442 the Franciscan Alonso de Mella, a brother of the Cardinal Bishop of Zamora, gathered round him a large conventicle, chiefly of women. The King ordered an enquiry and trial. As they were obstinate in their heresy, most of them were burned at Valladolid. Alonso de Mella fled to Granada where he fell into the hands of bandits and was sold to the Moorish galleys.

In the Martyrologium it is affirmed, that these heretics were Valdenses, and Geddes begins his catalogue of Spanish Protestants with them. But Mariana expressly states that the sect "extinguished" at Durango were "Fratricelli", "shameless and evil, a species of Alumbrados". (1)

Nothing more is known about them, as in 1828 the Alcalde of Durango ordered the relative papers to be burned, as these reflected on the good name and orthodoxy of Durango.

We cannot accept the criticism by Francisco de Osuna of the 16th century Alumbradismo, "Its theology needs neither learning, nor labour, only faith, love and the Grace of God" (2) as if it were an appeal to the uneducated masses only. Certainly at the beginning, it attracted many scholarly laymen. There were new openings for the laity in the Spanish colonies and many of them travelled to Bologna, to study law to fit them for their future work. And not law only. Burke tells us that/

(1) Mariana, Historia Española, Lib. 21, Cap. 17.
(2) Abecedario Espiritual, 3., Tract. 6, Cap. 2, fol. 52.
that in the translation of the Complutensian Polyglot, 
Cardinal Ximenez employed three lay scholars who had studied 
Greek in Bologna and Alcala. (1)

Juan de los Angeles had a high opinion of the 
spirituality of the laity. "A hermit after much fasting, 
and pious austerities was told that outside in the world, 
he would meet one doing the will of God better than he. 
He found this was a sweetseller, whose religion consisted "not 
in much fasting, not in ascetic practices, not even in prayers, 
but in adjusting the soul to the will of God." (2) This, in 
16th century Spain, was high praise of the laity. This lay 
element soon began to teach outside the Church. Antonio del 
Corro a great Latin teacher, propounded a mysticism of a type 
akin to that of the Alumbrados. In 1524 a certain Pedro 
Ruiz (3), a layman, skilled in the Scriptures was accused of 
mysticism mixed with quietism, as he had taught that the initiate 
were impeccable, no matter what their acts, that vocal prayer 
was the sole observance necessary, and that confession, 
indulgences, works of piety and charity were useless. 

In 1557 Julianillo Hernandez (born in Seville and 
educated in Germany,) formed a conventicle in Seville, where 
he taught that it was only necessary to read the Scriptures, 
and that fastings, penance and the cult of images should be 
abandoned/

(3) Menendez Helayo, Heterodoxos. Vo. 5. p.104.
abolished. As one can see by this example it is difficult to separate a certain type of quietism from Protestantism.

Alfonso de Valdés (1) really belongs to the Italian Reformation, but as a Spaniard he absorbed some of his native mysticism, mixing it with teachings of Melancthon and Erasmus in "Consideraciones divinas" in which he defended Quietism. In the dialogue of Mercurio and Caron, he pleads for an air of quiet in the churches "They use banners, lances, bucklers, helmets and make the buildings like temples of Mars". He wants also "quietude" "outer ceremonies are of small use, masses, fastings, macerations, the essential thing is to follow the way of love." This is interesting as showing the trend of the Spanish scholarly lay mind.

Not only was the lay scholar attracted by Quietism but the spirit of it even entered behind the altar rails.

Carranza de Miranda (2) a distinguished churchman went with Philip the Second to England, where he was the leader of a deep and bitter opposition to Cranmer. Returning to Spain he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Toledo. In 1558 he published his "Commentarios sobre El Catechismo". In this book he maintained that all outer observances, prayer and fasting do not help and may even hinder the spiritual life.

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(1) Stern, Alfonso et Juan de Valdés, p. 39.
"If a man is at peace in himself, he remains without sin, even though sensuality glows in his passions like living flames"

"Such a man is perfect, and enjoys a perfect Sabbath ... all the week, and all the month, and all the year, and all the life." This is Quietism: but the savour is definitely Lutheran when he writes, "Whosoever believes need not fear his faults, if his heart be true he will be redeemed from all his sins."

The Grand Inquisitor Valdés, and Melchor Cano accused him of being an Alumbrado; of believing in impeccability; in the inner light, and in contemplation. In spite of the protection of Philip, the Inquisition moved against him. The affirmations in "the Catechism" that: "works of charity are useless", that: "living faith does not permit of evil works", (on this the Alumbrados built their doctrine of the impeccability of the just), that: "to succeed in all affairs even in human affairs there is no other way that is certain, except that of consulting God who gives an inner light", were brought against him. He was condemned as much for his Protestantism as for his Quietism. For both he spent 17 years in prison.

The well organized Inquisition drove this lettered lay and clerical Quietism underground; and it became the popular Alumbradismo of the uneducated masses and simple folk of Spain where it took the twisted forms, such as we see in the Beatas of Toledo.

There/
There is an interesting MS. in the British Museum - "Memorias de Francisco de Encinas" which contains a full record of this secret conventicle of Alumbrados.\(^{(1)}\) As early as 1529 they taught that "the love of God in man is God", declaring that such perfection could be reached that man could not sin even venially, and had no need of control, no need to give account of their acts, even to God Himself, after they had reached the stage of Entry into God. Then a man could regard his own merits as useless. Vocal prayers, fastings, works of piety, all exterior acts of adoration were equally useless. They did not use holy water, nor venerate images, nor hear sermons. The Host was "mass-bread", the Cross "a stake", the Lord's Prayer "a bundle of selfish petitions".

To annihilate one's own will was their supreme desire so they resisted all thought, however good; even the study of Scripture was not necessary as "God would reveal His Truth."

Isabel de la Cruz was the chief teacher of the sect. She claimed to work miracles and have visions. Her fame travelled to Rome, and Hadrian the Sixth, the saintly Dutch Pope asked his confessor to write to her that she might pray/

\(^{(1)}\) Op. cit.
pray for him and for the whole church. The Inquisition again moved and Isabel was condemned to seclusion for three years.

In Llerena(1) eight members of the secular clergy taught a prayer of meditation, and lustful practices which they called "melting into the love of God", "with movements gross and suggestive". These can be explained in some cases by real lust, in others by a certain suggestion of mass hypnotism. In the "Sentencia contra los ... de Llerena" we read "they felt a terrible ardour which shook them, tremors of the heart ... a fury ... a weariness and quiverings in all their bones and members". They taught that the perfect was impeccable, and could do anything he desired. They denounced the religious orders; all exterior ceremonies; and all aids to devotion. They were gnostics affirming that they alone knew the way of virtue and the mysteries of prayer. They were accused of indulging in impure acts even in the Confessional, and one of their leaders Fr. Chamizo (c.1575) had to his discredit 34 such victims. That they were lawless we can see in their poisoning the Inquisitor, de Soto, who had been sent against them.

But the process went on and all were condemned. In 1624 the Beata Catalina de Jesus had a conventicle of Seville. The/

The teaching was the same as at Llerena, only she taught that the best exercise is contemplation - "praying in the book of one's own mind", to use her phrase. They communicated daily; disregarded images, because having God in themselves, they must only look for him there". They passed over the two earlier stages of the traditional mystic way, and in the Unitive way they waited that "God may work and reveal His secrets to their soul". This they called "the doctrine of pure love". The Beata Catalina claimed that she had received so many favours from God, that she need no longer pray for herself, but for others. Her favourite expression was "to drown one'self in the love of God". In spite of much influence behind her she was condemned to 6 years in a convent cell; and to take a confessor appointed by the Holy Office. This was necessary, because her confessor, Juan de Villalpondo, held that there was no need to obey parents, husbands, or confessors; and that those who confessed to him gained the great mystic way. Like all the Alumbrados he held that daily communion was necessary; he had doubts of those who communicated fortnightly, and despaired of those who came to the Eucharistic Table monthly. It is said that 695 members of this conventicle were tried by the Inquisition.

The/

The heresy was so general that in 1623 Cardinal Pacheco, Inquisitor-General, sent an edict to the Bishop of Seville and Cadiz, denouncing the secret conventicles and juntas of the Alumbrados; and giving a list of 66 errors in their teaching. The chief of these were:—

(1) Vocal prayer ... includes all the commands of God.
(2) There is no need to obey priest, father or superior in doing anything that disturbs contemplation.
(3) Certain warm feelings show that a man is in a state of grace and has the Holy Spirit. Such a perfect soul does not need to do any work however virtuous.
(4) One can see in this life the Divine Essence and the Mysteries of the Trinity.
(5) Having attained a certain state of perfection, one ought not to regard images, nor hear sermons, nor is there an obligation to hear mass.
(6) In such a state grace overwhelms all powers, so that the soul neither goes forward nor backward.
(7) The intercession of saints is a vain thing.
(8) One need only know what God knows, that is Himself.
(9) The Vision of God, communicated once to the soul in this life remains perpetually in the soul at the will of him who had it.

(10)/
(10) In this exalted state, there is no need of faith because God is seen clearly.

The movement gradually died out, though as late as 1699 traces of it were found in Palermo, where Geltruda, a Beguine, and Romualdo, a friar, were burnt for Quietism, Molinism, Illuminism, and Impeccability.\(^1\)

The reasons for this growth of Alumbradismo can be found, firstly in the failure of the American dream, secondly in the failure of the Reformation. We shall look at these causes now.

The South of Spain had been emptied of men for the Colonial adventure, leaving behind them a majority of women with frustrated lives liable to be carried away by any new enthusiasm. We have already seen how religious this Andalucian land was. These ill-instructed, poor folk were left at the mercy of a shameless ignorant clergy. Their stupidity can be inferred from the claims made by a certain Friar Gutierrez, one of the leaders of the Alumbrados, that he had seen the Divine Essence in the form of an ox.

Along with this American drain on men there was the terrible poverty of Spain\(^2\). Since the Moriscos cultivators had been driven from the Kingdom in 1609 trade had declined, populous/

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(1) Montigore, L'Atto Publico de Fede.
(2) C.M.H., Vol. 5, p. 376.
populous cities had become empty and poor.

Madrid in the course of the 17th century lost half the total of its inhabitants. The same was true of Seville and Toledo; whilst in the provinces whole districts were deserted. James Stanhope, the English Ambassador travelling from Madrid to Alicante records "there is not one good town or good inn on all the road: and we went sometimes about 40 miles without seeing so much as one house." The letters of Madame d'Aulnay(1) testify that even in Madrid, it was a common thing, for residents to die of starvation in the streets; and famine reigned even in the Royal Palace where courtiers fought for scraps of food.

In addition great tracts of land were condemned to unproductiveness or careless cultivation, as they had been granted or bequeathed to monastic institutions.(2)

Nor could the Royal Power give any help. The two chief points about Spain in that age were the weakness of the Crown, and the increasing power of the Church. "Loyalty and superstition" writes Buckle "were the leading principles which influenced the Spanish mind and governed the march of Spanish History."(3) Supporting this statement we have the Council of Clergy resolving that "Every thing was to be done to/

(1) Madame D'Aulnay, La Cour de Madrid, passim.
(2) C.M.H., Vol. 5. p. 627.
(3) C.M.H. Vol. 5.p.374,
to fulfil the first obligations of a Spanish Sovereign, so that with a Holy Zeal, befitting so catholic a prince, he might attend to the exaltation of our Sacred Catholic Faith and the Authority of the Holy See (1).

To achieve this end, the offices of the crown were sold; the honour of "Grandee", the position of "Viceroy" or "Governor" were given to the highest bidder. Coinage was depreciated, trade despised, and the unpaid soldiery were deserting as fast as they could.

For the men in the country places this spelled ruin. As we shall see, they were thrown back on themselves in this political and economic confusion. A man felt he was under men harsh and overbearing; so he abandoned himself to God: - not in the Church where spiritual life ran on, in formal grooves; but in a "simple faith" where life goes free, and man can put up with the worst possible rule. "Detachment", as some of the suspect mystics taught it; as the Alumbrados understood it; as Molinos explained it, meant Rest. Such rest as Osuna pictured (2) "the soul in the body as in an enclosed casket, glad in itself, all the five senses stilled as if they did not exist; not understanding anything, but like a little child glad because of the pleasure within its heart, and having neither eyes/

(1) Idem. p. 640.
(2) Abecadario, 3, Cap. 7.
eyes, nor ears for anything that might disturb the detachment." It was an appeal to simplicity of faith.

THE REFORMATION.

We have spoken of the good influence of Jewish and Arabic Monotheism on the Christians of Spain. It brought this disadvantage, that, leaving out the life and work of Jesus Christ, it left men without any intermediary between God and man. For some of the greater mystics whose faith really included Christ, this emphasis on "God alone" did not matter. But, among other men, it brought about a very marked reaction to Hagiolatry and Sacerdotalism. This left men clinging to relics of the saints and fostered a superstition, constantly trembling on the verge of infidelity and needing to be supported at every point by nuns, hermits, friars and confessors. That spirit of superstition reached even into the Royal Palace (1).

The illness of Charles the Second was ascribed to witchcraft, and the Inquisition busied itself hunting for the wretches who did it. This hunt was unsuccessful, and the King was despaired of. However, a cure was wrought through the body of St. Diego de Alcala brought from his tomb in the Church to the sick-room. No wonder ordinary men believed the claim of the devotee Piedrahita that she walked with the Virgin Mary and was espoused to/

(1) C.M.H., Vol. 4, p.424.
to the Saviour. There was need of drastic reform. Such a land might have seemed fertile ground for those who were opposed to the mere repetition of formulae and who were teaching the rest of Europe a personal and living way of belief and thought. But the Inquisition blocked the way. This Institution introduced in 1235, when dei Barberi, Inquisitor General of Messina, suggested a law, giving two thirds of the goods of the condemned heretic to the Crown. This appealed to the avaricious Ferdinand. He thought of rich Jews, prosperous Moors, and well-to-do New Christians.

At first it was an Ecclesiastical Institution. Soon it changed its character, and behind a clerical mask, became a civil instrument. With each step to bring it more under the control of the Monarch, Rome became more jealous of it. The Pope recalled the most cruel of the Inquisitors and permitted an appeal to Rome; but a strong letter of protest from Ferdinand caused the Pope to leave matters as they were.

Not all Spain was subservient to the Holy Office. We find a strange tolerance in Aragon, partly a protest against the dictatorial orders from Castile, partly because of a large trading connection over the mountain passes, which made the Aragonese friendly to Hugenot Navarre. So strong was the hatred stirred/

stirred up, that the mob sacked the Inquisition buildings in Zaragoza in 1591, released the prisoners, and drove out the Inquisitors. Even as late as 1645, Philip the Fourth had to give way about re-establishing the Holy Office in the Province.

We know that the principle of tolerance was only dawning in the rest of Europe. In Spain it came late, as Burke says, summing up the whole Inquisition history. "It has been the great misfortune of Spain both as regards her reputation and her prosperity that in the matter of religious persecution ... the country was somewhat later in its development than its neighbours. Spain began the first of the Inquisition fires at Seville and at Granada at the very time when other nations were opening wide the portals of knowledge, and thought was becoming free in France, Germany, in England, Italy and Holland ... it was all out of season, an abnormal growth and self destructive."(1)

But if the Reformation made no headway in Spain it awakened Rome to the abuses of the Spanish Church; which had developed a stubborn Spanish independence.

In 1592, Clement the Eighth(2) had ordered a visitation of all the churches in Rome, a task in which he himself shared. In the report of the visitors, there is an energetic protest against the exaggerated pomp displayed at processions by the Spaniards/

(1) Burke, Op. cit., p.120.
Spaniards in their national church.

There had been a complaint, some years before this, about the elaborations of the Liturgy, introduced from Spain, which had offended the severe Roman taste.

Numerous efforts were made at this time to bring the Spanish clergy under discipline. In 1587, a Jesuit, who had committed a civil crime in Spain, where it was glossed over by the authorities, was by the order of Sixtus the Fifth, brought to Rome where he was hanged on the Bridge of St. Angelo. The same Pontiff had to send a peremptory order to the Jesuits of Spain to abstain from meddling in politics.\(^{(1)}\)

These complaints even reached Madrid. In 1621, Philip the Fourth reported to his Council "Ecclesiastical affairs are in such disorder that we are told from Rome that innumerable dispensations for simony had been obtained for holders of Bishoprics, and Archbishoprics, besides an enormous number of prebends"\(^{(2)}\).

The trampling of religion in the mire, the frightful corruption in churches and monasteries, to which even Sta Teresa bears witness; the protests of the ascetics against it all; men's sense of justice hurt by revolting cases of Inquisition cruelty; the extravagances of the pseudo-mystics with their beds/

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\(^{(1)}\) Pastor, Idem. p.168.
\(^{(2)}\) C.M.H. Vol. 4, p.639.
beds of spikes drove many to the inner life, and made them ready for such a voice as that of the Alumbrados.

Disturbing men's thoughts in another fashion, were the contacts with Italy. Spanish troops and administrators in Sicily, Naples, and the rich northern state of Milan, were influenced by residence there: absorbing Italian virtues and vices: bringing back with them some of the mocking cynicism of the later Renaissance, and dislike of the priesthood.

In addition "Preaching had become the cultivation of the ornate, the pompous, the mannered""Gongarism (the Spanish Euphuism) was now all the fashion in writing, and in the pulpit ... a cultivated subtlety, garbed in a wealth of rhetoric, antithesis, metaphor and conceit."(1) There was no ethical side to the Church's teaching, no sense of individual human responsibility towards God or man; no solid instruction for people or for monks, so that men were driven to read such quietists as Thomas à Kempis, Tauler, Suso, and Eckhart.(2)

Unhappily the relations between the orthodox and the mystics grew worse: a new and stricter attitude to Mysticism was noticeable: a new spirit of bigotry had come in. It became marked after the Jesuit triumph at the Council of Trent. "The Catechism of Carranza has been approved by the Council of Trent" wrote/

(2) C.M.H., Vol. 4., p.424.
wrote the ambassador de Luna to his Master, Philip the Second\(^1\), yet in a few years the Catechism is on the Index, and Carranza in prison.

The spirit of intolerance grew. Luis de Granada had to defend himself against Cano's accusation, that his doctrine of Perfection was simple Alumbradismo. Ignatius de Loyola was imprisoned for 22 days in Salamanca on a like charge, but was declared to be, ..."a man of clean life and doctrine ... able to instruct the people" and released. Sta Teresa was also suspected, and John of the Cross was twice accused of Alumbradismo, and twice imprisoned.

The severance between the religion of the letter and the religion of the spirit had become definite.

It did not follow that the Spaniard gave up religion under this irreligious intolerance. All his interest in books of devotion; and the number of such books imported into Spain are evidences to the contrary.

We get further support for this view from the story of Juan de Avila, the apostle of Andalucia\(^2\). He was arrested for teaching that all could be contemplatives and perfect. The Archbishop of Seville, Cristobal de Rojas, was friendly to such teaching. Under his pressure Juan de Avila was released. When next/

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\(^1\) Caballero, Vida de M. Cano, p. 328.

next he preached in Seville "the common people seeing him in
the pulpit began to sound the trumpets with great applause
and comfort throughout the city" as Luis de Granada reports.

This helps us to understand how a preacher, publishing
a vision of the ordinary man linked up with God in contemplation,
must have appealed. For there was a general sense of depression,
the State had failed, the Church interested in petty details
of ritual, and in orthodox dogma had failed. The age had become
aware of a state of spiritual barrenness, in which superstition,
and scepticism, and religious aspiration were unequally combined.

To such men this Alumbradismo, this churchless
quietism was an attractive faith - worked out as it was by
men, conscious that the divine lay deep hidden in the human
heart, and who stressed interior illumination as against
exterior works and observances.

Its faults were the faults of its sponsors. The
educated lay element of Spain had been crushed until there was
no middle class in the land; no rich merchant type of artist
craftsman, such as Italy produced; no trading adventurers as
quick with lance or with pen. Trade was despised by the
Spaniard, so that even shopkeeping was in the hands of men from
Burgandy and Flanders. Madame d'Aulnay writes that there were
20,000 of such shopkeepers and artizans in Madrid itself.

We/
We can understand how Alumbradismo, with no trained leadership developed as it did, taking into itself ideas from many heretical sects, and developing definite antinomian tendencies.

About these tendencies we have to trust to information which is not only slight, but obviously one-sided.

All the extant records agree that the basis of their doctrine was a recognition of "private judgment" as expressed in the supremacy of the Inner Light. We can then think of them as Barrès sees such men painted in El Greco's pictures "living beings, Spaniards, twisted, unsettled, volatilized by the most prodigious emotion, yet with an air of nobility of soul." (1)

Or we may think of them as men allowing free course to the impulses suggesting themselves at the moment, which was "private judgment" at its worst. We might then use the words of Bryce to describe them "liberty was carried into anti-nominism and produced the wildest excesses of life and doctrine ... a fantastic sect ... refusing to conform to the ordinary rules without which human society could not exist." (2)

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(1) Barrès, El Greco, p.157.
(2) Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire, p. 377.
CHAPTER 5.

THE ILLUMINATI OF ITALY.

Before plunging into the subject matter of the present chapter, let us recall the position reached. In Greece there had arisen a school of thought which believed it possible to find God by intuition rather than by reason. We saw it at the outset, a group of scrupulous ascetic idealists. A small group: their importance was intensive rather than extensive, and their influence was independent of numbers. The school divided into two; one keeping its lofty quality; and the other becoming a quietist movement, which degenerated, in some cases, into an unadulterated passivism. Both sides affected Spain with important results.

In Basra, we found a group of mystics who had rebelled against the awfulness and distance of the Diety and had worked out a doctrine of a Loving Union with Him in the seclusion of their own souls. Their idea was a lofty one, but ultimately they believed that God had all power; all acts, even sinful ones were His doing. Hence, an indifference to human interests, which was a painful piece of history in the East, and a tragedy when it touched the coasts of Spain. There it became a quietism, again degenerating, in some cases, into an abandonment to God; and/
and becoming an unwearied patience, in others. We saw, too, how mysticism of the 13th and 14th centuries in Flanders, and that of the Teresan School had alike exhausted themselves before they reached 17th century Spain. In that century, this tired mysticism came into contact with the weariness of life of men of that time: but its teaching had not a substantial form adequate to their demand. Its "innerness" had little power over men who interpreted "liberty of spirit", as either indifference, or being led by their passions.

We propose now to study a movement in Italy which had many parallels with that in Spain.

Italy has never been static or quiescent. We are being made aware, continually, by different factors, of many quickening movements. Most of these were antagonistic to some abuse of the dominant Church. Beneath all that turbulent mediaeval life, of which we catch glimpses in the poetry of Dante, the Fioretti of St. Francis, the writings of Ariosto, we see parties of spiritual reformers growing steadily in numbers and intensity, colouring and disturbing the life of the Church, carrying it over some dead period of its life, and placing it in a position to grapple with the new needs of the time. Gebhart puts the case clearly\(^{(1)}\). All through the long ages when the Papacy was first simonaical and then nepotic, the/

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\(^{(1)}\) Gebhart, "L'Italie Mystique", p.45.
the sick souls of men sought eagerly on every side to recover the true way of Salvation. There was a constant if underground protest against the temporal power of the Papacy and against its discipline and actions. The irony of history had obliged the vicars of God to enter upon a political and military existence. The Church had to be a secular government. Quiet theorists did not keep in mind, that, in the feudal state of the world, secular greatness was the Church's guarantee of religious integrity. Unless the Pope had been master in his own house he lost rank in the political and social order of the world. Thus the secular side: selling offices; forgiveness; relics; rights of ex-communication, became more important than the virtues that Jesus exalted. The poor, the peacable, and the simple were no longer the elect of the Church. A narrow religion of obedience and works developed.

The cities with their appearance of freedom had also crushed the individual. Each citizen had to abdicate all personal will; his Guilds kept him in a caste system; regulated the value and colour of his clothes; his style of living; the hours he slept: and exile was the punishment for disobedience.

The protest of the individual took two forms as it does in all such cases of repression. There were the Vagantes, joyous friars, ironic, sensual, pagan who mocked at all religious/
religious things: and the Reformers who in Italy were always antagonistic to the temporal power of the Church, desiring that this kingly authority of the Roman Pope should be given up and the Church should concentrate on its religious task. These men were individualistic in outlook: often rigid ascetics; separate from the ordinary life of the world; each reserving in his heart that measure of the Christian faith which he found sufficient for his own needs; - and in great simplicity of life devoting himself to contemplation. We shall see in our brief survey that this doctrine is common to all schools.

**CALABRIA.**

Calabria is interesting to us, as we are there brought into contact with Arabic Passivism; carried direct from the East, or mediated through Spain: and with Neoplatonism which was almost a native element in the Graeco-Roman fusion in South Italy.

There was a large Greek element there: Pastor\(^{(1)}\) claims that the greater part of the 100,000 Greeks in Italy were settled in Calabria and Sicily. The land had such a Greek outlook that the Pope insisted on the inviolability of the Byzantine Rite. The Monks of the Basilian Order, though under Roman Rule, kept such/

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such a tradition of austere practice that they attracted many of the more puritan-loving novices from the rest of Italy. Denifle\(^1\) describes the Church in Calabria "Spiritualis ecclesia quasi media inter accidentalam atque orientalem ecclesiam."

It was, apart from its monasteries, not much given to religious enthusiasm: the fusion of populations making for such tolerance that scarcely a Crusader was recruited in all Magna Graecia.

Its spirit is embodied in the Emperor Frederick the Second. The events of his life are too well known to require our chronicling them.

What he did in 1229 concerns our subject. In that year he made a treaty with the Soldan of Egypt, dividing the Holy Land between them, and giving pilgrims the right to visit Jerusalem. He thus re-opened the door of communication between the two faiths and paved the way for the peaceful alliance of Asia and Europe. The treaty did more: it brought into Sicily and Naples a spirit in which keen rationalism and dreamy mysticism were interwoven. These found a congenial atmosphere at his court, where a civilization, half Greek and half Arab grew and flourished.

His/

\(^{1}\) Denifle, Archiv. für Litt. und Kirkengeschichte, p.55.
His enemies reported that he said that Moses, Mahommed and Christ were the three impostors, others as J.H. Newman said that "he had the reputation of mediating a profession of Mahometanism."

The sober truth is that the Arabs, and the Spanish Jews did more than initiate the two Sicilies into religious tolerance. They brought logic from Aristotle, Eastern science, and Greek enquiry. It was in that spirit of enquiry that Frederick approached the current beliefs about God; sacred ceremonies; prayer; penance.

In regard to these Frederick followed his great Master Averroes(1) "these are excellent for the ignorant and for common men; as for the sage ... he finds his doctrine, morality and worship in the revelation of reason."

We find that eagerness to learn in his questions to the doctors of Arabia and Syria, through the Sultan. We can see the trend of the Emperors thought in some of his enquiries sent to Salomo Cohen, and Ibn Sabin in Spain. One was "What is the meaning of these words of Mahommed: 'the heart of the believer is in the hands of the All-Merciful'?" Ibn Sabin's(2) reply is a thesis on sufism.

The Emperor had a dream of a lay Papacy; an ecclesiastical revolution; and a Church, thoroughly Christian in/

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(2) Bodleian MSS., Sicilian Questions.
in its primitive simplicity

This dream he had absorbed from Joachim of Flora.(1) Living in the time of Arnold of Brescia and Frederick Barbarossa, Joachim was brought up in the court of Count Roger of Sicily. In 1177 he became Abbot of the Strict Cistercians. In 1192 he was removed at his own request, and retired into the lonely valley of Flora in Calabria for thought and study. There he died, about 1200; a restless soul, who had traversed Christendom for more than three score years, seeking for truth; giving as his final discovery "the letter killeth but the spirit maketh alive".

Three books are his (1) Liber concordia novi ac veteris Testamenti (2) Psalterium (3) An Exposition of Revelations.

He thinks of history as three world epochs; with Adam and law; with Elisha and grace: with St. Benedict and his monks, under more abundant grace. This third epoch is, Denifle reckons,(2) to take place in 1260 when the Sacraments of the New Testament shall cease. This meant the downfall of the Church, of the Law, and of the Word.

God has not spoken his last word, - that is to come through the Spirit, whose mark is freedom and truth. The stages are Slave, Son, Perfect Liberty. Thus St. Paul teaches: but we men must/

(1) Professor Watt's Lectures, Spring term 1934.
(2) Denifle, Op. cit., p.82.
must bring in the valuable Neoplatonic fourth Gospel. St. John exalts the rule of the Spirit now, with his idea of a superior religion, just within reach "the hour cometh and now is, etc."

This transcendent theology is "the Eternal Gospel". William of St. Amour (1254)\(^1\) preaching on this gospel affirmed that Christ is not God; therefore the sacraments of the Church are nothing, for the gospel of Christ is not a true gospel. It needs more. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth".

The earthly mission of Jesus was the preparation for the Holy Spirit. With Christ's death, a new era begins. "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."

In the "Psalterium" we have this defining statement "The Holy Spirit will teach us of the Father and the Son."


In contemplation we pass from the Church of the Word to that of the Spirit, which is dominated by the vision "the mere form of the Sacraments are transitory, the truths these Sacraments convey/

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convey are eternal: in that faith of the Spirit all the great religious families of the human race will be reconciled.\(^{(1)}\)

We can then consider Joachim's "Eternal Gospel", even though it be a forgery of 100 years after his death, as the Magna Carta of the many protesting movements of Italy. It was built on an idea of inner liberty; and on individualism, freed from the letter, and purified by the Spirit. It implied, and taught the fall of the temporal Holy See, and the secular church: and the passing of pastoral functions to the contemplatives and the saints.

**JACOPONE OF TODI.**

Another who stressed the individualistic and spiritual aspect of religion in contrast with the institutional is Jacopone of Todi.\(^{(2)}\) He belonged to a body of spiritual singers, who, like St. Francis, went up and down the land "cantando e laudando magnificamente Iddio". He was like a paladin, or a troubadour, passing through streets and markets, singing praises (lodi) to God and the saints in the common tongue. He had been a hard man, proud and vicious, but was converted at 40 when his wife died and he found a hair shirt beneath her rich garments. Sanctificatus est via infidelis per mulierem fidelem, and he became/

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became a Franciscan tertiary.

He lived the part of a glad man "but in secret when he could not be seen by any, he was overwhelmed in tears, deploring his faults, passing many hours of the days and nights in interior prayer", as the MS. of his life records.

The Flagellants had encouraged this idea of a "glad madness through Christ" as the best way to delude the world and to capture heaven. In Jacopone, this was joined with a protest against all the abuses of church and state; against the luxury of the clergy; and the learning of the schools.

Poverty of spirit by means of love was the highest good. This meant absorption of heart and intellect; and annihilation of mind in the bosom of infinite love. This is the NIHIL GLORIOSO of Jacopone, which he praises in the Loda "Fede e caritade".

"What matters it whether Thou dost drown or save me according to Thy good pleasure!"
and "A Dio domandai lo inferno
Lui amando e me perdendo
Dolce m'era omne male."

This high nothingness, this "divine annihilation" Count d'Ancona maintains is similar to the Nirvana of the Buddhists, while Von/
Von Hugel is not in contradiction to such a judgment when he says (1) "such language with its disdain of salvation is a novelty in a mystic of the Middle Ages."

In another Loda we get a like sentiment "I did not love Thee with any gain to myself, until I loved Thee for Thine own". Loda 90 on "How the soul arrives at a treble state of Annihilation" is filled with the spiritual serenity of a man, who knows that Nature, or God, is keeping holiday, behind all life and death "The heavens have grown stagnant; their silence constrains me to cry aloud: O profound ocean, the very depth of Thine Abyss has constrained me to attempt to drown myself within Thee."

This singer of unselfish love was shut up in prison by Boniface the Eighth and was not freed until Benedict the Eleventh became Pope. He enjoyed three years of freedom; and in 1306 died singing "Jesus my Trust, the highest hope of my heart."

Von Hugel offers a careful and concise statement of the work of Jacopone, "He had voiced the same theory as Arnold of Brescia, Joachim de Flores, Francis of Assisi, John of Parma, Frederick and his philosophers, the theory of liberty, the absolute liberty of individual religion, in which faith and love are/

are superior to obedience and penance. It was a religion of
the heart, a free religion, the work of individual faith, united
in the unity of a good conscience.\(^{(1)}\). This doctrine of liberty
for individual faith was further developed by John of Parma
(c.1260), General of the Franciscans. The Dominicans raised
such strong objections to this over-tolerant teaching that
John of Parma had to resign his high office\(^{(2)}\). His disciple,
Gerard de Borgo taught, in the University of Paris, the extreme
doctrine that the Church was a community of souls, who,
indifferent to sacramental symbols will enjoy the fullness of
divine things.

Henrich Denifle maintains\(^{(3)}\) that this was only the
belief of a few; but it seems to have affected very many in Italy.
The Papal authorities moved in the matter; some bishops, and
many lesser ecclesiastics were compelled to join John of Parma
in his retirement.

It was dangerous teaching; greedily absorbed by the
swarm of preaching sects. Among all these sects arose the men
who called themselves "Spirituales viri" or Illuminati.

It was a tolerant age, and Italy, as yet, was free from
the Inquisition. The only guardians of orthodoxy were "the
Order/

Order of Preachers to whom the Church owed so much. Apart from the Dominicans, Italy might be described as a land of liberty, where each one went seeking the way of salvation at his own will; mystics, Joachmites, ribalds, vagabonds, ascetics, charlatans, saints. These had this in common; that they despised learning, kept themselves detached from public and social life, and most of them followed St. Francis' new beatitude "Beati qui rident"\(^{(1)}\).

The Fratricelli of the 14th Century were typical. They ate no flesh, drank no wine, heard no mass, and recognised neither Pope nor Church. They held that there was no sin; it was only suffering: and redemption was a useless sacrifice, and no more than a delusion "non fuisse necessarium in mundo Christi adventum".

There was no good, nor evil, so men were free from all moral restraint. Such teaching had more than a germ of lawlessness, it was anarchy.

At first sight, it might seem, that this was not so different from the idea of Dante who advocated the simple creed of Paul: faith, hope, love. Therefore what is the use of works? the poet asks. Or of prayer, or penance or the observance of the Christian who trembles before the Church?\(^{(2)}\) That is Dante's mystic/

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\(^{(2)}\) Paradiso, Canto 24.
mystic faith; for mysticism of a sort is found in all those who were attached to the reform movement in Italy.

But there has to be taken into account the practical quality of the Italian. Maine in his "Ancient Law" has a passage where he contrasts Greek and Roman "While Greek theology went on defining, with still more exquisite subtlety, the Godhead, and nature of Christ ... the Western Church threw itself, with passion, into a new order of disputes ... the nature of sin, its transmission by inheritance, its vicarious satisfaction."

That practical instinct remained in the Italian temperament. So Dante despises the inert and life shunning quietism; as witness his bitter condemnation of the hermit Pope, Celestine the Second, who turned his back on his responsibilities, and fled to his cave. To Dante a man's faith must express itself in good citizenship.

That all Italian mystics had not this earnest practical nature we have evidence in the many quietist movements in the peninsula. These movements must, perforce, be recorded in broad strokes with few fine details.

There were many little groups in Rome, Naples, Milan and Venice, as Bernini records,(1) who practised mental prayer, teaching/

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teaching that those who prayed thus were incapable of sin. They were generally poor folk, full of communist dreams of social restoration. They developed strange mental and moral distortions and there were few of the old heresies which were not respected in their teachings.

LOMBARDY:

Here the spirit had always been somewhat anti-Roman. The use of the Ambrosian Liturgy was the symbol of the underlying opposition: and in the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy Milan took more than a symbolic part on the side of the Emperor. The Archbishop claimed to dispose of the Crown of Lombardy, and under cover of the Empire appeared to be the actual pope of Northern Italy.

The anti-Roman feeling is seen in the Patarini (named from the Pataria, the rag-market) a reforming Association of poor folk of Milan, who denounced "the priests with their palaces, their lust, and their idleness": plundered the presbyteries and burnt the Cathedral: and desired a complete reform of religion, almost churchless.

They were followed by the Cathari, who wanted a pre-Constantine church. They made the Gospel of John the centre of their teaching: said that the Holy Spirit was the predominant Person of the Trinity; taught that men should detach themselves from/
from all social and political life.

Though their principal seat was Milan, we cannot count the Valdenses among the quietists of Lombardy. Through their French origin they had a great distrust of mysticism, and in practical French fashion joined their doctrine of faith to feeding the poor, nursing the sick, and teaching children.

However their "free preaching" was an example and an encouragement to Roman Catholic laymen to take part in religious teaching.

There was a great growth of this lay teaching among the sect, known as the Pelagini\(^{(1)}\). A Milanese layman, Giacopo di Filippo, obtained from Marco Morosini, Bishop of Brescia, (1645-1650) permission to found Oratories in Valcamonica, on condition that they should not practise mental prayer. Incidentally, this condition proves that such practice was not uncommon.

The followers of Giacopo formed a band of at least 600; disregarded the condition laid down, and practised mental prayer. They said this prayer was sufficient for salvation, and that all men were called to contemplation; they refused to be subject to priests, claiming they had no need of confession or absolution, as they themselves were impeccable. For weaker souls confession might/

might be made to a layman; but it, and all manner of religious ceremonies were worthless.

Ottaboni became Bishop of Brescia in 1654 and introduced a new stringency in dealing with them; but the Holy Office wanted more haste, so the affair was taken out of his hands, and the leaders were all condemned — and very harshly.

There is the case, too, of Francisco Borri, (1) a Milanese gentleman, who founded a secret mystical order in that city in 1665. Driven from there he went to Strasbourg, and from there to Rome. In 1672, the Roman Inquisition found him teaching a large group. He was condemned to prison for life; but on the intercession of Cardinal d'Estrees, he was transferred to the Castle of St. Angelo, where he worked at chemistry. The "Gazette de France" announced in September 1695 "The Chevalier Borri who after having abjured his errors, had been condemned to prison, died on the 19th August after having been there 20 years."

SAVOY:

Here a similar movement had, in spite of the teaching of the Franciscans, taken hold of the district of Scarampi (2). The Count of Scarampi and many men, women, and priests had become quietists. The Bishop of Alba prohibited Class meetings, suspended some priests; and called before him the chief of the Quietists/

(1) Burnet, Trois lettrès, pp.141-144.
Quietists, a French physician Antonio Grigardi.

On examination, Grigardi replied that he had only taught some ideas from the writings of a pious Ursuline Nun of Dauphiny. The Inquisition examined her letters, and said they might be printed with a few corrections. The doctor, however, was ordered to confine himself to the practice of his art.

The Count fled to Spigno, in the diocese of the Bishop of Savoy where he taught the new spirituality, particularly the prayer of quiet, so effectively that the Inquisitor at Genoa, the Dominican Thomas Mazza wrote to the Holy Office in 1675 to say that "the prayer of pure faith has its supporters, not only in Genoa and in Piedmont, but also in Corsica where the doctrine 'all can be contemplatives' is taught".

The Count himself was denounced to the Inquisition at Alessandria. The Bishop of Savoy threatened with ex-communication those who used the "prayer of quiet" according to the new teaching current in his diocese. As he did not define the prayer, there was much uneasiness among the devout. The Holy Office to calm these doubts made this decision in 1676 "That it be pointed out to the Prelate that the Sacred Congregation does not condemn the prayer of love, or of quietness, but only the affirmations of those who disapprove of vocal prayer and the other spiritual exercises,"
exercises, in use in the Roman Church, and who maintain that those who share in the said prayer of quiet are sure of their salvation."

VENICE:

The Free Republic of Venice had always resented Papal dictation, and had therefore been very lenient towards heresy. Pastor\(^{(1)}\) noted that in 1532 the easy tolerance of the Venetians towards heresy had been denounced by Caraffa. In our period there was a similar tolerance, as we see in the case of Giacoppo Lombardi, a priest, who, in 1642, had incurred the suspicions of the Inquisition at Perousa. At the same date, he had, at Osino, gained such a reputation for holiness that Cardinal Bichi gave him the charge of the congregation of the Oratory. There he taught the doctrine; that the commands of God suffice for perfection; austerities are useless; so also is vocal prayer. Prayer at home is of more worth than in the Church, and blind obedience to a director is the supreme law. Lombardi was tried, but being ill he was condemned to the mild punishment of confinement to his own house.

In the diocese of Camerino, a friar Romiti was head of a congregation of women quietists called Filipinas. There is no further mention of them in the records of the period.

\(^{\text{A}}/\)

A number of the Pelagini found shelter at Treviso, where Ricaldini, arch-priest of Bisogno became their leader. In 1655, the Senate of Venice, after much urging by the Nuncio Caraffa, and the Holy Office issued newer and stricter orders against them, and Ricaldini and his fellow leaders were exiled to the district of Padua. The Pelagini lingered on in Lombardy, and were at one time a community of 40,000 with Jacobo Beccarelli(1) as Pope. They had Cardinals and Bishops, and a rich treasury. They taught the quietist doctrine of surrender of all the faculties and proclaimed Molinos as the only true teacher of Christian perfection. In 1708 they were stamped out, or scattered.

Apart from these quietist groups three men stand out as leaders of this pre-Molinistic quietism of Italy.

**JUAN FALCONI**:

He was born in Spain in 1596, entered the "Order of Mercy" at 15, became Professor of Theology at Segovia, where he wrote his chief work "Alphabeto para saber leer en Cristo". (2) This book according to Von Hugel contains the central doctrine of Quietism.

In it, it is laid down that, "the prayer of contemplation is for all. The demon would have us believe that it is full of difficulty and a heavy burden. It is as easy as A.B.C." Here follows/

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(1) American Historical Review, Jan. 1906.
(2) Falconi, Obras Espirituales, p. 53 ff.
follows a long list of 23 qualities beginning with A and ending with Z. Then he goes on "Some there are who cannot meditate, and some have passed beyond it." For these he counsels (1) "resign yourselves into God's hands and you will receive much even though you are dry and without sensible devotion". "Whoever aligns himself with the will of God practices the highest virtues." Do not afflict yourself even if you cannot fix your imagination on the Saviour. Delight yourself with the faith that you are before God."

Another booklet of his "Cartilla a una religiosa", defending the manner of prayer of pure faith, became the breviary of Molinos. It insists on the necessity and facility of the prayer of quiet for all. If one cannot meditate one can always make an art of faith . . . Moreover inability to meditate may be a sign that the soul is called to contemplation. This is not the theory of the Alumbrados, but expresses the doctrine of the spiritual masters. The great business is to love, not to reflect.

His third work "El pan nuestro de cada día" published at Valencia in 1662 taught "it is praiseworthy to communicate each day. All the saints teach that there is less danger in communicating with little devotion than in omitting to communicate because one is not in the spirit of devotion." This doctrine so well/

(1) Falconi, Obras Espirituales, p.96.
well known in Spain, and practised with such fervent devotion in Valencia in the days of Molinos, was almost unknown in Italy. The Curia under Sixtus the Fifth laid it down that it was contrary to the practice of the Church and the spirit of the Council of Trent to fix any limit to the frequency of Communion. The decree Cum ad Aures of Innocent the Eleventh in 1679 lays down the same principle.

So the way was prepared in Italy for one of Molinos' most emphatic doctrines. In addition, 4 years before the coming of Molinos to Rome, the Quietism of Falconi had crossed the sea, touching Otranto and Lecce in the Kingdom of Naples, and reached Rome itself in the Italian translation of 1664 — a translation which appeared under the auspices of the Oratory.

FRANCIS MALAVAL:

At the same time Marseilles furnished another Quietist teacher to Italy. Malaval was born there in 1627. In spite of his blindness he became a Doctor of Canon Law in Provence, and the Sorbonne granted him a degree in both laws on account of his immense learning. He collaborated in the revision of the Marseilles Breviary, and gave the charges to new Ordinands. In 1664 he published the "Practique facile pour elever l'âme à la contemplation."(2)

The/

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(1) Dassy, Malaval, aveugle de Marseilles, pp.9-13.
(2) Practique facile.
The book deserves a brief analysis. In the introduction he asks for "a little commonsense to understand its teaching, and a little good will to practise it, and the reader will soon be detached from reason and passion." Then he bids the reader to put aside all thought of the earthly Christ. "Thy humanity itself my Saviour ... tempted the Apostles and every day keeps people of real devotion from the way of perfection", because we must not think of anything concerning Christ: "in contemplation the soul is raised above sense and passion", "there is no need to ask questions for "the most stupid ... and simple are often called to contemplation". He would have ... "suspension of the understanding & of the powers of the soul ... for as long a time as possible ... think nothing and desire nothing."

God speaks more gently than any director or book, when the thoughts are silent, and the affections, and the will, and the reason. "Sermons and holy thoughts are ... not material for contemplation." "One single act of total abandonment to God is worth more than all the reflection or affection which a page of the Evangel, or the consideration of the altar could suggest" "this contemplation can be perpetual." Further "the more pure, living and tranquil it is, the freer is the soul." "An experienced director is needed to assure the soul that it is on the right way." Then "contemplation becomes the shortest, surest and/
and most perfect of ways."

The book fell into the hands of Cardinal Bona, the illustrious and learned Cistercian, and with his enthusiastic approval the Oratorian Balducci translated the first dialogue and published it in Rome in 1669. The second was published at the expense of Cardinal d'Estrees. Both were reprinted 4 times in Italy in the next seven years.

Even if Molinos did not borrow greatly from Malaval the "Practique facile" prepared the way for him.

PETRUCCI:

Pier Matteo Petrucci, born at Jesi, was early attracted to Quietism and Illuminism. As a priest he was known as a great preacher, a guide to penitents, incessant in his ascetic and mystical practices. Thus Bishop Burnet. Cardinal d'Estrees who knew him better describes him as "a priest without theology, and a man of very feminine psychology, fiery of soul, naive, sensitive, and needing to be warned to do wisely."(2) This would apply to his work as an author. "I write as quickly as my pen can run and with such rapidity ... I have no patience to re-read."

In 1673 he published an "Expliatone di sette punti de perfettione christian"a. This book is founded on the teaching of Tauler and the seven points include such quietist doctrines as/

as detachment, and prayer of quiet.

In 1674 he wrote "Meditationi et exercitii per preparatione al Sacro Natale di Giesu N.S."

These addresses for the nine days before Christmas were bound in the same book as another meditation. "Trattato dell' annichilazione virtuosa". "In December last" he writes "I wrote a tract on annihilation on behalf of a soul seeking perfection. My pen had little work in writing it ... I feel myself that all the light and all the good in it came from God. The Nine will serve for 9 days, but this will be for 9 times 9 years."

In 1676, the "Guide" of Molinos had been published and found some opposition, hence the omission of the tract on annihilation in the second edition. Instead, Petrucci puts in a "Meditation on the Inner Passion of Jesus" where he still holds fast to the quietest prayer of pure faith. He says, however, in the preface that these books were all written before 1673 (i.e. before Molinos' book).

We can then assume that although Burnet calls Petrucci "the Timothy of Molinos" he owes nothing to Molinos and had developed a quietism independent of Spanish influences.

The question for us to consider now is, why had Italy such a leaning to Quietism, and why did the teaching of Molinos have/
have such an appeal?

The two questions are one, and can only be answered by looking at the Italy of that age.

There was Rome itself, very like the Rome described by Luther "there the barber is never shaved"(1) a city whose chief mark was the sin Dante describes as "Accidia". As Pastor tells the story we can understand the reason of the gloom. The nephews of Urban the Eighth had purloined 6-14 million scudi of the State funds. The people were taxed to make up the deficit: and the city had had shortly before this contracted debt of 2,893,000 scudi for war against the Turks and for famine relief. The interest on the city's debt was three-fourths of the total revenue of the State.(2) The pomp of Rome had attracted the nobles of Italy who oppressed their tenants so that they could keep up their style of living,"hence ... the land is untilled, trade in corn and oil is at a standstill."(3)

Clement the Ninth could not command the nobles, but he ordered the bishops, and as far as possible cardinals to remain in their territorial bounds.(4) This had improved the Italian Episcopate and had raised the Consistory in popular esteem. This measure could not offset the jealousy aroused among many laymen of the ruling classes, who had been superseded by Ecclesiastics/

(1) Stern, Alfonso et Juan de Valdés, p.65.
(3) Idem p. 369.
(4) Idem p. 188.
Ecclesiastics when Sixtus the Fifth had given the church the sole power of municipal rule in the bounds of the Papal States\(^{(1)}\).

Paruto, the Venetian Ambassador noted this antagonism in a letter to his government "I saw with amazement and disgust that it seemed as if the clergy and laity did not belong to the same church."

And Bryce has seen the situation from another angle "the Church stood a cold and lifeless system, whose bestowal of worldly powers and wealth on spiritual pastors drew them away from their proper duties,... which ... debases life."\(^{(2)}\)

This lay element had a considerable influence in Italy. They were heirs of the Greek Republican theory and of the Roman Republican law; both of which had so strongly impregnated the Italian mind, that even Thomas Aquinas in "De Regimene Principum" admits the right of the sovereign people to cast down unworthy rulers. The old spirit still remained, though it now meant merely the power to associate in collective groups and Academies, in which men and women met for free discussion.

In the life story of Juan Valdés we see the part taken by able men (and abler women) in the movement for Catholic Reform; and their interest in theological studies\(^{(3)}\). In Rome itself, a lay society, large and influential, called "the Oratory of Divine/

\(^{(1)}\) Pastor, History of the Popes, Vol. 24. p.188.
\(^{(2)}\) Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, p. 376.
Divine Love" was formed under the patronage of Leo the Tenth. Burnet mentions the confriaries of laymen in Milan: little groups of people gathered in the cathedral, round some layman. These groups discussed questions with each other, after High Mass, and in the evening Pastor tells of the part laymen were taking in the education of the young. In 1572, Giovanni Leonardi, a young priest found two lay helpers; a hat maker Giorgio Arrighini, and Giambattista Cioni, a scion of a noble family. Largely through their aid the first popular school in Europe came into existence. No doubt there were abuses in this lay movement, for as Pastor relates a Bull of Clement the Eighth was issued against those, who without being ordained, dared to say mass and hear confession.

This intellectual activity among laymen had another side. When they saw the failure of a practical reformation in Italy, there began a large movement toward an open Paganism. There arose a class of men, frivolous, sceptically impatient of all restraint, claiming the right to think and live according to their individual inspiration. It expressed itself, outwardly, "in an irreverence in the churches which are treated like theatres"

And/

(2) Burnet, Trois Lettres, p. 89.
(4) Idem, p. 201.
And its inward spirit was - again we quote Lord Bryce, speaking of the Renaissance - "That spirit whether we call it ... sceptical or earthly or simply secular, for it was more or less all of these - the spirit which was the exact antithesis of mediaeval mysticism had swept in and carried men away ... People were content to gratify their tastes or their senses, caring little for worship ... their hopes and ideas were no longer such as made their fathers crusaders or ascetics ... they did not revolt against the church, but they had no enthusiasm for her". (1)

This is largely true of the 17th century also.

Under the influence of the Counter Reformation and stiffened by the Jesuit influence the Church instead of facing men's needs had developed a system of repression of freedom of thought. In other lands this might have led to a Reformation. But the ingrained respect of the Italian people, for law and order, — an inheritance from Imperial Rome, kept most of them nominally within the Church. There was no separatist movement for Italian Catholicism had been tolerant of irreligious religion. Nor was there even a tendency towards Calvinism, that Protestant Scholasticism, for there was left in Italy something of that Humanism which disliked any stern theory of determinism/

(1) Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, p. 359.
determinism.

Men who felt this outer and inner religious unrest, and were disturbed by the confusions of the time were driven to find a way to liberate themselves from the eternal observances which were shackling their souls. The arid formalism produced the reaction, "the assertion of the principle of individuality, that is to say of a true spiritual freedom which is the very essence of the Reformation" (1). As we saw, it did not produce a Reformation in Italy, but it drove men to the thought that tradition and dogma were not the only voices of God. There was another voice, "Cor ad cor loquitur", an inate perception of God.

The Quietism of the Illuminati sprang from these causes. It dispensed with intermediaries between the soul and God and offered a refuge, where the rites and ceremonies of the church could be ignored. It did not answer the questions of the hour, but it deflected the questioner's mind and made him less sensitive to the needs of the world.

For at certain epochs in history a great insensibility is more useful than a great sensibility. It brought, as we shall see, the danger, that detachment can become indifference.

CHAPTER 6.

MIGUEL DE MOLINOS (1628 - 1696).

The date of his birth is variously given. Menendez Pelayo says 1627; Hilgers puts it in 1640\(^1\); but the question has been set at rest through the examination of the Parish Register at Muniesa, where "Miguel de Molinos was baptized according to the rite of the Holy Roman Church, on the 29th June 1628, by Mesire Jean Roio, Vicar-priest."

We know nothing more than that his father was a member of several religious guilds, and that he left money for nine masses for the repose of his soul, a bequest such as any well-to-do peasant made in that age. This contradicts Herzog\(^2\) who says he was the son of noble parents.

Muniesa is a little village, about 40 miles from Zaragoza, among barren hill pastures, small irrigated fields and vineyards, and a grey desolation behind it. The picturesque Moorish element had been driven out of Aragon in 1609 and the only strangers likely to touch Muniesa were merchants and cattle-dealers and pedlars, coming over the passes from Navarre, reputed smugglers of Huguenot, Calvinistic, and German heterodox Books. "Aragon had become a great road by which the multitude of heterodox/

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\(^{1}\) Hilgers, Zentralblatt, Vol. 24. p. 583.
\(^{2}\) Herzog, Real Encyk., Art. Molinos.
heterodox books entered Spain."

In Zaragoza some of the tolerance of old Spain still lingered; and trade and temperament gave these men of Aragon, a certain pre-inquisition sympathy with Moslem and Huguenot.

But it was not in Aragon, that Miguel de Molinos was to develop. There was a scholarship in a Valencian college open to a youth from Muniesa, and at 18 he went there, and became scholar-incumbent of St. Andrew's Church - studying at the Jesuit College.

In a letter of 1680 to Paolo Oliva, General of the Jesuit Order he writes "I appreciate and boast that I am a son and disciple of the Company".

In 1652 he was ordained priest and became a doctor of theology in the College.

We are left to conjecture what influence Valencia had on Molinos. For a century all the quietist movements of the south of Spain had touched the city. Greek and Moor had put their stamp on its architecture; ships from Sicily brought wandering scholars from that eclectic stronghold; ships from the Low Countries brought their webs and tapestries, and merchant weavers. And, as Spanish was then the Lingua Franca of the seas, we may with justice suppose that all these men and things touched the/

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(1) Revue d'Ascetique, 1911, p. 323.
(2) Robles, Epistolario de Molinos, p. 63.
the restless enquiring mind of Molinos.

We are on surer ground when we record his connection with the conventicle of priests in Valencia. This association was formed, without episcopal authority, to advance piety and discuss theology: - the members had a very childish sign of membership; wearing their priest's cloak inside out, until some kindly passer-by pointed out their mistake.

A very precious MS. "Vida de Doctor Molinos"(1) affirms that he was an enthusiastic member, a leader in discussions, and above all an advocate of the very Spanish practice of daily communion. Through the influence of this conventicle, an edition of Juan Falconi's tract on Daily Communion was published in Valencia.

In 1665 Molinos went to Rome to plead a cause of beatification of a native of Valencia. The College of St. Andrew, the Chapter and Archbishop of Valencia, and the three Estates of the Kingdom "made, constituted, created and ordained Doctor Molinos"to go to Rome as their plenipotentary, and they left everything"to his zeal, prudence and wise discretion"(2).

From this phrase we have evidence of a man poised and grave. This is confirmed by the author of "La Vida" who had personal knowledge of him "a man of medium height, well proportioned body/

(1) Quoted by Menendez Pelayo, Heterodoxos, Vol. 5. p.249.
(2) Archivo Regional de Valencia, No. 541.
body, good presence, clear colour, black beard and serious aspect."

Many worshippers were shocked at his curt genuflection as he passed the altar, but we can judge of his religious intensity from the revealing statement "at the end of mass he had the habit of holding spiritual conferences with devout men and women, and would have prolonged these all through the afternoon, if the sacristans had permitted it".

Latassa (1), also claiming to speak from personal knowledge, gives this glimpse "a palid lean face, eyes lowered, modest dress, slow grave walk, a composed manner, assiduous in good works, pious too in his exhortations both public and private". In this passage there is, at least, the answer to one criticism levelled against Molinos later "he forgets in God to have pity on man".

Burnet writing 20 years after Latassa says "Michael de Molinos passes in Italy for a man of learning and good sense. His course of life has been exact. His practice is the method of the mystical divines".

In Rome there was a meeting of priests called the "School of Christ" which found shelter in the Hospice of the Carmelites, and then in a chapel of the Jesuits.

Dudon/

(1) Latassa, Biblioteca de Escritores Aragoneses, Vol. 4. p.70.
Dudon claims it as a school of Spanish asceticism, but Menendez Pelayo holds that it was a centre of Spanish Quietism\(^1\). In any case Molinos soon became head of it, and expelled over 100 members who were hostile to him; and asked that the affiliated branches of the School in Spain should not receive these. We have no other record of this wide reaching, and interesting group of conventicles.

The "School of Christ" gave Molinos many consciences to guide, and the fame of his piety soon spread. If we are to give credit to the correspondence of Cardinal d'Estreès\(^2\), he soon became the director of many prelates, nuns and priests. He was confessor to Queen Christina of Sweden, to Cardinals Petrucci, and Azzolini. The Princesses Vispignani, and Borghese honoured him with their confidence and the Pope, Innocent the Eleventh, gave him rooms in the papal palace, and wished to give him a cardinal's hat.

For the 20 years before his trial he was a man of authority and influence at Rome, director of rich and poor, sending out innumerable letters of counsel all over Italy, and to others abroad; ending up each letter with the form "In the light of the Most High" "moved by the Holy Spirit"\(^3\). The number of these enquiries and his replies to them found in his rooms/

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\(^2\) \textit{Revue de Recherches}, 1911, p. 471.
rooms at his arrest is variously given as between 2,000 and 24,000. Unfortunately they are all shut within the doors of the Inquisition and are not available.

However, in the National Archives, Madrid, there are two letters written to a young Spaniard, Don Sancho de Lasada. He had been deprived of a post in Sicily and was travelling to Spain, via Rome, to seek the favour of the King. Molinos' fame as counsellor caused Don Sancho to consult him personally. These letters are the result. In the first he is bidden "Resign yourself and throw yourself in full confidence into the arms of God. Trust God and He will restore you to your former honours, and in addition, you will have learned to live more resigned and detached ... read the books which detach you from the world ... go often to the Holy Sacrament ... and believe this misfortune is to save your soul".

The official was successful in his appeal to the King, who appointed him a judge in Sicily. In the second letter Molinos advises him to study his profession; not to accept bribes; to be fair; to marry, as a good wife is a great happiness to her husband; "she should be of your own class ... and if young in years, mature in conduct." "I have written that which God inspired me to do."

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(1) Arch. Nac., Inquis. 1080.
To give as complete a picture of Molinos as the few available letters permit, let us look at two others of a different type. They are printed in the Italian edition of "the Guide" published in Venice, and are also bound up with the French translation of "the Guide" published in Amsterdam. In the preface we are told they were written to a nun who had consulted him in regard to prayer. In the first letter he tells her of the virtues and excellences of mental prayer. Most of the Saints and Fathers have given evidence of its strengthening qualities. In the second letter he explains that contemplation is important, that it is for all, and that it is not difficult. Concisely he teaches the technique: there must be prayerful preparation; a careful arrangement of place and time; taking thought; shutting out the imagination; the quiet of prayer; and the quiet waiting for the work of grace. "If the soul is distracted ... in extravagant and obscene thoughts, it does not leave off pleasing God ... so long as you do not consent". "Persevere, even though you are weary, dry, stricken, without energy, ... or eagerness, sluggish and without devotion. It matters not. Nourishment does good to the sick man, even though it give him nausea".
It is essential to an understanding of Molinos to look at some of the figures moving in that Roman world.

INNOCENT THE ELEVENTH:

Cardinal Odescalchi was always favourable to the mystical spirituality of Molinos. When he became Pope Innocent the Eleventh he continued his friend. As Pope he does not belong, or come into the list of scholars who sat on the Papal throne: indeed Burnet\(^1\) declares "the Pope did not so much as understand Latin ... but he was a man energetic, impartial and honourable." The first part of this judgment is supported by a letter of Bossuet (28th October 1682) "the state of the Church of Rome makes me tremble ... the affairs of the Church go very badly ... A good intention with little understanding, is a great evil in such high place. Let us pray, let us groan!"

From his election in 1676, the Pope attacked the abuses of pensions; and nepotism. He would not have his own nephew and secretary Don Livio to live in the Palace. Autocratically, he declared\(^2\) "he was master of things appertaining to the Holy See, and under the vigorous obligation to distribute them, not in accordance with preferences for kindred or friends, but in conformity with the laws of justice."

That he lived up to his declaration, is supported by a/

\(^{1}\) Burnet, Supplement to Three Letters, p. 4.

a memorial laid before him in 1680 by many Roman citizens and noblemen "the Cardinals are not listened to, no favours are granted to the temporal princes, the prelates are bereaved of their hopes, the poor are deprived of their alms", (this is an allusion to the fact that the rich had less money, as the Pope had reduced the interest on the public debt from four to three per cent).

In the dispute with Louis the Fourteenth he showed a like immovability.

Burnet sums up his record "his life hath been certainly very innocent and free from all those public scandals that make a noise in the world, and there is, at present, a regularity in Rome that deserveth commendation, for public vices are not to be seen there". The latest judgment on Innocent varies between that of the Cambridge History "a high minded, but very undecided pontiff"; and the opinion of Michaud "a man of great diplomatic skill, but of crass ignorance on doctrine, ... did all he could to be the Louis Fourteenth of the Papacy and the Pontiff-soleil of the Church".

This seems nearer the truth about a very complex character.

(1) Burnet, Supplement, p. 218.
(2) C.M.H. Vol. 5, p.85.
(3) "Louis 14th et Innocent 11th", Vol. 4. p. 515.
QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN: (1)

She too was a friend of Molinos. A daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, a student of languages, science, philosophy and religion; capable and intelligent, but also a woman whimsical, excessively passionate and addicted to dissipation and license. She caused her lover Monaldeschi to be assassinated, and at the same time corresponded with Pascal and Spinoza, had a bitter controversy about the narrow minded bigotry of her Protestant court preachers, and was arranging to seek refuge in Romanism "as the most flexible system of religion". It was that same restlessness that made her invite Descartes to her court and send a ship to Amsterdam to bring him. In Stockholm she propounded such questions to him as "does the light of nature alone, teach us to love God?" "What is the worse disorder, love or hatred?"

She wanted him to teach her philosophy, to write poetry for her, to dance at her balls. These varied demands, and the winter climate of Stockholm proved too severe for the philosopher and he died there arousing a short lived sorrow in the heart of the queen. Then she became a Roman Catholic and astonished the Pope by a strange freedom of conduct, entering Rome on horseback, dressed as an Amazon. (2)

Her/

(1) C.M.H. Vol. 5, pp. 744, 779, 786.
Her house in Rome became an Academy of Letters, and under Molinos' influence, a centre of Quietism. Burnet gives a pathetic glimpse of her, grown old, in her great Roman house saying "I am now one of the antiques of Rome".

CARDINAL d'ESTREES:

He was one of the few French prelates of the time of Louis the Fourteenth, who were Gallican in their outlook; and it was because of this, that, at Rome, he was, in everything but name, French Ambassador.

The relationship between Versailles and Rome was very strained. The French King seemed the only bulwark against Papal absolutism. The King claimed the right to keep sees vacant until he found a man he considered suitable. Then he would send the name of this favoured priest to Rome for confirmation by the Pope. It was an old right of the Gallic church, but the King was accused of keeping the sees vacant so that he might appropriate their revenues, and the Pope refused to recognise this royal privilege.

A further point in dispute was the extra-territorial claims made by the French ambassador to sovereign rights in the district round the Embassy at Rome. Again the Pope refused. When the new ambassador appeared, in 1687, at the Papal Palace, with/
with a troop of cavalry to present his credentials, the Pope, at once, put the Embassy Church under interdict. It was a proof of the tact and diplomacy of the Cardinal that the trouble was smoothed over.

The picture Saint Simon(1) gives of the Cardinal bears out that impression. "A man of wit, venerable ... of vast, profound and precise learning ... disinterested, wise, discerning, ... all his great and amiable qualities made him generally loved and respected."

Burnet(2) agrees "a man of great parts, and of a measure of knowledge far above what can be expected from his rank. And as for his theological learning there is now none in the College equal to him."

Quick in action, he was by temperament a mystic, and was instrumental in getting the works of Malaval, the blind Quietist of Marseilles, published.

He was attracted also to Molinos. There is "a Fragment" of a book in the British Museum. It has Burnet's quality of straightforward writing, hence for convenience we credit it to Burnet. He writes(3) "Cardinal d'Estrees, a man of great learning entered into a very close commerce with him. They were often and long together."

Under/

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(1) Quoted in Revue d'Ascetique, 1920, p.20. ff.
(2) Burnet, Some Letters, p. 217.
Under date 1684 "the Fragment" continues(1) "Cardinal d'Estrees resolved to sacrifice his old friend and on his sacred testimony Molinos was brought before the Inquisition. The Cardinal owned that he had lived with Molinos, in the appearances of friendship, but he said he had early smelled out an ill design, in all that matter; that he saw of what dangerous consequences it was like to be; but yet that he might freely discover what was at the bottom of it, he confessed he seemed to assert to several things which he detested, and that by this means he saw into their secrets and knew all the steps they made."

Burnet(?) adds "I confess I do not like to believe that report." As we shall see, the authentic correspondence of the period gives a more favourable interpretation to the Cardinal's action.

There were many other friends of Molinos in Rome "Many put their foot in this sublime way because they designed sincerely to elevate the world above these poor and trifling superstitions, that are so much in vogue in Rome."

In the Sacred College, were Cardinal Bona the profound liturgist, a man with a great vein of mysticism; Azzolini, who was attracted by this new theory of the inner life; Laura, a scholastic/

For some of these Molinos "a man much loved and hated" represented the mystic current, which, without changing the Church outwardly, would cleanse it of its worldliness, and satisfy their aspirations for an inner reform.

We have in the last chapter spoken of the social and political background of 17th century Italy. We shall try to see it as Molinos did. He found on his arrival from Spain that the things which liberate human thought, politics, literature, the church were all dead. Let us look at these dead things in that order.

1) POLITICS:

The idea of an ordered state which had taken shape in the thought and poetry of Dante had gone. We saw some of the evidence of the disorders of government in the last chapter. Burnet may be considered a somewhat tendentious witness,(1) but he speaks so often about the wretched appearance of the land, from the Alps to Naples, the crowds of beggars, and the failure to protect life and property in an Italy swept by wars, and harried/

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(1) Burnet, Trois Lettres, L'Italie, passim.
The political situation was more disturbed than that. The shadow of a threatened schism lay black, like a world catastrophe across the Italy of the years we are considering. In 1680 there was the discussion of an agreement between Venice and France, that they should break off relations with the Pope, divide Italy between them, foster a national church in both countries, a church which should give a sort of federal allegiance to the Curia (which was separated from the Pope in their scheme).

Michaud(1) in his valuable analysis of the correspondence of that period lets us into the inner history of that plot.

On the side of Venice there was an old quarrel dating from the early part of the century. The Republic had forbidden the construction of any ecclesiastical edifice without special licence; the enlarging of any new religious order; the bequeathing or selling properties to ecclesiastics, for more than two years use; they threw ecclesiastics into prison without having resource to any church court. The Jesuits defended the Holy See and were therefore banished. The Republic was placed under interdict, but peace was at length restored. Only Venice refused to recall the Jesuits at any cost, and the Pope had to forego this condition/

(1) Michaud, Louis the Fourteenth and Innocent the Eleventh, Vol.3.
condition before the signing of a treaty.\(^{(1)}\) The bad feeling still remained. On the side of France, the autocratic Pope refused the Bishops appointed by the King, and thus destroyed one of the most valuable of "Gallican liberties". Further at Rome, and this affected Venice also, he refused to the ambassadors the immunities of the past. Freedom from customs duties was no longer granted, and their "quarters" could no longer be used as a sanctuary for "thieves and assassins". The schism was planned. Only the feminine and Jesuit influence, at the Court of Louis weakened his resolution, and the strong Pope won the day.

\(^{(2)}\) LITERATURE:

There was, all observers of the period agree, no interest in poetry or art. Travellers were scandalized at the pettiness of Rome, especially its neglect of theological scholarship. Much more secular branches of learning tempted Italian ambition. The road to the purple lay through administrative offices\(^{(3)}\).

The writer of "Recueil de divers pièces" is in general agreement with this view, relates that Cardinal Cybo, the Papal Secretary, wrote to the Bishops of Italy about Quietism; not in the/

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\(^{(3)}\) C.I.H. Vol. 5. p. 74.
the usual Latin, but in Italian. The supposition was that the Cardinal did not know Latin, or that he thought the Bishops did not. "The Italian version fell into the hands of ordinary people, and was read and mocked by all, while the Latinists were scandalized." (1)

This is confirmed by Burnet (2) "Learning is suspect, the thinking men of the nation are led to doubt all things, by reason of the poor scholarship of the preachers."

Again in "Some Letters" (3) he states "some physicians in Naples, men of searching understandings, who have no other idea of the Christian religion, but that which they receive from them (the preachers) are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite."

(3) THE CHURCH:

It had left behind much of its spirituality and become a great organisation planned to give the greatest power to the Pope. "Anything which raised the authority of the Papal See was orthodox and anything which injured it was heresy" (4). The greatest exponents of that doctrine were the Jesuits. There were 500,000 Regulars in Italy, including 40,000 Jesuits, writes Cardinal d'Estrées; and Burnet (5) gives a similar figure, adding "all the world/

(1) (Carnaud Croze?) Recueil, p.163.
(2) Burnet, Supplement, p. 4.
(5) Burnet, Some Letters, p. 185.
world mistrusted the Jesuits, and all the world trusted them" (by reason of their learning rather than their character).

We have evidence of that "mistrust" in Naples. This city "retained the happy immunity from the (harsher) Inquisition which the Gran Capitan, Gonsalvo de Cordova had given it: when in 1504, he refused to obey the orders of Ferdinand and Isabella, about establishing that tribunal in Spanish Italy". (1)

Juan Valdés died there in 1540, in peace, but the good will and forbearance were still there in 1680. Burnet (2) can record that the Academia of Naples was full of cultured laity, who delighted him with their intelligence, and with their freedom of discussion. This in spite of the fact that there were 25,000 ecclesiastics in the city. He continues "The Jesuits are hated here and one of their convents was burnt" "the new method of Molinos doth so prevail in Naples that it is believed he hath 20,000 followers in that city ... he is much supported". Of Venice the same observer writes (3) "Here too Molinos has a large following, many supporting him from the aversion which they bear the Jesuits."

All Italy was thus against the Order. The Italian people disliked this black army, this group of sacerdotalists whose "sympathies were all for military precision, - dogmas as clear/

(2) Burnet, Some Letters, p. 197. ff.
(3) Idem, p. 94.
clear cut as propositions of Euclid." (1)

The Papal See with its quiet tolerance was also, at first, hostile to the steady encroachment of the Order, which would support the Church whether the Church liked it or no. But Rome had not hands so clean that it could attack the Order on its vulnerable point, casuistry and the straining of truth. The Papal See had soiled its hands with the matter of forging treaties and agreements.

Michaud writes (2) "There was no hesitation in fabricating documents of which they had need in the Papal cause." He gives several instances of such happenings earlier in the century, and then relates how in 1683 a document was made and published to sustain the claims of papal infallability, as against Louis the Fourteenth.

Another, was the matter of relics. The Curia had a strong financial interest in their sale. In 1687 the Pope reprimanded, sharply, the Bishop of Grenoble who had questioned the Roman idea that the worship of images and relics had a saving virtue. All France supported the Bishop and the Pope had to withdraw his letters (3).

To overcome these outer ills many men in Italy were emphasising/

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(1) C.M.H. Vol. 5, p. 80.
(3) Idem, p. 171.
emphasising the word "Grace". It arose in part from the need of men to rest in grace, from the Political, Social and Ecclesiastical spheres\(^{(1)}\).

It may have come in part, as Von Hugel suggests, from a Reformation inheritance of Calvinistic Determinism (though this, we believe, was alien to the majority of the Italians) which left men with the idea that man of himself could do nothing, therefore leave all to the grace of God "it is God who works" as Molinos says\(^{(2)}\). It was in part a percolation of Jansenism, with the vigour of its Augustinian system.

Jansenism had taught that man, his thoughts, desires activities are all evil, therefore it is necessary to renounce self, abdicate reason and liberty in favour of Grace.

Here again Italy came against the Jesuit teaching. The Order was strongly against any savour of Jansenism. Those Rigourists were the enemies of that "Grace". Into that Italian world, where the Order was exalting works above faith, Molinos came exalting faith above works. Not, it is true, the faith of Luther, but mystic faith, an aspiration to overcome the evil of the world by a triumphal entry into a world where evil does not exist.

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\(^{(1)}\) Von Hügel, Essays, Second Series, p. 233.
\(^{(2)}\) Guía Espiritual, Lib. 2., Sect. 64.
It might be true as Stern says\(^1\). "The Guide of Molinos is a book of precepts, a protest against dogma, ritual and formalism. It is nothing new, but one may classify it as a practical manual of a notable director of souls."

Such a sweeping generalization is not sufficient to explain the influence of the Book. Men were waiting, in that turmoil, for a man with some quality of a prophet. When he spoke about "God reigning in peaceful hearts"\(^2\), he spoke to the aspirations of his time. When he wrote about entering a land of mystic grace "where God speaks to the soul and teaches it the highest wisdom"\(^3\), he must have seemed like the man expected, the leader. Certainly he spoke to his age; "the book was no sooner printed", says Burnet, "than it was much read and highly esteemed, both in Italy and Spain. The acquaintance of the author came to be much desired. Those who seemed in the highest credit at Rome, seemed to value themselves upon his friendship. Letters were writ to him from all places so that a correspondence was settled between him and those who approved of his method, in many parts of Europe."

\(^2\) Guia, XI. Lib. 1,23.
\(^3\) Idem. Sect. 128.
CHAPTER 7.

THE WORKS OF MOLINOS.

It is a great misfortune that we have so little Quietest literature before the time of Molinos: and some even of that which survives, is not of first-hand value. On examination the few pamphlets which have lived through time, and the Inquisition seem to be a compound of puerilities, and ecstasies of no historic worth.

Hence the value of those little tracts written by Molinos — they cannot be called books - as showing us the growth of those ideas, which he had learned from his ancestors, and his teachers: and which they had learned from Christian and Moorish teachers and neighbours in Spain. The value of his noteworthy book "The Spiritual Guide" is seen better if we approach it from that angle. We have seen him in Rome busy with his duties as director, and looked upon as a friend by many who respected his spirituality and devotion. This busy quality of his life hindered him from being a voluminous writer.

The first work we know about is a little book "De votión de la buena muerte" by Juan Catala, which was published in 1662 at Valencia. Its authorship was attributed to Molinos, by Nicolas Antonio, who knew Molinos personally. A treatise on "a good Death" might well come from a native of an Aragonese village/
village, where above the church clock is engraved the thought "Vulnerant omnes, ultima necat". In spite of this; and of other evidence advanced by Father Hilgers\(^{(1)}\) we cannot believe the statement of Antonio. His facts are so generally wrong, as he tries to show Molinos in the most unfavourable light.

In that case we must consider that the "Breve Tratado de la communion cuotidiana", published in 1675 at Rome is Molinos' first work.

There exists one copy of it in Spanish, but we have only seen the French edition, published in 1688 in Amsterdam, which is itself a translation of the version "translated into Italian by a devout priest and published in Venice 1685."

It is a little book of 38 pages divided into 3 chapters, whose titles are the key phrases to the development of the thought\(^{(2)}\):

\(^{(1)}\) "There is no reason why confessors should refuse communion to souls who desire it, and ask for it provided they are free from mortal sin."

\(^{(2)}\) "An answer to the reasons, which confessors give, why the laity and ecclesiastics should abstain from communion, even if their conscience is clear."

"Layman or ecclesiastic; worker or man of leisure; married or/

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\(^{(2)}\) Op. Cit.
or celibate does not matter." This doctrine was definitely opposed to the teaching of the Jesuits who affirmed that the laity, especially the married laity should not communicate more than once a week. This teaching of Molinos is as Dudon says(1) "Orthodox teaching if taught by an orthodox teacher." It has too, the support of the Bull, Cum ad Aures. But this Papal document prefaces its approval. "Although desirable for all, daily communion is not expedient for all ... the communicant ought to be free from mortal and from venial sins."

(3) "An explanation of some of the rich fruit of which confessors deprive the faithful when these have the right disposition."

This was the common doctrine of Spain, more especially in Valencia where Blessed Juan de Ribera was the ardent advocate of the practice. As we saw in the last chapter the city had bought a large, locally printed edition of Juan Falconi's "Our Daily Bread".

A century before this, Juan de Avila had taught a like doctrine(2), "if you feel a friend of God, you should come as His guest daily." "Though", he dryly adds, "the law, that, unless you work you may not eat, applies even to would-be communicants/

(1) Dudon, Miguel de Molinos, p. 82.
(2) Juan de Avila, Epistolarío Espiritual, p.43.
Molinos then is following good Spanish tradition when he writes "if the soul is secure in the way of perfection, it can safely take communion without previous confession."

However, he makes the Director sole judge of that fitness. "I hold that it is always more fitting to obey the orders of the confessor, even though he forbids communion, than to communicate each day following one's own inclinations."

This is interesting as it reveals that Molinos is no anti-sacramentarian.

We are told the doctrine raised much discussion in Italy, where it seemed to many a variety of Jansenism.

We have already looked at the next two publications of Molinos. The two letters on guidance, written in 1675 to a nun, have a certain harsh outspokenness, which along with a simple sincerity, and a stubborn emphasis mark the genius of Aragon.

Those unpublished letters to the Spanish nobleman, when read now, reveal a teacher who had before his eyes a definite picture of the man he taught.

The chief work\(^{(1)}\) of Molinos is the Guía Espiritual, published in 1675 at Rome, with the enthusiastic approval of leaders/

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\(^{(1)}\) Heppe, Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik, p.112.
leaders of five Orders, including a Jesuit. The first edition, published in Spain in 1676, was dedicated to the Countess de Monterry, "whose steps travel by the same path, and who has the same spirit which guided the pen of him who wrote this Guide."

Menendez Pelayo laments(1) "I have never seen it in Castilian, which is a pity, as it would be a model of terseness and purity of language. He was a writer of the first rank, sober, nervous, concentrated: qualities which shine even through the different translations."

Since that day, the Biblioteca Nacional has, fortunately, acquired a Castilian version, which is the source of all the quotations in this thesis. And, as Menendez Pelayo anticipated, the clean accuracy of the language, free from the amorous phraseology of many mystics; and the Aragonese restraint would have been a delight to that learned critic.

Among the many Italian editions published in the next few years, the most interesting is that of Palermo, dated 1681. It contains the eulogistic letter of Jaime de Palafox, the Archbishop, commending the Guide to the devout in his pastoral charge. In that preface we have the quietist sentiment, "Be content with the prayer of quiet, which is really a gentle tranquil view of the Divinity; which prayer is made by an act of/

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of pure and simple faith."

There were 20 editions in different European languages in the next 15 years, among these on English translation, published in Glasgow, in 1699.

In offering an Analysis of the Guide, we do so, because, as Menendez Pelayo says(1) ... it is the least known and least read book in the world, though the oftenest quoted."

The book begins with the promising title "The Spiritual Guide which disentangles the soul and leads it by the inward way to attain perfect contemplation, and the rich treasure of inner peace."

The Guide is in four parts; an introduction and three books. In the introduction he claims that there are two ways of reaching God; the exterior road of meditation, and the interior road of contemplation. And there are two kinds of contemplation; the active or acquired; and the passive or infused — the passive being higher.

Book One begins by declaring that mystic knowledge or feeling is acquired by infusion of the Holy Spirit; not by reading of books, nor by human wisdom.

There are two ways of reaching God; one, meditation, or/

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or discursive thought, which is a part of the intellect; and
the other simple faith or contemplation, which is the fruit of
human industry sustained by grace. The first is for beginners;
the second for those already advanced, for whom it is necessary
to leave the understanding outside, so that love may enter.
The soul can advance from one stage to the other, from
meditation to contemplation in from 2 to 6 months. When the
soul has thus broken the bonds of reason (or discourse), God
works in it and fills it with light and wisdom. In such a state,
a faith, general, confused, and even negative is enough.

Meditation is distinct from contemplation, even
though both be forms of prayer; but the first is the work of
the intelligence; the second of love.

Contemplation may be defined as "a sincere gentle
regard without reflection or reasoning." To reach it, it is
necessary to abandon all created objects, spiritual or material,
and to place oneself in the hands of God. In the interior of
the soul His image is found, His voice is heard, as if there were
nothing else in the world except God and us.

Contemplation is divided into acquired or active, and
infused or passive. The first is imperfect, and is possible
for a man to acquire if God calls him by that way and gives him
the help of His grace. The signs of it are: incapacity to
meditate/
meditate or reason; a tendency to solitude; a weariness and dislike of spiritual books; extreme horror of sin; and profound reverence for God.

In regard to infused contemplation, it is a pure grace of God.

The object of the Guide is to break our rebel will, and to lead it to peace and inner recollection. God uses the shadows, dryness, and temptations to purify the soul. "You must know that your soul is the centre, the seat, and the kingdom of God. If you desire that the Sovereign King comes to take His seat in the throne of your soul, you must make it clean, tranquil, empty and peaceful; clean of sins and faults; tranquil and free from error; empty of thoughts and desires; peaceful in temptations and afflictions."

Dryness and shadows are the surest way to reach contemplation: suffer and wait, and God will do the rest. You must march forward with eyes closed, without thinking, or reasoning; seeking God within yourself. Dryness is an indication that the sensible part of you is ending; and is a good sign; and in addition, it drives the soul to perseverance in prayer; disgust of all worldly things; consideration of your own defects; remorse; warm desires to suffer and to do what God wills; humility, mortifications, constancy and submission.

Nor must we believe that when the soul remains quiet and/
and silent, it is lazy; before the Holy Spirit can work, the soul must pass along that very straight and very secure way of shadows. These annihilate the soul, and scatter all the ideas, which are opposed to pure contemplation of divine truth.

The soul will not arrive at interior peace until God purifies it. Voluntary penances and exercises are of no use for that. The soul must not do anything of its own volition, but submit to God, who will write his message on it when it has become like a blank sheet of paper. To be like that, remain long hours in silent, humble and submissive prayer, without knowledge or understanding.

Temptations, passions and impure desires prove a man and burn out his weakness as gold is purified in a crucible. "Temptations are a great happiness." Triumphanty the soul will make an act of simple faith, retiring within itself, sinking itself in the Nothing, as in its centre and thinking of nothing.

Acquired contemplation is not lost, even though a thousand importunate thoughts molest it, so long as the soul does not consent. Nor do the ordinary works of life take us from the way of contemplation. We can pass by these into the immense sea of divinity.

The Second Book is given up to Molinos' teaching about the choice and importance of a suitable director. "He is more useful than many mystic and spiritual books, ... for they are full/
full of reasoned knowledge." To such a confessor, simple, ready, blind obedience must be given: for holy inaction is the thing most to be desired. And for the confessor: he must never take charge of estates; nor mingle in business; nor visit women who confess to him; nor call them "daughter" or "sister"; nor accept gifts; and penances must be moderate.

Frequent communion is a very efficacious means of acquiring all the virtues, especially interior peace. Even if you are without devotion or fervour, go; so long as you are resolved not to sin.

Penances should mortify self-love, so it is more meritorious if they are spiritual: and those which we receive from the hand of God are of more worth, than those we receive of our own choice.

As for prayer, it is best when silent. Vocal prayer is for beginners, but for the perfect, silence is best. The three silences, that of words, that of desires, and that of thought, are the three stages to perfection.

In the Third Book he counsels perfect renunciation of self, adding that God purifies the soul in two ways: by spiritual torments; and by a burning love. In order to reach this perfection, and be united with God and enjoy the Sovereign Good, it is necessary to be purified in the fire of tribulation, — not/
not even having the consolations of God in it. We must not seek sensible counsels, but "be shut up and submerged in the Nothing." Happiness is not in enjoying, but in suffering, with tranquillity and submission.

Then, there is the other martyrdom: a fire of divine love which sears the soul and burns it in longings and desires. Suffer them. "In the bottom of your soul is the seat of happiness; there the Lord reveals to us His marvels. Let us lose ourselves, let us submerge ourselves in the immense sea of his infinite kindness and remain there fixed and immovable". "Then", he adds "the Divine Husband, suspending the faculties of the soul, pours into it a sleep gentle and tranquil, in which the spirit enjoys an incredible rest, without knowing in what its joy consists." The soul raised to this state is untiring, and is full of light and love.

God does not always send light. Nor does He give it in equal measure to all: sometimes it is more light to the understanding; at other times more love to the will.

The soul can be raised to infused contemplation by two ways; that of delight, and that of desire. And this contemplation has three grades: in the first, the soul is filled with God, and conceives a dislike for all worldly things; the second is like spiritual rapture, an elevation of soul born of divine love; the third is an unbreakable security, which martyrdom/
maryrdom cannot break. In this grade the soul would forfeit Heaven for Hell, if it were God's will.

The effects of contemplation are four: illumination, ardour, ease of mind, immersion of all the faculties in God. "Illumination is ... an intuitive knowledge of the perfections of God and of eternal things."

The greater part of mankind allows itself to be guided by opinion, and judges according to the false ideas, which its senses or imagination supply. But the wise, illumined by inner contemplation, judges of nothing, but is guided by the truth which lives within him. Thus he hears, conceives, and is lifted above everything, even above himself. Scholastic knowledge and rhetoric hamper this inner truth. "The supreme wisdom has a deadly hatred of images and ideas; and the infusion of a little knowledge is an invincible obstacle to the eternal, profound, pure, simple and true wisdom". If the worldly-wise desire to become mystics they must altogether forget the knowledge they possess.

The true and perfect annihilation is founded on two principles: the depreciation of ourselves; and a lofty estimate of God. This annihilation must reach every part of the soul: therefore no thinking; no feeling; no reasoning; no desiring; until the soul is reborn, like the phoenix from its ashes, transformed, spiritualized and deified.

Nothingness is the shortest way to reach sovereign Good/
Good, purity of soul, perfect contemplation and interior peace. "Sink yourself in the Nothingness and God will be your all", and you, considering nothing, desiring nothing, loving nothing, will be found of Him.

Dying, thus, to self you will find the life, the repose, the gladness of the soul, the loving union and the divine transformation. Then the soul, understanding, as if she did not understand; thinking, as if she did not think; desiring, as if she did not desire, welcomes equally contempt and honour, benefits and corrections. "Drown thyself in this Nothingness and there shalt thou find a holy shelter against any tempest."
"Alas, how few are these blind, deaf, dumb and perfectly contemplative souls!"

Even looked at in this condensed form, the Guide, confused though it be, is held together by a few master ideas or tendencies, to which all others must yield place.

The basis of Molinos' teaching, as nearly all admit was essentially Mysticism of various types and forms. In the main it is distinguished by an unusually strong inclination towards quietude and annihilation. This being so, the only points which need special consideration are those in which he diverged from the fundamental creed, or maintained it with such devotion or intensity as amounted to distinctiveness.
Molinos threw over the Dionysian three ways; purgation; illumination; and union; claiming that there was only one way, the inner way of contemplation.

With a curious passion for division he labours the difference between acquired, and infused contemplation. The first was reached by man's effort assisted by the grace of God; the second was altogether through the grace of God.

Delacroix\(^{(1)}\), after making an exhaustive analysis of the distinction, gives this valuable judgment that there is no difference, "the active contemplation of Molinos, that is to say the kind one can acquire by one's own care, aided by grace, in concentrating one's sense, and in laying oneself open to the will of God, has as its content pure faith (without images or ideas), simple (without reasoning), universal (without distinction). That is to say, summing it up, it has the same object as infused contemplation: God, pure ineffable, abstracted from all particular thoughts in the midst of utter silence."

Hence as the Grace of God is needed to acquire either kind of contemplation, and as the object of both is the same "it is not possible to distinguish them."

Caraud de la Croze, writing in 1688 about the Guide, never/

\(^{(1)}\) Delacroix, \textit{Etudes d'Histoire et de Psychologie de Mysticisme}, p.40.
never thinks of distinguishing them. "Contemplation, according to the teaching of Molinos, Malaval, St. John of the Cross and Ruysbroeck, is a state of the soul where one has God before one's eyes, and murmurs not against His orders; is perfectly resigned to His will; kisses the hand which strikes ... receives with tranquillity, and in a holy indifference, good and evil; esteems nothing; and desires nothing."

Though he is more a historian than a philosopher, Burnet makes the one word "Contemplation" include both kinds, "All men are ... capable of the simplicity of contemplation, which is nothing but the silent and humble adoration of God which arises out of a pure and quiet mind."

Contemplation is so important a doctrine in the teaching of Molinos that we must quote his own words: "Contemplation ... is a known and inner manifestation which God gives of Himself, of His goodness, of His peace, and of His sweetness ... within an inward silence ... Never will you enjoy this ... till you ... endeavour to possess in your soul a great peace, silence, forgetfulness and internal solitude." And "Inner solitude consists in the forgetting of all creatures, in detachment, in 

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(1) Carnaud, Recueil de divers pièces, p. 27.
(2) Burnet, Fragment, p. 92.
(3) Guia, Lib. 3., Sect. 123, 124.
(4) Idem, Sect. 112, 118.
a perfect abnegation of all purpose, desire, thought, will, for if the soul does not detach herself from her own appetite and desire, from her own will, from spiritual gifts, and from repose even in spiritual things, she never can attain to this high felicity of inner solitude and perfect contemplation."

This state is an unbroken, uninterrupted act of the inner life, lasting the whole day, the whole year, the whole life. The practical Basque philosopher, Miguel de Unamuno, offers this criticism of this quietist thought "They do not build up their own inductive philosophy, nor will they open their eyes to the world to be uplifted by its harmonious movement: rather, they close their eyes to the exterior world, in order that they may open them to the "contemplation" of "naked truth" in "the obscure night of faith", free from all apprehension, seeking in the depth of their soul, in its central and intimate being, in "the Interior Castle", the substance of its secrets, the moving law of the universe".

That is true: but to the critics of Molinos' own age the fact that he left Jesus Christ aside as an object of contemplation was more serious. Jurieu commenting on Molinos' words, "The Lord guides the soul by contemplation past Jesus Christ, for the mind ... is hindered by meditation on the Passion of/

(1) Unamuno, Ensayos, pp. 151-152.
(2) Jurieu, Traité Historique contenant le jugement d'un Protestant sur le Quétisme, pp. 264, & 268.
of Christ ... Thus Sta. Teresa says, "the perfect soul has no need of instruction about Christ;" remarks "the perfect union with God is hindered, in Molinos' teaching, by the explicit thought of Jesus Christ, his Humanity, and the mysteries of His Life and Death." Jurieu adds "Molinos may believe, though he never says so, 'he who has God has Christ'."

In this accusation of Anti-Trinitarianism brought against Molinos, the great Huguenot was in agreement with the Jesuits "who accuse Molinos of intending to lay aside the doctrine of Christ's humanity"(1).

In Italy, there was much and weighty authority for such an obscuring of the Person of Christ. In "The Eternal Gospel" the stress had always been on the Third Person of the Trinity rather than on the Second. And in the long struggle between Franciscan Mysticism, and the Church, where more than once the advantage seemed to be with Mysticism, the doctrine of the Indwelling Spirit had been emphasised in the fashion of Joachim himself.(2) This attitude of mind was so strong in Italy, that in the Reformation age, there was a continual guarding on the part of the German leaders against the Anti-Trinitarian trend found south of the Alps.

But as against all these polemics of Jurieu, the Jesuists and many great and lesser critics since, we have the express/

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(1) Burnet, Some Letters.
express words of Molinos himself (1) "Before the soul can be fit to enter the presence of the Divinity and be united with Him, it must be washed with the precious blood of the Redeemer and must be adorned with the richness of his passion ... Christ our Lord with his doctrine and example, is the example, the light, the mirror, the guide of the soul, the way and the only door of entrance into those pastures of life eternal, and immense sea of the Divinity, ... reflecting on Him who is the ... beginning and end of our salvation, Jesus Christ, who for love of us was born, suffered, and died a shameful death." This seems explicit enough and one can only suppose that odium theologicum had blinded these critics.

PASSIVITY:

Passivity is the next word. The idea is found in Sta. Teresa, but with her, as Hermann says (2), it is "the stillness of the soaring eagle": for Molinos it can be read as the equivalent of inaction and inattention.

This is not the whole truth about Sta. Teresa. She teaches a detachment from duties, which is akin to that of Molinos.

For him it is more than a patience under the normal blows of life. "The soul ought to wait and to resign itself to bitterness, to anguish, to temptations." (3)

There is a harder stage still: "forsaken", cursings", "distaste"/

(1) Guía, Lib. 1., Sect. 117, 118, 123.
(2) Hastings, Dict. of Ethics and Religion, Art. Quietism.
(3) Guía, Lib. 3, Sect. 4 & 5. (3) Idem, 1.13.
"distaste", "weariness", "dried up". Under these there must be "complete detachment", "the soul dead, dumb and resigned to God"; "for these are for the purging of thy soul and the annihilation of thy passions". (1)

Jurieu calls this section "the laissez-faire of Quietism".

To reach that state of passivity, "the straight way is the way of Darkness". (2) This is more than the Divine Dark of Dionysius. It means blocking out all that unites the soul to God; "The faculties operate not, ... the soul is idle and wholly inactive" ... "Do not resist". "Leave God to act". (3)

This, Jurieu says, is the very creed of Quietism. Certainly it expresses the thought, implicit and explicit all through the Guide, that "action is an error of self love: to submit ... in absolute abandonment ... is the attitude of the believer": "One pure act of interior resignation is worth more than a hundred thousand exercises of one's own will". (4)

This passivism is carried to this length, that "no news causes them to rejoice, no event saddens them". (5)

We find a parallel to this extreme teaching in the orthodox Juan de los Angeles. (6) "A soul will have to strip itself ... of the love of creatures ... of actions, and feelings, exterior/

(2) Idem 1, 40.
(3) Guia, 1, 84.
(4) Idem, 2,16.
(5) Idem, 3,8.
(6) Juan de los Angeles, Dialogos, p. 49.
exterior and interior." Dean Inge sees a like teaching in another great mystic. Commenting on the phrase, "desiring nothing the soul fears nothing, neither death nor punishment, nor hell." Inge says (1) "for Molinos, as for St. John of the Cross, nothing exists save God and the human soul".

In connection with this passivity Molinos introduces "the director" for the reason that Burnet gives (2) "But as a man may be deceived by the inspirations (of the annihilated intellect) they recommend to all, the use of a Spiritual Guide, who has a true taste in these matters". This idea of an absolute director seems a curious yielding to that Institutionalism, against which in other matters, Molinos is so definite. He even carried it to a point, that even the most tyrannical of churches had never demanded, "Absolute obedience is to be given to him even when he demands that the penitent plant lettuce upside down". (3)

This passivity provoked much criticism in the world of Molinos. Also among present day thinkers it leads Unamuno to say (4) .."this passive sinking into nothing ... is selfish; a yielding to laziness and the treading of instinct; an annihilation of intellect."

Inge calls it (5) "the torpor of the Indian Yogi, sinking/

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(1) Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 229.
(2) Burnet, Fragment, p. 92.
(3) Guia, 2, 87.
(4) Unamuno, Essays, p. 165.
sinking into the bottomless sea of the Infinite".

Menendez Pelayo is bitter about its anti-social character, "it brought into Christian Europe the theory of indifference, of Annihilation, and of Eastern Nirvana."

Another critic\(^1\) holds that this "indifference to salvation; (of one's own self and of others) this state of imperturbable tranquillity; this quenching of all desire ... is a modern stoicism."

They all agree that there is a definite neglect of the world in this passivism, a forgetting of the life of the community: only, in justice to Molinos, we have to remember, that it is the mark of Spanish writers, that they deal with man, pre-eminently, as an individual, so that they appear more anti-social than they really are.

**THE ONE ACT OF FAITH:**

Recalling the fact that "faith, for Molinos, is the antithesis not to sight, as in the Bible, but to reason"\(^2\), let us look at his doctrine.

"Thou oughtest to ... make an act of faith, believing, that thou standest in the Divine Presence, afterwards remaining in that holy repose, with stillness, silence and tranquillity ... for/

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\(^1\) Cath. Encycl., Art. Quietism.
\(^2\) Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 229.
for the whole day, the whole year, and the whole life"(1). "This act ... cannot be repeated. It is not allowable to produce acts less perfect, such as acts of hope or contrition."

"The soul abides in her own Nothingness ... by means of the act of pure faith. This does not stop ... even though the imagination be carried about with various and involuntary thoughts. Faith ... always continues, and the more simple it is ... without words or thoughts, the more ... worthy of God it is. Whilst thou ... retractest not that ... faith, thou walkest ... in prayer and in acquired contemplation even though you know it not."(2)

Von Hugel(3) admits about this "one act". "Rome had changed, for in Falconi's "Lettera", (considered orthodox for half a century) is this central doctrine of Quietism: an exhortation to the production of one single, lively act of faith, which will then continue uninterruptedly through the whole earthly life into Eternity, and which consequently is not to be repeated." The explanation of Rome's change of attitude may be found in the logical development of Molinos' teaching. For as he himself points out(4) This "one act of faith" destroys the need of penance, mortifications, and all external acts which do not purify the soul. The Paternoster is not for perfect souls. Sacraments/

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(1) Guía, 1, 85.
(2) Guía, Lib. 1. Sect. 93, 99, 102, 103.
(4) Guía, 2, 120.
Sacraments, and ceremonies become a matter of indifference: which teaching Jurieu calls "very good Protestantism".

Burnet makes the reason for Rome's condemnation clearer, when he relates (1) that the practical result of Molinos' teaching was "the use of the rosary, the daily repetition of the Breviary, together with the common devotion to the Saints are laid aside."

PURE LOVE:

Another point calls for attention, that is the doctrine of pure love. That is a love, without self interest, where there comes in no desires, neither of salvation, nor even of eternal life. "It is an effort to cleanse religion from selfishness, to seek the Giver above even His most Spiritual gifts. Such pure love is utter annihilation of self." (2) It was certainly a doctrine which appealed to Madame Guyon and Fenelon.

But even in Molinos it reached this stage of development "the will loves without any kind of impediment, imitating that pure and continued act of ... love, which ... belongs to the Saints in heaven." (3)

This "quiet and sweet contemplation" of God by the soul must not be interrupted by the passions of the body. Hence the doctrine of "impeccability" which in Sta. Teresa means "evil instinctively/

(1) Burnet, Fragment, p. 92.
(3) Guia, 1, 93.
instinctively avoided", becomes, if not for Molinos himself, at least for his disciples, dangerous moral teaching. As Farges\(^1\) says, "It excuses every passion among those who claim to be perfect ... it would excuse us in our evil deeds, for it would mean that the grace of God had failed us here."

Contemporaries, such as Cardinal d'Estrees, felt that was the implication of his teaching. The Cardinal writes\(^2\) to Louis the Fourteenth, "Molinos' maxim ... a man perfectly attached to God can fall, without sinning, into criminal actions, because they are involuntary and of the simple violence of the demon".

That seems a correct interpretation of Molinos' own words.\(^3\) "When thou fallest into a fault, in whatever manner it be, do not trouble thyself about it: for these are the result of our frail nature, stained with original sin, and so prone to evil."

A safe middle criticism is that of Rufus Jones\(^4\), "Such "love" no longer means self sharing and self giving. It is rather an emotional sensuous thrill, an exhilaration, intoxication even; which the person experiences from Divine contact, ... and it descends easily to unwholesome dreams and pathological states."

\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) Farges, Mystical Phenomena, p. 135.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) Letter of 17th September, 1685.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\) Guifa, 2, 124.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\) Jones, Mystical Religion, p. 110.
CHAPTER 8.

GROWTH OF OPPOSITION.

We owe much of the details of the time to that acute observer Bishop Gilbert Burnet "a man of sincere piety, large hearted sympathy, common sense and courage"(1). Burnet has nothing but praise for "The Guide", and thought this mysticism was the best help the Reformation ever had "as it condemned voluntary penances, human traditions, exterior works and all the rubbish of ceremonies". At the outset, Cardinals Coloredi, Ciceri, Azzolini, and above all Petrucci openly supported "The Guide" as they were "partial to Jansenism and Quietism". Cardinals Casanata, Carpegna and D'Estrees were close friends of the author. "Many ecclesiastics and laymen came to Rome to learn the new method and almost all the monks and nuns, except those who had Jesuit confessors, gave themselves up to the prayer of quiet as taught in the Guide." Conferences(2) among the clergy, such as the conference at Pomigliano, were held all over Italy: these being guided by Molinos, personally, or by some of his disciples.

In short, the Guide was hailed as a new light.

"Everybody/

(1) C.M.H. Vol. 5. p. 752.
(2) Robles, Epistolario de Molinos, p. 74.
"Everybody that was either sincerely devout, or that at least affected the reputation of it came to be reckoned among the Quietists"(1). Burnet goes on to explain why "the aversion to artifices of religion; the conduct of the Regulars, and of the Jesuits is believed to be the true reason, that led such numbers of men of all sorts to be so favourable to Molinos. This method of devotion seemed to free them from the ignorance and danger of contact with priests, and as it was approved by the Inquisition seemed safe".(2)

It may be convenient to chronicle here the judgments by Protestants on "The Guide", even though these belong more to the years of trial and afterwards.

Herzog(3) says the Pietists of Germany considered him to be the victim of Jesuit intrigue: which made them doubly value his book. Jurieu(4), the Huguenot, tabulates the reasons why many Protestants liked "The Guide".

(1) Hatred of the Inquisition which was the symbol of old tyrannies.
(2) Molinos and his disciples, like the Protestants, have been condemned by the Pope.
(3) The injustice of the proceedings, the bitterness and rancour of the persecution, and the conviction that all who have been persecuted/

(1) Burnet, Fragment, p.99.
(2) Burnet, Trois Lettres.
persecuted by the Jesuits are unjustly treated.

(4) The accusations that Molinos was a libertine do not agree with the teaching of "The Guide".

Not all Protestants were so sympathetic. Stern(1) states "Lutherans and Calvinists denounced him, as he has committed abominable excesses, infamies, and several crimes".

Even the Jansenists were against him. Nicole Jansen, in 1695, wrote a "Réfutation der principales erreurs du quietisme" and another Jansenist, Paul du Vaucel, in 1688, in "Brèves considerations in doctrinam Michaelis de Molinos" accuses him of hypocrisy, evil conduct; and rejoices in his imprisonment.

But we are anticipating.

The Jesuits were not, at first, disturbed by "The Guide". But soon they were on the side of the Jansenists in their criticism of the new exponent of mysticism.

Burnet(2) would explain it thus "the Jesuits saw clearly that their trade was in a decay and must decay still more and more, if some progress was not put to this new method": for the Quietists "showed less zeal as to the exterior parts of the religion of the church. They were not so assiduous at Mass, nor seen so frequently either at confession or in processions: so that the trade of those who live by these things was sensibly sunk"/

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(2) Burnet, Fragment, pp. 97, & 100.
They feared not so much the danger of immorality, or passivism, as the disdain affected by certain of his disciples for exterior works; the exercises of worship; the practices of public devotion, all things which were necessary if the Curia were to prosper, and still more important for the Jesuit order. For as Robles points out (1) "It is a short way between suppressing devotional practices directed by a priest, and suppressing the priesthood". At least, "it would have made the Roman priest like a Protestant pastor," as Dtte. Amendola observes (2).

There is no doubt that for two years after the publication of "The Guide" Molinos was not regarded as a rebellious son of the Church. He was considered a reformer and as such needed to be guarded against. The change of view came with the rise of the anti-mystic teaching at the end of the 17th Century. There was a revival of the old struggle of the Church against the Spirit: and there was a revival of dogmatic theology. Through that theology it was laid down how and where God could (or should) act. The idea that the Church was made for man not man for the Church was stoutly resisted. The idea of the Grace of God which is the fundamental basis of Christianity was obscured and almost obliterated in that age of casuistry, and probablism /

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(2) Amendola, Guida Spirituale, p.30.
probabilism. The Quietist idea of one continuous act of faith and love was so opposed to their doctrine of the efficacy of outward obedience that it stirred up all the theologians of the Company, and the new idea that confession was not necessary before communion contradicted all their teaching.

It may be that all these things were of lesser importance than the attraction the new method had for the nobles and rich convents of Rome.

For Molinos was a man much loved. He had "the spirit that makes men consider the inwardness of things". Many members of the Sacred College, and the Pope himself were his friends. Princess Borghese had written 2,000 letters to him; the Queen of Sweden 200" these were put aside out of respect"; and the Abbé Servient (no friend of Molinos) gives the number of his supporters in Rome as over 10,000. These included the highest aristocracy of Rome, as well as artisans, masons, and men of ordinary life.

"For as in the days of St. Francis the poor had the Gospel preached unto them".

That a secular priest should propose that all such should practice "the prayer of quiet", which the Order had always said/

said was for cloisters and not for work shops and palaces, added to their annoyance. Amendola adds, "his victory meant the ruin of the Jesuits, financially and theologically. The struggle was inevitable. Better that one should perish than that a whole order should famish."

In 1678 the first attack was made. Gottardo Bell' Uomo. S.J.(1) issued "Il pregio e l'ordine dell' orationi ordinarie e mistiche" in which he writes on the comparative value of ordinary, and mental prayer. For contemplative prayer much preparation is needed; and even then contemplation does not lift the soul above things of sense; nor above meditating on the life of Christ.

There was a lull until 1680, when Paolo Segneri, a very popular Jesuit preacher published the "Concordia tra fatica e la quiete nell' Oratione", in which he argues that the highest life combines activity and contemplation, but the latter is only intended for the few who are specially called to it by God. Only Moses was called into the thick darkness. He argues, too, that the disregard of formal prayer and the Sacraments means anarchy.(2)

Petrucci, the ardent friend of Molinos, replied; declaring his esteem for vocal prayer, but recommending mental prayer, and contemplation as suitable for all.

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(2) Dudon, Miguel de Molinos, p. 102. ff.
He dedicated the book to the Cardinal Secretary, Cybo, who was favourable to the prayer of quiet. It is obvious that the Pope is also favourable to Quietism as Petrucci is rewarded with the See of Jesi. Segneri's book was condemned.

The Jesuits are alarmed; though several of the Order such as Nardi of Loretto, and Ottolini declared themselves favourable to "The Guide" - and asked the General, Oliva, to call off the campaign. It was at this time that Martin d'Esparza, the Jesuit sponsor of "The Guide" disappeared altogether from Rome "shut up in four walls", as Heppe explains.¹

The controversy continued. Dubourgdieu, a French professor of medicine in Rome issued one pamphlet, the aged historian, Bartoli followed it with another, in which he declared that Molinos was not of the saints, but of the Illuminati, and his followers were spiritually proud laity who abhor holy water, and the Sacred Host; they neither invoke saints nor the Virgin; nor say vocal prayers, nor crave indulgences. They believe themselves impeccable, and attribute to a demon all their acts of impurity.

There is an anonymous pamphlet² in the Bodleian (translated into French afterwards) about the same date as that/

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¹ Heppe, Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik, p.267.
² Le Christianisme éclairoi, p. 173.
that of Bartoli, which reaches a similar verdict. "They are above all rules and practices of spirituality ... their chief mark is that they desire to gain the reputation, that in light, knowledge, love, they are superior, and all other persons are imperfect."

Under these attacks Molinos wrote directly to Oliva the General of the Jesuits. These letters (1) reveal some of the reasons of the deep and bitter opposition of the Order. The first letter of Molinos is dated 16th February, 1680. He expresses his respect for the Jesuit Order. He reveres it. He values the "Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius", as a "cosa celestiale" on account of the infinite good they have done. He, himself, is not teaching the doctrine of the Illuminati; he is teaching that of St. Ignatius in "The Guide": namely that contemplation is a holy useful exercise. And like the Saint he teaches that the soul can pass from meditation to contemplation.

Like the Saint, he warns against "the way of the prayer of quiet" unless on the call of God, and then only with the counsel of an experienced director. His doctrine, as he shows in the "Difensa de la contemplación", is not new, nor is it like that of the Illuminati. His sole desire is to counsel and comfort souls called to contemplation, so that they might imitate Jesus, love the Cross, deny themselves, and be annihilated for Jesus.

He/

He himself is working "for the glory of God alone"; he is a "miserable peccatore", who would crave the General's prayers.

On the 28th February, Oliva replies:- the letter of Doctor Molinos has the true evangelical accent. He cannot speak of "The Guide", as he has not read it, but if rumour is correct Molinos was cheapening contemplation"; claiming it, and the prayer of quiet as the right of beginners, — whereas these graces are for select souls. No doubt rumour lies; for Doctor Molinos must know that it is an error to persuade sundry novices, and women who are filled with faults and worldliness, that the way of contemplation is open to them.

On the 29th February, Molinos writes again:- Never has he taught and never will he teach that meditation is useless: nor has he taught that all and sundry can rise to infused contemplation. This state of contemplation has no master: God alone gives it. But acquired contemplation depends on our own efforts, aided by grace. "The Guide" teaches that acquired contemplation is for all who feel the call. Even laity and married persons can yield themselves, in it, to God. St. Gregory, and other saints teach this. And if some object to a doctrine supported by such authorities, he will stand for it, "usque ad ejectionem sanguinis". But, for those who have not heard the call, he recommends meditation.

On/
On the 2nd March Oliva sends the last letter of this correspondence. "The Monasteries of Rome can now breathe again, since the quietist doctors no longer forbid meditation to nuns, and worldly women". "The Jesuits had kept nuns busy at the inferior exercise of meditation, while more excellent spiritual directors were assisting them up to the very lofty heights of contemplation. Now that Dr. Molinos has blessed meditation the nuns will call again for the Sons of Ignatius."

In the "Difensa de la Contemplación", often referred to in this correspondence with Oliva, Molinos\(^{(1)}\) affirms that meditation is an imperfect means of finding God. If God opens the way, or it hinders God's work it must be given up. He cites St. John of the Cross, as an authority, adding that the canonisation of St. John makes his doctrine as valid as that of St. Ignatius.

As to the normal time to be devoted to the stage of meditation, he thinks St. Bonaventure's "two to six months" is sufficient, then the soul passes to contemplation. It is objected that contemplation can only last half an hour, at most; but Molinos affirms that it lasts days, weeks, years.

And if temptation comes in it, temptation is not an evil ... to be tempted saves holy men from spiritual pride.

Then comes this curious passage "The Alumbrados (whom

I abhor,) teach a Quietism without any act of knowledge, or love, or desire, or prayer ... and pride themselves on this perfect quiet, ... saying, it is more difficult to attain than to do virtuous actions. In this state they enjoy a liberty free from the control of priest, bishop, or pope ... They cannot sin, for they are in the Spirit of God".

The point that calls for attention here is this. What was Molinos' relationship, now, to his earlier teaching? He rejects this passivity "with horror" in 1679, whereas in "The Guide" (1675), it is the centre of his teaching. It raises an interesting problem, whether his thought had clarified in four years, or did he fear the coming storm? As we look at his impassivity at the trial and condemnation, we are persuaded that the first is the more likely explanation. Though there can be no final answer, until those letters shut away in the Archives of the Holy Office, become available.

He continues: to reach this state of contemplation, there must be a true humility, a detachment from all sensible graces, and a spiritual annihilation. A single act of pure faith leads to a simple view of God Himself. Molinos defines the duties of the Director, more clearly than in "The Guide", "he governs souls in prayer, in penitence, in temptations, in inner inclinations; he leads the souls in the inner way ... by the spiritual road of faith, annihilation, and mystic death, so/
so that, having shed themselves, they reach pure Union.

Segneri, feeling that the pro-Molinos party was now set "on the extinction of his book" wrote to Como the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, to ask for his favour with Cardinals Nerli, Caloma, and Cybo. But, in spite of all the influence of the Jesuit Order, the Holy Office gave judgment on the 26th November, 1681. "There is no reason for revising the prohibition against books which attack the Prayer of Quiet." The Concordia, and the Pregio were again put on the Index.

Petrucci published another apologia for Molinos. Malaval issued a pamphlet at Marseilles supporting him, and scorning the "small experience and great jealousy" of Molinos' adversaries.

The Minorite Friar Regio now joined the Jesuit forces with his "Clavis aurea qua aperiuntur errores Michaelis de Molinos". In it he asserted that the doctrine of "The Guide" is a revival of that of the Beghards; and that impeccability; uselessness of fasting; and the prayer of perfect passivity would tempt shameless men to carnal sin. All these ideas take men's thoughts away from the humanity of the Saviour.

The "Clavis aurea" was promptly put on the Index.

There is some reason for the complaint of Oliva "My arm is not strong enough in this matter. I am not repulsed ... or slighted, when approaching the Pope; but he is in such a cloud, I have no clear field."

It/
It was this attitude that caused Rome to believe that the Pope was friendly to Protestants, Jansenists and Quietists. But we have to realize that the great struggle of the time was between the autocratic Louis, and the equally autocratic and more long sighted Innocent. All the policy of the Pope was coloured by his hatred of Louis. Because of that he favoured the Prince of Orange in his English adventure against James the Second: and favoured the German Protestant Princes against the Catholic Louis. There is no doubt that he cared for Molinos personally, but he did not want any strong action of the Jesuits against Quietism, in Rome, to prejudice the Papacy in Protestant eyes.

However matters in Italy moved beyond his control. Reports of secret consistories of Quietists with Esoteric initiations were coming in from different parts. In January 1682, the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, Inigo Caracciolo, asked for leave to suppress all these conventicles. He added that he found "many who appear incapable of using their beads, or making the sign of the Cross: many, also, who look upon every idea which enters their head in prayer, as real inspiration from God Himself." They use the "so called Passive Prayer which is called the prayer of Quiet" (from this the Cardinal coined the term "Quietists"). "They remain as quiet and as silent as if they were dumb or dead."

In/
In July of the same year, the Dominican Cecalti, Inquisitor General of Brescia, issued a decree, dissolving, under penalty of ex-communication, all quietist reunions, as, under pretext of contemplation, men and women had given themselves to unseemly exercises. Confessors were asked to remember that with all penitents, especially women, sermo brevis et rigidus sit, as St. Augustine counsels.

At length the Holy Office moved in the matter, decreeing that an Assessor should be appointed, and that the doctrine of Molinos should be examined. Cardinal d'Estrees writing to Louis on the 2nd February 1685, mentions "The Pope is so prejudiced in his favour, that the Assessor, not daring to carry out the decree of the Congregation without an order from the Pope, had the greatest difficulty in obtaining it."

There is a story, told by Burnet, and by the author of the "Recueil,"(1) and repeated by Heppe, that Louis the Fourteenth, influenced by his Jesuit confessor Père La Chaise; fearing that Molinism might be like Calvinism; and that it might support the house of Austria, moved in the matter. The story relates that the King wrote to the Pope, through Cardinal d'Estrees "that he was surprised and grieved that one who taught the people to despise the worship of the Church should be honoured by the Pope."

(1) Recueil, p. 304.
The writer of "Le Christianisme Éclairci" is convinced that the story is true: "the King should not have interposed with the Pope ... it was in a sense putting his hand on the Ark".\(^1\)

H.C. Lea disbelieves the story, and Michaud in his deep study of the correspondence of the time supports this disbelief.

The matter stands thus: the Cardinal in August 1684 had been requested by Cardinal Chigi to ask Louis to intervene, but d'Estreces refused as it was a matter outside the French Realm. Then Molinos was arrested and rumour accused the Cardinal of bringing the French influence in. This rumour Burnet repeats.

In September 1685 the Cardinal wrote to Louis\(^3\)
"It is put into the public news-sheets, which are almost always full of falsehood, that it is owing to me that this sect has been discovered, and that I have worked hard for the arrest of Molinos. I cannot credit myself with this. It is indeed true that his ideas have always seemed to me empty and chimerical, and I have always so expressed myself; without getting heated about the matter: and now, since he is in prison, I have taken care to hurry on this important affair, lest it be slowed down, or put aside."

The truth seems to be that Caracciolo's letter moved the/

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\(^1\) Recueil, p. 377.
\(^3\) Letter 11th September, 1685.
the Holy Office who moved the Pope. Then there was issued an influential memorandum, on the dangers of Quietism, by Cardinal Albizzi, the great teacher of doctrine. These, combined, shook the benevolent inertia of Innocent, and an enquiry, about the practice of mental prayer, and passivity, was ordered. Cardinal Ottoboni, who as Bishop of Brescia had been the persecutor of the Pelagini, was made the head of this Commission. They reported it to be the worst of heresies, that it was strong in Italy, and was spreading in Spain through Jaime de Palafox, Archbishop of Seville, that it had many followers in France. In Jesi, the Canons have a School of Quietism, and Ravenna, and Ferrara have many Quietist teachers and confessors.

On the 3rd July, 1685, Molinos was arrested and lodged in the Inquisition Prison.

On the 29th July, Francisco de Quiros, the Spanish Ambassador wrote to the King(1) regarding the arrest; "generally it is said that it is a question of unusual doctrines about the prayer of quiet, and going to the Holy Sacrament without previous confession, ... I am disposed to help Doctor Molinos as far as is in my power; but the time is not suitable to complain as yet about his imprisonment". The King approved, and ordered the Ambassador to interfere, neither directly nor indirectly.

Cardinal d'Estrées(2) reports to his Sovereign, that

(2) Letter 24th July, 1685.
the arrest was "the unanimous wish" of the Cardinals and Consultors of the Holy Office. Even Cardinal Azzolini had agreed. The Pope hesitated to sign the order, saying Molinos was "a saintly man", and the measures, voted against him by the Cardinals were "grave mistakes". The Queen of Sweden sent every day to enquire for news. "She sends fruit and table waters to the Doctor, asking for the latest news from the prison."

As for the reasons of his arrest, Cardinal d'Estrees writes "Doctor Molinos was denounced on different cases, which ... would be very criminal and detestable if authorised by him. The principal one attributed to him is; that when the understanding reaches that degree of elevation, when it is constantly attached to God, whatever disorders come to the feelings ... are not to be regarded as sins, ... but must be considered as temptations and useless efforts of the demon."

"It is principally on this charge that he was arrested."

A letter of 13th August of Dom Germain to Mabillon(1), reports that the Queen of Sweden was informed "that the evil was great, so great as to be unbelievable", and the Pope was reported as saying that he had been "deceived".

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CHAPTER 9.

THE TRIAL.

We have already mentioned, in passing, the influence of the antimystic reaction of the seventeenth century as a factor in the opposition to Molinos.

The situation had changed from the time when mysticism was a way to canonisation, or beatification.

Various causes contributed to this.

Bremond\(^1\) blames the Jansenists - "Nicole Jansen contributed more than any other to ... de-mysticise the second half of the century in which reigned Louis the Fourteenth."

In 1666 in "Les Visionaries" he attacked the whole movement, and there was no answer made, for the mystic had lost energy and faith in his position, under the polemics of the age.

Saudreau\(^2\) blames ignorant partisans who "speak of graces, visions, ecstasies, and suppose themselves superior to others without them"; and in that formal age\(^3\) "Interior ways are looked upon ... as pious reveries".

Dean Inge\(^4\) explains that, "The Roman Church which

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\(^{1}\) Bremond "Literary History", Vol. II, Chap. 3.
\(^{2}\) Saudreau "Life of Union with God, Sect. 410 (a).
\(^{3}\) Idem, Sect. 415.
in sore straits had called in the help of quietistic Mysticism to stem the flood of Protestantism, at length found the alliance too dangerous, and disbanded her irregular troops in spite of their promises to submit to discipline."

It has also been pointed out that there had been a complete reversal of the tradition of the Inner Life as carried down through Dionysius from Neoplatonism, a definite despising of mystical graces which was little noticed until the time of Molinos. We find Cardinal Bona, who had leanings towards Teresan Mysticism, explaining in "Via Compendii ad Deum", that his doctrine of prayer runs counter to that of the dogmatic theologians of his day(1).

This antimystic spirit would explain why the campaign against Molinos, largely Jesuitical at first, had now attracted to their side most of the theologians of Italy.

The persecution grew slowly stronger.

The correspondence of Molinos with many people far and near, was examined. As has been noted,(2) "these letters were 24,000 in number of which 3,000 to 4,000 have fallen into the hands of the Holy Office".

It was generally considered that it was on their evidence that Molinos was condemned. There is a letter to this effect from/

(2) Cardinal d'Estrées, Letter 9th July, 1687.
from Abbé Bossuet at Rome to his uncle the Bishop, (1) "The book of Molinos was considered good ... until they discovered the man from his other writings and his explanations of them". To the same effect the "Recueil"(2) quotes a letter from Mabillon to a friend (Iter Italicum 1687) "He was not imprisoned because of the doctrine of his book, but because of the letters he had written. These were the cause of false interpretations that his disciples had given to his sentiments".

This seems conclusive enough, but on the other side is the fact that the Inquisition of Aragon, having only "The Guide" before them, on the 24th of November 1685, condemned the propositions in it as "offensive to pious ears, rash, reviving the heresy of the Alumbrados, and full of erroneous propositions". The Inquisition of Tarragona did likewise in the same month, and on the 8th of January 1686, the Inquisition of Madrid followed these others with an even harsher and more truculent decree.

Cardinal d'Estrees reports "although one cannot see to the bottom of this affair, it is possible to say that this Doctor will ... go forth discredited". A month later, September 1685, "the affair does not become better for him".

A memoire is sent to the Pope and Cardinals regarding the/  

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(1) Correspond. de Bossuet, 11th Oct. 1687.
(2) Recueil, p.97.
the seriousness of the case. The chief point is about the violence of the demon on contemplatives, "the accused is very embarrassed on this point".

To add to the embarrassment of Molinos the details of another case came to the knowledge of the Holy Office at this time. The story(1) is of value even if it cannot be relied on in all its details.

On the 18th of October 1679, Don Gio Maiello, the priest of Pomigliano wrote to Molinos. A certain woman, Teresa, had a scuffle with a neighbour who had called on her. Don Gio heard of this and bade her hasten to her confessor before she came to Communion. But Teresa refused to confess as her director had forbidden her to do so. (On the margin of the letter there is a note: "This is not true, Doctor Molinos never gave such counsel".) She added that she could not say vocal prayers, "as in her state of perfection it was forbidden". What would Dr. Molinos counsel? He replied on the 28th February 1680: "Judge gently. If your reverence had heard Job blaspheme against God, you would have thought him a sinner. But the Holy Scripture assures us that "in omnibus his non peccavit Job". "The matter is odious and dangerous. I am convinced in sure ways of Teresa's sanctity; you consider her to be a hypocrite. I do not know which is worse; your harsh judgment of Teresa, or her spirit of wordy/

(1) Robles, Epistolario de Molinos, p. 74. f.
wordy disobedience towards you ... in spite of that I would ask you to admit her to daily communion. ...I had no other intention than to write a short answer to you: but God has willed that I should write in this lengthy fashion. You will excuse my boldness."

These letters were sent when the trial began, to the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, and through him to the Holy Office. Evidence was collected at Naples about this affair: also in Zaragoza, and Valencia, about Molinos' supposed Moorish ancestry.

New evidence came in from Rome; while those who wrote to Molinos for guidance were ordered, to the number of 70, to appear before the Tribunal.

Influenced by these testimonies, Cardinal Cybo sent out a circular letter to the Bishops of Italy. (1) "There are reunions in different dioceses of Italy where they practice the prayer of quiet, ... instilling grave errors into simple folk, teaching manifest heresies and shameful abominations. Let the Bishops make an exact enquiry and if any directors are suspect of novelties (singolarita di vie di spirito), let them be forbidden to act as directors of nuns, either by voice or letter. If the Bishops have any doubt of any they are free to proceed by judicial process against them".

Cardinal/

(1) Translated from the Italian Copy.
Cardinal d'Estrees, sending this circular to Louis, writes (1) "Your Majesty will know from this something of the affair. From the writings of Molinos and from a great number of his letters upwards of 250 propositions have been collected and are now being examined by the commissioners: ... 53 of these have already been communicated to the Cardinals of the Sacred College, and the censures which the doctors have made, although very rigorous, appear too gentle to some. It is not possible to imagine that in all this there is only presumption, rashness, ignorance and aberration".

A despatch of the Spanish Ambassador, March 1687, tells of a new development. "Many are cast into the prisons of the Holy Office; some say 70, and some say 200. What troubles the examiners is that the prisoners are so obstinate in their errors, that they say their imprisonment is a persecution, permitted by God, for the perfecting of their souls."

Among these were the Count and Countess Vespignani (2). The Countess put the Inquisitors in a difficult position when she declared that she had told her method of devotion only to her confessor, and he must have betrayed this knowledge. "So she would now make her confession to God only." She was set at liberty in a few days, but her husband was condemned to 10 years imprisonment/

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(1) Letter of 4th March, 1687.
(2) Recueil, p. 105.
imprisonment, which was commuted to 6 years detention in his own estate of Perousa. Several from the Oratory of Mantelica were arrested. In that place P. Romoti and his fellow priests and curates and a special group of 30 devout women penitents were discovered to be fervent disciples of Molinos. It was acknowledged that there was no sin, but there was a tenderness between confessors and penitents "worthy of reproof". Don Livio, the Pope's nephew "a person of a melancholy temper that is much retired, and this, at present, is enough to make a man pass as a quietist" retreated to his country villa at once, and could not be induced to return to Rome(1).

Among those suspect was Cardinal Petrucci. In the College of Cardinals there had been many reports against him. In 1683,(2) the Holy Office enquired into 7 dogmas found in his books - (1) Demoniac violence (2) Temptations (3) Mystic death (4) Deification, or Transformation into God (5) Annihilation (6) Impeccability (7) The Uselessness of Contemplatives meditating on the Mysteries of the Evangel. His only punishment was a prohibition to have any contact with Ricaldini, and la Fraia, a secret conventicle at Verona.

On the 2nd of September, 1686, Petrucci is created a Cardinal", to save him from the hands of the Inquisitors"

Burnet/

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(1) Burnet, Fragment, p. 105.
Burnet explains.

Again we have a letter from Cardinal d'Estrees\(^1\)
"This will enable your Majesty to see that his Holiness has not altogether put away the quietist doctrine ... It is regrettable about the new Cardinal, as the man is mediocre by birth and also in learning, in spite of his mystic spirituality which is suspect by the Holy Office".

The Cardinal's hat is conferred in April 1687, but in June, Cardinals Cybo, Casanate and Ottoboni asked for Petrucci's papers and letters, and invited him to stay in Rome. New information from Jesi accused many penitents there of shameful acts. His books are examined and at last "his Holiness sees with pain the doctrine and the books of Cardinal Petrucci exposed to censure ... but he cannot be exempt."\(^2\)

54 propositions extracted from his works were condemned. Petrucci accepted without discussion the formal censure of his doctrine and agreed that his books should be put on the Index. Cardinal Cybo is asked to censure him. It is not an easy task and it was carried through, privately, by the friendly Pope. Another act of the Pope was to issue the brief, "Cum sicut accepimus" which annulled all judicial information made or to be made against Petrucci. It decreed that nothing should follow from the sentence, to touch the honour, dignities, and titles of the/

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\(^1\) Letter, 4th Sept. 1686.
\(^2\) Idem, 20th May, 1687.
the Cardinal, and it imposed a perpetual silence on all those
who might raise the question anew before the ecclesiastical
tribunals. (1)

All this time the trial of Molinos drags on. "The
Pope delays ... his health is miserable, he is an old sick man,
... for months he cannot be present at a meeting." (2)

There was, as we have seen, all the trouble with
Louis about the Regale, the Royal Right to nominate Bishops;
disputes about other Gallican liberties; and the Bull launched
against the King. All these things added to the delay.

There were also "prophetic messages", and visions
which must have greatly disturbed the old Pope.

The Abbé Servient writes to Cardinal d'Estreës on the
31st July 1685 (3) a letter of Doctor Molinos has been found which
he had written to a "religious", a pretended devotée of Santo-
Géminii, diocese of Narni in the Papal States, in which this
Doctor instructed her about a revelation which she was to pretend
to have had. She was to write about it to the Pope, and say it
was from the deceased Favoriti (The Papal favourite). This
revelation made such an impression on the Pope that he spoke
about it to several of the cardinals, even in the Consistory."

The Cardinal confirms this in a letter he wrote to
King Louis (4). "They say that he has caused nuns and devout
women/

(1) Hilgers, Der Index der verboten Bücher. pp. 564-573.
(2) Card. d'Estreës, May 1687.
women to send messages to the Pope as from the spirit of Favoriti, in order to strengthen the Pope's resolution about ... the views he (Molinos) wishes him to have."

At length, in spite of these delays, the Cardinal writes\(^{(1)}\) "the propositions against Molinos, 263 at present, can now be reduced to a small number". These were divided thus: Propositions 1-12 refer to the Passive state in general; 13-48, to passivity of intellect; 49-87, to passivity of the will; 88-140, to the prayers of meditation, and of contemplation; 141-200, to the excluding of all natural elements in the latter prayer; 201-237, to diabolic possession; 238-263, to the fruits of the prayer of quiet.

Part of the process against Molinos is contained in "La Vida de Molinos", but it is evidently biassed.

Recent researches have yielded some new material for reconstructing the trial itself. Among such is an Italian MS. in the Bodleian\(^{(2)}\), which from internal evidence we may pronounce a contemporary document, perhaps drawn up privately by one of the Commissioners on the Tribunal, or by a confidential Secretary.

Part of it is certainly worth translating: "Doctor Molinos not only gave evidence, but on a thousand of his letters expressed/

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\(^{(1)}\) d'Estrees, Letter of 2nd May, 1685.
\(^{(2)}\) Ms. 24429. fol. 194. 230.
expressed himself judiciously, refusing to confess that he
found, even now, in them material for the 263 propositions
drawn up against him. He protested that more was taken out of
fragments of his letters than he had intended them to convey.
He acknowledged that he had directed souls by the spiritual
way, which he called by different names: total abandonment to
God; mystic manner; passive state; Nothingness; way of
annihilation; interior way; way of peace; way of Union with God;
Divine State. All were the same under different names, but all
were different from the ordinary way, which is altogether
material and sensible".

In discussing the Passive State, the propositions,
as drawn up in this MS., read like trite paraphrases of more
elaborate originals:

(7) "The best sort of work for the soul is to live without
activity."

(8) "One must enter into the Nothingness like a dead body."

(11) "Abandon yourself and let God do all."

(19) "There is no need to know God."

(20) "There is no need to love our neighbour."

(26) "The soul should not wish to know if it journeys by the will
of God."

(30) "Moreover the knowledge of its own nothingness aids the soul
to be pure spirit, and moves it to pass on to the perfect state
Molinos was asked about questions 26 and 30, and others where he mentions the state of incomprehensibility. He replied that ... "in it the soul had not only lost all feeling and consideration, but also all manifestations of God; it had even lost understanding of its own nothingness, and its miserable infirmities, and all and every kind of knowledge." And when asked about Proposition 62 "it is right even to purge the soul of the hope of salvation": he replied that the soul should not be animated by the hope of blessedness, but should leave itself in the hands of God and be as it were truly indifferent.

In discussing the prayer of contemplation he was accused of saying (Propositions 93 & 94); "This is an act of the superior part of the mind" and "there is need for the soul to adore God with this superior part without knowing God, or knowing it is adoring Him."

He was asked "how could the soul adore God without knowing it was adoring Him?" He replied that there was no communication between the inferior and superior part of the mind.

When he was questioned about his saying "They say there are three mystic ways, the Purgative, the Illuminative, and the Unitive, but there is really only one way;" he said "Yes. It was the Interior way. The Illuminative is not Union, but Union includes it, and Illumination is not purgation, but includes it."

On/
On the question of impeccability, he said that the soul in the state of quiet did not consent to the act of sin, not that it was impeccable.

The writer at the end says "The Tribunal were impressed by Molinos' quickness and skill in reply, his grave and logical statements, his fair and considerate judgment.

The most important of these 263 propositions drawn up against him were: irreverence towards images; depreciating religious vows; advising postulants not to become monks or nuns; impeccability; the power of the demon to move the devout to indecent acts. All these things Molinos denied or explained: breaking of images was in many cases excusable; those without "vocation" should not be encouraged to enter the religious life; the demon was God's instrument to mortify the flesh, and to purify the soul. As for fasting he had never kept Lent, and had eaten flesh on prohibited days by order of his physician.

He confessed that for many years he had practised the most indecent acts with two women, Witness No. 14, and Witness No. 71, (who were both dead before the trial) but had not deemed them sinful as they were pure violence of the demon, and such acts though done by the body do not touch the soul.

In regard to this question Burnet writes (1) "it is not believed that the scandals reported about Molinos are true, or he would not have the light punishment he had". Heppe also (2) rejects/

(1) Burnet, Fragment, p. 113.
rejects the charge of immorality, because this feature was not reported until very late in the trial; nor in the Bull which condemned his doctrine is there any mention of ill life or hypocrisy.

There have been hints of torture applied to Witnesses 14 and 71, or/and to Molinos himself. None of the writers of the time mention anything about torture.

And, as against Heppe's statement, we have (1) the formal sentence, pronounced two months before the Bull. In that sentence Molinos is "convicted of shameless acts of which modesty does not permit description, nor can they be passed over entirely in silence."

These 263 propositions were condensed to 68 in May 1687 and further condensed into 19 for the consideration of the Congregation. Briefly these 19 are (2):

(1) Contemplation, or the prayer of inward quietness, ... is putting oneself in the presence of God by an obscure act of faith, ... it lasts the whole course of a man's life. In Proposition 25 in the Bull this is repeated verbatim, and has added to it "even though ... a man is sleeping nevertheless he is still in a state of contemplation." (3)

(2) Contemplation alone leads to perfection.

(3) Bodleian MS.
(3) All learning and knowledge is a hindrance.

(4) The Incarnation ... the Life and Passion of our Saviour are to be treated with contempt.

(5) Penances and tears are contrary to contemplation.

(6) True contemplatives look ... to the essence of God ... not to His attributes.

Abbé Gosselin(1) affirms that this is the chief mark of false mystics: "God is vague, indistinct, not even revealing himself in Jesus Christ."

(7) In this union with God there is no need of images, etc.

(8) All contemplatives suffer in the act of contemplation.

(9) During mass ... apply yourself to an act of pure faith ... not to the mystery of the sacrifice.

(10) Sermons, vocal prayer, invocation of saints ... hinder contemplation.

(11) The sacrament of penance is not for contemplatives.

(12) Nor is the prayer of meditation.

(13) Inner and outer images are hurtful.

(14) When a man has reached contemplation ... he should not fall to meditation.

(15) If foul thoughts come ... neglect them.

Proposition 24. of the Bull amplifies this "Free will having been/

been yielded to God as well as care of our soul, it is no longer necessary to trouble about temptations." cf. Guía 3, 184, "With the shield of Nothingness thou wilt conquer strong temptations and terrible ... suggestions."


(17) Those who are in ... contemplation ... are not bound to obey orders of parents, or superiors, or husbands, ... if these orders interrupt contemplation.

(18) Contemplatives ought to reject and despise all God's gifts and favours, and ... strip themselves of all inclinations, even of any inclination for virtue itself.

(19) If they fall ... into grievous sin outwardly ... they are not bound to confess it.

Extraordinary meetings of the Holy Office were held to hurry on the business all through June. The Pope still acted as an obstructionist, but on the 8th of July 72 propositions were extracted from the writings of Petrucci. Then the Pope facilitated the case against Molinos, not, it was said, because of his dislike of Quietism but to save Petrucci. Ranke(1) quoted a despatch of the Venetian Ambassador "It is the gossip of Rome that the Pope is too indulgent to the Quietists ... though, he is disinterested and impartial."

However,

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(1) Ranke, History of the Popes, Vol. 3., p. 458.
However, Cardinal d'Estrees can report in July "The Pope was present at the Congregation where he has not appeared for more than a year".

On the 28th August he signed the decree condemning the 68 Quietist propositions as, "heretical, erroneous, scandalous, blasphemous, offensive to pious ears, and subversive of Christian discipline". Molinos submitted and was condemned to imprisonment for life.

The story of his public recantation is soon told. On the 3rd of September, the prisoner has the privilege of a rich last meal, - while many of the nobility and Roman Society looked on. Then he was marched to the famous church of the Dominicans, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva.

Fifteen years indulgence had been given to those who attended that day, so it was a public holiday, and the fickle Roman populace were inspired to hostility. Cries of "Al Fuego" rose on all sides and the sbirri had hard work to protect him. "The fury of the populace was so great that the heretic ran the risk of being thrown into the river"(2). All the contemporary records agree with Burnet(3). "He stood before the Cardinals amid the shouts of the crowd, motionless, without any sign of fear, or confusion, well-dressed, well trimmed, with a cheerful/

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(1) Letter, 8th July, 1687.
(2) D'Estrees, Letter 9th September, 1687.
(3) Fragment, p. 113.
cheerful countenance."

The recital of his errors, his recantation, and his formal condemnation to perpetual imprisonment, took almost 6 hours. Then he was hurried to his cell, which "he entered with great tranquillity, calling it his study. ... Good-bye, father", he said to his Dominican jailer, "we shall meet again on the judgment day, and then it will be seen on which side was the truth"(1). We recall Savonarola, "It is in your power to cut me off from the Church militant, but not from the Church triumphant." "He lived 10 years in his little cell with all the appearance of repentance, and died the 28th of December 1696 on Holy Innocents Day."

This is confirmed by the "Gazette de France" of the 26th January 1697. "Michael Molinos, prete espagnol, auteur de divers dogmes pernicieux, et chef des quiétistes, mourut le 29 du mois dernier, dans les prisons de l'Inquisition, ayant à ce qu'on assure témoigné beaucoup de repentance."

The later history of some of his supporters does not really fall within our plan, but it is so slight that a few paragraphs may be added to complete it.

Among those who shared his fall was his secretary Pedro Peña of Zaragoza. He too was condemned to imprisonment for life. The two brothers Leoni, of Cabeglio, in the diocese of Como were arrested. Como was an important entrance gate into Italy/

(1) Burnet, Fragment, p. 113.
Italy for colporteurs of books and ideas from Protestant Germany. Coming from Cabeglio, the objections of the Leoni to vocal prayer, the worship of the saints, the practice of confession, fasting, penance were blamed on Lutheran teaching and sympathies. They affirmed that they had learned these things from Molinos. One brother was condemned to 10 years imprisonment, the other received a life sentence. The Inquisition dealt quickly and effectively with all the other Italian Quietists.

In the case of Petrucci the duty of Bishop was taken from him when Cardinal Ottoboni, the great opponent of quietism became Pope Alexander the Eighth in 1689. "Cardinal Petrucci lives in Rome, as in a desert apart, for no one comes to visit him and he never stirs abroad." (1) On Alexander's death, in 1691, the new Pope, Innocent the Twelfth, - he of "The Ring and the Book" - worked on the policy of forgetting the past, and gave Petrucci the important charge of Apostolic Visitor and allowed him to go to Jesi. But his influence had died out there. In 1695, he was recalled to Rome where for 7 years he was a member of various Congregations of Enquiry; and became so busy with these, that he was called the message boy, "facchino del Sacro Collegio". He died on the 5th of July 1701, on a pilgrimage to Montefalco. (2)

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(1) Burnet, Fragment, p. 113.
We have mentioned Jámite de Palafox, the Archbishop of Palermo, as a friend of Molinos. In 1685, he was consecrated to the same dignity in Seville; and at once caused a new edition of "The Guide" to be printed there. After the condemnation of Molinos, the Archbishop wrote to the Pope, through Durazzo, the Nuncio in Madrid, abjuring his errors. On the 20th of November he followed this up with a pastoral letter to be read in every parish in the Archbishopric.

"Molinos was a perfidious fellow who had committed ... abominable wickedness, ... from which only God's mercy had preserved me". The Quietist tendency of the Archbishop was glossed over at Rome; but Pasos, his visitor, and Luis Navarro one of his canons were condemned to prison for quietism. Lasarte his confessor suffered a like condemnation "for the errors of Lutherans, Calvinists, Arians, Nestorians, Trinitarians, Valdenses, Alumbrados, and also Molinism".

So successful was the Inquisition, that in 1698 the ambassador of France wrote to his friend Bossuet, "I have kept myself carefully informed about this quietist business in Spain. It is of little account. For this kingdom is so low, that ignorance reigns here, and the word "mystic" is scarcely known. The Inquisition only makes war on Judaism, and its chief care is to preserve an authority unjustly acquired".

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On the 20th of November, 1687 by the Bull, Coll\textsuperscript{estis Pastor, 68 quietist propositions were condemned. It was a merciless attack on all forms of mysticism, a summing up of the orthodox faith in the West. "It was a thunderbolt cast at Italian heretics in particular" but also affects all mystic movements and doctrines of the Inner Life since then.

As H.C. Lea says\textsuperscript{(1)} "There was no distinction drawn between the good points and the extravagances of mysticism, so that whereby the Church broke definitely with mysticism, and by implication gave the faithful to understand that salvation was to be sought in the beaten track, through the prescribed observances and under the guidance of a hierarchal organisation."

\textsuperscript{(1)} American Historical Review, Vol. 11, p.262.
CHAPTER 10.

QUIETISM IN FRANCE.

This rise and fall of Molinos and his doctrine is as we have seen a chapter of importance in giving us an understanding of the post Reformation Roman Church.

As a Spaniard, Molinos held on to the Church; as a practical director of souls, a thinker, and the heir and spiritual offspring of many faiths, he had worked out this theory of the Inner Life.

He had broken away from the scholastic abstract view of man; and thought of a flesh and blood man standing in utter silence, in simplicity of faith, in humility of spirit before God, united to Him in pure love: "man clinging to God for His own sake", as Aquinas put it.

We propose now to study the quietist movement in France, and if our inquiry is briefer and less detailed in form it will at least let us see an effort, parallel to that in Italy, of man protesting against rigorism and formalism and trying to get directly to God.

We cannot classify Francis de Sales as a Quietist though he taught a doctrine which is as pronounced as that of Molinos. He claimed that his soul was so abandoned to God that he had scarce a desire, ... and if God came to him he would/
would go to meet Him, but if He did not come he would remain quiescent and would not seek God, since the soul absorbed in Divine love had nothing to ask of God.

Nor can we claim the Jansenists though they were Reformers, as anything but enemies of that Quietism which contradicted all the discipline, the historical tradition, and the temporal needs of the Roman Church.

The Antimystic work of Nicole Jansen "Les Visionnaires" reveals the spirit of the Jansenists; it does more. It tells us that in 1667, in France, there was a large group of quietists worthy of such heavy artillery, a group "who claimed inward enlightenment, divine inspiration and freedom to interpret the Scriptures in accordance with this inward Light"(1)

We find confirmation of this hypothesis in the Autobiography of Madame Guyon. In the very court of Louis the Fourteenth, so full of pious insincerity, swinging from the hypocrisy of vice to the hypocrisy of virtue, she found her first guides in mystical insight. The Duchess of Bethune; the daughter of Fouquet and friend of the ducal house of Beavillers; and the Duke and Duchess of Chevreuse, formed a group who were her spiritual helpers.

Quietism in France was not at first set and centralized -

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(2) Autobiography, Part 2, Ch. 8.
we might rather describe it as fluid and sporadic; breaking out in curious forms and in different places. We hear of shepherd girls in Brittany teaching the prayer of quiet; of monks like Nicholas Herman, better known as "Brother Lawrence" retreating to his kitchen and cultivating "indifference" in Lorraine.

The strangest figure is perhaps Antoinette Bourignon(1), the Mystic of Lille, who had a mission "to restore the world to the gospel spirit". She became head of a hospital in Friesland where she claimed to have a work of "spiritual maternity". She was a greedy vain woman, but reached large and varied groups in North France and Flanders. "Resignation", i.e. ceasing from all things, being quiet, and resting; is her great word - the faculties of the soul lie still, man knows he has "nothing of his own" and then grace comes from God. Through her disciple, Peter Poret, a Calvinist minister, her influence spread far, so that about 1700-1715 every minister, schoolmaster, and chaplain in Scotland, had at ordination "to disown the dangerous errors of Bourignonism".

Quietism in its various Spanish-Italian forms had become a means of escape from the petty ceremonialism, and abuses of these churches. And in France there was a similar reaction against similar abuses. Gui Patin (1601-1672)(2) in the College/

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(2) C.M.H. Vol. 5. p. 73.
College de France spoke with a great scorn of "priests, monks, and especially that black Loyalitic scum from Spain which calls itself the Society of Jesus". He denounces the Italian "bad little books of devotion, full of miracles and monkish revelations."

We would naturally expect this French voice of protest to be heard from the Provence which was the highway between Italy and Spain. There at Marseilles was Malaval, the blind Quietist, whose book "La Pratique de la vraie theologie mystique" was a great influence in Molinos' thought. It was widely read in France. After Molinos' condemnation he had written to the Pope, "I will submit ... justifying and explaining the prayer of faith in the same way as the Church understands it." But this letter of retraction and his book were both put on the Index in 1688(1).

The new doctrines had spread far. Though the Irish clergy at Chartres rejoice that there is "nulla Quietistarum corruptela", in their college in 1690: in 1692 there is a complaint that Irish students at Hôtel Dieu are "infectés du plus pur Molinisme". (2)

It is in the Capital that we must look for the centre of Quietism. Near Paris was born in 1648 Jeanne-Marie de la Mothe Guyon" the very hysterical representative of the religious revival known as Quietism. (3)

The story of her life, from its beginning as a woman of fashion, cursed with a temperament of petulance and vanity, to her /

(1) Dassay, Malaval, p. 214.
(2) Clark, Strangers at Port Royal, p. 210, & 216.
(3) C.M.H. Vol. 5. p. 89.
her death at Blois in 1717, is the story of Quietism in France.

In her first outburst of desire she was directed, "Seek God in your own heart and you will find Him". Heeding that counsel "I was plunged in a river of peace". After 6 years of "burning joy", "annihilating self", "passivity"; she had a "dry" period of 6 years. She lost "all power of prayer", had "no pleasure in conversation", and "all joy in things outward and inward vanished". She was freed from this by Père La Combe, a Barnabite monk. About him she writes with enthusiasm, "our union was so perfect that we formed one unity ... that I could scarcely distinguish him from God".

For years they two went through France preaching the new gospel. Dean Inge(2) claims that it was Teresan Mysticism, but it sounds more like the explicit teachings of Molinos. La Combe denied that he knew Molinos, but he was at Rome in 1673-1674 and again in 1682 when Molinos, a figure of power was very approachable. In a letter of the period(3) Fabri, a Jesuit, writes to a friend "Père La Combe has through Ripa met Molinos and has now become a complete Quietist."

A short time after this, Vittorio Ripa became Bishop of Verceil, and took La Combe with him as confessor. When Madame Guyon appeared, the Bishop regarded her as inspired by God, and encouraged all her impulsive and often rash actions.

He/

(2) Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 234.
(3) Lyons Library, quoted in "Recherches" 1920, p.178.
He gave La Combe and Madame Guyon his blessing on their mission in Savoy and Provence.

Doubts have been cast on the innocence of the relationship of the missionaries. We have a veiled confession of guilt made by La Combe after 10 years' imprisonment; and also the report of his jailer at Lourdes, where La Combe was allowed to teach a quietist group that "to have no other will than that of God is the greatest good, even though it seems to destroy our virtuous being". On the other side, the Abbé le Gendre, secretary of the Archbishop of Paris, writes "of proofs there are none; on the evidence we have it would be an injustice to believe it". And Bossuet, though he believed the gossip of 1689, in 1695 affirmed his faith in the innocence of their friendship.

La Combe's contact either with Molinos, or with Molinos' friend Bishop Ripa shows clearly in his book "Orationis mentalis analysis" 1686, in which he teaches "the more one renounces oneself the more one develops ... prayer, ... this prayer of abandonment can be taught to 4 year old children and country labourers."

Madame Guyon cannot be described as an extreme Quietist, although in the collected edition of her works, 40 volumes in all, she preaches on annihilation in which the soul desires nothing, asks/

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(1) Oeuvres de Fenelon, Vol. 4. Lettre 90.
asks for nothing, not even its own salvation, which state she calls "disinterested or perfect love". Her language is lacking in virility. It has in a marked degree that quality which Menendez Pelayo calls "that sentimentalism to which France is subject periodically" (1). She is "the spouse of Christ", "the fecund mother who will bring forth many children on the Cross". And all this in language soft and sensuous, full of melancholy and sweetness, and with an irreverent tone of familiarity, so that her quietism is (2) "enivrée de l'amour de Dieu". In her "Moyen court et très facile de faire Oraison" we have her main teaching "Let nothing disturb the souls peace; do no pious works by rule ... only when moved by the Spirit of God": leading up to the heights where "the soul suffers itself to be ... annihilated to render homage to the sovereignty of God ... the destruction of our own being confessing the Sovereign Being of God. ... Nothingness is true prayer which renders to God honour and glory."

The backwash of the condemnation of Molinos had now reached Paris; and there is no doubt that the persecution of Quietism was because the King considered it to have a close agreement with that condemned at Rome. Cardinal d'Estrees had written (3) "there is a rumour in Rome about a certain diffusion of Molinism in France". To this the King, who held in abomination/

(2) C.M.H. Vol. 5. p. 758.
(3) Letter 19th August 1687.
abomination all novelties in religion, replied that when
informed of the progress of that wicked doctrine he will act.

In a short time La Combe was arrested and transferred
from prison to prison until he died in 1715 in the Castle of
Chareton.

Madame Guyon was arrested, but after 8 months through
the influence of Madame Maintenon she was freed, and sent to
Meaux to be examined on her doctrine by Bossuet.

In 1689 she met Fénelon. "It seemed to me that God
united me to him more intimately than to anyone else." Saint
Simon writes "he saw her, their minds were pleasing one to another
and their sublimity mingled".

She held out before him a picture of "The Fraternity
of Pure Love" a mystic association of select souls of which he
was to be the General. These Soldiers of St. Michael or
"Michelins" as they were called, were to rule the world. It
has to be remembered in regard to this relationship that Fénelon
was\(^\text{(1)}\) "not a theologian, but a man of letters with large projects
of political reform, and intellectually curious about dangerous
paths".

Madame Guyon writing that she was "in God as a wave
in the ocean" again had to face the persecution of Bossuet.

Fénelon/

\(^{(1)}\) C.M.H. Vol. 5. p. 88.f.
Fénelon refusing to join in this injustice, soon felt the vindictiveness of the Bishop of Meaux. It is outside our purpose to record the political intrigues and private jealousies thus stirred up. We can only agree with the first part of the statement, sent by Erizzo\(^{(1)}\), the Venetian ambassador, to his government. "In this quarrel the intrigues of the court have a large effect and the rivalries between the principal prelates and the interest of Madame Maintenon; nevertheless his Majesty has acted in good faith, and has no other design than to maintain our holy religion in its purity".

Bossuet secured the royal ear and Madame Guyon's doctrine was condemned. In reply Fénelon wrote his "Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la Vie intérieure". He guards against the doctrine of absolute self-abandonment, and impeccability: arguing that as men grew in pure love they became indifferent to themselves. They no longer value religion for its consolations. Their whole soul is taken up in loving God, and they neither know nor care if God loves them in return.

Bossuet sent the matter to Rome where the Holy Office gave judgment on 23 propositions, condemning them, not as heretical, but as rash, and erroneous. On the 9th of April 1699 Fénelon submitted "simply, absolutely, and without a shadow of reservation". He "was never really compromised on the question/"

(1) Relazione Venete. 2.me serie, Vol. 3. p. 583, quoted in Revue de Recherches, 1920, 183.
question of Quietism proper" but was condemned on the question of "Pure Love" alone\(^{(1)}\). If we agree that "Passivity, in a literal sense, is the absence or imperfection of the power and use of initiative on the soul's part" then we cannot consider him a Quietist. His explicit teaching\(^{(2)}\) is "Passivity, taken in the sense of an entire inaction of the will would be heresy", but if it be taken as the opposite not of action, but of that activity which is a merely restless and hurried excitation it is a maxim of the saints. His doctrine of "pure love" seems to us to-day to be safely guarded from most exaggerations. "Mixed love is not a sin, "the greater part of holy souls never reach pure disinterestedness in this life". However there is an exclusion of fear, hope, and all thoughts of self advantage, carried as far as indifference with regard to our eternal salvation, "which demands from men an impossible degree of detachment and renunciation"\(^{(3)}\).

His "Holy indifference" which is really "disinterested love" has this danger that a man may become so high that he despises the daily sacrifices of life, and even despises himself. Fénelon is aware of this danger when he affirms, "it is false teaching to say that we should hate ourselves, we should be in charity with ourselves and with others", to which Inge adds the comment. "We are to love ourselves, or we fall into the heresy/

heresy of the Manicheans, an impious hatred of our soul on the supposition that our nature is evil.\(^{(1)}\) Fenelon is against the prayer of quiet. "Christ has taught us vocal prayer". He finds two impieties in Molinos' pure contemplation; (1) to suppose that there is a contemplative on earth who no longer needs the Way; (2) to ignore the fact that Jesus Christ is the Way as well as the truth and the life".

After the triumph of Bossuet, Quietism reached such disrepute in France that it provided material for literary wits in and outside the Court, as we see in La Bruyère's Dialogues\(^{(2)}\), where this quietist version of the Paternoster is given. "God who art no more in Heaven than upon the earth, or in hell, who art present everywhere, — I neither will nor desire that Thy name be hallowed: Thou knowest what is expedient for us; if Thou desirest it, it will be so, without my wishing or desiring it. Whether Thy Kingdom come or no is a matter of indifference to me. Neither do I ask that Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. It will be so without my wishing it. My place is to resign myself. ... Finally, O God, I am too wholly abandoned to Thy will to pray that Thou wilt deliver me from temptation and from sin".

\(\text{In/}\)

In the Roman Church there has been no revival of Quietism until in recent years there has arisen a school, called by Farges, "Semi Quietists; by Poulain, "Mitigated Quietists"; and by themselves "the Salesian School" as they claim to find their doctrines in Francis de Sales.

In France their chief leader is Canon Saudreau, of Angers whose "Degrees of the Spiritual Life" 1907, stresses the importance and ease of contemplation. In Spain, Arintero, a Dominican professor in Salamanca, claims in his "Cuestiones Místicas" 1920, that(1) "the heights of Contemplation are accessible to all".

As Arintero explains:(2) the danger of religion is that directors emphasise too much the "Via ardua, via secreta, et multis incognita", therefore all directors may and ought to force their penitents into the passive way, and to the prayer of quiet. "The road is not difficult, is unique, direct, right, short, easy and secure, in spite of what many directors teach."

The School will not accept the statement that "Contemplation is a very special gift of God, which He does not give to all". They will not agree that there is a doctrine of election to special graces. If anyone feels an attraction towards silence, and loves God he is on the way to contemplation, for "contemplation is the daughter of love". "God is both inspirer and object of contemplation/  

(3) Saudreau, op. cit. Book 2. Sect. 16.
contemplation ... it is at the same time acquired and infused, active and passive, natural and supernatural".

The object of the School is (1) to develop a quality of spiritual passivity, not so much because of a distrust of man's powers as of the greatness of God's Grace; (2) to teach "Pure Love" "Amor enim, rapit, unit, satisfacit" a glowing unselfish loyalty to God in Christ; (3) to develop an indifference to spiritual consolations. The spirit of detachment is necessary, "the way of holy indifference". So that in not directly seeking God, in this sleep of all the desires men are enabled, as by a side glance to perceive the Divine, tearing away the veil of mystery; (1) (4) to encourage men humbly to annihilate themselves. This is more than abandonment into God's hands, more than "a complete abnegation of private judgment". It is, in utter humility, putting God first in all things, a "dying that you might live". This dying must be repeated again and again, as self becomes assertive again and again.

The whole teaching is a message to the individual and has therefore stirred up the formalist teachers. The controversy carried on in France and Spain is somewhat arid, a piling up quotations on both sides, even St. Teresa debating with St. Teresa. But out of it emerges a new emphasis on the emotional side/

side of life, so that Saudreau and Arintero can appeal to modern psychology for support. In their idea of the different needs of different souls they should also claim the support of modern psychology. For those in faults and slight sins, there is a need for meditation on the life and passion of the Saviour. For those who fear God a closer approach, as the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and for those near perfection there is the prayer of contemplation. "Quae est itsa pars optima quam Maria elegit ... nisi vacare et videre quoniam suavis est Dominus". That is quiet. Arintero would call it annihilation. (1)

CHAPTER II.

PERMANENT WORTH OF QUIETISM.

This movement of men seeking inside the Roman Church a faith different from Luther's yet reaching a similar result, namely the exaltation of the individual above the Church, makes us see that Quietism is the greatest thing in the religious life of the 17th century. And if one thinks of it as an inner religion, confined not to one country or to one branch of the Christian Church it helps us to see what a profound movement it was.

It was an age with a bias towards formality, both in the Roman and Protestant Churches. In the one case it was part of the result of the Counter-Reformation struggle: in the other a reaction to the intense emotional effort of the growing period of Protestantism. And in both it had taken the form of arbitrary rules of life, an emphasis on dogma, a chilling of the spirit of faith.

In contrast, Quietism spoke to the religious consciousness of the age of "a religion of the heart and of individual piety"(1); the right use of contemplation; a forgetfulness of externals; and above all gave men an intense faith in the direct breaking in of God into men's life and soul.

It/

(1) Unamuno, Ensayos, p. 164.
It was more than a way of escape such as men fall back upon in times of distress and despair. Man conceived that in answering this personal call to a personal religion he was entering into the "quietude" where he would hear a voice from heaven where God is throned in glory as Ruler of the World.

In some such way the legalistic form of religion has been broken up by new waves of life and energy at different periods. Quietism was one such outbreak. It was not a new theology: it might be better described as a new psychology, in the way it stressed the idea of the inner life glowing in the depths of every man's soul.

We may, in a general way, say that the source was the Reformation demand for inward religion. Burnet explains that it was a conscious or unconscious demand to carry the Reformation to its legitimate terminus, the restoration of Apostolic Christianity. The author of the "Recueil" sees the source of this widespread outburst in the philosophy of Descartes. Amendola(1) in his introduction to the recent reprint of the "Guida Spirituale" agrees. His argument is: Cartesianism teaches that to begin the search after truth a man must first of all doubt everything in the universe that can be doubted. Therefore all old knowledge, and all the prejudices that man has used to support that/

that knowledge must all be examined. Then a man takes from
them what is true, and accepts nothing untested. When a man
gets into the very depths of his own consciousness he finds
there a definite evidence of God: the chief end of man is then
to unite the soul to God. That is life.

This is one of the reasons Von Hügel\(^{(1)}\) advances for
the attraction of Quietism. He holds that man has a profound,
though latent capacity and need for trust, and faith and does
not so much improve by direct efforts ... as by a happy
absorption in any tried thing above ... his smaller self. This
quiet concentration ... brings him a profound and spiritually
renovating sense of God ... and of forces, seemingly outside
the conscious individual, that bring redemption to his life.
"This element of quiet incubation" he adds "is much ignored
and starved in the lives of most religious souls".

This widespread outburst of Quietism may also be
explained in part by the low condition of the religious life of
the time, but still more from a fear of creaturely activity.

There was, says Rufus Jones, an absolute despair of
human nature which Protestant theology, and the Counter
Reformation had greatly intensified. It flourished in an
extreme form in the doctrine of the ruin and fall of man.
Nothing divine can originate in man as man. Hence the essential
preparation/

\(^{(1)}\) Von Hügel, Mystical Elements. Vol. 2. p. 149.
preparation for any action is the repose of one's own powers, the complete quiet of the creature.

It was the revival of mediaeval dualism; the separation of the sensible world; and the divine world. It raised the question of how to bridge the Abyss between man and God. "The quietist solution of the problem was to annihilate oneself until the multiple is reduced to a unity ... man separating himself from all sensible things." (1)

Before the time of Molinos, John Smith the Cambridge Platonist was preaching, "the good man ... triumphs in nothing more than his own nothingness, and in the allness of the Divinity, ... his being nothing is the only way to be all things; his having nothing the truest way of possessing all things."

Molinos is not a Reformer; we hear nothing of the Reformation controversy from him, but his whole thought is coloured by the Reformation despair of human nature. He is always teaching that no effective contribution towards a man's salvation can come through human effort. The mind must be entirely emptied of all learning and knowledge, and become "passive". Then it waits in a great act of faith for God, God alone and entire. "God alone works".

It was the doctrine of "Transcendence" - God sundered and/

(1) Menéndez Pelayo, Poesía Mística, p. 27.
and separated from man, - pushed to its extreme; without bringing in, as a balancing factor the idea, that we are fellow-workers with God, which is implied in the doctrine of "Immanence". Such an attitude may end in inertia: but it is not of necessity mere self-absorption; as witness the life of the great Quietists. How dangerously such thought could affect men of an ordinary and less scrupulous type we have seen in the previous chapters.

There is the same forgetfulness of the Immanence of God in the quietist doctrine of "perfect abandon". It could be a very beautiful conception, the soul sinking itself in God: but as someone has said "the lilies of the field that toil not" could not be the symbolic flower for that new age.

"There was a moral sense in Quietism, but no ideal of social reform"(1) and no ethic that overcomes the world. Rather there was a suggestion of world weariness when a vigorous heart was necessary, so that Reynier can justly state(2), "it was mysticism descended from the heights, losing itself in the cloud and the dream".

The danger was the slackening of moral force, so that one might say of it, what Massignon said about Sufi Passivism(3) "there was no longer the idea of salvation which caused ascetics and/

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(2) Reynier, Etude sur la doctrine de Molinos.
(3) Massignon, Lexique, p. 295.
and mystics of the first centuries to lead the holy war in the name of the One God not only to the frontiers of the world, but to the bottom of their own souls".

It was this Quietist doctrine that Amendola has in mind when he gives this subtle criticism of Molinos(1), "a Southern Protestant without any of the ethical quality of Northern Protestantism. He is too high, too remote from the actual world".

The Immanence of God is also left out of account in Molinos' abdication of thought, "walk confidently, the eyes closed, without thinking or reasoning". It could conceivably be argued that dogmatic theology on one hand, and rationalism on the other result from giving the intellect an undue place in religion. And it might be said also that the human mind is incapable of dealing with divine truth. In religion we are dealing with truths that cannot be proved but must be personally apprehended; not out of books, but out of life. This apprehension is not only the Spirit of God thinking His own thoughts in us, but it is our human faculty as well. Then this quietist distrust of man's power of perception, of intellect, of emotion, and of will, means the eclipse of self and the annihilation of all that is capable of understanding God, of all that is capable of Union with Him in any real sense.

However the greatest danger that the Church saw in Quietism/

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Quietism was its doctrine of impeccability. This idea, of doing what was sinful without sinning, had left dreadful scars on the Protestantism of Germany and Holland. It is true that Molinos explained his doctrine in a way that left it less damaging; saying at his trial, that his doctrine was, that the soul in a state of quiet did not consent to sin, not that it was impeccable. Hence his teaching is not unlike Sta. Teresa's "souls which reach the highest grade will not commit sin" (1). Molinos had none of the exaggerated self-condemnation which was one of the signs of a degenerate mysticism, - but his indefiniteness about sin left his teaching without much moral content. And some of the teaching in "the Guide" could provoke a dangerous moral slackness, among all except experienced Christians. It was not so much the danger, which the Inquisitors scented, of sensual tendencies proceeding from the body, but that of self adoration and spiritual conceit. Who was to judge or condemn the perfect believers! "Hearts disposed to vanity could fill themselves", as Stern says, "with a foolish pride and a dangerous security". (2)

There was a latent tendency to develop an absolute indifference to consequences, and to make light of the need of salvation and the necessity for the Atonement.

(1) Moradas, 7.4.
In speaking about the Church's victory there is a tendency to emphasise the merely negative character of Quietism. There were, in it, many weaknesses, but also many virtues.

On the practical side there was the stress on the work of the "Director". He was a sort of consulting spiritual physician, to lead the seeker from truth to truth. He was not an intermediary between man and God, but a psychological guide, and as such belongs to the modern world. His office was a protest against the lumping men together in a mass.

As such he is a peculiar creation of the Spanish mind. "The Spanish genius never creates ex nihilo, but from nature" says Madariaga\(^1\). Unamuno carries this thought further in "Del Sentimento Tragico de la Vida" where he affirms that "the Spaniard is not concerned with the human, nor with humanity, but with man, man of flesh and bone, who works, and drinks, and plays, and sleeps, and thinks, and loves."\(^2\) Molinos then is in the national tradition when he plans for the working requirements of the individual soul.

It has been pointed out that, "the prominence of Direction was a strong acknowledgment of the need of personal religion. It was felt, on the one hand, that something more than mere routine religious duties were demanded from the laity; and, on the other hand, that they could be trusted to pick out the/

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\(^1\) Madariaga, Spain, p.50.
the vital elements in religion."(1)

We value, also, the Quietists' emphasis on Love. It is somewhat of a contradiction in their teaching that they exalt the Transcendence of God, and also "Pure Love" a love which loves for the sake of love alone. But as Boutroux has well observed(2) "That unselfish love has this virtue of uniting persons without absorbing one in the other, but on the contrary increasing their reality and their consciousness of themselves as persons: and in that perfect love which 'clings to God for His own sake' men find God without losing themselves". There "our mystics find the survival of the individual", to again quote Madariaga.(3)

Much too may be said in a hurried age in praise of the quietist gospel of relaxation. Hermann blames Molinos for his stoic ataraxy(4); but as we have tried to show there are periods in history when baffled men are thrown back on a passive stillness in the presence of God, when they may conceivably be doing the only thing that can be done. Professor Paterson with sympathy, made this comment on Eastern Passivism(5), "if energy has been directed from social service ... there has been compensation in the gentleness which has been a product of Oriental piety".

Built/

(1) C.M.H. Vol. 5, p.79.
(2) American Historical Review, 1906.
Built upon their doctrine of passivity is their doctrine of intuition. God, said the Quietist, can never be known by an intellectual process, but by intuition; "whereas I was blind now I see".

There the Quietist would have agreed with the teaching of Francis Rous, the Cromwellian preacher, "the soul has two eyes, - one, human reason, the other far excelling that, a divine and spiritual light". The mystics, likewise, knew God through this inward revelation, but with them it was so often associated with visions and ecstasies, that it repelled ordinary religious men. Yet these men had a desire to find some short cut to God. The Quietist affirmed that such a man in a quiet period of contemplation, when the soul was more passive than active could have a direct spiritual apprehension of God, and find his life ever afterwards transformed by that simple vision of the Divine Glory.

There was something in all this teaching which appealed to the restless self-criticism, and self analysis of the independent sects in 17th Century Britain. Men had heard George Fox stressing the all-at-once experience of God; "the opening" as he calls it. And he had taught that "the spark in every soul sins not". William Penn had come near the Quietist in his saying, "there is something nearer to us than Scripture, to wit, the Word in/
in the heart from which all Scriptures come". We can understand then why the first English printed edition of "the Guide" should come from Leeds with its atmosphere of Quakerism and Independency. And also why the first Scottish edition of 1699 should be published in Glasgow near the Covenanters country.

The Quietist teaching on Grace was very like that immediate conscious revelation of God which was called the "Covenant of Grace" in 17th Century theology. However, Quietism was not an historical earthquake so we have few traces of its working. We know that "John Woolman was profoundly influenced by the 17th Century Quietists, Fénelon, Madame Guyon, and Molinos. Quietism brought depth and it cultivated calm, but it did not produce joy or thrill. Woolman lacked that spontaneous joy and bubbling humour which are essential traits of St. Francis." (1) We can only speculate about the influence of Molinos on Thomas Boston. The Ettrick quietist breathes some of his spirit, though this could be explained by the influence of parallel quietist movements in Germany and Holland. There were provocative causes in Scotland not unlike those in Molinos' Italy which would throw both men back on similar explanations of things.

In the 19th Century the influence of Molinos shows not only in much of the teaching of early Methodism but in the fact that John Wesley republished the first book of the Leeds edition of "the/

(1) Jones, Middle Years, p.126.
"the Guide". So we have Molinos linking Mediaeval Mysticism and the Evangelical Revival.

What became of the principles in dispute between Formalist and Quietist? The question is too important to be dismissed lightly; for it raises the old question of the relationship of legalist and spiritual. We can see in this conflict that the legalists kept the law and were enslaved by it; and that the others had a truer instinct and vision, as they taught the truth that "the letter killeth but the spirit maketh alive".

It might be said that the two could live together, but seldom have legalists and prophets flourished at the same time. As Dean Matthews says, "The creative word of the Lord has come very often to men who were in revolt against the priestly religion; and the Reformation, (or we might substitute Quietism), though it was many other things as well, was a renewed apprehension of the value of the prophetic kind of experience".

The experiment of Quietism failed as we have seen. The Formalist attained to power with loss to Roman Catholicism and to all Christendom. That success ushered in the universally flat 18th Century. The fall of the Quietist stirred up the sympathies of many outside the Latin countries, for men recognised that from the standpoint of universal religion the Quietists were doing a great work. And in Roman Catholicism we have spiritual men like Von Hügel lamenting the harshness of their church in its/
its ruthless attack on Molinos.

That very ruthlessness so destroyed the roots of Quietism that it has never been strong enough to challenge the Formalist since. Hence, in the 18th century, the Roman Church could afford to be indifferent. Though it had no toleration for innovations, it was less rigid in practice than in the theory, and absorbed some of the rejected teaching.

The quarrel left the principles stereotyped, but there came in a new tolerance, a feeling that though there was a cleavage deep and fundamental between the two temperaments, yet there was room for the attitude of attachment of the legalist, and also for the quietist detachment.

(1) The Legalist has gained in the general recognition by the world, of the need of the continuous teaching of the priest. The wild excesses of some followers of the Quietists led men to see that impulses do not all come from God and there is need for a guide and authority to guard against the tendency to excesses.

(2) And also men saw the need of a church where grace operates through the objective realities of worship. The Quietists had not ignored the Church. They belittled it. The Legalist stressed the need for a union of the natural and the supernatural such as the Church provides. Not only is there need of good works, exterior practices, and all the activities of the life of man in the social group, the Church, there is need also of the symbolic and/
and sacramental links which bound man and God.

(3) And the Church in opposing the anti-social character of Quietism has had the approval of the modern world. For that world has little sympathy with the ideal of retiring within one's own soul for the lonely enjoying of oneself, but wants men to consecrate by their work the social life of the world.

And there have been compensations for the Quietist. He has had the sympathy of the world in his protest against materialism. "Mediaeval Christianity rested on the idea of a Visible Church. Visible images of the saints and Virgin Mother filled men's eyes and minds"(1). The Quietist brought in an idea of an Invisible Church which by slow conquering power would become the spirit and life of the outward and Visible Church. Quietism was striving, perhaps feeling is a better word, to bring about a natural inner development, a broadening of the current of thought, a breaking down of the power of cold formalism, so that there might be a gradual liberation of mind. To the torpor of formalism it opposed "an intuitive religion of the heart" a first hand experience of God Himself. We have seen how the Roman Church has responded to the spreading of that thought. Poulain mentions that in the Jesuit order to-day there is a toleration of two currents, one stressing practice and obedience, the/

the other giving the chief place to the inner life, faith and spirituality. And in "the Salesian School" Rome tolerates the teaching that contemplation is accessible to all.

Quietism has successfully stood for the faith that there is more light and truth to break forth from God, and thereby quickened the sensibility of spiritual life and intensified inward piety. In the very spirit of Molinos was that reply of Leibnitz when invited by Bossuet to join the Roman Church, "we prefer to belong to a Church eternally variable, and for ever moving forwards". That is a Reformation sentiment, but Rome in its "theory of development" reaches a like position.

Both Churches since the days of Molinos have followed the Quietist teaching of "new light and new truth" in their tacit recognition of the work of the prophetic spirit. "Prophets and inspiration", says Von Hügel, "cannot really flourish without doctors and tradition, nor can doctors and tradition beneficently flourish without renovation by further fresh light and love".

As for Molinos himself we may paraphrase some words used by Rufus Jones about other heroic souls who failed because their ideal was not a robust and daring sainthood, but rather "a solitary mood". "The formulation of his creed was inadequate - in its philosophical, theological and psychological foundations ...

He/

(1) C.M.H. Vol. 5, p.87.
(2) Spiritual Reformers, p. 349.
He may have failed in his intellectual formulation, but at least he succeeded in finding a living God, warm and tender and near at hand, the Life of his life, the inspiration ... of his travail of soul and his brave endurance."
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