

## JOHN OF THE CROSS (1542-1551)

Saint, priest, doctor of the Church (D)

I. life. II. Works. III. Doctrinal Sources of the Saint's Thought. IV. The Main Themes of the Saint's Doctrine. V. Cult. VI. Iconography.

I. LIFE. Third son of Gonzalo de Yepes and of Catherine Alvarez, John was born in 1542 at Fontiveros (Avila, Spain). His father died when he was perhaps only two and a half years old, and from this moment on the little family began a kind of pilgrimage of hunger. In 1548 the family definitively left Fontiveros for Arevalo (Avila), where it remained until 1551. From this year on we find it at Medina del Campo (Valladolid), where young John was admitted to the school of doctrine and where he finished his elementary studies. He engaged successively in the trades of wood-worker, tailor, engraver and painter, in which trades, however, he did not have much success. He did succeed in his studies. While still at Medina he offered his services as a model acolyte in the church of the Magdalen and as a nurse in the hospital of the /Immaculate/ Conception or *de las bubas* /of the tumors/, one of the fourteen hospitals in the city. From 1559 to 1563 (these appear to be the most exact dates) he completed his study of the humanities in the academy of the Jesuit Fathers in Medina. In 1563 he was clothed in the Carmelite habit in the convent of St. Anne and, after a fervent year of novitiate, made his religious profession. Scarcely had he been professed when he obtained permission to observe the primitive rule of the Order.

From Medina he went on to Salamanca, where he studied philosophy and theology at the university, while also studying at the Carmelite college of St. Andrew, at that time a general house of studies of the Order (1564-68). He was ordained a priest at Salamanca, and in 1567 celebrated his first Mass at Medina del Campo. During the summer and autumn of 1567 he was at Medina with St. Teresa, who gives the following description of their first providential meeting:

«A short while later /after the feast of the Assumption/ a young priest, still a student at Salamanca, came to Medina. He was called Friar John of the Cross, and he came to us in the company of another religious, from whom I learned great things of his way of life. I wished to speak with him, and I remained very satisfied, thanking the Lord for the opportunity. I learned that ... he wished to become a Carthusian; but I explained my plans to him and begged him insistently to wait until the time when God would have provided us with a convent. I also made him think of the great good that would result from these plans and the service that he would render to the Lord if, in seeking a more perfect life, he would do so in his own Order. He promised to wait, provided the waiting-period would not become too prolonged» (*Foundations*, 3, n. 17).

Having come to an agreement with Teresa, John returned to Salamanca and, when the academic year of 1567-68 had finished, he came back to Medina. From here he departed with Mother Teresa for the foundation of the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Valladolid. After the monastery had been inaugurated on Aug. 15, he remained at Valladolid «in order to learn for himself the manner of living» of the Carmelite nuns (*ib.*, 10, n. 4). St.

Teresa used this stay of Friar John «to let him know — as she herself relates — our whole way of life, making sure that he would understand our every practice well, with regard both to mortification and to the cordiality of our relationships and the manner in which we spend our recreations. These latter are so well arranged that they serve to make us realize our defects and give us a bit of relaxation in order then to observe the rule in all its rigor» (ib., 13, n. 5).

Having studied the manner of life of the Discalced Carmelite nuns in detail, John discussed with Teresa the program of the reformed life to be followed by the male religious, who would live according to the same spirit and realize the apostolic desires of Teresa in the

world. Friar John was to be the cornerstone of this new Teresian project. Teresa, on her part, was much impressed by him, as is evident from the following praise which refers to this precise period: «He was so good that I could learn more from him than he from me» (ib. 13, n. 5). «Although he was living among those of the cloth, that is to say, among the Calced, he was leading a life of great perfection and observance\* (ib., 13, n. 1). «He is small of stature, but I believe very great in the eyes of God...; he is full of wisdom, made exactly for our way of life. I believe that God has destined him for this undertaking. There is no religious who does not speak well of him, because of the many penances that he has done...; his young age notwithstanding, ... we have never seen an imperfection in him. He is a man of courage... The spirit with which God has endowed him and the virtue demonstrated by him on many occasions have given me much satisfaction. It seems to me that we are beginning well. He is a man of deep prayer and is very intelligent» (*Letters*, Rome, 1957, pp. 52-54).

St. Teresa herself undertook to find a building; for this purpose she went to visit a house at Duruelo which had been offered to her by a gentleman of Avila. She arrived there on June 30, 1588, a little before nightfall, after a trip full of skillful maneuvers. The dwelling offered «a reasonably-sized portico, a room divided in two, an attic and a little kitchen. This was the whole edifice of that convent of ours!;> She immediately made plans of adjustment: «I thought that the portico could serve as the church; that the choir would go well in the attic; and the dormitory, in the room» (*Foundations*, 13, n. 3).

John carried out this plan, even materially. He left Valladolid in order to arrange the country house «go that they will be able to stay there halfway decently» (ib., 14, n. 1). The house was shortly ready, since there was no money to arrange it better; on Nov. 28 (according to others, on the 30th), when the work was finished and all the necessary permissions had been obtained, «the first Mass was celebrated in that little porch that I call of Bethlehem, because I do not think it was any better» (ib., 14, n. 6). However, to the first Discalced Carmelites, «the house did not seem uncomfortable. Rather, they thought they were in a place of delights» (ib. 14, n. 4). This was the beginning of the reformed life among the male religious of Carmel at Duruelo (Avila). Friar John, who was chosen for her reform and was formed with so much motherly interest by St. Teresa, changed his religious name from John of St. Mathias to John of the Cross.

From Feb., 1569, until the month of April of 1571, he filled the office of novice-master at Duruelo and at Mancera de Abajo (Salamanca), to which the foundation of Duruelo was transferred on June 11, 1570. For an undetermined time, probably between the middle of June and the end of Sept., 1570, John went on to the convent of Pastrana to set the novitiate there in order. In April of 1571 he was transferred from Mancera to Alcala de Henares (Madrid), as rector of the college of the Discalced Carmelites.

On Oct. 6, 1571, Teresa took possession of her office as prioress of the monastery of *The Incarnation* at Avila; and the following year she asked for and obtained from the apostolic vicar, Peter Fernandez, John of the Cross as confessor to the community. Thus the saint arrived at Avila probably at the end of May, 1572, and remained there permanently until the first days of Dec, 1577. (A few absences from Avila during these years were never of long duration.) John's spiritual influence on the monastery of *The Incarnation* and on other sectors of the city during these years (1572-77) was noteworthy. St. Teresa herself remained indebted for it and could never forget it.

The misunderstandings, and the at least apparent conflicts of jurisdiction, between the Carmelites of the old branch and the newly formed Discalced gave rise to a very painful experience in the life of St. John: he was arrested with violence and transferred from Avila to Toledo during the first week of Dec, 1577. Condemned as disobedient to the superiors of the Order, rebellious and contumacious, he was incarcerated for nine months in the prison of the convent at Toledo. Though subjected to the censures and rigors of the Order in these matters, he did not turn his back on the reform. Some days after the feast of the Assumption in 1578, between two and three o'clock in the morning, he escaped from prison. On Oct. 9, 1578, he took part in a meeting of the Discalced at Almodovar del Campo and was named vicar of the convent of The Calvary (Jaen) in Andalusia. During the first days of Nov. he took up his office of superior of the convent.

On July 13, 1579, he left for Baeza (Jaen), where on the following day he inaugurated the college of the Discalced, which he governed as rector until the first days of Jan. of 1582. From March 3 till 16, 1581, the chapter of separation of the Discalced took place at Alcala de Henares. They were constituted as a province separate from the rest of the Order, according to the concession of the brief *Pia Consideratione* /With pious consideration/ of Pope Gregory XIII (July 22, 1580). John took an active part in this assembly and was named third definator. In Jan. of 1582 he took possession of the priorate of The Martyrs at Granada, and was reconfirmed in the same office in May of 1583. In Oct. of 1585 he was named vicar provincial for Andalusia and expended many efforts in this office, applying his talents to the government of the religious, both male and female, in a most satisfactory way.

In the chapter that opened at Valladolid on May 18, 1587, John left the office of vicar provincial and for the third time was elected prior of Granada. On July 10, 1587, Pope Sixtus V, with the brief *Cum de statu* granted to the Discalced the faculty of electing a vicar general, under the obedience of the prior general of the Order. On June 18, 1588,

the first general chapter was convened at Madrid: the saint was elected first definator general. Then, after the new form of government willed by Nicholas Doria, vicar general, had been introduced and become known by the name of «The Consulta», St. John was named third counselor. On Aug. 10, 1588, the seat of The Consulta was set at Segovia and John was transferred to that place, also taking over as superior of the community.

At the extraordinary general chapter, convoked in Madrid in June of 1590, John opposed some extremist measures of Doria. On June 1, 1591, again at Madrid, began the ordinary general chapter. St. John was left without any office; and after various unpleasant situations, during which, saint as he was, he preserved a unique peace and serenity, he left for the province of Andalusia and about Aug. 10 arrived at the solitary convent of La Peñuela (Jaen). A month later he fell ill; at dusk of Nov. 28 he reached the convent of Ubeda in search of a cure for the infirmity that tormented him. While he was in such bodily pain a shameful persecution, raised against him through the resentment of a former subject, Diego Evangelista – judged by his contemporaries as a «choleric youth of little prudence» – ran its course. Chrysostom, the prior of Ubeda, also nourished a particular aversion for St. John; but John was not disturbed, and gave to all a marvelous example of religious obedience to his superior.

John of the Cross died a saintly death in Ubeda at midnight between the 13 and 14 of December, 1591, at the age of forty-nine.

Chronologically, he was one of the first Discalced Carmelites, and he was first in holiness of life; but, hierarchically, he was never in first place in the Reform, for he was never provincial or vicar general. His true and proper mission in the Reform was that of father, teacher and undisputed master of the ways of the spirit. This mission extended to other religious Orders as well, to secular priests and to very many lay persons, for whom he was a true master and guide. The teaching of the saint, within and outside the Teresian Reform, was oral and written: the first, considered in its historico-chronological reality, preceded, accompanied and followed the second, with the two enlightening and completing each other mutually.

Eye-witnesses, who tell of his oral teaching, present the figure of a perfect teacher in the saint: he was in complete possession of his doctrine, he was excellent in the art of communicating it, and he had unique efficacy in enlightening minds and inflaming hearts. (See the article of the present writer, San Giovanni della Croce, «*uomo celestiale e divino*» /St. John of the Cross, «heavenly and divine man»/, in *Rivista di vita spirituale*, XI (1957), pp. 338-46, a collection of the more noteworthy testimonies to the teaching ability of St. John.) To these talents, which more directly related to his functioning as a teacher, were added his moral endowments in the exercise of his mission. (The witnesses recall his great patience, charity, gentleness and delicacy.) A great number of his disciples have used the gifts of his teaching, wisely doled out and adapted to the capacity and maturity of his hearers, as is evident from a simple perusal of one or more of his great biographies.

It can be said that the vocation of St. John of the Cross to teaching lay precisely in his oral teaching, which ranged from an intense apostolate of preaching, confessing and catechizing in the places near Duruelo (Foundations, 14, nn. 8-9), to the spiritual direction of his religious and of privileged souls like that of St. Teresa, Anne of Jesus, etc., from the advice that he gave to mule-drivers along the road and in inns (see the declaration of Martin of the Assumption, a travel companion, in BMC, XIV, p. 88) to the apostolate in the university surroundings of Alcala and of Baeza and to an extraordinary assiduity in the confessional (see Innocent of St. Andrew, an eye-witness at Baeza, in BMC, XIV, p. 64).

John of the Cross spoke willingly of spiritual things and, above all, of God alone; witnesses are in accord that he did not know how to speak of anything else — «always, only and most profoundly of God, to all!» This was, in fact, the central, fundamental and unique theme of his oral teaching. All the rest was ordered to this sovereign reality (see some of the more eloquent declarations in BMC, XIV, pp. 14, 39-40, 61, 121, 137).

Before such a decisive vocation to oral teaching, we are surprised by the fact that the saint was so reluctant to write. We must be doubly grateful to those who, knowing him intimately and hearing him speak for hours and hours without tiring (see BMC, XIII, p. 378), deluged him with requests to write, until he gave in (see *Ascent* /prologue/, n. 9; *Canticle* /prologue/, n. 3; *Flame* /prologue/, n. 1).

In order to determine the epoch during which the saint wrote his works — we are speaking only of those that have come down to us — we must concentrate only on the last fourteen years of his life (1578-91), from his thirty-sixth to his forty-ninth years. These years can be further divided into four well-determined periods:

1) In the prison of Toledo (1577-78). Characteristic of this period is his exclusively poetic production, and the fact that the saint wrote without having anyone ask him to do so. He obtained ink, paper and pen from the jailer; and then, when he escaped, he carried with him the notebook in which he had written the poems during his last months of imprisonment (May-Aug.).

2) In the convent of The Calvary and at Baeza (1578-81). Characteristic of this period are the occasional commentaries on some stanzas of his poems. His great works began to take form in consequence of the requests of his friars at The Calvary and at Baeza, also of his spiritual daughters of the monastery of the Discalced nuns of Beas de Segura (Jaen). He had taken over the spiritual direction of the latter at the express wish of St. Teresa, who knew him well and presented him to the community as «a heavenly and divine man» and exhorted all of the nuns to go to him, «because he is very spiritual, learned, and full of experience» (Letters, Ital. edition, Postulation of the O.C.D., /1957/, pp. 686-87). During this period St. John also traced the grand syntheses of his thought, such as The Cautions and the design of the Mount of Perfection.

3) The stay at Granada (1582-88). Characteristic of this period is the fact that, as a result of pressing requests, he brought to conclusion some of the works begun

previously; he wrote others; he began still others without finishing them; he revised and retouched the ones already written. It is the most active period of the literary and ministerial career of the saintly doctor.

4) The stay at Segovia, la Penuela, Ubeda (1588-91). The characteristic of these last years is the decline in his activity as a writer, which paralleled his decline in health; more than anything else, he wrote letters pervaded with the spirit of God and inspired by the highest degree of charity toward his neighbor. He also revised some of his previous writings.

II. WORKS. In this listing we follow a division that is more practical than technical and that permits us in good part to follow the chronology, which latter is very important to understand the thought of any author well: poetic works, prose works, mixed works (poetry and prose).

#### Poetic works

1) En una noche oscura /In a dark night/, or «songs of the soul that rejoices in having reached the high state of perfection that is union with God through the way of self-denial». Eight stanzas of five verses each, technically liras, the work was probably composed in the prison at Toledo, or immediately after in the same city (1578).

2) Cantico Espiritual /Spiritual Canticle/, «songs between the soul and the Bridegroom\*. In its first version, it is composed of thirty-nine stanzas (Canticle A); in the second, of forty (Canticle B). The metrical form is still the lira of five verses.

Comparison of the stanzas in the two compositions:

Canticle A	1-10	Canticle B	1-10
	11-14		12-15
	15-24		24-33
	25-26		16-17
	27-28		22-23
	29-30		20-21
	31-32		18-19
	33-39		34-40

This work was not written entirely at one time. The safest historical information is this: he composed stanzas 1 to 31 of Canticle A in the prison at Toledo (1578); the others, later, either at Baeza or at Granada (1579-84).

3) *Que bien se yo la fuente* /Oh, well do I know the fountain/, «a song of the soul that is refreshed in knowing God by faith». A most delightful little poem composed in the prison of Toledo (1578). See the long historico-doctrinal commentary in *La fonte nella notte...* /*Revista di vita spirituale*/, XVI /1962/, pp. 393-425.

4) *Romances* /Romances/, a series of nine poems of very simple literary form, but rich in biblico-dogmatic doctrine, which take their starting-point from the prologue of the Gospel of St. John, In the beginning was the Word, and in reality are a commentary on it. In all, there are three hundred and ten verses, composed mostly, if not entirely, in the prison of Toledo (1578).

5) *Romance*, on psalm 136, Upon the rivers of Babylon, also composed in prison, with clear allusions to his own imprisonment, to the Reform (Sion), and to the Ancient Observance (Babylon).

6) *Un pastorcico* /A little shepherd/, «a divine-type song of Christ for the soul.» Composed between 1582 and 1584 at Granada, it had scarcely been written when some spiritual-minded persons set it to music and sang it through the streets.

7) *Llama de amor viva* /Living flame of love/, «songs of the soul in intimate communication of union of love with Gcd». Four stanzas of six verses each, technically liras, composed at Granada, almost certainly in 1584, and dedicated to Lady Anne of Penalosa, a spiritual daughter of the saint and a great benefactress of the Order.

8) *Entreme donde no supe* /I entered I knew not where/, «stanzas composed after an ecstasy of fulfilling contemplation».

9) *Vivo sin vivir en mi* /I live without living in myself/, «stanzas of the soul that struggles to see God».

10) *Tras de un amoroso lance* /Through a loving leap/ speaks of the hope of heaven which attains as much as it hopes for.

11) *Sin ammo e con arrimo* /Without support and with support/, a «divine-like commentary» on the effects of love in the soul.

12) *For toda la hermosura* /For all the beauty/ magnificently treats of the transcendence of God, of His excellence above all creatures.

(We know very little about the time of composition of these five poems /nn. 8-12/, but certainly they were written not later than 1586.)

13) *Del Verbo divino /On the Divine Word/*. The four verses that have come down to us are the refrain of a longer composition that was sung by the religious on Christmas night, as they celebrated a kind of sacred presentation, through the corridors of the convent, of the Gospel event narrated by Luke 2: 6 (see BMC, XIV, p. 25; Alonso, Vida, Nat. Libr. of Madrid, ms, 13460, f. 127).

14) *Suma de perfection /Sum of perfection/*, four verses that comprehend a program of perfection: «Forgetfulness of the created — the remembrance of the Creator — attention to the interior — and perseverance in loving the Beloved.» We do not have any information about when and where this work was composed; it was printed for the first time in 1667, and even the early chronicler of the Order attributes it to St. John (Reform, t. 6, l. 23, c. 33, n. 3).

#### Prose works

1) *Cautelas /Cautions/*, a few substantial pages in which the soul is instructed and trained in the struggle against its three enemies: the world, the devil and the flesh. It is a compendium of the previous traditional ascetical strategy, and anticipates the tracts on spiritual combat. It is a true, short manual of perfection, heavily monastic in tone, written originally for the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Beas (1578-79).

2) *Avisos a un religioso /Counsels to a religious/*, a true guide for the rapid attainment of religious perfection. The four counsels include the same number of virtues: resignation, mortification, the practice of the virtues, bodily and spiritual solitude. The doctrine is integrated with the *Cautions* in the most homogeneous way. We know nothing definite about the time and place of composition; the intended receiver of this short manual seems to have been a lay brother of the Order.

3) *Dichos de luz y amor /Words of light and love/*. This title covers a collection of short maxims. According to the declaration of the author in the prologue of the first and most important collection, the words or sayings are to be words of discernment for one who walks in the way of perfection, of light for his path, of love in his commitment to walk. The normative content of these thoughts suggests a kind of street-regulatory code of the spirit; all of John's sayings are so many different articles that will regulate the way of walking in the footsteps of Jesus, «by making oneself like Him in life, in character, in the virtues, and conformed to the nakedness and purity of His spirit» (see the prologue). These sayings were written or compiled from 1578 on. In the first series, in the actual handwriting of the saint, is included the very beautiful *Prayer of the enamoured soul* («a rhapsodic cry, with a conciseness and a fullness that can be compared only with St. Paul,» writes L. de Grandmaison).

4) *Censura y parecer /Censure and judgment/*, an unfavorable judgment in regard to the spirit of a Discalced Carmelite nun. Criteria for discerning a true from a false spirit are listed, and opportune remedies are suggested. An authentic short treatise on the discernment of spirits, it is very useful and practical for spiritual directors. It was

written in consequence of a request by Doria, the vicar general of the Discalced from June 18, 1588.

5) *Ordenanzas /Statutes/*, statutes for the Confraternity of the Nazarenes organized in the church of the Discalced Carmelite Fathers at Baeza, and prepared by the saint while he was vicar provincial of Andalusia (1585-87). Extant are only a few lines, in which, however, we immediately note John's good sense, in harmony with his teachings on true and substantial devotion given in the Ascent (1. 3, cc. 35-44).

6) *Letters*. The greater part of the letters has been

lost. Those extant are a real treasure and, with the exception of one of 1581, belong to the last six years of his life (1586-91). They reveal an out-of-the-ordinary maturity and spiritual delicacy; they also provide direct contact with the warm and outflowing heart of the saint.

#### Mixed works

1) *The Mountain*, a simple design, the sketch of a mountain, with words or explanations that illustrate the picture. The various names with which it was designated by its author are: Mount Carmel, Mount of Perfection, Ascent of Mount Carmel, or simply The Mountain. In its first draft it goes back to 1578-79, when, as confessor and spiritual father of the Carmelite nuns of Baes, he made as many copies of the design as there were nuns, so that they could carry it in their breviary, «even though afterwards he added and corrected some things.» He also gave it to other communities of Discalced nuns, for example, those of Caravaca, and also to his male religious (see the various testimonies in BMC, X, p. 325; XIII, p. 400; XIV, p. 14).

2) *Subida del Monte Carmelo /Ascent of Mount Carmel/*. It is his most voluminous and most methodical work. Materially considered, it embraces:

a) A graphic design of the Mountain which, in the mind of the author, must be considered as the design of the whole book.

b) The general title: *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, which «treats of the way in which a soul can dispose itself to reach quickly to union with God. It gives counsels and very useful teaching to beginners and to the proficient, so that they may know how to free themselves from every natural good, so that they may not allow any obstacles to hinder the goods of the spirit, so that they may remain in the extreme nakedness and liberty required by divine union». The contents of the book cannot be stated more clearly or more concisely.

c) The subject-matter.

d) Songs: *In a dark night*, which are the poetical design of the work.

e) The prologue, in which the scope and the apostolic motivation of the work are enunciated, as well as the preoccupations of the author, the themes that he intends to develop, etc.

f) The three books into which the work is divided (of 15, 32 and 45 chapters). The greater part of this unfinished work was written at Granada, though it had been begun at Baeza or perhaps even in the convent of *The Calvary*. Therefore it seems that its composition must be placed between 1578 and 1585.

3) *Noche oscura* /Dark Night/. Although editorially it is presented as separate from the Ascent, it is, in fact, but the fourth part of the latter. The various proofs which demonstrate that the Night is part of the Ascent have been evaluated by John of Jesus Mary (see *El diptico Subida-Noche*, in *Sanjuanistica*, Rome /1943/, pp. 28-31). The conclusion is this: The Ascent and the Night form a true diptych. The Night was not divided by the saint into either books or chapters; the actual division into two books, of 14 and of 25 chapters respectively, goes back to the principal edition of the complete Works (Alcala, 1618). Written at Granada between 1582-85, it too remained unfinished. Both the *Ascent* and the *Night* were inspired by the same stanzas of *In a Dark Night*, for which the saint intended to provide a commentary. This promise, however, was fulfilled only minimally; the last six stanzas are without commentary, although we do have a summary explanation of the third (N 2, 25). This lacuna, however, can be filled by the doctrine of the *Canticle* and of the *Flame*, inasmuch as, by his own admission, St. John, in the last six stanzas of the Night, intended to speak of the «various and admirable effects of the enlightenment of the spirit and of the union of love with God» (*Night*, prologue).

4) *Cantico Espiritual* /Spiritual Canticle/. The original title is: «An explanation of the stanzas which treat of the action of love between the soul and Christ, its Bridegroom, in which some points and effects of prayer are touched upon and explained...» There are two equally authentic versions: in the first, the saint follows the order of the stanzas of Canticle A; in the second, that of Canticle B (see above). More than half of the commentary is transferred word-for-word from the first to the second Canticle. Among the new elements that make Canticle B clearer and more methodical are the subject matter at the beginning after the transcription of all the stanzas, and the comment on the following stanza that appears before the commentary on the greater part of the stanzas.

Canticle A, begun at Beas, The Calvary, and Baeza, was completed during the year 1584 at Granada. Canticle B, with revisions, changes, additions, etc., was finished during the June of 1586 at the latest. In both versions the Spiritual Canticle is dedicated to Anne of Jesus (see prologue), at that time prioress of the Discalced nuns at Granada.

(We cannot stop to consider the bitter controversy regarding the authenticity of the second version. The principal adversary or, at least, the «ideal» leader of those who deny its authenticity is still Chevallier, a monk of Solesmes. For a very complete bibliographical notice in regard to the whole debate, see Eulogius of the Virgin of

Carmel, *La cuestion eritica del «Cantico Espiritual»*, in *El Monte Carmelo*, LXV /1957/ pp. 309-23.)

5) *Llama de amor viva* /Living Flame of Love/. The current title is taken from the first verse of the poem that is the subject of the commentary; but the original title is: «An exposition of the stanzas which treat of the most intimate and authentic union and transformation of the soul in God.» This work also has two versions, but the differences between the one and the other are much less noteworthy than those of the Canticum. In both versions the order of the songs is the same.

Flame A was written during prayer at Granada in only fifteen days, while the saint was vicar provincial (1585-87); it is held more probable that it was written at the end of 1585. It seems that Flame B was written during the months of Aug.-Sept. of 1591, while John was in the convent of la Peñuela or, perhaps, a bit earlier, at Segovia. Both versions are dedicated to Anne of Peñalosa, who had insisted on having a commentary on the stanzas also written for her (see prologue-dedication) .

6) To complete the picture of the work of St. John of the Cross, besides the literary works, one must cite the works of figurative art to which ancient documents point (see M. Florisoone, *Esthetique et mystique d'apres Sainte Therese d'Avila et Saint Jean de la Croix*, Paris, 1956, pp. 197-98). The only one that has come down to us is the drawing on paper of Jesus on the Cross (oval format, 0,057X0,047), preserved in a reliquary of The Incarnation at Avila.

In my study of *Il Cristo crocifisso nella visione di S. Giovanni della Croce* /Christ Crucified in the vision of St. John of the Cross/ (in *Il Carmelo e le sue missioni*, LXII /1963/, pp. 51-58) I have gathered the most secure data, which I here summarize. The drawing dates from the period 1572-77, during which the saint was confessor to the community of the Incarnation at Avila and was inspired by a vision: Jesus had appeared to him on the cross, «as if He had just then died... with His members relaxed, with His head bowed low on His breast, with his hands torn by the weight of the inert body, which in turn bent the legs unable to support it... Impressed by the vision, he took up his pen and reproduced this Christ on a small sheet of paper» (Chrysogonus, *Vita di S. Giov. della Croce*, Ital. vers., Milan /1956/, p. 137. There is also an English version.). The saint gave it as a gift to the Carmelite Anne Mary of Jesus, who, after having left it for a short time in the hands of a brother-Carmelite, always carried it with her and then left it to her monastery, where it is still preserved. It is an extraordinarily powerful and plastic image, and reveals how much the saint had penetrated into the mystery of the sorrows of Christ. Engravers and painters have reproduced it more than once; modern photography has better revealed its details, even though the paper has deteriorated. Recently this painting inspired Salvador Dali for his well-known Christ of St. John of the Cross (1951), now in the Glasgow Art Gallery, in Scotland (see M. Florisoone, op. cit., pp. 195-6).

III. DOCTRINAL SOURCES OF THE SAINT'S THOUGHT. (Since we must frequently cite the works of the saint, we indicate here the abbreviations to be used in the following study. A refers to the *Ascent*; N refers to the *Dark Night*; C stands for the *Spiritual Canticle*; F corresponds to the *Liming Flame*. In the works A and N the numbers following indicate successively the book, the chapter, the marginal number; in the C and F, on the other hand, such numbers refer to the stanza and to the marginal number. Another frequently used abbreviation is BMC, where the reference is to the *Biblioteca mistica carmelitana /Carmelite Mystical Library/*, ed. Silverius of St. Teresa. We cite the volumes X-XIV (Burgos 1924-31), which contain the works of the saint and a selection of the testimony at the process of beatification /Vol. XIVA)

John of the Cross reduces the sources of his works to three: knowledge, experience, and Holy Scripture (A /prologue/, n. 2; C /prologue/, nn. 3-4; F /prologue/, n. 1). His knowledge is divided into acquired and infused; his experience into personal and that of others. The saint had had excellent results in his studies in the humanities at Medina and in his university courses at Salamanca. A simple reading of his works presents him as a man of culture, of great genius and of immense good judgment. His citations of authors, whether sacred (Augustine, Gregory the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Teresa of Jesus, etc.) or profane (Aristotle, Boetius, Boscan, Ovid) are not many, because he was not a slave, but the master of his culture and of his knowledge. (For the many declarations of his contemporaries in regard to the great acquired knowledge of the saint, see Chrysogonus, *Vita*, c. 11, notes 36, 37, 38. However, these are found only in the Spanish edition; in the Italian version they have been eliminated.)

Eye-witnesses do not fail to stress the fact of his infused knowledge (see BMC, XIV, pp. 355, 397, 448). Father John Evangelist, his confessor and favorite disciple, declares: «His soul was like a supernaturally enlightened temple of God, in which there sounded divine oracles for the souls that approached him» (BMC, XIII, p. 388). John himself was convinced of this (C /prologue/, nn. 1-2; F /prologue/, n. 1). In regard to his personal experience, besides the affirmations in the prologues to his great works, he makes very discreet allusions, here and there as he writes. His contemporaries were convinced of this — especially his above-mentioned confessor and companion, who also read his writings and transcribed the *Ascent* (BMC, XIII, p. 385).

Yet much more often St. John alluded to the experience of others (A1, 11, 5; A2, 22, 16-17: «of which we have very much experience»). For the saintly doctor, Holy Scripture had a special value as a source: he was a dedicated expert and assiduous reader of the Bible, which, according to his contemporaries, he knew by heart (BMC, XIII, pp. 375, 386). In his prologues, he himself declares that the Bible was truly the principal source of his works. This is also evident from his very numerous biblical quotations, both explicit and implicit, as well as from the doctrinal importance which he attributes to certain biblical texts that become, as it were, the hinges of all his doctrine or of a certain series of ideas (see A3, 16, 1; N2, 11, 3-4; A 2, 7; A 2, 4, 4; A 2, 26, 10). It is also evident from the inspiration that pervades a whole book in regard to the object and the literary form deriving from Sacred Scripture (see the *Canticle*, inspired by the

Canticle of Canticles; so also, in good part, the Ascent-Night; and the Romances, inspired by the prologue of the Gospel of St. John).

Hence the sources of John of the Cross' thought can be reduced to knowledge, experience and Holy Scripture, all used according to the meaning and the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church (see A, C, F, /prologue/) by a saint enamoured of God, in whom there was an indivisible continuity between life and word and pen.

IV. THE MAIN THEMES OF THE SAINT'S DOCTRINE. The works of St. John of the Cross contain doctrinal riches for thought and life that are not easily synthesized. Hence we give only some indications. The saint himself does not fail to prospect various possibilities of a synthesis when he opens visions of the spiritual itinerary in two or three pages or also in a few lines (see A 2, 4, 4,; A 2, 5, 5; A 2, 7, 11; C, 23; F 1, 11-13; F2, 32-36; F3, 27-67; F4, 14-16). See

also the *Cautions, Counsels to a Religious*, the design of the *Mountain of Perfection*, and, among the poems, In a *Dark Night, Spiritual Canticle, Sum of Perfection*. Among the letters we point out that of Oct. 12, 1589, to Joan of Padraza, which contains a complete program of the spiritual life.)

In order to understand the thought of the saint more surely, it is best to read his works from the vantage point that he himself had and maintained while he was writing, and to try to understand the basic idea which inspired all his writing. This idea can easily be individualized by any reader. St. John includes it in a formula which he deliberately chose and favored: «union of the soul with God.» He has just begun the Ascent when he informs the reader that the top of the Mountain, that is, the high state of perfection, will be called «union of the soul with God» (Ascent /subject matter/). When he has need of consolidating a whole series of ideas, he recurs to the reality of perfect union with God (A1, 11, 2-3; A 2, 7, 11. Perhaps the most noteworthy example of this method is found in chap. 5 of 1, 2 of the Ascent; but see also A 2, 4, 8).

This chosen formula distinguishes the two poles that are united and their connection. The poles are God and the soul; and the connection that unites them is precisely the supernatural union that is established between them and becomes ever more intimate. Certainly, it would be more exact to say, the union of man with God. But we must respect the habitual terminology of the saint, who only a few times speaks of «the union of men with God» (C, 37, 3).

The union to which the saint continually refers in his books and towards which he directs and urges souls most decisively is «union through grace». He proposes a union not of a certain degree, but of the highest possible state, of the highest perfection attainable in this order of creation and in this world. He also insists that the highest possible union to which he spurs souls on constitutes a whole with initial union; there is no essential difference between the first and the last degree of union. Therefore, a person who considers the

full development of grace will understand the potentialities that were hidden in the first seed, just as a person who examines the potentialities inherent in the first seed can conjecture the possible future development.

In setting this kind of union as the ideal goal to be reached, John of the Cross excludes in the most absolute way several varieties: a pantheistic union or identification of the soul with God (A 2, 5, 7; C22, 4; C31, 1; F 2, 34), a natural union (A 2, 5, 3), a hypostatic union (C 37, 3; C 39, 5), the union of glory or the beatific vision.

The saint speaks simply of «union», of «the union», with the article; that is, the union par excellence. To this word, which always remains fundamental, are added some others, such as state, God, soul, divine, love, Beloved, which qualify it more precisely. Combinations between these various words are also used: union with God; union of God; divine union; the divine union with God; union or the union of the soul with God; union of love; the union of the Beloved; the union of love with God, the spiritual union between the soul and God; state, high state of union; the divine union of love of God; the divine union of the soul with God; total or permanent union. His transparency of language allows a clear view of the content. Then, to individualize his thought still more, he makes use of other equivalent expressions: perfection, the perfection. To this term he adds other words that explain it better: the state of perfection; high state of perfection ; perfect state of union through love. And in line with the best biblico-spiritual tradition, he will designate the highest state of union with God by the name of «spiritual marriage», though here too he adds other words (see C 14-15; 30; C 20, 9; C 22; C 39, 1; C 40, 5, 7; etc.).

Besides these terms, he uses others as well, such as «transformation,» combined with other words: state, perfect, love, God. (The context will indicate when «union of the soul with God» is meant to signify the highest and most perfect state of union and when, on the other hand, it refers to the inferior degrees of the spiritual life, as in the degree of spiritual espousal /C 14-15, 4, 29/ or in the simple absence of mortal sin in the state of grace.)

There are four points in which he speaks more clearly of the union of the soul with God (A1, 11, 2-3; A2, 5; C 22; in the Canticle A, 27; F3, 24-25). In the first, he insists more than anything else on the importance of union of will. In the second, he underlines the same kind of union while introducing other elements. In the third, he gives us a much more detailed description. In the fourth, he puts into focus the differences that exist between the highest union (spiritual marriage) and the state immediately below (spiritual espousal).

The highest state of union, or spiritual marriage, between the soul and the Son of God, its Bridegroom, «is a total transformation into the Beloved. In it, one part gives itself to the other in total possession with a certain consummation of loving union in which, as far as it is possible in this life, the soul is made divine and God by participation. For this reason I believe that such a state is never verified without the soul being confirmed in grace, because faithfulness is ratified between one part and the other; thus the

faithfulness of God is confirmed in the soul. And therefore this is the highest degree to which one can attain in this world... In it is effected a union of the two natures and a communication of divine nature to the human, in such a way that, even though each preserves its own being, each one seems to be God. If this cannot happen in a perfect manner in this life, still it happens in a way that transcends whatever one can say or think» (C 22, 3-5). A synthesis of this thought is the affirmation that the soul is God by participation (A 2, 5, 7); one cannot say more, though one ought not say less either (C 39, 4-6).

The union of the soul with God in the fullness just described is the goal towards which all the teachings of St. John of the Cross (A 2, 24, 4; A 2, 26, 10), all the desires of the soul and of God Himself (C 22, 6) tend. And there is only one way that leads there: Jesus Christ!

The soul's journey towards divine union includes the «dark nights». In his poetry St. John speaks of only one night; but at the beginning of the first book of the Ascent when he must apply his ideas to the concrete person, composed of a lower and a higher part, sensitive and spiritual, he immediately sees himself obliged to divide the one night into two. Then, as he considers the double aspect of active and passive, he makes a subdivision that results in the complete terminology: «active night of the senses; passive night of the senses; active night of the spirit; passive night of the spirit». Why this name? Those experiences that other writers «call purgations or purifications of the soul, we here call nights, because the soul, in both one and the other (night of the senses and of the spirit), walks as if at night, in the dark» (AI, 1, 1). The idea of night is quite clear in context.

The advance of the soul is secure if it is enlightened, guided, accomplished in the footsteps of Christ, in the imitation of His life (AI, 13, 3-6; A 2, 7; CII, 10-11). The purest ideal of the Christian's soul is that his life become more divine than human, transformed as it is into the life of Christ (C 12, 7-8; C 22, 6; F2, 34). And on this unique journey of loving imitation are found the divers stages of spiritual progress and the souls who are committed to it: the beginners, on the purgative way; the proficient, on the illuminative way; and the perfect, on the unitive way (C /subject matter/; C22, 3).

a) Beginners. «The state and the practice of beginners is that of meditation and of eliciting discursive acts and exercises by making use of the imagination» (F 3, 32). They must reflect and meditate; and the principal subject matter of their meditations should be the life of Christ (AI, 13, 3). All this spiritual effort is supported by the one and only desire (love-appetite, the saint will say) to imitate Christ and to conform to His example, by comporting oneself in every action as He would comport Himself. To be successful, it is necessary to renounce every sensible pleasure that is not purely for the honor and glory of God, and to persevere without that pleasure «for love of Jesus Christ», Who in this life did not have and did not want to have any other pleasure than that of doing the will of His Father (AI, 13, 4). The diligence and zeal used by beginners to succeed are multi-faceted (A 1, 14, 3). The sensible fervor in spiritual matters with which they are inundated by the grace of God – Who acts with them like a loving

mother with her tender child – makes all the renunciations and all the spiritual practices easy, pleasant and desirable (NI, 1, 2-3; AI, 14, 3). The pedagogy of God takes this path: to draw by means of spiritual sweetness, in order to make the soul forget and overcome the attractions of sensitive, material and temporal things.

Notwithstanding the good will and constancy in their spiritual practices, these beginners ordinarily commit many faults in their good works. The roots of their many imperfections are fundamentally two: 1) beginners are urged on to the spiritual practices and devout exercises by the consolation and by the joy that they find in them; 2) they are not yet accustomed to virtue by means of a bitter struggle. The saint presents a very detailed picture of the imperfections of these persons, taking his point of departure from the seven capital vices (NI, 2-7). The reading of these chapters makes it clear that it is God Who must place the beginners in the state of the proficient (NI, 7, 7). The soul has not been able to purify itself actively of so many imperfections; hence it is not even minimally disposed to the divine union of perfection of love (NI, 3, 3; see also NI, 2, 8; 4, 3, 8; 6, 6, 8; 7, 5). Nevertheless, it must do all that it can on its part to succeed, so as to merit to be the object, on the part of God, of that healing by means of which He cures the soul of the imperfections from which it has not been able to free itself completely (NI, 3, 3; NI, 6, 8).

God's intervention in individual souls takes place at a point of -maturity decided or chosen by God Himself. It takes place at the best time, when the beginners are devoting themselves to their spiritual practices with the greatest pleasure and delight, and when they feel that the sun of divine favor shines most clearly. Then God enters upon the scene and «He leaves them in the dark, to a degree that they no longer know which way to turn with their sense of imagination and with discursive prayer. As a matter of fact, they cannot, as in the past, take a step in the way of meditation, because their interior sense is drowned in this night and they themselves are left in such great aridity that not only do they not find any point and taste in spiritual things, and in the devout exercises in which they used to find delight and pleasure, but, on the contrary, they find displeasure and bitterness» (N 1, 8, 3).

The aridities and the other phenomena just indicated could, speaking in the abstract, proceed not from the intervention of God (that is, from the «night» and the purification of the appetite), but from some other source. The possible causes can be reduced to three: 1) sins or imperfections recently committed; 2) weakness and tepidity; 3) some bad humor, such as melancholy, or physical indisposition. St. John indicates three signs by which a spiritual person can know that he is walking in the way of the night and of sensitive purification. These signs refer precisely to the three hypothetical causes just indicated (N 1, c. 9).

First sign: «...just as the soul does not find pleasure and consolation in the things of God, neither does it find consolation in any created thing.» From this a person can know that recently committed sins or faults are not the cause of the aridity.

But could not the absence of taste for the things of heaven and of earth be caused by some physical indisposition or by some melancholic humor? Certainly! In order to understand that the aridity and displeasure in the things of God do not arise from tepidity, there is the second sign: «...the soul ordinarily holds on to the remembrance of God with solicitude and careful diligence; seeing itself without that taste for the things of God, it thinks it is not serving the Lord, but going backwards.»

Third sign: «...the soul can no longer meditate or engage in discursive prayer by supporting itself, as in the past, on the sense of imagination, even though it puts much personal effort into the attempt.»

(In the *Ascent 2*, 13-15, St. John also speaks of the three signs which the soul ought to discover in itself in order to know the moment at which it is necessary to abandon meditation and discursive prayer in order to pass on to the state of contemplation. I do not intend to enter in the great controversy raised in regard to the identity of the signs of the *Ascent* and of the *Night*.)

b) Proficients. According to the saint, «souls begin to enter into this dark night when God gradually weans them away from the state of beginners, of those, namely, who use meditation on their spiritual journey, and He begins to place them in that of the proficients, which is that of the contemplatives» (AI, 1, 3; NI, 1, 1).

The progress of the soul that passes along this narrow way from the state of beginners to that of the proficient is clear in a double sense of the word: 1) they become proficient in the virtues, by deepening through that way the knowledge of themselves and of their own miseries, by deepening also their knowledge of God, of humility of spirit, of spiritual poverty, love of their neighbor, submission and obedience, sobriety, meekness, etc. Thus, during this aridity, they deepen all the theological and moral virtues. (A picture of all these advantages and advances — the opposite of all the defects that have made the passive night of the senses necessary — is given in NI, 12-13.)

2) They also become proficient in the ways of prayer, inasmuch as they have passed from meditation to contemplation. Although their defects have diminished, their virtues have developed and the soul has made progress, there is still much to do on all these levels. The saint points out the imperfections of the proficient, some habitual, others actual (N 2, 2-3); and he indicates the time of the passive night of the spirit: «... proficients are introduced into it when the Lord wishes to make them pass to the state of union with Him» (AI, 1, 3). John gives his ideas on this matter by insisting on the part of God in this passive night; it is He Who purifies and enlightens the soul and disposes it for the union of love with God (N2, 5, 1).

This influence of God (dark night, infused contemplation, mystical theology) produces not only night and darkness, but also pain and torment (N2, 5-8). The torments are such as to constitute a purgatory in this world (N 2, 7, 7. On this theme there is a book much to be recommended: Urban of the Child Jesus Barrientos, *Purification y Purgatorio*,

*Doctrina de San Man de la Cruz sobre el Purgatorio, alaluz de su sistema místico*, Madrid, 1960). The spiritual fruits and advantages of all these tribulations are immense (see N2, 11-16). It is not possible for us to enumerate them.

It is of interest to stress the final result: the spiritual life, born and nourished by the loving and merciful regard of God in Christ (C, stanzas, 31, 32, 33), is a loving correspondence on the part of the soul. Up the ladder of love – the secret ladder is contemplation – the soul climbs even to the highest union with God, with Christ its Bridegroom (N2, 19-20). The way of the nothing (nada) and the whole journey in the night described in the Ascent and in the Night make sense, because directed by a strong and inflamed love that has made them possible (AI, 14, 2-3; N2, 21, 3, 12). All the gifts of God, all His action in the soul, all that the soul has had to do and to suffer, has had this one purpose: to commit oneself entirely to love (C 28, 7; A3, 16, 1-2; N2, 11, 3-4).

c) With the soul disposed in this way, there follows the spiritual espousal with the Bridegroom, Christ: «a high state of union of love in which God places the soul after a long spiritual exercise» (C 14-15, 2; see too C 13; C 22, 3; F 3, 25). This state is called the «yes» of the soul to God and the «yes» of God to the soul, and is defined and characterized by a union of wills. After other more positive dispositions on the part of God, after numerous communications, visits, gifts, etc., the betrothed soul continues to perfect itself in love (C 22, 3; F 3, 25-26) until it reaches the higher state of spiritual marriage (see above).

Holy souls are generated by Christ in the Church (C 30, 7), inasmuch as He is the Head of the Church, which is His mystical body (C 36, 5; Romance 4). He is the Bridegroom of the Church and of the individual souls united with Him through grace (C 30, 7). To illustrate this reality it would be necessary to introduce here the entire Spiritual Canticle, the entire Ascent-Night, and the entire Flame.

From the itinerary that we traced earlier, it clearly appeared how the saint bound the notion of contemplation with that of night: the «passive night» is the contemplation which produces in spiritual persons the two kinds of darkness or purification, according to the two parts of man, the sensitive and the spiritual (NI, 8, 2). The idea of night (AI, 3) and the equivalent which establishes «light-taste» are well understood when John of the cross describes (in N 1, 3, 3; and especially in the second book of Night) the aridities and the sufferings of the soul.

Although the idea of «night, of contemplation, of purification» is fully realized in the passive night of the spirit, the activity of the soul – which does as much as it can or gives its consent and permits God to work in it – is always present to justify the fundamental notion of night. For, this night is not simply a deprivation of things; it does not despoil the soul at all. But it is rather a nakedness of appetite and taste which makes the soul free and empty and therefore disposed and open to the action and invasion of God (AI, 3, 2). In the end, this is the practical and dynamic meaning of love, «because to love means to seek to despoil and denude oneself, for the Lord, of all that

is not He» (A2, 5, 7). This love is the fountain-head of asceticism and of all the renunciations undertaken to possess Jesus.

To live the life of Christ is equivalent to being sons of God. The sons of God are moved by the Holy Spirit (A3, 2, 16; C 35, 5; F 2, 34); all the work of sanctification is accomplished under His action. To understand His task it is enough, according to St. John, to know that the living flame which disposes, burns and transforms the soul is the Holy Spirit: He

is «the agent and the principal guide of souls, whose care He never neglects» (F 3, 46); He is the life of the soul (F 3, 62). The greater the charity of the soul, the more the Holy Spirit enlightens it and communicates His gifts to it, «because charity is the means and the cause of such communication» (A 2, 29, 6).

As a model and a complete actualization of the ideal of holiness and of the fullest union with God in a pure creature, St. John presents the figure of Our Lady. He is speaking of the souls moved by the Holy Spirit in their actions and prayers, and says: «...the Lord moves the potencies of these souls only towards those works that are suitable, according to His divine will and disposition, without their being able to turn to others; in this way their works and their prayers always attain their effect. Such were those of the most glorious Virgin, Our Lady, who, elevated to this sublime state from the very beginning, did not have the image of any creature impressed in her soul and so at no moment was driven to act by a creature. Rather, she always worked under the motion of the Holy Spirit» (A 3, 2, 11). Thus the mystical doctor «points out in her the model of faith and of complete assimilation to the teaching of Christ and of His charity». (/Pope Paul VI/, Allocution at the closing of the II session of the Vatican Council II).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1) Biographies: The three best biographies have been written during the past, forty years: 1. Bruno of Jesus-Mary, *Saint Jean de la Croix*, Paris, 1929, with various reprints and translations in English, Spanish, Italian (Milan, 1938), and a new French edition by *Etudes Carmelitaines* Paris, 1961. Substantially, this last is like the first edition; regarding the changes introduced, see our review in *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, XIV /1963/, pp. 242-5. An Italian translation of this new edition was published at Milan, 1963. 2. Silverius, *Historia. V* (Almost the whole volume is dedicated to the life of the saint; it has not been translated into other languages). 3. Chrysogonus of Jesus, *Vida de San Juan de la Cruz*, in *BAC (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos)*, XV Madrid, 1946 (five editions in the original Spanish: 1946, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1964; translated into English, German, Italian /Milan, 1955/ > This author died on March 5, 1945, at the young age of forty. The five editions were published, with additions and corrections, by Mathias of the Child Jesus. All these biographies especially the last, were very well written, both from a literary and a historical point of view. They have been able to destroy the false image of the saint that prevailed in so many quarters.

To these three biographies other minor ones have been added in the course of time; a list of the more important ones is found in Chrysogonus, 5th edit., pp. 5-8; Ital. vers., pp. 21-25; in the new edit, of Bruno, pp. 31-32, 34; Ital. vers., pp. 38-40. Among the

older biographies, the following deserve mention: Joseph of Jesus-Mary Bruxelles, 1628; Jerome of Saint Joseph, Madrid. 1641; Francis of Saint Mary, Madrid, 1655. Titles, translations and other information may be seen in Chrysogonus and Bruno, loc. cit. A great historical value and criterion have been vindicated for these biographies, despite certain pessimists; see Ephrem of the Mother of God, *San Juan de la Cruz y el misterio de la S.ima Trinidad...* Saragossa, 1947, pp. 102-14. Among the biographies in Italian, that written by Mark of St. Francis is of special value; it appears in the third volume of the Works of the Saint translated by Mark (Venice, 1747, pp. 37-390). The historical sources of the biography of St. John are listed by Chrysogonus, Vida, 5th edit., pp. 12-18; Ital. vers., pp. 12-20; Bruno, edit. 1961 pp. 29-31; Ital. vers., pp. 35-37. The principal sources are still the declarations made during the processes of beatification and canonization, which Silverius of St. Teresa gathered together in his BMC, XIV, p. 462 (see also X, pp. 319-46; XIII, pp. 345-426).

2. Original manuscripts: We do not have the original manuscripts of the great works *Ascent-Night*, *Canticle Flame*; and we know of very few minor works. See Gerard of St. John of the Cross, *Los autografos que se conservan del Místico Doctor San Juan de la Cruz*, Toledo, 1913, in which he published *Avisos y sentencias espirituales*, some letters, various documents, «the title-page and various pages of the rough draft of the first Spiritual Canticle»: the manuscript of Sanlucar with original annotations and corrections of the saint. Silverius of St. Teresa has published an excellent edition of this manuscript in *Cantico Espiritual y Poesias de San Juan de la Cruz segun el Cdice de Barrameda*, Burgos, 1928. Of the counsels and sayings already published by Gerard, John Baruzzi produced a much better photostatic edition in *Aphorismes de Saint Jean de la Croix: Texte itabilli et traduit d'apres le manuscrit d'Andujar...*, Paris, 1924. The longest original of the saint, after that of Andujar, does not contain any original work of his; it is simply the copy of a biographical report of Catherine of Jesus, a Discalced Carmelite nun of Beas. We have an excellent edition of it by Edward of St. Teresa, in *Un nuevo autografo de San Juan de la Cruz*, Vittoria 1948; this is reproduced in the original form and transcription on pp. 24.-57. The question of the original manuscripts of the great works remains not a little perplexing and somewhat mysterious (see in Chrysogonus, Vida, 5th edit., p. 248, an addition of Mathias).

3)Codices: These are very many, and new ones continue to appear. Alphonse of the Mother of God, in his Vida (ms. 13460, *Bibl. Nacional* Madrid, f. 127), already spoke of their very great number, as he did also in his deposition given in the process at Segovia on Dec. 22, 1627 (in BMC, XIV, p. :;97). An up-to-date list is found in *Lucinius Obras*, 5th edit, (see below), pp. 1009-1027.

4. Spanish editions: 1. 1618, Alcala, the principal edition, published by Diego of Jesus, contains only the *Ascent*, the *Night*, the *Flame*; wanting are the Canticle and the minor works. 2. 1619, Barcelona (substantially like the foregoing). 3. 1630, Madrid, published by Jerome of St. Joseph. This contains also the first version of the second Canticle, but with the insertion of the eleventh stanza of Canticle B; it was reprinted during all of the XVII century, with the progressive addition of minor works. 4. 1703, Seville. For the first time Canticle B was published, according to the ms. of Jaen, in the place of Canticle A;

there were various reprints until 1906. 5. 1912-14, Toledo, three volumes published by Gerard of St. John of the Cross. For the first time, the two Canticles and the two Flames were published together. This author employed a great critical sense; he also knew how to make use of the investigations undertaken in the XVIII century by Andrew of the Incarnation (1716-95). who worked extremely hard in the preparation of a monumental edition of the works of the saint. 6. 1929-31. Burgos published by Silverius of St. Teresa, in five volumes of his BMC, X-XIV. The first volume contains the Preliminaries: the fifth, the Processes; the other three, the text of the Works, which surpasses all the previous editions in excellence and is, moreover, more complete. See also various manual editions with the same text in 1946, 1950, 1955. 1964, by BAC (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos), Madrid, prepared by Lucinius of the Most Blessed Sacrament, who continued to improve the text. These editions are united with the Vida of Chrysogonus. 7. 1957, EDE (*Editorial de Espiritualidad*), Madrid, published by Joseph Vincent of the

Eucharist. In the introduction there is a very complete chronology of the life of the saint. 8. 1959, El Monte Carmelo, Burgos prepared by Simeon of the Holy Family and self-styled critico-popular. It uses several of the novelties and readings of the preceding edition. 9. The Jesuits propagated an edition of their own printed several times in Madrid from 1926 on; it is called *Of the Apostolate of the Press*. Add to this what we have said about the Complete Works. Editions of the single works or of compilations of several (poems, counsels, ...) are innumerable. I simply mention, because of its importance, that the Canticle first saw the light by itself, in its original version (Canticle A), at Bruxelles in 1627.

5j Translations: The works of the saint have been translated into various languages: Latin, French, English, German, Portuguese, Hungarian, Dutch, Polish, etc. Some of these are worthy of mention because of their introductions: see, in French, Lucien, Tournai 1959; in Portuguese, Discalced Carmelite Nuns of St. Teresa of Rio, Petropolis, 1960, with an introduction by Mauritius T. L. Penido; the new translation in English, New York 1964, by Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez. The first Italian translation is that of Alexander of St. Francis, Rome, 1627; the last, of Ferdinand of St. Mary, *S. Giovanni della Croce, Dottore della Chiesa, Opere...*, Rome 1963, This volume contains the A and B versions of the Canticle and of the Flame, and an excellent preface by Anastasius of the Most Holy Rosary. (In speaking of translations, it is interesting to note that the Canticle was published in French even before it was in Spanish, viz., at Paris, 1622, «translated by M. Rene Gaultier.»)

6) Studies: Besides those cited in the article we point out: Chrisogono, *San Juan de la Cruz, su obra soñentifica y s« obra literaria*, Avila, 1929, 2 vols.; id., *San Juan de la Cruz, el Hombre, el Doctor, el Poeta*, Barcelona, 1935 1946. Gabriele di S. Maria Madalena, *San Giovanni della Croce dottore dell'amore divino*, Florence 1937, 1943; id.. *San Giovanni della Croce direttore spirituale*, ib., 1942. L. Penido *O itinerario mistico de Sdo Jodo da Cruz*, Petropolis, 1949, 1954. Gabrielle di S. Maria Maddalena, *L'unione con Dio secondo San Giovanni della Croce*, ibid 1951 Rome: 1952, 1956, 1962 P. Varga, *Schopfung in Christut nach Johannes vom Kreuz*, Wien 1968; Federico Ruiz Salvador, *Introduction a san Juan de la Cruz*, Madrid 1968; Lucien M. de St. Joseph, *Experience du*

*message de saint Jean de la Croix*, Paris 1968; Eulogio de la V. d. Carmen, *San Juan de la Cruz y sus escritos*, Madrid 1969; *Actuality de Jean de la Croix* (studies published under the direction of Lucien-Marie e J.-M. Petit) Paris-Bruges 1970. Besides these works, with translations in various languages, see the articles and conferences regarding the saint in *Rivista di vita spirituale*, VII (1953), pp. 124-25; E. Stein, Kreuzeswissenschaft, in *Werke*, I, Louvain 1950; trans, in French. English, Spanish, Italian: *Scientia Crucis* Milan 1960; C. Cristiani, *Saint Jean de la Croix, prince de la mystique*, Paris 1960. (A pretentious work is that of G. Morel, *Le sens de Vexistence selon 8. Jean de la Croix* I, *Problematique*, Paris 1960; II, *Logique*, ibid. 1960; III, *Symbolique*, ibid. 1961 (= Collana Thologie, nn. 45-47). This work often does not make for easy reading and has also aroused some controversy); see a long review of ours in *Sanjuanistica Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, XH (1961), pp. 198-214, 390-93; J. Mouroux, *L'esperienza cristiana*, Brescia 1956, a magnificent note on the sensitive affectivity of St. John of the Cross, pp. 296-306; in the original French. *L'experience chretienne...* Paris 1954 pp. 312-23. In the voluminous work of J. Baruzi, *Saint Jean de la Croix et le probleme mystique*, Paris 1924, 1931, many good things are to be found; but the author is guilty of subjectivism in his doctrinal interpretations and, as a good rationalist, proves unable to understand the doctrine of St. John, the grand advocate of the supernatural order, in its authentic meaning. A good synthesis of the influence of the doctrine of the Saint today has been made by *Eulogio de la Virgen del Carmen e Federico Ruiz*, *San Juan de la Cruz* in *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, XIX (1968), pp. 45-87.

The works of the saint are frequently read by Anglicans. I mention the labors of E. A. Peers, who, besides translating the saint's work into English, wrote: *Spirit of flame. A study of St. John of the Cross*, London 1943; *A Handbook of the life and times of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross*, ibid. 1954. Another very good work is that of B. Frost *Saint John of the Cross Doctor of divine Love*, London 1937, pp. XIII-411. Another more recent Anglican writer is T. Dicken, *The Crucible of Love, a study of the Mysticism of St. Teresa of Jesus and St. John of the Cross*, London-New York 1964, pp. XV-548 (Spanish version., *El crisol del amor*, Barcelona 1963). Regarding the saint's poetry, we must mention: D. Alonso, *La poesia de San Juan de la Cruz* Madrid 1942. 1946, 1958, 1962; E. Orozco, *Poesia y Mistica. Introduction a la Itrica de Juan de la Cruz*, ibid. 1959; M. Milner, *Poesie et vie mystique chez Saint Jean de la Croix*, Paris 1951. In Italian we have: G.M. Bertini *Profitto esetico di S. Giovanni della Croce*, Venice 1944. Very well-done is the study of G. de Gennaro, *Consideradones sobre el Cantico Espiritual de San Juan de la Cruz*, in *Studi di Scienze Ecclesiastiche* (= Aloisiana San Luigi», II (1961), pp. 155-233; so also that of Eulogio de la V. del Carmen, *El Cantico espiritual. Trayectoria historica del texto* Rome 1967. Other books, articles, studies can be consulted is P.P. Otonello, *Bibliografia di S. Juan de la Cruz*, Rome 1967, as also in Lucinio, 5»ed. pp. 1027-37, where a good bibliografic essay is also found. In order to keep abreast of the editions, the studies, biographies, one can turn to Benno di S. Giuseppe *Bibliographiae S. Joannis a Cruce Specimen (1891-1940)*, in *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, I (1947), pp. 163-210, 367-81; III (1949), pp. 408-24, which refer only to the works of the saint; id., *Bibliographia carmelitana recentior* (1946 sgg.), ibid. I (1947), pp. 393-416; II (1948) pp. 561-610; III (1949), pp. 131-219; *Bibliographia carmelitana annualis*, in *Carmelus; Simeone della Sacra Famiglia, Archivum*

*Bibliographicum Carmelitanum* (Supplementum ad *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*), 1956 sgg.

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V. CULT. 1) Relics. Immediately after John's death, graces were multiplied at his tomb; and these increased the fame of holiness which had accompanied him in life. Yet this increase was due also to the diffusion of his relics. In fact, in 1593, the body of the saint was secretly transferred from Ubeda, in Andalusia, where he had died on Dec. 14, 1591, to Segovia, in Castile; and this transfer occasioned the first pious amputations to take place. Although, on Nov. 15, 1596, Pope Clement VIII ordered the restitution of the body, only some important relics were returned to Ubeda. Other fragments were widely dispersed, and this diffusion was also fostered by a succession of miracles that were reported in many places at the end of the XVI and the beginning of the XVII centuries. Furthermore, apparitions of Our Lord, of Our Lady, and of St. John himself in various attitudes occurred before his relics, which apparitions were accompanied by other graces and miracles. The canonical process was inaugurated by the bishop at Valladolid in 1615, then sent on to Rome (Arch. Seer. Vat., Fcmclo S. R. C, 2834 and 2839; Arch. S. R. C, hist. sect. n. 370 /XXIV/). Today the saint's body is still at Segovia, in the church of the Discalced Carmelite Fathers, in a monumental chapel renovated in 1926.

2) Processes. The first information for the processes was gathered in 1603, at the command of the superiors, in order to secure an authentic historical documentation. From 1614 until 1618 the informative processes were held, and then sent on to Rome. The remissorial letters were given in 1649; and the process of non-cult was held at Segovia, in 1650. The declaration of heroicity of virtues was decided at the sessions of Nov. 7, 1662 (P. Lambertini, *De beat. Serv. Dei*, I, 27 n. 7; III, 30, n. 15) and of Oct. 4, 1667 (Arch. S. R. C, hist, sect., n. 370 /XXIV/, f. 1), «without, however, the publication of the resolutions.» After the miracles were approved on Oct. 6, 1674, the brief of beatification was published by Pope Clement X on Jan. 25, 1675, and the solemnization was celebrated in St. Peter's on the following April 21. After other miracles had been approved on Jan. 12, 1726, Pope Benedict XIII canonized John on the following Dec. 27, with the bull *Pia Mater Ecclesia* /Pious Mother Church/ (in *Bull. Carm.*, IV, p. 168).

3) Doctor of the Church. St. John of the Cross was called a doctor from the very beginning. Thanks to the diffusion of his mystical works throughout the world, even his first graphic representations often referred to this title. His teaching, however, especially in the debates about quietism, was attacked several times, placed under censure and denounced to the Holy Office. (See Roman of the Immaculate, *Es quietista la contemplacion enseñada per S. Juan de la Cruz?*, in *Revista de espiritualidad*, VIII /1949/, pp. 127-55; Eulogius of the Virgin of Carmel, *El quietismo frente al magisterio sanjuanista*, in *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, XIII /1962/, pp. 353-426; Valentine of St. Mary, *Una apologia della contemplazione e di S. Giovanni della Croce al principio del see. XVIII*, ib., pp. 427-48). Neither the beatification nor the canonization saved the doctrine of the saint from illumistic interpretations, although the bull of canonization had said that he was ^together with Teresa, divinely instructed in explaining the secrets

of mystical theology in his writings\* (n. 3).

Many authoritative voices were raised to have the saint declared a Doctor of the Church. An impressive movement began in 1891, and ended with Pius XI, who, on Aug. 24, 1926, with the brief *Die vigesima septima* /On the twenty-seventh day/ (AAS, XVII /1926/, p. 380) proclaimed the saint a doctor. In the brief he described the saint's works as «a guideline and school of the faithful soul that proposes to undertake a more perfect life.».

4) Liturgical cult. Already at the beginning of the XVII cent, three antiphons with two prayers of invocation to the saint had been diffused. The three historical lessons and the prayer, still in use, were approved in 1677 for his liturgical feast, fixed on the date of his death, Dec. 14. On March 28, 1726, the notice for the Roman martyrology was approved; and on March 22, 1732, the new office with its proper Mass, to be celebrated on Nov. 24, was also approved. (This office is held to be one of the most beautiful in the liturgy: it sings of the splendors of the night of faith, in which divine wisdom together with love is communicated to the soul, and of the mystery of the cross, which transforms the soul into Christ and into God.)

On Oct. 3, 1738, the liturgical feast was extended to the whole Church; and on Aug. 13, 1927, the Order was granted a proper preface, which summarizes the life of the saint in a synthesis of his works. In the most recent liturgical reform, the celebration has again been assigned to the date of his death, Dec. 14, with rank of memorial for the universal Church, of feast for the Carmelites and of solemnity for the Discalced Carmelites.

5) Patronage. Besides being the patron of several dioceses in Spain, John of the Cross was declared the patron of the imperial house of Germany and of the duchy of Mantua, on Aug. 13, 1729, by Pope Benedict XIII. It seems that the proposals presented to BL Innocent XI by the city of Palermo in 1678, to have St. John as a co-patron, were not fulfilled.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Procesos de beatificación y canonización de S. Juan de la Cruz*, ed. Silverio di S. Teresa, BMC XIV, Obras, V, Burgos 1931; Silverio, *Historia*, V, pp. 702-14, 764-83; Tommaso di S. Giovanni della Croce, *Culto al «Siervo de Dios» fray Juan de la Cruz: Historia de unos procesos olvidados*, in *Ephemerides Carmeliticæ* V (1961-54), pp. 13-69. In regard to the doctorate of the saint, see the complete documentation, which also includes the special Positio /Deposition/, in *Anacleta O.C.D.*, I (1926-27), pp. 69-144.

VI. ICONOGRAPHY. An image of the saint has been passed on to us by his disciple, Eliseus of the Martyrs, in his *Dictamenes* /Opinions/ for the informative process: «He was a man of medium stature, of serious and venerable mien and with a pleasant appearance. His conduct and his conversation were loveable and very spiritual, so as to benefit anyone who heard him or came into contact with him» (see Valentine of St. Mary, *S. Giovanni della Croce nei ricordi di un discepolo*, in *Revista di vita spirituale*,

XIII /1959/, pp. 445-58). This image is completed by that passed on to us by Jerome of St. Joseph in his Story of the saint (Madrid, 1641, pp. 786-87) and based on the various witnesses at the the processes for beatification: «The venerable Father was between medium and small in stature and with a well-proportioned body, although he was thin because of his numerous and rigorous penances. His face was olive-colored, round rather than long. His venerable baldness still provided some hairs in front; his forehead was broad and ample, his eyes were black with a gentle gaze, his eyebrows were very neat and marked, his nose was straight, but somewhat aquiline in form; his lips and mouth were well-proportioned, like the rest of his face and person. He wore a bit of a beard, which, together with his short and rough habit, gave him a venerable and edifying aspect. His whole appearance was serious, meek and especially modest, to such an extent that his modesty alone constrained those who saw him to moderation. Moreover, this appearance betrayed a certain glimmer of heavenly majesty which drew others to venerate and to love him at the same time.»

This description is confirmed by various early representations, both pictures and engravings, that have come down to us. We know that portraits of the saint were drawn at least twice in Granada without his knowing it. It is also certain that in one of those portraits was placed the saying, «O God, I have declared my life to You!» (Ps. 55: 8, 9) However, although there is a picture at Ubeda with this saying, which picture is certainly of the XVI century, it does not seem that this is the one drawn at Granada. In this latter city there are two early pictures; at least one, which was reproduced by Silverius of St. Teresa at the beginning of Vol. V of his History of the Discalced Carmelites (Burgos, 1936), appears to go back to the time of the saint himself. The pictures preserved at Sanlucar de Barrameda, at Valladolid, at Segovia and elsewhere are also very old and important. They well reflect the details of the description cited above; and this is also true of many engravings from the beginning of the XVII century, etched in Spain, Flanders and France. Particularly successful among all the portraits seems to be that of the cameo carried from Spain into France at the beginning of the XVII century and preserved until World War II in the Carmel of Troyes. It was then lost in consequence of war operations.

In the pictures or engravings, the saint is represented in two poses: on his knees or standing in prayer, with the words either issuing from his mouth or shown over his head: «O God, I have declared my life to You!» Other images bear other words, namely, the well-known reply given by the saint to Our Lord carrying His cross, who from a picture (preserved at Segovia alongside the saint's tomb) had asked him what reward he wished for all that he had suffered for Him: «Lord, to suffer and to be despised for You!» Another frequent attitude in the iconography of the saint refers to his teaching: John is represented as seated at a table and in contemplation, as he suspends the writing of his works. Noteworthy is a series of sixty engravings by an unknown artist which illustrates the life of the saint. It appeared in Bruxelles in the Tableau racourcy de la vie de J. by Jerome of St. Joseph (1678) and was reproduced, with some changes, by Arteaga for the Works of the saint, published at Seville in 1703, and by Francis Zucchi – with corrections and improvements – for the *Vita mystici doctoris S. Johannis a Cruce* /Life of the mystical doctor S. John of the Cross/ by Albert of St. Gaetanus (Venice, 1747). It

was republished in the Life of the saint by Mark of St. Francis, also in Venice, in 1748. Another rather mediocre series of fifteen engravings of the life of the saint appeared in the booklet: *Apparatus sacri honoris... S. Joanni a Cruce... adornatus a devotissimo filiorum suorurn Collegio augustano* /An offering of sacred honor... to St. John of the Cross... embellished by his very devoted sons of the college at Augusta/ (Augusta, 1727).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Silverio di S. Teresa, *El retrato de S. Juan de la Cruz*, in *BMC X (Obras de San Juan de la Cruz*, I, Burgos 1929), pp. 442-45; id., *Mds acerca del retrato de S. Juan de la Cruz*, *ibid.*, XIV (Obras, V, Burgos 1961), pp. 463-64; id., *Ritratti antichi del Santo in Vita carmelitana*, IV (1942), pp. 12-16; Valentino di S. Giuseppe, *Sobre el retrato de S. Juan de la Cruz*, in *Rivista de espiritualidad I* (1941-1942), pp. 411-20; Albert Berenguer Isidro, *Cooperadon a la iconografla de S. Juan de la Cruz*, *ibid.*, pp. 421-27; Crisogono di Gesu, *Vita di S. Giovanni della Croce*, vers, it Milan 1956, c. 21 see the picture of St. John of the Cross on pp. 440-51; Kunstle, pp. 348-49; Emond, I, pp. 171-78 (cf. Index, p. 308); II, figg. 72-78.

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