STUDIES
in the Spirituality
of Jesuits

The Place of Art in Jesuit Life

Art and the Spirit of the Society of Jesus
Pedro Arrupe, S.J.

Art in Jesuit Life
Clement J. McNaspy, S.J.

Published by the American Assistancy Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality, especially for American Jesuits working out their aggiornamento in the spirit of Vatican Council II

Vol. V April, 1973 No. 3
THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

consists of a group of Jesuits from various provinces who are listed below. The members were appointed by the Fathers Provincial of the United States. The purpose of the Seminar is to study topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially American Jesuits, and to communicate the results to the members of the Assistancy. The hope is that this will lead to further discussion among all American Jesuits -- in private, or in small groups, or in community meetings. All this is done in the spirit of Vatican Council II's recommendation to religious institutes to recapture the original charismatic inspiration of their founders and to adapt it to the changed circumstances of modern times. The members of the Seminar welcome reactions or comments in regard to the topics they publish.

To achieve these purposes, especially amid today's pluralistic cultures, the Seminar must focus its direct attention sharply, frankly, and specifically on the problems, interests, and opportunities of the Jesuits of the United States. However, many of these interests are common also to Jesuits of other regions, or to other priests, religious men or women, or lay men or women. Hence the studies of the Seminar, while meant especially for American Jesuits, are not exclusively for them. Others who may find them helpful are cordially welcome to read them.

THE MEMBERS OF THE SEMINAR ARE:

William J. Burke, S.J., Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167
Thomas E. Clarke, S.J., Woodstock College, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027
David L. Fleming, S.J., School of Divinity, St. Louis University, 220 North Spring, St. Louis, Missouri 63108
George E. Ganss, S.J., School of Divinity, St. Louis University. (Chairman of the Assistancy Seminar and Editor of its Studies) His address is: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, Fusz Memorial, 3700 West Pine, St. Louis, Missouri 63108.
John C. Haughey, S.J., America Staff, 106 W. 56th St., New York, N.Y. 10019
David B. Knight, S.J., Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118
Vincent J. O'Flaherty, S.J., Rockhurst College, Kansas City, Missouri 64110
Ladislas Orsy, S.J., Department of Theology, Fordham University, Bronx, New York 10458
John H. Wright, S.J., Jesuit School of Theology, 1735 Le Roy Street, Berkeley, California 94709

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Fusz Memorial, St. Louis University
3700 West Pine Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63108
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Editor's Foreword

In no small measure the present issue of our Studies resulted from a stimulating experience which came to its author, Father Clement J. McNaspy, in the Jesuit Institute of the Arts.

This Institute consists of a group of Jesuits which has been growing gradually. After several years of preliminary meetings, its members met for summer workshops at Holy Cross College in the summer of 1970, at the University of Santa Clara in 1971, and at Mondragone, Frascati, near Rome, in 1972. The purpose of the Institute is to enable Jesuits who are professionally engaged in the fine arts to spend time together while reflecting, praying, and creating in an atmosphere of brotherly help and criticism. Membership is quite informal and open to anyone concerned. The Institute, while American in origin and practical membership, has become increasingly international.

At several of its performances last summer the Institute was graced and encouraged by the presence of Very Reverend Father General Pedro Arrupe, Father Assistant Harold O. Small, and other members of the Society's curia. On one of these occasions Father General thoughtfully surprised the assembly by reading a paper of his own which manifestly captivated his audience. The effect of that paper on Father McNaspy is evident from the very first paragraph of his study which is printed below in our present issue. Brief excerpts from Father General's paper, as well as an
account of the Institute's summer of 1972, can be found in the National Jesuit News for October, 1972. But thanks to Father McNaspy, we are privileged to print the paper in its entirety here.

Father Clement J. McNaspy, S.J., taught music and the history of fine arts, in addition to classics, at Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama, back in the thirties, then again to novices and juniors at Grand Coteau, Louisiana, in 1945-1946 and from 1948 to 1958. For the two following years, as Dean of the College of Music, Loyola University, New Orleans, he was involved in the musical and artistic life of that university and city. From 1960 to 1970 he was an associate editor of America, doing a regular column on fine arts and producing some sixty recordings in the series "Music for Everyman." Meantime he wrote four books, co-authored six others, did articles, mainly on liturgy and music, for five encyclopedias and over a hundred magazines, record jackets, and program notes for several major companies, did a weekly program over WFUV-FM, spoke on the Voice of America, "Today" show, Radio Canada, and other networks. At present he is back at Loyola, in New Orleans, with the title of University Professor, where he does much cross-disciplinary teaching in courses such as "Art and Religion," "Music as Value," "History of Religious Thought." He was one of the founders of the Jesuit Institute for the Arts.
ART AND THE SPIRIT OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

An address to the Jesuit Institute of the Arts

by

Very Reverend Pedro Arrupe
General of the Society of Jesus
Given at Mondragone, Frascati, Italy
Sunday, June 16, 1972

I do not need to tell you how much I enjoyed being with you last Saturday, how much I enjoyed and appreciated the superb artistry of your presentations of music, painting, poetry, and mime. Nor must I omit to mention the high quality of what was presented to us after the concert, which was, in its own way, no less sparkling.

I know that some of you were a little disappointed that I did not say a few words on that occasion. Frankly, the occasion spoke so eloquently for itself, that to add to it would have been to take away. When Beethoven was asked what he was trying to express in his Ninth Symphony, he replied that if he could have expressed it in words, he would not have written nine symphonies. With much more reason could I have applied that to my words and your music. That everyone present enjoyed himself immensely, and that the visitors derived from it an enlarged vision of the Society, of its goals, aims, and scope, and especially of its relevance to our age and its needs, I am sure there is none among you who has any doubt at all.

There was another reason, however, why I chose to defer the expression of my thoughts to this occasion, where in a family spirit, we could explore together the relevance of your purposes and accomplishments to the spirit of the Society and the task of the Church and the needs of our times.

We have, I think, to face the fact that neither within the Society nor without, has the dedication of Jesuits to art, or even the association of Jesuits with art, been readily accepted. Historically, as you well know, this estrangement has no firm foundation. Rather, if non-Jesuit art historians and scholars are to be credited, the very opposite should have
been true. Yet, like so many other legends about the Jesuits, this one has persisted, and it is interesting to discover why.

St. Ignatius, for all the vastness of his vision, was, in one sense, Shakespeare's ideal of a poet: his eye ranged in fine frenzy from earth to heaven and from heaven back to earth, but everything therein had a local habitation and a name. The habitation was the kingdom of Christ, and the name was one before which everything bowed in heaven, on earth, and under the earth: the name of Our Lord and Savior, whom we had to know and love and serve in this life, and in whom we found our happiness in the next. To everything else on earth, if it did not subserve this principle and foundation, we had to make ourselves indifferent.

It was not difficult, then, for those who failed to grasp the fullness of his spirit, to draw the conclusion that beauty and art were only acceptable to St. Ignatius on religious, or more specifically, salvific terms; they were good only insofar as they were useful to salvation.

Such critics were putting on St. Ignatius' lips the point of view rightly scorned by Fra Lippo Lippi in Browning's poem:

   Your business is not to catch men with show,
   With homage to the perishable clay,
   But lift them over it, ignore it all...

This is why even great admirers of the Society, like Monsignor Ronald Knox called us "utilitarians in excelsis."

There is another interesting reason why this opinion has gained currency, and to some extent we are responsible for it ourselves. In all honesty, let it be confessed that men with special talents are special cases. This is true of every human activity, but it is specially true of the arts. Even in the world this is recognized to be so. Artists are out of the common mold; they are a cause for concern, even apprehension, among those who have to deal with them--including, sometimes, their religious superiors.

And then again, art is communication. No matter how innovative he is, an artist wants to be understood. When he is not, he is a prey to frustration.

Both these hazards of an artist--the apprehension he elicits in
others and the frustration others elicit in him—are illustrated in that famous *cri de coeur* of Father Gerard Manley Hopkins: "Brilliancy does not suit us."

For all his greatness as a poet, Father Hopkins was mistaken on two counts. Incomprehension is not the fate of Jesuit artists alone, but of all artists when first they appear on the scene; and very often they suffer most from the incomprehension not of the general public, but of their fellow artists. The poet Keats, as he lay dying in the Piazza di Spagna, gazed at Bernini's fountain, *La Barcaccia,* The Sinking Ship, and thought of how his fellow poets had scorned and despised him. "My name is writ in water," he lamented bitterly. But time proved the artist right, and the critics wrong. It did so again with Father Hopkins, who is now widely acclaimed the father of modern poetry.

There is a second reason why Father Hopkins was mistaken. We do not have to be brilliant to serve God well, but brilliancy is a gift of God, and how can it be said that God cannot be served by the generosity of his own gifts to us?

The question whether the Society takes this view is best answered from the pages of the history of the Society, and we should look here, both for the official attitudes of superiors and the accomplishments of subjects.

Let us begin with St. Ignatius himself. His oft-quoted exclamation, that earth looked drab to him when he looked at the heavens, has somehow been interpreted to mean that he did not care for the beauty of earth. Both his writings and his actions give the lie to this. Let me recall to you but one very significant incident: the offer of Michelangelo to build the Gesù. This offer was not prompted by gain, for as Father Polanco thriftily notes, the great artist was ready to build the Gesù "for devotion alone, without any other consideration." Neither was it for the privilege of Jesuit patronage--it was too early for that. We cannot be certain, as René Fülöp Miller has said, that St. Ignatius and Michelangelo were intimate friends; this may have been so, but what is very certain is that Michelangelo would not have made his offer unless he saw in St. Ignatius
a kindred spirit, appreciative of beauty, and of what the artist was about.

As we know, Michelangelo was unable to realize his dream, and the task fell to Vignola. But the most distinctive feature of the Gesù, the one that set a new style in architecture—anticipating by almost four centuries the functional styles of today—was the contribution of a Jesuit brother, Giovanni Tristano. This good brother's vocation was a direct answer to St. Ignatius' prayer. His brother Lorenzo, himself an outstanding architect, was already a Jesuit. But St. Ignatius wanted the even more artistic Giovanni, and he set about catching him in his usual way. Such spirits are not driven in except by prayer and fasting, and so St. Ignatius imposed both, on himself and on the Jesuits in Rome. The strategy worked, and Giovanni joined the order, whereupon he was promptly put to work, with St. Ignatius himself prodding him on, and reminding him how dear he had cost the Society. If the Gesù is considered, as one art historian puts it, "one of the seminal buildings of Western architecture," the forerunner of a new architectural style, called by independent art critics the "Jesuit style," we owe it directly to the prayerful determination of St. Ignatius and his artistic endeavor to make earth a little more beautiful in the sight of heaven.

Thanks to this Ignatian thrust towards art, there began to be attracted to the Society a variety of artists and artisans, many of them brothers. And superiors, who even in those early days suffered from the urge to build—"il male di pietra" they called it—set them to work wherever the Society penetrated, and that was across the world.

Inevitably, abuses followed. Benefactors of the Society, for example, would borrow these Jesuit artists for the adornment of their private villas and palaces. This was certainly not the purpose of art that St. Ignatius had in mind, and so, instead of turning down such requests, superiors sometimes turned down the applications of artistic brothers to the Society. But this was fortunately a temporary aberration.

As the Society grew, there were priests as well as brothers who were artists in residence in their own provinces, or who were loaned out to less fortunate provinces, with the twofold purpose of creating artistic
works, and of supervising the artistic ventures of others, so that there would be a certain harmony and unity characteristic of the art of the Society. "Il nostro modo"—"our way"—it was called. This was not meant to imply uniformity. Far from it. Wherever they went, to China or to South America, Jesuit artists could give full rein to their artistic creativity; and their genius creating styles that matched the styles of the countries they went to has been praised by art historians. For them, "our way" implied two characteristics that were at the same time very Jesuit and very artistic. First, it meant that art should be restrained. They did not believe in show for the sake of show. In this they were doing exactly what Aristotle had laid down many centuries before. Secondly, it meant that art should be functional. They did not believe in art for art's sake. For them art did not always have to be didactic but it always had to have a purpose, and all their artistry should be directed towards that purpose.

What was the purpose of art in the mind of St. Ignatius and the Society? One could almost answer a priori: God's greater glory. Yes, but how? Because St. Ignatius would tell us, the earth, like the heavens, narrates the glory of God. The average man, however, is both a poor viewer and a poor narrator. Therefore he needs the artist to direct his view and to speak for him.

To direct his view. As Fra Lippo Lippi says:

For, don't you mark? we're made so that we love
First when we see them painted, things we have passed
Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see;
And so they are better, painted--better to us,
Which is the same thing. Art was given for that,
God uses us to help each other so.

And to speak for him.

The beauty and the wonder and the power,
The shapes of things, their colours, lights and shades,
Changes, surprises,—and God made it all!

The second purpose of Jesuit art according to St. Ignatius was to teach. This is really only an extension of its first purpose, to elevate
men to God. To make use of art for such an elevation at any level—intellectual, emotional or spiritual—is not to debase art, but to enrich humanity. Perhaps the art which the Society used most effectively for teaching purposes was the drama. It encouraged Jesuits to write dramas; it encouraged Jesuit students to write and produce them; it influenced many of the great dramatists of his time, men like Molière and Corneille, Calderón de la Barca, Tirso de Molino and Lope de Vega; and in many countries the Jesuit Theater was one of the most notable institutions in the sphere of art. In fact, at the time of the suppression of the Society, in Poland alone there were 53 Jesuit theaters.

Goethe's reaction after witnessing a Jesuit drama is interesting: "This public performance has again convinced me of the cleverness of the Jesuits. They despised nothing which could in any way be effective, and treated the matter with love and attention. This is in cleverness as one thinks of it in abstracto; it is a delight in the thing, a participation in the enjoyment that is given, as in the ordinary ways of life. Just as this great religious society accounts among its numbers organ-builders, sculptors, and gilders, so are there some also who devote themselves with knowledge and inclination to the theater, and in the same manner in which they distinguish their churches by a pleasing magnificence, these intelligent men here have made themselves masters of the worldly senses by means of a theater worthy of respect."

This brings us to the third purpose of Jesuit art: the formation of youth to a Christian life. A well known critic of Jesuit drama, Edna Purdie, has this to say about Jesuit plays. "Their aim was both educational and theological; they were directed to the improvement of the pupils who acted them and of the audience that watched them. At the same time, the degree of emphasis laid on those visual means of conveying purpose which are characteristic of the theater, differentiates Jesuit dramas to a very considerable extent from such scholastic dramas as relied mainly on the power of argument of the spoken word."

In fact, as the same author notes elsewhere, Jesuit dramas were so dramatically effective, that in the 17th and early 18th centuries they
constituted a link between drama and opera, and were the occasion of technical advances in the production of both. According to other historians, even the ballet played a great part in the Jesuit educational enterprise. Unfortunately, we seem to have lost something of this artistic gift today.

It has to be stressed here that the aim of the Society was not purely didactic or moralistic. It was also cultural. As with all other aspects of Jesuit education, whether rhetoric or music or the humanities, the purpose was to form man in his fullness and bring him to the fullness of Christ.

The fourth aim of Jesuit art, or more specifically, the aim of the Jesuit artist was to be an apostle to his fellow artists, who in their quest for beauty could not but have been drawn to the source and fountainhead of all beauty. As the poet Browning put it so well:

If you get simple beauty and nought else,
You get about the best thing God invents:
That's somewhat: and you'll find the soul you
have missed,
Within yourself, when you return him thanks.

And if they cannot or will not recognize Him, or return Him thanks, then it is our responsibility to manifest Him to them.

The Society has always treasured the opportunities it has had to draw artists closer to God. Bernini, for example, the great Baroque architect and sculptor, was a close friend of Father Oliva, the eleventh general of the Society, and often made his retreat at a Jesuit house, at least once under Father Oliva himself. In Belgium, the great painter Rubens was a faithful member of the Marian Sodality, as was his fellow artist Van Dyck, and both have acknowledged their great debt to the Jesuits who guided and encouraged them.

It is not enough, however, that Jesuit artists bring their fellow artists to Christ. They should have the higher aim of bringing art itself to Christ. I do not mean that our themes have necessarily to be Christian, I mean that whatever our theme, Christ should be its inspiration and goal. Father Hopkins provides us with some wonderful illustrations of how this can be done. From a bird, or a flower, or the marks on a fish in the river, he can lift our souls to God. As he himself says:
All things counter, original, spare, strange;
Whatever is fickle, freckled (who knows how?)
With swift, slow; sweet, sour; adazzle, dim;
He fathers-forth whose beauty is past change:
Praise him.

If ever Jesuit artists needed this gift, in order to bring art back to its true inspiration and source, it is today, when the world has either forgotten Him, or denied Him. It has been well said that no age of history can be understood until one knows its attitude to religion. The attitude of today's world we know only too well, both outside the Church, and in large sectors within. There has certainly not been any other age in which atheism has become a state creed, imposed by force on all within its power.

In the field of art, this atmosphere of atheism, even when not state-imposed, finds expression first of all in a complete secularization of theme. If Michelangelo's Pietà expressed the faith of his age, Picasso's Woman Weeping expresses ours. In her face one can read what technology and materialism, what the loneliness and angst of our time have done to the spirit of man. "Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean." Those tears that Tennyson saw 100 years ago, have become more anguished now, and men still do not know what they mean.

A second characteristic of art in an atheistic age is a vain estheticism: art for art's sake. As Picasso himself complained, art today has turned in on itself, because the artist lives in an ivory tower, and has lost all contact with humanity.

A third characteristic of such art is that it develops a metaphysics of its own, far removed from reality. It could almost be called solipsism. Having lost the art of communicating with God and with his fellowmen, he is reduced to using his art to communicate with himself. And even here he is lost. He finds himself cut off by woods and thickets from his own soul.

Your challenge as Jesuits, committed to art and committed to God, is to penetrate those woods and thickets, and to lead such souls to themselves, to their fellowmen, and to God. St. John of the Cross expresses it beautifully:
Oh bosques y espesuras
plantadas por la mano del Amado;
Oh prado de verduras
de flores esmaltado;
decid si por vosotros ha pasado!

0 woods and thickets, planted by the hand of the Beloved!
0 meadow of verdure, enamelled with flowers,
Say if he has passed by you.

And the answer comes:

Mil gracias derramando
pasó por estos sotos con presura,
y, yendolos mirando,
con sola su figura
vestidos los dexó de hermosura.

Scattering a thousand graces, He passed through these groves in haste,
And looking upon them as he went, left them, by his glance alone, clothed with beauty.

Today, as men seek to communicate with one another, they find that there is a gap which words cannot bridge. Youth and age, authority and dependence, priest and people, east and west, white and black, the more they try to reach out to one another, the farther apart they seem to drift. But not you. You are the fortunate ones. You speak and all listen, all understand. More than the preacher's word, it is the musician's touch that is bringing the young to God again. More than the politician, it is the folk singer who draws the races hand in hand. Heart speaks to heart in mysterious ways, and it is the artist who holds the key to the mystery. His is the catechesis not of word, but of tone and stone. He can touch the wellsprings of the human heart, and release energies of the soul that the rest of the world does not suspect.

The Japanese speak of Kan, a kind of intuitive faculty that reaches out to its object, almost without the aid of intellect or sense. Such a faculty you, my dear brothers, enjoy as artists, in the measure that the grace of Christ works in you, enabling you to reach out to greatness in your art and to your fellow artists, leading both to Beauty divine.

I seem to have started with the principle and foundation, and brought you to a "Contemplatio ad Amorem." Let me conclude with the stirring words of St. John of the Cross, who was both a great artist and a great contemplative
of divine love:

Que estando la voluntad
de Divinidad tocada,
no puede quedar pagada
sino con Divinidad;
mas, por ser tal su hermosura
que solo se ve por fe,
gustala en un no se que
que se halla por ventura.

For once the will has felt the touch
Of the divinity on high,
Naught else its need can satisfy;
It only begs another such.
But since, this beauty to attain,
No means but faith the soul can bring,
It finds it in some unknown thing
Which happy chance may surely gain.
When Father General Arrupe delivered the preceding address last July 16, he spoke from a text written in his own hand. None of us at the Jesuit Institute for the Arts, meeting at Mondragone, Frascati, had any notion of what his message might be. Yet it would be hyperbolic to suggest that it came as a bolt from the Roman blue. His message was, in fact, a rich personal explicitation of Document 30 of the last General Congregation, which "taking into consideration both the tradition of the Society and the signs of the times, and aware of the importance of the arts for building up the kingdom of God, wishes to encourage the activity of its members who toil in this field [the arts] for the greater glory of God." This decree had been, indeed, the welcome bolt.

It would be presumptuous for anyone to offer anything like an authentic commentary on either Father General's address or the Congregation's earlier decree. The following discussion is based rather on some forty years of experience of a Jesuit whose main attention has been focused on the matter of relating art to Jesuit life, both personally and academically. It may well be that these remarks will have little relevance to those fortunate enough to have entered the Society since the last General Congregation. But we older ones, I find, still feel some ambiguity about the whole matter, and occasionally not a little malaise.

A. The Multifaceted Problem

The locus classicus of this tension is, of course, Gerard Manley Hopkins' letter to Canon R. W. Dixon, dated December 1, 1881, the three-hundredth anniversary of Campion's martyrdom. "Brilliance does not suit us," Hopkins epigrammatized, further explaining that "genius attracts fame, and individual fame St. Ignatius looked on as the most dangerous and dazzling of all attractions." Thus, Hopkins looked on his own work,
like that of other Jesuit artists, as related to "something exceptional in their circumstances or, so to say, counterbalancing in their career." At the same time Hopkins added a note of hope. "Since, as Solomon says, there is a time for everything, there is nothing that does not some day come to be, it may be that the time will come for my verses." This bit of modest prophecy—which in retrospect seems vastly understated—today no one can gainsay.

The problem of Jesuits in art is, to be sure, multifaceted and may take on a variety of expressions. Artists, it is said, must have a strong ego, and this is difficult to reconcile with the Third Mode of Humility, or even humility in any form. Then, too, artists must enjoy their creativity, thus opening the way to self-indulgence or hedonism. Artists are often said to be loners and difficult to integrate into community. Somewhat more crudely enunciated, the jibe is occasionally still heard: "You artists fiddle while Rome burns." More seriously put, there is the question of priorities. So much, I hope not in caricature, for the videtur quod non.

A facile refutation might take the form of the argumentum ex auctoritate: read the Congregation's decree and the General's address. But the authoritarian mode of discussion is hardly in vogue today.

B. The Society's Tradition

Another approach, again more impressive to Jesuits of my generation than to younger ones, is by way of tradition. This is suggested in very summary fashion in Document 30, where we read of "the tradition of the Society" and discover that "in times past under the patronage of the Society many outstanding artists, not a few of them members of the Society itself, have achieved greatness in poetry, music, the theater, and architecture." One need not be a cynic to raise some queries here, and somewhat in consequence of this Father Thomas D. Culley and I spent several summers poring over every page of the Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu from the first two generalates—namely, the first twenty-five years of Jesuit tradition.

Part of our work, on music and the early Jesuits, was published in Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu and elsewhere. While reading the
enormous amount of material at our disposal, we discovered that far from being an anti-musical philistine, St. Ignatius loved music very much and, according to his biographer Gonçalves da Câmara, "seemed totally transported out of himself" at least when hearing sacred music. Further, when Ignatius was "out of sorts" (fastio, in Portuguese) on occasion he had André des Freux (Frusius), first superior of the German College, come over "to play the clavichord for him--without singing, since even this helped him." Des Freux, who was very close to Ignatius and assisted him at his deathbed, was enthusiastically praised by Ignatius for his "special gift from God in poetry" (a great rhetorician, too, Ignatius wryly observes, though poetry and rhetoric "are not the same thing"), with a "most generous muse" and a talent for "making [musical] instruments."

It is a commonplace of Ignatiana that our founder possessed, as Father Pedro de Leturia has stated, "an exquisite sensitivity regarding the works of God, resplendent in unspoiled nature, much like St. Francis." But when Leturia goes on to say: "We do not know whether Ignatius was moved at the sight of the perishing works of men," one ought to add the letter concerning the building of the Gesù: "Taking charge of the work is the most celebrated man known here, Michelangelo--who also has charge of St. Peter's--and for devotion alone, without any other consideration." It is not hard to believe that "devotion" here means something like friendship with Ignatius. In any case, Ignatius was hardly artistically indifferent.

Architecture, in fact, became a special preoccupation of Ignatius and the early Society. The brothers Giovanni and Lorenzo Tristano, who joined the Society as Brothers, were leading architects in their city of Ferrara and became more or less official architectural consultants of the Society. The abundance of Jesuit building throughout the world is significant in the history of art. In Brazil alone, twenty-one Jesuit architects made important contributions; and some of their churches are still very much admired. In France, too, the known Jesuit architects number at least thirty-four. I have personally photographed ancient Jesuit churches from Mexico to Macao.

Jesuits in the early Society made their mark in painting, too. Best known is Brother Andrea Pozzo, supreme master of late baroque trompe l'oeil
techniques. He is today perhaps more appreciated than ever, with full-color copies of his ceiling of Sant' Ignazio church appearing in at least four books published in the past year alone. Brother Jerome Pryor, S.J., himself a practicing artist, recently did a doctoral dissertation at Wayne State University on Parallel Structures in Brother Pozzo's Triumph of St. Ignatius and the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. But there were other important Jesuit painters, too, among the most eminent being Brother Daniel Seghers, friend of Rubens and Poussin and whose paintings are found in museums from Worcester to Brussels, and Brother Giuseppe Castiglione, artist at the Chinese imperial court, who did much to bridge the artistic sensibilities of East and West. Cécile and Michel Beurdeley's recent biography Giuseppe Castiglione: a Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors (Rutland: Temple, 1972) and the publication of Republic of China stamps featuring his paintings have helped bring this master to wide attention. This list could be prolonged.

Perhaps more significant, however, is the influence of Jesuits on renowned lay artists of the "old" Society period. The instance that stands out preeminent is, of course, Bernini, supreme master of the Italian baroque. He made the Spiritual Exercises on a number of occasions, at least once directed by Father Oliva, our eleventh General. The former novitiate chapel of Sant' Andrea al Quirinale, which many believe to be Bernini's masterpiece, is one of the wonders of Rome and was done as a personal gift to the Society. It was, in fact Bernini's favorite among his own works, "the only one," as he told Domenico, "in which I am delighted in the depth of my heart." Oliva was, in fact, Bernini's spiritual director and helped him in important decisions. Bernini's outstanding biographer, Howard Hibbard, states that the master valued this church above all his other works, while Francis Haskell judges Oliva's "record of sustained patronage" makes him comparable to the great popes who created Rome as we know it. Further, much the same may be said of Jesuit influence on Rubens, Van Dyck, Teniers, and other northern painters, all members of the Jesuit-directed Marian Congregation and influenced by Jesuit spirituality.

In the verbal arts, the Society's role has been more generally
recognized, given Jesuit involvement in education from the very beginning. Among Jesuit students were many leading dramatists, such as Molière, Corneille, Voltaire, Calderón de la Barca, Tirso de Molina, Lope de Vega, not to mention such poets as Lamartine, Torquato Tasso and Yugoslavia's greatest master, Gundulić.

Recent encyclopedias of drama devote considerable space to the Jesuit theater: The Oxford Companion to the Theatre (article by Edna Purdie), The Reader's Encyclopedia of World Drama (article by Heinrich Schnitzler) and Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo (articles by specialists in the Jesuit drama of various countries). A sample of the surprising data that emerge is the fact that, at the time of the suppression of the Society, fifty-three Jesuit theaters were active in Poland alone. Father Orlando Saa, while doing his dissertation on the plays of Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, personally found more than 100 Jesuit plays in the Academy of History in Madrid, and assures me that over 1,000 others are extant, while at least 100,000 have been lost. Largely in connection with drama, too, are some of the earliest classic works on ballet: Claude Menestrier's Des ballets anciens et modernes of 1682 (dubbed by Schnitzler "the first comprehensive history and theory of the dance ever written") and Gabriel Le Jay's Bibliotheca rhetorum: De choreis dramaticis of 1725. Both these Jesuits, were pioneers in this area. For the appeal of Jesuit drama was in the total spectacle—ballet, stage techniques developed to a degree unparalleled in Western drama, indeed geared to total formation of participants and audience. This is stressed in all recent studies. (As a parenthesis I might add that one Jesuit drama, Cenodoxus, written in 1602 by Jacob Bidermann, continues to enjoy popularity, most recently in the 1972 Salzburg Festival.)

Poetry is unsurprisingly strong in Jesuit tradition, pace Father Hopkins. Des Freux, one of the early fathers, was quite accomplished, as I judge from Ignatius' eulogy and from personal perusal of his extent verses. Best known in the "old" Society are Jakob Balde, Mattias Kasimir Sarbiewski (the "Horace of Poland"), Rafael Landivar (called by Menéndez Pelayo "the Vergil of America"), Costanzo Beschi (whose epic Tembavani is reckoned among the classics of Tamil) and a constellation of others. One of our canonized martyrs, Robert Southwell, ranks high in English
The Jesuit tradition in music has been studied by Father Culley, as mentioned above, and in the lengthy article on "Jesuiten" in the encyclopedic Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. The earliest music school in South America was founded in Bahía, Brazil, in 1553 within St. Ignatius' lifetime. Manuel da Nóbrega, founder of the Brazil mission, so stressed music as to be called "the Second Orpheus of our country." José de Anchieta, founder of São Paulo, repeatedly asked for musician missioners, claiming that with enough of them he could convert all of Brazil to Christ. St. Francis Borgia, too, was an accomplished composer, while St. Robert Bellarmine was at least a skilled amateur and promoter of the art. Leading renaissance and baroque composers like Palestrina, Victoria, Carissimi, Lassus, Kerl and others were closely associated with the Society's educational enterprise. It is almost as though Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and John Cage taught in today's Gregorian University, fanciful as that may seem.

Jesuit involvement in music took a number of forms. From Ireland William Bathe, distinguished for performing ability especially on the harp, was brought to the court of Queen Elizabeth. She rewarded him for his musical skills and gave him grants of land. But when the matter of the Oath of Supremacy came up, Bathe went to the continent and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Tournai in 1596. The case of Domenico Zipoli, baroque master, is quite different. Organist at the Gesù in Rome, he entered the Society to work on the Brazil mission. He continued his composing in the Society, but died before ordination, leaving a body of organ and cembalo music that is highly esteemed today. In Germany Friedrich von Spee became known as a gifted poet for religious songs in the vernacular, and another Jesuit, Jakob Gippenbusch, composed music for these texts. Even the polymath Clavius did a certain amount of composing. But theory and what today we would call musicology attracted a number of Jesuit scholars, notably Athanasius Kircher, whose Musurgia universalis was published in 1650. Jesuit brothers were known for organ building, Willem Hermann and Thomas Schwartz being especially famous.

This sketch of Jesuit tradition in the "old" Society suggests considerable involvement in the arts, both at home and in the missions. Of
course, a majority, or even a considerable proportion, of Jesuits were never professional artists. But our tradition indicates an attitude of wide acceptance and even of enthusiasm toward the arts.

Nor were ambiguities or tensions wanting. From the very beginning (as indicated in our article in Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu) St. Ignatius and his successor were very strict about the use of monastic "choir," being determined, even despite certain popes, that Jesuits should not be monks. Documentation here is amazingly profuse.

Further, there is a whole literature dealing with problems of poverty and ostentation in the matter of buildings, whether churches, colleges, or residences. Even our Maecenas among the fathers general, Oliva, constantly warned against anything "which would conflict seriously with our holy poverty." True, he wanted to turn the then simple Gesù into something magnificent, trying "to reach up to the sublimity of God's eternal omnipotence with such appurtenances of glory as we can, to the best of our ability, achieve." But he was quick to add: "so long as, even in churches, we do not go beyond certain limits of extent and height which put obstacles in the way of our preachers and interfere with the devotion of our visitors." Thus, throughout the baroque period, Jesuit buildings were to be functional (as Gombrich points out) rather than merely glorious. Rood screens and other encumbrances, however elegant, were severely eliminated in favor of visibility, good acoustics, and whatever would aid liturgy as it was understood during the period following Trent.

C. Tentative Answers to the Problem

This may be the moment to discuss briefly the multifaceted problem suggested in paragraph four of this paper on page 94 above. To be sure, a strong ego is needed for success in art. But the same may be said for success in any venture, be it administration, research, social work, preaching, counseling, or retreat direction. In the concrete this implies freedom from undue human respect, since anyone who is creative knows that less imaginative persons will at first be ill at ease with the product of a more creative imagination. Ego is not to be equated with egotism or egotism, any more than humility is to be confused with diffidence or self-hate.
The ascetical task of a Jesuit artist is thus just about the same as that of any Jesuit determined to do a good job for the Kingdom, and Ignatius wanted men of spirit.

Hedonism, too, may prove a temptation in the Jesuit artist's life. But it must not be identified with the legitimate pleasure that St. Thomas describes as "perfecting operation." It is easy for non-artists to romanticize about the joy artists experience in their work. Anyone who has worked countless hours on a Bach fugue or labored to bring a Josquin motet to something like perfection, knows that the concomitant delights are far from hedonism. Nor would it be rash, I believe, to suggest that analogies exist in the work of sculptors, poets, painters or, for that matter, mathematicians or research scientists. The asceticism called for is at least as stern as that in any other endeavor.

It used to be the fashion to stress the divergence of the imaginative and emotional expression involved in the creative process. Today psychologists are recognizing, as my colleague Father Hacker Fagot points out, that there is also a need for self-discipline and a kind of "artistic humility." Without these there is too much danger of being different for the sake of difference. And while sheer difference can often meet a need arising out of sluggishness or conservatism for its own sake, the cult of divergence sometimes failed to perceive that divergence without maturity is sterile. And maturity involves discipline.

Artists are thought to be loners. This easy stereotype could be applied, with no more or less appropriateness, to scholars, preachers, and especially mystics. To my knowledge, based on an acquaintance with at least a hundred Jesuit artists from a dozen or so countries, these men are never unconcerned about others. Almost all that I have known are socially concerned, and many even involved in social issues—race, peace, and the like. Three summers of close association with Jesuit artists during the Institute did not reveal a disproportionate number of prima donnas or other loners. Rather, a strong sense of community was noteworthy, despite diversity of age, temperament, nationality, and discipline, and this was by no means a matter of coterie or exclusiveness.

The charge of "fiddling while Rome burns" brings up the matter of
priorities. While no Jesuit, I suppose, would advocate mere utilitarianism (even of the in excelsis variety), we all hold to the Ignatian magis as normative. The last Congregation, accepting a wide diversity of ministries in principle, implied that the magis would vary from person to person, region to region, intuition to intuition. Each of us, whether social worker or seismologist, must believe that his work is truly magis, or he had better change work immediately. Otherwise this work can hardly be done with the dedication and industry needed for God's greater glory. If, for example, a Jesuit does not really believe that he can best serve God and the Kingdom in art, he should be counseled to work elsewhere.

The last Congregation addressed itself to this matter. In its Decree on the Jesuit Priestly Apostolate we read that superiors should look "not only to existing apostolic needs, but also to the particular call and particular gifts of those to be assigned." Clearly this involves discernment, since not everyone who likes art is called to specialize in it. Early in the training, however, the young aspirant should be put in contact with recognized experts, Jesuit or other. He should be given the same opportunities offered his peers not in the Society, and meet the same standards. In the fairly recent past, it may be that the enormous difficulty imposed on Jesuit artists proved a paradoxical advantage, since (as one successful artist put it) "only the gutsy characters have stuck it out." Degas' epigram, "Il faut décourager les arts," has some application here, even if it has been all too literally and successfully carried out. But today Jesuits and others familiar with our vision are able and willing to assist in the discernment process. Risks there doubtless are, but (so far as I can observe) the proportion of young men in art who have left the Society is if anything lower than that found in other specialties. But risk or no, the sure danger still lies in the "slot mentality" that can diminish or totally waste the God-given talents meant to build up the Kingdom.

D. Recent Attitudes

Jesuit attitudes toward the arts, depending much on whether one is a practitioner or an "appreciator," will range over a rather wide spectrum. Much will depend on one's anthropology--one's view of the human person.
Presumably no Jesuit today could be called a crass cornifician, iconoclast, or unregenerate Manichaean. Some of us, however, may not have totally exorcized a crypto-cartesianism that sometimes bedeviled certain courses, with body-spirit, nature-supernature, intellect-will dichotomies, mathematicizing and neatly quantifying human reality. (I do not, of course, mean this altogether literally.) A change has taken place. Some is in consequence of the fresh approach to Holy Scripture, the liturgy, the charismatic renewal, and the study of Ignatian sources and spirituality.

Even if Andrew Fletcher was overstating it when he said: "Give me the making of the songs of a nation, and I care not who makes its laws," the apothegm proved meritorious enough to become a cliché. For thought incarnate in song somehow grips the whole person far deeper than does mere abstraction.

Father General made the same point in his address last summer: "More than the preacher's word, it is the musician's touch that is bringing the young to God again. More than the politician, it is the folk singer who draws the races hand in hand. Heart speaks to heart in mysterious ways, and it is the artist who holds the key to the mystery. His is the catechesis not of word, but of tone and stone. He can touch the wellsprings of the human heart, and release energies of the soul that the rest of the world does not suspect."

It would be hard and possibly futile to argue whether, for example, the "Jesus" and "peace" movements did more to elicit the songs so inspired, or the songs created the movements. At least some reciprocity must have been there. Father Gerald Ellard used to say in church history class that Luther converted more people through his hymns than through mere argumentation. I have sometimes personally wished that many of my hours spent in music had gone into learning the humble guitar, with its wide usefulness today.

This can be said, no less, of the other arts with their specific images. For, as Father William Lynch shows in his Christ and Prometheus, "one cannot get closer to a man, nor can a man get closer to himself, than through his images. They not only come at us from the world; we also come at the world through them, in love or hate. We can make or destroy the world with an image." How thoroughly the totalitarians realize this is plain from the
Nazi, Soviet, and other experiences. The image maker, whether in "tone or stone," whether subtle or vulgarly propagandistic, manipulates and to a great extent creates the desired personality. No wonder such free spirits as Solzhenitsyn are barely tolerated, while their true work is hobbled or forced underground.

E. Imagination and the Exercises

Ignatius never underestimated the role of imagination in the Spiritual Exercises. It may be said, indeed, that the key exercises (apart from the preliminary First Principle and Foundation) deal in images and parables. Leturia has made a close study of the Books of Hours in wide use during Ignatius' youth and finds clear indications of their influence on the triple colloquy, the composition of place, and other central Ignatian techniques. The failure to sense Ignatius' use of imagination accounts for certain disparaging criticisms, or worse, for dry, abstract retreats given by rationalistic commentators and directors.

For at the heart of the Exercises is affectivity and the matter of treating affectivity very seriously. Indeed, at the center of the Ignatian vision is total response to Christ. Today we understand, perhaps better than in the recent past, that this involves far more than a mere cerebral response, that of intellect alone. Rather it is the response of imagination, heart, and will. Philosophical and theological reflection on esthetic experience suggest that at the heart of the esthetic experience, too, there is just such a response. The artist seeks to engage himself and others totally, mind and emotions. In the Exercises Ignatius focuses such a response on the Person of Jesus. The context is one of responding to the beauty of God revealed in Jesus.

Whoever would love Jesus with a self-giving generosity must bring Him into view—by an imagination which is historical; by an empathetic imagination to the point of tears, joy, chagrin, pity; by a recreative imagination that not only envisions the cross but also that final state of union with the three-personed God. This depends on the image of Father, Son, Spirit—free of the cluttering of other images, however lovely, (as Merton says). At the same time, lesser figures of relationship—bride, companion,
chosen friend—enhance that central interpersonal image in which lies the
great difference between Christianity and other religions. The worth of
any abstraction depends on its being rooted in the most concrete of all
gods and of all men, Jesus, Son of the eternal Father, and their Spirit
who creates, and re-creates.

For Ignatius, Jesus of the Scriptures and tradition, made contemporary
by the always contemporary Spirit of Love, is the Person and place of the
whole spiritual reality. And crucial images, able to manage the multiple
meaning-levels inherent in the events of Jesus, became for Ignatius the
unique means of understanding that Person on whom everything so depended.
There is little of the lyricism of John of the Cross in Ignatius' construc-
tions; but there most certainly is a vivid awareness of how manifest God
is in his creation and redemption of man. (Much of the last two paragraphs
I owe to my friend and fellow teacher, Father Francis P. Sullivan.)

Obviously, the Ignatian experience cannot come to adequate expression
in abstractions which, however well chiseled, tend to minimize the affective
part of experience. The artistic mode of expression comes closest of all
human forms of expression to being able to express religious experience in
all its dimensions. Apropos of this, I recall that Father Augustine Ellard
pointed out analogies between religious mystical experiences and those of
high art. Hence, too, the constant affinity of liturgy and the arts, ob-
served in all cultures. This, as Paul Weiss stresses in Religion and Art
(Milwaukee, 1963), is not accidental.

In attempting today to rediscover the full Ignatian tradition we have
to be critical of the limitations of the rather recent (Roothaanian?) tra-
dition in which many of us were initiated. That tradition, for a variety
of questionable philosophical reasons, placed a high premium on the pure
intellect abstracted from feeling and from the physical and symbolic em-
bodyments of human experience. Indeed, these were commonly treated as
suspect or somehow evil. Not so today.

F. Art and Spirituality

Art, to be sure, is not the same as aestheticism. But a balanced
spirituality requires that the affective and emotive side of human nature
be incorporated into one's prayer and worship. Platonically to ignore or suppress or diminish this dimension of experience, which preoccupies the artist and which he above all others is capable of bringing to expression, is to run the risk of serious imbalance in one's religious attitudes. Without esthetic sensibility and a sense of being at ease with the artistic expression of religious experience, says Father Donald Gelpi, "one would not only be alienated from the best liturgical traditions of the Church (as many American Catholics and Jesuits are) but one would be in a bad position to grasp the basic intuition of Ignatius and therefore the basic charism of the Society."

Recently a confrère asked why I thought there were so many among the younger Jesuits either professionally involved in the arts or at least very much at home in them. Possibly this is part of what I undertook to describe some years ago as "The Culture Explosion" (America, December 3, 1960), which, in fact, has evolved into several other explosions which I did not then foresee. An era of materialism and technological prowess was not long in revealing its bankruptcy. Hence, in part, the current enthusiasm on college campuses for the "human sciences" and the humanities as a whole.

The flight from materialism has, to be sure, not always taken directions which we think of as spiritual ("qui veut faire l'ange fait la bête"), but has sometimes led to communes that are escapist, to the drug culture, and to other eccentricities or aberrations. But are these not all, in varying ways, efforts to escape depersonalization, being fractioned off? Ambivalent, doubtless, and needful of careful decoding, are these not also some of the "signs of the times" that the Council and the Congregation urge us to attend to? It seems more than coincidence that Decree 30 points precisely to the "signs of the times" as reasons for taking the arts seriously. Perhaps harder to demonstrate, this reason I find clearer and more persuasive than the same document's reference to "the tradition of the Society."

The fall issue of Woodstock Letters in 1966 published a small symposium of statements by professional Jesuit artists as to what their vocation was all about. All were full-time artists, mainly painters and sculptors, from three continents. Their responses to my inquiries, in globo, have to do with the needs of the times--the need for at least some Jesuits
to be "present and active in artistic creation," to salvage our "truncated imagination," to "reflect the reality of the life and love of God penetrating all and summing all up in Christ, who is both spirit and flesh," "through art giving people a feeling for God," "offering a very, very special instance of the fusion of the supernatural and the natural creative power," to be "builders of a prophetic bridge between the world and man."

No one maintained that such a calling was easy, but even the secular artist seldom has an easy time of it. All seemed conscious of being on the cutting edge of contemporary sensibility and human needs. For, as one of the most imaginative Jesuits of our century stated, "art is a generator of ideas" (Teilhard de Chardin, Cahiers No. 3, page 103). The same Teilhard, at once poet and scientist, knew well the cost of such an enterprise: "Anyone who devoted himself to human duty according to the Christian [read "Jesuit"] formula, though outwardly he may seem to be immersed in the concerns of the earth, is in fact, down to the depths of his being, a man of great detachment. To create, or organize, material energy, or truth, or beauty, brings with it an inner torment which prevents those who face its hazards from sinking into the quiet and closed-in life wherein grows the vice of self-regard and attachment." Father André Boulé, one of the Society's most prominent contemporary artists, pointed out that the Congregation's document on Jesuits in Scholarly Work and Research could well have been slightly rewritten by simply adding "and the creative arts" wherever "scholarly activity" or "research" was mentioned. Possibly the next General Congregation will do something like this.

G. Notes for a Theology of Art

The name Teilhard (whom some of us have enjoyed ever since the first mimeographed sheets arrived in America, somewhat surreptitiously, back in the late forties) points toward possible lines of direction for anyone seriously concerned about art, or science, for that matter. If ever, as seems improbable now, a fixed theology and asceticism of artistic work is elaborated, surely Teilhard will make a major contribution.

So, of course, will various documents of Vatican II, where we read seminal statements like the following: "Far from thinking that works
produced by man's own talent and energy are in opposition to God's power, and that the rational creature exists as a kind of rival to the Creator, Christians are convinced that the triumphs of the human race are a sign of God's greatness and the flowering of His own mysterious design" (The Church in the Modern World, no. 34).

Such leads are also to be found in those brilliant humanistic and theological insights of Pierre Charles and Léopold Malevez, scattered through the pages of Nouvelle Revue Théologique back in the 1930's and 1940's. So, too, will we be helped by various essays of Karl Rahner touching on art and creativity--"The Theology of the Symbol," "Poetry and the Christian," "Theological Remarks on the Problem of Leisure," for example, in Theological Investigations IV and elsewhere. More obliquely, though deliciously, his late brother Hugo gives us fresh intuitions in Man at Play, notably in the concluding chapter, "Eutrapelia: A Forgotten Virtue." But best of all, for our purposes, are Father William F. Lynch's volumes Christ and Apollo and Christ and Prometheus.

What seems more likely is that each Christian artist, Jesuit or not, will work out his own tentative theological synthesis; for artists, abhorring the prefabricated and holding to personal integrity as against the standardizing collectivity, are nothing if not personal and probing.

One suspects, however, that Jesuit artists will tend to stress the Incarnation and the incarnational, attempting to express the Father in as Christlike a way as possible, pulling together and integrating the whole person, restating the situation of mankind in a world that is at bottom good, maximalizing the tiny and seemingly trivial into their true worth as part of the redeemed world, with a strong sense of the Resurrection (in its fullest context, to be sure)--somewhat as Hopkins expressed it in his explosive poem "That Nature Is a Heraclitean Fire and of the Comfort of the Resurrection":

In a flash, at a trumpet crash,
I am all at once what He is, since He was
what I am. . . .
It would be hard to state the incarnational nature of art more sharply than W. H. Auden has done in "For the Time Being":

... because in Him, the Flesh is united to the Word without magical transformation,
Imagination is redeemed from promiscuous fornication with her own images. ... Because in Him the Word is united to the flesh without loss of perfection,
Reason is redeemed from incestuous fixation on her own Logic. ...

Creation provides the creature with autonomy, to answer "present" in its own voice when summoned, and to assume the adventuresome position of fashioning new images which make creation go onward in its response to the Creator luring it to be more itself. No one denies the presence of models, archetypes, patterns. But it takes creative or re-creative imagination--the work of the artist or originator and those who understand art or origination--to find or make new images to further mankind's colloquy with the three Persons of God. The brand new, or nearly new, implies no derogation of or injury to the richness of acquired tradition.

Finally, it seems evident that a whole world of need and possibility is now open to Jesuit artists in the on-going liturgical renewal. The leadership exercised by Jesuits and Jesuit protégés during the baroque era could, perhaps on a more modest scale, be emulated today. For liturgy, where the incarnational and sacramental are so closely associated with artistic creativity, needs people who are more than liturgiologists, catalytic as well as rich in initiative, affective not feckless.

Jesuit artists, it goes without saying, can and do provide something of a pastoral presence among those highly imaginative persons who are often on the cutting edge of culture, but who all too commonly, since the baroque era, have been disaffected toward the visible Church. With all due allowances for many other factors, it seems that the suppression and the Society's minimal participation in the creative world since its restoration, may have had much to do with the general non-presence of
Christianity in major movements of the 19th and 20th centuries. For I believe it was (and should be) one of the Society's main functions to serve as a bridge between the explicitly sacred and the explicitly secular. Our Ignatian spirituality and at least our finest traditions suggest that this is where part of the action is—and a large part, too.
FOOTNOTES


Several works by William F. Lynch, S.J., especially Images of Hope (Baltimore: Helicon, 1965), Christ and Apollo (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960), and Christ and Prometheus (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970) are the most helpful treatments known to me of the Christian and the life of the imagination.

Robert Boyle, S.J., Metaphor in Hopkins (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961) offers more than the modest title suggests. Fr. Boyle was of enormous help in the preparation of an article peripheral to the present topic, "The Cult of Culture" (America, May 9, 1964).

An essay on Hopkins by Malcolm Villarubia, S.J., "Two Wills Unwound in the 'Terrible' Sonnets," will appear shortly in Victorian Poetry. It throws considerable light on some of the tensions experienced by Hopkins, his distinction between "the elective and affective wills," and shows that the 'terrible' sonnets are "a record of Hopkins' war within."

2 "Music and the Early Jesuits (1540-1565)," AHSJ, 40(1971), 213-245. Thanks to an academic grant from Loyola University of New Orleans, this article, with a ten-page preamble called "The Fine Arts in the Old Society: A Preliminary Investigation," was reprinted by the Institutum Historicum S. I. in Rome; and some copies of this are still available from the present writer. The article had initially been designed as a sequel to Fr. Culley's dissertation at Harvard University, published in substance as Jesuits and Music, I: A study of the musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th century and of their activities in Northern Europe (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.J., 1970). But the enormity of the undertaking led us to a briefer, and we hope more useful, tentative publication. Something of a precis of Fr. Culley's dissertation may be found in "The German College in Rome: A Center


4 MHSJ, Epistolae... Nadal, I, 284.


9 The Italian text from Oliva's *Sermoni Domestici* is in R. Wittkower and I. B. Jaffe, *Baroque Art*, pp. 61-62.

10 *Summa theologiae*, Ia-IIae, q. 33, a. 4.

11 In his "Libros de Horas, Anima Christi, y Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio," *AHSJ*, 17 (1948), 3-50.

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