Image, Text, Memory: Two Iconolexical Folios from a Colonial Peruvian Mystical Guidebook

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Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, a Jesuit missionary and one of the principal organizers of the colonial reductions of the Guaraní Indians of the Río de la Plata region, reveals his mystical side in the spiritual guidebook *Silex del divino amor*. The *Silex* contains several "opúsculos" which outline the mystical process including detailed prayer instructions and methods to train the memory so as to experience unification with the divine.[1] The original manuscript of the *Silex* is found at the Lilly rare books library of Indiana University. Two copies are known to exist, one of which has been edited and published by a Peruvian press.[2] Upon investigating the Lilly manuscript as well as researching information on the two other copies I found two iconographic folios that are unique to the Lilly manuscript. These sketches help to further situate the text within the Latin American colonial iconographic and Jesuit emblematic traditions.

Literary scholar Rolena Adorno underscores that recently, colonialists have shifted their focus to read texts keeping in mind, "the opacity of language, from which follows the conclusion that writings of all types—whether popular or elite, high culture or low—function as texts" (138). This essay will follow the Adorno's model by investigating the textual nature of Montoya's two iconolexical folios—"reading" the "language" of the images in their historical and colonial contexts. Thus the mission of this project is twofold; first, through an analysis of the iconographical images of the *Silex*, this investigation describes how these play an essential role in the text as a spiritual guidebook and will demonstrate that without the iconography the *Silex* is incomplete and loses its didactical mission. Second, this essay will situate the folios' importance within the Catholic and colonial iconographic and emblematic traditions as well as the context of the eclectic life of Antonio Ruiz de Montoya. I will begin with a biographical sketch of Montoya and how his involvement in the Guaraní reductions led him to a life of trans-Atlantic textual production and a renowned for his role as an activist for the indigenous populations of the Rio de la Plata region.

Antonio Ruiz de Montoya: Indigenous Interaction and Extensive Textual Production

In order to understand the context of the *Silex* in Montoya's eventful life, some brief biographical highlights of the Jesuit are needed. Born to a Spanish father and Peruvian mother in 1585, Montoya spent his youth in Lima, his family forming part of the emerging Creole aristocracy. From early on in his life, he demonstrated mystical tendencies.[3] At 21, Montoya demonstrates a continuation of his connection with the divine by experiencing a vision confirming his decision to join the Jesuit order. He describes:

> Me pareció [que] veía a los de la Compañía; los veía de blanco, de una cosa muy transparente [...] Yo no sé cómo los conocí, pero sé que los conocí [...] Me pareció ver en un gran campo muchos infieles. Me sentía muy aficionado a ayudarlos, para que salvasen, y, lo que más me incitaba a esto, era el ver a los de la Compañía como que arremetían hacia ellos, encendidos de caridad para hacerlos cristianos y que se salvasen. (qtd. in Rouillon, "Biografía" 24) [4]

He entered the Society of Jesus in 1606 and described the new spiritual journey as a "gran escalón que subir" (qtd. in Rouillon, "Biografía" 30). The trope of an upward climb will remain with him throughout his challenging life both in terms of physical trials as well as concrete textual examples of a spiritual nature found in the *Silex*.

Montoya played a central role in the establishment of the Guaraní reductions settled in parts of present-day Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina.[5] These Jesuit missions served as bases for converting the Guaraní Indians as well as community centers where religious meetings, schooling for the indigenous population, trade, and commerce all occurred. From the beginning of their establishment, the reductions came under violent siege by Brazilian *bandeirantes* desiring to capture the Guaraní as slaves for their mining expeditions.[6] Several encounters occurred between the reductions and *bandeirantes* which eventually resulted in the Spanish government providing arms to the Jesuits for self protection.[7] Montoya repeatedly refers to this threat in his chronicles that describe his life in the reductions.[8] Eventually, these attacks forced Montoya, who had worked his way up to a position of ecclesiastical authority, to initiate a mass exodus from the area of Guairá in southwestern Brazil to the area that is known today as Misiones in northeastern Argentina.

Over 12 thousand Guaraní began the 1200 kilometers trek. Most of the journey was traveled on over 700 canoes floating down the Río Paraná. Because of the dangers of the trip and the starvation that plagued the group due to lack of preparations, many abandoned the journey and attempted to return to their homes. Only four thousand of the original twelve thousand safely arrived in Argentina. Though Montoya is often praised for his work in saving the Guaraní from the *bandeirantes*, the journey out of Brazil formed part of a chain of inevitable tragedies and unrest resulting from the Jesuit colonizing enterprise which ended in the Guaraní wars and Jesuit expulsion from the Americas in the middle part of the eighteenth century. Eventually Montoya was forced to travel to Madrid where he remained for six years on a mission to win the support of Phillip IV in his quest for Guaraní justice. The Spanish king was favorable of the Jesuit's testimony and assigned

a special envoy of six legislators to advance a solution for the unrest between the Brazilians and the reductions. Ultimately the issue was relegated to the Peruvian viceroy and was never fully resolved during Montoya's stay. Nevertheless, while in Madrid Montoya published the first Guaraní dictionary and grammar guide along with his personal chronicles of his experiences in the reductions. Montoya's dictionary remains to be a principal text on the Guaraní language and his extensive chronicle *Conquista espiritual* is fundamental in gaining insight on the Spanish perspective on religious colonization. Then, never to see the Guaraní again, he was ordered to return to Lima to meet with the viceroy where Montoya fell ill and, unable to travel, died a few years later in 1652. Hence the *Silex* was last in a line of book publications that positioned Montoya as a prolific writer and intellectual, a rare position in the tumultuous colonial period that was plagued with unreliable conditions and limited access to printing materials. Nevertheless, as we will see, it became a priority for the Jesuit to also see his spiritual guidebook produced in book form, something that was achieved neither during nor after his lifetime.

Biographies by Rouillon and Jarque claim that Montoya experienced his highly mystical phase and produced *El silex del divino amor* during these last years in Lima.[9] Rouillon's introduction of the edited version of the *Silex* states:

> Aunque en su conversión y primeros años de jesuita tuvo abundantes gracias místicas, su contacto con la espiritualidad de la Compañía le hizo desconfiar de éstas. Aparentemente o se redujeron o pasaron a ser elementos constitutivos de su vida diaria. De hecho fue siempre admirado por su gran actividad apostólica y, al mismo tiempo, por su vida de oración. Sólo en sus últimos años [...] apareció de manera manifiesta su experiencia mística. (Rouillon, "Silex" XCIII)

On the contrary, Montoya had mystical inclinations from the beginning. This is supported by the fact that Montoya was inspired to write the *Silex* by a Guaraní elder during his time in the reductions. This demonstrates that his mystical inclinations were manifest and active during a time in his life that fluctuated between a constant activism for indigenous rights, intellectual activities which resulted in the publication of the aforementioned scholarly works on the Guaraní language—which were also important tools for evangelization, and an important ecclesiastical position within the Jesuit organization. The indication that his mystical program derives from a Guaraní that he came to know during his time in the reductions confirms the *Silex* as a work in progress throughout Montoya's life. In explaining how the Guaraní influenced his method of divine unification, Montoya:

> Confiesa con ingenuidad habérselo dictado Nuestro Señor, por boca de un sencillo y santo indio de la reducción de Nuestra Señora de Loreto en el Guayrá, llamado Ignacio Piraycí[...]Después de bautizado se aplicó con todas veras al estudio de la ley divina, y aunque de tantos años, decoró todo el catecismo. Oía misa todos los días antes de salir á su trabajo, y por la tarde antes de volver á su casa, visitaba la de Dios, y con viva fe reverenciaba á Cristo Sacramentado. En esta escuela, con el magisterio del Espíritu Santo, aprendió el modo admirable de llevar continuamente la presencia de Dios. Confesó el P. Antonio que este indio le sirvió de maestro cuando con más veras lo deseaba tener desta facultad. (Jarque 150–1)

This indigenous inspiration of the *Silex*, mentioned only briefly in Rouillon's edition of the text, situates the Jesuit's mystical program resulting from the Catholic practices of a Guaraní elder. This spiritual regimen, originating from Guaraní Ignacio Piraycí, was likely recorded by Montoya during his stay in the reductions and established during the following years. This leads us to conclude that the content contained in the *Silex* was produced over years of spiritual progression beginning in Montoya's years in Paraguay. That said, Jarque's biography describes Montoya's experience writing the text during his time in Lima. He quotes Montoya stating:

> Hallábame entonces en una chácara bien retirada...Pensé escribir algún pliego de papel destos puntos; pero hallándome con la pluma en la mano y con el espíritu delante del Santísimo Sacramento de la iglesia del Callao...pidiendo á Nuestro Señor luz para acertar, se me ofrecieron algunos opúsculos, enderezados á entablar su divina presencia, no ya fundada en fuerza de imaginación ó consideraciones, sino en un acto de viva fe. A este librito llamé *Silex del divino amor*. (153)

Though the above establishes that he compiled the manuscript in Lima, it is evident that Montoya began the manuscript previous to his final years in Lima. This clarified timeframe clarifies scholarship that situates Montoya's mystical production during the last moments of his life and helps to clarify the role of mysticism in the long career of the Jesuit and how he came to rely on indigenous influence in the production of the text.

The Centrality of Icons in Catholicism and the Colonial Iconographic Tradition

Establishing the process of producing the Silex creates a connection between the mystical characteristics of Montoya throughout his life and the didactical components of the Jesuit order that are embodied in the spiritual guidebook and more specifically, the iconographical folios found in the text. Michel de Certeau in his article "Mystic Speech," elaborating on the innovations of language by mystics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries, states that essential to mystical tradition, "is not a body of doctrines[...]but the epistemic foundation of a domain within which specific procedures are followed: a new space, with new mechanisms" (188). Central to the mechanisms employed by Montoya are the two iconographical folios in the *Silex* which serve as touchstones for the rest of the text. They provide a space for contemplation, a visual image of the mystical processes elaborated throughout the *Silex*, and a didactical function that follows the Jesuit tradition connecting memory and spirituality.

The two folios help in recognizing the mystical intentions of Montoya and how the Catholic iconographic tradition plays an important role in textual didacticism. In understanding this tradition and how it applies to the *Silex*, it is necessary to establish the

role of iconography within a colonial context and the iconographic practices occurring at the time. To begin, we need to go back to the Council of Nicaea in 787 and the emerging theological role of religious icons and the specific decrees created that formed an orthodox iconography. The members of the council expressed that, "In some venerable icons, and pointed to by the finger of the Forerunner, there is the drawing of a lamb, which has been received as the figure of grace, making what is for us the true Lamb" (Sahas 60). According to the council, the religious imagery is transformed into flesh and blood and should be treated and worshiped the same as the represented object. The importance of visual learning was also emphasized at Nicaea. It was expressed that, "Thus, as when we receive the sound of the reading with our ears, we transmit it to our mind, so by looking with our eyes at the painted icons, we are enlightened in our mind. Through two things following each other, that is, by reading and also by seeing the reproduction of the painting, we learn the same thing, that is, how to recall what has taken place" (Sahas 61). The doctrine of iconographic veneration underscores the importance of large scale reproduction of the religious images in places of worship as well as devotional and catechistic texts to assure the facilitation of teaching correct church doctrine in an illiterate medieval world.

Eight hundred years after the Council of Nicaea, religious iconography continued to have an important impact within Catholic doctrine, particularly during the commencement of the colonizing activities in the Americas. The Council of Trent during the middle part of the sixteenth century reestablished and reaffirmed the use of icons stating that "by means of the images which we kiss and before which we uncover the head and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear" (Schroder 216).

Iconographic representation also plays an important role in the Jesuit order. The importance of education and the spiritual nature of memory in the Jesuit tradition resulted in the extensive use of iconography in Jesuit texts. The first published edition of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* included visual depictions of the teachings of the Jesuit founder. Loyola also commissioned several pictorial books in order to reinforce biblical teachings and to aid in meditation and prayer (Goldsmith 17). Religious scholar Patrick Heelan states that:

> The *Spiritual Exercises* do not teach doctrine nor morals [...] they prepare a person to experience and to discern the affects that accompany the practice of living the 'memory' of Christ's life, death, and resurrection [...] Ignatian meditation, then, is [...] a manner of experiencing then discerning, that is, evaluating, the spiritual affects of (what Ignatius called) 'consolation' and 'desolation'. (x)

Images and icons served as mental tools in order to enhance the remembering of spiritual concepts, creating a "living memory," a key principle within Jesuit worship. Scholar Karel Porteman, a specialist in Jesuit iconography and emblems, describes the importance of the imagery in the educational objectives of the order:

> The Jesuits more than anyone else integrated the emblem in education, and used it not just as a favourite exercise, but as a pedagogical crowning-piece to recommend their education system to the outside world. [...] In the hands of the Jesuits the emblem was both an artistic-ingenious and a persuasive means of communication. It made the spiritual insistently tangible, visible and admirable for the complete human being [...] for the eyes and the other senses, the intellectual capacities, the heart, the emotions and the affects. (180–1)

The Jesuit emblem therefore embodied Christian spirituality. This sensorial experience paralleled the mystical tradition constituting a literal union with the divine, thus making the use of iconographic emblem-like images a welcome inclusion within a text such as the *Silex*.

During the colonization of the Americas, the political and religious spheres overlapped and employed iconography not only for didactical reasons due to existing linguistic barriers, but also to represent the encountered populations in order to justify the exploitation of indigenous labor, and to convey the colonial tactics as biblically sound enterprises. Many iconographical texts were directed to the Spanish population in order to receive governmental as well as popular approval. For example, Fernández de Oviedo sent indigenous representations to Carlos I to supplement his chronicles in order to convince those in power of the validity of his colonizing mission. In response to this western iconography, at the start of the seventeenth century, the Incan leader Guamán Poma de Ayala writes his *Nueva corónica i buen goberno*, which from an indigenous viewpoint describes an overview of the colonial landscape of the time. In his text Guamán Poma satirizes Spanish political abilities as well as their lack of military competence. Mercedes López-Baralt comments that within the text of Guamán Poma, "tenemos la noción de que los vicios triunfan sobre las virtudes en un mundo al revés. Guamán Poma ve los efectos de la conquista como un gran *pachakuti* o terremoto cósmico [...] que subvierte el mundo andino" (95). The *Nueva corónica* also contains political motives as it proposes the return of an Incan leadership with a complete withdrawal of the Spanish colonizers. Guamán Poma, through the images depicted in his text, underscores his desire to restore and correct the cultural inversion that had greatly affected the Incan civilization. Thus colonial iconography formed an essential role in the discursive practices of the colonizers and colonized populations alike.

Reading the *Silex* Folios: Continuation of a Seventeenth-Century Trend

There are several examples of mystical iconography originating from Europe as well as Latin America during the era of the *Silex*. In his book, *Images at War*, Surge Gruzinski discusses several Mexican religious artists and their work produced during the middle of the seventeenth century that can be paralleled to Montoya's icons. Gruzinski writes: "Beyond the stylistic variants, one can perceive in the artists and educated class of New Spain a new, more rhetorical and intellectualized relationship to the image. The mannerist and then baroque image played with decorative loading, allegorical flowering, the pursuit of wisdom, sophistication, and a multiplicity of meaning" (114). Montoya, in his images, clearly appropriates these Golden-Age artistic trends in order to form a discursive complexity fit for his mystical instruction. Mario Praz also describes Montoya's period as

one ripe for the intersection of literary texts and art, evident in *Silex* iconography. Praz states, "emblems were the characteristic of that century in which the tendency to images reached its climax[...]In need as he was of certainties of the senses, the seventeenth-century man did not stop at the purely fantastic cherishing of the image: he wanted to externalize it, to transpose it into a hieroglyph, an emblem" (15). In order to situate Montoya's works within the period as well as the colonial context experienced by the Jesuit, one must take into account this surge in emblematic imagery occurring at the time and the artistic and didactical features used in texts of the period.

To begin it is necessary to place the two folios within their textual context by showing their importance within the *Silex* and their relation to the rest of the text. Of the two existing iconographic folios, one represents a staircase ascending to an image of a sun depicting the mystical goal of divine communion. The theme and image of the stairway to heaven is a common illustration and the folio can be read in harmony with other similar representations. The second folio depicts an "enigma" which will be placed within the tradition of the emblematic images and practices of the time. It too contains elements and individual symbols relating to mysticism and the Jesuit order. Both images can be positioned in the context of Jesuit emblem book production. Emblem books have played a large role in Jesuit teaching and can be defined as images accompanied by written text that, "emphasized the culture of *Latinitas*, literary creativity, the art of memory (ars memorativa), and training in the symbolic arts that aided students in developing imagination and skill in persuasion" (Chorpenning vii).

In the folio titled, "Escala para subir a las manssiones de el Castillo," the connection to Santa Teresa de Jesús' *Las moradas del castillo interior*, a work depicting the different spiritual levels of the soul and the stages necessary to achieve divine unification, is immediately discernable (fig. 1). Montoya mentions Santa Teresa in the *Silex* and the theme of spiritual gradation is central to his text. Directly following the image and the description of the necessary steps for divine union, he cites the Spanish writer a source for the construction of his "escala" and describes the practical application of his spiritual staircase as it affected Peruvian mystic Luisa Melgarelo: "A este estado logró Doña Luisa Melgarelo (mujer bien conocida) por las mansions referidas...Lo cual como a su confesero y a quien...Santa Teresa y otros autores sea sacado esta breve planta y como montea de el edivficio de este divino Castillo" (162). In the image, each of the thirteen spiritual steps occupies two stairs that culminate on top of the "mansión" reaching a large figure of the sun. Every other step on the staircase contains a specific spiritual concept while on the accompanying step a phrase related to the theme of the spiritual level is written. For example, step one is titled, "Conocimiento, i, vista de la verdad" while the following step states "Limpieza en la Raçon." The last step, number thirteen states, "Manifestación de Dios" and just below is written, "Muerte de sentidos, y potencias." In the pages following the iconographic folio Montoya dedicates a section for each of the thirteen "manciones" that describe the mystical process of spiritual transformation. Preceeding the "escala" he gives this following introduction to the image; "Y para que brevemente veas el camino que as traído en sima y por el hacer cortejo con el pasivo que te falta y hagas concepto de la continuación que lo activo tiene con lo pasivo yno deles de exercitar la acción nunca, te pondrá una escala paraq. En la acción y passion vayas subiendo cuyas escalones tienen

correspondencia con las alas y mansions que son 13" (131). The two towers at the top of the staircase form a gateway leading to the sun. On the left tower we see a monograph of the letters "IHS" which represent the first three Greek letters of Jesus' name which is also an acronym for "Iesous Hominum Salvator," or "Jesus, savior of man." This is a typical Jesuit monogram typically depicted together with a cross with nails or the sacred heart as represented in Montoya's image. The other tower includes the monogram "MAR," possibly referring to the Virgin Mary.

The figure of the spiritual staircase is common in Latin American and European religious iconography and literature. To begin, eminent Mexican poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz incorporated the idea of a spiritual scale or staircase in her renowned poem "Primero sueño." In an insightful article on Sor Juana and the mystical tradition, Rocío Olivares Zorrilla writes:

> En el *Primero sueño* somos testigos del afán ascendente del alma humana que crea un espacio intangible en el espacio sensible del mundo natural. Ese espacio sagrado, vínculo o cordón umbilical, se adapta a nuestras limitaciones haciendo que paso a paso, escalón por escalón, nos unamos con nuestro primer origen. Pero lejos de ser ésta una metáfora aislada en la poesía de Sor Juana, vemos que desde múltiples lugares de su obra ella va construyendo esta figura simbólica de su gran silva. En diversos poemas, Sor Juana alude, además de la ascensión, a la escala, particularmente a la escala de Jacob, verdadero motivo recurrente en su obra. (492)

Therefore, a fundamental part of Sor Juana's corpus is this same spacial metaphor for the soul's progression to a divine union. Jeffery Hamburger's book *Nuns as Artists* depicts a series of drawings found in a German convent that follow the same model as Montoya in representing a progressive staircase or ladder that reaches a divine unity. Hamburger in his analysis of the icons comments, "To imitate Christ was to recapitulate this cycle of ascent and descent: not simply to rise up to him, but to begin by subordination of the self. The mystic's path thus is closed to form a circle, its point of origin one with its point of return" (101). In order to take the necessary steps to reach a mystical union, humility and an erasing of human will is necessary. The majority of the *Silex* is dedicated to this interior cleansing in order to gain mental clarity. We will see in the next iconographic folio that the search for mental illumination is a fundamental part of a mystical life.

In addition, Montoya, like other mystics, counsels that the purging of the mind of mundane thoughts that are unrelated to the sphere of the divine is an essential step in order to experience a divine union. In Montoya's spiritual staircase there is a repetition of terms which relate to this contemplative process: "limpieza," "rendimiento de la memoria," "silencio de sentidos," "muerto del sentido," "éxtasis," "visión intelectual," "sueño," "imaginación," and "entendimiento." The constant attention to themes of mental training and contemplation throughout the *Silex* text and iconography highlights the didactical goals of the text and its alignment with the Jesuit mission of living memory described earlier.

Figure 1. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya. "Escala para subir…" *Silex del divino amor.* Courtesy, The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Another important text that is similar to Montoya's "escala" is Rosa de Santa Maria's collage depicting spiritual progression found in Lima in 1923. Ramón Mujíca Pinilla's important study on the saint offers this description of the collage:

> La "Escala espiritual" dibujada por Rosa de Santa María tenía el mismo sentido que *La escala del Paraíso* del monje bizantino San Juan Clímaco […] ambos utilizan la misma metáfora espiritual de la escala celeste que el patriarca Jacob vio en sus sueños para hablar del ascenso del corazón por medio de la oración continua. La santa limeña ha remplazado a los ángeles vistos por Jacob por corazones alados que dramatizaron, por así decirlo, las relaciones íntimas del amante en el Amado. (153)

The collage of the Peruvian nun also shares important characteristics with Montoya's text. For example, in the *Silex*, prayer plays a central part of the mystical process such as

the prayer-focused section that contains 21 "Breves Avisos para la Oración." Also, in the section titled "Nobleza y decadencia de el Varón Perfecto" there is an "introducción para la oración y avisos para ella." Original to the Lilly *Silex* there is also a compendium of rosary prayers as well as a section, "Para celebrar el sacro santo misterio de la missa con divocion y reverencia" (173).

Moreover, in addition to the focus on prayer found in both works, the idea of spiritual gradation is central to both images. At the pinnacle of the nun's ladder, "Rosa dibujó a la Trinidad entronizada por un corazón blanco 'sin heridas, sin cruces, ni lemas, ni adornos'" (Pinilla, 156). Similarly, the sun found above Montoya's staircase culminates in three flames in the center, representing the trinity godhead. Rosa de Santa Maria's collages, along with the German images in Hamburger's text, are examples of the universality of the staircase figure and its shared purpose within mystical circles during at least two centuries. It also situates Montoya, along with Rosa de Santa Maria, within a tradition of mystics active in the Americas during the colonial period.[10] Nevertheless, he stands alone as one, in the colonial Americas, who produced such an extensive text which details a mystical regimen and includes detailed iconography as a central didactical feature.

The second iconographic folio is found on page 64 of the *Silex* (fig. 2). The folio contains the header, "Silex de el Divino Amor y / Rapto / Actiuo de el Alma ya purgada en sus potencias, / Memoria, Entendimiento, y Voluntad / 3. parte. / Tipus Contemplationis." Following this title is a circular mandala-like drawing divided into several sections. In the center of the icon there is an eye surrounded by the words, "Síempe vista del entendimie[nto]." 29 segments encircle the eye figure and are divided in four categories representing the father, son or "dios hombre," the "espiritu santo," and "ser divino" respectively. Each category contains seven or eight terms related to each group title. There are also five horizontal sections consisting of rings extending out away from the eye situated in the center of the icon. These circular rings are also titled in order from the furthest "ring" away from the eye; "CAOS," "ELLVMEN GLORIEA," "LA CALÍGINE," "LA MENTE," and "Síempe vista del entendimie[nto]." This emblematic image visually depicts and categorizes the mystical mind and its intended focus. The icon portrays a spiritual process with the artistic rendering playing a central role which is supported by the text following the folio which explains in detail the sections and wordings of the image. In other words, the iconographical image is central to the understanding of the accompanying pages along with the *Silex* as a whole.

José Pascual Buxó in his fascinating study, *El resplandor intellectual de las imágenes: Estudios de emblemática y literatura novohispana*, describes the dichotomy of image and text represented in colonial iconography. He refers to the textual component of iconographical images as the "alma" and the graphical element as "cuerpo" which, "evoca la dualidad 'espíritu'/'materia' del compuesto humano" (23). The image "cuerpo" enlivens the accompanying text and moves it to a state of textual performance. Specifically, the image, ascertained by the reader, provides the text with a discernable framework that facilitates the learning of the concepts that the author decides to incorporate within the iconolexical structure. In this sense, the author, in incorporating iconolexical formations, creates a hierarchy of sorts. He/she shapes the text in such a way that the icons point to his/her desired rhetorical aims. In the case of Montoya, the bulk of his text focuses on the two

Figure 2. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya. "Tipus contemplationis." *Silex del divino amor.* Courtesy, The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

iconographical folios which provide an essential textual marker giving quick reference to the main goals of the *Silex*.

The rhetoric in this second iconolexical folio centers on the figure of an eye. The eye as the center of understanding is an important symbol within Catholic history as well as emblematic iconography. San Augustine used the symbol of the eye to symbolize spiritual contemplation. Margaret Miles comments that, "A metaphor of physical vision constitutes a leitmotiv throughout Augustine's many accounts of spiritual vision. [...] Augustine's model of physical vision underlines and supports his description of the necessity of human effort, concentration and training" (126). Therefore, the eye as a physical part of the body as well as principal source of information is essential in observing one's surroundings. The eye as a receptor of images in a figurative sense has the power to mark the soul with its received impressions. Miles continues with her description of the Augustinian process in stating that:

> By the vehicle of the visual ray, the object is not only 'touched' by the viewer, but also the object is 'printed' on the soul of the viewer. [San Augustine's] ray theory of vision specifically insisted on the connection [...] of viewer and object in the act of vision [...] Vision, then, connects or attaches the viewer to the object. Moreover, the soul of the viewer both initially projects the visual ray, and it also 'absorbs into itself' the form or image of the object. (127–28)

Augustinian-like "visual rays" that illuminate the mind are seen in the folio emitting towards the eye from the categorized words in the center of the image. Thus the Montoya image serves as a meta-text of spiritual iconography that encapsulates the process of mystical development. Furthermore, in the periphery of the icon there are the same flame-like images found in the solar image of the staircase folio. Inside of the four groups of three flames, there are empty sections of the circle so that the illuminative influence of the spiritual flames of the trinity can penetrate the senses of the eye. The eye figure acts as a center that absorbs all that surrounds it, far from the exterior influence of the "CAOS." This coincides with the importance of light within Jesuit doctrine. In the account of the spiritual experiences of Loyola, divine manifestations always included "the fullest of light" (Guibert 68).

The theme of the union between object and soul described in Miles' article is also evidenced in the folio. The words surrounding the eye focus on an internalized spirituality relating to divine attributes that a mystic must mentally incorporate to create a certain metaphysical balance and psychological experience resulting in a divine union. The eye symbol represented in Miles' Augustinian representation is a prominent image throughout Jesuit emblems and is at the center of this icon. The image invokes a mandala-like structure that encapsulates not only the universe of the mind, but the cosmos as a whole. The eye, representing the body, is surrounded by the differing degrees of how one should exist in the universe. Carl Jung, as one who incorporated the mandala structure into his psychoanalysis, has analyzed the effects of mandala structures on the memory. Jung expresses that, "The mandala is an archetypal image whose occurrence is attested throughout the ages. It signifies the *wholeness of the self.* This circular image represents the wholeness of the psychic ground or, to put it in mythic terms, the divinity incarnate in man" (325). This is precisely what Montoya depicts in his enigmatic icon: the mystical process itself and the human potential to reach a union with divinity.

The incorporation of the heterogeneous elements in this folio demonstrates an attempt to form an original image utilizing symbols recognizable by someone following a mystical pathway. The phrase at the foot of the page points to the important nature of the image in the textual context of the *Silex*. The folio states, "Todo lo que adelante leyeres te declarará esta enigma" (64). The enigma only then can be fully understood if the reader continues to read further in the text. This rhetorical strategy, similarly found in the folio of the "escala," points to the centrality of the two iconographic folios within the *Silex*. In effect, Montoya's text is incomplete without the two images.

The Lilly Library copy of the *Silex del divino amor* is one of the few texts written by a mystic in the Americas containing original iconography. The analyzed images are not aesthetically spectacular and the simplicity of the drawings is a defining characteristic.

Nevertheless, having produced the extensive spiritual guidebook during a tumultuous phase of his life, Montoya demonstrates his capacity as an apt writer and intellectual. The iconographic renderings found in the Lilly copy of the *Silex* add a necessary textual layer that is imperative to the comprehension of the text as a unified entity. Bringing to light these images helps better contextualize Montoya's *Silex* in the longstanding iconographical traditions in the Americas and within Catholic and Jesuit textuality. We are also able to highlight the importance of the iconolexical structures that form a necessary part of the didactical structure in the *Silex*. Through the original copy of the *Silex* found at the Lilly library we are also able to receive a rare glimpse into religious life in Colonial Lima which at the time was a hotbed for religious activity in the Americas.[11] Because of the rarity of mystical images in the colonial Americas, Antonio Ruiz de Montoya should be a central figure in the study of colonial spirituality and the important nature of iconography and spiritual practice. Hopefully this study is able to illuminate these significant factors and will renew interest in the mystical side of this key Spanish-American Jesuit figure.

Notes

[1]The *Random House Unabridged Dictionary* states that an opuscule is "a small or minor work" or "a literary or musical work of small size."

[2]A copy of the Silex, transcribed in 1743 and found in the Archbishop's archive in Lima Peru, was edited by José Luis Rouillon Arróspide in 1991. The other manuscript is held in a private collection in Uruguay.

[3]He relates the following experience: "Desde bien pequeño sentí grandísimo afecto a Nuestra Señora y, en esa edad, sentía siempre su favor casi milagrosamente […] En acabando de rezar el rosario, me daba en el pecho con una piedra, con toda mi fuerza, que me hacía cardenales en el pecho, haciendo actos de amor, aunque entonces no los conocía. Gustaba mucho encerrarme en mi aposento a oscuras sobretarde, después de haber tomado una disciplina […] y estarme pensando en el acto, sin más discurso, con que me hallaba muy alentado" (qtd. in Rouillon, "Biografía" 10).

[4]In Rouillon's Biography of Montoya he quotes Montoya many times without citation. Much of his information comes from Jarque's biography which is similar in terms of lack of citation (see note 6).

[5]Of the many studies currently available on the topic, Barbara Ganson's recent book, *The Guaraní Under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata*, gives a concise and detailed account of the reduction period. Also see Carbonell de Masy's *Estrategias de desarrollo rural en los pueblos guaraníes (1609–1767)* for a thorough account of the economic intricacies of the reductions.

[6]Descriptions of the bandierantes and particularly their role in Brazilian nation building can be found in Richard Morse's *The Bandeirantes: The Historical Role of the Brazilian Pathfinders*.

[7] His courage in resisting the invasions is exemplified in an encounter he had with the Brazilian trespassers. During an attack that killed and wounded several Guaraní and Catholic leaders, he recalls, "Me apuntó uno de ellos con su escopeta al pecho, abrí la ropa para que sin ninguna resistencia entrase la pelota" (qtd. in Rouillon, "Biografía" 73).

[8]Montoya's most significant historical work is *La conquista espiritual*, a lengthy chronicle depicting his experiences in the Guaraní reductions.

[9] D. Francisco Jarque, the first biographer of Montoya, first published his extensive work in 1662 and continues to be a principal source for information on the life of the Jesuit. More recently, José Luis Rouillon Arróspide has published several works on Montoya that shed new light on the biographical events and textual production of Montoya.

[10] An additional mystic active during the period that could be compared to Montoya in terms of clerical authority, mystical attributes and textual output is Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos who was named Archbishop of Mexico in 1664. For a profile of the Mexican mystic see Pérez Puente's chapter in *Carrera, linaje y patronazgo: Clérigos y juristas en Nueva España, Chile y Perú (Siglos XVI-XVIII)*.

[11] Many studies have been done on female religious figures in Lima during the period. See Fernando Iwasaki's article (1993) on the abundance of female mystics in Lima and María Emma Mannarelli's texts (1998, 2007) on gender roles in Lima at the time and how stringent religious institutionalization permeated the public sphere. For work done on male mystics see Coello de la Rosa (2002) and Nieto Vélez (1992).

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The Seven Laws of Fernán González: Castile's Tenth-Century Legislative Beginnings

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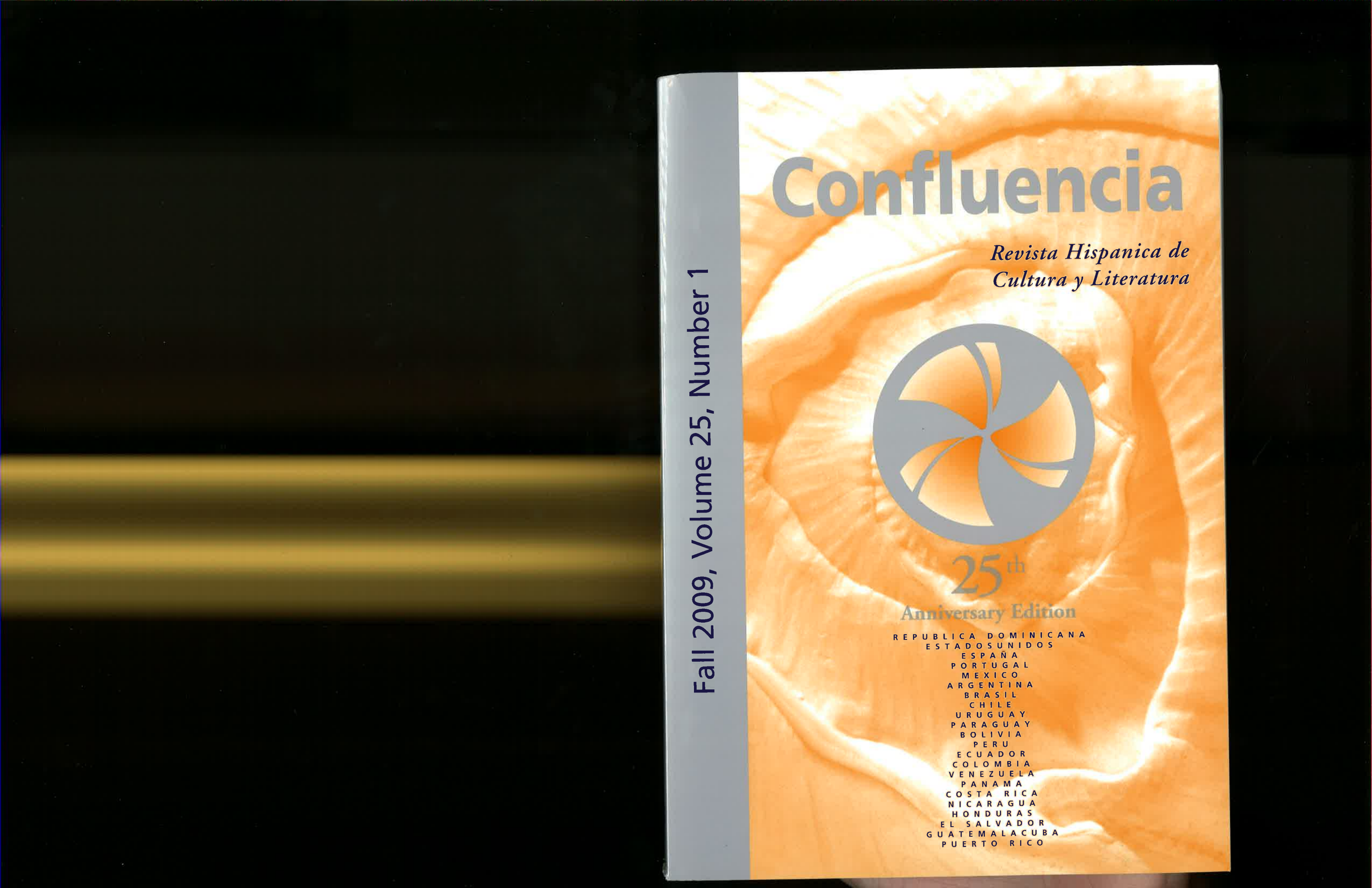
The Spanish epic hero and Castilian patriarch Fernán González is not known as a legislator, though his son and grandson were. Nowhere in legal charters, medieval chronicles, or epic poetry do we have evidence of Fernán González promulgating laws. However, in Gonzalo de Arredondo's sixteenth-century chronicle of Fernán González, the *Crónica brevemente sacada* (=*CBS*),[1] the hero issues seven laws immediately upon his election to count. These seven laws might seem unlikely to offer any interesting historical information about tenth-century law since they appear nowhere but in a sixteenth-monastic chronicle written by the beneficiaries of Fernán González' endowments, sepulcher, and name. Upon closer inspection, we can see that the earliest Castilian *fueros* are not dissimilar in content and style, and that some of Fernán González' seven laws fall within the bounds of early medieval Castilian legal culture. Moreover, it is conceivable that Arredondo, who was writing at San Pedro de Arlanza, a monastery patronized by Fernán González, had access documents of Fernán González to which we do not. While it is not possible that these seven laws really were promulgated by Fernán González given the nature of tenth-century Castilian law, it is possible that Arredondo has preserved the memory of something now lost to us. These laws are a fascinating diachronic amalgam of legal cultures whether they are a liberal translation or forgery of high medieval law. They go far in explaining the poetics of legal-literary discourse in early Spain.

Background on Fernán González

Fernán González lived from circa 910 to 970. He was vassal to the king of León, but did become the first Castilian count whose authority exceeded the authority of his noble family's holdings. Fernán González was the count of Lara, one among seven Castilian counts, all of whom were peers: Lara, Burgos, Cerezo, Lantaron, Celórigo, Amaya, and Alava. The life-long historian of Fernán González, Pérez de Urbel, dismissed the *cantar*-esque (legendary) version of Fernán González' political ascent in Castile. Pérez de Urbel writes that Fernán González political ascent occurred neither by rebellion nor popular uprising no the cult of hero (56) but by Fernán González' political gamesmanship. León was enduring political tumult. Fernán González ended up being related through marriage to the king of Navarra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