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THE LECTURES ON THE *EXERCITIA SPIRITUALIA* OF
IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA (ANNOUNCED AS “THE PROCESS
OF INDIVIDUATION”) CONSISTING OF THE SECOND
HALF OF THE SUMMER SEMESTER 1939, THE WINTER
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Summer Semester 1939

Lecture 8⁸⁵

16 JUNE 1939

IN THIS LECTURE we will now turn to a quite different chapter.⁸⁶ However, this chapter is once again about that great problem of the *imaginatio*, of the application,⁸⁷ the development, and the formation of the human capacity for imagination. After our rambling journey through the spiritual world of the East, we are returning to our Western world: that is, to Europe. This transition is no easy proposition. Nowadays one may well be able to travel physically by car from India to Europe in about three weeks, but making this journey intellectually is quite another matter. On arrival in the West one finds a completely different spiritual atmosphere.

In the East, despite the apparent abstraction, everything is simple, clear, and philosophical. It is about insight, differentiation, and understanding. It is essentially a spectacle that passes by, as it were, in a calm, peaceful⁸⁸ state and through which one changes or is changed. It is never a struggle, ordeal, or compulsion. It grows, blossoms, develops, and unfurls, and the yogi allows it to happen within him and through him, sees it in his visions, and experiences it in his body. But it is never unpredictable; there is no decision or torment. One hears nothing about conscience. Morality

⁸⁵ The text of this lecture is compiled from notes by LSM, ES, RS, and OK, as well as the English translation by BH. In addition Jung's preparatory typescripts, notes from JA were used (in the following abbreviated as JLN). These notes consist of an unpublished typewritten German translation of the Swedish monograph *Religion och själsträning: En studie i jesuiternas andliga övnigar* (1937) by Bernhard Hegardt. Jung noted, at the top of the first page, "Appendix to page 16e. Exercises."

⁸⁶ Jung began the lecture with an answer to a question concerning the previous lecture of 9 June 1939: see *JMP*, vol. 6, p. 253.

⁸⁷ ES and OK have "Verwandlung" (transformation) instead of "Verwendung" (application).

⁸⁸ LSM and ES have "freundlich" (friendly) instead of "friedlich" (peaceful).

comes into the picture only incidentally, in the form of a technical mistake, for example.

If you study Buddhism, which has a highly developed ethics, you see that not only the ways of life but also the ethical attitudes are highly humane. If someone becomes a monk and isn't happy being celibate, he can continue living outside the monastery as a lay or secular monk. If in this life something goes wrong because of your own imperfection, well yes, you incur a somewhat unpleasant and burdensome *karma*,⁸⁹ but you can make up for it in the next life. The next life will be slightly more difficult, due to your *karma*, but you can try to do things better next time, and *karma* gives you the opportunity to do that. The technical mistakes can be gradually eradicated through reincarnation. Buddha, before he became Buddha, also had countless previous stages, in which he existed as a plant, an animal, etc. and gradually developed to higher levels. It is like an ancient tree that in the course of hundreds of years exhibits the biggest, most beautiful blossoms. That is by and large the image of the psychological atmosphere of the East.

When we come to the West, however, we encounter a most unique religious and philosophical situation. Here we need to go back some way in history to understand how certain endeavors⁹⁰ came about, and we will then compare them with Eastern techniques. Specifically, I will explore with you the *Exercitia spiritualia* of Ignatius of Loyola. These were not developed until late in the sixteenth century, and there is a long religious and philosophical history behind them. Such efforts to alter the human psyche are age-old, and, as in the East, such things originally came from primitivism.⁹¹ Among the primitives,⁹² one already finds special times or

⁸⁹ *karman*; also *karma* (Sanskrit): "action," the mechanism by which conditional existence maintains itself through the circle of rebirth. "Through good and bad deeds the pot of living beings is produced; from the body, *karma* arises. This [the circle] revolves like a waterwheel. As the waterwheel moves up and down powered by the bullocks, so the psyche passes through life and death powered by *karma*" (*Gheranda-Sambhitā*, 1.6–1.7). Jung talks about the *karma* in his lecture of 4 November 1938 (*JMP*, vol. 6, p. 16). On *karma*, see Feuerstein (1997), pp. 149–50.

⁹⁰ LSM has "Bewegungen" (movements) instead of "Bemühungen" (endeavors).

⁹¹ Jung improvised the following six paragraphs guided by his handwritten keynotes: "Primitive: Mag. Preparations, purification, initiation, instruction; ant. mystery cult: Eleusis. Egypt. Isis and Osiris; Hellenist. Syncretism, from which (Judaeo-Hellenism) Christianity" (JLN, p. 1).

⁹² Jung's usage of the term "primitive" and its compounds is in line with classic phenomenological theories of religion (P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, W. B. Kristensen, E. Lehmann) and anthropological theories (E. B. Tylor) of his time. Geo Widengren argued that the phenomenological theories of Lehmann and others were an expression of the universal

phases in life: puberty rituals or later male rites of passage in which magic preparations are performed, initiations, instruction, ordeals, even mutilation and the like, for the purpose of achieving some kind of psychic transformation. From these primitive beginnings, which are found among all primitive peoples, as it were, the mysteries of antiquity gradually evolved. I refer above all to the ancient and holy cult of Eleusis, where the most significant magical and religious initiations took place throughout antiquity in the famous Eleusinian mysteries.⁹³

These Eleusinian mysteries were performed until 392 CE, thus extending well into our Christian epoch, until they were abolished by a special edict of a Byzantine emperor.⁹⁴ They apparently disappeared without trace, meaning we actually have very little precise information about their content. But from the intimations of various writers and results of archaeological excavations we have been able to piece together most of it. These mysteries primarily altered the consciousness to such an extent that immortality was experienced—that is, an experience of unchanged existence in time. This is also expressed symbolically through time being suspended.

We find similar initiation rites in Egypt. The Eleusinian initiations most probably originated in Egypt and were brought to Greece along with the cultivation of grain around 1500 BCE. They were originally an agrarian mystery. The corresponding mysteries in Egypt were the Isis mysteries.⁹⁵ We have more recent information about those. I recommend the writings of Plutarch on these mysteries.⁹⁶ Well worth reading. He himself was an

evolutionary as well as theological and antitheological prejudices of their age (Widengren, 1974). For a critique of phenomenology of religion, see Evans-Pritchard (1965). On Jung and primitive mentality, see Shamdasani (2003), pp. 290–93.

⁹³ The Eleusinian mysteries were important ancient Greek initiation rites held annually in honor of Demeter and Persephone/Kore. In 1941, Jung and Karl Kerényi published a seminal study on the Eleusinian mysteries (Jung and Kerényi, 1941; Engl.: *Essays on a Science of Mythology: The Myth of the Divine Child and the Mysteries of Eleusis*, 1969). On the details of the Eleusinian cult, see Sourvinou-Inwood (2003).

⁹⁴ Theodosius I (347–95 CE; r. 379–95).

⁹⁵ Contrary to Jung's statement, the mysteries of Isis are of Graeco-Roman origin. The worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis developed during the Hellenistic period (323–31 BCE). The mysteries of Isis were modeled on the Eleusinian mysteries (see n. 93). The main source for today's knowledge of the secret initiation rites performed as part of the mystery cult is chapter 11 of the Latin novel *The Golden Ass* (actual title *Metamorphoses*) by Apuleius (see n. 97).

⁹⁶ Plutarch (Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus; ca. 46–ca. 120 CE) was a Greek biographer, author, and philosopher, who was also one of the two priests at the temple of Apollo in Delphi, the site of the famous oracle. His main works are *Parallel Lives* and *Moralia*. The latter consists of seventy-eight essays and contains an account of the mysteries

initiate. The well-known ancient novel by Apuleius, *Asinus aureus*, is also highly recommended, as at the end it describes a mystery rite.⁹⁷ The whole story is actually a mystery. It describes various changes that the initiate goes through before reaching the state of complete salvation.

There were of course many other mysteries as well as these ones. For instance, the Samothracian mysteries in which the Cabiri initiations took place.⁹⁸ Such mysteries became merged in around the first century before Christ, and together with neo-Pythagorean and Neoplatonic philosophy they formed Hellenistic syncretism, a conglomeration of the various religious and philosophical viewpoints. In practical terms, this resulted in numerous variations of the different mysteries. You can get a fuller picture in the book on Gnosis by Leisegang, for example.⁹⁹ There you will find many traces of these unique spiritual movements. I remind you again of Demeter and the Cabiri which I talked about after the dreams last year.¹⁰⁰

Christianity arose out of these movements. In the West, we like to give the impression that Christianity fell straight from the sky with no prior history. That is inaccurate, historically. The main contents of Christianity,

entitled “Of Isis and Osiris, or the Ancient Religion and Philosophy of Egypt” (1878, vol. 4, pp. 65–139).

⁹⁷ Apuleius (Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis; ca. 124–ca. 170 CE) was a Platonic philosopher, rhetorician, and author, best known for the only Latin novel that survived in its entirety, *Metamorphoses* or *Asinus aureus* (*The Golden Ass*), which describes the fate of a man who is changed into a donkey for his misuse of magic. He only regains his original form through the worship of the Egyptian Goddess Isis and his subsequent initiation into her mysteries. Apuleius himself was an initiate of the Isis mysteries, and gave a detailed account of the initiation rites in the final chapter of his book. The text attracted the attention of Jungian psychologists such as Erich Neumann (Neumann, 1952) and Marie-Louise von Franz (Franz, 1970).

⁹⁸ The mysteries of Samothrace were, after the Eleusinian mysteries, the most famous initiation cult of antiquity. The sanctuary was dedicated to the worship of the Kabeiroi (Cabiri) or *megaloi theoi*, the great gods, of which four names are known: Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos, and their servant Cadmilos or Casmilos. The initiation mysteries offered prosperity and safety to those traveling the seas. Jung had a keen interest in the Cabiri, endorsing the argument of Friedrich Creuzer (Creuzer, 1810–12) and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (Schelling, 1977 [1815]), according to which the Cabiri were the primal deities of Greek mythology. Jung himself wrote about the Cabiri in “Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido” (1911–12, §§ 209–11; Engl.: *A Study of the Transformations and Symbolisms of the Libido*, 1916; 1917) and in “Zur Psychologie der Trinitätsidee” (1942a, § 244; Engl.: “A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity,” CW 9). *Liber Novus* contains a dialogue between the “I” and the Cabiri, in which the Cabiri urge the “I” as “master of the lower nature” to cut through the brain and its entanglement with a sword, thereby sacrificing the Cabiri themselves: “The entanglement is your madness, the sword is the overcoming of madness” (Jung, 2009, pp. 425–28).

⁹⁹ Leisegang (1924).

¹⁰⁰ See Jung’s lecture of 17 June 1938 (*JMP*, vol. 5).

which is rich in philosophical thought, were actually already present in this extraordinarily broad and to an extent very conscious constellation characterized on the one hand by Gnosticism and on the other hand by Neoplatonic philosophy. That in turn goes back to Pythagoras, Plato, and so forth.

From this specific syncretism, other special spiritual movements within Judaism also arose, but which then disappeared without trace due to dogmatic¹⁰¹ rabbinic attitudes. The only remaining trace is the Kabbalah (Hebrew for “tradition” or “transmission”), a Gnosis that has survived to the present day.¹⁰² Also the group known as the Sabians in the East. They are the Mandaeans in Basra and Kut al-Amara in Mesopotamia.¹⁰³ Also called the Christians of Saint John, they still exist today—Gnosticism lives on there.¹⁰⁴ There were also still Neoplatonic sects active in Baghdad until 1050, which were wiped out by Islamic persecution.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Only in BH.

¹⁰² In February 1944, Jung suffered a severe heart attack. While he was in a twilight zone between life and death, he experienced a number of visions, one of which was of a Kabbalistic nature: “I myself was, so it seemed, in the Pardes Rimmonim, the garden of pomegranates, and the wedding of Tifereth with Malchuth was taking place. Or else I was Rabbi Simon ben Jochai, whose wedding in the afterlife was being celebrated. It was the mystic marriage as it appears in the Cabbalistic tradition. I cannot tell you how wonderful it was. I could only think continually, ‘Now this is the garden of pomegranates! Now this is the marriage of Malchuth and Tifereth!’ I do not know exactly what part I played in it. At bottom it was I myself: I was the marriage. And my beatitude was that of a blissful wedding” (Jung, 1962, p. 294). The Kabbalistic marriage between the male and female aspect of God plays also a prominent part in Jung’s *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (1955–56). Close collaborators of Jung’s such as Rivkah Schärf-Kluger and Siegmund Hurwitz looked at the psychological aspects of the Kabbalah. Jung discussed Kabbalistic topics in letters to Ernst Fischer (21 December 1944: Jung [1973], vol. 1, pp. 355–56) and to Erich Neumann, (5 January 1952: Jung and Neumann [2015], pp. 280–84).

¹⁰³ The place names are given only in BH.

¹⁰⁴ The Sabians were a religious group mentioned three times alongside the Christians and the Jews in the Quran. They are often identified with the Mandaeans, believers of the Gnostic religion of Mandaicism. Known as Nasoreans, the Mandaeans left Palestine for Mesopotamia in the first century CE to escape persecution. During the Muslim conquest, they claimed one of their main prophets, Yahya ibn Zakariyya, to be identical with John the Baptist, which identified them as Sabians, who as “people of the book” enjoyed certain rights and protection. They reject Jesus as the Messiah and hold the teachings and the practice of baptism as rendered by John the Baptist in high regard. They have also been known as “Christians of Saint John” since the sixteenth century.

¹⁰⁵ The three most important centers of Neoplatonism after the Islamic conquest were Alexandria, Godeshapur, and Harran. All three made their impact on the learned culture of the city of Baghdad after its foundation in 762. Neoplatonic scholars from Godeshapur, a major center of Greek Byzantine culture and philosophy, made their mark on the philosophical debates in Baghdad, which with its famous libraries soon turned into the intellectual and cultural hub of the Islamic Golden Age. Another route of Neoplatonism infiltrating

In the West, little has remained, and only in secrecy. Most of it became incorporated into Christianity. It should therefore not surprise us that Christianity soon resumed those attempts that we encountered in the mystery cults, namely attempts at psychic transformation. This was particularly evident in the monasteries. The monasteries themselves, which were supposedly established on biblical authority, actually existed before Christ. We know that from Philo of Alexandria's descriptive tract *De vita contemplativa*.¹⁰⁶ In this he describes monastic communities which were wrongly assumed to be Christian by the old church, but which were actually Gnostic. However, they were precursors of the early Christian monasteries in Egypt. There in Alexandria we also find the first eremitic monastic communities, where the monks were able to devote themselves to their spiritual practice undisturbed. The monasteries were founded solely for this purpose.

These endeavors fundamentally to alter the human soul were pursued in monasteries before any kind of systematic processes or methods had been established. There are numerous examples of this. In the Middle Ages, a great number of books and tracts were produced containing instructions for prayer or meditation which had by then become more methodical.¹⁰⁷ One example is the *Goldene Büchlein* by Petrus of Alcántara.¹⁰⁸ Thomas à Kempis, who died in 1471, wrote *The Imitation of*

Islamic culture in Baghdad was via Harran in northern Syria, which was home to the Sabaeans. Their theology was also shaped by Neoplatonism, and merged with the thinking of Neoplatonist philosophers fleeing Alexandria in the third century. In the eighth century, Neoplatonism found its way from Harran to Baghdad.

¹⁰⁶ Philo Judaeus, also known as Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 BCE–ca. 50 CE) was a Hellenistic Jewish philosopher, born in Alexandria. Philo brings together Greek philosophical traditions such as Platonism, Aristotelianism, Cynicism, and Stoicism with the Jewish exegesis of the Bible. As he combines religious revelation and philosophical reason, he has also been seen as a forerunner of Christian theology. In *De vita contemplativa* (*On the Contemplative Life, or On Suppliants*), Philo described the life of an ascetic religious community near Alexandria known as the Therapeutae (Philo, 1941, pp. 112–70). As Eusebius, in his commentary on Philo (*Historia ecclesiastica* [Eusebius, 1999] book 2, 17), identified their practice as Christian, Philo's account was seen as a description of a forerunner of Christian monastic life. More recent scholarship suggests that the way of life portrayed by Philo points more to a Jewish than a Christian sect. Given the negative valuation of Greek philosophy in the text, Philo's authorship of *De vita contemplativa* has also been disputed.

¹⁰⁷ From here, Jung closely follows the monograph of Bernhard Heggardt, *Religion och själstränging. En studie i jesuiternas andliga övnigar* (1937). JLN contains a typewritten German translation of the Swedish original. Jung's translation, which builds the structure of his lecture, starts with Heggardt's p. 18.

¹⁰⁸ Saint Peter of Alcántara (1499–1562), born Juan Garabito Vilela de Sanabria, was a Spanish Franciscan friar and mystic. His sole publication is the *Tratado de la oración y meditación* (1556) (*Treatise of Prayer and Meditation*, 1926), known in German as the

Christ.¹⁰⁹ From more recent times, there is a very interesting spiritual work by Madame Guyon, *Moyen court et très-facile de faire oraison que tous peuvent pratiquer*. She was a French mystic whose famous confessor was Abbé Fénelon.¹¹⁰ All these prayer instructions (*orationes*) are used for¹¹¹ meditation. They usually contain a description and analysis of the experiences that the person performing these exercises has had. Experiences of the spiritual life are examined, then strung together and arranged in stages corresponding to the ancient mysteries, in which there is also a ladder of progression. Jacob's ladder,¹¹² of the Old Testament, was often used to symbolize this climbing in stages up to the *unio mystica* with God.

Goldene Büchlein über die Betrachtung und das innerliche Gebet (1900), which was an important inspiration for other mystics such as Peter's spiritual heir Teresa of Ávila (1515–82).

¹⁰⁹ Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1380–1471), the best known member of the Brethren of the Common Life, a pietist Roman Catholic community founded by Gérard (de) Groote (1340–84) (see n. 116). Their simple way of living revolved around prayer and meditation, and is known as the *devotio moderna*. The *Imitation of Christ* consists of short texts with instructions for how to conduct a spiritual inner life following the example of Jesus Christ. Over the centuries, the book has maintained its popularity and has become one of the most successful books in Christianity. The book plays a prominent role in the chapter “Divine Folly” of Jung’s *Liber Novus*, where its mediating truth is opposed to that of Nietzsche’s philosophy, and where Jung reflects upon the imitation of Christ: “If I thus truly imitate Christ, I do not imitate anyone, I emulate no one, but go my own way, and I will also no longer call myself a Christian. Initially, I wanted to emulate and imitate Christ by living my life, while observing his precepts. A voice in me protested against this and wanted to remind me that my time also had its prophets who struggle against the yoke with which the past burdens us” (Jung, 2009, p. 332).

¹¹⁰ Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de La Motte Guyon, Madame du Chesnoy (1648–1717), was a French mystic and author who was at the heart of the seventeenth-century controversy regarding quietism, which was declared as heretical by the papal bull *Coelestis pastor*. Although Guyon repeatedly retracted the propositions brought forward in her writings she was arrested in 1695 and not released until 1703. Her main work is *Moyen court et très-facile de faire oraison* (A short and easy method of prayer) written in 1685 (Guyon, 2007 [1685]). One of her disciples and defenders was François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715), better known as François Fénelon, who met Madame Guyon for the first time in 1688. Fénelon was made archbishop of Cambrai in 1696 and royal tutor, a position he lost due to his role in the quietist controversy.

¹¹¹ RS and ES have “verstanden” (understood as) instead of “gebraucht” (used for).

¹¹² Genesis 28:12–17: “And he [Jacob] dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it./ And, behold, the Lord stood above it, and said, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed:/ And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south: and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed./ And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of./ And Jacob awaked

These books, which deal with a kind of specific mystical union with God, were like manuals for monks who wanted to undertake the exercises. They not only give formal instructions about the time, place, manner, and method, but also about the content and material on which one should meditate. Thus in the Middle Ages a host of such religious meditation systems was created. The writings of the Victorines are good examples of this type of literature—Hugh of Saint Victor (1096–1141), for instance, wrote an interesting dialogue between the human being and the soul.¹¹³ That is a typical Western meditation. Meditation was understood as an inner conversation between a person and their soul, with their good angel, or even with God. Ignatius also took up this approach in his exercises, in which an exercise often culminates in a *colloquy*—a discussion with one of the divine figures. So it's a prototype of this meditation. Hugh of Saint Victor gives us a good example of it. This inner debate, an inner conversation with oneself, is something that is very different from the approach in the East. With us it is all much more personalistic.

In the thirteenth century, after the Victorines, this system of meditation was developed further. The term “spiritual exercise” appears: the *exercitium*. At the same time the forms become somewhat more precise. During the fourteenth century, actual manuals or handbooks are produced with instructions of how to perform such exercises.¹¹⁴ The purpose of all these exercises is the development in stages of the human consciousness, leading to a state of supposed perfection in which the experience of the *unio mystica*, the union with God, takes place. Originally there were usually three of these stages, but gradually the number of stages increased. There are even some tracts with up to forty stages. German medieval literature

out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place; and I knew it not./ And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven” (KJV).

¹¹³ Hugh of Saint Victor (1096–1141), medieval philosopher and mystical writer, laid the foundations for Scholastic theology; he became the head of the school of Saint Victor in 1133. He combined his philosophical and theological writings of an Aristotelian character with mystical teachings about the soul's journey to the union with God. His main work is entitled *De sacramentis Christianae fidei* (ca. 1134); his mystical writings include *De arca Noe morali* (Noah's moral ark) and *De arca Noe mystica* (Noah's mystical ark) (1125–30), *De vanitate mundi* (On the vanity of the world) and *Soliloquium de arrha animae* (Soliloquy on the earnest-money of the soul). Hugh's works are published as vols 175–77 of the *Patrologia Latina* (1854). On his psychology, see Ostler (1906). See also Jung's lecture of 28 October 1938 (*JMP*, vol. 6, pp. 7–8)

¹¹⁴ Jung follows Hegardt (1937), p. 19; German translation in JLN, p. 2.

in particular excelled in expanding the methodical steps to such a degree that consciousness could be transcended.¹¹⁵

At the end of the fourteenth century, during a time when the moral and intellectual decline of monasteries was becoming noticeable, a kind of spiritual reformation movement occurred. This movement began in Holland, with Gérard de Groote (1340–84) and his followers.¹¹⁶ They formed a group called the “Brethren of the Common Life.” They followed the *devotio moderna* and were also called the *Devoti*. They dedicated themselves to pursuing a deep inner piety, an approach which had a great influence both on Catholicism and, later, on Protestantism. The Devoti produced some notable texts about such spiritual exercises. If you read *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis you will find a good example of the Devoti. They are evocative and exquisite religious meditations. This Devoti movement developed particularly during the fifteenth century. It became perhaps the most prestigious and popular spiritual movement of its time. Many outstanding characters belonged to the movement. The work they did was quite considerable. They took on a fundamental reform of the monasteries, which at that time had fallen into disrepute; in particular Johannes Busch (1399–1479)¹¹⁷ in Germany, Johannes Mauburnus

¹¹⁵ Jung here plays on the double meaning of the phrase “bis zur Bewusstlosigkeit,” which literally means “as far as loss of consciousness,” but also has the colloquial meaning of “to an excessive or ludicrous degree” or “ad nauseam.”

¹¹⁶ Gérard (de) Groote (1340–84), also Geert or Gerrit Groote, in Latin Gerardus Magnus, the Dutch founder of the Brethren of the Common Life, a pietist Roman Catholic community whose members imitated in their conduct of life the example of Jesus Christ. The new inward emphasis on prayer and meditation was called the *devotio moderna*. Groote was born in Deventer, near Utrecht, and studied scholastic philosophy and theology at the University of Paris. In 1347, he experienced a spiritual conversion that made him renounce his worldly goods and help the poor. He was ordained a deacon and became a highly popular missionary preacher. His teachings, often critical of the clergy, aroused anger, and an edict was issued that prohibited the preaching of laymen such as himself. Groote died of the plague at the age of forty-four, before this prohibition took effect. His spiritual direction was also informed by his contact with the mystic John Ruysbroeck (ca. 1293–1381) and led him to recommend the brethren to attach themselves to the canons regular of Saint Augustine. After Groote’s death, a monastery was established in Windesheim, which became the center of the monastic reform movement of the fifteenth century.

¹¹⁷ Johannes Busch (1399–1479), canon regular of the Windesheim congregation that was founded by disciples of Gérard de Groote two years after his death in 1386. Busch took the cloth in 1419 and made simple vows in 1420. He was later ordained as a priest in Cologne. His reform of canonical houses extended all the way from the canonries in the Netherlands to Saxony and Thuringia. He is the author of the *Chronicon Windeshemense* and *Liber de reformatione onasteriorum* (Busch, 1886).

(1460–1501)¹¹⁸ in France, and Ludovico Barbo (1381–1443) in Italy, whom I mention because he was the one who finally brought these meditation methods and the spiritual writings to Spain. It is thanks to Barbo that Ignatius became at all familiar with this meditation movement. Barbo undertook, with great success, the reform of the Benedictine monasteries in Italy. He also wrote a text which he specifically referred to as a “modus meditandi et orandi.”¹¹⁹

¹²⁰These successes in cloister meditation became well known all over, and even reached as far as Spain, which at that time was rather distant from [the rest of] Europe. In 1442, Barbo and a few other monks came to the monastery at Monserrat near Barcelona.¹²¹ This cloister is now famous on account of the time Ignatius spent there. Barbo initially led a thorough reform of the monastery, but after his death it quickly declined again. Later came another reformer, also from the *devotio moderna* movement. He was the abbot Cisneros (ca. 1455–1510), the teacher of Ignatius.¹²² He once again implemented the *devotio moderna* very thoroughly, having brought much of the Devoti literature with him from France. I will mention here two titles: *Libellus de spiritualibus ascensionibus* (Little book about

¹¹⁸ Johannes Mauburnus (1460–1501), also known as Jan Mombaer, was the last significant teacher of the *devotio moderna*. Born in Brussels, he became a canon regular of the Windesheim congregation at the age of seventeen. After his ordination, he was entrusted with the reform of canonical houses in the north of France. His most famous book is the *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum* (The rose-garden of spiritual exercises and holy meditations) (Mauburnus, 1494). The meditative practice described in this book was introduced to the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat by its abbot García de Cisneros (see n. 122), and thus was known to Ignatius.

¹¹⁹ Ludovico Barbo (1381–1443), also known as Luigi Barbo, Italian reformer, canon regular, bishop of Treviso, Benedictine monk. Barbo made contact with the northern European spiritual movement of the *devotio moderna* via the canon regular Paolo de Bernado (ca. 1330–93) of Rome. After the successful foundation and running of the Canons Regular of San Giorgi in Alga, he was asked to oversee the reform process of the monastic institutions in Italy. In 1408, he was appointed abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Santa Giustina in Padua and became a Benedictine monk. Barbo wrote to the monks of the cloister outlining the correct method of meditation and prayer (*Ad monachos Sanctae Justinae de Padua: Modus meditandi et orandi*). On Barbo, see Tassi (1952).

¹²⁰ Jung follows Hegardt (1937), p. 20; Germ.: JLN, p. 3.

¹²¹ Santa Maria de Montserrat is a Benedictine abbey dating back to the eleventh century. Located on the mountain of Montserrat (“jagged mountain”) in Catalonia, about fifty kilometers (thirty miles) west of Barcelona, the monastery was founded on the location where the Virgin of Montserrat had been venerated since the ninth century.

¹²² García Ximénis de Cisneros (ca. 1455–1510), abbot of Santa Maria de Montserrat (see previous note), cousin of Cardinal Francisco Ximénis de Cisneros. Ignatius never met Cisneros, who had died twelve years prior to his own visit to the monastery in 1522. Jung refers here to the significance that Cisneros’s teachings in the *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual* (1500; Engl.: *A Book of Spiritual Exercises*, 1876) held for Ignatius.

spiritual ascent),¹²³ and another by Mauburnus (whom I already mentioned), *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum*.¹²⁴ This is the first time we come across the expression “exercitium” [in the devotional literature].

Ignatius learned about the Devoti movement at the monastery in Montserrat from a book written by Cisneros himself, *Ejercitatorio de la vida spiritual*.¹²⁵ that is, exercise or drill rules. It fits in with our Western penchant for drills, military exercises, and so on. Abbot Cisneros, a great lover of order, had written the booklet for the pious pilgrims who came to the Montserrat—pilgrims whose conduct was apparently rather undisciplined and who needed to be brought into line by structured exercises. The booklet itself is a compilation of various methods combined into a meditation sequence. It is taken from the writings of the Devoti. One new aspect of it, connected to its military character, was that the meditation sequence was intended to be followed for period of thirty days. There was a daily spiritual task and the tasks had to be completed in thirty days, like in basic army training. The idea of retreats had already existed in antiquity. The word “retreat” was now used to describe a monk withdrawing to a hermitage near the monastery where he would not be disturbed even by the other brothers. The book set out a methodical process and precise regulations for such a retreat. So, when Ignatius, about whom we will hear more later, traveled to Manresa and stayed in the monastery, he came across this little book, these exercise rules for spiritual life, and it pleased him—he being a military officer to the core—inordinately, even though it was more difficult than anything he had ever encountered.

I would like to give you a small example of what these exercise rules were like. The whole thing was split into four weeks. The exercises had three distinct parts:

1. *Via purgativa*, that is, the path of purification;
2. *Via illuminativa*, that is, the path of enlightenment;
3. *Via unitativa*, that is, the path of union with God.

The fourth week was then spent contemplating the Lord’s life and suffering. Essentially, that was supposed to support these three paths.

¹²³ The *Libellus de spiritualibus ascensionibus* (Engl.: *The Spiritual Ascent*, 1908) was written by Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (1367–98), a member of the Brethren of the Common Life.

¹²⁴ Mauburnus (1494). See n. 118.

¹²⁵ See n. 122.

So you see, even the order of thoughts is completely technical. The idea that they took from the Devoti and from even older spiritual exercises was that of the *unio mystica* with God. It had to be achieved, come hell or high water,¹²⁶ and via the technically correct routes, by a supreme effort of will. That is typical of the West—you don't find it in the East.

I will say some more about the three stages later. They find equivalence in occult philosophy, which was around at the same time as these exercises. The exercises represent the openly recognized, above-ground spiritual endeavors, all of which are characterized by enormous intellectual efforts of will. Concurrently there was also hermetic philosophy, which however was not recognized openly, in particular not as being a valid spiritual exercise. But the spiritual idea is exactly the same. However, one cannot say that the idea came from here—it is actually much older. All three stages correspond to a hermetic concept.

Here are some indications of how these exercises would be carried out:¹²⁷

First week: *Via purgativa*

Monday: Begins with contemplating one's own sins and sin in general;
Tuesday: Contemplation of death, including one's own;
Wednesday: Hell and "I am hell";
Thursday: The Last Judgment;
Friday: The Passion of Christ;
Saturday: The sorrows of Mary;
Sunday: The glory of heaven, but with the thought that I, black, corrupt animal, can see the glory of God and perceive the difference.

Second week: *Via illuminativa*

Monday: Contemplation of God's beneficence, specifically of the creation of existence;
Tuesday: The blessing of God's forgiveness; that we might hope for God's grace;

¹²⁶ Trans. note: Jung used the German expression "in drei Teufels Namen" (in three devils' name) in reference to the three stages.

¹²⁷ The scheme that follows is taken from Hegardt (1937), pp. 21–22.

Wednesday: The blessing of being called to be a child of God; the idea of the *electio*;

Thursday: The justification before God;

Friday: Particular gifts received by the grace of God;

Saturday: The guidance of God under which we stand.¹²⁸

Those are the individual parts of the *illuminatio*. Here, technical methods are used as a substitute for the actual experience: I imagine that I have a positive relationship to the creation, that I am happy to be alive, that I feel God's grace and feel myself called as a chosen one to lead a meaningful life, that I am justified in what I am, that I have a particular gift given to me by God, and that I moreover do not walk in darkness but am guided by the hand of God. That is the experience of the *illuminatio*. It is achieved here by these exercise techniques.

Then comes the third week, that of the *via unitativa*. The whole week is spent exclusively in contemplation of God.

Third week: *Via unitativa*

Monday: God as source and beginning of all things created;

Tuesday: God as the beauty of the universe; the Catholic church largely takes the standpoint that God can be seen through his revelation in nature;

Wednesday: God as the crowning glory;

Thursday: God from the perspective of the love of God, that He is all love; *sub specie amoris*;

Friday: God as the rule and law of all things, as the source of all laws and principles;

Saturday: God as the guide of the universe, the most tranquil guide;

Sunday: God as the most bountiful giver, as the one who gives everything.

This, therefore, is the technically correct substitute for the *unio mystica* which assumes that the mystical experience will be granted to one who meditates properly. Through these exercises, the mystical union is supposed to be achieved in a period of four weeks, in the same way that Buddhahood descends on the practicing yogi. And there are also the hermetic parallels.

¹²⁸ Jung omits Sunday. See Hegardt (1937), p. 21: "Sonntag: Die himmlischen Herrlichkeiten" (Sunday: the glory of heaven).

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