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For the Greater Glory of God: St. Ignatius Loyola

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Ignatius Loyola is a central figure, perhaps the prototypical figure of the Counter-Reformation, and the way he has been seen partly reflects the way historians of the early twentieth century have viewed the Counter-Reformation. The word *Counter-Reformation* and its equivalents in all western languages have negative connotations: it has been seen as a movement that revivifies medieval ideals against humanism or that blocks the modernization of the church through the creative, enlightened forces of Protestantism, thereby insuring a sterile period between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Increasingly, contemporary historians have abandoned such simple views. Art historians, for instance, have come to a more favorable view of the Baroque and the Jesuit role in art from 1550 to 1700.1 Historians, such as Jean Delumeau and A. G. Dickens, have tried to study the Counter-Reformation on its own merits, seeing it in relation to the social, intellectual, and cultural development of Catholic Europe and showing how it unleashed forces that remained influential down into the eighteenth century.2 For Catholic Europe the Counter-Reformation was not so much a reaction against either the Renaissance or the Reformation as a necessary stage in the modernization of medieval religion and society.3 In this perspective Ignatius Loyola appears no longer as a medieval knight of God but as one of the makers of the modern world.

Iñigo Lopez de Oñaz y Loyola (1491–1556) was the twelfth and youngest child of Don Beltrán, Lord of Loyola Castle.4 The Loyola family was not wealthy but had played a prominent role since the twelfth century in the remote Basque province of Guipúzcoa. The distinctive world of medieval Spain began to disappear the year after Iñigo’s birth. The three great monotheistic religions had met and mingled in medieval Spain, but in 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella completed the conquest of Moslem Granada and

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expelled the Jews from Spain. Columbus discovered the new world and opened the way for conquest and settlement. A decade later the great captain Gonzalo de Cordoba conquered Naples for Ferdinand and laid the basis for two centuries of Spanish domination of Italy. During Íñigo’s youth Spanish might spilled over into North Africa and established a string of bases from Oran to Tripoli. The walls of Loyola Castle echoed with these triumphs: two of Íñigo’s brothers fought in the wars for Naples, another helped suppress a Moorish revolt in Granada, and a fourth sailed to America to make his fortune.

Don Beltrán destined his two youngest sons, Pedro Lopez and Íñigo, for the church, and arranged for a tutor to teach them reading and writing. Íñigo received the tonsure but showed so little interest in study that Don Beltrán sent him as a page to the court at Arévalo of Juan Velázquez, High Treasurer of Castile. There Íñigo lived the free and easy life of young courtiers; he wrote sonnets and played the viola; he engaged in tournaments and duels; he wasted his money in gambling and his time in reading romances of chivalry. He became involved in amorous adventures and got into serious trouble when he and his brother Pedro Lopez beat up another man in a nighttime brawl. The judge rejected Íñigo’s appeal to his tonsure and clerical immunities, but his court connections seem to have saved him from punishment. After Velázquez unsuccessfully opposed the new king, Charles V, and was forced to retire, Íñigo joined the entourage of the Duke of Nájera in 1517, again as a courtier. Courtiers were not actually soldiers, although they were expected to serve as soldiers in a pinch. The point is worth stressing since Loyola is often wrongly seen as a soldier-saint, and his contribution to the Counter-Reformation is described in military language. In fact, Loyola did only a few months of military service, and these were as a noble volunteer rather than as a soldier. In 1520 the revolt of the Spanish Comuneros broke out against Charles V. The Duke of Nájera, as Viceroy of Navarre, faced the rebels to the south and an invading French army to the north. Íñigo Loyola was among the handful who tried to defend the citadel of Pamplona against the advancing French. A cannon-ball passed between his legs, wounding the left and breaking the right.

Pamplona fell, and a new life began for Íñigo the courtier. The victorious French provided doctors who set Íñigo’s leg and released Spanish soldiers who carried him on the painful journey back to Loyola. At the castle the doctors found that the leg was badly set. Always a man of extraordinary determination, Íñigo insisted that the leg be broken and reset and that a protruding bone be sawed off. To hurry his nine-month convalescence, Íñigo asked for his usual reading, romances of chivalry, but the castle had only Ludolf of Saxony’s *Life of Christ* and Jocobo de Voragine’s lives of the saints in Spanish translations. Even in his days at court Loyola had a traditional faith, which now became the basis of a conversion experience. The exploits of the saints, particularly the more bizarre and heroic, res-
onated with his sense of chivalry. He dreamed of turning to God and performing prodigies of austerity. Then his imagination would return to his early dreams of valiant service to some great lady in the tradition of Amadis of Gaul. When he compared his daydreams, he discovered a bitter aftertaste from his reveries on chivalry and a profound inner peace from his fantasies about serving God. This alternation of consolation and desolation was his first experience in what he later termed the discernment of spirits. He was convinced that God was working within him and guiding him to a new life, whose outline he only dimly perceived. He took up the challenge of the saints with characteristic generosity. As yet he could understand holiness only in terms of doing great penances and bearing intense humiliations. For a while he considered joining the strict Carthusian monastery at Seville, but instead he decided to make a penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In February 1522 he set out for the shrine of the Virgin at Montserrat, where he made a detailed confession of his sins, gave away his knightly clothes, and put on beggar’s robes. Still seeing his spiritual dedication in knightly terms, he made an all-night vigil within the shrine, where he left his sword and dagger as ex voto offerings.

Before heading to Barcelona and Jerusalem, he stopped for a few days in the nearby town of Manresa to add some notes to the spiritual commonplace book he had started at Loyola. The few days gradually stretched into nearly a year. He lived first at the hospital for the poor, then in a cell at the local Dominican monastery, but more important was a nearby cave to which he retired for prayer. There Inigo, the generous but rude beginner, was transformed into one of the giants of the Golden Age of Spanish mysticism. Mystical experience—the direct, immediate encounter, different from ordinary sense perception and reasoning, with an object perceived as ultimate—is private and ineffable by its nature. Historians have no way to judge mystical experience directly; some would deny the possibility or validity of such experience on a priori grounds. Yet Loyola himself and his close acquaintances insisted that his mystical experiences gave purpose and drive to his life. Whatever judgment historians make about the transcendent validity of his mystical experiences, they are central to an understanding of his life and impact on his society. At Manresa Loyola spent seven hours daily in prayer on his knees, fasted, and scourged himself to the point of endangering his health. Later in life he discouraged such extreme austerity among his followers. The months at Manresa were anything but unbroken spiritual rapture. Loyola was at times discouraged at the prospect of continuing such a hard life; later he was so tormented by scruples about his past sins that he considered suicide. To rid himself of scruples he determined to give up all food until they went away. After a week his confessor learned about his fast and ordered him to eat. He complied and the scruples disappeared—for a time. Meanwhile he reflected on his experiences. Several, he concluded, were satanic in origin.
Later he claimed that while at Manresa "God was treating him just as a schoolmaster treats a little boy when he teaches him." At Manresa Loyola claimed many mystical visions, sometimes of the Trinity, more often of the humanity of Christ: "he saw with the inner eyes the humanity of Christ... but he saw no distinction of members." The greatest illumination came along the banks of the Cardoner river: "He beheld no vision but he saw and understood many things, spiritual as well as those concerning faith and learning." Later he felt that this one experience surpassed all his other spiritual experiences taken together.

Mysticism is sometimes seen as a private road to God that bypasses or lessens the mystic's need for sacraments, traditional dogma, Scripture, and involvement with the life of the Church. This is emphatically not true of Iñigo Loyola nor of the great Spanish mystics of the sixteenth century generally. On the contrary, Loyola's mystical experiences at Manresa reinforced his loyalty to traditional Christianity. His experiences dealt precisely with the Trinity, Christ's humanity, and the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Later he claimed: "These things which he saw gave him at the time great strength, and were always a striking confirmation of his faith, so much so that he has often thought to himself that if there were no Scriptures to teach us these matters of faith, he was determined to die for them, merely because of what he had seen." Even more than at Manresa, his later mystical experiences at Rome, which are recorded in the surviving fragments of his spiritual diary, center on his daily Mass. His mysticism drew him increasingly to serve God in his fellow men, toward engagement rather than toward withdrawal.

At Manresa Iñigo kept notes of his insights, which he later worked into the main outline of the *Spiritual Exercises*. He did not publish the *Spiritual Exercises* until 1548, after Paul III had approved two Latin translations, but he was giving a primitive form of the *Exercises* as early as 1527. Right down until the time of publication he kept making minor revisions, and he reworked the whole after he finished his studies at Paris in 1535. In a few instances it is possible to isolate late additions to the text; for example, the famous "Rules for Thinking with the Church" obviously reflect his theological studies at Paris and his increasing awareness of Erasmianism and Protestantism, but the main lines of the *Exercises* clearly go back to the Manresa experiences. Partly because few early manuscripts survive, the efforts of scholars to work out a redaction history of the *Exercises* have not yielded striking results. Likewise the search for literary sources has turned up surprisingly little. Loyola had read Ludolf of Saxony and Jacobo de Voragine during his convalescence. At Montserrat his confessor, Dom Jean Chanones, probably gave him a confessional manual and the *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual*, which the abbot of Montserrat, García Jiménez de Cisneros, wrote and had printed on the monastery presses in 1500. Despite their similar titles, the *Spiritual Exercises* and the book of Cisneros are very
different. Cisneros reprints many passages from earlier spiritual currents, particularly the *devotio moderna*; he is diffuse and theoretical where Loyola is concise and practical. At Manresa Inigo also read the *Imitation of Christ*. Efforts to find direct verbal borrowings from this handful of sources have produced rather meager results, but they did contribute to a subtle psychospiritual atmosphere whose traces can be found in the *Exercises*. 13

Most readers find the *Spiritual Exercises* disappointing; a little book of about 160 pages, it lacks literary grace and seems a thicket of rules and directions, a jigsaw puzzle of bits and pieces without coherence. The *Spiritual Exercises* was not written to be read any more than is a cookbook or a manual of physical exercises. Just as only those who have conscientiously gone through the exercises in a physical fitness manual can judge their effectiveness, so only those who have made the *Exercises* can appreciate their spiritual dynamism and psychological impact. The *Spiritual Exercises* were written as a guide for retreat directors. The director was to be an experienced spiritual guide who had already made the *Exercises*. Later supplementary manuals, or directories, were written to give fuller advice to directors. The *Exercises* were designed to help serious Christians reorient their lives into closer conformity with God’s will. The full *Exercises* require that the exercitant (the person making the *Exercises*) devote thirty days to religious experiences that are designed to uproot old habits and strengthen the resolve to live a life of dedication to God. Giving the *Exercises* also took a heavy toll on the time and energy of the director, who worked with individual exercitants and tailored the *Exercises* to their precise needs. Loyola primarily intended the *Exercises* for persons who were considering entering religious orders, and many of the earliest recruits were won to the Jesuits through the *Exercises*, but he also gave them to people (for instance to Cardinal Gasparo Contarini) whose vocation in life was fixed and who were seeking spiritual reform. 14 Obviously, the original *Exercises* were intended for an elite. Later they were scaled down in length to eight or even three days and were preached to groups. This dilution of the *Exercises* underlies the retreat movement within modern Catholicism, a work of great religious importance, but such preached, group retreats possess only a fraction of the force of the authentic *Spiritual Exercises*. 15 Loyola himself suggested the possibility of group retreats and urged a shortened version for persons of lesser spiritual promise.

In the *Exercises* Loyola tries to foster in a lower key the experiences and insights that he had at Manresa. The thirty days are split into four “weeks” or stages of growth whose actual length the director can adjust to individual needs. The heart of the first week is a series of meditations on the purpose of human life (“to praise, reverence and serve God”), sin, and hell. In the second week exercitants dedicate themselves to follow Christ the King. To fortify this resolve they meditate on the life of Christ. Toward the end of the second week exercitants are expected to make an election: a
choice about a state of life or a resolution to reform themselves in their ongoing state. The third week is more somber, since the meditations center on the passion of Christ. The fourth week, on the resurrection, is joyous, and climaxes in a contemplation for attaining divine love whose tone is at once more philosophical and more open to mysticism. The last two weeks aim at confirming exercitants in their election. Most of the meditations on the life of Christ are bare outlines, which the experienced director shapes to the temperament and mood of the exercitants. In addition to meditations, the exercitants are given rules and directions on such topics as eating habits, the distribution of alms, dealing with scruples, and thinking in conformity with the teaching of the church. The most important set of rules deals with "the discernment of spirits," which helps exercitants understand and deal with their psychoreligious moods and inclinations.

The Exercises also teach several methods of mental prayer. The most fundamental sort of meditation involves the application of memory and reasoning powers to various religious truths, followed by efforts to employ the emotions and issuing in practical resolutions for personal reform. Another method is the reconstruction by the imagination of incidents from the Gospels, followed by resolutions drawn from the example of Christ. Another method consists in taking a standard prayer, the Lord's Prayer, for instance, and reflecting prayerfully on it phrase by phrase for an hour. Loyola includes a system of examining the conscience to be used daily for the rest of the exercitant's life. There is a general examination of the day, plus a specific or particular examination on a single virtue that is being cultivated or a single sinful inclination that is being attacked. Exercitants keep notebooks in which they track their daily progress. The general desire for reform of life is thereby given specific focus as one problem area after another is brought under control. It is easy to dismiss such methods as mere bookkeeping, but as A. G. Dickens has observed: "The craving of a troubled but order-seeking century was a craving for precise guidance, and this Loyola offered."

Loyola's teaching on mental prayer made clearer and more precise those methods which were spreading in the late Middle Ages. The Exercises, more than any other single source, added to the rise of systematic meditation that became characteristic of reforming Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After Loyola's death an hour's meditation became obligatory for Jesuits, and many other religious orders, even monastic orders with rather different traditions, took up the practice. The new Tridentine seminaries taught these methods of prayer to their students. St. Francis de Sales adapted meditation for lay men and women. The Spiritual Exercises itself became a great all-time best-seller with nearly five thousand editions, and it has been translated into over twenty languages. Several treatises and manuals of meditation, today remembered only by specialists, outsold Shakespeare and Descartes in the seventeenth century.
growth of systematic mental prayer probably contributed more to real religious reform among Catholics than did the reform legislation of the Council of Trent. A strong influence of the *Exercises* shows up in unexpected places. For example, they were the main source of inspiration for Polish poet Mikolaj Sep Szarzyński.\(^{19}\) John Donne, the Anglican dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, wrote *Ignatius His Conclave*, which describes Loyola’s descent into hell, where Satan gladly gives him second place lest the wily Jesuit take over the whole kingdom of hell; but Donne’s religious poetry, his greatest achievement, depends in its use of poetic imagination on Loyola’s techniques for meditation.\(^{20}\) Echoes of the *Spiritual Exercises* have been found in René Descartes’s *Discourse on Method* and the *Meditations*; indeed, Descartes’s choice of the latter title may have derived from Loyola.\(^{21}\)

In February 1523 Inigo resumed his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, begging his way via Barcelona and Rome to Venice. He deliberately gave away all money given him beyond his immediate needs, including his fare from Venice to Jerusalem. In Venice he met and captivated a wealthy Spaniard who introduced him to the doge. The doge was so impressed that he provided passage for Inigo on the Governor’s galley bound for Cyprus. From there he traveled to Jaffa and on to Jerusalem, where he spent three weeks visiting the places connected with the life of Christ. He wanted to settle in Jerusalem to pray and work for souls, but the Franciscan provincial, who had direction over all Catholics in Palestine, saw obvious practical problems in the pilgrim’s plan and insisted that he return to Venice. Loyola, always respectful to religious authority, reluctantly complied. After barely escaping shipwreck, he reached Venice and decided that if he were to help souls, he would need an education. That decision controlled his life from 1523 to 1535.

The door to education was Latin, the language of instruction in every sixteenth-century university. The once-proud hidalgo, who had taken offense at any slight to his honor, returned to Barcelona and at age thirty-three began to learn the rudiments of Latin with twelve-year-olds. He soon found that his delight in prayer was hurting his progress in memorizing Latin vocabulary, so he deliberately cut down his prayer during his years of study. His Franciscan confessor gave him a copy of Erasmus’s *Handbook of the Christian Soldier*, the classic statement of the Christian humanist approach to devout living. Its elegant Latin surely must have stretched Inigo’s ability to the limit, and perhaps that was part of the confessor’s purpose, but Loyola soon put Erasmus aside for another reason: “As soon as Ignatius read the book, he observed that it caused the spirit of God within him to chill and his spiritual intensity to wane. Reflecting on this he threw the book away and became so hostile that he refused to read other books by that author and forbade members of our Society to read them.”\(^{22}\)

Several of Loyola’s biographers not only have accepted this account of his rejection of Erasmus but also have seen it as foreshadowing the judg-
ment of the Church on Erasmus and the humanist movement. Erasmus was too critical, too skeptical, too ambivalent. The future lay with Luther and Loyola, with men of strong faith and total commitment. Two passages in the *Spiritual Exercises* may echo Erasmus, but Loyola gives them both a twist that they lack in Erasmus. One deals with the end of man: Loyola stresses readiness to accept hardship, poverty, and dishonor. In the other passage Loyola says that Christians must prefer the judgment of the hierarchical church even to the evidence of their senses. But were Loyola and Erasmus really so antithetical? The Jesuit colleges of the late Renaissance provided the framework that spread humanist educational objectives, although in an expurgated version, far more widely than any institutions established by the humanists. The Jesuits would probably not have earned Erasmus's approval, but most of the distinctive innovations of Loyola as a religious legislator deal with those aspects of the older orders which most drew the ridicule of Erasmus. It is significant that many humanist churchmen, such as Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, warmly supported the earliest Jesuits, while many anti-Erasmians, such as Melchor Cano, were also bitter opponents of the Jesuits within the Catholic Church.

After two years in Barcelona Inigo acquired enough Latin to enroll at the University of Alcalá, where he studied scholastic philosophy for a year while also teaching catechism and giving an early form of the *Spiritual Exercises*. During his student years he always found businessmen and women who were happy to support him and give him alms for distribution to the poor. At Alcalá he gathered around him three disciples: Lope de Cárceres, Juan de Arteaga, and Calixto de Sa. Rumors about Loyola and these companions reached the Inquisition at Toledo. In the middle 1520s the Spanish Inquisition was more concerned with local *Alumbrados* or *il­luminati* than with Lutherans or Erasmians. Partly looking back to currents within medieval Islam, the *Alumbrados* put great stress on passive contemplation to the detriment of the sacraments and the Church; those who had reached the stage of enlightenment were no longer bound by conventional Christian morality. The rumors connected Inigo and his disciples with the *Alumbrados*; but after the inquisitors checked into their life and teaching without finding any errors, they turned the matter over to the local vicar, Juan Figueroa; still they required Inigo and his companions to give up their distinctive dress since they were not members of a religious order. Figueroa later had Inigo arrested for forty-two days when he was blamed because a wealthy married woman and her daughter suddenly disappeared on a pilgrimage. After their safe return he was released but was forbidden to discuss religious matters until he completed three more years of study. Rather than forgo giving catechism lessons, Inigo transferred during the summer of 1527 to the University of Salamanca.

At Salamanca he ran into similar problems. This time it was the Domini-
cans who suspected the preaching of the half-educated Basque. He was thrown into jail and chained, then called before a tribunal of four professors who questioned him acutely on theology and examined his notes on the *Spiritual Exercises*. After twenty-two days Inigo and his companions were released; the judges treated them kindly but again laid restrictions on their teaching activity. Later at Paris, Venice and Rome, Loyola had to face charges of either false teaching or scandalous conduct. In fact, he faced such accusations ten times. He always tried to get a public declaration of his innocence from the authorities. Despite this repeated harassment he never rejected the legitimacy of the Inquisition and similar agencies; on the other hand, he did not hesitate to leave their jurisdiction rather than submit to their restrictions, and on several occasions he appealed over their heads to higher authorities.

During his eighteen months at Spain's two most illustrious universities, Loyola had learned very little and suffered great frustration. He determined to leave Spain and head for the world's most famous university, that at Paris. There he hoped to learn faster and suffer less restriction on his activities. He left behind his companions, who planned to rejoin him later at Paris, but they never again figured importantly in his life. At Paris Loyola made new disciples and these formed the nucleus of the nascent Society of Jesus.

Seldom has a less promising student entered a great university. The diminutive Basque (barely over five feet tall) was thirty-seven, walked with a limp, and had a poor academic background and no funds. He enrolled at the Collège de Montaigu, famous for its strict discipline and the conservative theology of its rector, Noel Beda. Erasmus studied there and hated every minute; later he took literary revenge on the college in his *Colloquies*. John Calvin had left Montaigu only four days before Loyola arrived; it is doubtful that they ever met. Since Loyola could not afford to live at the college itself, he stayed at a hospice for the poor and begged for a living. This cost so much study time that he took the advice of a friend and spent the summers of 1528, 1529, and 1530 begging from rich Spanish merchants in Bruges. There he gained so much that he could devote full time to study during the academic year and even had funds to help other poor students. In 1531 he added London to his begging expedition. At Paris Ignatius Loyola spent one year studying rhetoric and three years on philosophy, receiving his Master of Arts in 1535. He also attended lectures in theology under the Dominicans for two years but never took a degree. By the standards of the time he was well trained, but he was never a scholar like Erasmus, Luther, or Calvin, nor did he pretend to be one.

In September 1529, Loyola transferred from Montaigu to the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, which was much frequented by Spanish and Portuguese students. There he was given a room with two other students, Pierre Favre and Francisco Xavier. Favre was of Savoyard peasant stock, gentle, studi-
ous, and pious. Soon he was confiding his religious problems to Loyola, who became his spiritual director and gave him the Exercises. In time Favre became the most skilled director of the Exercises among the early Jesuits, except for Loyola himself. His simple goodness won people of all kinds, whether the nobles at the court of Charles V or the Italian townsmen who listened to his street preaching. His effect on people is clearest from the case of young Peter Canisius, who heard about him in Cologne and went to Mainz to meet him and then made the Exercises under his direction. Canisius wrote back to a friend: "To my great good fortune I have found the man that I was seeking—if he is a man and not an angel of the Lord. Never have I seen nor heard such a learned and profound theologian nor a man of such shining and exalted virtue. I can hardly describe how the Spiritual Exercises transformed my soul. . . . I feel changed into a new man." 30

Francis Xavier was a Navarese nobleman. He was a gifted student and a skilled athlete, determined to make a career that would restore luster to his family, whose loyalty to the old royal house of Navarre in its struggles against Ferdinand and Charles V had cast them into disfavor. Xavier was not captured so easily as Favre. He seems at first to have resented his eccentric roommate: a Spanish nobleman going about begging for a living! But Loyola was nothing if not persistent in winning men whose natural gifts might make them giants in God’s service. By 1533 Francis Xavier had also committed himself completely to God, and the next year he made the Exercises with characteristic generosity. His later career as a missionary is too well known to need comment here.

The next two disciples, Diego Laynes and Alfonso Salmerón, came easily: they had heard stories about Loyola at Alcalá where they were students, and had come to Paris partly to seek him out. Both had high intellectual gifts and later served as papal theologians at the Council of Trent. Laynes eventually became Loyola’s successor as superior general of the Jesuits and was a major figure in the Counter-Reformation. The little group was soon joined by the suave Portuguese nobleman Simon Rodriguez, who founded the Jesuit province in his homeland and had great influence on King John III. The last recruit was Nicolas Bobadilla, rough-hewn peasant who had already studied at Alcalá and Valladolid. Generous, impetuous, and stubborn, he later made a reputation as a preacher and convent-reformer up and down Italy and live on to give headaches to a succession of Jesuit generals. All the companions that Loyola gathered around him at Paris proved men of extraordinary energy and talent. Loyola possessed a charismatic gift for persuading others to give either themselves or at least their influence and wealth to his goals.

On the feast of the Assumption, 1534, the group climbed Montmartre at the edge of Paris to a small chapel where Favre, the only priest among them, celebrated Mass; before receiving Communion each of the seven
made a vow of poverty, chastity, and to go to Jerusalem to live and work for souls. This action was far from constituting the Society of Jesus, but it gave structure to their friendship and their desire to work together in God’s service. The idea of working in Jerusalem was, of course, Loyola’s old dream in a new form. Since he and his companions were practical men as well as dreamers, they added a clause to their vow: if it proved impossible within a reasonable time to go to Jerusalem or live there, they would go to Rome and ask the pope to use their services wherever he wished. Since the Turks controlled Palestine and were often at war with Venice and Spain, their fall-back clause was only prudent.

Loyola’s health had long been uneven. Usually it did not hinder his work but he was subject to recurring problems. The autopsy after his death revealed dozens of stones in his kidneys, liver, and elsewhere, which were probably responsible for excruciating pains that struck him from time to time. In April 1535 he left Paris and returned home to Guipúzcoa, to restore his health through his native air, the sovereign remedy of perplexed sixteenth-century doctors. His companions planned to complete their studies at Paris while Ignatius acted as their agent in Spain and cleared up the temporal responsibilities involved in their vows. They would all reassemble at Venice to seek ship for Jerusalem.

Toward the end of 1535 Loyola reached Venice and devoted most of his time to studying theology in preparation for ordination. He lived at the hospital for the poor and gave the Spiritual Exercises, mostly to Spaniards resident in Venice. One such was Diego de Hoces, who had been a penitent of Gian Pietro Carafa, co-founder of the Theatine order and later Paul IV. Carafa seems to have resented his rival, especially since Hoces soon joined Loyola’s companions, and may have been behind an investigation into Loyola’s orthodoxy in Venice. Loyola wrote Carafa a long letter that criticized several Theatine practices. The letter was probably never sent, but it indicates that Loyola was pondering the direction that a new religious order should take if it were to fit contemporary needs. Later at Rome relations between Carafa and Loyola remained tense.

Loyola’s companions joined him at Venice in January of 1537. They had added three new members: Claude le Jay, Paschase Broet, and Jean Codure. While they awaited the sailing season, they engaged in menial tasks in the Venetian hospitals, particularly the Hospital of the Incurables, which was filled with the victims of that new scourge, syphilis. The sight of these Masters of Paris caring for the sick caused a minor sensation in the city. In March Ignatius’s companions went to Rome for the pope’s blessing on their trip to Jerusalem. Intrigued by the strange group, Paul III had them take a turn debating theology at his dinner table, an entertainment that he frequently employed. He was so impressed that he gave them journey money and permission to be ordained by any bishop they chose. Meanwhile diplomatic relations between Venice and the Turks were broken and war fol-
lowed. There would be no ship to Palestine, but Loyola and his companions did not easily give up their dream of Jerusalem. In June, Loyola was ordained in Venice and then retired with Favre and Laynes to a deserted monastery on the edge of Vicenza for a forty-day retreat. The mystical experiences that had been muted during his student years came flooding back—they were to continue and increase throughout the remaining twenty years of his life. Loyola spent the months following the retreat in street preaching; his Italian was never fluent, and in these early days his preaching was a jumble of Italian, French, Spanish, and Latin that only the sincerity and fervor of the speaker made effective. His companions fanned out to other north Italian cities to preach and help the poor. Loyola suggested at a meeting at Vicenza that if they were asked the name of their little band, they should reply: the Company of Jesus. This was later Latinized to Societas Jesu and abbreviated S. J.

Late in November of 1537 Loyola, Laynes, and Favre journeyed to Rome and took up residence near the top of the present Spanish Steps in a villa that a nobleman loaned for their use. Loyola’s years of wandering were over; except for short trips he remained in Rome until his death. Early that year a committee of churchmen headed by Cardinal Gasparo Contarini had presented the Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia to Paul III. Armed with a letter from Pietro Contarini, who had befriended him in Venice, Loyola approached Cardinal Contarini, who at once recognized the potential of Loyola and companions in fostering reform. Another key supporter was Pedro Ortiz, the imperial ambassador to the pope and former professor of theology at Paris, where he had known Loyola. Both Contarini and Ortiz made the Exercises with enthusiasm under Loyola’s personal direction. After Easter, 1538, Ignatius summoned his companions from the north Italian cities, where they had been preaching, to Rome to deliberate about their future. They finally agreed that the Jerusalem pilgrimage could not be realized and that they should put into effect the second part of their vow by putting themselves at the pope’s disposal. Paul III authorized them to preach at various Roman churches; Loyola went to a Spanish church and spoke in Spanish, but his younger and more fluent companions preached in Italian. Paul III appointed Laynes and Favre to teach at the papal university, the Sapienza, and arranged for the companions to dispute theology at his table every other week. The winter of 1538–1539 was exceptionally severe and followed bad harvests. Hungry peasants flocked into the city from the countryside, but they could not afford the soaring food prices. Every night starving people froze to death in the piazzas and ruins of the Eternal City. Ignatius and his companions helped over three thousand by turning their residence, now at the Torre del Melangolo, into a hospital and begging for the starving among wealthy churchmen and nobles.

Loyola and his companions had as yet no plans to found a religious order, but in early 1539 Paul III sent Broet and Rodriguez to work in Siena,
and other similar missions could be expected. The companions faced a decision: either they must work as so many individual free lances, or they had to devise a flexible structure that combined maximum service to the Gospel with corporate union. To keep their days free for apostolic work, they met frequently by night from March to June and determined to form a religious order, elect a superior, and seek papal approval. Their joint deliberations sketched out many of the distinctive features of the future Jesuit order. Their decisions were based on their three years of work together in Rome and northern Italy and were designed to carry forward the sort of apostolic work that they were already engaged in. Ignatius organized these deliberations into five short chapters and submitted them to Tommaso Badia, the official theologian of the pope. Urged on by Cardinal Contarini, Paul III gave verbal approval to the plans for the Company of Jesus on September 3, 1540. Formal approval did not come so easily. Three cardinals, Contarini, Ghinucci, and Guidiccioni, were charged with drawing up the formal approval of the new religious order. Girolamo Ghinucci, a canon lawyer, objected to many fine points in Loyola's draft, but Contarini gradually brought him around. More serious was the opposition of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, who was opposed in principle to any new religious orders. Loyola countered by soliciting letters of testimonial from bishops and rulers in northern Italy on the good work done there by his companions. Eventually Guidiccioni capitulated to this bombardment, but he had a measure of revenge: the papal bull Regimini militantis ecclesiae (27 September 1540) authorized the Company of Jesus but restricted it to sixty professed members. Subsequent papal decrees lifted this restriction.

The bull authorized the new order to elect a superior general and to draw up constitutions. In April 1541 the companions met in Rome or sent in their ballots to elect a general. All ballots but his own named Ignatius. He refused to accept the office; so, after four days of prayer, there was a second election. The results were the same. Again he refused the office but finally surrendered on the insistence of his confessor. Directing the fast-growing order became the major task of Loyola's last fifteen years.

His other major task was drawing up the Constitutions of the order. In March 1541 the companions delegated this job to Ignatius and Jean Coudere, but Codure's death five months later left Loyola to carry on alone. He started slowly. His life since his conversion had not been the carrying through of a fixed plan but a continual adaptation to circumstances and what he saw as the will of God. Loyola and his companions had no blueprint when they started their deliberations about founding an order. Their initial sketch, which was incorporated into the bull Regimini, was based on their previous experience. Loyola's Constitutions themselves grew out of the organic life of the early order as it added members, reached out to new apostolates such as teaching, and consolidated its pattern of living through trial and error. The Constitutions could not be written before the Society of
Jesus existed and functioned on a fairly large scale. The written Constitutions tried to distill the experience of the early Jesuits into legislation so that their charisma and work could be passed down to later generations of Jesuits.

Loyola began to work in earnest on the Constitutions in 1547 and completed the main draft by 1550; two years later this was put into effect on an experimental basis, but revisions based on practical experience were constantly added. Loyola's main work on the Constitutions coincided with the appointment of Juan Polanco as his secretary. Polanco, a humanist with experience in the papal curia, not only eased the burden of Loyola's ordinary correspondence but gathered extracts from the rules of Saints Benedict, Augustine, and Francis, from papal legislation on religious orders, and even from the constitutions of medieval universities for Loyola to study. Polanco, a skilled writer, improved the style of the Spanish original and made most of the Latin translation, which was approved as the official text and printed in 1558. Polanco also prepared a series of doubts, or questions that laid out options and reasons for either alternative. Loyola made the choices, but Polanco's spadework helped clarify the options and forced Loyola to sharpen his vision of what was distinctive about the Jesuits by close study of previous monastic legislation and practice. However important Polanco's contribution, the substance of the Constitutions was Loyola's work, and their basic spiritual framework again and again reflects the themes of the Spiritual Exercises.33

The Constitutions had still another source: Loyola was convinced that God had called the Society of Jesus into existence and was guiding its progress. More particularly he felt that the Holy Spirit was directing his decisions about the Jesuit Constitutions. The surviving fragments of his spiritual diary (2 February 1544–27 February 1545) are mainly notes of his efforts to gauge the will of God regarding the kind of poverty best suited for Jesuit houses.34

The Jesuit Constitutions are much longer than the rules of earlier religious orders: 275 pages of text in the modern English edition. The disposition of material is not based on abstract themes but follows the dynamic incorporation of an individual into the Society. It begins by reprinting, with minor retouches, the sketch (or Formula) contained in the papal bulls that established the order. This is followed by a fuller explanation (the General Examen) of Jesuit life that was normally given to men about to enter the novitiate. Finally, there are the Constitutions in a narrow sense together with explanatory declarations, which start with a description of the sort of person who should be admitted and of those who should be dismissed from the order. Then comes material on the progress and training of Jesuits together with a discussion of Jesuit colleges and universities. The next section takes up full admission and the vows and discusses the mobility characteristic of Jesuit life. Then follow sections on the general congrega-
tion or supreme governing body of the order and on the superior general who runs the ordinary operation of the order. The Constitutions close with a section on preserving the fervor and well-being of the Society. While there are many passages that exhort to lofty spiritual ideals, a shrewd practicality is the most striking characteristic of the document: its last sentence directs that colleges should be built in healthy locations with pure air.

What was distinctive about the Jesuits? How did they differ from older orders? The monastic orders such as the Benedictines aimed primarily at self-sanctification by contemplation and withdrawal from the world. The friars tried to mix prayer and some active apostolate. The Jesuit ideal united prayer and apostolate: the ideal Jesuit was in actione contempitatis. The whole structure of the religious life and even individual prayer was aimed at the apostolate. The Jesuit's union with God in prayer was to drive him to work for souls redeemed by the labor, death, and resurrection of the God-man. His activity was in turn to feed and inform his prayer. Withdrawal from the bustle of human life was unthinkable: Benedictus montes, Bernardus valles, Franciscus colles, magnas amavit Ignatius urbes: Ignatius in contrast to earlier founders loved the big cities, Paris, Venice, Rome. His spiritual odyssey included the cave at Manresa but ended in downtown Rome. Within decades every major city of Catholic Europe had a Jesuit college.

The specific innovations of Loyola as monastic legislator are attempts to fit the religious life for more effective action among people. Obligatory corporal penances and the singing of the office in common were therefore dropped. The Jesuits wore no special religious habit but adapted the ordinary cassock of the secular clergy. Since Jesuits were not isolated in a monastery, monastic discipline had to be interiorized by a more intensive spiritual training: hence the novitiate was stretched from one to two years and a third year of spiritual training (tertianship) was added after the completion of studies. The active life demanded well-educated priests, so a long and rigorous intellectual training was developed. Loyola valued natural gifts, such as health, education, good manners, mental quickness, even noble birth, in candidates to the Society because these could contribute to effective priestly activity. Candidates were to be carefully screened. During Loyola's lifetime a high percentage of those who entered the Jesuits either left or were dismissed. Some of those dismissed, such as Guillaume Postel, were gifted but did not fit the order's other requirements. Loyola instituted a number of grades within the Society partly as a screening process. In most religious orders candidates took solemn perpetual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience after one year's novitiate. The Jesuit novice took only simple perpetual vows, which could be more easily dispensed if he left the order. After a dozen or so years an elite segment of priests were admitted to solemn profession of the three regular religious vows and usually added a special vow of obedience to the pope. The other
priests and the lay brothers took final, simple vows. While all the priests could serve as rectors and superiors, only those with solemn vows could hold higher offices, such as provincial and general.

Although a general congregation was the supreme governing body within the Jesuits, it rarely met except to elect a general, who served for life; appointed subordinate officials; and had complete control of the order's day-to-day operation. Although the structure had some built-in checks, Loyola put unprecedented power into the hands of one man. Certainly it contrasted with the decentralization of the monastic orders and the more democratic capitular government of the friars. Loyola's centralization, perhaps influenced by the development of the new monarchies in his day, had two advantages: it allowed the general at Rome to channel the resources of the Society to maximum apostolic effect, and it gave him power to reform lax houses and practices by direct action in a way that was impossible among the friars. The potential dangers of such centralism are obvious, but in 440 years no Jesuit general has been impeached for misconduct, nor has there been any serious movement to impeach. While there have been many differences over policy and the interpretation of the rule among Jesuits, these have never resulted in schism or the sort of stormy history that has marked the Franciscans. If placid internal history is the mark of good constitution-making, Loyola ranks high.

While many features of the Jesuit Constitutions and life-style were foreshadowed by the canons regular of the late Middle Ages and by the Theatines, Barnabites, and Somaschi, Italian religious orders founded shortly before the Jesuits, it was the Jesuit example that had the greatest immediate impact and long-range influence on the evolution of later religious orders and congregations. Hundreds of religious orders and congregations for men and women have sprung up since the sixteenth century. Almost all of them were active congregations and therefore were following in the path opened up by Loyola and his companions. The constitutions of several of these congregations simply took over much of Loyola's legislation. On other congregations his influence is more subtle but very real. Even older orders such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians have evolved into more active orders; the example of the Jesuits has surely conditioned this evolution.

Unlike the other great founders of religious orders, Ignatius did not found a parallel second order for women; indeed, he resisted attempts to do so. This was not because he dismissed the potential of women for spiritual greatness nor the contribution they could make to the Church—on this score his record compares well with contemporary reformers such as Luther and Calvin. But Ignatius Loyola was a practical man. The spiritual care of a second order would have cut down the mobility of his men. His reshaping the religious life toward more intense activity caused misgivings among conservative churchmen. Several popes, Paul IV, for instance,
tried to reimpose this or that monastic practice on the new order. Among the Jesuits themselves there were strong currents pushing in the same direction. To have tried to set up a fully active second order for women on the Jesuit model could not have succeeded in sixteenth-century circumstances and might have jeopardized the male order. The Ursulines started as an active order and were quickly cloistered. In the early seventeenth century conservative churchmen frustrated Mary Ward's efforts to start an active order for women on the Jesuit model.

Despite Loyola's stress on quality rather than numbers, the Jesuits grew rapidly, so that there were about one thousand Jesuits at his death in 1556. Foreign missions were the most esteemed apostolate—by 1556 there were Jesuit missions in Brazil, Ethiopia, the Congo, India, Indonesia, and Japan. As early as 1542 the Jesuits began to set up so-called colleges for their own members, but non-Jesuit students were gradually admitted. Soon there were colleges exclusively for lay students. During Loyola's lifetime fifty Jesuit colleges were opened. Half of them had non-Jesuit students, the largest with 900, the average running about 250. After his death the Jesuit colleges grew rapidly in number and size. There were 293 by 1607, but they could not keep up with the demand, even though many Jesuits made education their primary apostolate. Most of the Jesuit colleges corresponded to modern preparatory schools, but a few were full-fledged universities. The Jesuit college system, which spread through southern and eastern Europe and Latin America, became a primary means of spreading Catholic reform to the laity, particularly the upper classes.

The record of Loyola's last fifteen years, which were spent in directing the early growth of the order, is preserved in his vast correspondence; all but twenty-eight items out of 6,795 date after his election as general. While some of his letters are mini-treatises on spiritual topics, most give practical advice to Jesuits who were wrestling with the problems of setting up and running religious houses and colleges throughout Catholic Europe. The correspondence makes a startling contrast with the pages of Loyola's spiritual diary from the same period: his days at Rome externally seem divided between mystical prayer and the bureaucratic routine of running a multinational enterprise. Internally there was no division, since both aspects of his life had a single goal: the greater glory of God.

Despite his burdens as general, Loyola set aside some time for personal apostolic work, which he directed toward those whose spiritual and material need he considered greatest. He brought to these efforts his genius for organization. Rome swarmed with prostitutes. Poverty, sheer hunger, and the practical impossibility of escaping to a respectable life trapped many women in prostitution. Merely to stir up religious repentance in such women would not solve the personal or social problem. Loyola mobilized the help of women of the highest social rank—Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Charles V, Eleonora Osorio de Vega, wife of the Spanish
Ambassador, Vittoria Colonna, gifted poetess and friend of Michelangelo—to help his work. Eleonora de Vega and her servants went into the streets to talk with potential converts and give them refuge in her palazzo. Since the work required more than generous individual effort, Loyola organized the Confraternity of Grace to enlist the help of the upper classes. Funds were raised and the House of St. Martha was set up as a halfway house under the spiritual direction of a Jesuit. The house helped former prostitutes readjust their lives before reentering the main stream of society. Some of the ex-prostitutes were so moved by the experience that they asked to become nuns; a convent annex at St. Martha’s soon became famous for its fervor and austerity.

Prevention is better than cure. There were many young girls who for various reasons were cast adrift in Rome without protection or family. Many drifted into prostitution. Loyola again directed upper-class charity toward this problem; his efforts resulted in the Hospice of St. Catherine, where girls between the ages of ten and twelve received protection and education until they could lead respectable lives on their own. Earlier Gian Pietro Carafa had set up a similar home for abandoned boys, but it needed funds. Ignatius, the master beggar, came to the rescue. Finally he also set up organizations to help Jewish converts and impoverished noblemen.

Reformation meant for Loyola primarily the individual’s cooperation with divine initiative toward personal moral and spiritual reform. Here his great legacy was the Spiritual Exercises. To the corporative reform of the Church he contributed the Jesuit order and its myriad activities. After the election of Paul III in 1534, Rome became the center of Catholic efforts at reformation. Loyola was closely linked to Contarini and other reforming cardinals. Paul III employed the early Jesuits in many ways both inside and outside Italy: diplomatic missions, preaching, reforming convents. Diego Laynes, Alfonso Salmerón, Peter Canisius, and Claude Lejay served with distinction as theologians at the Council of Trent. The sixteenth-century outburst of missionary activity aimed at winning new lands to the Catholic Church and thereby compensated for Protestant gains in northern Europe; here too the Jesuits played a role disproportionate to their numbers.

Loyola and his followers emphatically rejected the Protestant understanding of reformation: that a fundamental alteration was needed in the doctrine and devotional life of the late medieval Church. Rather the old devotional practices and teaching must be revivified and used with greater fervor and intelligence. Loyola’s “Rules for Thinking with the Church” urges Christians “to obey promptly our Holy Mother the hierarchical Church . . . to praise stations, pilgrimages, and indulgences . . . and scholastic theology. We must be careful lest by speaking too much . . . on faith, we give people occasion to become lazy in the performance of good works.”

For centuries textbooks and sermons have contrasted Luther and Loyola
as prototypes of the Protestant and Catholic reformations. The antithesis between Luther and Loyola had its first major statement in Ribadeneira’s biography of Loyola. It finds classic artistic expression in the statue group by Pierre Legros to the right of Loyola’s tomb in the Gesu church in Rome: True Faith is assisted by a putto in attacking heresy and destroying books whose spines bear the names of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli. The Luther-Loyola antithesis rightly implies that the Jesuits were the single most important factor in halting and reversing the Protestant advance, but it wrongly suggests that Loyola founded the Jesuits to serve as papal shock troops against Protestantism. Had a war not intervened, Loyola and his companions would have sailed to Palestine to waste their perfume on the desert air. The first tasks that the papacy assigned the Jesuits were aimed at reviving piety in Italy rather than blocking Protestantism. During Loyola’s lifetime Jesuit growth in central and eastern Europe, the main stage of later Jesuit Counter-Reformation activity, was very slow. It was fastest in Portugal and Sicily, the two areas of Europe farthest from Protestant territory, lands where popular concern centered on Islam rather than Protestantism. Loyola considered heresy a secondary problem, but he was still its implacable enemy. His most comprehensive statement on how to deal with Protestantism comes from a letter to Peter Canisius, which gives Canisius suggestions to pass on to Ferdinand of Austria. The kind should deprive Protestants of all offices within his domains, especially schoolmasters and the Protestant professors at the University of Vienna. Protestant books should be combed out of libraries and burned. Booksellers who deal in Protestant books should suffer exile. Priests who incline to Protestantism should be deprived—better that the flock have no pastor than have a wolf for a shepherd. The king should proclaim that Protestant preachers have a month to return to Catholicism. Those who return should be welcomed kindly; the others should be exiled or jailed. Indeed, a few executions might serve as a good example, but Loyola recommends against trying to set up an Inquisition in Germany. The letter is Loyola’s most extreme statement against Protestantism; the second and longer part of it returns to his usual themes on how to strengthen Catholic faith and practice.

The quantity and quality of primary material for the life of Loyola easily surpasses that available for earlier founders of religious orders. There is the autobiography for his earlier life and his correspondence for his Roman years. Several friends added their reminiscences. Juan Polanco contributed a detailed chronicle of early Jesuit history. The early Jesuits were acutely conscious of the need for public relations, especially since their expansion and aggressiveness roused protests not only from Protestants but also from loyal Catholics, particularly members of the mendicant orders. Founders of religious orders are usually proposed to the order for imitation. Soon after Loyola’s death the Jesuits began to push for his canonization, partly out of genuine veneration, partly to gain honor for the order, partly to secure a
vindication of their way of life against their many detractors. An acceptable image of the founder was necessary for both the younger members and the general public. To meet this demand three major biographies were written within twenty-five years of Loyola’s death. The most important was that of Pedro de Ribadeneira. Ribadeneira entered the Jesuits at Rome in 1540 and immediately became a special favorite of Loyola. In 1567, the Jesuit general commissioned him to prepare an official biography, and primary materials were put at his disposal. In 1572 a limited Latin edition was circulated for criticism. The Spanish biography of 1583, a masterpiece of Spain’s literary Golden Age, incorporated these criticisms. It combined warm personal reminiscences, an eye for the revealing anecdote, and a passion for exact detail; but it lacked objectivity and presented a static image, without development. Juan Polanco, Loyola’s secretary during his last eleven years, wrote a Latin biography in 1574 that lacked Ribadeneira’s flair and exactness but was more analytic and had a better sense of history. Although not published until the twentieth century, it was used by later Jesuit biographers, notably Gian Pietro Maffei. Not all Jesuits were pleased by Ribadeneira’s effort, so Maffei was commissioned to do an alternative biography, which he published in 1589. His book, in brilliant rhetorical Latin, enjoyed considerable popularity in Italy and northern Europe. All three of these early biographies contain valuable details about Loyola, culled from men who knew him well; they present an official portrait, but a fairly honest one.

Loyola was canonized in 1622. This and the baroque stereotype of what a saint should be produced a new image of Loyola as world-historical giant and thaumaturge that dominated the seventeenth century and found expression in masterpieces such as Peter Paul Rubens’s paintings of Loyola for the Jesuit church in Antwerp. Still more extreme are the frescoes of Loyola’s life done by the Jesuit painter Andrea Pozzo for the Church of St. Ignatius in Rome. These climax in the “Triumph of St. Ignatius,” which covers the whole central ceiling: two stories of painted architecture open onto a vision of heaven above, a distant Christ points to Loyola, from whom rays of power go out to Asia, Africa, America, and Europe; each continent is depicted as an area of Jesuit victory over Satan. Several Jesuit poets of the seventeenth century wrote Latin mini-epics in the same spirit. The baroque biography par excellence is that of Daniel Bartoli, published in Italian in 1650 and translated into French, German, Latin, Spanish, and English. It remained standard until well into the nineteenth century. Suffice it to say that the book ends with an account of one hundred miracles attributed to Loyola, some of them decidedly bizarre.

The groundwork for the modern historical understanding of Loyola was laid by the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, which was started in Madrid in 1894 and continued in Rome since 1932 by the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus. All of Loyola’s writings and all important contemporary
sources for his life have appeared in critical editions. The bibliography of
this essay discusses these documents.

The older historiography, whether from Catholic, Protestant, or secular­
ist viewpoints, tended to use the soldier-saint stereotype. The better mod­
ern studies have abandoned this to see Loyola as a religious reformer
whose distinctive contribution is best seen by comparison with previous
founders of religious orders or contemporary Catholic reformers. The full­
scale attempts to compare Loyola with the major Protestant reformers,
such as Luther and Calvin, have been less successful, largely because they
are written in a polemical, pre-ecumenical spirit that does less than justice
to the Protestant side of the comparison. So much of the study of Loyola's
life and spirituality has come from the pens of Jesuits that it has perhaps
discouraged outsiders who could bring new viewpoints. Several Protestant
biographies have stressed Loyola's sincerity, zeal, and gift for organiza­
tion. The best of these are the works of Robert Harvey and Paul Van
Dyke.

Hostile studies of Loyola now come mainly from writers of secularist
viewpoint who tend to interpret Loyola in terms of Fëodor Dostoevski's
Grand Inquisitor. The best example of this sort of interpretation is Ludwig
Marcuse's Soldier of Christ: the Life of Ignatius Loyola, originally written in
German. There are English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese translations.
Marcuse combines a grasp of the sources with a brilliant impressionistic
style. For Marcuse the hermit of Manresa becomes a dictator of souls,
corrupted by the thirst for religious power over man: "Kings, businessmen
and the monk imperialist must think only of conquering the world . . . . A
cross fertilization of the seed of Assisi and Machiavelli. And Machiavelli
was the stronger." Recent Loyola studies can be more conveniently dis­
cussed in the bibliography that follows the notes.

NOTES

2:648-50, with the essays in Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe, editors, Baroque Art: The
2. Jean Delumeau, Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977);
3. Wolfgang Reinhard, "Gegenreformation als Modernisierung?" Archiv für Reformationsges­
4. Inigo was the Basque form of Enneco, the name of a saintly Spanish abbot. When Loyola
arrived at the University of Paris he Latinized his name to Ignatius. MHSI 115:788. For
abbreviations used in these notes, see the beginning of the bibliography of this essay.
5. It is true that Loyola later used military metaphors to describe the spiritual life, but these
were commonplace, going back to St. Paul, indeed to Job. The title Company of Jesus connoted
in southern Europe an analogy to religious confraternities, such as the Company of the
Blessed Sacrament, rather than to military units. The Jesuit superior general (often shortened
to general) parallels the Dominican master general and the Franciscan minister general—the superior with overall direction of the order—rather than a commander directing armies. Jesuit obedience is often compared to military obedience, but such comparisons are anachronistic, since the modern concept of military obedience largely dates from the eighteenth century. Military metaphors are conspicuous for their absence from Loyola's famous letter on obedience: *MHSI*, 29:669-81. Discipline and obedience were hardly hallmarks of sixteenth-century soldiers. Thomas H. Clancy, "Ignatius Loyola: A Soldier-Saint," *America* 125 (1971): 317-18.


8. Ibid., p. 23.


10. Ibid., p. 23.


12. *St. Ignatius' Own Story*, pp. 41, 49.

13. For the best scholarly text of the *Exercises*, see *MHSI*, 100; for bibliography dealing with the text, see Jean-François Gilmont, *Les Écrits spirituels des premiers jésuites* (Rome: IHSI, 1961), p. 49.

14. See the bibliography of this essay for works dealing with the Spiritual Exercises.

15. Over the centuries more than a hundred million people have made the Spiritual Exercises in one form or another. Thus in 1949 more than seven million people made the Exercises under the direction of members of religious orders: Giorgio Papasogli, *St. Ignatius Loyola* (New York: Society of St. Paul, 1959), 150.


18. Luis de la Puente's *Meditaciones de los misterios de nuestra santa fe* (1605) has had over seven hundred editions; Alonso Rodríguez's *Ejercicio de perfeccion y virtudes cristianas* (1609) has enjoyed over three hundred editions in twenty-three languages. Both of these are very long works.


26. Other scholars, with good reason, have questioned the passages in Ribadeneira and Polanco, who were probably trying to picture Loyola as anticipating the Church's judgment on Erasmus: Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, trans. Antonio Alatorre (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económico, 1950), 1:248-50; John Olin, "Erasmus and St. Ignatius Loyola," in *Luther, Erasmus and the Reformation*, ed. John Olin et al. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1969), 114-133. These scholars suggest that Loyola read Erasmus later at Alcalá in the Spanish
transcription printed by Loyola's friend and benefactor Miguel de Eguía. Although Loyola was inclined to look unfavorably on Erasmus's criticism of traditional religious practices, the *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* has little such criticism. The differences between Erasmus and Loyola are more nuanced than is usually assumed (Olin, 120--27). Ricardo García Villoslada, *Loyola y Erasmo* (Madrid: Taurus, 1965), stresses the differences between Loyola and Erasmus rather more than does Olin.


28. Loyola ranked thirtieth in his licenciate class at Paris in 1532. The exact number in the class is unknown, but Loyola probably ranked near the middle. Ibid., 274.


34. See n. 11 of this essay.


36. *MHSI*, 65:189--245; Arturo Codina lists verbal borrowings from Loyola in the constitutions of later religious congregations, but the Jesuit influence was much more pervasive and subtle than his listings suggest.


39. Loyola's correspondence fills twelve large volumes in *MHSI*: 22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, and 42.

40. Papasogli, 234--46.


42. *MHSI*, 34:398--404 (letter #4709, 13 August 1554).

43. *Obras*, 5--10; Gilmont, 28--39. The history of the interpretation of Loyola's life is traced in *Obras*, 3--38.


About eighty books and articles are published every year on Loyola, mainly in English, German, French, and especially in Spanish. This bibliography stresses material available in English. Fortunately, excellent guides are available to this forest of material. A few abbreviations will simplify the entries: The Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (IHSI), the Jesuit Historical Institute, has published critical editions of the writings of Loyola and the early Jesuits in the series Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI). It also publishes the Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (AHSI), a semiannual journal devoted to Jesuit history. The best guide to older Loyola studies is J. F. Gilmont and P. Daman, eds., Bibliographie ignatienne (1894-1957) (Paris/Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958), which lists 2,872 items arranged topically. More recent literature is described with critical comment in Orientaciones bibliográficas sobre san Ignacio de Loyola (Rome: IHSI, 1965) by Ignacio Iparraguirre; Manuel Ruiz Jurado has published a second volume of the same work (Rome: IHSI, 1977) covering 1965 to 1976. Still more recent is László Polgár, Bibliographie sur l’histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1901-1980 (Rome: IHSI, 1981), vol. 1; Polgár publishes an annual bibliography in AHSI.

The MHSI contains critical editions of all Loyola’s writings: his letters (vols. 22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42); the Spiritual Exercises and related documents (vols. 76, 100); the Constitutions and Jesuit rules (vols. 64, 65, 71); biographical material (vols. 66, 73, 85, 93, 115). Loyola’s major writings and a selection of his letters are available in handy volumes in Spanish and Italian: Obras Completas (Madrid: B.A.C., 1977), 3d ed., ed. I. Iparraguirre and C. de Dalmases; Gli scritti di Ignazio de Loyola (Turin: U.T.E.T., 1977), ed. Mario Gioia. Unfortunately, no such volume exists in English. A handy translation of the Spiritual Exercises is that by Anthony Mattola (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964). George Ganss has translated and commented on The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970). William Young has translated both Loyola’s autobiography (see n. 6 of this essay) and a selection of his letters: Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1949).

Good biographies of the earlier part of Loyola’s life are given in nn. 6, 23, and 29 of this essay. The best account of Loyola’s years in Rome is André Ravier, Ignace de Loyola fonde la Compagnie de Jésus (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1974). For the texture of Loyola’s day-to-day direction of the early Jesuits, the best source is Pietro Tacchi-Venturi, Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, four large volumes in two (Rome: La civiltà cattolica, 1950-1951). Although dated, the best complete biography remains Paul Dudon, St. Ignatius of Loyola (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1949), trans. William Young. Jesus M. Granero in San Ignacio de Loyola: Panoramos de su vida (Madrid: Razon y Fe, 1967) presents excellent interpretative essays on key questions
in Loyola's life. These studies are all within the Jesuit tradition. For outside views, see the studies mentioned in nn. 46 and 47 as well as Michael Foss, The Founding of the Jesuits 1540 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1969), which sees the founding of the Jesuits as a turning point for Catholicism in the Reformation crisis.