THE EREMITICAL IDEAL OF IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA: FROM *THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES* TO *THE FIVE CHAPTERS*

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Iñigo de Oñaz de Loyola, Saint Ignatius Loyola, has attracted many by his romantic youth, dramatic conversion, and sacrificial life of service to the Jesuit Order and the Catholic Church.[1] Christians and non-Christians have studied his life and found him to be a remarkable man, whether or not they agree with the religious cause he championed for most of his adult life. Scholars continue to write about his life and character. His writings continue to be edited and footnoted. New translations of many of his writings, especially *The Spiritual Exercises*, regularly appear in all the major languages of the world. Members of the Society of Jesus and their educational institutions can be found all over the world.

Although Jesuits have published his works in edited form, the critical value of Ignatius's three major works, *The Spiritual Exercises*, *The Five Chapters*, and *The Autobiography* has been questioned by scholars. He also wrote 7,000 letters, but he wrote most of these after 1539 and they have little impact on this study. The question is, "Are these three works critically reliable? "

The Spiritual Exercises is a handbook of spiritual life and practice. He began it in 1522, in Manresa, continuing to revise and expand it until 1541 when its text was substantially complete. He shared its contents in an incomplete form until its first publication in 1548. The Inquisition examined it several times. The Holy Office did not condemn it, nor approve it, either. Most scholars accept that Ignatius wrote *The Spiritual Exercises*, although a scholarly consensus about origins, influences, and exact content remains elusive.[2] As a primary source, they have been scrutinized more closely than many other late-medieval documents and remain accepted as written.

The Five Chapters is the foundation document for the Society of Jesus. There is no serious question that Ignatius and his companions wrote them and submitted them in verbal form to Pope Paul III in late-August of 1539. The development of that document into the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* has been well-documented. My interpretation of them as the corporate expression of *The Spiritual Exercises* applied to the newly formed Society of Jesus is dependent upon their being the earliest foundation document for the incorporation of the Society.

The most questionable of the three works of Ignatius is *The Autobiography*. It is his own chronicle of his life, dictated to others near the end of his life in 1556. It provides important information about his life, but the circumstances under which he composed it cause its contents to be suspect. He dictated it to at least two individuals, one of whom was Italian. Ignatius's Italian

was relatively poor and the last portion may not have accurately reflected his dictation.[3] Some time passed between one secretary's hearing of the dictation and his writing it down. It is also possible that Ignatius may have simply dictated how he felt and what he remembered at the end of his life, rather than his previous, actual feelings at the time of his conversion or other subsequent experiences. Because of these concerns, I use the *Autobiography* as a guide to Ignatius's life, but use his other two, more reliable writings for the majority of my conclusions regarding the content of his eremitical ideal. This method allows me to use all three works without ignoring serious questions of reliability.

New editions of Ignatius's writings, numerous biographies, and works on Jesuit origins are the foundation of any study of Ignatius and the Jesuits, but are not the focus of the present work. I focus specifically on Ignatius's eremitical ideal, a little emphasized and poorly recognized aspect of his life. Ignatius's mysticism is the major topic of present work about him, but important as his mysticism was to him, eremitism was most influential. As Ignatius matured in Spanish society, he became an agressive Spanish knight guided by an interior chivalric ideal. During his initial eremitical experience in Manresa, Ignatius began a process in which he became an active hermit guided by an interior eremitical ideal. His entire spiritual life of sanctity and service was defined by his desire to help souls, a desire initiated during that individual experience at Manresa, and later expanded by his education, and his confirmatory, corporate eremitical experience at Vicenza. His eremitical ideal was further formed in the

mutually exclusive environments of a cave and riverbank at Manresa, the libraries and classrooms of the University of Paris, and the countryside and villages around Venice and Vicenza. Through these strikingly diverse experiences, Ignatius developed a unique eremitical ideal, further influenced by a combination of popular devotional literature, traditional monastic piety, the scholastic learning of late-medieval Western Latin Christianity, and the new spirituality exemplified in the Modern Devotion and other similar ascetical, mystical, and eremitical writings.

Ignatius shaped these experiences into an active lifestyle and eventually produced a five-part eremitical ideal that was the foundation to his entire spiritual life. He discovered that to go forth, to live in poverty and simplicity, to strive for evangelical perfection, to help souls, and to obtain and use a formal, university education were the essential tenets of his ideal and the basic tools of his spiritual life. Ignatius wrote two major handbooks during this period, *The Spiritual Exercises*, his handbook for spiritual life and service for an individual, and *The Five Chapters*, his handbook for spiritual life and service for the community he soon formed, the Society of Jesus.

The concept of organizing Ignatius's life and writings around the unifying theme of his eremitical ideal came from conversations I had with Alain Saint-Saëns at Oklahoma State University in 1993. He had already written an article connecting Ignatius to the Carthusian ideal of rigorous ascetical practices within an eremitical lifestyle. In that article, his major contention was that Ignatius's

eremitical ideal developed through *The Spiritual Exercises* to the formation of the ideal eremitic community at Vicenza in 1538. In our in-depth discussions and with his patient guidance we further developed the ideal, confirming its roots in the initial eremitical experience at Manresa. I continued the work from there in constant communication with Dr. Saint-Saëns, who continued his work on hermits in Spain. The foundation for Ignatius's eremitical ideal came from his interior change after his conversion experience from chivalric knight to active hermit. The initial experience at Manresa developed into a lifestyle through his further experiences in Jerusalem, residence at several universities, confrontation with the Inquisition, and culminated in the experience of forming an eremitical community at Vicenza. By the time of Vicenza, the various experiences worked out through his lifestyle produced his eremitical ideal. This experience-lifestyle-ideal sequence is best demonstrated chronologically through his life from the time of his conversion in 1524 to the formation of the Society of Jesus in 1539. I also contend that Ignatius worked through this in another way during the same period, that of proceeding from an individual to a corporate experience. His two major writings of this period, *The Spiritual Exercises*, a handbook for individuals, and *The Five Chapters*, a handbook for the community, demonstrate this development. In essence, I worked backward from Dr Saint-Saëns community eremitical ideal, finding its original expression as individual, then worked forward from there. The progression seems natural and the sources support it. I also contend that Ignatius's eremitical ideal is built upon the Western Latin eremitical

tradition, selecting examples from that tradition in support of my thesis.

Ignatius's eremitical ideal developed during the middle three periods of his life. Others have divided his life in a similar way. Joseph de Guibert uses five periods. John O'Malley separates his life into four periods.[4] His life is most easily seen in five distinct periods: before conversion, 1492-1521, from conversion to the beginning of his education, 1521-1524, his education, 1525-1535, from the completion of his education to the founding of the Society of Jesus, 1535-1539, and finally, the remainder of his life, 1540-1564. These are the five periods that have somewhat natural breaks between them. I have concentrated on the middle three. His previous life did have tremendous impact on his life after conversion, but this can be readily accessed and much information can be easily obtained about it. Much work has been done on the impact of the pre-conversion period on his Christian life, so it is not necessary to recount all of that here. This study includes a short summary recounting the main points of his life and environment before conversion, and after he and his companions wrote *The Five Chapters*. It is well known that Ignatius founded the Society of Jesus and lived the remainder of his life in Rome. The middle three periods of his life, the individual experience at Manresa, a formal education, and a corporate experience at Vicenza, allowed Ignatius to found and structure the Society of Jesus.

The middle three periods of Ignatius's life that begin at his conversion and end at the founding of the society were the periods of formation for his eremitical

ideal. The period that begins with his conversion, through the experiences in Manresa, and on to Jerusalem mark the initial eremitical experiences for Ignatius. Many of these included ascetical practices and were quite severe in their physical demands. Although he recognized some value in ascetical physical austerity in *The Spiritual Exercises*, his earliest guidelines for the religious life, he also recognized their limitations and possible harm. He suffered with stomach ailments for the rest of his life, causing him to criticize severe ascetical practices later when outlining rules and regulations for the Society of Jesus. During his education period, he was introduced to the Western Christian traditions of mysticism, asceticism, and eremitism. He also learned that these three traditions of practices, experiences, and theology developed within the two traditions for living a religious life in Western Latin Christianity, the anchorite, or individual eremitical life, and the cenobite, or corporate, monastic life.

During his university studies, the second of the middle three periods of Ignatius's life, he saw that the most accomplished churchmen used ascetical practices to discipline themselves for spiritual life and service, but not to the extent that their ascetical practices limited their active life. He concluded from this that the religious life was a lifestyle based upon an interior discipline within the individual. He therefore modified his own previous ascetical practices and strove to develop a lifestyle based upon an interior discipline, using less-severe exterior ascetical practices, while leaving himself able to live an active,

accomplished life in service to Christ and the Church. The interior discipline comprising his eremitical ideal causes it to be confused with mysticism, another interior experience. But the goal and purpose of Ignatius's interior discipline was to develop an active servant; the goal and purpose of mystical interior experiences are to passively commune with God. Ignatius never advocated nor allowed personal experience without dedicated service.

Ignatius used the knowledge he gained from his university studies to confirm the orthodoxy of his earlier writing, *The Spiritual Exercises*, thus justifying its goals and methodology by appeals to earlier Christian writers, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, and Thomas Kempis. This is not to say that Ignatius was absolutely orthodox as it was understood during his lifetime. He was examined a number of times by the Inquisition, but was always found not guilty. His writing raised questions to which he offered somewhat unorthodox and challenging explanations. Ignatius does fit within the spiritual tradition of Western Latin Christianity, but he is very selective within that tradition.

After he had obtained a Master of Theology degree from Paris, Ignatius moved into the third of the middle three periods of his life, 1535-1539, where he combined the teachings from the university masters with his adopted lifestyle that still included some of his earlier ascetical practices, mystical experiences, and developing eremitical ideal. During these four years, these matured into his own individual life which he had perfected to the point of successfully attracting

and leading other men who adopted it for themselves. They worked together and began to live together at Vicenza and agreed to form a new religious order with Ignatius as their leader. He began to work on a set of guidelines for them as a community. These guidelines became *The Five Chapters*.

Both *The Spiritual Exercises*, his handbook for individuals, and *The Five Chapters*, his handbook for the community, display his eremitical ideal in similar ways. Ignatius initially formed his spirituality individually and experientially, only later learning and incorporating the knowledge and tradition of the Catholic Church. Unlike many great Catholic leaders, the theoretical was adapted to the practical. In Manresa, he first experienced mystical trances and visions, though he had acquired little theological training at that time. He also lived as a hermit there, where he engaged in ascetical practices. These affected his concept of spiritual life, as seen in *The Spiritual Exercises*. These qualities are also seen in the demands of *The Spiritual Exercises* for interior discipline in the highly structured environment of a spiritual retreat. As a hermit, he first began to learn the basic teachings of the Scriptures. As a theologian, he later acquired the structure and order of scholastic theology and philosophy while not being enslaved to it. It is not surprising then that *The Five Chapters*, the earliest organizational rule for the Society of Jesus, an unenclosed religious order, displayed such rigid organizational structure while yet maintaining individual freedom within the bounds of geographic and vocational direction by the Pope and the Superior of the Society. This remains unusual among religious orders.

Some have seen the methodology behind the Society of Jesus, as well as his theology as evidence of his personal attempt to reform Catholic religious organization and mission.[5] What is more important is that these initial experiences of asceticism, mysticism and eremitism, when influenced by his formal education, provided the foundation for his whole concept of spiritual life, both individual and corporate. Probing these unusual innovations, Catholic theologians have read and examined Ignatius's theology, discovering his creativity and marveling at his eclectic synthesis. Most attribute this creativity to the personal revelations of his mysticism alone, instead of recognizing the dynamic impact of his early eremitical experience at Manresa, his developing lifestyle, and basically ignoring his eremitical community at Vicenza.

Others have seen this delicate balance of mysticism, asceticism, and eremitism in the life of Ignatius, but have not identified it as a unified spiritual experience. They have used different terminology, but have described basically the same experiences and lifestyle. The traditional blurred distinctions between asceticism, mysticism, and eremitism require clarification. Terminology is crucial.

The ancient Greek term, ἄσκησις, which means "to practice, exercise, or train" provided the basic translation and transliteration for the English word, asceticism.[6] It was in use in the pre-Christian classical world before being adopted, given theological justification, and applied to spiritual practice by the early Christian Church. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, the

ODCC, defines Christian asceticism as being two-fold, " . . . the two sides of Christian asceticism, the negative one of self-denial and the positive one of the following of Christ. . . In the first three centuries, Christian asceticism found expression especially in the preparation of Christians for martyrdom and in the ideal of virginity, which, in its complete consecration of soul and body to God was put almost on par with the former."[7] The *ODCC* definition supports the contention of Vincent Wimbush and Richard Valantasis, the editors of *Asceticism*, that it is a "complex phenomena" offering descriptions and various definitions that range from the traditional to the multi-cultural.[8] Nonetheless, its basic forms within Christianity are less complex and more homogenous as many of the articles within the book attest. It remains best described as exterior physical practices motivated by inner inspiration.

Bernard McGinn adds to these concepts of asceticism, definitely separating it from eremitism: "By the last quarter of the third century some of these ascetics had already begun the practice of *anachōrēsis*, or withdrawal from society into the desert . . ." One page later, he defines ascetical practices, *askēsis*, as discipline.[9] Brown confirms the separation of asceticism and eremitism by McGinn, speaking of "ascetic ideals" that arose from the thought and practice of the forth and early fifth-century churches. One page later, he denotes the difference between this early period and a later one: "The ascetic movement, though a constant, fascinating presence for much of this period, lacked the clear and orderly profile later associated with the Benedictine

monasticism of the Latin West."[10] Asceticism was first a set of unregulated exterior practices used to obtain an inner goal. As monasticism developed, the goal became to live a religious life within a monastery. This was the cenobitical, or monastic model. The alternative goal was to live a solitary, withdrawn religious life. This was the anchoritical, or eremitical model, which Ignatius chose in a modified manner. His withdrawal was interior, spiritual instead of geographic or spatial. McGinn supports this two-fold division, noting that hermits began to make this distinction in the last quarter of the third century.[11]

The term, eremitism, generally refers to the lifestyle of the hermit. The hermit is one who lives a solitary, withdrawn life as differentiated from one who lives in a withdrawn community. Communities that have withdrawn have generally been regulated through the monastic orders and are housed in monasteries-communities of monks. The word, hermit, is also descended from ancient Greek useage. The ancient Greek word, ἐρημία, meaning "desert," provided the basic translation and transliteration for the English word, hermit, and later its cognate, eremitism.[12] The *ODCC* defines "hermit" as: "One who from religious motives has retired into a solitary life, especially one of early Christian recluses."[13] The early church also used another word, ἀναχωέω, meaning "to go away," to denote eremitical activity.[14] Some anchorites were recluses during the ancient and medieval period, but some actively pursued the anchorite life.[15]

The ancient simplicity of retirement and solitude did not remain in

Western Latin Christianity and by the time of the sixteenth century, institutional demands on the solitary life, as well as consitutional excuses from its rigor were common. Being a simple hermit was anything but simple. As the example of Ignatius demonstrates, during this period, because they did not always live within the confines of a monastery, they were looked upon with much suspicion and skepticism, a general reflection of the time in which they lived. Eremitism became a viable practice only under supervision and well-defined guidelines. Its demand of solitude was compromised by the institutional demand of close scrutiny. It was out of this, and not the simpler, ancient practice that Ignatius formed his eremitical ideal. These conditions caused him to form his ideal in response to contemporary conditions and not in attempted adherence to ancient concepts. Eremiticism was an inner, personally motivated standard of life that practiced a standard of reclusion based upon inner separation, not outer withdrawal. It was rigorous, but in active service and not passive solitude.

The term mysticism is defined in the *ODCC* as, " . . . an immediate knowledge of God attained in this present life through a personal religious experience."[16] Mysticism was developed and expanded by the sixteenth century to emphasize tradition and personal experience. This emphasis influenced and sometimes governed the practices and writings of the mystics, both individually and corporately. In addition to this body of instruction and commentary, the *ODCC* definition does not account for the intensely personal nature of each mystical experience by individual mystics. The tidal wave of mysticism that

swept late-medieval Western Latin Christianity demonstrated that dogma had become less important, though certainly not unimportant, to many Christians seeking a deeper level of experience. Therefore, the emphasis upon personal experience, as in the life of Ignatius, was the primary focus, with mystical theology, instruction, and commentary of secondary importance. Mysticism became a intensely personal experience for some Christians that deepened the knowledge of God and the Holy Scriptures and was attainable in this present life to a great extent by ascetical practices and eremitical experiences as they were then understood.

I contend that Ignatius was first and foremost a hermit who first had an eremitical experience, lived an eremitical lifestyle, and developed an eremitical ideal. He did practice asceticism, but as exterior practices in support of his interior ideal of being a hermit. He was also a hermit who had mystical experiences, but these did not cause him to adopt a contemplative lifestyle. His lifestyle was active, he pursued the apostolic way. Exterior ascetical practices and interior mystical experiences did not deter him from living an active life. They did allow him to consider himself separate from the world around him, the ideal of the hermit, although, unlike most hermits in the history of Western Latin Christianity, he lived in that world most of his life.

Authors have distinguished between ascetical, mystical, and eremitical experiences and described them using different terminology. Many compress ascetical and eremitical into a single category and put them in tension against

mysticism as the other category. Joseph de Guibert named two of these aspects in tension in Ignatius's life as " . . . 'mystical invasion' and 'courageous struggle.' The mystical invasion possessed his soul in his early conversion and never again let it go; and by the courageous struggle against himself (I almost wrote 'pitiless asceticism') he cooperated in a generous and unfailing manner with this divine action in his soul."[17] Cándido Dalmases concentrated on the mystical, but distinguished it from the ascetical and the eremitical by dividing Ignatius's experiences into "His Exterior Life" and "The Three Periods of His Interior Development."[18] John W. O'Malley first proposed that, for Ignatius, "His piety during this early period was soon marked by a rigorous asceticism, a desire for eremitical seclusion, and a distaste for anything that might ingratiate him with his fellows, even cleanliness and a neat appearance."[19] In the same book, he later states that, "his inner inspiration . . . greatly tempered his austerities," demonstrating a balance between ascetical practice and mystical experience in the eremitical lifestyle of Ignatius.[20] The first result of this balance in Ignatius was *The Spiritual Exercises*, which does not advocate ascetical practice, nor mystical experience as the primary goal of the individual, but instead advocates an active life based upon interior discipline. Ricardo Garcia-Villoslada took a title given Ignatius in Manresa, "the holy man," and describes Ignatius as "*El hombre del saco, eremita y contemplativo.*" He describes both the eremitical and the mystical in Ignatius as coming together in one holy man.[21] P. Juan Creixell sub-titled his two-volume work, *Ascética y Mística*, but the actual

consideration of Ignatius's ascetical practices was only eight pages, while contemplation, mysticism, and similar subjects have much longer treatments.[22] Hugo Rahner states that " . . . everything from the sources of his mystical experience "coalesced" into a work which fits into ascetical tradition and looks to Christian tradition for justification."[23] These authors do not view Ignatius's mystical experiences, ascetical practices, and eremitical lifestyle as distinct parts of a unified spiritual experience, but all of them describe or allude to parts of Ignatius's experience coming together in an active lifestyle. Juan Creixell described his life as a unity, relating it to medieval forms of mysticism and contemplation.[24] I contend the unifying factor and foundation of Ignatius's active life was his inner eremitical ideal.

Incorporating these authors and McGinn's study of Western Latin Christian mysticism (see Appendix II), I assume and accept Ignatius's mystical experiences and ascetical practices as integral parts of his spiritual experience, and focus on his eremitical ideal, the foundation of a single, unified spiritual life. By using this method, I hope to balance the somewhat slanted picture that has occurred because of the almost exclusive contemporary focus upon his mystical experiences. This has proven to be no easy task. There are no books on Ignatius's eremitism, few journal articles that specifically address this aspect of Ignatius's life, and even less of recent publication. Some authors do not even mention Ignatius's eremitism. Except for Alain Saint-Saëns article and a few notes scattered within a host of books and articles, most authors assume that

the key to understanding Ignatius's spiritual life lay in his mystical experiences. Avery Dulles, writing about Ignatius and his theology states simply, "Ignatius was filled with a sense of God's exalted mystery."[25] Dulles does not mention Ignatius's ascetical practices or his eremitical lifestyle. Most authors who mention it at all put any information on Ignatius's eremitical ideal subordinate to his mysticism. Joseph Tylenda, in the notes to the *Autobiography*, tells of Ignatius imitating a hermit in a few sentences, but elaborates for several paragraphs on the granting of "exceptional mystical graces."[26] Another work specifically on Ignatius's mysticism, by Harvey D. Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic*, downplays the eremitical aspects of Ignatius's post-conversion experiences. Egan states in his "Introduction" that even those acquainted with *The Spiritual Exercises*, "miss its real secret-its mystical foundation," and stating that most think that it teaches "a will asceticism, a technically attained voluntarism, a pragmatic spirituality," concluding that "(its) mechanical methods of prayer...(are) an actual barrier to deeper, more mystical levels of prayer."[27] Egan goes on to narrow in on the experiences of Ignatius at Manresa, but then pulls back to a single, mystical experience on the banks of the river Cardoner at Manresa, stating that it "...transformed Ignatius into another man..." and "...altered radically the way Ignatius viewed all reality."[28] Although Egan has written a compelling book, he emphasises an interpretive framework that caused his focus to be too narrow; Ignatius's initial eremitical experiences were the foundation of the entire Manresa experience that included mystical visions, but

also strict regimens of prayer, strict and severe dietary denial, daily taking of the sacraments, begging, intense study, and journal-keeping. These authors blurr the distinctions in terminology between ascetical practice, mystical experience, and eremitical ideal. Even Dalmases devotes only one page to his "Exterior Life" and seven to "The Three Periods of His Interior Development."[29]

I believe that Egan and others depreciate Ignatius's eremitism. In fact, his mysticism proceeds from his eremitism and is fueled by it. Mysticism strongly influenced Ignatius throughout his life, but his spiritual life was more than just a mystical ideal. There are many sources that link Ignatius's ascetical practice and eremitical ideal with his mysticism, but most of these subordinate his eremitical ideal to his mysticism, or mention his eremiticism briefly.[30] I will not try to define a mystical ideal for Ignatius; that has been done satisfactorily by a number of other writers. But few (if any) writers have attempted to identify his eremitical ideal as distinct from and interactive with his mystical ideal. This is my thesis. This distinction between his eremitical ideal and his mystical ideal can be demonstrated in his life and in his writings. Ignatius of Loyola had an eremitical ideal that was distinct from, yet influenced, and was influenced by, his mystical ideal.

In defining the eremitical ideal of Ignatius, several guidelines must be set in place. I contend that it can be briefly summarized and is not a systematic outline of his life, work, and writings. *The Spiritual Exercises* are detailed in their requirements for the individual and *The Five Chapters* have detail about

requirements for the community, the Society of Jesus. The ideal itself is governed by broad ideology and as such, its five major tenets are much like the points of an outline. Organized under these major tenets are the details of *The Spiritual Exercises* and *The Five Chapters*. *The Autobiography* and the *Constitutions* support this organizational framework, but these and most of his letters were written after the basic, foundational tenets of his eremitical ideal were already in place. One critical aspect of this thesis is that Ignatius formed his ideal between the time of the writing of *The Spiritual Exercises*, which he began in 1521, and the writing of *The Five Chapters*, which he began in 1538. Timing and content are critically aligned with experience and environment. The eremitical ideal of Ignatius was substantially formed during this period and it changed little afterward.

Notes

1. For simplicity, I have used the name Ignatius from the beginning to the end of the paper. I am aware that he used Iñigo until he went to Paris and mistakenly substituted the Latin variant Ignatius while there. See Ricardo Garcia-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola: Nueva Biografía* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1986), 319; John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 29.

2. See Chapter VIII, "The Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola and the *Exercitatorio de la Vida Spiritual*," in Terence O'Reilly, *From Ignatius Loyola to John of the Cross* (Brookefield, Vermont: Variorum, 1995), 301-323.

3. Ignatius Loyola, *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola* , Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Joseph N. Tylenda (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1985), 6.

4. O'Malley describes four periods, the early period including conversion, the scholastic phase that included education, the humanistic period of the years in Italy to 1542, and finally after 1542. These are enough similar to my divisions that they support the dividing of the middle third of his life in this way. See John W. O'Malley, "Jesuits, St. Ignatius, and the Counter-Reformation: Some Recent Studies and Their Implications for Today," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 14 (January, 1982), 21-22. Guibert ignores his life before conversion. His five periods are Conversion, At Manresa (1522-23), The Years of Study (1524-1535), Toward the Summit (1535-1540), and The Summit (1540-1556). See Joseph de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice* Edited by George E. Ganss, Translated by William J. Young (Saint Lous: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), xi.

5. For the concept of Ignatius as reformer, see John W. O'Malley, "Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer?," *The Catholic Historical Review* 77 (April, 1991), 177-93. It was his unusual methodology and ecelectic theology that make this difficult to discover, but there were other new, unenclosed religious orders forming; see Hubert Jedin, Editor, *History of the Church* (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 431-446.

6. Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, Translated and Adapted by William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 116.

7. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 95-6.

8. *Asceticism*, edited by Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), xix ff.

9. Bernard McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 133 and 134, respectively.

10. Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), xiv and xv, respectively.

11. McGinn, *Foundations*, 132.

12. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 308.

13. *ODCC*, 642.

14. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 62-63.

15. *ODCC*, 50.

16. Ibid., 952.

17. Joseph de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, Translated by William J. Young, Edited by George E. Ganss, (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 71-72.

18. Cándido de Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work*, Translated by Jerome Aixalá (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 55-57.

19. O'Malley, "The Jesuits, St Ignatius, and the Counter Reformation, 21.

20. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 25.

21. Garcia-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 209-212.

22. P. Juan Creixell, *San Ignacio de Loyola; Ascética y Mística* (Manresa: Imprenta y Encuadernaciones de San José, 1946).

23. Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian*, Translated by Michael Barry (London: Geoffrey Chapman), 34.

24. Creixell comes closest to describing Ignatius's eremitism and mysticism as being part of a single, unified spiritual experience. P. Juan Creixell, *San Ignacio de Loyola, Ascetica y Mystica* Two Volumes (Manresa: Imprenta y Encuadernaciones de San José, 1946). See Volume 2, Cuarte Parte, 256ff, for his reconciliation of the medieval "Way of Unity" as amended and adopted by Ignatius.

25. Avery Dulles, "Saint Ignatius and the Jesuit Theological Tradition," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 14 (March, 1982), 13.

26. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, footnote # 19, 28, and footnote # 29, 37.

27. Harvey Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Michael Glazier, 1987), 18-19.

28. Ibid., 43-44.

29. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 55-56, and 57-64.

30. Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic*, 42.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EARLY FORMATIVE ENVIRONMENT OF IGNATIUS'S EREMITICAL IDEAL

The first contact of Ignatius with hermits and eremitical practice was in Spain during his youth and early manhood. The conservative, Catholic traditions that had prevailed in Spain since the early stages of the *Reconquista*, the Reconquest, the military campaign to return the Iberian Peninsula to Christian rulers, gave Spanish Christianity many forms that were peculiar to the Iberian peninsula, though still well within the European Christian tradition. Ignatius first learned of these traditions as he grew up in the countryside of Loyola, the city of Castile, and the lands around Navarre. The aggressive martial and missionary nature of Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was ingrained into Ignatius. He first became an active soldier for the Spanish Monarchy and Spain. He later became an active hermit for God through the Pope and the Catholic Church, just as he had first acted as a knight because of his interior chivalric ideal.

The ancient and medieval European traditions of asceticism, mysticism, and eremitism were an integral part of Spanish Christianity. During the period of

his conversion, the Manresa experiences, and his subsequent travels, he learned more and more about how these traditions had developed from eastern and western sections of Christendom since the second century, but especially in Europe since the seventh century. He understood them more intimately after his formal education in Paris.

Spanish Christianity, 1492-1563

Spanish Christianity was most influenced by the Reconquest, the Catholic Monarchs, and the reform by Cardinal Archbishop Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, but it retained many of the forms and practices of medieval Christianity. These influences, forms, and practices were seen in Ignatius's early life, through his conversion experience, and afterward during his years in service to God. They occurred between the conquest of Granada in 1492 and the close of the Council of Trent in 1563.

The Reconquest was the central event of medieval Spain. Begun in the tenth century and spurred on by the European Crusades to retake the Holy Land for Christ, the Spaniards continued the crusading zeal and applied it to their homeland. It did not proceed in an orderly manner, nor within a consistent chronological framework. During the five centuries from its initiation, the Spaniards defeated the Muslims and established Spanish rule. It did not produce a unified Spanish nation-state similar to England and France, Spain's

great European rivals. But Castile and Aragon, the two most powerful kingdoms that remained on the Iberian peninsula became influential European monarchies. The unstable political unity that was the result of the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella did produce a united Spain, although national unity of the diverse political units of Spain was yet future. The final event of the Reconquest was Ferdinand and Isabella's victory over the Kingdom of Granada in 1492.

The marriage of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile produced a newly united Spain.[1] Both were devout Catholics and they preserved the character and protected the activities of the Spanish Catholic Church. They believed that a powerful Spanish Church could effectively and justifiably spread its influence either by the preaching of the friars or by military persuasion.[2] Thus, the Church in Spain was loyally dedicated to the service of Christ and Kings, seeing little, if any, contradiction in being wholly devoted to both. Ignatius was a soldier before his conversion and although he was lax in his personal religious practice, he considered himself a loyal Catholic as well as a loyal Spaniard.

Taking the Catholic faith to pagans and heretics was one of the fundamental goals of the Spanish Church. After Columbus, sponsored by the Spanish Crown, "discovered" the "New World" in 1492, Spain needed new territory to claim for Christ, Church, and Crown. This discovery led Spanish explorers to the New World, and later against Protestants in northern Europe.

The conquistadores went to the New World looking for gold, glory, and converts for God. Later, the vision of Charles V for a united Christian Europe led Spain in an attempt to impose a zealous and conservative Catholicism upon the rest of Christendom. Later, Ignatius and the Jesuits were instrumental in recovering some areas of Europe for Catholicism where Protestant Reformers had initially been successful. But this was accomplished by catechism and mission, not by force of arms.[3] Militant Catholic Christianity was established in the Indies, but the North American continent was eventually abandoned to English Protestants during the late seventeenth century. These were the mission fields that Ignatius became acquainted with as a soldier and later as the head of the Jesuits.

Cardinal Archbishop Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros of Toledo implemented a reform movement during the reigns of the Catholic Kings. The clergy and the laity both were hungry for a more experiential, a more passionate, and a more individual devotional life.[4] Spanish Christians sought greater levels of service, devotion, and communion with God. The Spanish Church hierarchy was sympathetic to reform earlier than that of any other nation in Europe. It increased its autonomy from Rome and required the higher clergy to be "pious, celibate, and university-trained."[5] With the solid foundation of the increase of learning during the Spanish Renaissance, Cardinal Cisneros established new universities in many of the nation's main cities and initiated production of the Polyglot Bible of 1517.[6] Spanish clergy on all levels increased in knowledge and training, providing theological leadership at the Council of Trent, 1545-

1563.[7] These were major accomplishments, though problems remained, such as uneven distribution of priests between cities and countryside, and many of the higher clergy remained absentee from their assignments. After this period of growth and a stable Church-Crown relationship with Ferdinand and Isabella, the Spanish Church struggled with the next Spanish king, Charles V. It eventually solved many of its problems and became the most reformed and the most independent church from Rome, while yet remaining zealously Catholic and Spanish.[8]

The major product of the reform movement, a new spirituality, provided both the clergy and laity a number of new and different ways of serving the Church in Spain. The laity established confraternities to better serve the poor and ill of their families and communities. Lay confraternities also began to perform some of the tasks that had previously been done by members of the religious orders.[9] In addition to the mobilization of the laity, some of the religious orders of Spain reformed themselves and some left the old orders and established new ones. The struggles of Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, and Ignatius of Loyola are examples of this trend. Teresa and John reformed the Carmelites, then left that order and established a new one, the Discalced Carmelites.[10] Ignatius founded the Jesuits.[11]

The reform movement and the new spirituality did not always produce results that the Church approved. The *alumbrados*, the "Illuminists," or the "Enlightened Ones," both religious and lay, sought higher communion with God.

They were perceived to be a threat to the established Church and subversive to the monarchy because of their claim to receive revelation directly from God, apart from the Bible, tradition, and the hierarchy of the Spanish Church. They were eventually linked with Erasmus and Luther and were severely restricted. Many other religious forms of Spanish humanism were curtailed.[12] Some Spanish clergy fled the country because of fear of the Inquisition. Nonetheless, the concept of individual expressions of communion with God remained, though few openly practiced them in a way that the Church hierarchy disapproved.

The more central forms of medieval Christianity remained an important presence in the Spanish Church. The religious orders, especially the preaching and mission orders of the late medieval period were well represented. The Franciscans, or the Order of the Friars Minor, the Dominicans, or the Order of the Preaching Friars, and the Carthusians had monasteries throughout Spain. Benedictine monasteries included the monastery at Montserrat where Ignatius dedicated himself to Christ and Church after his conversion and literally hung up his sword for God. The identification of the Spanish Church and the Spaniards themselves with the Reconquest coupled with the power and prosperity of the Catholic Kings insured that the strong medieval heritage of the Catholic Church in Spain remained during Ignatius's lifetime and beyond.[13]

Spanish Christianity maintained the traditions of the older medieval forms of piety and sanctity as well as the newer forms of spirituality and these were significant not only in the development of Christianity in early modern Europe,

but also in relation to the life of Ignatius. The Spanish Church attempted to control the clergy and laity in their many-faceted attempts to experience a closer relationship with God. Ignatius saw and experienced this society in the rural area of his home and in the urban area where he trained as a knight. He had seen the extreme acts of penance performed by hermits and *beatas* and although no source indicates that he noticed them before his conversion experience, he did take notice of them after.[14] His ten-month stay as a hermit at Manresa indicates that he knew what hermits did and how to act as one. He combined aspects of the newer forms of spirituality with those of late medieval Christianity.

Though essentially concerned with different subjects, the new spirituality did have an impact on the medieval Christian traditions of asceticism, mysticism, and eremiticism.[15] In Spain, they had both the general European and specifically Iberian characteristics of the Spanish Christians. Spanish Christian ascetics, wandering monks, hermits, and *beatas* were a regularly encountered part of Christianity in Spain.[16] Ignatius had seen many of these actively pursuing their individual visions and lifestyles in and out of monasteries. After conversion and throughout the remainder of his life, Ignatius practiced asceticism, had mystical experiences, and pursued his own eremitical lifestyle. He became an active hermit because he had matured in a land full of them. He also retained the manners of a Spanish nobleman.

Ignatius's first serious interest in the Christian life occurred after he was

wounded at Pamplona, when he read the part mythical, part mystical lives of saints and a composite life of Christ. These works were translated into Spanish by Spanish clergyman. His reading of these works and his temporary bedridden condition caused him to dream, at first of fulfilling his previous chivalric aspirations to lead of life of honor and glory for the Spanish king, but later of doing similar services for God.[17] Spanish Christianity provided the background for his first conversion experiences, his asceticism, mysticism, and eremitism.

Religious conditions in the period from 1492 to 1563 encompassed political and social as well as religious change. This was the condition of Europe into which Ignatius was born in 1491.[18] As a young man, he became interested in the same affairs of the world that interested the monarchy of Spain. His life and experiences were touched by European and global events both before and after his conversion experience. The "discovery" of the "New World" took Europeans, including one of Ignatius's brothers, to North and South America and the Indies. The Spanish aristocracy and court, the Spanish Church, the new spirituality, asceticism, mysticism, and eremitism influenced Ignatius throughout his life, from his childhood to his death. Ignatius adopted that influence through his own personal change. His perspective about the Christian life changed after his conversion at Loyola castle; the sources of his personal confession changed, from the simple lives of the saints and a basic life of Christ, to complex theology and Biblical studies in Paris. As he matured in his own concept of what it meant to "help souls," Ignatius himself changed.[19] His

material circumstances changed; his geographic location changed; his companions changed. The aggressive Spanish knight with an interior chivalric ideal became the active hermit with an interior eremitical ideal. Throughout these changes, Spanish Christianity remained a profound influence on his life.

The European Tradition of Christian Asceticism, Mysticism and Eremitism

The eremitical tradition in the Christian west moved from its origins of hermits and monks dedicated to severe austerity in body during the ancient period to the preaching orders during the late medieval period. In the ancient period, from the second through the fifth centuries, monks and hermits practiced asceticism, mysticism and eremitism, both in community and individually. In the early medieval period, from the sixth through the eleventh centuries, the community aspect of religious practice was further defined and refined with rules and religious orders that worked mainly from monasteries. In the late medieval period, from the twelth through the sixteenth centuries, the preaching and teaching friars increased this diversity with some living in community and some uncloistered. Throughout these three periods, hermits and monks lived both in community and out, but these were the major developments of each period. Ignatius was born into a Christian Europe that had all of these different manifestations of religious practice. His eremitical ideal reflected these traditions and diversity. More than that, though, when the learned men of the

Inquisition questioned Ignatius, his answers reflected his experiential knowledge of God and his developing knowledge of Western Latin Christian practice and doctrine. His acquisition of a university education enabled him to better pursue his own, individual concept of the active life of a hermit. The knowledge he obtained affected him to the extent that he virtually required it for all future Jesuits. He initially recruited from university students. Personally confirming this tradition in his own life was vital.

Western Christian ascetism, eremitism, and mysticism had roots in the classical Greek philosophers, the early Church Fathers, and a number of Latin theologians. Their earliest forms arose from Pre-Christian Greek, Roman, and Eastern religious practices.[20] From this non-Christian background, these three forms of religious expression were adopted first into Christianity in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire during the first century. During the first three centuries after Christ, ascetical practices and an eremitical lifestyle "found expression especially in the preparation of Christians for martyrdom and in the ideal of virginity, which, in its complete consecration of soul and body to God, was put almost on a par with (martyrdom)."[21] From the ancient through the medieval period, the Western Latin Church developed and used the term, "contemplation" to refer to what later became mystical practice. The early practice of contemplation was the forerunner to the practice of mysticism. Church leaders used this term precisely, unlike many modern, popular writer's various descriptions of mysticism indicating it was and is a pot pourri of generic

religious experience.[22] In contrast to modern generalities, Augustine describes his mystical experience in a much more definitive and fearful way-- "My mind in the flash of a trembling glance came to Absolute Being--That Which Is."[23] This precise concept of mysticism as "...immediate awareness"[24] and "... direct...intimate consciousness of the Divine Presence"[25] presupposed the renunciation of the self accomplished through ascetical practice in an eremitical life of denial many times combined with monastic discipline.[26] One writer stated that "...mystics were, quite understandably, to be found, therefore, 'among the ascetics and in the monasteries."[27] Another writer went so far as to say that, "...in every mystic there is an ascetic, and that asceticism is at the very source of mysticism.[28] The intimate linking of asceticism, mysticism, and eremitism in early Christian writing blurs their distinctions, causing definitions to seem to run together. Asceticism can be accurately defined as physical practices of austerity and denial. Mysticism is an immediate knowledge of God through intensely personal experiences. Eremitism is the lifestyle of the hermit which generally includes ascetical practices and may contain mystical experiences, but guided by an inner discipline of separation from a worldly life. Ignatius formed these religious forms into a single lifestyle guided by his eremitical ideal. It was well within the European tradition. Because of the diversity and complexity of the ascetical, mystical, and eremitical traditions, Ignatius's early ascetical practices and mystical experiences are many times difficult to separate from his early eremitical lifestyle.

The history of eremitism is long and complex, from its anchorite beginnings, through the creation of rules for monastic life, and lastly in its later transformation into itinerant preaching and teaching many times based in monasteries, but not always. These three general divisions describe its development and are convenient for study. They provide a chronological framework which organizes the vast scope of eremitism in Western Europe into loose time-periods. They also correspond roughly with the divisions of ancient, early medieval, and late medieval history.

The eremitical ideal of Ignatius sprang from the anchorite tradition, the choice of the individual to live as a hermit away from a majority of Christians and definitely away from the world. It was the oldest, but least-practiced form of religious life in Western Christianity. The cenobite tradition of living away from the world in a community of Christians is the more prevalent alternative. Although the cenobite developed from the anchorite, both traditions were established in the second century and have had adherents continuously since then. The following survey shows the development of these traditions and that Ignatius was within the lesser-practiced anchorite tradition and adopted much of the late medieval period's emphasis on mysticism as a deeper, more spiritual experience. He also adopted the late medieval tradition of itinerant preaching. His synthesis of divergent traditions, practices, and experiences demonstrated his eclectic and developmental concept of spiritual life and service to God. His synthesis was creative and unique.

The Ancient Period

The first or ancient period for eremitism covers the second through the fifth centuries.[29] Because of the newness of Christianity, Church leaders worked out many the problems associated with a growing Church. Despite this, the period was the foundation for all that follows. Many of the Church leaders of this period were exemplary and in their personal lives became indicative of the type of lives devote Christians were expected to live. They also authored critical and devotional works, theology, and Biblical studies. Ignatius learned of this through his reading of the lives of many of these early saints in *The Golden Legend*. He formed his idea of the "primitive church" and his concept of the "apostolic life" from his reading about this period. He also began writing soon after his conversion, another characteristic of these early Church leaders.

A survey of the churchmen highlighted from this period sets the boundaries for its periodization. Although not the first of the desert hermits and monks, the life of Origen (c. 185-c. 254) is an acceptable date to begin. Antony the Hermit (251-356) established the anchorite tradition in Egypt. Pachomius the Abbot (c.290-346) established the cenobite tradition in Egypt simultaneously with Antony's anchorite tradition. Basil (c.330-379) re-enforced the cenobite tradition while remaining a anchorite-like hermit in Palestine, at times leaving the solitary life and sharing preaching tours with such well-known Church leaders as Gregory Nazianzus. Martin of Tours (c. 335-397) founded monasteries in Gaul.

Jerome (c.342-420) first went to Gaul and later returned to Aquileia in Italy, living an anchorite life there until he finally settled in a monastery at Bethlehem. Augustine (354-430), the foundation of Western Christian theology and philosophy was also a monastic who founded a community of monks and wrote one of the first rules. Cassian (360-435) was a practicing anchorite hermit who also wrote on cenobite practice. This first, ancient period ended with the writings of Cassian. These were well-known, they were authors, they were either hermits or monks, and they all attempted the contemplative life but were called by the Church to active service at some point in their lives. Ignatius felt compelled by his own inner discipline to incorporate aspects of these traditions into his eremitical ideal, which he pursued in an active life.

By the fifth century, the cenobite rules of Pachomius, Basil, Augustine, and Cassian became the earliest foundations for western monasticism. In contrast, the rules of Antony, Martin, and Jerome display a preference for the eastern style of the earlier anchorites. Many were called, even forced to serve the Church in leadership positions, even though they desired most the eremitical or the monastic life.

Origen was one of the earliest anchorite leaders, beginning his eremitical experience at the start of the third century in Alexandria.[30] His works on eremitism, *Exhortation to Martyrdom* and *On Prayer* have been lost since antiquity.[31] Origen and his contemporary Clement said that, "The training of the body, the conquest of sin, the fight with demons, the practice of virtue were all

destined to the one great end, contemplation of God by pure mind."[32] Origen was first an anchorite, but, due to rapid Church growth, he was compelled by Church leaders to become more active in Church leadership. He then founded communities of anchorites, progressing toward cenobite organization. This was similar to Ignatius's progress from individual to community organization. Origen was also concerned about education, establishing a school at Caesarea. Origen demonstrates that Ignatius's later practice of founding Jesuit training schools everywhere the Jesuits went was not new, nor revolutionary. Origen was an early example of a monk who was a theologian and preacher and by his life and death demonstrated the importance of a well-trained clergy, knowledgeable in Church teachings and philosophy.

Although many Christians considered escape to the desert to be spiritually beneficial, it was impractical for a growing Church which needed all the leaders that it could train. "In Tertullian, the Christians are described as numerous, in Origen they are to be found everywhere."[33] In response to the crisis for leaders from the two traditions for the growing Church, the Fathers of the Church also blurred the distinction between the two different practices of contemplation and action.[34] These two practices had developed simultaneously in tension, as exemplified in Origen's work, *In Lev., hom II, I*, "When we say to separate yourselves, we are not referring to place but to customs, not to a country, but to a way of life."[35] Ignatius developed his eremitical ideal first by separation from the world physically and later by inner discipline. He became an

active hermit in the world. Origen's comment was an early example of the "hermit in, but not of, the world."[36]

Antony of Egypt was an exemplary desert hermit who was known for his holiness and discipline. He also assisted Athanasius in solving the Nicene controversy, after which he retired back to an eremitical life in the anchorite tradition.[37] Origen and Antony were both hermits who came out of solitude to serve, but Origen remained in active service to the Church while Antony returned to seclusion. Antony's influence and experience in the eastern portions of the Roman Empire also were felt in the West. His organization was copied by hermits as far away as north Africa by Augustine, in Milan by Ambrose, in Gaul by Martin of Tours, and in Spain by Priscillian. Antony rejected the extreme and eccentric austerities of some of the other solitaries and established himself as a hermit who practiced ordered and disciplined holy living. His support of Athanasius in the Nicene controversy was instrumental in its eventual success, but he would have preferred to remain a hermit.[38]

Pachomius of Egypt is considered the founder of cenobite Christian monasticism. He lived during the late third and early fourth century. He founded a monastery at Thebaid near the Nile River which eventually grew into a complex of nine monasteries, including those for both men and women. He wrote the first monastic rule which was the foundation and pattern for many others to follow, including Basil, Cassian, and Benedict.[39] The two innovations of highly organized monasteries and a written rule mark the early beginnings of

the anchorite and cenobite traditions that move from disorganization to discipline by means of leaders and their writings. This became a pattern for Western Church leaders who were hermits as it had been for those who had been theologians, apologists, martyrs, and saints.

Basil is known as "The Great," one of the Cappadocian Fathers who lived during the mid-fourth century. After receiving the best available education in Cappadocia, Constantinople, and Athens, he became a hermit, living by a river near Neo-caesarea. There he built a complex of buildings that included monasteries, hostels, the episcopal residence, hospitals, and other church buildings. He too was active in the Nicene controversy in its later stages coming out of his secluded life in the monastery complex to serve the Anthanasian party. During the last nine years of his life, he was the Bishop of Caesarea, succeeding Eusebius at that post. He wrote *The Rule of Basil*, which survives in two forms, a longer and a shorter, both of which are the basis for the religious orders in the eastern Church. *The Rule of Basil* rejected the extreme, ascetical practices of some hermits and advocated an ideal life as being in a monastic community under obedience, or the supervision of an abbot.[40] Basil continued the pattern of talented Church leaders who desired to follow a solitary, eremitical life but instead gave their lives in service to the Church.

Martin of Tours lived during the second half of the fourth century. He spread monasticism in Gaul and became particularly influential around Tours after founding the first monastery in Gaul at Poitiers (Ligugé). Although he was

very influential in Gaul, he wrote no rule and left no other kind of writing at his death.[41] He was an example of a Church leader who felt it was just as important to live an active life as it was to observe solitude and the discipline of the monastery. Ignatius followed a similar pattern.

Jerome was a monk, theologian, and Biblical scholar. He was a contemporary of Martin, though at the other end of the Mediterranean Sea. Jerome lived as a hermit on a number of different occasions, on one of which, in the Syrian desert, he learned Hebrew. He was one of the few active Church leaders that advocated ascetical practices within an eremitical lifestyle. He wrote tracts that advocated these ideas and discussed them in his letters. He is best known for his part in the translation of the Greek and Hebrew scriptures into Latin, the *Vulgate*, but he also published a Latin translation of the *Rule of Pachomius*, an anchorite rule, as an alternate tradition to Martin and Cassian's cenobite rules. It dealt with the early organization of the anchorite tradition. The Church leader with the most influence on Jerome, Pachomius, had also first practiced his anchorite life in Egypt. But because of his residency in the east, Pachomius had less influence on the Western Church and because he was of the alternate anchorite tradition, he remained in Egypt, and his writings were less well known in the west. Another influence on Jerome, his friend Rufinus, also a contemporary of Augustine, had published Latin translations from the Greek of the *Shorter Rule of Basil* and the *Longer Rule of Basil*. Because of his anchorite practices and his dependence upon the *Rule of Basil*, Jerome left no

rule of his own, although he governed a newly-founded monastery at Bethlehem where he died in 420.[42] Jerome was an early example of a hermit who was a Church administrator, Biblical scholar, and an active participant in controversies over orthodoxy. But his life was not without controversy; he also advocated that " . . . a monk's business is not to teach but to lament."[43] Jerome was an active Church leader and felt compelled to serve actively instead of leading the contemplative life he most desired.

Augustine, like Origen and Jerome, was a monk and hermit, Biblical scholar, theologian, and church administrator. His first experience as a monk occurred later in his life, at age thirty-four, when he formed a monastic community with some friends near the town of Tagaste. He continued to live as a monk until 396 when he became the sole Bishop of Hippo, a post he held until death.[44] Although well-known for his theology, Augustine also wrote a rule, the *Regula Sancti Augustini, The Holy Rule of Augustine*, which several communities of monks and nuns used. It was not used often in the early-medieval period but later was adopted by the Augustinian Canons, the Augustinian Hermits, the Dominicans, and the Ursilines from the twelfth century on.[45] He is another example of a monk who actively served the Church even though he would have preferred to live a more secluded and disciplined life.

Cassian left his monastery at Bethlehem around 385, toured the monastic settlements of Egypt, and then went to Marseilles, France. Around 415, he founded two monasteries and resided there for the remainder of his life. *The*

Institutes of Cassian, the first rule produced in Western Europe, was his proposal for balanced discipline in a community of monks.[46] The *Institutes of Cassian* and the *Conferences of Cassian* were based upon the monastic ideals of Antony and became the standard for monasteries in Western Europe until *The Rule of Benedict* was written. Benedict used them extensively.

In this early period, writings on monasticism culminated in Cassian's rule, *The Institutes*, and his commentary on desert experience, *The Conferences,* based upon the work of mostly eastern anchorites and cenobites. The monks who continued in this direction "...undertook the quest for virtue as a preparatory stage in the path to pure contemplation."[47] Thus, ascetical practices in an eremitical lifestyle were the means to an end, and that end was pure contemplation. Theoretically, once pure contemplation was achieved, ascetical practices and an eremitical lifestyle could be, but did not need to be, continued. Pure contemplation was seldom achieved in this life, which meant that asceticism and eremitism were usually practiced until death. Cassian taught that of the two practices, eremitism was only for the strongest physically and spiritually; some of the toughest of men could not endure it. Because of this, anchorite practice gradually gave way to cenobite practice and monasticism became the practice of the overwhelming majority of monks, especially in Western Europe. Jerome thought that monks should separate from the world and lament: the majority separated and prayed instead. But the Church called some to leadership, forcing them to accept offices because of need. The

parallel developments of the anchorite and cenobite traditions reflected the theology, controversies, and needs of the Church during this early period.[48]

The earliest Christian eremitism was oriented to the individual's life of experience in desert solitude, practicing denial and discipline to bring the body under control. Contemplation, the forerunner to mysticism and the foundation of monk's and hermit's spiritual life, went hand in hand with ascetical practice whether it was anchorite or cenobite. [49] Contemplation and asceticism were generally thought to be two parts of the same experience, one more spiritual, one more physical. Because the practice of severe individual austerities was gradually downplayed to provide the Church with leadership, monks and hermits felt tension in the monastic and eremitical communities, forcing many of them to choose a milder form of denial and discipline. To serve the Church actively became the goal of early Church leaders and diverse opportunities presented choices previously unknown and unavailable. Gradually, contemplation came to be thought of as a practice that was pursued in an active life also and solitude was no longer exclusively necessary for its success.[50] In a similar way, many of Ignatius's later mystical experiences occurred while he pursued the active life. Church leaders tried various compromises in a number of different geographic locales, even though many hermits insisted that the harsher ascetical practices of the earlier period were necessary for spiritual success.

By the end of the ancient period, contemplation as a practice and

experience of individuals was secondary to Christ's mystical presence in salvation, the Church, and in Church rituals. Monastic communities were more widespread than individual anchorites practicing in cells and clusters of cells. This situation created and developed a new environment for mystical theology and practice from the contemplative tradition. During this period, as eremitism went generally from the individual to the community, mysticism went from "...the broad ascetical and mystical tendencies of early Christianity to specific life-styles and teaching traditions suited to convey mysticism in the narrower and more technical sense."[51] Whereas through the practice of contemplation, the monastic direction gave mysticism a paradigm in which to thrive and progress, it continually caused compromise with the eremitical lifestyles from the ancient period. Hence, after the ancient period of contemplation and eremitism, emphasis upon contemplation continually rose and its derivative, mysticism, eventually dominated monastic spiritual life.[52] Monasticism accomplished the reverse for eremitism, causing its continual reformulation to less and less stringent requirements, eventually requiring its redefinition altogether.[53] This is one reason why that by the time of Ignatius, eremitism was looked upon with suspicion and why those who practiced its varying degrees of severity were continually urged to moderation. This position was adopted into *The Five Chapters*.[54]

The Early Medieval Period

Benedict initiated the early medieval period when he wrote his famous *Regula Benedicti* that more monks used more often during this period than the older, ancient rules. As monastic life developed, there were alternating periods of strictness and laxness in individual monasteries as well as in geographic areas. The need for a much more strictly regulated rule or discipline was articulated by Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-550). Benedict , known as the "Patriarch of Western Monasticism," began by withdrawing from the world and living as a hermit. He later went to Monte Cassino, formed a monastery there, planned the reform of monasticism, and wrote the *Regula Benedicti.* He centered his rule around community involvement in the Divine Office, private prayer, spiritual reading, and manual labor. Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), the "Father of the Medieval Papacy," gave monastic communities some autonomy, made them less responsible to local ecclesiastical authority, and moved them toward papal oversight. He also continued the example of Origen, Jerome, and Augustine, not only monks, but also theologians and preachers. Columbanus (c. 543-615) came from the Celtic Church in Ireland and set up monasteries in Gaul. After much work there, he came to reside in North Italy where he had established a monastery which later became a center of great learning. Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636) was educated in a monastery as a child and later as a young man, becoming a highly educated monk. As a Church leader, he founded

places of learning throughout Spain. William the Pious, Duke of Acquitaine, founded the monastery at Cluny in 909. This event began the influential, widespread, and long-lasting "Cluniac Reform Movement," although the second abbot of Cluny, Odo (927-42) was the real genius who made possible the reform and its widespread adoption. Peter Damian (1007-1072) entered a Benedictine hermitage and led an anchorite-type life while continuing his studies. He became a reformer of monasteries and addressed corrupt practices of clergy on every level. Robert of Molesme (c. 1027-1111) was a monastic reformer who founded a monastery, including monks in residence and oversight of hermits, at Molesme, Burgundy. He then founded the monastery at Cîteaux and began the Cistercian order. It was Bernard (1090-1153) however, who made the Cistercian order a growing organization when he came to Cîteaux in 1112. Three years later he founded the monastery at Clairvaux. He was a monk and established both Cîteaux and Clairvaux as centers for the new Cistercian Order. He also was a very active church leader, being extremely influential in ecclesiastical affairs in Western Europe. Bruno (c. 1032-1101) founded the Carthusian Order, which kept the most demanding ascetical standards of mortification and renunciation of the Christian west, following the early anchorite practice instead of the cenobite practices in the contemporary rule of Benedict.

The early medieval period was a period of growth, systemization, reform, and regulation for the monastic form of spiritual life, a derivative from the earlier cenobite practices and decline in the eremitical form of spiritual life, a derivative

of earlier anchorite practices. The *Regula Benedicti* had the most impact. The remainder of those individuals and movements of this period either spread monastic organization or reformed it in one way or another, creating some new orders in the process. At the close of the ancient period, although there were rules being observed throughout Christendom, they were impractical and did not contain the level of organization necessary to sustain a large, monastic community. The Rule of Benedict reformed monastic practice wherever it was adopted and eventually produced the Benedictine order. Further reorganization produced several types of Benedictines as well as Cistercians and Carthusians.

Church leaders preserved the ability of religious Christians to choose between an individual anchorite lifestyle or a community cenobite lifestyle. Many chose both at different points in their lives, as Ignatius did. The influence of well-trained leaders who wrote instructive works remained important, becoming the example for all future leaders of the Church. The development of mysticism from contemplation had not yet developed fully into its late medieval forms. Although monastic life became a vehicle for mysticism, it developed and stabilized during this period and allowed for the change from contemplation. The Cistercians continued the contemplative heritage of the early period and added mystical experience to it. The link between ascetical practices, mystical experiences, and eremitical lifestyles continued through the early medieval period as parts of a single religious experience, a road to God, in Western Christendom.

During the early medieval period, there were fewer anchorites, although hermits in cells and communities of cells continued. The great monasteries in Western Europe were cenobite in organization. Monks became even more involved in the active life of scholarship, preaching, and ecclesiastical service. Mysticism developed further from its foundation of contemplation. These were developments that reflect much of Ignatius's eremitical ideal. Jesuit concepts of education, scholarship, and preaching combined with a strict personal life were conclusions from Ignatius's study of this period while at Paris and later expanded in his post-educational writings.[55]

Benedict was born in Nursia and received his education at Rome. Rome proved to be too worldly for him, causing him to retreat to a cave in Subiaco where he lived as a hermit for several years. Ignatius may have adopted his lifestyle at Manresa from his example, as found in *The Golden Legend*.[56] There a community of monks formed around Benedict and it grew into a complex of twelve monasteries with twelve monks each and abbots for each appointed by him. Around 525, he moved to Monte Cassino where he planned the reform of monasticism and wrote the *Regula Benedicti*. The main principles of the *Regula* were community observance of a common schedule and obedience to the abbot exercised in prudence and humanity. Benedict emphasized four practices; the Divine Office of corporate prayer and worship practiced by the entire community, private prayer for each individual, spiritual reading of the Bible and devotional literature, and manual labor. All possessions were held in common and the life

was austere but not oppressive.[57] Benedict believed these principles led to a perfect following of Christ. Benedict gleaned much of his thought from Basil, Augustine, and Cassian. He re-enforced the earlier rules' emphasis on practice and obedience, giving them a more universal tone that was generally more applicable and acceptable to a greater number of monasteries. Benedict altered the ancient anchorite tradition, reducing its austerity, and blended it with cenobite organization. This type of monastic life certainly did allow a greater number of monks to lead an active life with some ascetical practice to gain pure contemplation.[58] Ignatius encountered Benedictines at their monastery at Montserrat.[59] He used the *Regula Benedicti* as the basis for some of the individual instructions in the *Constitutions*.[60] Benedict's success did not prevent some from continuing to insist upon a much more austere and solitary life, focusing upon contemplation more than action. Benedict's namesake of two centuries later, Benedict of Aniane, used the *Regula Benedicti* but practiced a severe, personal asceticism and whose community rule was incorporated into an additional document known as the *Concordia Regularum*.[61] Benedict did not intend his communities to 'serve' society directly, a point of departure for Ignatius.[62] *The Five Chapters* demonstrated that Ignatius did intend that he and his group of companions serve society directly.

Gregory was another figure of the early medieval period and was very sympathetic to monasticism, granting to monastic communities "privilegia," or partly-restricted episcopal control. This was the foundation for the later

"exemption of religious orders" which gave abbots and the Pope direct control of monasteries.[63] Earlier in his life, Gregory had lived an austere life as a monk, promoting an ascetic lifestyle for monks adopting the theology of Augustine, a similar pattern for Ignatius's early experience. The Pope soon compelled Gregory to return to an active life giving him a number of official duties. These moves toward Papal control were the precedents for Ignatius's vow to serve the Pope.

Gregory was a theologian of mysticism also, progressing beyond the earlier foundation of contemplation, basing much of his work upon the writing of Psuedo-Dionysius the Aeropagite. He was successful, respected, loved, and was made Pope in 590.[64] The Gregorian Reform was named after his efforts to reform the entire Church, including the monastic houses. He, too, is an early example of the necessity of a Church leader who had mystical experiences but lived an active life.[65]

About 590, Columbanus came from the vibrant Celtic Church in Ireland and revived monastic life in Gaul. He founded a number of monasteries in southern Gaul under the rule and administration of Caesarius. Colombanus wandered through Gaul toward Italy, founding monasteries wherever he went. His effect on Gaul was "...like... a spring tide bursting into a stagnant pool."[66] After 612, Columbanus finally settled in a monastery in Bobbio and it later became a house of great learning. Columbanus wrote the *Opera*, the *Monastic Rule* (*Regula Monastica)* and the *Penitential (Poenitentiale Columbani*). All of

these were based upon a pre-Benedict tradition of cenobite life and reflect austere ascetical practices, resembling those from the ancient period, especially the *Penitential,* that had been developed through the Celtic Church in Ireland.[67] Columbanus practiced an Irish type of ascetical practices in the life of a wandering monk or hermit in exile for the sake of Christ.[68] This is very similar to and parallel with Ignatius's ideal of being the "poor pilgrim, and "in poor goodness" for Christ.[69] But Ignatius's exile was separation from the world by inner discipline, not geographic location.

There were several types of eremitical practice in Italy and Gaul by the time Columbanus had traveled through those areas in the sixth century. They came from a diversity of traditions early in the history of the Western Latin Church. They continued as different brotherhoods of the Catholic Religious Orders through the medieval period to the time of Ignatius and beyond. His developing eremitical ideal comes from his review of this diversity during his studies at the University of Paris, his eclectic reconciliation of many of its different forms, and his eventual integration of them with his earlier eremitical experience. He accomplished this reconciliation and integration with Polanco after the founding of the Society in Rome, although that later work was an expansion of his earlier university work. He did not follow a single, traditional route but an innovative one, drawn from many of these traditions. Ignatius realized that two main developments, going forth and following a common rule, were necessary for success in service to God. These became part of his early

eremitical ideal and he wrote them first into *The Spiritual Exercises*, later into *The Five Chapters*, and later expanding that work in the *Constitutions*.[70]

Isidore of Seville was a Spanish monastic who became a prolific writer for the Spanish Church. He founded schools and convents and worked toward the conversion of the Jews in Spain. His monastic rule was not as strict as others, reflecting the rule of Benedict but not using it, because Benedict's was not generally accepted in Spain until a later period. Isidore was integral to the establishment of Spanish Catholicism at a time in Spain's history when political upheaval might have influenced the nation to officially turn to the Arian Visigoths. The conversion of the Arian Visigothic King Recared and his royal patronage to monasteries laid the foundation for the adoption of Isidore's Rule. Spanish monastics used Isidore's Rule much more than that of Benedict, whose rule was adopted much later. The close connection between Spanish royalty and the monastic houses set a precedent for later Spanish practice during the time of Ignatius.

Duke William the Pious of Acquitane founded a monastery at Cluny in 909 and made Berno its first abbot. The monastery at Cluny was very significant for two reasons. First, William established Cluny as a proprietorship of the Apostles Peter and Paul under the immediate protection of the Papacy. This action put the Cluniacs under the authority of the Pope directly.[71] The monks elected their own abbot and held their own lands. This step indicates that Ignatius's single minded loyalty to the Pope and the election of the general of

the Society of Jesus were not sudden innovations but had precedents in major religious orders. Second, Benedictine reform, begun in the previous century by Benedict of Aniane, was implemented and spread. Other monasteries had begun similar work, but Cluny became the focus of religious life in Western Europe for over two hundred years. Cluny's second abbot, Odo, finalized the trademarks of the Cluniac revival by becoming a living embodiment of the Benedictine ideal. Silence and continuous prayer were the monk's responsibility. Cluny's strict observance became the example of reform that most houses had sought.[72] Cluny's later abbots included Hugh (1024-1109) and Peter the Venerable (1122-1156), who governed during the height of the Cluniac revival.

Peter Damian studied at Faenza and Parma and then lived as a hermit at the Benedictine hermitage at Fonte Avella, where he practiced extreme ascetical austerity. He was eventually made prior after which he began a systematic reform of some monasteries and founded new ones where necessary. His monastic reform demanded strict moral discipline, severe ascetical mortification, and denouncement of immorality and abuse. He was made Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in 1057, against his will, and then was given work in service to the monarchy, during which he died in 1072. He was very intelligent, well-educated, and zealous. His writings reflect his convictions of strict monastic discipline and encourage severe austerity. Peter Damian is another example of Church leader who would had rather lived as a hermit but was drafted into active service for the

Church. He also demonstrates that eremitism, though much less practiced, had not died out, but was not in widespread practice in Western Europe.

In a similar way to the Cluniac revival, the foundation of the monastery at Cîteaux in 1098 by Robert of Molesme was originally intended to return to the demands of *Regula Benedicti* and practice the rule more as its author originally intended. By this time, strict, monastic discipline such as occurred at Cluny and Cîteaux was needed due to laxity and immorality in the Western Church as a whole, including the lives of many of the monks.[73] Robert structured his reform in a less literal way, and the monks of Cîteaux sought to fulfill the goals of the requirements of the rule, such as physical separation from the world and austere ascetical practices. They were more concerned with "...precision and wholeness rather than literalism."[74] This return to a more disciplined life became a pattern of which the early Cistercians were an example. Reform, genuine spirituality, and a revival of the apostolic spirit of Christianity became associated with more severe ascetical practices and the eremitical lifestyle. The Cistercian Order became much more austere than the Cluniac revival of the Benedictines. The return to an emphasis on an apostolic life of discipline and service gained a momentum that continued into the time of Ignatius. He emphasized both as his eremitical ideal developed.

Bernard was not one of the founders of Cîteaux, joining in 1112, but instead was "...the incarnation of its spirit."[75] He wrote that "...the exterior observances and their strictness matter less than the spirit in which they are

performed."[76] He reasoned that the goal of discipline was the expansion of love, a major theme in Ignatius's letters.[77] Attaining the goal and attitude were more important than the means by which it is gained. *The Spiritual Exercises* reflect Ignatius's concern with proper attitude, his inner discipline governed by his eremitical ideal. To Bernard, monastic rules were the means, not the goal of service to God or contemplation of Him. Although various monastic rules assist the monk to gain in love, none is greater than another because they share the common goal of a life of love toward God and neighbor.[78] Bernard also recognized that rules and monastic orders may come and go, but the individual monk must accept the responsibility to achieve the goal of love. These gentle instructions did not illuminate the personal ascetical austerity and disciplined strictness of Bernard's own life. His emphasis upon the goal of monastic life as love of God did not cause him to relax his personal discipline.[79] Bernard was an example of another early-medieval tradition that Ignatius later exemplified. *The Spiritual Exercises* emphasized the achievement of spirituality within the individual, not the keeping of the rules for their own sake.[80] However, similar to Bernard, Ignatius maintained some personal standard of ascetical practice, but his goal was service to God and man, not ascetical achievement.

In addition to his ascetical practice, Bernard is also known for his writing on mysticism. His work, *De Diligendo Deo*, instructed Christians to love God simply and purely because He is God. His work, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, spoke of the harmony in salvation between the love and grace of God and the

will and response of man. Ignatius's habit of seeing or perceiving a trance or vision during Church services may have come from Bernard. [81]

Bruno was a German who founded the Carthusian Order. After being forced to leave the school at Reims where he was Chancellor and Master due to a conflict with its morally scandalous bishop, Bruno joined a group of hermits living in the forest of Colane. He went to Robert of Molesme before Robert went to Cîteaux and with six companions went to the mountains near Grenoble. Under the protection of Bishop Hugh of Grenoble, he founded the monastery of Grand Chartreuse, the Carthusian's first and from whence the order derives its name.[82] Though it became well-known, the austere ascetical practices and eremitical lifestyle of the Carthusian Order kept large numbers from joining. Bruno had remarked that ". . . the sons of contemplation are fewer than the sons of action."[83] In the eleventh century, Bruno considered the two methods of life, contemplation and action, separate. A monk had to choose between the contemplative life or the active life, but could not do both, which was a major development and a departure from the ancient period. Ignatius knew of Bruno and the origins of the Carthusians and his gathering of men to himself was similar to Bruno's earlier endeavor. Ignatius considered becoming a Carthusian, but did not think that their ascetical practices were severe enough. He also did not desire to retire to a hermitage, but desired to go forth into the world like Francis and Dominic.

Like the Cistercian movement, the Carthusians would have had much less

impact without the success of its second major leader, its fifth prior, Guigues du Pin, the dean of Grenoble. Although Bruno continues to be revered as the order's founder, Guigues made the Grand Chartreuse into a surviving institutional order and wrote its customs down for benefit of future Carthusians. Under the priorship of Guiges, the Carthusians became an eclectic spiritual organization, taking some regulations from the Camoldoli house of the Cluniacs, Benedict's *Rule*, and some from the Cistercians. The Carthusians developed the practice of all the priors meeting once a year which maintained uniformity and kept ascetical practice and eremitical lifestyle at the center of Carthusian discipline. Unlike most of the other orders, the Carthusians experienced no reform at the end of the medieval period: there was no need.[84] Ignatius benefited from the example of the Carthusians in their eclectic method of spirituality and discipline. The Society of Jesus reflects a similar eclectic approach in many of its documents and practices.

The Late Medieval Period

The late medieval period witnessed the earliest beginnings of the new spirituality, the reform of some orders, and the creation of new ones. During this period emphases in asceticism, mysticism, and eremitism shifted from corporate, monastic organization alone to types of devotion that were also sympathetic to individuals.[85] It also was the period in which the Franciscans and Dominicans

began their itinerant preaching throughout Europe and beyond, a move which took the monks out of the monasteries and into the world. By the early sixteenth century, the time of Ignatius's conversion, the retention of the anchorite model in the Carthusian Order and the continuation of the cenobite model in the Benedictine Order offered Ignatius a choice between two very long-standing and traditional methods of spiritual life. But, to Ignatius, who was accustomed to an active model of service through his military duty, the newer Dominican and Franciscan models of itinerant preaching coupled with newer forms of devotional writing from members of the Modern Devotion seemed to offer a more balanced way of serving Christ.

Francis of Assisi (1181-1226) founded "The Order of the Friars Minor," the Franciscans, around 1209. He began a revolution in monastic life due to the style of life he and his followers adopted. They were beggars and preachers, not enclosed in a monastery not supported by endowments and other forms of income. Dominic of Castile (1170-1221) founded "The Order of the Friars Preachers" around 1199. Dominic was a better organizer than Francis and his order was more structured and effective in its early stages. Bonaventure (c. 1217-74), Giovanni di Fidanza, was a Franciscan theologian and a Doctor of Theology at the University of Paris. His great work on the mystical theory of knowledge, *The Soul's Journey into God*, was a counter to the Thomistic theology then prevalent. Jacob of Voragine (c. 1230-98) wrote *The Golden Legend* between 1255 and 1266. He was a member of the Dominican Order and

was a prolific writer on Italian Church history. Ludolph of Saxony (d. 1378) was a member of the Carthusian Order and one of its main spiritual writers. His most well-known work is *The Life of Christ.* Geert de Groote (1340-84) was a mystic who founded the "Brethren of the Common Life." His influence on many European mystics , such as Kempis, raised awareness of mysticism as a more developed form of contemplation. Thomas Á Kempis (c. 1380-1471), Thomas Hermerken, received his education at the Deventer house of the Brethren of the Common Life. Most Christians consider his classic work, *The Imitation of Christ* , the finest example of devotional literature available apart from the Bible. García Jiménez de Cisneros (d. 1510) was the nephew of the Cardinal Archbishop of Spain who sent him to the Benedictine Abby at Montserrat in 1493. By 1500, he had written *The Exercises for the Spiritual Life* as a manual of disciplined devotion and required the community of monks there to use it and also encouraged pilgrims to the shrine at the monastery to use it.

These eight examples of Church leaders from the late medieval period demonstrate the more immediate influences of Christianity on Ignatius after his conversion through the period of his education. The earlier periods demonstrate that these traditions did not erupt immediately, but developed progressively over centuries. Ignatius was indirectly influenced by Francis and Dominic through his reading in *The Golden Legend.* He encountered the work of Bonaventure at the University of Paris. While recovering from his wounds, he read Ludolph's *The Life of Christ.* He encountered the *Exercises for the Spiritual Life* by Cisneros

and *The Imitation of Christ* by Kempis in the monasteries at Montserrat and Manresa. These influences on Ignatius were the premier instructive works for the spiritual life, both devotional and academic, available in Europe during his life. They were integral in forming his eremitical ideal as well as his entire spiritual outlook.

Francis was born to a wealthy life, but through a number of circumstances of war and illness, renounced his previous life, devoting himself to prayer and service to the poor. In 1208, hearing a sermon on the Lord's command to leave all and follow Him, he renounced the few possessions he had and set out to save souls by itinerant preaching. He later drew up a simple rule, the *Regula Primitiva*, which was approved by Pope Innocent III by 1210. His followers, known as the "Friars Minor," began their work around Assisi, gradually branching out from there. The new order was tremendously successful and drew large numbers of followers. But after Francis went on a preaching tour to the East, he returned to find others in charge of the order which had become huge with its success. By that time, it no longer reflected his goals for the order. In response, he then organized a small band of followers, the "Tertiaries," or the "Third Order," who were comprised of lay preachers attached to the Franciscan order, but without its community demands. Later, he drew up a settled rule for the friars, the *Regula Prima*, which was approved by Pope Honorius III. This apparent dichotomy between his earlier and later life and work soon caused a rift in the Friars Minor. Despite this, Francis has remained widely loved and

respected for his simple faith, generosity, and passionate devotion to God.[86] Ignatius insisted on these qualities being honored and observed for his earliest followers. He also followed Francis's example of active service with standards of poverty, purity in body and soul, and a simple life. He adapted these principles to himself and they became part of the foundation for his eremitical ideal.

Dominic was born in Castile and studied at Palencia. He sold his possessions to help the poor and became a canon of Osma, where he enlisted in the house of Martin de Bazan, Bishop of Osma, who had established a house following the rule of Augustine. After the Bishop of Toulouse and later, Pope Honorius III had given their approval for Dominic to expand the Augustinian Order, he went on preaching tours in Spain and France. These were specifically aimed at the reconversion of the Albigensian schismatics. He organized the first General Chapter of the Order of the Friars Preachers (the Dominicans) in 1220. Later, he became ill on a preaching tour to Hungary and on his return, died.[87]

The Dominicans were the first religious order to release its monks from manual labor and they replaced this activity with study, preaching, teaching, and hearing confession. Ignatius adopted these practices for The Society of Jesus. In these tasks, they were clerics and thus different from the Franciscans, who in their early stages were more often lay than cleric and could not perform all of these tasks. They were also initially more successful in reaching the educated, the masters and students of Paris, Oxford, and Italy. Ignatius adapted the idea of using a university education in an active life outside of a monastery from

Dominic. The Dominicans were also much more organized initially than the Franciscans. Even this contribution served as a model for the Franciscan Constitution composed by Bonaventure. Eventually both the Friars Minor and the Friars Preachers came to be preaching orders made up of clerics not living in monasteries, dedicated to evangelization and study.[88] Ignatius structured the foundation document for The Society of Jesus, *The Five Chapters*, in a similar way.

Bonaventure was born in Italy, studied at the University of Paris, and became a Franciscan theologian. He was elected Minister General of the Franciscan Order, settling its internal dissension and writing the official biography of Francis. He was faithful to the neo-platonic theological tradition of Augustine and Anselm, and did not acknowledge the superiority of the new Thomistic theology based upon Aristotelian precepts. He taught that human wisdom was folly compared to the mystical illumination that God gives to the faithful Christian. He wrote the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, *The Soul's Journey into God,* which explained his mystical theory of knowledge. He also wrote a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard which was a textbook at the University of Paris.[89]

Bonaventure provided a foundation for late-medieval mysticism in *The Soul's Journey into God.* It was a work dedicated to Francis, whose impact both personally and theologically upon Bonaventure was enormous. Bonaventure asserted that Francis had become ". . . a model of perfect contemplation . . ."

and Bonaventure had gone so far as to trace Francis's steps, literally, to the top of Mount Alverno, in order to duplicate his contemplative experience. In this, Bonaventure provided a model for future mystics. Personal experience could provide knowledge for theological learning.[90] This, in essence, is the method by which Ignatius came to the content of *The Spiritual Exercises*. Ignatius's ascetical practices, mystical experiences, and his initial eremitical experience contributed not only the passion, but also much of the content of his early writings.

Like Bonaventure, Ignatius lived an active life teaching, preaching, and serving the Church. Yet, Bonaventure considered himself, and Francis, to be living a contemplative lifestyle because of their contemplative practices and mystical experiences. This accurately demonstrates the difficulty they had in defining terms with explicit distinctions that had been previously made in these same practices. Technically, they could not be a contemplative and preach, teach, and serve outside of the monastery or hermitage. Their concept of contemplation, then, was concerned with inner practices, not exterior circumstances. Ignatius adapted these developments by living an active life with exterior ascetical practices and inner mystical experiences governed by an eremitical lifestyle. It was his inner, eremitical ideal that tied these diverse and distinct elements into a single spiritual life.

Jacob of Voragine was born in Italy in about 1230. He entered the Dominican Order when he was fourteen and as soon as he completed his

education, he began to teach and preach in Lombardy. In 1292, he was made the Archbishop of Genoa, which he held until he died in 1298.[91] His most famous work, *The Golden Legend,* is a compilation of saint's lives from a number of earlier sources whose authorship range from the second to the thirteenth centuries. It is a devotional rather than a critical work in that Voragine simply copied the material from these sources without reference to the sources or any attempt to verify their authenticity. It is an orthodox work, giving the history of the most famous saints, feast days, and events in the history of the Church and maintained the standard of denial and discipline, praised asceticism, eremitism, virginity, and seclusion as the greatest virtues. He also attempted to substantiate his inclusion of material with Biblical quotes. In all of these, Voragine intended to provide clergy and monks of Europe with a reliable handbook to the saints that was unquestionably orthodox and in this he succeeded.[92] But it accomplished more than this in the life of Ignatius and perhaps many others. To Ignatius, it was the challenge how to act and who and what to be. It challenged Ignatius to do the works of Francis and Dominic and gave him the information about Christ and the Virgin Mary that caused him to devote his life to their service. It also challenged Ignatius to become religious in thought as well as deeds.

Ludolph of Saxony, more widely known as Ludolph the Carthusian, wrote two works, the *Commentary on the Psalms*, and the *Vita Christi, The Life of Christ.* Little is known of Ludolph's life. *The Life of Christ* is a meditation on the

earthly ministry of Christ with doctrinal, spiritual and moral instructions, prayers, and citations from Patristic theologians. It became very popular, frequently translated and re-issued in many languages and is a devotional work of the late-medieval period that is of the same genre as *The Golden Legend* and *The Imitation of Christ*. These works are examples of the attempt by some members of the newer religious orders to return to an emphasis on what was known as the "vita apostolica," the "apostolic life" or the "primitive Church" as Peter the Venerable called it, a term which Ignatius adopted. It was partially a defense of the mendicants for their method of service by preaching, but it was also a defense by the Carthusians for their eremitical model of desert asceticism. Both groups used it as a counter to the claims of the greater monastic orders who accused the newer orders of departure from a disciplined, enclosed life. Ludolph wrote *The Life of Christ* originally for the benefit of Carthusians in Charterhouses. It was only later published for use by those outside the order. To Ignatius, it was a defense of the eremitical ifestyle with mystical experiences and ascetical practices.

Geert de Groote was a Dutch theologian, educated in Paris where he both studied and taught. He then moved to Cologne where he taught theology for a short while. In 1374, he had a dramatic conversion experience and following counsel from Jan van Ruysbroeck, he became a missionary preacher in Utrecht. Groote's lay status gave his preaching and teaching a different content and zeal not found among many of the clerics of his time, who looked

upon him and his followers at Deventer with suspicion. Groote is credited as the founder of the "Brethren of the Common Life," a group of laity that lived in a semi-monastic house and practiced prayer, work, and types of services that they considered evangelistic, such as confession and counseling.[93] This was not typical of monastic organization and the Brethren's new form was not adopted by any of the great monastic organizations. Their lay status, emphasis on Christ, and interest in the souls of others were a model to Ignatius, though not directly. Before his ordination, Ignatius was in trouble with clerics and the Inquisition on occasion due to his lay status. But he generally replied to those questioning him as those of the Brethren of the Common Life did; if the content is wrong, it should be shown, if not, they should not be hindered. In addition to these types of responses, there was no anticlericalism among the Brethren and many times when they were told that they should be ordained, they were.[94] Groote's writing and experience demonstrates that Ignatius's personal struggle to organize his life, and later the Society of Jesus in a non-typical manner was rare but not unknown.

Thomas á Kempis, Thomas Hermerken, wrote eremitical, devotional, homiletical, and other kinds of works, the most famous being *The Imitation of Christ*. He received his early education at a house of the "Brethren of the Common Life," later finishing at the house of the Canons Regular in Agnietenberg. He became a member of that order, followed the Augustinian Rule and practiced strict asceticism. *The Imitation of Christ* reflects a monastic,

disciplined, and contemplative life. Although Ignatius chose to live an active life of service instead of the enclosed monastic type, Kempis's work was his favorite single book, noting to others that he kept a copy on his desk and read a chapter every day.[95] It was an inspiration to him to engage in ascetical practices and seek mystical experiences.

García Jiménez de Cisneros wrote *The Exercises for the Spiritual Life* around 1500 for the use of his fellow Benedictine monks at the Montserrat monastery. He had been sent to Montserrat in 1493 as part of a nation-wide reform movement for the Spanish Church. Cisneros' work was much less well known than some of the others circulating in Europe at the time, but was influential to Ignatius in his experience when he dedicated himself to God at the Shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat. *The Exercises for the Spiritual Life* demonstrated the proliferation of devotional manual writing among the religious orders at the close of the late medieval period. Although no direct link between Cisneros' work and *The Spiritual Exercises* has been established, the fact that Cisneros compiled his concept of spiritual life into a manual inspired Ignatius to do the same.

The late medieval synthesis of the diverse traditions of asceticism, mysticism, and eremiticism retained earlier practices, experiences, and monastic rules, and continued these emphases while incorporating new practices and experiences into them. New religious orders developed that were different in goals and practices from those of the previous period. As the period

progressed, even greater diversification occurred, with developments in religious life that included the laity. Various new methods were tried and established that clouded the early distinctions, initiating new ways and means to be in contemplation with God and to do active service for God simultaneously, many times in an unenclosed, itinerant fashion. While the laity was included, most monks became priests, and many of these became wandering preachers and teachers which meant much of their work took them outside of the monastery.[96] This situation became permanent, due simply to the expansion of the Church demographically and geographically. Western Christendom witnessed the proliferation of almost any conceivable type and combination of ascetical, eremitical, monastic, itinerant, clerical, lay, theological, and devotional practice.

As this short summary of selected men and organizations demonstrates, ascetical practices, mystical experiences, and the eremitical lifestyle were diverse in their development from the third century to the time of Ignatius's life. Typically, contemplation was practiced first in an anchorite environment and the second period of study shows its continued development in cenobite or monastic practice. Contemplation was the foundation of mysticism which developed most during the late medieval period. Typically, mysticism was practiced in contemplative surroundings, such as the eremitical lifestyle of the Carthusian Charterhouses, the wandering life of Francis, or the intellectual activity of Bonaventure. The later mystics of the Brethren of the Common Life sought mystical experiences in their private times during the day's activities. All of

these examples demonstrate that mystical experience was a part of total life of spiritual practice, usually under strict discipline, not an isolated or separate experience and not a separate lifestyle. Mystical experiences were "regarded as the vision of God, impossible on earth, realizable only in heaven."[97] But earthly preparation had to be, and was, made before the heavenly vision could be experienced.

Ignatius learned of these diverse traditions and history from his pre-conversion Spanish heritage, his post-conversion reading, and later during his formal education at the University of Paris. From his conversion during his recovery from war wounds at Loyola to the gathering of his companions in Rome and their offering of themselves to the Pope, Ignatius engaged in a learning process that his ascetical practices, mystical experiences, eremitical lifestyle enhanced. His eremitical ideal developed to a substantially finished form during this period. He began writing notes on the books that he read, began *The Spiritual Exercises*, worked on assignments for educational demands, wrote letters, and finally formulated his goals for his life's work with his companions in *The Five Chapters*. His early life experiences in Spain and the European traditions of asceticism, mysticism, and eremitism had a profound effect on these events in his life.

NOTES

1. I am aware of the problems of this union and the tenuous state of Spain as a single political unit. Spain does survive as a nation-state of some kind during this period.

2. John H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin Books, 1990 [1963]), 53. This "last dying request of Isabella" technically applied only to North Africa, but she and Cisneros considered it a continuation of the reconquista.

3. See Louis Châtellier, *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society* Translated by Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

4. See Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, Editors, *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992). Most of these are gender articles but it is a good introduction to the subject. See also Garcia-Villoslada, *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, Volume III-1°, *La Iglesia en la España de los siglos XV y XVI*, Tercera Parte, Cuarta Parte, and Quinta Parte, 211-384.

5. Eliot, *Imperial Spain*, 45-48.

6. Ibid., 105.

7. These same well-educated higher clergy took these proven methods to the Council of Trent in 1545. Ignatius had sent the Jesuits of which Diego Lainez was the preeminent theologian of the Spaniards there, and perhaps among all the theologians there.

8. Kamen, *Spain*, 111-21.

9. See Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1989). The literature of religious change in Spain is expanding exponentially. For the early modern period, see Alain Saint-Saëns, Louis Châtellier, Anne Cruz, and Mary Elizabeth Perry for problems and changes in Christianity in Spain.

10. See E. Allison Peers, *Handbook to the Life and Times of Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1954) and the introductory remarks in the editions on these two in the *Classics of Western Spirituality* series.

11. For Ignatius's early life and the founding of the Jesuits see Candido de Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work* Translated by Jerome Aixalá (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985) and John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993).

12. See the brief coverage in Hubert Jedin, Editor, *History of the Church*, Volume 5, *Reformation and Counter Reformation* (New York: Crossroad, 1980), 443-444. See also Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 212-224.

13. Garcia-Villoslada, *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, Volume III-2°, *La Iglesia en la España de los Siglos XV y XVI*, 17-18.

14. It would have been impossible not to see these; they permeated Spanish society from country to court. See two books by William A. Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 14 and 112; *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 108-112; Alain Saint-Saëns' *Caretakers of God: Hermits in Hapsburg Spain*, forthcoming; see also Ignatius of Loyola, *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola* Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Joseph N. Tylenda (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1985), note # 12, 17-19.

15. Bernard McGinn, "The Changing Shape of Late Medieval Mysticism," *Church History* 65 (# 2, 1996), 197-219.

16. Alain Saint-Saëns, *Caretakers of God: Hermits in Hapsburg Spain,* forthcoming. See also the two books by William A. Christian.

17. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, notes # 5-11, 11-17.

18. All dates for Ignatius's life are taken from Dionysius Fernandez Zapico, Candidus De Dalmases, and Pedro Leturia, eds., *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu Initiis*, Vol. I, *Narrationes Scriptae Ante Annum 1557* (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu," 1943).

19. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, note # 45, 52-54.

20. See Part One, "The Historical Roots of Western Mysticism" in Volume One, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1994) of Bernard McGinn's excellent multi volume work, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism.* For a broader, historiagraphic essay, see Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis, eds., *Asceticism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), ix-xxxiii.

21. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Second Edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 95.

22. Ray Petry, Editor, *Late Medieval Mysticism* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957), 17.

23. Ibid., 18.

24. R. Jones in James Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* Volume 9, 83 ff.

25. Margaret Smith, *An Introduction to the History of Mysticism* (London: S.P.C.K., 1930), 3.

26. Ibid., 19.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism.* I wholeheartedly concur with Professor McGinn's periodization for mysticism as applicable to asceticism and eremitism also.

30. *ODCC*, 1008-1010.

31. Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, Volume II, *The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus* (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, 1992), 66-73.

32. Owen Chadwick, Editor, *Western Asceticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958), 22.

33. Ibid., 14-16.

34. Ibid., 22.

35. Garcia M. Colombas, "The Ancient Concept of the Monastic Life," *Monastic Studies* 2 (Epiphany, 1964), 116.

36. See Chapter Four.

37. *ODCC*, 67.

38. Ibid., 67-8. See the index of Chadwick, *Western Asceticism* for references to Antony's sayings scattered throughout the book.

39. *ODCC*, 1021.

40. Ibid., 139-41.

41. Ibid., 879.

42. Ibid., 731.

43. C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, Second Edition (New York: Longman, 1989), 182.

44. Ibid., 108-11.

45. Ibid.

46. Chadwick, *Western Asceticism*, 25.

47. Ibid., 23.

48. It is possible that, by the end of the Ancient Period, the purpose of asceticism was misunderstood. See Patricia Cox Miller, "Desert Asceticism and 'The Body from Nowhere,'" *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (Summer, 1994): 137. It is apparent, however, that Ignatius reduced his ascetical practices for practical rather than theoretical reasons.

49. McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, ix. McGinn considers the term almost synonymous with mysticism..

50. Ibid., 16-7. See also Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 86-205. These four chapters describe the increasing problems of the Church in Western Europe and the increasing role of monks in leadership positions instead of withdrawal to solitude.

51. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, 132.

52. I advocate mysticism's development from contemplation.

53. A simple comparison between the Rules of Pachomius and Antony, the Rule of Benedict, and finally the writings of Kempis and the Modern Devotion demonstrate this tendency. This is not to say that there were no exceptions to this tendency, for example Bruno and the Carthusians.

54. Antonio M. De Aldama, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: The Formula of the Institute* (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1990), 20.

55. See the second chapter of Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian* Translated by Michael Barry (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968), 32-52. Although Ignatius worked out much of the theoretical basis from his education after he wrote *The Five Chapters*, that work is the foundation for the later work in the *Constitutions*.

56. See Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints,* 2 vols, Translated by William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 186-187.

57. *ODCC*, 154; Benedict of Nursia, *Benedict's Rule*, Translation and Commentary by Terrence G. Kardong (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1966).

58. Ibid., 26-33.

59. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, notes # 17-8, 25-7.

60. Joseph de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice* Translated by William J. Young, Edited by George E. Ganss (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994[1953]), 160-161.

61. Ibid. John T. McNeill and Helen M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal Libiri Poenitentials* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 257-258.

62. Chadwick, *Western Asceticism*, 26.

63. *ODCC*, 491 & 595.

64. Ibid.

65. See Chapter 2 of McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*. McGinn calls Gregory, "The Contemplative in Action," 34.

66. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 43.

67. McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 249-56.

68. Ibid.

69. Ignatius signed many of his letters, "El pobre peregrino, Iñigo," or "De bondad pobre, Iñigo." These were common signatures for his letters from the first. See San Ignacio de Loyola, *Obras* Transcripción, Introducciones, y Notas de Ignacio Ipparraguirre, Candido de Dalmases, y Manuel Ruiz Jurado (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, MCMXCI), 718 and 721.

70. Aldama, *The Formula of the Institute*, 8 and 10.

71. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 87.

72. Ibid., 88-92.

73. See Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism.* His four chapter (Chapters 6-9) discussion of the implications of the Cluniac revival, the Cistercian movement, the roots of these reforms in the twelfth-century renaissance, and the desire to return to the model of the apostolic church are instructive. For the twelfth-century renaissance see Christopher Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1969).

74. Pierre Salmon, "Monastic Asceticism and the Origins of Cîteaux," *Monastic Studies* 3 (Feast of Saint Benedict, 1965) : 132, note # 25. Salmon concludes that this was "...a return to the principle laid down at the very time of foundation, and the normal consequence of the ideas of Robert (the Founder) and his companions,." 133. Parenthesis mine.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid., 134.

77. William J. Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), 7, 14, 18, etc.

78. Ibid., 134-136.

79. *ODCC*, 162.

80. Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, Translated with commentary by George E. Ganss (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992), 25.

81. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 20, 30; *The Golden Legend*, 98-107.

82. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 160-1; *ODCC*, 205.

83. Ibid., 163.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid., 276.

86. *ODCC*, 530; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 244-51.

87. *ODCC*, 417-8; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 251-6.

88. Ibid.

89. *ODCC*, 186.

90. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, Volume Three, *The Growth of Medieval Theology, 600-1300* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 306.

91. *ODCC*, 721.

92. *The Golden Legend*, xiii-xviii.

93. *ODCC*, 603.

94. *The Devotio Moderna*, Translated by John van Engen, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 22-3.

95. Ignatius regarded it highly.

96. Pierre Salmon, "Monastic Asceticism and the Origins of Cîteaux," *Monastic Studies* 3 (Feast of Saint Benedict, 1965), 122ff. Salmon describes the development of monks of the active life and the resultant increase in emphasis on a more interior spiritual practice.

97. Ibid., 44.

CHAPTER THREE

SOURCES OF IGNATIUS'S EREMITICAL IDEAL: EARLY FORMATIVE EXPERIENCES AND INFLUENCES

Early Formative Experiences: Life in Spain

Spain: The Young Hidalgo

The early part of the life of Iñigo López de Loyola, Ignatius of Loyola, affected his eremitical ideal, the main tenets of which he developed from 1524 to 1538. He was born into a Basque noble family of Spain and was proud of his family's independence from any civil authority other than that which they had specifically acknowledged. During his years as a small boy at Loyola, and especially his adolescent years, age 14 to 20 at the court of Spain, he went through the process and stages of becoming a knight and a gentleman, *gentilehombre*, or *hidalgo* in Spanish society.[1] These experiences later caused him to see himself as a knight in service to Christ instead of in service to the King of Spain as he had been raised and trained before his conversion

experience. Throughout his life, he was proud to be a Basque and a Spaniard, but his conversion caused him to see himself first and foremost as a Christian and secondarily as a Spanish knight and noble. He was proud to be a knight, but he replaced his vows as an earthly knight in service to the king with vows as a knight to Christ as his king, and to the Pope, whom he believed to be the representative of Christ on earth.

Iñigo López de Oñaz de Loyola, Ignatius Loyola, came from a long-distinguished family of the lower nobility near Loyola. One of his forefathers, Don Beltrán Ibáñez de Loyola, had fought for King John I and the king's son, Henry III, during the fourteenth and fifteenth century wars against the Moors in the south of Spain and against the French in northern Spain. These kings had heaped praise upon the Basque noble to the extent that, in order to demonstrate his newly won status, Don Beltrán felt he had to improve his manor from a house to a fortress (a castle). This was not an easy task for him due to continuous warfare and its demands on him and his descendants. The one-hundred years or so from Don Beltrán's life to the birth of Ignatius were filled with war and conflict, both civil and ecclesiastical, but at the end of that time, the Loyolas were secure on their land, with a castle suitable for a noble family in service to the kings of Spain. Ignatius's father was named Beltrán II after the builder of the renovated family home and castle. He was probably away fighting at Granada when Ignatius, his seventh son and tenth child was born in 1491. He was baptized and in addition to his family name, was given the names Iñigo López

after a Basque saint who lived in the eleventh century.[2]

Little of historical substance is known of Ignatius before the death of his mother while he was a young child. His two elder brothers had also died while he was very young, one in Italy and one in South America, both in service to the King and Queen of Spain.[3] Despite later setbacks to his father's position with them, the household remained loyal to the Catholic Kings. With an aging father and an older brother, Martin Garcia, in charge of the Loyola estate, Ignatius came of age at a time when his family could not afford to seek and obtain a position for his training as a knight and gentleman. Fortunately, both father and brother were known to the King and Queen's treasurer, Don Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, who wrote to request one of Beltrán's sons come to Arévalo to receive the education of a Castilian gentleman. Ignatius was chosen to go and left home at about the age of thirteen.[4]

Don Juan Velásquez de Cuéllar was in service specifically to Queen Isabella of Castile and her son, Prince Don Juan of Castile. Ignatius matured as a page and squire at the court. He became a Spanish gentleman, a young *hidalgo*, gaining from this experience his impeccable manners, for which he was known throughout his life. The compromising morals and conduct of young gentlemen were widely known, and Ignatius was no exception, a fact which he regretted throughout his life.[5] He lived the life of the knight in service to the throne, as the then popular literature of the Spanish Renaissance portrayed them.[6]

In this type of environment, Ignatius's background had exposed him to the interior chivalric ideal of serving king and queen and country, which meant giving up everything, including one's life, if necessary, to accomplish that service. It was this ideal that Ignatius changed. He was an active soldier; he became an active hermit. Both of these lifestyles were guided by interior ideals. Ignatius knew these things from the service and deaths of his elder brothers to the king of Spain before he was sent to Arévalo to be trained and educated as a Spanish knight and a Castilian gentleman. He knew what was required of those who served the king. He knew what it meant to be a knight, though not yet to the degree that he soon would, when he was to serve the Duke of Nájera. He also knew he had to learn to support himself in this way. Ignatius's father died in 1507, making it important that he learn how to take care of himself. From that time on, he had no home to which he could return and live.

The Cuéllar family fell out of favor with Charles I, the new king in 1517. Ignatius sought another relative, Don Antonio Manrique de Lara, the Duke of Nájera for a way to support himself by the martial skills he had acquired at the court. With the help of Cuéllar's widow, Ignatius agreed to place himself in service to Lara. He had been thirteen years at the court of Castile and was now twenty-six years old, well-trained and with an established reputation. After a few errands of civil service, Ignatius entered the military command of the Duke.[7]

Pamplona: The Wounded Knight

The struggle between the Spaniards and the French over Navarre during the revolt of the *comuneros* in 1521 involved Ignatius at Pamplona, where he was sent by the Duke to fight the French and was wounded. Before the battle had begun, he had almost single-handedly convinced the garrison at the fortress of Pamplona to resist the French. He gave his opinion that they should not surrender but that they should defend or die and galloped his horse into the fortress as a gesture of his determination.[8] It was a hopelessly chivalric action, for the Duke's troops were outnumbered at least ten to one and the fortress that the Duke's men were to defend was unfinished and easily assaulted. The French had cannon and cavalry which the Spaniards did not. The remainder of the town of Pamplona was quickly occupied by the French, who then began to shell the fortress. During this cannonade, a cannonball passed between the legs of Ignatius, breaking and severely wounding the right leg and tearing the flesh of the other. When he fell wounded, the Spanish troops that had remained with him surrendered. The wound was very serious and almost took his life.

Even after Ignatius had been wounded, he had hopes of remaining a knight. His second leg operation for cosmetic purposes demonstrated his fervent desire to remain attractive and physically able. Several operations restored the appearance of the leg, but it healed slowly and he walked with a limp for the rest of his life. The attitude and perseverance of Ignatius during the

battle and the healing process demonstrate how deeply imprinted upon his character was his training as a knight. He remained one at heart and conducted himself as one before, during, and after his conversion experience.

Ignatius's childhood, training during adolescent, and military experiences affected his later devotion to Christ. The circumstances and experiences of his life up to his conversion during his convalescence at Loyola, in June of 1521, were a major factor in his spirituality in general and in his eremitical ideal in particular. Before his conversion, he was *populariter christianus*, an everyday Christian of some principle and morals, but regular and dedicated practice of his faith was not part of his life before Montserrat.[9] Because of the newness of his Christian experience and because Ignatius had received little instruction in the traditions of asceticism, mysticism, and eremitism, he personally retained in his later conduct much of the training he had received to be a gentleman and knight. He was not immediately able to control his martial tendencies, but he eventually became a man of inward rather than outward peace and zeal.

Ignatius was a knight. He had been raised to be one, was trained as one, and almost lost his life as one. After his conversion, he sought some way of serving God that someone who had been a knight could do. He felt the need to preserve some part of his pre-conversion noble calling and incorporate it into his post-conversion noble calling. He knew of several examples of military men , such as Francis, who gave up all to serve God and who continually preached, cared for the weak and sick, and lived an austere life. He endeavored to be like

them.[10] One of the chivalric novels that Ignatius had read before he was wounded at Pamplona was *Amadis of Gaul*.[11] His reading of *Amadis of Gaul* gave him suggestions as to the way to pursue his new calling that had found favor with knights who had lived before.[12] By following the example of Amadis, Ignatius was able to use his interior chivalric ideal as a knight and gentleman. He later adapted and incorporated it into his new life as a hermit and holy man.

The life of Ignatius is very similar to that of Amadis in a number of ways. Like Andalod, Amadis's spiritual mentor, Ignatius was given up to worldly vanities during his youth and adolescence.[13] Because he knew the exploits of Amadis well enough for his thoughts to be "fully occupied," Ignatius must have been well-acquainted with Amadis's abandonment of the world to live as a hermit. Like Beltenebros, Amadis's new name as a hermit, Ignatius had in his mind his devotion to a woman and like Beltenebros, he turned from devotion to that woman to religious devotion.[14] In one incident in *Amadis of Gaul*, Amadis rode on lost in thought, letting his horse choose the way. In similar manner, Ignatius let his mule choose his path and this was his solution for a Moor's insult. His mule chose to avoid the city before Montserrat and he rode on.[15] Just as Amadis had hung up his arms and left his horse before going on with Andalod, Ignatius hung up his arms at his vigil at the altar in Montserrat.[16] Ignatius considered the chivalric ideal as consistent with his later eremitical ideal; he did not discard one to adopt the other.

Early Formative Experiences: From Knight to Hermit

Montserrat: Dedication to Christ

Ignatius dedicated himself to serving Christ at his all-night knight's vigil at the Shrine of Our Lady of the Annunciation at Montserrat on March 24, 1522. He exchanged his clothes with a poor man and put on the loosely woven, prickly garment he had purchased on the way to Montserrat. He spent the entire night either standing or kneeling before the altar. It was his initiation into the eremitical life; from this event, he began a life of sacrifice and never returned to the comfortable life of a Spanish nobleman. The sacrifice, the denial, and the physical austerity that he first practiced here later became a lifestyle motivated by lessons learned from these early experiences.

Manresa: Ignatius's Initial Eremitical Experience

After the vigil at Montserrat, Ignatius avoided the main road where he might encounter people that he knew would honor him. Instead, he went to stay in Manresa a few days to write in his journal.[17] This intended stay of a few days became eleven months and is labeled by a number of different titles by his biographers. One calls it "Manresa, Inigo's Primitive Church," following

Ignatius's own designation of the Manresa period.[18] Ignatius himself referred to the Manresa experience as "to awaken him as from a dream."[19] Another biographer designates this period by the title that the children of Manresa called him, *el hombre del saco*, the holy man, because of his life and dress.[20] Another calls him *El penitente de Manresa*, the penitent of Manresa, describing this period that way.[21] All of these designations are my attempts to label his eremitical experience at Manresa.

Why did Ignatius chose to become a hermit? From what experience did he receive the impetus to give up all and serve in such a way? It is possible that part of the answer lay in two practical reasons. The first of these was the appearance of the plague in Catalonia which caused city officials in Barcelona to close the city to foreigners. This meant that he had to wait for a safer time to travel. The second reason is a corollary to the first. Because of the plague, or any other reason, Ignatius might have missed his opportunity to take the boat to Rome and then Jerusalem that year and had to wait until 1523 to go. Both of these reasons match conditions in Spain at that time and are possible reasons for why Ignatius decided to stay in Manresa for a longer period. But it could be that he decided to stay to increase his personal level of devotion.

Ignatius had initiated himself into life as a hermit at Montserrat, but the Manresa experience was the foundation for his eremitical lifestyle. Many authors begin his mystical experiences at this point, but ignore the character of the experience as a whole. They many times fail to recognize the influence that

his eremitical experience had at this time and its effect on his mystical experiences. Harvey Egan states that "...he stayed almost a year, emerging a radically transformed man."[22] Ray Petry noted a number of highly influential authors writing on mysticism, stating that late medieval mysticism had an intricate relationship to asceticism. His quote from another authority on the subject is indicative,"...in every mystic there is an ascetic, and that asceticism is, one might say, at the very source of mysticism."[23] After Manresa, Ignatius was radically transformed, but the eremitical experience as a whole, including his ascetical practices, made the mystical experiences possible and significant. Works emphasizing mysticism without ascetical practice in an eremitical lifestyle present Ignatius in a one-dimensional manner.

Considering his background, zeal, and persistent character, it seems more likely that he stayed in Manresa because he had decided to begin the life he had dreamed about while convalescing in Loyola castle. It may well be that Ignatius became a hermit at Manresa because he desired to see if the eremitical life was for him. He had read of Amadis of Gaul and his eremitical experience. He had read of the deeds of Dominic and Francis. Ignatius wanted to pattern his life after these men; he chose Manresa as his first hermitage. Also, he would be unknown to the people of Manresa, which was important to him.[24] He worked in relative obscurity.

Formative Literary and Monastic Influences

During his conversion and convalescence, Ignatius's family gave him books that allowed him to gain an introductory knowledge to the late medieval Western Christian tradition of the gospels, the saints, and the organization of the Church. In 1521, after he had recuperated, Ignatius left Loyola and proceeded toward Montserrat and then Manresa. Wherever he went and whatever he did from that point on was guided by his eremitical ideal which he began to form from his eremitical experience there.

Ignatius's ideal is best seen as it began and developed through the middle three stages of his life, where he went, what he wrote, and under what circumstances he wrote and experienced the pivotal events of his life. During and just after this early period, Ignatius encountered different kinds of influences, including devotional Christian literature, ascetical practices, and mystical experience. He combined these into an eremitical lifestyle begun at Manresa. They also confirmed previous things he had seen throughout his life as a boy in the religious society of early modern Spain. This process of adding and confirming continued through the remainder of his life so that Ignatius's eremitical ideal began as basic concepts for individual devotion and practice found in *The Spiritual Exercises*. He added to it, redefined it, and refined it into its later form for a group, as seen in *The Five Chapters*, during the beginnings of the Society of Jesus.

How did Ignatius acquire such an accurate knowledge of the ascetical, mystical, and eremitical traditions of the Church before he received his education at the University of Paris? His pre-conversion life experience added to the early sources of the Western Christian tradition that he first encountered through the first literary and monastic influences that he read. It is evident that he was unschooled in this tradition before he encountered these early sources. He knew no Latin before going to the University of Barcelona early in 1524. Though he met Church leaders of every position and educational level while at the house of his uncle, the Western Christian eremitical tradition was hardly a topic of interest to the young *hidalgo*. But, just as there is no doubt that the tradition existed and he saw it and knew of it in the Spain of his pre-conversion life, there is no doubt that he paid little conscious attention to it until his convalescence at Loyola castle.

It was not until he was wounded that he began to discover the literary richness of the Western Christian ascetical, mystical, and eremitical traditions. That discovery confirmed what he had seen most of his life, even though he was scarcely conscious of it. Though he could not have known the literary tradition before he read the early sources, his early writings portrayed the essence of that tradition with a surprising degree of accuracy; those early sources had a profound impact on him.

In addition to his pre-conversion experience, Ignatius had seven major sources of influence on his early post-conversion life, his early writings, and the

formation of his eremitical ideal. These early influences were either monastic houses or literature. Karl Rahner mentioned four literary sources.[25] Much of the spiritual content of *The Spiritual Exercises* came from the information gained from these sources and he changed it little after his university education. Rahner states, "The editors of the *The Spiritual Exercises* in the *Monumenta* quite rightly rejected the notion that each and every sentence contains concealed allusions to a multitude of texts, including the Fathers."[26] Ignatius's early writing was an outpouring of the inspiration derived from his intense, personal, religious conversion experience, his pre-conversion life experiences, and these seven early influences. Direct quotations or substantive allusions to the literary sources will not be found in *The Spiritual Exercises*; it is simply not possible to establish direct links with the source material we now have. But *The Spiritual Exercises* does fit well into its historical and literary setting, being similar in content, style, and purpose to other devotional works of the late medieval period, including those examined here.

The first major influence on Ignatius in this early period was the *Flos Sanctorum*, or in its English-language title, *The Golden Legend*. It is a collection of near-mythical devotional writings on the lives of holy men and women of the Catholic Church from the life of Christ to the mid-thirteenth century. The next was the *Vita Jesu Christi*, or in its English-language title, *The Life of Christ*, by Ludolph the Carthusian of Saxony. Although written earlier, Ludolph's work was first printed in 1474 and became very popular all over Europe at that time.

Another major influence was the Carthusian monastery in Seville. Although he never joined the order and did not enter the monastery there, Ignatius knew of the religious order and did learn some additional facts about it before he finally decided not to join. The Benedictine monastery at Montserrat and the Dominican monastery near the small town of Manresa were other influences on Ignatius's initial eremitical lifestyle. The kind monks of those monasteries let Ignatius stay there periodically, at Montserrat initially and later at Manresa. Another major influence was the *Ejercitatorio de la Vida Espiritual*, known by its English-language title, the *Exercises of the Spiritual Life*, by García Jiménez de Cisneros, a Benedictine monk formerly from Montserrat. The last major influence on Ignatius's eremitical ideal during this early period was the *Imitatio Christi*, or in its English-language title, *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas À Kempis, an Augustinian Canon from Germany.

The *Flos Sanctorum*

The popular medieval account of saint's lives, Christian festivals, and a few other miscellaneous entries was known in Latin as the *Flos sanctorum*, or the *Legenda Aurea,* or in English as the *Golden Legend*. Jacobus Voragine edited the entire work, writing some of the entries and compiling the rest by 1260. There are 182 entries in the work that are considered original, although translators and editors of later editions added other entries as time progressed.

The work reflects the author's attempt to provide inspirational reading, though the accuracy of the individual entries varies considerably. It is a work of "salvation history" designed to "foster piety."[27] During Ignatius's convalescence at Loyola castle, Magdalena de Loyola gave this book to him in a Castillian version translated by the Cistercian Gauberto Maria Vagad in 1493.[28]

In his reading from the *Golden Legend*, the entries on Francis and Dominic made a considerable and lasting impact on Ignatius.[29] The book gives a number of stories about Francis and Dominic, including some seemingly exaggerated accounts of signs and miracles. What is sure is that Ignatius identified with the heroic deeds accomplished by the founders of the two largest monastic orders in Europe. There are ten major parallels between Ignatius, Francis, and Dominic. First, Ignatius and Francis both acknowledge that they spent their early years living "vain lives," Ignatius to age thirty,[30] Francis to age twenty.[31] Second, Ignatius and Francis both served at war[32]. Third, Ignatius, Francis, and Dominic all gave away their belongings. For Ignatius and Francis, this consisted of their clothes[33], for Dominic, it was his books and furniture.[34] Fourth, Ignatius and Francis both begged for their livelihood.[35] Fifth, Francis met "Lady Poverty" and both Dominic and Ignatius had visions of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[36] Sixth, Satan or demons tempted Francis, Ignatius, and Dominic at some point in their careers.[37] Seventh, Ignatius and Dominic had visions of forms of Satan or demons, Ignatius in the form of a serpent and Dominic in the form of a dragon.[38] Eighth, all three led lives of austerity and poverty.[39] Ninth,

all three had overseers and protectors for their spiritual lives. Francis had a spiritual guardian, Ignatius had a confessor, and Dominic "was always with his brothers."[40]

The tenth and final parallel between Ignatius's career and those of Francis and Dominic is in the personal organization of their spiritual lives. All three established religious orders and set up rules for their followers. Francis had three major points in his rule. He desired to strive for evangelical perfection; second, to embrace poverty; third, to walk in the way of holy simplicity. He intended to do this from city to city and from town to town.[41] Dominic had two major points to his rule; first he wanted to go from place to place; second, he wanted to strengthen the faith against the heretics by preaching, teaching, and example.[42] Obviously, the true depths of organization and methodology of Francis and Dominic were not narrated in *The Golden Legend*, but it was Ignatius's first literary exposure to the two saints. In comparison, Ignatius gives twenty points in the "Introductory Explanations" of *The Spiritual Exercises* and it is much more detailed than the work of Francis and Dominic as found in *The Golden Legend*. However the main purpose of *The Spiritual Exercises* is to let the soul rid itself of its disordered affections and then to seek and find God's will to salvation.[43] In addition to this simple instruction, *The Autobiography* mentions that Ignatius intended to go to Jerusalem and "help souls."[44] Like both Francis and Dominic, Ignatius's dual goals were very simple in their intention, but much more detailed and complex in their actual content.

The accounts of Dominic and Francis influenced Ignatius to define God's will as to go forth, which in his case was to go to Jerusalem, to live in poverty and simplicity, which was to practice asceticism and have mystical experiences in an eremitical lifestyle. He also strived for evangelical perfection, which was meditation and contemplation, and to help souls, which was his way of strengthening those in the faith. The combination of the influence of the lives of Francis and Dominic can readily be seen in *The Spiritual Exercises*.[45] The eremitical ideal of Ignatius became centered around these four general principles. Though he added another, later principle to the content of his eremitical ideal, a university education, these initial four were its foundation.

In addition to these more specific influences on Ignatius, *The Golden Legend* had an emotional impact on the recovering soldier. Thoughts of chivalry and accomplishments in arms and love left him dry, but thoughts of service to Christ and the saints gave him consolation.[46] He concentrated the joy he received in consolation on *The Golden Legend* and the *Vita Christi* while he read and re-read portions of the two works and he became more familiar with their contents. In this early period of his conversion life, these books became treasured by him and thus remained vivid in his memory for life. He copied portions of them into his personal notebooks for future reference, exhibiting exceptional care and diligence in the copy that he made.[47] They also strengthened his resolve and caused him to pursue his initial practices of rigorous penance. Dalmases says it best, "As is the case with many other

converts, he measured sanctity by the severity of corporal austerities."[48] The ascetical practices at Manresa were a passing part of his eremitical ideal, while the principles gleaned from the contents of this book remained. As Brodrick states: "In those multitudes of pages lay hidden his destiny."[49]

CHART 3-1

DIVISION	*THE GOLDEN LEGEND*	*THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES*
Intro	No	1-20 20
Part One	*	21-90 70
Part Two	Sections	91-188 98
Part Three	*	189-217 29
Part Four	Present	218-237 20
Conc	*	238-270 33
Summary	182 Sections	270 Sections

Chart 3-1 gives a brief organizational comparison of the structure between *The Spiritual Exercises* and *The Golden Legend.* In this comparison, the structure of the two books is shown to be quite different. *The Golden Legend* has 182 sections with no chapter divisions or parts. Based upon this limited structural comparison, there is little evidence of direct structural influence by *The Golden Legend* on *The Spiritual Exercises*. The *Autobiography* may have other types of influence and *The Spiritual Exercises* has similar contents in scattered passages, but those are contextual and not structural.

The *Vita Jesu Christi*

Ludolph the Carthusian of Saxony wrote the *Vita Jesu Christi, The Life of Christ*. He was born c. 1295 and early in his religious life was probably a Dominican, but later became a Carthusian in 1340. He joined the Carthusians of Strasbourg that year, moving to Coblenz and Mainz later, finally returning to Strasbourg where he died in 1377. It is not exactly known at what point during his life Ludolph wrote *The Life of Christ*, but it was not printed until 1474 by the Carthusian charterhouse at Strasbourg. One hundred years later, there were innumerable editions in several languages.[50] Ignatius had access to a Castillian version, probably the four volume edition of Ambrosio de Montesino, printed in Alcala in 1502-3.[51]

The consistency of the orthodox religious teaching of *The Life of Christ* with Catholic dogma and its longstanding universal acceptance throughout Europe were two reasons why Loyola castle had a copy. Another reason was its being printed in Castilian. This fact was especially critical for Ignatius because it would be years before he could read Latin well enough to appreciate these kinds of works in that language. The late medieval period had a number of works written by monks and Church leaders who both read and copied from one another, spreading influence of most of these works throughout Europe.[52] Ludolph did not write the *Life of Christ* without help and influence from other devotional work contemporary to him. It reflects the atmosphere of late-medieval

piety that was less concerned with the giving of copyright and source credit, and more concerned with writing useful devotional literature. He depended heavily on one work in particular, the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, once attributed to Bonaventure, but actually written by one of his Franciscan brothers, Giovanni de Caulibus in about 1300.[53] There is also evidence that Ludolph used *The Golden Legend* as an unnamed source for some parts of his work.[54] Comparison and derivation of direct and indirect influences from these many late-medieval devotional works on Ludolph's work has been done by Mary Bodenstedt, although it has not been done for *The Spiritual Exercises*. [55] Similar influences from *The Life of Christ* on *The Spiritual Exercises* are hints and speculations at most. The influence of *The Life of Christ* on Ignatius was personal, not literary.

A comparison of the contents of *The Life of Christ* to the contents of *The Spiritual Exercises* demonstrates some common concepts between the two. Ludolph's instruction to "be present at the discourses and actions of the Lord Jesus as though hearing them with his very ears and seeing them with his bodily eyes, ..."[56] was appropriated by Ignatius and incorporated into various points of *The Spiritual Exercises*. In the First Prelude of the First Exercise during the First Week, Ignatius instructs the exercitant "to see in imagination the physical place where that which I want to contemplate is taking place."[57] *The Spiritual Exercises* follow this pattern throughout. Second, Ludolph's instruction to aspire to visit the "Holy Land," coupled with the example of Francis from *The Golden Legend* assured that Ignatius would attempt to make the voyage and see the

place for himself.[58]

The Spiritual Exercises and *The Life of Christ* reveal radically different formats and contents. Despite this initial observation, it is clear that the devotional life of late medieval Europe as exemplified in Ludolph's work is also well-represented in Ignatius's earliest writing. In addition to adopting Ludolph's method of visualization, at Manresa Ignatius adopted similar methods of examination of conscience, rules for the discernment of spirits, spiritual joy, and the elevation of Christ as the central object of meditation.[59]

The Life of Christ of Ludolph of Saxony had some impact on Ignatius's early writings and may have been instrumental in the formation of his eremitical ideal. From Ludolph's work, Ignatius initially learned about the life of Jesus contained in the Gospels. He would have had great difficulty in acquiring this information by other, more direct means, such as directly from the Scriptures themselves. *The Spiritual Exercises* are full of facts about the life, teaching, passion, death, burial, and resurrection of Christ. There are similarities in the way in which this information is used, such as visualization of the passion and death of Christ, but the major influence of Ludolph on Ignatius was in his provision of information. It was necessary for Ignatius to become knowledgeable in the faith and the Holy Scriptures before he could progress with any other aspect of his spiritual life and teaching. The factual information contained in Ludolph's *Life of Christ* was a major introduction to the Scriptures and the faith that was available for Ignatius in no other way and from no other source. With

its information about apostles, Mary, and Jesus himself, even *The Golden Legend*, did not offer this information in such a detailed, systematic fashion. The acquisition of this information began a pattern of learning in Ignatius's life that parallels his desire to "help souls" which came as a somewhat modified form of one of the main points of the influence from *The Golden Legend* through the lives of Francis and Dominic. Those two saints intended to, as Francis stated, "strive for evangelical perfection," and as Dominic stated, go about "preaching and strengthening the faith against heretics."[60] Ludolph's work was a major source of orthodox dogma for Ignatius.

The factual information gleaned from Ludolph also contributed to the other three main points of Ignatius's developing eremitical ideal. The initiative to go forth, to live in poverty and simplicity, and to strive for evangelical perfection were also clarified and expanded because of the information in *The Life of Christ*. When Ignatius began to organize and write down his earliest concepts and structure for *The Spiritual Exercises*, he also began to write out a companion notebook with red ink for Christ's words and blue ink for "those of Our Lady."[61] There was writing in black ink for his own thoughts and possibly other colors of ink for quotes from the saints.[62]

Chart 3-2 gives a brief comparison of the structure between *The Spiritual Exercises* and *The Life of Christ*. In this comparison, the structure of the two books is shown to be different, although less so than that with *The Golden Legend*. There was little, if any, direct structural influence by *The Life of Christ*

CHART 3-2

DIVISION	*THE LIFE OF CHRIST*	*THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES*	
Intro	17	1-20	20
Part One	92	21-90	70
Part Two	89	91-188	98
Part Three	*	189-217	29
Part Four	*	218-237	20
Conc	*	238-270	33
Summary	198 Sections	270 Sections	

on *The Spiritual Exercises*, even though it has similar contents in scattered passages. The major influence of *The Life of Christ* on Ignatius was probably contextual not structural.

The Carthusians of Seville

Another major influence on Ignatius was the Carthusian Monastery at Seville. This was the "Monastery of Nuestra Señora Santa Maria de las Cuevas," and he knew of it, and the Carthusians, at or prior to his conversion. He may of read the chivalrous account of Juan de Padilla, a knight who became a Carthusian.[63] While yet recovering from his Pamplona wounds, Ignatius sent a servant to the Carthusian monastery near Miraflores for information about the Carthusian Order. His reaction to the information he received was twofold.

First, he did not intend to reveal his identity and life there would be stringent, as seen in his remark about eating only vegetables. Second, he was fearful that he would not be able to dispose of his self-hatred which he felt required very austere penance that he would not be able to pursue if he joined the Carthusians.[64] Ignatius never joined the Carthusians, but their practices and houses remained important to him throughout his life.[65] The Carthusians initially seemed to be the minimum standard for the austere lifestyle that he planned to practice when he left Loyola castle and went to the Holy Land. In terms of his eremitical ideal, the Carthusians set the first standard of the austere practice of rigorous penance that Ignatius experienced at Manresa. But Ignatius did not continue extreme ascetical practices throughout his life and they did not become a permanent part of his eremitical ideal. The permanent influence of the Carthusians was their insistence on an ordered life that went beyond the standard three vows and embraced a life of abandonment of the world to a life of contemplation and interior discipline. But it would take a decade of education before Ignatius would adopt a similar stance. Initially, the Carthusians practiced the most austere life of any of the religious orders of Spain. Ignatius felt he would need to be more austere even than they. The cave at the Cardoner River became his monastery and the Carthusians became his minimum rule. Many times at Manresa, he surpassed their strict austerities in bodily mortification.

During the years that he acquired an education in Paris, the Carthusian charterhouse there was a refuge for Ignatius. He took Communion and made

weekly confession there, holding discussions afterward for himself and other students that were intended to relieve some of their mutual difficulties.[66] But the charterhouse in Seville remained important to him after he had long departed Spain for Paris and Rome. He later recommended a young man to enter the charterhouse at Seville and that young man eventually became the prior.[67]

The Benedictines of Montserrat

The Benedictine monastery at Montserrat influenced Ignatius during this early formative period. He relinquished his arms there at the Shrine of the Black Madonna. His confessor there shaped his devotional life. Ignatius stayed at the monastery from time to time and regularly dialogued with its monks on spiritual matters. The book by García Cisneros influenced him.

The confessor that Ignatius obtained at Montserrat was Jean Chanon, a French Benedictine who was well-trained in the practice of methodical prayer. Chanon was instrumental in teaching and retaining the methodical prayer methods of Cisneros and made sure the monks knew of the *Ejercitatorio de la Vida Espiritual*. It was in use at the time Ignatius came to the monastery to make his confession and hang up his arms. The monks also used it to instruct pilgrims who came to the shrine and were interested in a deeper devotional life. This is the way in which Ignatius learned of the *Ejercitatorio* and why many Jesuit historians believe he completed the methodical prayer exercises during the short

time he was at Montserrat. They also contend that he visited the monastery occasionally for spiritual counsel and guidance, as well as fellowship for his lonelier periods. Whether these further speculations are true or not, the monastery was the place where Ignatius hung up his arms and it was the place where he made his initial confession, both of which began his religious life, one a resignation of the past life, the other a preparation for his future life. This preparation for his future life as a religiously dedicated person is reflected in *The Spiritual Exercises* in the "Second Exercise of the First Week" which emphasizes the need for general confession of all past sin.[68]

The *Ejercitatorio de la Vida Espiritual*

The *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual*, *The Exercises for the Spiritual Life*, had been written by García Jiménez de Cisneros and published in Spanish and Latin in 1500. García Cisneros was the Abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Montserrat from 1493 to 1510, initiating reform, encouraging spirituality, and leaving the *Ejercitatorio* as his major heritage. García Cisneros was a major figure in the reform movement initiated by his cousin, Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo when he became Confessor to Queen Isabella of Castile. He was successful at Montserrat and that monastery became a model of reform for other monasteries throughout Spain.[69]

What influence, if any, did the *Ejercitatorio de la Vida Espiritual* by García

Cisneros have on the *Ejercicios Espirituales* of Ignatius? Did he even see García Cisneros' little book while he was at Montserrat? There is no question that Ignatius was at Montserrat in March of 1522, that he stopped at the monastery to confess his sins, and then kept a vigil at the Shrine of the Virgin.[70] This process either took several days at one time, or Ignatius came back at another time.[71] It is known from the *Autobiography* that Ignatius made his written confession of sin and arrangements for his mule and arms with the monks in the Benedictine Monastery of Montserrat under the direction of its Abbot, Jean Chanon.[72] Several Ignatian specialists conclude that the monks also arranged for him to learn the *Exercitatorio* while there through a little known Castillian version that the monastery held.[73] During the canonization process for Ignatius, several monks from the monastery stated that they believed Ignatius had been taught some or all of the *Exercitatorio*.[74] All of the exterior sources, such as testimony and evidence about Ignatius's possible opportunity with the *Exercitatorio* is circumstantial. Direct interior evidence gained by comparison of the two writings has been inconclusive. Ignatius did not quote directly from the book in the pages of his own. The conclusion that García Cisneros affected Ignatius is equally dependent on both interior evidence of comparison and exterior evidence of testimony; neither alone is conclusive, but both together cause us to see the connection as probable and likely. Terence O'Reilly in two extensive articles, one in which he examines the *Exercitatorio,* and another in which he compares it to Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, has addressed these

questions.[75]

Late medieval books of devotion influenced the *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual*. Terrence O'Reilly divides these influences into three groups. The first and most influential group are those writings that come from the "Devotio Moderna." In O'Reilly's analysis, of the sixty-nine chapters in the *Exercitatorio*, twenty-seven are directly derived from this influential movement. The second group contains those works that come from the Franciscan tradition. From this group, sixteen chapters can be directly attributed to a Franciscan source. The third group are those works that come from the Carthusian tradition. Thirteen chapters have significant influence from this type of source and quotations from Ludolph's *Vita Christi* have been used throughout. Simple addition demonstrates that O'Reilly sees fifty-six of the sixty-nine chapters as being heavily influenced by other late medieval devotional literature.[76] In fact, so much of the *Exercitatorio* came from other authors that most modern scholars debate its subjective and structural unity.[77] But this only demonstrates that it is unlike *The Spiritual Exercises* in one important point; we have confidence that we know what influences there were on the *Exercitatorio*-we do not have such confidence when we come to *The Spiritual Exercises*.

In strict comparison to each other, we cannot establish direct quotes as links between the two works, but it is clear that they have similar goals and methodology. Ignatius and García Cisneros both desire the retreatant to draw nearer to God, a common goal of both, by practicing a series of "spiritual

exercises," a common method of both. These were designed to inform them of the importance of spiritual matters in their lives. There are significant differences. García Cisneros desires for his retreatant to achieve union with God in a secluded life of contemplation. Ignatius intends for his retreatant to practice his spirituality in an active life in the world. Ignatius did not abandon the basic foundation of his eremitical ideal as he had formed it through the influence of what he had read of Francis and Dominic in *The Golden Legend.* How could he imitate the works of these two great saints? His solution to the dilemma was *The Spiritual Exercises*, which became the synthesis of all he had read thus far, of Francis, Dominic, Ludolph, and Cisneros, and later Kempis. The *Exercitatorio de la Vida Spiritual* provided the pattern of the tool, a handbook, that Ignatius would use to form others into men of similar vision and ideal. Like García Cisneros and the Montserrat monks, Ignatius concluded that spiritual warfare required practice and exercise, as did its mundane counterpart with which Ignatius had been so familiar before his conversion. But unlike García Cisneros and his monks, Ignatius did not seek perfection within the safety of a monastery, but accepted the challenge exemplified in his saintly heroes to go forth and meet the enemy on his own field. He knew that in order to be able to help souls, he, the knight of Christ, the active hermit, must go forth, and others similarly trained must go with him.

Chart 3-3 gives a brief comparison of the structure between *The Spiritual Exercises* and the *Exercises for the Spiritual Life.* As with *The Golden Legend*

and *The Life of Christ*, the *Exercises for the Spiritual Life* has a much different

CHART 3-3

DIVISION	*THE EXERCISES FOR THE SPIRITUAL LIFE*	*THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES*
Intro	Prologue	1-20 20
Part One	1-19 19	21-90 70
Part Two	20-25 6	91-188 98
Part Three	26-30 5	189-217 29
Part Four	31-69 39	218-237 20
Conc	None	238-270 33
Summary	69 Sections	270 Sections

structure than *The Spiritual Exercises*. I conclude that although Ignatius was definitely influenced by their content, goals, and methodology, he structured *The Spiritual Exercises* much differently, reflecting the difference between the cloistered life of García Cisneros and the active life of Ignatius.

The Dominicans of Manresa

The Dominican Friary at Manresa was another major influence on Ignatius. Ignatius's daily regimen included seven hours of prayer plus penance, both of which he did at a cave by the Cardoner River, working with the sick at the hospital of Santa Lucía, begging for his sustenance, and attending services,

usually daily, at the local Church in Manresa.[78] He kept a room at the hospital part of the time and a cell at the friary part of the time. He also seems to have retained two confessors, Jean Chanon at Montserrat and Galcerán Perelló (or Guillermo de Pellarós) in Manresa.[79] Therefore, Ignatius lived, confessed, and worshiped with the Dominican monks from Manresa, usually in daily interaction, for about eleven months.

Ignatius wrote much of *The Spiritual Exercises* during his stay at Montserrat and that alone causes them to be significant as he spent time in close, regular contact with the Dominican monks. But the most important aspect of the Dominicans at Manresa was their identity as Dominicans, confirming what he had read about the preaching and teaching of Dominic. Their way of ministry and service to the Church coupled with their interior devotional lives confirmed what Ignatius had read while convalescing at Loyola castle. Living with them in such close, daily contact confirmed to Ignatius that his conclusions from Dominic's life which he read in *The Golden Legend* were accurate. Going forth as Dominic had done, preaching and teaching the gospel became a foundational concept to Ignatius for his eremitical ideal.

The *Imitatio Christi*

The last of the early influences on Ignatius's eremitical ideal was the *Imitatio Christi*, or as it is known in its English-language title, *The Imitation of*

Christ. This work was first published anonymously between 1418 and 1427 which created the problem of who exactly the author was. The problem has since been settled by attributing the work to Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380-1471), although at the time of Ignatius, its author was disputed. The other three main candidates at that time were Jean Gerson (1363-1429), Saint Bonaventure (c. 1217-74), and Innocent III (1160-1216). Ignatius thought that Jean Gerson was the author and called the *Imitatio* his "Gerconzito."[80] In that same passage, Goncalves de Câmara stated that Ignatius read a chapter of *The Imitation of Christ* every day during his entire life. Kempis was a devotional writer of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. He received his education at the school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer. In 1399, he entered the house of the Canons Regular, also known as the Augustinian Canons, at Agnietenberg and settled there for most of the remainder of his life. Like the *Imitation of Christ*, many of his other writings were ascetical as well as devotional in nature [81] *The Imitation of Christ* is divided into four parts or books, each having a subtitle, and is then further subdivided into a number of chapters to each of the four parts, each chapter having a title or heading. Book One is entitled "Useful Reminders for the Spiritual Life," and has twenty-five chapters. Book Two is entitled "Suggestions Drawing One Toward the Inner Life," and has twelve chapters. Book Three is entitled "Of Inner Comfort," and has fifty-nine chapters. Book Four is entitled "The Book on the Sacrament," and has eighteen chapters.[82]

Ignatius discovered the book while he was at Manresa during one of his

frequent trips to the Montserrat monastery. Its structure and devotional piety are similar to *The Golden Legend* and its references to the life of Jesus are similar to those of *The Life of Christ*. It most resembles García Cisneros's *Exercises for the Spiritual Life*. That work also has four parts with chapter subdivisions under them, although the chapters are numbered consecutively throughout, instead of starting new under each part. It is clear that there is some relationship between the structure of the *Exercises for the Spiritual Life* and *The Imitation of Christ*, although the nature and extent of that relationship is unknown. What is clear is that, like *The Exercises for the Spiritual Life*, *The Imitation of Christ* had an acknowledged effect on Ignatius and his earliest work on *The Spiritual Exercises*. Ignatius acknowledged this himself and a comparison between *The Imitation of Christ* and *The Spiritual Exercises* demonstrates its effects on his work.

In structure, the two works are not very similar. The structure of the contents of *The Imitation of Christ* as they are arranged in four parts with sub-headings under each part do not parallel or correspond to the organization of *The Spiritual Exercises* in four weeks with an Introduction and Conclusion. Ignatius's loose division of the weeks into a preparation time (Week One) and then studies on the life of Christ (Weeks Two through Four) are meant to be done in order within the proper time sequence. *The Imitation of Christ* has no such organization or time restraints.

The similarities between the two works and the effects of *The Imitation of Christ* on *The Spiritual Exercises* are indirect instead of direct, as in the case

with the other three literary influences on Ignatius's early writing. For example, the First Week contains instruction to repent and confess all past sin, directing the retreatant to examine improvement and work toward the goal of improvement in not committing sin. This is similar to the instructions in *The Imitation of Christ*, Book Three, "On Inward Consolation," Chapter Forty-Six, "On Putting our Entire Trust in God," where Kempis tells the reader to examine himself also.[83] The Second Week contains a sub-heading of "The Election," where the retreatant is urged to make good choices in his life that will assist in the goal of saving his soul.[84] This is also similar to Book Three, "On Inward Consolation," Chapter Fifteen, "On the Ordering of Our Desires."[85] In the Introduction of *The Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius urges the retreatant to receive communication from God on ". . . the way which will enable the soul to serve him better in the future."[86] Kempis assumes this, putting little instruction for it anywhere except a somewhat similar passage in Book Three, "Counsels on the Spiritual Life," Chapter Eleven, "On Peace, and Spiritual Progress."[87]

Chart 3-4 gives a brief comparison of the structure between *The Spiritual Exercises* and *The Imitation of Christ*. In this comparison, the structure is shown to be quite different, as it was with *The Golden Legend* and *The Life of Christ*. This comparison states nothing about the influence of the contents of one upon the other. The structure of *The Imitation of Christ* did not affect the structure of *The Spiritual Exercises*. As I have stated, however, the contents of *The Imitation of Christ* did affect Ignatius and influenced the way in which he wrote *The*

Spiritual Exercises.

CHART 3-4

DIVISION	*THE IMITATION OF CHRIST*	*THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES*
Intro	*	1-20 20
Part One	25 25	21-90 70
Part Two	12 37	91-188 98
Part Three	59 96	189-217 29
Part Four	18 114	218-237 20
Conc	*	238-270 33
Summary	114 Sections	270 Sections

Thus, there were seven major influences on Ignatius from the time he suffered the leg wounds in Pamplona to the time that he left for Jerusalem. Four were literary influences and three were monastic, institutional influences. The impact of the Carthusian, Benedictine, and Dominican institutional influences are explicable considering Ignatius's awareness of them before his conversion experience and his positive interaction with them during and afterward. It is interesting to note that although his experience with them was positive, he was not motivated to join any of them and in fact, developed what he considered were very good reasons not to join them. Ignatius wanted certain aspects from each of them, and could not accept all the aspects of any one of them. The eclectic nature of Ignatius's eremitical ideal allowed him to choose practices

from these three and others when he began to consider forming the Society of Jesus. The exterior ascetical practices and the eremitical nature of the Carthusian Order is something that Ignatius reformulated for an active life, not cloistered as they were. The monastic life of the Benedictines was not appealing to Ignatius, although he respected their methods of prayer. The education and action of the Dominicans did appeal to Ignatius, but he probably felt that they did not pursue inner discipline to the extent that they should. It is clear that none of these appealed to him enough for him to join them. Ignatius's eremitical ideal took portions from these three religious orders and began to formulate his own concept for a religious order. After the period of his education, this crystallized into the concepts that became the foundation for the Society of Jesus.

The four literary influences have more bearing on Ignatius's actual eremitical ideal itself than on the formation of the Society of Jesus. From select portions of these, Ignatius formed *The Spiritual Exercises*, but in such a fashion as to disguise their direct influence in every case. This was a typical method of writing during this time period. In Chart 3-5, a structural comparison between these four literary sources and *The Spiritual Exercises* shows that they are not structurally similar to them nor even to one another. Three of the five have some sort of Introduction, four have a Part One and a Part Two, three have a Part Three and a Part Four, but only *The Spiritual Exercises* has a Conclusion. I have tried to show dissimilarity, indicating that Ignatius

CHART 3-5

DIVISION	*SPIRITUAL EXERCISES*	*GOLDEN LEGEND*	*LIFE OF CHRIST*	*EXERCISES SPIRITLIFE*	*IMITATION OF CHRIST*
Intro	1-20 20	No	17	1	*
Part One	21-90 70	*	92	19	25
Part Two	91-188 98	Divisions	89	6	12
Part Three	189-217 29	*	*	5	59
Part Four	218-237 20	Present	*	39	18
Conc	238-270 33	*	*	*	*
Summary	270 Sections	182 Sections	198 Sections	69 Sections	114 Sections

viewed these previous works as incomplete and sought to form as complete as a handbook as possible. I have also tried to show that Ignatius himself was much more influenced by these works as an individual than he was as an author. This conclusion is consistent with his whole corpus of writings and the historical and critical evaluation they have received since they were written. The enormous amount of conjecture on his writing, his ascetical, mystical, and eremitical experiences, his spirituality, and his theology demonstrate that little of Ignatius's writing betrays its sources. Despite these difficulties, Ignatius's eremitical ideal springs from these earliest influences and *The Spiritual Exercises*. Direct influence is difficult to establish, but there is indirect influence: Ignatius was, in part, a product of these early influences. The circumstances of his life, partially before conversion and definitely after, and the period in history in which he lived also contributed to his eremitical ideal.

All of the works that Ignatius read from Loyola castle to Manresa were not only specific works by individual authors, they were also representative of the spiritual climate of the period. Many times they were also edited collections of earlier devotional works, or paraphrases of their contents.

Ignatius's Early Writings: *The Spiritual Exercises*

Ignatius wrote *The Spiritual Exercises* during and just after his experiences at Montserrat and Manresa, expanding and refining them

continually until 1544, when he made an autograph copy, correcting that text only thirty-two times during the remaining fourteen years of his life.[88] The seven early sources that influenced Ignatius's eremitical ideal accomplished that goal most evidently through *The Spiritual Exercises*. There was a gradual change in the extreme ascetical practices which he practiced at Manresa. Those practices were somewhat reduced in severity through the trip to Jerusalem and then gradually from that point on they became less important than his concept of mission through the use of *The Spiritual Exercises,* the gathering of like-minded men, and spiritual service.

Another aspect of this gradual change was his inability to remain in Jerusalem. If he had been able to remain there, his eremitical ideal might have reflected stronger influence from his earlier ascetical practices. Because he was forced to return to Spain, he changed from the more traditional asceticism which he had done in Manresa and which he intended to do in Jerusalem to the development of *The Spiritual Exercises* and others' training in them, as well as his own formal education. These two activities, developing *The Spiritual Exercises* while gathering and training like-minded men and getting an education were important to him. He developed these two activities in more detail until 1538. They eventually became the five points that were the core of his eremitical ideal. *The Spiritual Exercises* provide most of the detail on study, prayer, meditation, and service that his eremitical ideal needed for an individual. Later, *The Five Chapters* added what was necessary for a community.

One of the original intentions that Ignatius had when he wrote *The Spiritual Exercises* was that they were designed to last a month, not a lifetime. Ignatius remained true to the original influence of *The Golden Legend* in its depiction of Francis and Dominic and their common impetus to "go forth." Ignatius intended that he and anyone else who took *The Spiritual Exercises* and followed him would live an active life. He attempted to do this in his trip to Jerusalem. Not only did he wish to remain in Jerusalem for the sake of just being where Jesus lived and ministered, he also intended to "help souls" there.[89] Whatever portions of *The Spiritual Exercises* were complete at that time, Ignatius used them to help others.

The intent of *The Spiritual Exercises* was more detailed than a few simple lessons from the seven early influences. As de Guibert states "We must study, not the aim which we ourselves give to this series of Exercises, nor the end for which it became possible to employ them legitimately and with fruit as time went on, but rather the end which Ignatius himself had in mind in writing them and in having them made."[90] De Guibert then quotes Grandmaison who offered six means which *The Spiritual Exercises* gave for the two overall goals ". . . to set this probable candidate for the apostolate on the road . . . to discern God's call clearly and to follow it generously." The six means are: a way that is sure, shelter from illusions, liberty of soul, freedom from unruly passions, purity of heart, and docility of grace.[91] These are somewhat vague and describe only the most general goals of *The Spiritual Exercises*. Another original intention was to

determine if the candidate was suitable for a religious life of the particular type which Ignatius thought was most needed; an active life of service to God. The initial use of *The Spiritual Exercises* was not to form Jesuits; it was to train effective spiritual men. The later additional emphasis on mission in *The Five Chapters* expands this concept for Jesuits specifically, but that is not in view in *The Spiritual Exercises*. The original intentions were pure and simple; "Go Forth! Live in Poverty and Simplicity! Strive for Evangelical Perfection! Help Souls!" *The Spiritual Exercises* was the manual for accomplishing these goals. When Ignatius received a university education, he added another tenet to these four, but the original four did not change.

By the time of his sojourn at Manresa, Ignatius had already rejected several of the religious orders and their methods and practices. Ignatius's first use of *The Spiritual Exercises* is similar to Francis's use of the *Regula Primitiva* in the early years of the Franciscan Order; both had created a new way to train effective spiritual men that did not conform to contemporary religious practice. Francis's efforts to establish these methods institutionally were disastrous for the Friars Minor for two generations of priests. Ignatius was a much more effective organizer and his organization did not suffer like Francis's from a lack of attention. Ignatius did emulate Francis on one point: he intended for those that took *The Spiritual Exercises* to live an active, apostolic life. The instructions in them that explain interior practices do so with the main point that the interior guides the exterior, and that the exterior must seek and fulfill God's will.

One very important point gleaned from *The Spiritual Exercises* is their emphasis on the re-enforcement of the interior spiritual life of the individual. Although Ignatius initially practiced asceticism and had mystical experiences, he did these in the context of his initial lifestyle as a hermit. *The Spiritual Exercises* do not impede those who could achieve higher levels of ascetical practice or mystical experience. They do guide the retreatant to strengthen interior discipline so that the one taking them may soon become the one giving them. The predominant message of *The Spiritual Exercises* as a whole is active, apostolic service to God and man by someone who has acquired enough inner discipline and knowledge to be able to guide others to be and to do the same. Ignatius's eremitical ideal was an inner discipline learned initially from ascetical practices, mystical experiences, and developed through an eremitical lifestyle.

The Spiritual Exercises confirm the emphasis of Ignatius in the initial four points of his eremitical ideal. The ideal of going forth is discussed by Ignatius in the Second Week after "The Three Ways of Being Humble."[92] The ideal of living in poverty and simplicity is discussed in the Fourth Day of the Second Week.[93] Striving for evangelical perfection, or meditation and contemplation, is discussed in Weeks Two, Three, Four, and the Supplementary Matters.[94] Strengthening those in the faith, or helping souls, is discussed in the Introduction where the role of one who gives *The Spiritual Exercises* is to be a continuous help, an encouragement, and a spiritual guardian to the one taking them.[95] When viewed in this way, *The Spiritual Exercises* reflect Ignatius's eremitical ideal at many

different points throughout. These four ideals, when compared with select portions of the four literary influences reflect the contents of *The Spiritual Exercises* and thus demonstrate the eremitical ideal of Ignatius much more clearly. The formats of the literary influences, instructive devotional works and training-manuals for prayer and conduct, are reflected in the format of *The Spiritual Exercises*. In light of these, its format becomes more intelligible when it is seen as a training manual for workers instead of a prayer book for contemplatives. The fifth tenet, a university education, was a natural addition considering Ignatius's initial knowledge came from well-educated authors. Ignatius gathered his first men by using *The Spiritual Exercises* during his university training. Ignatius's early formative experiences and influences provided the foundation for the eventual development of his multi-faceted eremitical ideal.

NOTES

1. See Pedro de Leturia, *El Gentilhombre Iñigo López de Loyola en su Patria y en su Siglo. Estudio Histórico* (Montevideo: ,1938).

2. All dates for Ignatius's life are taken from; Dionysius Fernandez Zapico, Candidus De Dalmases, and Pedro Leturia, eds., *Monumenta Historica Societas Iesu, Fontes Narrativi De S. Ignatio De Loyola Et De Societas Iesu Initiis*, vol. 1, *Narrationes Scriptae Ante Annum 1557*, (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Societas Iesu" Borgo Santo Spirito, 5, 1943), 26-62. James Brodrick, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: The Pilgrim Years, 1491-1538* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1956), 14-25.

3. Ibid., 28.

4. Ibid., 32-3. Cándido de Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work* (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), 28-9.

5. Ignatius Loyola, *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola*, Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Joseph N. Tylenda (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1985), section # 1, 1-2. All references to Ignatius's life from this book are given by section number and page number.

6. Ricardo Garcia-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola: Nueva Biografía* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1986), 91-2.

7. Brodrick, *The Pilgrim Years*, 38.

8. Dalmases, *Founder of the Jesuits*, 40.

9. Ibid., 33.

10. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 7, 13-14.

11. Ibid., # 17, 25-26.

12. Ibid.

13. Vasco Lobeira, *Amadis of Gaul*, 3 vol., Translated from the Spanish Version of Garciordonez de Montalvo by Robert Southey, (London: John Russell Smith, 1872), vol. 1, 285; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 1, 1-2.

14. *Amadis of Gaul*, 285; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 6, 12-13.

15. *Amadis of Gaul*, 279; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 15-16, 22-25.

16. *Amadis of Gaul*, 282; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 17, 25-26.

17. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 18, 26-28.

18. *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis,* 3 vol. (Rome: 1943-60) vol. 2, 344.

19. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 25, 33-34.

20. Garcia-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 209.

21. Ibid., 205.

22. Harvey Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Michael Glazier Books, 1987), 42.

23. Ray Petry, Editor, *Late Medieval Mysticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), 19.

24. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 12, 17-18.

25. Rahner mentions the four literary sources. See Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968), 47. I believe the three monasteries that Ignatius knew at Seville, Manresa, and Montserrat are similarly important, though not to the same extant and not in the same way.

26. Ibid.

27. Background for the work and its author are taken from the two sources; F.L. Cross, and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church,* Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 579; de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, xiii-xviii.

28. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 5-7, 11-14 (notes to sections 5-7); San Ignacio de Loyola, *Obras*, Transcripción, Introducciones, y Notas de Ignacio Iparraguirre, Candido de Dalmases, y Manuel Ruiz Jurado, Quinta Edicion Revisada y Corregida (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, MCMXCI), 102(note 5). For more information on *The Golden Legend* in Castillian, Catalan, and the langued'oc, see Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, Director of Publication, *Legenda Aurea : Sept Siecles de Diffusion* (Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1986).

29. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 7, 13-14.

30. Ibid., # 1, 1-2.

31. *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 220.

32. Ibid.; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 1, 1-2.

33. Ibid., # 18, 26-27; *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 220.

34. Ibid., 45.

35. Ibid., 221; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 19, 28-29.

36. Ibid., # 10, 15-16; *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 47 & 221.

37. Ibid., 53-4 & 223; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 19, 28 & ff.

38. Ibid.; *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 52.

39. Ibid., 46; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 19-34, 28-42.

40. Ibid.; *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 53 & 226.

41. Ibid., 221.

42. Ibid., 46-7.

43. Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius,* Translation and Commentary by George Ganss (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992), 21.

44. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 45, 52-54.

45. *The Five Chapters*, written in 1538, retains heavy influences from Francis and Dominic.

46. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 6, 12-13.

47. Ibid., # 11, 16-17.

48. Candido de Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work,* Translated by Jerome Aixala (St. Louis; The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), 45.

49. Brodrick, *Pilgrim Years*, 65.

50. *ODCC*, 843; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume I, 1063-4.

51. Brodrick, *Pilgrim Years*, 64 (note 1). Brodrick summarizes the high points of a long-standing dispute on which edition Ignatius had access.

52. See Gerard Sitwell, *Spiritual Writers of the Middle Ages* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961), and *The Meditations of Guigo I, Prior of the Charter house*, translated with an introduction by A. Gordon Mursell (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1995).

53. John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 264.

54. Mary Bodenstedt, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1944), 46.

55. For a good summary of influences, see Chapter Two in Mary Bodenstedt, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian*, 24-52.

56. L. M. Rigollot, ed., *Vita Jesu Christi: Ex Evangelio et Approbatis ab Ecclesia Catholica Doctoribus Sedule Collecta* (Parisiis: Apud Victorem Palme, mdccclxxviii(1878), Prooemium. Quoted in Brodrick, *Pilgrim Years*, 132.

57. Ganss, *Spiritual Exercises*, 40.

58. Rigollot, *Vita Christi, Prooemium.*

59. Bodenstedt, *Vita Christi*, 77. Compare these practices to Ignatius early practices at Manresa in *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 1-37.

60. *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 221, 46-7.

61. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 11, 16-17.

62. Bodenstedt, *Vita Christi*, 76.

63. Dalmases, *Ignatius: Founder*, 32.

64. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 12, 17-19; Dalmases, *Ignatius: Founder*, 46-47.

65. Brodrick, *Pilgrim Years*, 214.

66. Ibid., 287-8.

67. Ibid., 251.

68. Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 43.

69. García M. Colombás, *Un Reformador Benedictino en Tiempo de Los Reyes Católicos, García Jiménez de Cisneros, Abad de Montserrat (St. Mary's, Kansas: Bellarmine Library, St. Mary's College, 1955)*, vii; see also Captitulo V, VIII, and X.

70. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 17, 25-26, and the note on page 25.

71. Dalmases, *Ignatius: Founder*, 53.

72. Brodrick, *Pilgrim Years*, 89-90.

73. Terence O'Reilly, "The Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola and the *Exercitatorio de la Vida Spiritual*," *Studia Monastica* 16, 301-323. O'Reilly quotes an early article by Albareda (1935) and a later article by Leturia (1950), accepting the conclusions of Leturia.

74. Ibid., 302. See also the footnotes of that page. For an alternate, broader explanation, see Garcia-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola*), Chapter Six, 184-204. Leturia and Garcia-Villoslada are cautious; see O'Reilly, "The Exercises and the *Exercitatorio*," 304 for less cautious authors and miscellaneous comments.

75. O'Reilly, "The Exercises and the *Exercitatorio*," 301-23. Terence O'Reilly, "The Structural Unity of the *Exercitatorio de la Vida Spiritual*," *Studia Monastica* 15 (1973), 287-324.

76. O'Reilly, "Structural Unity," 287-8.

77. Ibid.

78. Dalmases, *Founder of the Jesuits*, 56.

79. Ibid.; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, notes #s 3 and 4 to sections # 20-24, 29-33.

80. Tylenda, *A Pilgrim's Journey*, see the note to section # 26, 34; Tylenda refers to the *Fontes Narrativi*, vol. 1, 584.

81. *ODCC*, 692 & 1373.

82. I am using William C. Creasy's translation for the text and the Penguin edition for introduction and notes. See William C. Creasy, *The Imitation of Christ* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press, 1989),

83. Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* (New York: Penguin Books, 1952), 153-5.

84. Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, # 169-89, 74-80.

85. Kempis, *Imitation*, 112-4.

86. Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, # 15, 25.

87. Kempis, *Imitation*, 37-9.

88. Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 9; For the essentials of the argument that Ignatius had finished a rough-draft version of the *Exercises* by 1525, but continually revised them to 1541, see Giubert, *The Jesuits*, 109-22.

89. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 45, 52-54.

90. Ibid., 122.

91. Ibid.; Guibert quoting an article written by Léonce de Grandmaison in 1920. See note # 32, 123.

92. Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, # 165-168, 72-73.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOURCES OF IGNATIUS'S EREMITICAL IDEAL: LATER FORMATIVE EXPERIENCES AND WRITINGS

Educational Experiences

Many commentators on Ignatius's life argue that he had already internalized his spirituality before he received his education.[1] His early life in Spain where he internalized the chivalric ideal of a knight changed to one of a hermit. Ignatius had begun to form the individual aspect of his eremitical lifestyle after the experiences at Manresa. His education, his encounters with the Inquisition, and the important corporate experience at Vicenza caused him to develop and change some of the early experiences. At Manresa, he lived as an individual hermit much of the time. Later, at Vicenza, he and his companions lived a similar lifestyle as a community at Vicenza.[2] His education affirmed the importance of his individual, active life while gradually expanding the individual concept to include one of a community. As other men began to follow him, he realized that he could have the greatest impact directing a religious community similar to those of Francis and Dominic.

The sacrifice necessary to obtain a formal education, which took him ten years to complete, caused him to retain some aspects of the Manresa experiences, modify others, and adopt others. The centrality of *The Spiritual Exercises* remained in his eremitical lifestyle. His education in the dogma and tradition of the Church was a challenge to the simple devotion and purity of faith expressed in them. But his early practices were proven to be genuine and his continuing reliance on *The Spiritual Exercises* as the central required practice of those he taught and trained proved to be spiritually and dogmatically valid by his education. It did not radically change the four basic tenets of his eremitical ideal, but instead added another to it.

Education in Spain

Ignatius came to the realization and conclusion that to help souls he needed an education; he wrote, "After the said pilgrim came to realize that it was God's will that he was not to remain in Jerusalem, he kept wondering what he ought to do and finally he was inclined toward spending some time in studies in order to help souls: and so he decided to go to Barcelona."[3] Ignatius had friends in Barcelona. Inés Pascual, with whom he had become friends before the journey to Jerusalem, provided him with a place to stay. Isabel Roser provided him with money for his living and educational expenses. Jerónimo Ardèvol, the holder of the chair of Latin for the high schools of Barcelona, taught

him Latin. Ignatius had to begin with classes of young boys in Latin; he knew how to read and write Catalan and Spanish, but had no experience in other languages. At age thirty-three, he had to begin to study the language and literature of the Church, an activity that engaged him many times for the remainder of his life.

Learning Latin was a full-time occupation for Ignatius while he remained in Barcelona, but it still took two years to gain enough competency to progress to studying at the university level.[4] During this time, he did not continue the austere ascetical practices to the degree he had at Manresa. He had had stomach pains at Manresa, probably from his physically challenging lifestyle there, but did not have them in Barcelona. Overall, he did not live as extreme a lifestyle in Barcelona, nor anywhere he went to study, as he had at Manresa. This was a result, in part, of his need to accomplish his studies, which he could not do if he was physically unable. But he also recognized the value of good health for service, a point made in the Additional Directives section of the First Week of *The Spiritual Exercises*.[5] But he still had an inner conflict about the degree that he should practice asceticism. He had felt well in Barcelona and this brought him " . . . the desire to resume his former penances . . ."[6] He did not resume them all, as he abandoned some of the ascetical practices, in this case going without shoes, because he had been commanded to do so.[7] By this mix of desire to remain healthy to accomplish his education and the instruction by higher Church officials to abandon some ascetical practices, Ignatius moved

beyond a physically demanding personal asceticism.

After obtaining a beginning knowledge of Latin, Ignatius's teacher, Master Ardèvol sent him to the University of Alcalá. Here he studied " . . . the dialectics of Soto, the physics of Albert, and the Master of the Sentences."[8] Even though committed to obtaining a formal university education, Ignatius was much more excited about his non-university activities than his studies. In his *Autobiography*, he spends pages on his teaching and Inquisition experiences and one sentence on his education. Ignatius was a good student, but his heart was as much in his spiritual life apart from the university as it was in his studies.

Ignatius's educational experience in Spain was a curious mix of positive feelings of excitement in learning and negative feelings of persecution. When he arrived in Alcalá, he had begun to beg, was given a room at a hospital, and then took up his usual " . . . giving of *The Spiritual Exercises* and in explaining Christian doctrine . . ."[9] Because this drew crowds and caused people to talk and rumors to fly, the Inquisition came from Toledo and investigated Ignatius. This investigation found Ignatius guilty of nothing and he was allowed to continue his activities. He was told to change his clothing because he and those with him wore habits and this gave the impression that they were members of a religious order. He did this.

The Inquisition investigated Ignatius twice more in Alcalá. The same men investigated him again shortly after the first time, but this second investigation was more for improper conduct than for heresy.[10] The third, most significant

investigation began with his being jailed. Ignatius submitted to this trial without protest or resistance; he knew he was not guilty of any heresy and had confidence that the court would reach this conclusion. The court at Alcalá, though finding him not guilty, commanded Ignatius and his companions not to preach or teach anymore in that city. This puzzled Ignatius and left him in doubt as to what to do. He meant to help souls by obtaining an education, but he had not thought that he would need to put his spiritual life on hold until the degree was obtained. Because he decided that he would not put his spiritual life on hold until he had obtained a university degree, the end result of this investigation was that he left Alcalá and went to Salamanca.

His student life at Salamanca did not begin well. His reputation followed him shortly and soon he was before more Church officials, answering questions and defending his writings and teachings. The Fathers of the Dominican House in Salamanca cross-examined Ignatius after dinner one night in late July or early August, 1527. When asked, "What do you preach?," Ignatius replied that they did not preach but speak, sometimes on virtue, to praise it, sometimes on vice, to condemn it. One Friar replied, "You are not learned men, and you speak about virtues and vices; but no one can speak about these things except in one of two ways: either through learning, or through the Holy Spirit. If not through learning then through the Holy Spirit."[11] These had come to be familiar words to Ignatius from advice given him in Barcelona, and through his experiences with the Inquisition in Alcala. After this fourth examination, Ignatius was found

innocent again, but remained limited in what he could teach and preach. He agreed to the orders, but only while in the jurisdiction of Salamanca. He decided to go to Paris. Although many tried to dissuade him, he went anyway, promising to make arrangements for his companions who had suffered with him to be able to join him soon after his own arrival there.

Ignatius's educational experience in Spain reflected the Church in Spain of his day; it was suspicious and domineering. Ignatius's responded with confidence. He did not, he would not relinquish the eremitical lifestyle he had initiated at Manresa in order to obtain his education. He needed to attend a university that allowed him to continue to live out his concept of the apostolic life and primitive church. His experience with the Inquisition and the universities in Spain developed his interior eremitical ideal further as he continued to work out how to be a successful active hermit in the world.

Education in France

The decision to go to Paris was not an easy one for Ignatius. He did not seem to agree with the judgements of the ecclesiastical authorities in Salamanca, although, as before, he agreed to abide by those judgements.[12] But he no longer felt that he could help souls in Spain, and decided to go to Paris. The reasons for this decision are not clear, but several have been advanced and seem reasonable. One writer states that Ignatius went to Paris, ". . . that he

would be able to dedicate himself seriously to study since, not knowing how to speak French, he would have less occasion to speak with others on spiritual things," and ". . . a confidence that at that celebrated university he could win over other students to follow his way of life, since there were many Spaniards and Portuguese among them."[13] Because he continued to work with students, the later seems most reasonable.

Though he decided to go to Paris to study, he continued to postpone other decisions. He remained indecisive about entering a religious order as he had immediately after his conversion.[14] He had not given up on the goal of going back to Jerusalem, or serving God as a wandering pilgrim. Although he had great confidence in his basic spiritual life, his experiences in Spain created a crisis of direction and service for Ignatius. It was his inner discipline and stability that maintained the priority of education as the present goal by which he might help souls.

In Paris, Ignatius's original plan to help souls expanded just enough to include the requirement that anyone who desired to follow his example must first acquire an education. He first realized this for himself and later required it of those who would become Jesuits. This expanded notion of the role and value of education is found in the letter of Ignatius to Mary of Austria, dated March 26th, 1552. In it, Ignatius explained the functions of the Society of Jesus as they had then been defined. These five principles guided Jesuit education. First, they should "promote the general salvation of souls." Second, they should "do this by

preaching the word of God publicly." Third, they should (do this) "by performing works of Christian charity." Fourth, they should (do this) "by making known the faith of Christ among infidels." Fifth, they should (do this) "by resisting the attacks on religion by heretics."[15] These five principles were a development of the foundational tenet, to go forth. Four of the five provide an accurate summary of his regular practices and activities in Paris. Ignatius did not make known the faith to infidels until later.

When he went to Paris, Ignatius changed his focus in ministry. In Spain, Ignatius taught women and children as his major ministry, with a few men. In Paris, Ignatius taught university students. This change of focus demonstrates the developing relationship of Ignatius's eremitical ideal to education. Education to Ignatius was not training in order to minister in an orthodox manner, as it was to most university students of the day. Education was a tool to sharpen and focus the individual on ministry, ministry whose method and character had already been established by *The Spiritual Exercises*. Thus, even the Society of Jesus in its emphasis on education was a tool to sharpen and focus the individual for ministry. Education became almost as important a tool as *The Spiritual Exercises*, with both of these used as guides to form the character of Jesuits to minister. The method of ministry was a reflection of Ignatius's eremitical ideal. The Paris university experience was very influential in Ignatius's life, comparing with his individual experience at Manresa, and his corporate experience at Vicenza. It was also the longest of these. His training

at Paris lasted almost ten years.

Ignatius was still basically lacking the fundamentals of a university education when he arrived in Paris.[16] He knew this and made up for educational instruction that he did not obtain in Spain. The method by which he did this was " . . . the prescribed curriculum of Paris."[17] This was the method he later adopted for Jesuit colleges.[18] For Ignatius, this method helped him prepare for his studies at the university level at the College of Montaigu, one of the many individual colleges at the University of Paris.[19]

In 1529, Ignatius again appeared before the Inquisition, but this was the first time in France. He had given *The Spiritual Exercises* to three other students, Juan de Castro, Pedro de Peralta, and Amador de Elduayen. Amador had made the master of the College of Sainte-Barbe angry, and the master blamed the student's condition on his association with Ignatius. The Inquisitor-General of Paris, the Dominican cleric Matthieu Ory, took no punitive action and Ignatius was able to enroll at the College of Sainte-Barbe in the fall of 1529. During his period of study at Sainte-Barbe, Ignatius did not engage in his normal giving of *The Spiritual Exercises*, teaching, and preaching except on Sundays; he was too involved in study.[20] His week was dedicated to his studies.

Sainte-Barbe was a college that taught philosophy, logic, and physics, none of which was part of the beginning, basic curriculum; they were advanced courses[21]. Its course of study lasted three years and the student received a Bachelor of Arts. Ignatius received his on March 13, 1532. The primary

university education that Ignatius received at the College of Montaigu was roughly equivalent to the present university education that results in a Bachelor of Arts. The Master of Arts that Ignatius received at the College of Sainte-Barbe was equivalent to the present Master of Arts. Ignatius received his Master of Arts on March 14, 1534. The doctoral equivalent in theology was a lengthy degree, requiring twelve to fifteen years of study.[22] The Bachelor of Theology, an advanced degree beyond the Master of Arts, required almost a third of this time, about five years. Ignatius did not desire to obtain either of these degrees, although he did spend another eighteen months in Paris studying theology and received a diploma for this period of the study.[23] During his life, Ignatius reached the master level, receiving a Master of Arts degree and because this achievement met his goal of obtaining an education to help souls, he sought no further academic recognition. After graduation, he used his education to further the goals of his eremitical ideal, both within himself and in others.[24]

By the time Ignatius had concluded his studies at Paris, he had a following of other men with similar educations whom he had guided through *The Spiritual Exercises*. The Society of Jesus was not formed until 1540, so many of these men went their ways, joining other religious orders, and fulfilling other positions and assignments by the Church. They were remarkable in their life-long respect and admiration for Ignatius. Some, however, followed him and became the core of the future Society of Jesus.

The content of the education that Ignatius received confirmed that what

he had learned at Manresa through his readings there. The devotional writings, though less valuable for Ignatius to reach his goal of helping souls than the critical, intellectual and philosophical works, were the foundation for his eremitical ideal and remained the foundation of it for the rest of his life. He did write the *Constitutions* after his educational experiences, and they do indicate definite influence from what he learned. But, he made *The Spiritual Exercises* the standard for his companions before and the members of the Society of Jesus after it was formed. A copy of *The Imitation of Christ* lay on his desk for the rest of his life. The devotional writings that Ignatius read just before, during, and just after the Manresa experience remained influential in the formation and development of the eremitical ideal of Ignatius. His university education gave him the knowledge and freedom to turn those experiences into a lifestyle.

Post-Educational Experience

The Vow at Montmartre

Although Ignatius studied theology after he made this vow, it has implications for his life after he completed his education and the founding of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius had had periodic trouble with his stomach during his stay at Paris.[25] Because of this and an unusual amount of frequent illness, physicians in Paris advised Ignatius that he would recover more quickly in Spain.

The companions of Ignatius at the University of Paris that had taken *The Spiritual Exercises* agreed and Ignatius decided that he would return to Spain in 1535. It was during this time, of illness, the study of theology, and the formation of a community that he with his companions made a formal vow at Montmartre, in the chapel of St. Denis, on Assumption Day, August 15, 1534.

The vow itself was simple and contained three parts. First, they vowed strict poverty, in accordance with the tradition for those who entered the religious orders, but beyond the traditional requirements. Second, they vowed to go to Jerusalem. This had remained a focus of Ignatius and he kept it before the companions as well. They still intended to go there and had high hopes of remaining there to serve as Christ had done in the place where Christ had lived. The last part of the Montmartre vow was actually a substitute for the trip to Jerusalem. If they could not go to Jerusalem, they vowed to present themselves to the Pope, who would decide where they could be best used " . . . for the greater glory of God and the good of souls."[26]

The vow at Montmartre was a verification of the first and second foundational tenets, to go forth and to live in poverty and simplicity. Ignatius had completed the fifth tenet, a university education, and had spent years obtaining it. He had not relinquished his determination to help souls, the fourth tenet, but had practiced it throughout his educational period. His contemplative and mystical experiences at Vicenza had confirmed his desire to strive for evangelical perfection, the third tenet. Both personally, individually, and with his

companions, corporately, Ignatius pulled the experiences, practices, and lifestyle of the active hermit together into his eremitical ideal between Paris and Vicenza.

Venice through Vicenza

After another encounter with Inquisition in Paris and a trip to Spain, Ignatius made his way to Venice. He had intended first to continue his studies in theology at Bologna, but he became ill again and took this as a sign to continue on to Venice. He arrived there near the end of 1535. He spent the entire year of 1536 in Venice, without illness and in favorable financial circumstances. He had decided not to pursue study of theology in a formal way and proceeded to make plans to give *The Spiritual Exercises* and engage in preaching and teaching. He found lodging with a man who was well-educated and had a good library, making his informal study of theology possible.

In Venice, Ignatius met Gian Pietro Caraffa, the founder of the first order of clerks regular, known as the Theatines, a new religious order. Caraffa was later to become a Cardinal and, ultimately, became Pope Paul IV. The Theatines were, to Ignatius, the way a religious order should not be founded and conducted. His reaction to the Theatines was similar to previous reaction to other religious orders he had encountered at Manresa. It was not a reaction against the religious orders themselves, but rather against inconsistency of practice within them. The Theatines did not practice strict poverty, they did not

preach, and they did no works of charity and mercy, all of which were important to Ignatius. Having informed Caraffa that the Theatine Order needed to change its policies and practice, Ignatius appealed to St. Francis and other saints. Caraffa disagreed and before a serious breach occurred between them, was summoned to Rome to prepare for a future Church council.[27]

The confrontation with Caraffa over the nature of the apostolic life and organization and practice had the effect of confirming again that Ignatius would not depart from the basic principles he had formed at Manresa and developed since that time. His disagreement with Caraffa over the nature of the apostolic life that resulted in Ignatius's appeal to Francis and the other saints is conclusive evidence that, although he further developed it and added education to it, Ignatius's eremitical ideal remained basically, substantially, that which he had formed at Manresa.[28]

The ten companions of Ignatius set out from Paris late in 1536 to join him in Venice. They arrived in Venice in January, 1537. Ignatius remained in his quarters and the companions found residence in two hospitals until Easter, the prearranged date to request passage to Jerusalem from the Pope. They set out for Rome to gain permission to go to Jerusalem, without Ignatius, in March. Ignatius stayed behind to keep from offending Ortiz and Caraffa in the request. When they arrived in Rome, they received two documents from the Pope's office. One document contained an approval to go to Jerusalem. The other was a document granting any bishop, anywhere, at any time, permission for all who

were not yet priests to receive ordination to the priesthood. With these documents in hand, they returned to Venice and rejoined Ignatius there.

When they reunited, they needed to determine their next course of action, because they did not obtain passage to Jerusalem that year. By this time, two had left the group, which now numbered nine. While waiting to go to Jerusalem, seven of these received their ordination. Favre was already ordained and Salmerón was yet too young. But they remained steadfast in their determination to go to Jerusalem and therefore needed to find something to do until July of the next year. For Ignatius, there was no question that they would serve and live in an apostolic life until the following July. They then adopted a plan to separate and after prayer and council, they went to various cities in the Venetian Empire.

Ignatius, Favre, and Laínez went to Vicenza, to live in an abandoned building outside of the town proper. For Ignatius, it was " . . . a second Manresa."[29] He described his stay at Vicenza as a time when " . . . he enjoyed great supernatural visitations of the kind that he used to have when he was in Manresa."[30] He had not had that kind of experience since Manresa, which made his experiences there even more vivid. Vicenza became another Manresa for Ignatius with one essential difference; in Manresa, Ignatius was alone, except for periodic visits with the monks of Manresa and Montserrat. In Vicenza, Ignatius had an apostolic community; he had finally obtained his primitive church. In Manresa, Ignatius was a solitary hermit. In Vicenza, Ignatius was part of a community of hermits.

Ignatius's community in Vicenza practiced a similar eremitism to that of his days in Manresa. They took temporary residence in the abandoned monastery of Saint Peter. They intended to be there several months and devoted the first forty days to prayer. They begged their food. During this time, they " . . . enjoyed good health, and daily experience the truth of having nothing yet possessing all things; all the things, I mean, that the Lord promised to those who seek first the kingdom of God and His justice."[31] After the first forty days, Codure joined them and they then went into the city daily to preach. They were well-received, despite the fact that their Italian was broken at best. All ten joined together after the others had finished in the Venetian cities where they had served. This pattern of begging, serving, preaching, and teaching went on for months. Eventually, each celebrated his first Mass, except for Ignatius, who waited for another year.[32]

The significance of the corporate experience of Ignatius with his companions is betrayed by its brief mention in *The Autobiography*. It was the ideological foundation for the not-too-distant Society Of Jesus. During the Vicenza experience, Ignatius had a parallel experience to Manresa, but one that went beyond Manresa in many ways. At Manresa, Ignatius had drawn upon late-medieval devotional literature and an eremitical experience to create a lifestyle. He confirmed that through encounters with the Inquisition, education, and subsequent experience as valid, useful, and orthodox. Ignatius's conviction and commitment to his eremitical ideal was strengthened and grew stronger and

more secure from Manresa on.

By Vicenza, Ignatius was sure of the individual application of his eremitical ideal, but would it work in a corporate setting? He had gathered men around him in Spain and in Paris and by the time of the Vicenza experience, there were nine, including himself. He had led each one in taking *The Spiritual Exercises*, and all had committed themselves to Ignatius and his life of service, preaching, and teaching. Vicenza was the test to see if the individual eremitical ideal of Ignatius could be shared by a community. In most respects, it passed the test. Its application to corporate circumstances went smoothly. Among the companions, there was no dissension or question. For all of them, this was God's will made very clear.

Both the devotional literature that had been the foundation for Ignatius's experience at Manresa and the study of philosophy and theology in Spain and Paris advocated groups of men and women living together in various degrees of physical hardship in order to serve God. He had already considered joining the Carthusian Order, had experienced Dominicans and Benedictines, and had read about Franciscans and others.[33] He had learned from all of them but imitated none of them. Ideas from many of them became part of the foundation document for a corporate experience, *The Five Chapters*. For Ignatius, " . . . the spirituality which we have here described belongs exclusively to no kind of vocation in particular. His method of spirituality being neither monastic nor lay nor clerical, but simply evangelical and human, . . ."[34] Ignatius's experience at Vicenza

proved that his eremitical ideal was not only orthodox and workable on a personal, individual level, but it could be applied to a community. Ignatius and his eight companions became the Society of Jesus whose character was eclectic and selective in its methods to serve.

In late 1537, when passage to Jerusalem looked impossible, they decided to wait one more year. They repeated the practice of dividing and going to different cities, but this time they went to more than just the Venetian Empire, and now included going to several northern Italian cities. They also chose cities that had universities, in hope of attracting students like themselves to join with them. Because they had been asked who they were, they agreed upon a name, the Company (Compañía in Spanish, Societas in Latin) of Jesus, should anyone ask them who they were and what they were about.[35] After this preaching tour, they went to Rome, and the first companions entered the city in late fall, 1537.

The last inquiry into the teachings of Ignatius by the Inquisition occurred during late spring of 1538. Because of the spread of Lutheran teachings among some of the clerics in Rome, the members of the new (but as yet, unofficial) Society of Jesus were investigated. The companions referred to themselves as "reformed priests" and thus incurred suspicion. As his practice had been previously, Ignatius addressed the problem head-on, going to the authorities of Rome and cooperating with them, submitting himself and *The Spiritual Exercises* for examination. In a letter to Peter Contarini, Ignatius mentioned letters of recommendation from Cardinal Gaspar Contarini to the Governor of Rome in

defense of his orthodoxy.[36] These references helped, but he needed two more acts of assistance. The Pope intervened, and many of Ignatius's previous acquaintances from Spain, Paris, and Venice who had come to Rome on official business provided verbal testimonies on his behalf. Ignatius was again officially acquitted and because of his concern for the possible damage done to the reputation of the new Society had the sentence posted in places where rumors might have damaged it, including a letter sent to his home at Loyola.[37] Through this, the Pope was made aware of Ignatius, his companions, and their work.

Venice went to war with the Muslims: a trip to Jerusalem would not be possible for years, perhaps not even in their lifetimes. The time to make the fourth vow had come. They immediately made themselves available to the Pope, fulfilling the previous vow at Montmartre.[38] It was late spring, 1539. Within six months, they had written *The Five Chapters*. One year later, on September 27, 1540, with the Papal Bull, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, the Pope officially instituted the Society of Jesus.[39]

Later Writings

Just as Ignatius had written *The Spiritual Exercises* in conjunction with and as a response to the Manresa experience, he wrote *The Five Chapters* in response to the Vicenza experience. *The Spiritual Exercises* were Ignatius's guide for an individual to develop his most effective service for God as an

individual. In a similar way, the *The Five Chapters* were Ignatius's guide for his group to develop them in the most effective service for God as a community. Ignatius had used late-medieval devotional literature, interaction with members of several religious orders, and his experience at Manresa to form and develop *The Spiritual Exercises* as a handbook for spiritual life. He combined those sources with his subsequent formal, university education and his experiences since Manresa and applied it to the forming and developing of the *The Five Chapters.*[40]

The *Five Chapters*

The first and earliest portion of *The Constitutions* was *The Formula of the Institute* and it was first designated *The Five Chapters* (*quinque capitula*) and was the result of deliberations by Ignatius and the original eight companions in Rome during March to June, 1539. It was the summation of all that Ignatius had experienced, learned, and developed from his recovery and conversion at Loyola castle until then. Because *The Spiritual Exercises* were an individual endeavor, *The Five Chapters* referred to them, but then went beyond, to structure the religious order that Ignatius and his companions later officially designated the Society of Jesus. The later definition of *The Five Chapters* into *The Formula of the Institute*, and beyond, to the *Constitutions* became necessary because Ignatius discovered that more instructions were necessary for the

efficient running of the Society of Jesus.

The four tenets of Ignatius's eremitical ideal that he gleaned from the seven, early formative influences were still the foundation for him and his companion's life and service and are well-represented in *The Five Chapters*. To go forth, to live in poverty and simplicity, to strive for evangelical perfection, and to help souls were the four foundation tenets of Ignatius's eremitical ideal. The somewhat nebulous ideas of education and instruction became the fifth tenet of Ignatius's eremitical ideal after Paris. These five elements heavily influenced *The Five Chapters,* the foundation for the Society of Jesus.

In 1539, the companions appropriated the abandoned house of Antonio Frangipani in Rome in 1539 and there Ignatius and his companions practiced the apostolic life that they had planned and developed in Vicenza. "Besides these corporal works of mercy . . . (they did) . . . cathechesis, preaching the word of God . . . the administration of the sacraments, and the giving of the Spiritual Exercises."[41] They had been frustrated in their desire to go to Jerusalem, but the inability to go forth as a group was temporary; soon they would have requests for members to go to America and the Far East.

The foundation tenets and his desire to incorporate education and instruction were incorporated into much of *The Five Chapters*. Ignatius's overriding concern and life's goal to help souls is a major theme throughout.[42] The first tenet, "To go forth," was specifically addressed in Chapter Two. The Pope was the first listed as having the authority to send members of the Society

to " . . . whatever His Holiness may order pertaining to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith, whether he decides to send us among the Turks, or to the New World, or to the Lutherans, or to any others whether infidels or faithful."[43] In relation to the tenet, to go forth, the Superior of the Society was just as responsible to obey the Pope as the members of the Society.[44] In Chapter Three, the members were also responsible to obey " . . . the one put in charge of the Society."[45] The Superior of the Society of Jesus was to work with the Pope to determine where to send Jesuits and what they would do. This was Ignatius's intention from the very beginning of the Society.

Chapter Four of *The Five Chapters* provided the guideline for those who would follow first Christ, then Ignatius, to live in poverty and simplicity. They were to " . . . vow perpetual poverty, declaring that they cannot, either individually or in common, acquire any civil right to any stable goods or any produce or fixed income for the maintenance or use of the Society."[46] Ignatius's educational experiences modified this requirement somewhat. They could forego this requirement " . . . in order to bring together some talented students and instruct them . . . and at length be received into our Society . . ."[47] Ignatius's desire to provide for education of members and opportunity for them to instruct others was found here, in Chapters One, Three, and Four in *The Five Chapters*.[48] All of the first nine Jesuits were graduates of the University of Paris and thus understood the importance of a formal education in the work of the Society.

Chapter One of *The Five Chapters* contains the general guidelines for Ignatius's requirement "To strive for evangelical perfection." It states that " . . . any such person take care to keep always before his eyes first God, and then the nature of this Institute which is, so to speak, a pathway to God; . . . "[49] Ignatius never intended that anyone joining the Society would do so without first taking *The Spiritual Exercises* at least once as a novice, and then several more times before being admitted as a full member.[50] Thus, *The Five Chapters* did not contain lengthy specific instructions for living as members of the Society of Jesus as did other Rules, such as the *Regula Benedicta*, the *Regula Prima* or *Regula Primitiva* of Francis, or the General Chapters of Dominic. Ignatius considered that the taking of *The Spiritual Exercises*, a formal education, and specific duties as outlined by the Pope and the Superior of the Society needed little added to them for the member to meet the requirement of striving for evangelical perfection.

The Five Chapters contain exclusions and excuse members from engaging in severe ascetical practices. Ignatius did not think these sinful for others, "These, however, we do not prohibit because we condemn them . . . ," but had learned that the successful performance of the duties of education and service did not allow them to be practiced.[51] Ignatius had learned from Manresa that severe ascetical practices can permanently harm the body, disabling it for later service and he had learned in Paris that they distract from efficient diligence in university studies. The development from the practice of severe

asceticism at Manresa to service in the world can be readily seen in *The Five Chapters.* The early Carthusian influence for the anchorite, enclosed, or solitary life of a hermit had given way to the active, apostolic life as seen more in Francis and Dominic as wandering preachers and teachers. Ignatius's goals for education and instruction were combined with the strict personal requirements given in *The Spiritual Exercises.* He then gathered a community of companions and considered what was necessary for them as a group (a company, or compagña). From these previous experiences, he then formed *The Five Chapters* as a guideline for the group. The eclectic, developmental nature of the Society of Jesus and its dependence on Ignatius's eremitical ideal were a process that began with his conversion, continued at Manresa with ascetical practices and mystical experiences, developed into an active, eremitical lifestyle.[52]

Letters

Most of Ignatius's letters were written after 1540, while he was the General of the Society of Jesus residing in Rome. Between his conversion at Loyola castle, through his early experiences at Manresa, the trip to Jerusalem, and finally his return prior to beginning his formal education, Ignatius wrote only one letter that has been preserved. If it were added to the others written during his educational period (through 1536), that brings the total to only eleven. Of

approximately 7,000 letters, only nineteen were written during the period between the initial writing of *The Spiritual Exercises* and *The Five Chapters* (1524-1539).

Several conclusions can be drawn from this lack of communication during this early period. First, the lack of letters confirm that this was indeed a training period for Ignatius and that he focused his mind and activity on the acquisition of a working knowledge of the faith. It was also a period where he wrote in journals that are now lost and whose contents remain relatively unknown. Most important is the fact that a lack of early letters points to an almost exclusive focus on the writing, rewriting, and editing of *The Spiritual Exercises* and the acquisition of an education. In addition to this, most of his later letters dealt with men and women who he had trained or enlisted into spiritual service, or the Society of Jesus. In this early period, he had trained few, enlisted less, and the Society did not yet exist. In sum, Ignatius wrote few letters because he had almost no one to write to, and his journals, *The Spiritual Exercises*, his education, and the work on *The Five Chapters* took up the majority of his writing attention and time. Another factor was that he was constantly traveling and many times in situations that were not at all conducive to writing.[53] His permanent stay at Rome gave him much more opportunity to write and the needs of the new Society demanded that he must. These reasons account for the remainder of the approximately 7,000 letters.

Although none of Ignatius's extent letters date from the Manresa

experience, one is preserved from the period just after his trip to Jerusalem. This is his first letter of record and was written to Inés Pascual in 1524. Many of his distinguishing phrases are already in use.[54] Even at this early date, the letter indicated progress from the severe, physical asceticism of Manresa to a more interior and spiritually active type of discipline. Ignatius instructed this lady to "Always avoid whatever things are harmful.," so that, " . . . temptation will have no power against you."[55] He concluded that thought with " . . . the Lord does not require you to do anything exhausting or harmful to your person."[56] Although it is possible he spoke in this manner because Inés Pascual was an older woman and not a member of a religious order, it is just as likely that Ignatius had learned that to be productive in his eremitical lifestyle, he had to be practical in regard to his physical condition and needs.

In another letter to Inés Pascual dated March 3, 1528, Ignatius had just arrived in Paris. In this letter, Ignatius instructed Inés's son John to "keep the feast days," an instruction echoed in the section titled "Rules for Thinking, Judging, and Feeling with the Church," in the Supplementary Matter portion of *The Spiritual Exercises* and in Chapter Five of *The Five Chapters*.[57]

In June, 1532, Ignatius wrote to Martín Garcia de Oñaz concerning arrangements for his son to study in Paris. Ignatius's change of mind concerning the benefits of avoiding severe bodily penances was alluded to here when he states that " . . . you would not want him to suffer any need that might interfere with his studies, so it seems to me."[58] When Ignatius became

convinced that God wanted him to acquire an education in order to help souls, he dedicated himself to his studies and expressed frustration when he was hindered from applying himself to that goal.[59]

Many of Ignatius's letters during this early period were written to express thanks for help received during his studies in Paris. He wrote a letter to Isabel Roser dated November 10, 1532 and thanked her for her help in defraying costs for his education. He redirected her misguided sentiment in seeking forgiveness for not being able to help him any longer and instructed her to seek God's will in all that she was doing. He was confident that even though she could no longer help, his expenses would be met. He also wrote to Inés Pascual on June 13, 1533 requesting aid in defraying expenses incurred for obtaining his Master's Degree. He also requested that she speak to some friends and make the same request to them on his behalf.[60]

These five letters are all that remain from the period from Ignatius's conversion to his completion of his education in Paris in 1535. They contain little information about his eremitical ideal beyond allusions to his development of thought in regard to ascetical practice. They indicate that he was preoccupied with supporting himself while at the various universities. They do indicate that education became important to him during this period. They also re-enforce the addition of education to the basic tenets of his eremitical ideal as he formed it at Manresa. When evaluated in light of the importance of education in *The Five Chapters*, they confirm the future importance of acquiring an education to

members of the Society of Jesus and their involvement in activities for Christians that include instruction, catechism, and education.

The next letter in the Ignatian corpus was dated February 12, 1536 and was written to Jaíme Cassador, an archdeacon of the cathedral of Barcelona and later Bishop of Barcelona. Ignatius wrote it from the home of "a very good and learned man" in Venice. This was the home of Andrea Lippomano, where he stayed to study theology and await the reunion of his companions from Paris. Ignatius addressed the concerns of Jaíme Cassador concerning several people with whom he and Ignatius had dealings. The first were nephews of Jaíme. The next was a man they had known who was ill. They also had known a woman who took *The Spiritual Exercises*, but her resultant life was not up to the standard that was expected of one who had done this. Also, a convent had requested help from Ignatius, but he did not think this appropriate.[61] This type of letter is typical of later ones that had much of business and little of theory in it. In all of his letters, Ignatius dealt regularly with human problems, shortcomings, and failures.

Teresa Rejadell wrote Ignatius and he wrote in return on June 18, 1536. He had already given her much spiritual guidance and assistance and here he advised her not to dwell on how to serve God in "a life of great penance, deprived of all satisfaction from friends, relatives, possessions?" This, he said, was a major tactic of the enemy to impede her spiritual progress. Another major tactic was pride and vainglory making itself known in false humility. Both of

these and the plan to overcome them were already in *The Spiritual Exercises*, in the section entitled "Rules to Perceive and Somewhat Understand the Motions Caused in the Soul by Diverse Spirits," a part of "Supplementary Matter" after the Fourth Week. The contents of this letter re-enforce *The Spiritual Exercises* as Ignatius's major method of helping others in their spiritual life.[62]

Ignatius wrote a brief second letter to Teresa Rajadell a few months later on September 11, 1536. He was still in Venice. Here he underscored that meditation should not involve an unhealthy or deprivation diet and should not include loss of sleep. Again, Ignatius has departed from advocating his early practices of severe asceticism, and advocated maintenance of a healthy body and regular sleep periods. Although Ignatius was given to a demanding personal schedule of prayer, meditation, study, and counseling, his habit of regular meals and sleep allowed him to continue this for years.[63] He continually stressed that the most productive work is spiritual, not physical, in nature and the body must be kept in an acceptable physical condition to engage in spiritual pursuits. He summarized it in this way: "God asks only one thing of me, that my soul seek to be conformed with His Divine Majesty. And the soul so conformed makes the body conformed, whether it wish it or not, to the divine will."[64] This was also underscored in the "Principle and Foundation" section of the First Week in *The Spiritual Exercises* and in the "Conclusion" of *The Five Chapters*.[65] Ignatius continued to maintain the inner ideal of the active hermit.

Ignatius wrote the next letter in Venice at the end of 1536 and addressed

it to the Dominican priest Gabriel Guzman, the confessor to Queen Eleanor of Austria. The language of the letter indicated that Ignatius retained his pre-conversion noble heritage as another tool to be used in service to God. His companions had left Paris at a time of war between France and the Spanish-German empire of Charles V. He requested assistance for them for safe conduct in their journey to Venice.[66]

In his letter dated November 16, 1536, to Manuel Miona, his confessor at Alcala and Paris, Ignatius urged that he should make *The Spiritual Exercises*, although a long-time priest and experienced in spiritual matters.[67] The contents of this letter indicated that Ignatius thought that the making of *The Spiritual Exercises* would benefit the newest novice or the oldest experienced priest in their service to God. Whether or not the person entered the Society of Jesus (which this man did at a later date) was not the point. Ignatius sincerely believed in the ability of *The Spiritual Exercises* to improve any Christian in their service to God in a personal, individual way. *The Spiritual Exercises* remained at the center of Ignatius's individual eremitical ideal. *The Five Chapters*, *The Formula of the Institute*, and the *Constitutions* were written to bring these individuals into a corporate society in service to God under the direction of the Pope and the Superior of the Society of Jesus. The Manresa experience and the Vicenza experience had produced documents that had two different purposes, although these documents were interrelated, similar, and had many of the same principles within them.

On November 23, 1538, from Rome, Ignatius wrote a letter to James de Gouvea. In this letter, Ignatius first used the term, "Society," and first spoke of their vow to the Pope; "All of us who are mutually bound in this Society have given ourselves to the supreme pontiff, since he is the lord of the worldwide harvest of Christ our Lord." Ignatius also found that he and his companions were in demand in several places. This placed the new Society in the midst of a conflict about where they should go. Demand for members of the new Society would continue and cause the Society severe growing pains in the first years of its incorporation. The letter indicated that at that time, the Pope had them remain in Rome.[68] They had to wait to go forth.

Of the two official Papal pronouncements, one verbal, the other written, a Papal Bull, that instituted the Society of Jesus, the first is documented in Ignatius's letter to Bertram Loyola, his nephew, dated September 24, 1539. The first approval was given by the Pope, " . . . the vicar of Christ our Lord has approved and confirmed our whole manner of proceeding, our work, our living in community, and so forth. He has granted full faculties for drawing up constitutions which according to our judgement will be adapted to our way of life."[69] This was the Pope's verbal approval to officially initiate the Society of Jesus and to outline its organization. Later, written approval came with the Papal Bull, *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*, dated September 27, 1540.[70]

Ignatius's eremitical ideal during this period developed from its first ascetical practices and mystical experiences after his conversion at Loyola

castle and an eremitical lifestyle at Manresa. The influences of other religious orders, late-medieval devotional literature, and his decision to obtain an education to help souls continued this development. During his time at Alcala, Salamanca, and Paris, the importance of education to his goal of helping souls grew to equal importance to the first four tenets.

NOTES

1. See Harvey D. Egan, *Ignatius Loyola, the Mystic*, The Way of the Christian Mystics (Collegeville, Minnesota: Michael Glazier, The Liturgical Press, 1987), 43-44 ; Cándido de Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, translated by Jerome Aixalá (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), 69; Ricardo Garcia-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola: Nueva Biografía* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1986), 232-233.

2. Ignatius of Loyola, *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola*, Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Joseph N. Tylenda (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazer, 1985), 110, note 95. Joseph de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice* Translated by William J. Young. Edited by George Ganss (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 33. Guibert states that the two great periods of Ignatius's spiritual life were during his stay at Manresa and his stay at Vicenza, separated by a period of distraction caused by his studies. I label these two periods of great spiritual growth as one of individual growth at Manresa and one of corporate growth at Vicenza. Both were necessary for the later-formed Society of Jesus to be successful.

3. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 50, 59.

4. Ibid., # 55-56, 63-65.

5. Ibid.; Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, Translation and Commentary by George Ganss (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992), 48-51. This point is made more clearly in *The Five Chapters*.

6. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 55, 64.

7. Ibid., # 59, 68.

8. Ibid., # 57, 65. See Garcia-Villoslada, *Nueva Biografía*, 270-274, for a short summary of the course of study at Alcalá.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., # 59, 68.

11. Ibid., # 65, 76-77.

12. Ibid., # 68-72, 79-83.

13. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 106.

14. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, #12, 17-19.

15. Hugo Rahner, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women* (Freiburg, West Germany: Herder and Herder, 1960), 40; see also Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 363-381.

16. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 73, 85.

17. Ibid.

18. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 107.

19. James K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 15ff. Farge gives information for student requirements and length of course of study.

20. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 83, 94.

21. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 15-28.

22. Ibid., 16.

23. For a good summary of Ignatius's experiences at the University of Paris see Garcia-Villoslada, *Nueva Biografía*, 303-371.

24. Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice,* 70.

25. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 84, 97.

26. Ibid., # 85, 98.

27. Ignatius Loyola, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, Selected and Translated by William J. Young, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), 28-31.

28. Ibid

29. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 147.

30. Ibid., # 95, 112.

31. Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 31-32.

32. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 147-150; *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 94 & 95, 110-112.

33. Alain Saint-Saëns, "Ignace de Loyola Devant L'Érémitisme: La Dimension Cartusienne," *Mélanges de L'École Française de Rome:Italie et Méditerranée* Tome 102 no. 1 (1990) : 202. I am less convinced of the Carthusian nature of the Vicenza experience than Professor Saint-Saëns, but his insistence on the critical importance of the Vicenza experience as Ignatius's corporate eremitical ideal is accurate and well-noted.

34. Alexandre Brou, *The Ignatian Way to God*, Translated by William J. Young, (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1952), 45-52.

35. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 149. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, 112-3.

36. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 158-159. Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 37.

37. Ibid., 38-39.

38. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 160-163.

39. Ibid., 172.

40. Antonio M. De Aldama, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: The Formula of the Institute: Notes for a Commentary*, Translated by Ignacio Echániz, (St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1990), 25.

41. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 164.

42. Aldama, *The Formula of the Institute*, 2. Ignatius words it as, " . . . to strive especially for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine . . . "

43. Aldama, *The Formula of the Institute*, 8.

44. Ibid., 10.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., 14.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., 2, 8, 12, 14.

49. Ibid., 4.

50. Ibid., 2. The requirement "by Spiritual Exercises" is specifically mentioned in the second paragraph of Chapter One of *The Five Chapters*.

51. Ibid., 20.

52. Ibid., 25. Aldama quotes Nadal here as testifying that the goals of the Society as it was founded were consistent with Ignatius's earliest individual goals.

53. Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 7.

54. "God our Savior" and the "poor pilgrim" are two famous ones used in this letter.

55. I have compared the BAC Spanish with these two English versions; George Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola, Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*, 326, and Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 3.

56. Ganss, *Selected Works*, 327.

57. Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 5: Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 134: Aldama, *The Formula of the Institute*, 18.

58. Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 5.

59. *A Pilgrim's Journey*, # 74, 86. The accommodations at the Hospital of Saint-Jacques prevented him from attending the classes that he needed and he had to beg alms: Ignatius called these "drawbacks."

60. Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 9-13.

61. Ibid., 13-18.

62. Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 18-24; Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 314, 121.

63. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 250ff (all of Chapter 18).

64. Young, *Letters of St Ignatius of Loyola*, 25.

65. Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 32; Aldama, *The Formula of the Institute*, 20.

66. Young, *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 26.

67. Ibid., 27-28.

68. Ibid., 35-36. The original is in Latin, probably written by Favre from dictation by Ignatius. The *MHSJ* Latin original uses the word, "Societate,"132-134, and the *BAC* Spanish version uses the word, "Compañía," 742.

69. Ibid., 40.

70. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 172.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

THE EREMITICAL IDEAL OF IGNATIUS LOYOLA

During the seventeen years between 1522 and 1539, Ignatius formed his eremitical ideal. His previous personal life had ingrained within him an interior chivalric ideal of an aggressive knight which he gradually developed into the interior ideal of an active hermit. While engaged in the process of learning the Biblical Gospel narratives and assimilating information from a number of late-medieval religious texts about spiritual life and forms of devotional practices, he also began a personal journal that contained much of his own, personal coordination of various portions of this material. He began *The Spiritual Exercises*. At Manresa, he combined these with ascetical practices and mystical experiences and adapted all of this material to the lifestyle of the active hermit. He went to Jerusalem. Upon his return, he dedicated himself to the acquisition of a university education. His education confirmed his ideal and presented him with the opportunity to attract other university students to similar practices,

experiences, and a similar lifestyle. Over the course of his university education, several of these students graduated and joined with Ignatius, forming a small band, the nucleus of the future Society of Jesus. He then adopted his personal, individual ideal to one designed for a corporate, group experience, again providing a written document, *The Five Chapters*. Soon after, the Society of Jesus was officially formed. Ignatius had imparted to the society and its members two expressions of his eremitical ideal, one intended for individuals as exemplified in *The Spiritual Exercises*, and one intended for the society as corporate entity, *The Five Chapters*. Both contained similar requirements for devotional practice based upon the experiences of Ignatius from Manresa to Vicenza, and that of his companions from Paris to Vicenza.

The ideal of Ignatius of Loyola was not complex nor expressed voluminously. He defined it as a matter of a few well-defined tenets that were expanded in detail in his writings. His writings were generally based upon his experiences, not his knowledge, although the knowledge that he gradually accumulated during his formal education confirmed them. It was consistent with selective portions of the ascetical, mystical, and eremitical traditions of Western Latin Christianity. It was born from life experience in Catholic Western Europe. It was active and apostolic. It was Catholic and Papal.

Ignatius was an active servant of God and Church. His ideal permeated action. It was new in its synthesis of the content of long-standing tradition, theology, and practice, but not new in content. It was reforming but not

Reformation. It was innovative and challenging, but not challenging to common practice or hierarchical authority. It was implementative, but not threatening to other methods and standards. It was mystical and contemplative, but did not allow or endorse the contemplative life as a passive life, withdrawn from society. Ignatius was not a cloistered, reclusive hermit. He was an active hermit. He did not separate from the world geographically, but spiritually. He was in the world, but not of the world.

The eremitical ideal of Ignatius had five major tenets. He developed the first four at Manresa from his reading of the literary sources available to him and from his experiences, both before and after his conversion, with hermits in Spain, and members of monasteries of other religious orders with which he came into contact. From these sources, he learned to go forth, live in poverty and simplicity, strive for evangelical perfection, and help souls. Ignatius developed the fifth tenet, support for a formal, university education, individually and personally, as well as for members of the Society of Jesus, during his acquisition of a university education which he completed in Paris in 1534. He first applied the first four tenets to himself during the period from Manresa through the trip to Jerusalem.

Ignatius drew up the major points of his first written document, *The Spiritual Exercises*, from these literary sources and his experiences during that period. That document was the most concentrated form of the individual expression of his ideal. He acquired and applied the fifth tenet during and just

after the period of his education, from Barcelona to Paris, then to Spain and finally Italy. During this period, he began to attract followers to himself and eventually formed a small community at Vicenza. Circumstances pressed the community to form an identity. From the time of the second preaching tour from Vicenza, the members of the community identified themselves as the society of Jesus. After they were not able to reach their goal of traveling to Jerusalem, they offered themselves to the Pope, in obedience to one of the points of the vow at Montmartre. The Pope took them into service, eventually granting that they could form a religious order of few in number. Soon afterward, he gave them verbal permission to form the Society of Jesus, following later with an official, written Papal Bull that granted the community its charter. The foundation of that charter was initially *The Five Chapters*, the second written document drawn up partially by Ignatius, but also created with help from the other members of the community. It was the corporate expression of his ideal, based upon all of his experience and education up to that time including deliberations and experience gained during the time of Vicenza.

The Spiritual Exercises became his handbook, the source, summary, and content of any instruction that he gave to almost every individual who came to him, from whatever background, at whatever level of Christian experience, whether in person, or in a letter written to a friend, supporter, or colleague. When he began to gather men around him and had successfully formed a small community, he soon meditated upon a religious order whose members would go

forth, preaching, teaching, and counseling all who came to them. *The Five Chapters* became the first handbook for this community, which became the Society of Jesus.

Ignatius was the active hermit, guided by his inner ideal to be separate from the world and yet going forth into it. His first examples were Francis and Dominic, whose life and experiences he learned from *The Golden Legend*. His first intention was to go to Jerusalem and serve God there. When he found that he could not remain in Jerusalem, he returned and meditated on an alternate plan, deciding then to obtain an education. Though he adopted the alternate plan and pursued it wholeheartedly, he was not deterred from his original plan to go to Jerusalem. That remained his goal until it later became apparent that that was not possible for him to return to the Holy Land. Taking this as God's will, he chose to go forth for the Pope instead. His university education did not diminish that desire; it rather became the source for his increased knowledge of other Church leaders who had done the same. He adopted the habit of designating himself as the poor pilgrim, living an active life as others had before him, serving God and the Church by preaching, teaching, and counseling others in the Christian faith. He learned about Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, and a selection of other previous Church leaders who had actively served the Church in the world. The devotional literature that he read before he acquired his education and the theology and philosophy that he read during his university education informed him about the anchorite and coenobite traditions of the Church. Those

traditions demonstrated to Ignatius that the Church was most successful when its leaders led active lives, teaching, preaching, counseling, founding communities of monks, both clerical and lay, establishing monasteries, and using them as centers from which to branch out into the surrounding countryside. Many times its leaders desired to spend more time in communion with God, as did Ignatius, but were compelled to serve, either by inner compulsion, spiritual experience, Church need, or any combination of these factors. Church leaders were also most successful when they wrote books, tracts, sermons, letters, anything that communicated to those whom they served that an organized, devotional spiritual life of service in an individual accomplished most for God. Later, Ignatius learned that the highly-trained men of the Church led it best, and in his case, university-trained men were most zealous, knowledgeable, and effective.

Although active in the world, Ignatius lived in poverty and simplicity. His first experiences at Montserrat and Manresa demonstrated that poverty became very important to him very quickly. It was also a part of his ideal that remained almost completely unchanged from that time until the formation of the Society of Jesus. Simplicity for Ignatius was doing the will of God as he understood it. Though he had little beyond his few clothes and a few books and notebooks, he felt that he had an abundance of everything that he needed. This was the ideal of poverty and simplicity in its purest form. The literary and monastic sources that he encountered just prior to and during his stay in Manresa and his

university education schooled him in the traditions of the Church for members of the religious orders to live in poverty. Poverty was one of the three main vows that most members of the religious orders had to make before officially becoming a member of a particular order. *The Spiritual Exercises* and *The Five Chapters* have sections that encourage poverty and simplicity in life. *The Spiritual Exercises* admonished the exercitant to overcome his repugnance to them. *The Five Chapters* required that members of the Society of Jesus had to live in a perpetual state of poverty except under certain well-defined situations. Ignatius valued the lessons of living in poverty. Because Ignatius concluded that simplicity was doing the will of God, living in that state was a measure of spiritual success. Life was simpler the more one followed God. Poverty went hand-in-hand with this concept.

Living in poverty and simplicity was closely related to the other four tenets of Ignatius's eremitical ideal. It was simpler to go forth when living in poverty while doing the will of God. It was easier to strive for evangelical perfection when one had fewer material possessions to oversee. Helping souls was easier because one had nothing to offer except spiritual teaching and counsel. Although an education was relatively expensive, Ignatius managed to obtain one and influence a number of others who had obtained theirs to renounce the possible recuperation of its cost and follow him individually and corporately into a life of poverty and simplicity.

From the time of his conversion until his death, Ignatius was an example

of a life that strived for evangelical perfection. At the beginning of his Christian experiences at Manresa, Ignatius became a hermit and initially practiced a physically challenging asceticism that included severe mortification of his body and spiritual discipline in his mind. During this early period, he associated physical denial with mystical experiences and he related those to spiritual perfection. He kept a journal and began work on *The Spiritual Exercises*. He became a local holy man in Manresa and sought to attract others to a deeper spiritual experience by attendance at local Church services, by teaching, and advising others in their Christian faith. His teaching and counseling activities grew in importance to him, as did his keeping a journal and working on *The Spiritual Exercises*. He intended to practice this eremitical lifestyle in Jerusalem, where he went on a pilgrimage after Manresa. Prayer, fasting, meditating, Church attendance, begging, and other, similar acts of devotion were the major activities of his day-to-day life. When he returned from Jerusalem, he endeavored to gain a formal, university education. The activities of writing, teaching, and preaching continued to gain importance and remained very important to him throughout the remainder of his life. Detailed instructions for striving for evangelical perfection came to be embodied in *The Spiritual Exercises*, the major focus of his individual teaching and counseling efforts. He came to discipline his ascetical practices and continually lessened their severity. He continued to have mystical experiences. But in order to accomplish all these goals, he brought them together into the lifestyle of the active hermit, guided by

an inner ideal.

The writing and revising of *The Spiritual Exercises* continued throughout his life from the period of Manresa onward. It was Ignatius's handbook for an individual who was striving for evangelical perfection. Prayer, meditation on passages from the Bible, meditation on the lives of Jesus, Mary, and the saints are major points within *The Spiritual Exercises*. Ignatius's method of inner discipline in spiritual life became effective in the lives of all who knew him and especially in the men who followed him and became the first members of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius and those men created *The Five Chapters* as a guide for their community to strive for evangelical perfection. The three traditional vows taken by the members of most Christian religious orders, poverty, chastity, and obedience, were restated in *The Five Chapters* and every member of the Society of Jesus was expected to live by them. A fourth vow, that of obedience to the Pope, was also written into that document as a restatement and re-enforcement of the verbal oath given to the Pope before the Society of Jesus was officially established.

Striving for evangelical perfection is closely related to the other four tenets of Ignatius's eremitical ideal. Ignatius went forth in order to lead others to improve their spiritual lives. To Ignatius, a life of poverty and simplicity created the ideal environment for personal, individual improvement in spiritual life. Ignatius went forth to help souls to improve their spiritual lives and this was best done by those who had been university-trained.

For the remainder of his life after he returned from Jerusalem, Ignatius used his inner discipline to help souls. From the time that he left Loyola, during the Manresa experiences, through his acquisition of a formal university education, in his experiences at Vicenza, and on to the establishment of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius had a consistent desire to help souls. He began by sharing his own simple conversion experience and continued to acquire knowledge and experience, both positive and negative, that allowed him to become more and more proficient at helping others in their relationship with God. He began by sharing in person, usually individually, but also by preaching to crowds, and as he matured in the faith, he found other ways to help others, such as in letters.

The major way in which Ignatius helped souls was the use of *The Spiritual Exercises*. He began giving them individually and then became so saturated in their contents that whenever and wherever he helped any Christian at any level of maturity, and regardless of how long they had been in service to God, their contents were the major content of his teaching and counsel. Its methods of prayer, study, and meditation appear in *The Five Chapters*, and again in the few letters that survive from the period.

Helping souls required that Ignatius be active and reject the withdrawn, eremitical life that he had lived in Manresa. It is completely consistent with another major tenet that required him to go forth. In this, he adopted the example and methods of Francis and Dominic as those that went forward to help

others by preaching and teaching, living outside of the enclosed spaces of other religious orders. Helping souls required that Ignatius reject the Carthusian example of anchorite, ascetical practices in secluded eremitical residence. He became the active hermit, in his own words, "a poor pilgrim for God Our Savior," echoing the lifestyle of previous evangelizing monks such as Columbanus. Helping souls originally meant to go to Jerusalem and assist the pilgrims there, but for Ignatius, it soon came to mean assisting anyone that would accept his help. Ignatius soon realized after his return from Jerusalem that if he was to be successful in helping souls, he would need to obtain a university education. Many of the saints that he had read about in *The Golden Legend* were well-educated, yet zealous and effective.

Helping souls was related to the other four tenets of Ignatius's ideal. The natural and most effective way to help souls was to go forth into the world where people hungering for a deeper spiritual experience might be. Ignatius evidenced concern for the spiritual welfare of others during all of his life and in all of his writings. He wanted other Christians and those yet unconverted to experience his own state of peace with himself. Part of achieving that state of peace was living in poverty and simplicity. Striving for evangelical perfection was not only an individual goal of all who took *The Spiritual Exercises*, it was the corporate goal of the Society of Jesus and expressed as such in *The Five Chapters*. Ignatius felt that teaching, preaching, and counsel given by those whose personal standard of life was to strive for evangelical perfection. Helping souls

was best and most efficiently accomplished by men who had been university-trained.

The acquisition of a formal, university education made a deep, lasting imprint upon Ignatius. Although it is not clear whether or not Ignatius intended to devote ten years to his education, he spent that amount of time. He did not cease other activities that were important to him, constantly offering instruction to others, both from *The Spiritual Exercises* and through personal experience, as evidenced in his letters. The acquisition of his education also caused him to seek other leaders among students at universities. These activities became standard practices for him personally, and later of the first members of the Society of Jesus from the time of the Vicenza experience onward. The level of education of these first members of the Society of Jesus also impressed the Pope, making it easier to obtain the charter for the new society. University-trained priests were seldom questioned as to the method and content of their activities, even in this period of suspicion of Protestant teachings.

Education was closely related to the other four tenets of Ignatius's ideal. More than anything else, it enhanced effectiveness in each of the other four tenets, both personally for himself and the other members of the Society, and corporately for the Society as an organization. Initially, the members of the Society of Jesus impressed those with whom they came in contact in their knowledge as well as their devotion and service. They went forth in poverty and simplicity, striving for evangelical perfection to help souls.

Ignatius of Loyola was a man whose influence upon the world in which he lived was enormous and grew with time. He changed the inner, chivalric ideal of an aggressive knight in service to Spain to an inner eremitical ideal of an active hermit in service to God. He had an emotional conversion experience, practiced asceticism, had mystical experiences, and began an eremitical lifestyle. This lifestyle was initially influenced by late-medieval devotional works and later by his university education. He perfected his lifestyle and then offered it to others. Those who accepted became the first members of the Society of Jesus. From hidalgo to hermit and from obscure student of theology in Paris to the General of a world-wide religious order, Ignatius of Loyola formed, developed, adapted and adopted his eremitical ideal.

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APPENDIX ONE

AN IGNATIAN CHRONOLOGY

1491 - Ignatius born

1506 - Ignatius at Arévalo as a page to Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar

1507 - Ignatius's father dies

1517 - Ignatius a *gentilehombre* of Antonio Manrique, Viceroy of Navarre

1521, May 20 - Ignatius wounded at Pamplona

1522 - Ignatius a hermit at Montserrat and Manresa. Begins *The Spiritual Exercises*

1523 - Pilgrimage to Jerusalem

1524 - Student in Barcelona

1526 - Student in Alcalá

1527 - Student in Salamanca

1528 - 35 Student in Paris;1528-29 College of Montaigu

1529-32 College of Sainte Barbe-Bachelor of Arts, 1532

1533-35 College of Saint Jacques-Master of Arts, 1534

1535, August 15 - Vow at Montmartre

1537, June 24 - ordained a priest

November - Vision at La Storta

1539 - June-September, *The Five Chapters*

1540, September 27 - Approval of Papal Bull, *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*

APPENDIX TWO

HISTORIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

Including editions of all of his writings, there exists an extensive literature about Ignatius, much of it by Jesuits. Their work can be divided into a number of different categories and are noted for their historiographic contributions. As a rule with few exceptions, these Jesuits have been honest, straightforward, and have sought to present the facts about Ignatius's life without embellishment or exaggeration. The work of the Society of Jesus during the late nineteenth and twentieth century has produced critical editions of Ignatius's works.

The work of Jesuits on Ignatius's writings, their commentaries, and biographies are the foundation sources for this study on Ignatius's eremitical ideal. They have edited his writings, these being published as *San Ignacio De Loyola: Obras*, Volume 86 of the "Biblioteca De Autores Cristianos" Series.[1] Editions of his writings, his letters, the first biography of him by Ribadeinera, the official history of the Society of Jesus, and any other information from just about any source for his life and the process of his sainthood are found in the one hundred twenty-four volume collection, the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, the *MHSJ* or the "Monumenta," including the *Monumenta Ignatiana*, the *MI*, a

section of the *MHSJ* containing Ignatius's writings and the writings of his contemporaries about him. The volumes in this collection are found in four series which are detailed, comprehensive, and critical. The work of compiling the critical editions that they represent remains in progress.

Jesuit authors have simplified these critical editions for general use. Selections of letters have been translated into English from their original Spanish. Two such works are *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola* and *Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women*. A lengthy work in Spanish, is P. Ignacio Iparraguire's revision of Pedro Leturia, *Estudio Ignacianos*, Volume I, *Estudios Biograficos*, and Volume II, *Estudios Espirituales* which provides essays on subjects of Ignatius's life and writings. I have consulted the notes and compared the translations of several editions of *The Spiritual Exercises*. The two that I have consulted most are those by George Ganss and Anthony Mottola. For the *Autobiography*, I have used Joseph N. Tylenda, *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola*, and Joseph F. O'Callaghan and John C. Olin, *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola: With Related Documents*. I have used Tylenda extensively, finding its translation and notes brief, accurate, and well-documented. For *The Five Chapters*, *The Formula of The Institute*, and the *Constitutions*, I have used Antonio M. De Aldama's three volumes of *An Introductory Commentary on The Constitutions* in conjunction with Ignatius's published works and other Jesuit archive material in hopes of achieving a clear and critical understanding of their content.

The most recent comprehensive and critical biography of Ignatius is that by Ricardo Garcia-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola: Nueva Biografía*. Garcia-Villoslada is a Jesuit. He built on the foundations of others, mostly Jesuits, incorporating previous biographical, historical, and Jesuit source works. I have used his work as the standard to which I compare in cases of conflicting information on Ignatius's life from other biographical sources, primary or secondary. A biographical work written by one of the major editors of Ignatian works and Jesuit writing, Candido de Dalmases, emphasized the work of Ignatius from conversion, through the Society of Jesus, to Ignatius's death. His book, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of The Jesuits: His Life and Work* treats Ignatius's life from Jesuit archives and other primary sources with little reference to secondary sources. I have used Dalmases extensively throughout and have found it very accurate. Although it is not a critical work like Garcia-Villoslada, its notes and references have been very helpful. James Brodrick had done earlier research and wrote Ignatius's biography in two volumes. The first was *Saint Ignatius Loyola: The Pilgrim Years, 1491-1538* which Brodrick actually wrote second, and *The Origin of The Jesuits* which is actually the second volume, though written first. Brodrick does a good job of showing the human and the divine in partnership in Ignatius's life. He views the period from Pamplona and conversion to the founding of The Society of Jesus as Ignatius's "Pilgrimage," the most difficult period of Ignatius's spiritual apprenticeship.

The renowned Catholic and Jesuit scholar, John W. O'Malley, wrote the

most recent book on the early Society of Jesus, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge and London, 1993). O'Malley's work is solid, thorough, and is based upon years of study of the late medieval and early modern period of European history. Another book in this category is *Ignatius of Loyola and The Founding of The Society of Jesus* by Andre Ravier. Ravier, a Jesuit, focused on Ignatius as the beginning individual of the Society of Jesus, making this work similar in scope to O'Malley, but proceeding in a different direction. O'Malley chronicles the various steps of Ignatius and his companions in forming a religious order; Ravier demonstrates the world-missionary character of the religious order they formed.

Scholars have summarized Ignatius's theology and spirituality from his life and works. Ignatius left no writing that could be considered theology in the strict sense, and because of this, his theology must be distilled from his writings and letters. One of the best writers to distill Ignatius's theological views is Hugo Rahner, the famous Catholic and Jesuit scholar. His two books, *The Spirituality of St. Ignatius Loyola; An Account of Its Historical Development*, and *Ignatius The Theologian* are outstanding for their depth, detail, notes, and incisive comment. In the first book, Rahner emphasizes Ignatius's mysticism, in the second, his theology and his conformance to the ascetical tradition of the Catholic Church. The Jesuit scholar, Alexandre Brou, wrote two books, *Ignatian Methods of Prayer* and *The Ignatian Way to God* which both emphasize Ignatius's mysticism, and the second includes a chapter on asceticism. Adolphe Tanqueray wrote *The Spiritual Life: A Treatise on Ascetical and Mystical*

Theology. Tanqueray's book, though old and not specifically about Jesuits or Ignatius, remains very valuable for studies on eremitism, asceticism, and mysticism due to the lack of such encyclopedic-type works in the past twenty-five years.

One outstanding recent, new work that balances mysticism, asceticism, and eremitism as a unified experience is the multi-volume series by Bernard McGinn entitled, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*. Four volumes are intended and two are published, Volume I, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to The Fifth Century*, and Volume Two, *The Growth of Mysticism: Gregory The Great through The Twelfth Century*. McGinn is the master of Western Christian Mysticism. His work regarding the relationship between mysticism, asceticism, and eremitism is crucial for a clear understanding of these subjects. McGinn states his position in the "General Introduction" of Volume One. He begins by framing the issue in different terms, first, regarding mysticism; "The fact that the term 'mystical theology' antedated the coining of the term 'mysticism' by over a millennium points us in the right direction for appreciating the complex and unbreakable bonds between mysticism conceived of as a religious way of life and mystical theology."[2] McGinn proposes that without the creation of mystical theology, mysticism would not have become an organized practice or experience, "a religious way of life." Because mystical theology preserved the record of the practice, it survived from one generation to the next.

Second, regarding asceticism and eremitism, McGinn devotes an entire chapter, entitled, "The Monastic Turn and Mysticism," to the rise of mysticism from two third-century practices, asceticism (which to McGinn is *askēsis*, discipline), and eremitism (which to McGinn is *anachōrēsis*, withdrawal). Here, McGinn demonstrates a strong, intimate connection between mystical experiences, ascetical practices, and an eremitical lifestyle of withdrawal from society. He goes on to make a two-fold distinction among hermits that I apply to Ignatius, that of geographical separation and interior separation:

> "By the last quarter of the third century some of these ascetics had already begun the practice of *anachōrēsis*, or withdrawal from society into the desert, a separation that involved both an external geographical shift of momentous nature and a new kind of exploration of the inner geography of the soul."[3]

In a separate article, McGinn argues that to Christian thinkers before the seventeenth century, questioning the relationship between mysticism, asceticism, and eremitism would have seemed senseless; they had always been intimately linked. Their separation is a modern phenomenon. Until the modern period, Christians saw ascetical practice and mystical contemplation as " . . . integral parts of one path, the road to God."[4] McGinn's thesis supports the distinction in terms that asceticism was exterior practices and mysticism was an interior experience, both parts of spiritual life, or religious life, but not spiritual life itself. Ignatius's spiritual life was based upon disciplined interior experiences

and exterior practices that he forged into a lifestyle whose foundation was his eremitical ideal.

Mystical theology arose in the ancient church in the theology of a number of individuals who were ascetical in their exterior practices and mystical in their interior experiences. There was no discernable separation between mysticism and asceticism as distinctively different and separate events or experiences in the lives of these individuals. Covering this early period in his first volume, McGinn reminds the reader that mysticism must be studied in its historical context; "It is also important, as far as possible, to try to see mysticism against the broader historical development of the Christian religion. In the history of Christian mysticism, one neglects the wider context only at the cost of missing important elements of the significance of the phenomenon."[5] McGinn's emphasis upon mysticism's birth and nurturing within the growth and development of first the anchorite, or the individual eremitical tradition that began in Egypt and then the cenobite, or the community monastic tradition that also traces its roots to the East, is clear in the narrative of the text of Volume One. Volume Two continues this emphasis as he chronicles mysticism's growth within the monastic tradition of Western Latin Christianity.

The intimate relationship between asceticism, eremitism, and mysticism is clear, but distinctions between them are not. They are best understood when asceticism is designated as exterior physical acts, mysticism is designated as an interior experience, and eremitism is designated as a lifestyle.

Notes

1. For complete information on published books and articles, see the Bibliography.

2. Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, Volume I, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to The Fifth Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), xiv.

3. Ibid., 133.

4. Bernard McGinn, "Asceticism and Mysticism in Late Antiquity and The Early Middle Ages," in Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis, ed.., *Asceticism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 59.

5. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, xv.

VITA

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