

TRADITIONS OF SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE

Soul Friend: the Director in the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola.

IF I HAD TO answer the question how Ignatius Loyola himself gave the Spiritual Exercises, I would say, in a word, as a soul friend.¹ The way in which he directed another person has much to do with friendship and a nearness to the soul of that person. 'Friendship is admiration that reverently bows to all that, in the beloved, asks for reverence; it is the reverence for God's wonders within another person'. Here Augustine brings together two terms, friendship and reverence, which tell us something about the mutual closeness of the one who gives the Exercises and the one who makes them, and something about the experience of God which originates, is understood and affirmed there. The religious experience of the Exercises, therefore, 'is closely connected with the feeling of being part of a whole which is good; which is not dominated by evil spirits; which is not there to ruin human beings but to let them share in the truth, so that they can love'.² This experience belongs not only to the directee but is shared by *both* actors on the stage of the Exercises. Ignatius himself mentions this in the Preamble to the Exercises: 'Both the director and the retreatant should derive greater help and profit from them' (Exx 22).

In this article I am going to discuss the Spiritual Exercises first of all and then the director. In so doing I am not erecting watertight partitions between the tradition and present-day reality, but reflecting on the possibilities and problems that the director *nowadays* has to deal with. Historical facts will act as guidelines and illustrations in this process. They are not the finishing point of a process to which we have to return in order to reproduce them again. The Exercises were always a starting-point for an experience and a reality in the future; otherwise they would not deserve our attention. It has to be admitted, however, that many people have been greatly discouraged and made aggressive by the ways in which the Exercises sometimes have been and still are presented, as well as by some forms of spiritual direction. But it would be unfortunate to throw out the baby of the genuine experience of God in the Spiritual Exercises with the bathwater of a derailed theory and practice.³

The Spiritual Exercises

I mention the Spiritual Exercises in their original context deliberately. Although it may sound superfluous to some people, it cannot be stressed

sufficiently that in a certain sense the Spiritual Exercises are of secondary importance. After all, God's dealings with human beings are all that matters. The setting, the scenario in which this occurs are of less importance. 'It is very dangerous to want to force everyone down the same route towards perfection. Whoever acts in this way does not understand how manifold and how various the gifts of the Holy Spirit are', says Ignatius himself,⁴ though at the same time he was well aware of the radical and beneficial effects of the Exercises.⁵ Even for the earliest generation of Jesuits, the Spiritual Exercises were not obligatory. An enquiry set up by Jeronimo Nadal among 821 scholastics (i.e. Jesuits in their studies) shows that 231 made only one week of the Exercises; 257 made two and 124 made three weeks. Only 209 of them had made the entire Spiritual Exercises, and even then some of these had not spent the time exclusively in the Exercises.⁶ The sources also tell us that a small number of Jesuits never made the Spiritual Exercises at all.⁷ Like the Society of Jesus itself, the Exercises are only one way among many.⁸

In addition to this, I would also like to point out that the Exercises are not a school in the sense of a situation in which a teacher tells a pupil something about God. And certainly the Exercises are not some kind of method which, provided it is properly used, automatically produces God himself. Calling the Exercises a method, wrote the French Jesuit Joseph de Guibert, is rather like 'judging types of locomotives by the colour they are painted'.⁹

Both during Ignatius's own time and in our own the experience of the Exercises opens up a new world. They were born at the point of intersection of two historical periods and it is not difficult to see similarities—along with all the differences—between the sixteenth century and our own. In the sixteenth century a previously accepted world-view was in many respects coming to an end. Now the same thing is happening, with the additional factor that conventional Christianity has also come to an end. The city of God has become a secular city, and this has serious consequences for our understanding of the Incarnation, for our discovery of the places where God can be found, for making life-choices and for working with the Spiritual Exercises.

Ignatian spirituality is and will continue to be a spirituality for the city, for our city, if we can believe an old Latin verse.¹⁰ Our city is the setting for our encounters with God and our experience of God; it is the touchstone for our belief in God. A mystic of our own time, the Flemish Jesuit Egied van Broeckhoven (1933–1967) was very aware of this when he wrote in his diary: 'Even if I could choose between the burning bush and Brussels, I would choose Brussels'.¹¹ Ernesto Cardenal's poem 'Oracle over Managua' puts it even more sharply: 'After all God is also City/ God as City:/The City of the final encounter/of every human being with all human beings,/the City of the completed unity and community,/the City of the Communion'.

It was in the city, in his meetings with other people, that Ignatius tested his own personal religious experiences, gained in the silence of Manresa. As a pilgrim, his most important apostolate was 'spiritual conversation'—talking about God, at first in a rather disorderly fashion, like 'a fool', but gradually with greater tranquillity and balance. In these meetings, the lives of the participants became more transparent. These meetings were mutual recognitions of God and his wonders. Ignatius was not thrusting his vision upon someone else. When he reflected upon his own vision and experience, he felt an urgent need to enable others also to have this experience; not, however, by squeezing them into his own mould, but by kindling them with the story of his own life in such a way that, using their own background, life experience, talents, knowledge and forms of expression, they would come to something similar.

Characteristics of the Spiritual Exercises

The Spiritual Exercises, as Ignatius intended them and in which he was director, fulfill six conditions: (1) There is one director (2) who, in the course of a full month, gives the Exercises to (3) one retreatant (4) who voluntarily and wholeheartedly makes the full Exercises (5) for the first time in his/her life (6) in view of a choice that has to be made.

I will discuss the first two of these conditions separately later on. As for the third, that *there is one retreatant*, it is clear that Ignatius did not intend that the full Exercises would be given to a number of people all at once as a group. He never did so himself, though on a few occasions he gave the Exercises simultaneously to two men living in different houses some considerable distance apart. It would be impossible to be a soul friend to many people at the same time. Physically and psychologically it is in fact impossible to be close to many people over a period of thirty days in such an intimate way. It is also impossible to fulfill such a role continuously.

'When the Exercises are given in their entirety, this should be done with outstanding persons or with those who wish to make a choice about their state of life'; in other words with 'those of such a character that from their progress notable fruit is expected for the glory of God', Ignatius wrote in his *Constitutions* (409, 649). This criterion of selection, therefore, envisages a limited number of retreatants. And because in many cases the Exercises did not have their desired effects, Ignatius decided, practical as he was, to give them only very rarely.¹² One reason for this failure was that in one way or another many retreatants were not sufficiently well prepared. To put it in the words of the parable: much seed fell on the path, on rocky ground and among thorn bushes. Apart from the necessary spiritual health, an adequate maturity, in which responsibility, courage and independence have their place, was sometimes lacking. Maturity and the right self-esteem that goes with it are absolutely necessary for discernment.

A third reason for directing one retreatant at a time is the necessity of adapting both the form and the content of the Exercises to the individual person. 'When a person makes the Exercises', Ignatius advises, 'it should always be asked what the exercitant wants to eat, and it should be given to him, even if he were to ask for a chicken or a trifle, according to his devotion'.¹³ Like a waiter, the director serves the retreatant whatever he or she needs, and not only with regard to food of course.

The fourth condition I mentioned is that *the retreatant makes the full Exercises voluntarily and wholeheartedly*. Here, too, nowadays we find considerably more departures from this than was customary among the early Jesuits, as for example in preaching popular missions which have many similarities with the First Week of the Exercises.

With regard to the fifth condition, *that the retreatant is making the Exercises for the first time*, it is worth noting that during Ignatius's own lifetime people did not make the Exercises more than once.¹⁴

The sixth and final condition, *that the retreatant makes the Exercises in view of a choice to be made*, is laid down because the Spiritual Exercises aim at evoking in the life of the retreatant a religious experience which crystallizes into action. After making the Exercises, the retreatant should act as a leaven which, though small, nevertheless works intensively, durably and, as it were, contagiously.¹⁵ The freedom that the retreatant has experienced acts as an invitation to freedom for others. And a chain reaction also begins with regard to the giving of the Exercises: those who have made them most generously often turn out to be the best givers of the Exercises.

The effect of the Exercises is not limited to the so-called realm of the 'spiritual'. Praxis is the touchstone of spirituality. The greater service of God goes hand in hand with 'helping souls'. Those who as a result of the Exercises bolt the door on the world have been wasting their time for thirty days; or, to put it in the words of a contemporary of Ignatius, that very realistic woman Teresa of Avila: 'Those who have penetrated the castle of the soul as far as the last dwelling find themselves back in the street again'.¹⁶ Contemplation finds its expression in very concrete action: 'God is among the pots and pans'.¹⁷ Giving concrete form to contemplation is both positive and constructive. The Spiritual Exercises are not intended to be primarily *against* something, though if they were against anything it is more likely to be the *alumbrados* with their unearthly spiritualizing than Protestantism.¹⁸

Evaluation and criticism of the Exercises

If we look at the Spiritual Exercises now in their authentic form rather than in their degenerate forms of group retreat, ascetical-rational exercises of will or a series of preached meditations,¹⁹ we conclude that they still have a value today. Their strengths lie in the way that Ignatius steered a

course between the Scylla of subjectivism and the Charybdis of objectivism; the way in which he reached a balanced presentation of the relationship between the human and the divine; in his very precise directions about techniques that aid growth in prayer, and in the great value he places on the imagination.²⁰ But there are also serious shortcomings: Ignatius's use of scripture without the benefit of modern scientific bible study; the fact that, under the influence of the political-cultural climate of his day, he theologized in monarchical and hierarchical terms; his practice of dealing with two types of morality, one for everyone in general and the other for those who want to follow Christ more closely; and finally his dualistic and individualistic philosophy and theology of the human person.²¹

These strengths and weaknesses of the Exercises also imply that in giving or making them today it is impossible for us simply to use the book as it stands. Our practice of the Exercises has to reflect not where Ignatius was in his own time but where we are.²² Those who can make the necessary adaptations to the Exercises may use them. Those who cannot do so willingly and knowingly provide grist for the mill of many critics who were already making themselves heard in the sixteenth century, led by the Dominican Melchor Cano who believed that the Spiritual Exercises 'made out of knights not lions but roosters, and out of roosters chickens'.²³

The director in the Spiritual Exercises

We have two main ways of discovering what the task of the director is within the Exercises: the text of the book itself and Ignatius's own practice. A critical look at this material gives us an insight into the director's function in our own day.

The text of the Spiritual Exercises

In the book of the *Exercises* the role of the director is discussed in the twenty Annotations that precede the Exercises proper.²⁴ It is worth noting that these Annotations are part of the material that was added by Ignatius only at a later stage, that is in the years 1537-1539 during his stay in Italy. Those years also included his planned but never realized journey to the Holy Land, his ordination to the priesthood, the vision at La Storta and the 'Deliberation of the first fathers'.

The text of the book²⁵ describes both the nature and the activity of the director: what he/she should do; how he/she should be and behave. From this we can put together the following portrait. The director is a person who speaks God's word in a modest way;²⁶ gives nuanced and detailed instructions and exercises, adapted to the retreatant individually; stays close to the retreatant cautiously and sensitively; encourages the retreatant without indiscretion or intrusiveness. And in all of this the retreatant

permits God to be God. It will be well to look a little more closely at each of these elements separately, and then to say something about what is not mentioned in the text but may be presupposed.

To start with the latter: the director has to realize that God knows the retreatant better than he/she does.²⁷ After all, it is God who has to do the work. The process of the Exercises shows to full advantage only when God makes himself felt in an unhindered and immediate way to the retreatant and to the director as well. The director respects as much as possible the individuality of the retreatant. God makes himself known to the director and the retreatant in different ways. It would be a mistake to suppose that God would use the same words and acts with every person, though of course general trends and tendencies can be seen in God's self-revelations. This is one of the items that Ignatius talks about firmly: 'He desired that in all our actions we should be as free as possible, quiet in ourselves and obedient to the light that has been given to each person separately'. He also said that 'there cannot be a greater mistake in matters of the spirit than wanting to form others according to one's own image'.²⁸ 'If directors think in the Lord that a person is growing in prayer and is being directed by the good spirit, then they should not intervene, but on the contrary give him courage and confidence that he may grow in the Lord without pain and with strength'.²⁹

This implies a certain non-directive way of approaching others; not, however, as in a Rogerian 'mirror-encounter' in which the counsellor keeps out of harm's way, but rather as a presence like that of the bridegroom's friend (Jn 3,29).³⁰ The director is an 'assistant to divine grace'.³¹ His/her attitudes should be careful, nearby and relaxed; magnanimous, generous and balanced: a combination of discreet distance and sacred intimacy,³² implying a certain reserve towards the other person. Translated into contemporary counselling terms, the attitudes may be paralleled in the words empathy, respect, honesty and concreteness. Often the dialogue between director and retreatant does not need many words: a conversation gains in value when what need not or cannot be said is respectfully left alone.

It should not be thought, however, that the director remains a somewhat colourless, blank, 'exchangeable' person in the background whose experience or life-story is irrelevant. On the contrary, the director is a striking person in whom God's presence manifests itself. He or she will also be clear in direction because, says Ignatius, 'when one is indefinite, it is less helpful and misunderstanding occurs'.³³ Vagueness or lack of striking qualities in the director may also stem from poor spiritual health. And it is also essential that the director knows from personal experience what is going on in the world so as to be able to develop such awareness in the directee also, insofar as this is lacking.³⁴ In this way the director embodies during the Exercises the reality of the society in which the directee will

have to play his or her part afterwards.³⁵ The director symbolizes a 'third person' who helps the retreatant to see his or her situation in an unprejudiced way. Whether the subjective experience at which the Spiritual Exercises aim leads to uncontrolled subjectivism or not depends on the director as the representative of the objective viewpoint.³⁶ Here the words of Simone Weil apply: 'A science that does not make us approach God is worthless. But if it makes us approach God in a wrong way, namely an imaginary God, it is worse'.³⁷

Ignatius as director in the Spiritual Exercises

According to Ignacio Iparraguirre's research into the practice of the Exercises during Ignatius's lifetime, the Exercises were given to 1383 people between 1522 and 1556.³⁸ And for those people 88 Jesuits and 6 non-Jesuits were available as directors. In the light of the inaccuracy of Iparraguirre's work, we would need to do much more extra research in order to be able to reach any firm general conclusions. My own research, however, which has concentrated exclusively on the practice of Ignatius himself, offers the possibility of further insight.

It is certain that Ignatius gave the Exercises to 31 people between the years 1528 and 1542.³⁹ This means that on average Ignatius directed someone once every half year, and that during the last fourteen years of his life he no longer gave the Exercises. All his directees were men, and fifteen of them, almost half the total number, joined the Society of Jesus after completing the Exercises.

We will review them separately in chronological order. In June and July 1528 he gave the Exercises for the first time to three students in Paris: Juan de Castro, Pedro de Peralta and Amador de Elduayen. After making the Exercises they suddenly left their colleges, divided their books and belongings among the poor, withdrew to a hostel for the homeless and began to beg for food. Their friends, however, used threats with weapons to force them to sign a contract at least to finish their studies. Ignatius was threatened with a public flogging and charged with heresy before the Inquisition by Peralta's patron Pedro Ortiz. Ignatius had hoped to start a new society with these three men but, as is well known, they did not belong to the 'first fathers' of the Society of Jesus. Castro became a Carthusian near Valencia, Peralta a preacher in Toledo and Amador has disappeared into the mists of oblivion.⁴⁰

Six years later Ignatius made a second attempt to move men towards the formation of a religious band of friends. The Exercises formed a necessary transition phase. Six men were accompanied through the Exercises by Ignatius: Pierre Favre, Diego Laynez, Alonso Salmeron, Nicolas Bobadilla, Simaõ Rodriguez and Francisco Xavier. Every one of them made the Exercises very seriously, sometimes with such exaggeration that Ignatius had to intervene several times. He ordered Favre not to

sleep in only his undershirt, fasting, on a wooden floor during the Parisian winter. Xavier, a celebrated sportsman, tied his arms, thighs and feet so tightly with ropes in the First Week of the Exercises that it was almost impossible to untie them and amputation had to be considered. Ignatius's directees had retired to different locations and his practice was to visit them twice a day in the First Week and once a day after that, unless more frequent visits—as in the case of Favre and Xavier—were necessary. Often, however, his daily visits were cancelled.⁴¹

In the spring of 1535, in addition to his usual studies, Ignatius gave the Exercises to four people. Ignatius had already for some time wanted to give the Exercises to the influential Dr Martial Mazurier, principal of one of the colleges and, not without reason, suspected of heresy in the past. They made a deal that the one who lost a game of billiards would do whatever the other asked for thirty days. Mazurier lost, made the Exercises and became a new man. Another Parisian scholar George Valla also made the Exercises, as did the former rector of the university Alvaro de Moscoso, who a year later became a member of the committee for reforming the theology department. The fourth person was a religious priest whose conduct left much to be desired. Ignatius came to know of this and called at the man's house on his way to the Carthusian monastery where he used to receive holy communion. He found the man lying in bed and asked him to hear his confession. This turned out to be so detailed and protracted that the confessor recognized the seriousness of his own aberrations and through the Exercises changed his life.⁴²

During a visit to his native region in April 1535 Ignatius directed his cousin Beltran de Loyola in the Exercises, with a view to the reformation of the local clergy, for whom, as patron of the church of Azpeitia, Beltran bore responsibility.⁴³

Ignatius had a third group of six retreatants in Venice in 1536. Four of them became Jesuits after making the Spiritual Exercises: Diego Hozes, the brothers Diego and Esteban de Eguía and Francisco de Rojas, the latter three relatives of Francisco Xavier. The other two were Pier Contarini and Gasparo de Dotti who became influential ecclesiastics afterwards.⁴⁴

In the years 1538 and 1539 ten men made the Exercises under Ignatius's direction. Half of them entered the Society of Jesus: Francisco de Strada, Antonio de Araoz, Bartolomeo Ferraô, Pietro Codacio and a certain Carvajal.⁴⁵ The other five were the physician Inigo López, the famous humanist Lattanzio Tolomei, Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, the theologian Pedro Ortiz, who only ten years before had accused Ignatius of heresy, and finally the uncle of Carvajal who was an archdeacon.⁴⁶ The last person to make the Spiritual Exercises under Ignatius was Miguel de Torres in 1542 and four years later he joined the Society of Jesus.⁴⁷

A survey of this data suggests that through the Exercises Ignatius tried to gain influential people or to make people influential. He aimed at the formation of 'second-line apostles' and multipliers.⁴⁸ Secondly, it seems that in most cases the initiative for making the Exercises came, as far as we know, from Ignatius. In recruiting his retreatants he was both inventive and tenacious, especially during his years in Paris. The absence of women among his retreatants is also striking. This was no doubt linked with Ignatius's views about who the influential people in society were and with establishing priorities in a situation of limited energy and manpower. For that reason he considered it advisable to train religious women who could give the Exercises in their own convents.⁴⁹

Finally a few words about Ignatius's views of the director and his or her role. That a person should have a soul friend was for him beyond dispute, because, as he once wrote to one of his confrères, 'the danger in the spiritual life is great when one advances rapidly in it without the bridle of discretion.'⁵⁰ Out of the many remarks that Ignatius made outside the text of the Exercises on the qualities of a spiritual director I would like to quote just two. The first one is: 'Innocence and sanctity have in themselves more value than anything else. If, however, prudence and ease in dealing with people are not added, there is something lacking and they are not good enough to direct others. Excellent prudence linked with mediocre virtue often has more value for the direction of others than great sanctity linked with limited prudence.'⁵¹ The second is this: 'Whoever deals with people in order to help them should act as an experienced physician who is not shocked and does not show repugnance however disgusting and terrible the wounds look. He has to bear the weaknesses and quirks of the patient with patience and gentleness. He has to recognize in him not only the descendant of Adam and the fragile vessel but also the likeness of God that has been redeemed by the blood of Christ.'⁵²

It was characteristic of Ignatius's spiritual leadership to strike a balance between, on his own part, gentleness, moderation and patience and, on the other hand, the continuous challenge to the directee of the more perfect and the explicit call to generosity.⁵³ The sometimes extremely impulsive and irrational ways of behaving that Ignatius also showed in his dealings with others contrast sharply with this, but are part of the reality of the saint's life. Ignatius's first biographer, Pedro de Ribadeneira, says of this that 'such examples are more for admiration than for imitation'.⁵⁴ This offers us a principle for evaluating and using the Spiritual Exercises in our own time. However much the overall concept of the Exercises may be admired, there are certain parts of them and forms of expression that are no longer useful. This increases rather than limits their value. If we refuse to acknowledge this, we lapse in fruitless

and sometimes even dangerous historicism. Whoever accepts the limitations of the Exercises possesses a truly precious instrument.

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NOTES

¹ From a Celtic saying: 'Anyone without a soul friend is a body without a head.'

² Dorothee Sölle in an interview with Louis ter Steeg on Dutch television, December 1 1980.

³ In the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* Ignatius nowhere speaks of 'director' or 'retreatant', but only of 'the one who gives the Exercises' and 'the one who receives the Exercises'. But for the sake of convenience I will not use the latter terms. Each time where I use 'director' or 'retreatant' and refer to them as 'he', women are automatically included.

⁴ Brou, A.: *Saint Ignace maître d'oraison* (Paris, 1925), p 16.

⁵ Ignatius to Manuel Miona, Venice, November 16, 1536, in *Letters of St Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. William Young (Chicago, 1959), pp 27-28. The *Spiritual Exercises* are also mentioned in the different drafts of the *Formula Instituti* of 1539, 1540 and 1541.

⁶ Iparraguirre, I.: *Historia de la práctica de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio de Loyola*, II (Roma/Bilbao, 1955), pp 275-277.

⁷ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, p 268.

⁸ Cf the *Formula Instituti* which says of the Society of Jesus that it is only *via quaedam* (a pathway).

⁹ De Guibert, Joseph: *The Jesuits, their spiritual doctrine and practice* (Saint Louis, 1972), p 167.

¹⁰ 'Bernardus valles, Benedictus montes amabat; /Oppida Franciscus, celebres Ignatius urbes', quoted without source by Schineller, J. Peter: *The newer approaches to christology and their use in the Spiritual Exercises* (Saint Louis, 1980), p 69. Other versions of this saying are known as well.

¹¹ Van Broeckhoven, Egied: *Dagboek van de vriendschap* (Brugge, 1971), p 94 (entry of March 13, 1966).

¹² Schwager, Raymund: *Das dramatische Kirchenverständnis bei Ignatius von Loyola* (Zürich/Einsiedeln/Köln, 1970), p 104.

¹³ From an 'oral' *directorium* of Ignatius, in *Directoria*, pp 81-87.

¹⁴ Raitz von Frentz, Emerich: 'Zur Geschichte der Erteilung der Geistlichen Übungen', in *Geist und Leben*, vol 21 (1948), p 311.

¹⁵ Raitz von Frentz, *op. cit.*, pp 311, 315.

¹⁶ Teresa of Avila, *The interior castle*, Book VII, chapter 4, nr. 6: 'From the spiritual marriage deeds are to be born', and nr. 9: 'It is necessary that your foundation consists of more than prayer and contemplation. If you don't strive for the virtues and practise them, you will always be dwarfs.'

¹⁷ Teresa of Avila, *Book of the Foundations*, book V, chapter 8.

¹⁸ Raitz von Frentz, *op. cit.*, p 311.

¹⁹ Schwager, *op. cit.*, p 107.

²⁰ Leech, Kenneth: *Soul friend: a study of spirituality* (London, 1979), p 149.

²¹ Sobrino, Jon: *Christology at the crossroads* (New York, 1978), pp 397-400.

²² O'Sullivan, Michael: *Towards a social hermeneutic of the Spiritual Exercises with an application to the Annotations* (Berkeley, 1979), p 49.

²³ Caballero, Fermín: *Conquenses ilustres. II. Melchor Cano* (Madrid, 1871), p 526.

²⁴ In mrs. 2, 6-10, 14-15, 18-19.—I follow the view of David L. Fleming: *The Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius: a literal translation and a contemporary reading* (Saint Louis, 1978).

- ²⁵ A summary of the role and constitution of the spiritual director in *Directorium*, cap. V, in Leech, *op. cit.*, p 60.
- ²⁶ Cf the valuable remark of William A. M. Peters, *The Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius: exposition and interpretation* (Jersey City, 1967), p 17: 'Telling a story differs from giving information'.
- ²⁷ Peters, *op. cit.*, p 16.
- ²⁸ Luis Gonçalves da Camara, *Memoriale*, nr. 256.
- ²⁹ Nadal, Jeronimo: *Annotationes in Examen*, in: *Epistolae Nadal*, IV, p 652.
- ³⁰ Another New Testament image for the director/soul friend could be that of the 'third man' (Luke 24, 13-35).
- ³¹ Cordeses, Antonio: *Directorio de los Exercitios Spirituales de la Compañía de Jesús*; in: *Directoria Exercitiorum Spiritualium (1540-1599)* (Rome, 1955), pp 533-561.
- ³² Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, p 178.
- ³³ Ignatius to Teresa Rejadella, Venice September 11, 1536, in *Letters*, p 24.
- ³⁴ O'Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp 99, 103.
- ³⁵ Sudbrack, Josef: 'Die Rolle des Exerzitiengabers', in *Geist und Leben*, vol 39 (1966), p 297.
- ³⁶ Schwager, *op. cit.*, p 79.
- ³⁷ Weil, Simone: *La pesanteur et la grace* (Paris, 1950), p 64.
- ³⁸ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, pp 268-296.
- ³⁹ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, pp 268-296, nrs. 174, 779, 877-879, 881-890, 1048-1051, 1053, 1054, 1072, 1248-1253. He does not mention Ferraô, Carvajal and his uncle (Salazar?). For different reasons I omit nrs. 1, 175, 704-708, 880, 891, 892, 1045, 1052, 1083, 1096a, 1247.
- ⁴⁰ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, nrs. 877-879. For these and following retreatants I rely mainly on the excellent study by Georg Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver, sein Leben und seine Zeit. I. Europa. 1506-1541* (Freiburg i. Br., 1955); here pp 127-129, 131, 145, 197, 226, 231, 288.
- ⁴¹ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, nrs. 884-889; Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, pp 179, 191-198, 204-212.
- ⁴² Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, nrs. 881-883, 890; Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, pp 113, 183, 224-226, 239.
- ⁴³ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, nr. 174; Ignatius to Beltran de Loyola, Rome, September 24, 1539, in *Letters*, pp 39-41.
- ⁴⁴ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, nrs. 1248-1253; Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, pp 288-291.
- ⁴⁵ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, nrs. 1051, 1053, 1054; Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, pp 398-399, 431-432, 487.
- ⁴⁶ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, nrs. 779, 1048-1050; Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, pp 129, 394-398, 487.
- ⁴⁷ Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, nr. 1072.
- ⁴⁸ 32nd General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, Decree 4. 'Our Mission Today', nr.60.
- ⁴⁹ Ryan, John: 'The Exercises in the early Society', in: *Our colloquium: papers on the Spiritual Exercises* (Dublin, 1931), p 7.
- ⁵⁰ Ignatius to the members of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, Rome, March 26, 1553, in *Letters*, p 291.
- ⁵¹ De Ribadeneyra, Pedro: *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*, V. 10.
- ⁵² De Ribadeneyra, Pedro: *Tratado de el gobierno de nuestro padre*, V. 12.
- ⁵³ Wulf, Friedrich: 'Ignatius als Seelenführer' in: *Ignatius von Loyola. Seine geistliche Gestalt und sein Vermächtnis* (Würzburg, 1956), pp 41, 43.
- ⁵⁴ De Ribadeneyra, *Tratado*, IV.