POVERTY IN THE CONSTITUTIONS AND OTHER IGNATIAN SOURCES

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THE CONSTITUTIONS are not only a piece of legislation. More than most religious legislative documents, they communicate a whole personal outlook; and in a sense they leave us with an authoritative expression of that outlook. Even taking the book in isolation from any context one might learn a great deal about the legislation; but to gain a sense of the outlook behind the legislative framework, it is essential to relate the *Constitutions* to other sources. Two sources, of course, carry a particular significance, the *Spiritual Exercises* and Ignatius's interpretation of seventeen formative years of his life in the Autobiography. But these, like the *Constitutions* themselves, belong to the wider matrix of the early Jesuit world, with its expanding aggregate of reflection, apostolic activity and personal experience. There exists an abundant documentation on this world, and today an increasing number of studies are making the riches of the documentation available to the non-specialist but serious reader.

It is against the background not only of the *Exercises* and the Autobiography but also of this wider documentation, that in this article I want to consider one theme of the *Constitutions*, poverty; looking at the subject as an aspect of Ignatius's outlook on life as well as of his legislation. The result will be extremely sketchy, and the purpose is mainly illustrative—by taking a single topic, to bring out the value of setting the *Constitutions* within the larger horizons of Ignatius's overall thought, experience and activity and of the sixteenth-century Jesuit world.

General features of Ignatius's approach

Before coming onto specific aspects of poverty, it will be helpful to mention certain general characteristics which run through Ignatius's whole approach to the subject.

First, the meaning of actual poverty is, at once and inseparably, both personal and apostolic. In its personal aspect, poverty is founded in the desires which constitute the grace of the Second Week of the Exercises; in its apostolic aspect it forms an integral part of the Jesuit's service of the kingdom. Though much of Ignatius's writing, including the General Examen and the earlier sections of the *Constitutions*, lays heavy stress on personal values such as self-abnegation, it is important to keep in mind that personal conversion and apostolic effectiveness make an indissoluble unity. The concept of poverty developed in the *Constitutions* is that of the Exercises, and in the Exercises the desire to be poor in order to 'go against' the dynamisms of self-interest and to be personally Christlike is inextricably bound up with the desire to share the work of Christ in the world. The *Constitutions* also embody the aspirations that drew the Paris companions together in the first place, aspirations in which, again, the desire for poverty fused with the desire for service. 'Our intention from the time we set up in Paris was to live in poverty, dedicating ourselves to the service of our Lord by preaching and serving in hospitals.'[1]

Second, it may be well to say a word at the outset about a couple of fundamental Ignatian concepts to which any commentary on poverty in the Jesuit sources must frequently refer, namely 'external' (or 'exterior') and 'edification'. 'Exterior' for Ignatius does not denote something 'merely' exterior, and therefore inauthentic. Nor is he concerned only with the exterior as actuating and protecting the values of the intra-personal world. The 'exterior' in Ignatius's thought is the point of contact between the realm of the intra-personal and the realm of relationships.[2] Hence it is a vehicle; it is through the exterior that the values and qualities of the person are actualized in relationships. And it is precisely in this connection that Ignatius speaks of 'edification', a term which describes any form of self-presentation that makes the values of the kingdom credible by showing them as workable and attractive. Certainly, poverty serves the apostolate in other ways than by giving edification—for instance, as a source of physical, psychological and spiritual freedom. But the *Constitutions* and other documents leave no doubt that to the mind of Ignatius the primary apostolic significance of poverty consists in edification. It is edification that provides the key to the formula inherited by Ignatius from the twelfth-century mendicants, 'to preach in poverty'.[3] As 'edifying',

poverty is not merely the context of the preacher's communication, it is an essential part of it.

Third, in order to appreciate Ignatius's doctrine and practice of poverty it is important to take account of his instinctive realism and of his rounded theology of creation and incarnation. These make him comparatively free from the recurrent tendency in the history of voluntary poverty to exalt poverty to the detriment of other values and in its name virtually to deny whole areas of human reality. Ignatius was passionately attached to the ideal of poverty in all its world-defying integrity and it would betray him to play down the radical character both of the ideal and its practical implications. But he would be betrayed, too, by any presentation of his doctrine and practice that played down his constant awareness that radical values are lived in and through the needs, limitations and tangled complexities of the human condition.

Poverty as mendicancy

The Society, relying on God our Lord whom it serves with the aid of his divine grace, should trust that without having fixed revenue he will cause everything to be provided which is expedient for his greater praise and glory (Const VI 2,2).

While not reducible to an economic situation, 'actual poverty', as the *Exercises* make clear, is the converse of 'wealth', and the first dimension to consider is precisely poverty as a relationship to money and material possessions. Of the two traditional approaches, the monastic and the mendicant, it is with the latter that we are mainly concerned here. The Benedictine principle of common ownership is, of course, a principle of Ignatian poverty too; but in dealing with it the *Constitutions* and the various collections of early rules adopt a fairly matter-of-fact tone, without the minute illustrative details characteristic of the Rule of St Benedict.[4] The focal value of Ignatius's legislation is that poverty should entail a real trust in providence, while at the same time giving edification; and the dominant themes of the *Constitutions* are gratuity of ministries and the radical mendicant status of apostolic residences.

Behind his insistence on trust in providence lies a conviction basic to Ignatius's theocentric world-view. God is really and effectively Lord of his world, and God is 'good'—the adjective could almost be better rendered as 'kind'. Because his lordship is good, God can be relied upon to care for his creatures, even (indeed particularly) in the realm of material need where the

natural instinct to seek security in wealth easily results in the 'trust in riches' (the spiritual essence of avarice) that makes trust in God redundant. But it is difficult really to trust one's material security to God except in a situation of actual insecurity, and hence the key to mendicancy as a personal relationship to God is the desire to live in a situation where a measure of real insecurity against tomorrow will be a constant built-in feature.

The desire to risk himself in faith to real insecurity is much to the fore in Ignatius's account in the Autobiography of his Jerusalem pilgrimage in 1523. Interestingly, he first mentions the idea in connection with the emotional security that might be found in a companion.[5] But by the time he reached Rome the critical issue was certainly money. A Jerusalem pilgrimage was a notoriously expensive business and when Ignatius gave away his few ducats leaving it to God alone 'to provide the means to get to Jerusalem', he certainly knew the risk he was taking.[6] In one respect a false start, as an experiment in trust the Jerusalem journey was a conspicuous success; and while it would be over-simple to think that the lessons learned in it were enough to solve all the problems of poverty in a religious order, it was certainly one of the foundational experiences on which the spirituality and practice of Jesuit poverty were built. Repeatedly we find Ignatius in later years tackling the problems of administration with what is plainly the same trust that had seen the eager pilgrim from Barcelona to Jerusalem and back. Particularly striking is his conviction that trust in providence left no room for niggardly planning or the fear of getting into debt:

> Let your reverence follow a rule we observe here (in Rome)—to proceed not on the basis of what we have or do not have but on the basis of what it is fitting to do; letting no one suffer want, but trusting that God will provide.[7]

> Even though money would have to be borrowed, the Father insisted that work be started at once on the infirmary . . . The Father told Polanco that the worst that could happen was that the pair of them would be put in jail.[8]

The trust-based poverty of the Society is also essentially apostolic. It is apostolic first and foremost because the gratuity of ministries (incumbent on all) and the radical mendicancy of the residences are inherently edifying. Given the character of the Church and

society of the sixteenth century it is natural, of course, that the documents should lay heavy stress, as do the *Constitutions*, on the Jesuits' edifying repudiation of the blatant avarice of the age.[9] More generally, however, it could be said that the early Jesuits took seriously the test of credibility put to religious professionals in every age—that they should not be looking in their ministry for gain or the good life. 'People see and know in us that we seek nothing else than the salvation of souls.'[10]

The strict mendicancy of the houses is apostolic, too, in the sense that it is so intrinsically tied to the performance of an immediate and visible service that it is only practised appropriately by those engaged in service of that kind. In the practical order, the limitation of radical mendicancy to directly apostolic houses is obviously prudent. Quite apart from the special circumstances of students, there is the simple social fact that one is more likely to receive alms if one is seen doing a service—if only the service of burying the dead, as Ignatius remarked in his famous letter to Caraffa.[11] But Ignatius seems to have understood the link between strict mendicancy and apostolate not only in practical terms, but as originating within providence itself. The *Constitutions* associate radical mendicancy with 'service'; the *Formula*, following the *Prima Instituti Summa*, with 'seeking the kingdom of God'; and both 'service and seeking the kingdom' carry for Ignatius apostolic overtones. Again, *Exposcit Debitum* specifies that the houses that subsist on alms are dedicated to 'labour in the vineyard'.[12] Certainly, if Ignatius's legislation is based on a 'theology of mendicancy', the regime of the colleges (which in their own way also trusted in providence and as the foregoing citations about borrowing show, lived precariously in Ignatius's time) stems not just from considerations of prudence but from the view that in their case providence ordinarily works through other mediations. What is trust in providence in the situation of communities working in the direct tradition of the apostles would be tempting providence in the situation of colleges.

Ignatius did not stand lightly to the distinction between trusting and tempting, and in both his legislation on poverty and in his dealings with everyday situations this concern is apparent. Trust, for Ignatius, is always a discerning trust. If his behaviour frequently appeared reckless to the onlooker, that, says Gonçalves, was because the onlookers did not always appreciate that he 'dealt with God' before he embarked on any undertaking.[13] In fact Ignatius's

trust in providence is never a cover for recklessness or irresponsibility. Former civil-servant that he was, his attitude towards money, though astonishingly anxiety-free, is never simply contemptuous;[14] and together with charismatic audacity he was known by those close to him for a quality of prudence as well. 'Just as he appears to bypass human prudence in the enterprises he conceives, nevertheless in the pursuit of these and in his search for the means of advancing them, he employs every prudence, both human and divine.'[15] As legislator, he tempers the exigencies of mendicancy by qualifications adapted to the economic realities of the age and to human limitation. Unyielding on points of principle, he could be flexible in their application and sensitive to the changing claims of 'times, persons and places'.[16]

Poverty as humility

Just as men of the world . . . love and seek with such great diligence honours, fame, and esteem for a great name on earth . . . so those who are progressing in the spiritual life and truly following Christ our Lord love and intensely desire everything opposite (General Examen ch 4,44).

Poverty in the Exercises is inextricably bound up with humility, and for Ignatius there is no actual poverty where there is no degree of actualized humility. As with poverty, the choice of humility as a way of life is rooted in deep personal desires to become free from egocentricity and to enter upon a relationship with God with a minimum of props—a desire specified in this connection as a love-inspired aspiration to 'resemble and imitate our Lord Jesus Christ'.[17] Actualized humility, like poverty, is apostolic, and as with poverty its expression may need to be worked out with discerning realism.

In order to appreciate what actualized humility means for Ignatius, it is necessary to realize that the slightly redoubtable words 'insults and injuries'[18] must be taken both literally (though not necessarily melodramatically) and at the same in a broader sense. In the literal sense—given at least an incipient desire—they prove a 'help and profit', opening the way into the paschal mystery and to an even closer imitation of Christ;[19] and for this reason Ignatius saw fit to provide for them even within the community by means of 'tests'. But the main source is the apostolate itself. Here, as Ignatius discovered very early, obstacles, unfair judgments and undeserved hostility come ready-made; only by keeping a low profile, as Ignatius did during his studies, might one hope to be

left in peace.[20] This is not the place to survey the story of Ignatius's troubles with the Inquisition, the slanders directed against him in Venice and the culminating crisis in his first year in Rome. It may suffice to point out that for Ignatius and his companions it was a fact of experience that the concrete humiliations which promote the apostle's personal Christ-life arose precisely from the exercise of the apostolate, and that only the desires constitutive of the third kind of humility gave the apostle the freedom to cope with the real exigencies of his call to proclaim the kingdom, with Christ and in some measure clothed in his raiment.

Ignatius did not, however, expect Jesuits to be continually subject to blatant social humiliation. What he did require was that both in their personal attitudes and in their 'exterior' they should be socially humble. For in the wider sense 'insults and injuries' are simply the antithesis of 'honours', as the sixteenth century understood the term—the honour attaching to social and ecclesiastical status, to power, to learning, to the modes of travel or style of residence that carried so much weight in an ostentation-prone age. Ignatian poverty has as much to do with psycho-social securities of this kind as it has to do with money; and in Ignatius's vocabulary 'ambition' has the same relationship to honour, as 'avarice' has to wealth. We must remember, moreover, that the type of candidate Ignatius was looking for, the man with an instinctive desire for excellence and capable of a career in the world, needed particularly to learn that poverty involved social humility and the renunciation of social ambition.[21]

To be edifying, humility needs 'externals'. At the same time, in this matter more perhaps than in any other aspect of poverty, Ignatius is alive to the need for constant and clear-sighted discernment if the signs that edify are to be distinguished from those which do not.

The externals cover a wide range of Jesuit practice, from experiments like working in the kitchen, to community usages like the avoidance of honorific titles among Jesuits, to a public stance like the discretion surrounding degree ceremonies in Jesuit universities.[22] A form of ministry that both required and witnessed to social humility was the teaching of children and the illiterate. In itself important and edifying, such a work would generally be reckoned socially demeaning for learned preachers to undertake. The *Prima Instituti Summa* therefore proposes it as a work of humility as well as of charity and insists that the General himself supervise

its performance. Ignatius's pre-occupation with the social humility of the Society accounts, too, for his intransigent position with regard to bishoprics, for as well as the consequences for material poverty and mobility, there was the danger that the very possibility of Jesuits becoming bishops would open the door to accusations of ambition if not to ambition itself:

> So far gone is the world in corruption, that the moment one of ours sets foot in the pope's palace or in the palace of cardinals or princes or of people of influence, we are thought to be motivated by ambition. If now we were to accept a bishopric, it would be the easiest way to start talk, criticism and consequent offense to God our Lord.[23]

But the avoidance of offence to the Divine Majesty may also, of course, be a reason for *not* incurring insults and injuries or at any rate for defending oneself against them. The deciding criterion is always the glory of God and in discerning what makes for the glory of God within a given social situation Ignatius is never socially simplistic. He recognizes circumstances where honour positively promotes the glory of God—the honour, for instance, which enhances a public office-holder's power for good, or the ineffaceable honour of noble birth which in Ignatius's[24] view makes the renunciation of the privileges of birth significantly edifying. Among Jesuits, dignity, status, and propriety as well as defiance of social vanities may redound to the glory of God.[25] In the Autobiography Ignatius plainly means to convey that an outlandish personal appearance or ridiculous clothes, however satisfying to the personal desire for self-abnegation, do not edify; and in the early years of the established Society the question whether edification is better served by a dignified or a more manifestly humble mode of self-presentation was a crucial point of missionary discernment.[26] Where reputation was concerned, the lengths to which Ignatius was prepared to carry the defence of his and the companions' probity and orthodoxy is well-known for here 'neither our teaching nor the way we are walking . . . is our own, but Christ's and his Church's'.[27]

Poverty and common life

Food, drink, clothes, lodging will be what is characteristic of the poor . . . For where the Society's first members have passed through these necessities

and greater bodily wants, the others who come to it should endeavour, as far as they can, to reach the same point as the earlier ones, or to go further in our Lord (General Examen ch 4,26).

The manner of living is ordinary. It does not contain any regular penances or austerities which are to be practised through obligation (General Examen 4.8).

What pertains to food, sleep and the use of the other things necessary or proper for living, will be ordinary (*Const* VI,16).

Neither of the above dimensions of poverty is a matter of self-imposed austerity. Nor does either of them necessarily entail indigence, the want of basic necessities with a resulting impairment to health, efficiency, or the human quality of life. Yet in fact the first companions, along with numerous Jesuits of the early Society, had considerable first-hand experience of indigence. It was something to be expected in the pilgrimage experiment, and one of the reasons for the experiment was to introduce the novice to the 'discomforts in food and lodging' and the uncertainties of life on the road that he might expect to meet with in his subsequent apostolic life.[28] That many Jesuits were no strangers to 'discomforts in food and lodging' is a fact of Jesuit history. 'It is no slight grace' wrote Ignatius to missionaries in Europe, 'that the Divine Goodness should allow us actually to taste that which we should always desire . . . In truth I do not know of any place in the whole Society where they do not share this grace'—'though' he adds, citing the example of missionaries in India, 'in one place they may feel it more than in another'.[29]

Ignatius's attitude towards situations of more or less severe physical want is marked by a characteristic Ignatian tension. On the one hand, the experience is a privilege, 'no slight grace'; for Christ is present in a unique and profound way to those at one with the really poor of the world.[30] A spirit of genuine poverty will therefore include a desire for such situations—not a romantic nor, necessarily, a heroic desire, but a readiness of will and a positive attitude of mind towards real poverty. 'Whoever loves poverty and is unwilling to know the effects would be a very dainty poor man.'[31] And Favre insists that it is necessary to be involved in real poverty fairly frequently if the desire is not to cool off.[32] On the other hand Jesuits do not ordinarily make a choice of physical deprivation; it comes—when it comes—as a condition of apostolic service. What is positively chosen is the external regime defined in the *Constitutions* as 'ordinary' (*communis*).

Though such a definition intentionally opens up a wide range of possibilities, we can form a fairly clear idea of what Ignatius and the early Jesuits regarded as a typical common lifestyle. A common life was essentially simple, without superfluities. But necessity was respected, and the concept was not interpreted too parsimoniously. Readily available standards of comparison were provided by local usage and the practice of 'honest priests'; and in everything touching on health the judgment of the doctor was ordinarily final. A host of quotations could be cited to illustrate certain special concerns of Ignatius and other Jesuit authorities in regard to lifestyle—that food be adequate though well short of extravagance;[33] that buildings, especially scholasticates should be salubrious and congenial; above all, that no pains should be spared in providing for the sick.[34]

Many of the reasons for Ignatius's choice of a common, against an austere, life are well known. The collapse of his health at Manresa alerted him to the hazards of extreme austerity,[35] which he came to see, in any case, as by no means the direct road to love and humility. And the Autobiography clearly associates his own first cautious steps in the 'common life' with the theological enlightenments granted him towards the end of his time at Manresa. But there is another consideration, not immediately apparent in the *Constitutions* but, as Michel Dortel-Claudot has demonstrated, crucial for an understanding of the early Society.[36] Common life, life 'in common with ordinary people' (the main sense in which Ignatius uses the term and which he in fact invented)[37] has to do essentially with relationships. More, then, than a matter of material situation, common life is a personal style, and as such its hallmark is 'a certain naturalness, normally to be found among people of good sense'.[38] Avoiding extremes in material matters the Jesuit also avoids the extremes of 'levity' on the one hand and 'ostentatious gravity' on the other, both of which tend to put obstacles in the way of dealing with others.[39] In the common life ordinary people recognize someone like themselves. 'Others would flee our friendship if they saw in us people remote from ordinary ways in dress, food and so on. For as similarity gives rise to friendship and familiarity, so dissimilarity dissolves these.'[40]

To be sure, even in dealing with so positively apostolic an ideal as this, the sources stress the need for discernment. It must always be remembered that Jesuit life is 'common' only in externals not in inner quality,[41] that 'common life' is not 'common secular

life',[42] above all that 'though the Society's life is common, it is also the life of the poor'.[43] So the 'common' norm always needed the corrective thrust of the other criterion, placed before the candidate in the General Examen—a life-standard proper to the poor; for if common life ceased to be a way of actual poverty, it would cease to proclaim the values of the gospel, and hence to edify. But if common life must, emphatically, be a way of living evangelical poverty, it is also true that poverty is most evangelical when its embodiment is 'common' in the sense in which Ignatius and his early commentators understood the term.

NOTES

[1] Laynez, *Scripta de S. Ignatio* I,114.

[2] For a clear example of this thought in the *Constitutions*, see IX,2,3. The General must be 'independent of passions . . . so that in his *interior* they do not disturb his judgment, and in this *exterior* he may be so composed . . . that no one may observe any thing or word which does not *edify*'. There is an equally clear example in III,1,4.

[3] *Ep. et Instr.* I,93, (Or Young, W: *Letters of St Ignatius of Loyola*, p 16). Writing in 1536 to the Archbishop of Barcelona from the relative comfort of Venice, Ignatius expresses the hope shortly to be able to 'preach in poverty and not with the embarrassing abundance I now enjoy'.

[4] 'No one will hold anything as his own, but everything will be in common', Rules of Coimbra 1545-6. MHSI 74. *Regulae Societatis Jesu*, p 73.

[5] *Autobiography*, no 35.

[6] One Philip Hagen, who made the same pilgrimage as Ignatius in 1523, opens an account of the experience with the remark that a traveller to the Holy Land needed three bags—one full of faith, the second full of patience, and the third full of assorted currency. (Cándido de Dalmases S.J., p 76: *Ignatius of Loyola founder of the Jesuits*, Institute of Jesuit Sources, St Louis 1985). Ignatius's well-wishers in Rome will certainly have apprised him of the difference between a journey to Jerusalem and begging one's way on the roads of Italy.

[7] *Ep. et Instr.* II,470. To Jean Pelletier, rector of Ferrara.

[8] Gonçalves da Camara: *Memoriale*, 234. *Fontes Narrativi* I,663-4. Gonçalves returns frequently to the theme of trust in providence. See, for example, nos 232, 247, 263.

[9] In his *De origine et progressu Societatis Jesu*, Simon Rodrigues emphasizes the importance of gratuity of ministries in the intentions of the first companions at the time of the Montmartre vows. The reason, he explains, for their desire to renounce 'even what is legitimate' was not only 'to embrace more closely poverty and evangelical perfection' but also 'that as far as possible, the calumnies and malice of heretics might be avoided'. *Fontes Narr.* III,22.

[10] *Mon. Xav.* I,267.

[11] In the event the famous letter to Carafa was probably never sent, (cf Georges Bottereau S.J.: 'La lettre d'Ignace de Loyola à Gian Petro Carafa' in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, vol xliv, 1975, pp 139-52). The letter remains of considerable interest for the light it sheds on Ignatius's thinking on the subject of religious life at the end of his time of study. The text is in *Ep. et Instr.* I,114-8, trans Young, *Letters*, pp 28-31.

[12] In an early draft of the *Constitutions*, (text 'a'), the connection between providence and the apostolate appears more explicitly than in the final version, in a sentence to the effect

that God might be expected to be more provident towards the apostolic worker the more the latter does not grow cold in the exercise of charity. (MHSI, *Constitutiones* II, p 203). The sentence, which might be taken to imply that God's gifts are conditional on apostolic zeal, was replaced in the final text by the sentence, 'The Society trusting in our Lord whom it serves . . .' (VI,2,2). But while it would be inconsistent with Ignatius's idea of the kindness and liberality of God to make a link between the gifts of providence and the mendicant's *zeal*, the earlier sentence does bring out the link between providence and the fact that the mendicant is an *apostle*.

[13] Gonçalves da Camara: *Memoriale*, 234; *Fontes Narr.* I,663-4.

[14] In the evangelical renewal movements of the twelfth century, zeal for poverty tends to be marked by an almost physical revulsion for money as such, which was invested with evil qualities. In Ignatius's love for the poverty of Christ, his detestation of avarice and his constant insistence on the power of 'disordered attachment', we find no disdain for money as such or for the disciplines of economic reality. Money for him is a means to the end, a 'creature' to be 'used' or 'avoided' in relation to the glory and service of God. On Ignatius's attitude towards money see Dominique Bertrand, *La politique de Saint Ignace*, ch v 'Les chevaliers du commerce et de la finance', pp 251-91 (Paris, 1985).

[15] Gonçalves da Camara: *Memoriale*, 234.

[16] For instance, writing to Everard Mercurian, rector of Perusa at a time when the college was in dire straits, Ignatius says that 'those who offer alms having first requested spiritual help, must be told that nothing is accepted for such services. But if they then offer alms without indicating a relation to Mass, confession, preaching or lectures, that can be admitted so long as this poverty lasts' (*Ep. et Instr.* 12, 316-7).

[17] General Examen IV, 44.

[18] The actual phrase in the General Examen, which is an elaboration of the third kind of humility, is 'injuries, false accusations, and affronts and to be held and esteemed as fools'. With regard to the *Exercises*, it is perhaps worth mentioning that both in the Spanish autograph and in the Latin translations various words and phrases are used to express the situation that Ignatius saw as so important for the experience of humility. But for him—as for us—it was not easy to pinpoint this situation in a single formula.

[19] General Examen IV, 44.

[20] Autobiography 82.

[21] 'The man who would be no use in the world would be no use in the Society; and the person with talents to live in the world would be good for the Society' (*Scripta de S Ignatio* I,445).

[22] On titles, we find in the earliest collection of rules for scholastics, in 1540, that 'as a sign of love there will be among ours no use of the titles *merced* and *señor* (MHSI vol 71, *Regulae Societatis Jesu*, p 7). The academic title of 'master' was however allowed. (*Ibid.*, p 526). On degree ceremonies see *Const* iv, 15,4.

[23] *Ep. et Instr.* I,480-8 (Young, 111-113). Letter to Ferdinand, King of the Romans. Missionary bishoprics were a different matter. The dignity of the patriarch of Ethiopia, for instance, was quite different 'by the labour and dangers that attend it, from the dignities that offer matter for ambition and greed' (*Ep. et Instr.* 8,433).

[24] Thus, in the choice of a General an 'external thing' such as nobility might merit some consideration, other things being equal (*Const* ix, 2 d,e,c.b).

[25] 'Charity and the desire to help souls so prevailed over his personal preference for being treated with contempt that he treated himself with the authority and decency that became his office and person' *Fontes Narr.* IV,780 (Ribadeneira's 'Life').

[26] Valuable insights into Jesuit attitudes to this, and other matters, are provided by the 'Dialogue of Edmond Auger' in *Fontes Narr.* III,255-320, an edited record of a series of Jesuit conversations ranging probably over many occasions. In a discussion on various ways of arriving in a region, Polanco makes the point that if one's purpose is to found a college a certain dignity is fitting since 'the instruction and teaching of youth must not

involve anything more ungraceful or outlandish than our dress and table, both of which are common' (*Ibid.*, p 293).

[27] *Ep. et Instr.* I,134-6, (Young, *Letters*, pp 36-7). Ignatius is explaining to Petro Contarini why he had sought a juridical sentence in favour of the companions in 1538.

[28] General Examen IV,12.

[29] *Ep. et Instr.* IV,564-5 (Young, *Letters*, pp 281-2).

[30] See particularly the letter of 1547 on poverty, written by Polanco at Ignatius's behest, to the college in Padua, where the community was in dire straits because a promised endowment had not yet materialized. Drawing heavily on the gospel, the letter is an exposition of the 'theology of real poverty'. Though the standpoint is not quite our idea of solidarity with the poor, there is much in the letter that bears directly on that idea. *Ep. et Instr.* I,572-7. (Young, *Letters*, pp 146-50).

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Memoriale*, nos 233, 234. (*Mon. Fab.* 609-10). Favre asks that never a year should pass without his desire for having 'only the bare necessities for the day' being realized. 'Many people, once removed from real poverty, from begging and other holy actions, soon lose the taste for such things'.

[33] Gonçalves has a description of the fare at Ignatius's guest table in Rome: 'In winter mutton and in summer veal, which in Rome sells at the price of mutton. Other kinds of meat, such as kid or game, never appeared on this table, even when guests were present. Portions were not allocated, but all the meat was put on a dish in the middle of the table and each helped himself. I don't remember whether we started dinner with something else. At supper the entrée was cooked salad or carrot sauce, and in summer herb salad and a little fruit. For dessert, cheese or fruit'. *Fontes Narr.* I,640, no 186. In the matter of beverages Ignatius writes to Adrian Adrienssens in Flanders that 'Where health permits one should get accustomed to beer, or even water, or cider, where this drink is in common use, and not make use of imported wines' (*Ep. et Instr.* ix, 347-5; Young, *Letters*, pp 420-421).

[34] Examples of Ignatius's care for the health of members of the Society abound in his letters. In Young's collection, see the letter to Adrienssens, quoted above, and the letter to John Baptist Viola (Young, pp 328-30; *Ep. et Instr.* iv, 447-50).

[35] 'As a result of (his severe ascetical practices) he contracted an illness; so he reflected seriously what he could otherwise do, with an eye to the Society of Jesus' (Laynez). *Fontes Narr.* II,138.

[36] Dortel-Claudot Michel: *Mode de vie: niveau de vie et pauvreté de la Compagnie de Jésus*, (Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, Rome 1973).

[37] The term 'common life' traditionally had three senses in the time of Ignatius: life in common, common observance and the holding of goods in common. To these Ignatius adds a fourth a new use of the term. Cf Dortel-Claudot, *op. cit.*, p 35.

[38] Oliver Manare. Cf Dortel-Claudot, *op. cit.*, p 39 and note.

[39] Oliver Manare, *ibid.*

[40] *Mon Nadal* V,60.

[41] Manare. Cf Dortel-Claudot, *op. cit.*, p 40 and note.

[42] Manare. Cf Dortel-Claudot, *op. cit.*, p 57 and note.

[43] Nadal. Cf Dortel-Claudot, *op. cit.*, p 57 and note.