

# COMMUNICATING CHANNELS: LETTERS TO REVEAL AND TO GOVERN<sup>1</sup>

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IN ONE OF THE EARLIEST EXTANT LETTERS of Ignatius, written from Paris in June 1532 to his older brother Martin (who had succeeded to the family estate in Loyola on the death of the eldest brother in 1507) he remarks, 'You say that you are overjoyed as you have the impression that I have abandoned my policy of not writing to you'.<sup>2</sup> Ten years had passed since Ignatius's departure (February 1522) from his home, and a letter seemed long overdue. Ignatius admits as much in the same letter when he says that he had been thinking of writing 'a good five or six years'; his hesitation and delay were caused partly by his preoccupations with studies (begun some seven years earlier in Barcelona),

and on the other hand there has been my lack of confidence or of adequate proof that my letters might be of any use to the service and praise of God Our Lord, or of any comfort to my acquaintances and family, such that they might become related to me *secundum spiritum*, and at the same time that we might be able to help one another in those things that are to last us for ever (*ibid.*).

Letter writing for Ignatius from this point onwards was to be a constant instrument for a variety of purposes, but principally for furthering the service and praise of God.<sup>3</sup> In the earliest autograph letter that has survived (12 February 1536, to Jaime Cazador, an archdeacon and future Bishop of Barcelona) the standard opening and closing phrases are already in place and will remain constant over many years.

## *The materials available*

By the time he died (1556) his letters formed one of the richest epistolary collections of the sixteenth century. Some seven thousand

were collected and published in the early years of this century. Their very volume has daunted most hagiographers and scholars, and although there were various selections of the letters (the most notable being that by Hugo Rahner of Ignatian letters to women), the first serious study of them as a whole was undertaken only in the last decade.<sup>4</sup> Many obstacles remain. Quite apart from the poor quality of the earlier copies—and the lack of autographs makes it almost impossible to be certain about the form of the name (Iñigo, Ynigo, Ignacio, Ignatius)—the Castilian Spanish used by Ignatius antedates Spain's 'Golden Age' and is often difficult to understand. The letters themselves are unevenly spaced in time, only a trickle for the crucial fifteen years between his letter to Martin and 1547, when he had spent seven years as General Superior of the new order, then a sudden increase to 300 per year and eventually to 1,000 letters per year.

These rough statistics are easily explained by the arrival in Rome of one man, Juan Polanco, who was to be Secretary to the Society for over twenty-five years (1547–1573). A born bureaucrat, in the best sense, he organized the offices and archives with amazing efficiency and foresight. However it would be ingenuous to suppose that his contribution to the correspondence of Ignatius was restricted to receiving and cataloguing. Already in 1547 one is a little surprised to find copious references to St Bernard's sermons in the letter from Ignatius to the candidates for the Society in Coïmbra, a wide-ranging survey of the ideals of the religious life, but also an attempt to deal with the particularly extravagant penitential practices adopted by the young men, partly at the instigation of the charismatic Simon Rodrigues.<sup>5</sup> In August of the same year Ignatius had such confidence in his secretary (then only thirty years of age) that he entrusted to him the writing of a letter on the ideal of poverty, and the product was an elegantly rhetorical little treatise, complete with quotations from Ovid, Lucan and Seneca.<sup>6</sup> It is instructive to compare this with a letter on the same subject (basically, encouraging young men who were hungry and cold) written five years later by Ignatius: the rhetoric and the quotations have gone; in their place is a recall of the much harsher suffering borne by the Society's men in India, a permission to beg for funds, and a reminder that the sick should not be allowed to go short.<sup>7</sup> Even if the basic teaching is the same, the contrast in approach could not be sharper. One sees at once that Ignatius and Polanco complemented one another like a sword and its sheath. They were

made of very different stuff, each needing the other at different moments. But one should beware of the protective covering Polanco places around his master's expression.

Fortunately enough of the early letters survive for one to form an acquaintance with Ignatius the man, and this knowledge can serve as a yardstick for the later letters. Moreover, the overall responsibility for the Polanco letters remains that of Ignatius. And provided one is aware of the nature of the material being presented (applying the norms of source-criticism required in other historical studies)<sup>8</sup> the complete corpus of the letters provides a solid base for investigating how Ignatius saw the world around him, reacted with it and shaped the Society accordingly.<sup>9</sup>

Here the scope will be much more limited. Through the letters one can see Ignatius from different angles, and recognize his various roles. One aspect that is deliberately bypassed here is that of Ignatius 'the friend', mainly because its complexity and ramifications would require a complete article in itself. But the deep, sustained tone of friendship fills the background of countless letters, and in the case of many of them (e.g. to Simon Rodrigues), rises to influence many of the other notes. Several of the other aspects coalesce to reveal Ignatius's governing function as General Superior of a new order: someone who is at the same time spiritual director, instructor, businessman and religious superior. It is the combination of these that may point to the importance of the letters for appreciating Ignatius five hundred years after his birth.

#### *The spiritual director*

The letters that speak most easily and deeply to us today, because the human problems raised are still with us, are those concerned with directing men and women in the ways of the Spirit. It is surprising to find that the richest of the letters here are those written to two persons with whom initially Ignatius had only an epistolary acquaintance: Sister Rejadell, and the Duke of Gandía. With the former he was helped by the information provided by a disciple (Lope de Cáceres) and with the latter by the news sent to him by two outstanding Jesuits, the saintly Pierre Favre and Ignatius's relative, Antonio Araoz, who became his right hand man in Spain. But his letters rely to a great extent on hints contained in letters sent to him asking for advice. In both cases Ignatius draws on the teaching already developed in the context of the Spiritual Exercises, even if the formulations of some of the

rules for recognizing 'movements of spirits' had not yet gelled in definitive form.<sup>10</sup>

The importance of obtaining information about the person being counselled is evident in both groups of letters: Ignatius insists that Sister Rejadell herself should write and not rely on the information being sent by Cáceres, 'for no one is as well able as the actual person concerned to convey to another what she is experiencing'.<sup>11</sup> He is able to counsel Borgia because the latter regularly sends him accounts of his way of life.<sup>12</sup>

Once a problem has been raised and the decision taken to give counselling, Ignatius sets to work with great calm and deliberation. The steps of the letter are clearly announced beforehand: thus in the case of Sister Rejadell two parts of the letter seek to assuage the fears that beset her—of her own incompetence and of God's hostility (the latter fear being part of the classic experience of desolation)—while a third part gives sensitive guidance on the interpretation of lights in prayer, warning against the twin deceptions of adding to and subtracting from the divinely inspired prompting. Some twelve years later Ignatius is trying to curb the impetuous passion of Borgia, in danger of seriously damaging his health through excessive asceticism and with no moderating hand near to rein him in (Father Oviedo, a lovable and saintly man, chosen by his companions to be their superior, was famous for his extravagant devotions). Ignatius opens with a favourite theme, that the spiritual life passes through stages,<sup>13</sup> then firmly sets limits to the fasts and corporal penances, pointing instead to an enlightening new programme, the search for the higher gifts:

I mean those gifts which are not in our very own power to summon when we wish, but which are purely gifts from the One who gives all that is good, and can do all that is good, gifts such as the following (always understood as being directed and aimed at His Divine Majesty): intensity of faith, of hope, and of love; spiritual rejoicing and repose; tears; intense consolation; the raising up of the mind; impressions or illuminations from God, and all the other spiritual relishings and intuitions that lead to such gifts, together with humility and reverence towards our holy mother, the Church, and towards the rulers and teachers who have been appointed within her. Any of these very holy gifts must be preferred to any physical activities.<sup>14</sup>

The letter marks the end of the series of letters dedicated primarily to spiritual direction. Perhaps the pressure of Society obligations,

or simply failing health, impeded further work of this sort, but it is possible that Ignatius acknowledged the difficulty of effective individual guidance by letter. He may have suspected that in the delicate area of spiritual movements, the most he could do was to encourage those attracted to the spiritual life to seek the guidance of the Spiritual Exercises made with personal guidance. This pattern of a growing realism in his appreciation of the limits that letters impose will recur as other aspects of Ignatius the letter-writer are passed in review.

### *The instructor*

The letters change gear in very distinctive fashion as Ignatius turns from the individual to the group: the intimate, personal, self-revealing tone that marks the spiritual director is replaced by one that is professional, rational, frequently meticulous, yet also frequently wide-ranging in vision.

The earliest examples seem to be the instructions drawn up with such enthusiasm (in no less than three sets) for the two Jesuits deputed to go to Ireland (1541) on the first papal mission entrusted to the recently founded Society. The second set<sup>15</sup> with their norms for dealing with persons of different psychological temperaments reflect in all probability the techniques adopted by Ignatius himself when talking to others:

So with those of extrovert character,<sup>16</sup> who are quick and cheerful in conversations, talk like them to some extent, in all that is good and holy, and avoid appearing serious, slow and sad. But if they are introverted by nature, slow to speak, serious and measured in their expressions, try and take after them when dealing with them, as that is what they like: *omnia omnibus factus sum* (1 Cor 9,22).

Many of the great letters signed by Ignatius during his sixteen years as General are instructions, some copied by Polanco into the curial archive volume marked 'Instructions', but others still nominally 'letters', like the long instructions to Gandía and Coïmbra (the latter mainly on the concept of obedience). Here one sees that it is the General Superior who writes, and Ignatius is very self-conscious about his role as *the* Superior by definition in the Society, all other superiors acting as his substitutes.<sup>17</sup>

However it would be quite wrong to suppose, because of this, that his tone is one of command. It is astonishing to find how often

phrases like 'as far as possible' occur. Thus to the fathers at Trent (early in 1546) his instructions are prefaced with the remark: 'These points may be of some use in this matter and are to be used freely as indications'.<sup>18</sup> And in his long memorandum of advice for the mission to Ethiopia (1555) he closes with the words,

All that has been proposed should be taken as advice, but the Patriarch should not feel obliged to act in conformity with it. Rather he should follow the dictates of a discreet charity; that takes account of the real circumstances and of the unction of the Holy Spirit, the main directive in all matters.<sup>19</sup>

The range of the instructions is equally remarkable: apart from Ireland, Trent, Coïmbra, Gandía and Ethiopia, Ignatius looks to Ingolstadt,<sup>20</sup> Leuven (Louvain),<sup>21</sup> Vienna,<sup>22</sup> and of course India,<sup>23</sup> and turns his mind to topics as diverse as structures of government (1547),<sup>24</sup> the organization of a university (1549 and 1554),<sup>25</sup> and norms for catering (1556),<sup>26</sup> to mention just a few.

It must be obvious that no single person would have the competence to write adequately in such different fields. And frequently these letters refer to the commission technique adopted when difficult questions arose. Thus on the reform of the university syllabus in Vienna (1554), Polanco explains the excessively long, specialized courses being given, then says,

Such a method does not seem suitable in our Father's opinion and he summoned Dr Olave, Master Bobadilla, Dr Madrid and myself to a meeting to discuss the method to be followed in theological studies in Vienna. We decided . . .

Similar situations arose over the crisis of mysticism in Gandía (1549) and probably in the composition of the long letter on obedience (1555), which tried to put an end to the tensions threatening to destroy the Portuguese province.

Another class of instructions falls into the 'rule-book' genre. Whereas in the Constitutions Ignatius deliberately avoided excessive particularity (thereby incurring the sarcasm of Bobadilla),<sup>27</sup> he was a great believer in the utility of particular or local collections of brief, practical guide-lines (ranging from the conduct of the cook to the way of walking in the street). Some of these find their way into the letters and regulate how the superior at Tivoli (then used as a sort of rest-house for those in danger of strain) should organize

his day (e.g. hours of meals and of sleep),<sup>28</sup> what lines of argument should be used to persuade a duchess to support a college in Florence rather than in Pisa,<sup>29</sup> the behaviour to be followed when travelling,<sup>30</sup> the formulas to be used when begging.<sup>31</sup> All of these rules come carefully numbered and ordered. It is probably in these instructions that the insistence on numbering, which characterizes so much of Ignatius's method of work, is most strongly represented. He clearly believed in an ordered universe, where things obey serene laws and where human cooperation allows reason its full flowering.

*The business man*

Ignatius was no stranger to financial worries. From his student days in Paris he had learned the hard way that money is needed to survive, and many of the letters refer to financial transactions or preoccupations:

Please bear with my talking of financial matters as if they had top priority. As I have more than 160 hungry mouths to feed, not to mention the upkeep of the buildings, it is quite true that the letters likely to bring me most comfort will be letters of credit. They help run the colleges, so I run after them for the colleges' sake.<sup>32</sup>

The references to poverty in the letters (mentioned above) were no rhetorical flourishes: many of the young Jesuits were going hungry. It was as difficult then as it is today to arrange international transfers of credit,<sup>33</sup> and many of the colleges were in debt. In Rome building operations were constantly under way; at one point Michelangelo offered his services free of charge, but lack of resources prevented his plans being adopted.<sup>34</sup> It would be quite erroneous to think that Ignatius kept aloof from these transactions. In one letter Polanco remarks (none too ethically) on his behalf, 'perhaps it will be cheaper to pay a mason so much per working day, seeing that there are fewer days in a month for working than there are for eating'.<sup>35</sup> Again he has to face the problem of salaries for Jesuits, and he insists that the Society should not be subject to niggling and unwarranted rendering of accounts.<sup>36</sup>

It is in these business letters more especially that one can appreciate the reality of Ignatius's insertion in the society of his time. He was in contact with the economics of banking, while at the same time never losing sight of higher values and more pressing

realities: thus no money considerations should deter the Sicilian Jesuits from ransoming the unfortunate French Jesuit captured by pirates and held at Djerba,<sup>37</sup> and he can encourage the Bursar of a college in Portugal:

To be in charge of temporal affairs may appear to be (and may really be) very distracting in some ways. Yet I have no doubt that by holy intention and by directing all that you undertake to the glory of God, you turn it into something spiritual and very pleasing to His infinite goodness. The distractions undertaken for God's greater service and in conformity with His divine will, as interpreted by holy obedience, can be not merely equivalent to the union and recollection of assiduous contemplation, but even more acceptable because they are inspired by a charity that is more violent and strong.<sup>38</sup>

#### *The religious superior*

The letters shed particular light on Ignatius's method of governing: from the beginning he saw that in his day the letter was frequently the only way of keeping in touch with his far-flung companions. The order had hardly been founded when they were scattered all over Italy, up into Germany, across into Ireland, criss-crossing Spain and Portugal, then taking ship both east and west to India and Brazil. Given his conception of obedience as a constant linking of members with the head, it was essential that information should flow freely and regularly in both directions. He set the example by his own letters, where he opens his heart with disarming sincerity, at least when he believes that his correspondent can reciprocate.

There is a curious contrast here between his 'historical' letters,<sup>39</sup> recounting the obstacles encountered in Italy and more particularly in Rome (1537-1539), where he refers to himself as one person more, and on the other hand the letters of consolation and encouragement where he confesses his early indiscretions (over fasting, to Borgia<sup>40</sup>) or his reliance on 'hunches' (over the dangers threatening the Theatines, to Carafa<sup>41</sup>), or his conviction of the value of his Spiritual Exercises.<sup>42</sup>

This mixture of hard fact and personal self-revelation answers to a realism that distinguishes many letters in the correspondence. He expects his men to reply in kind, to be adequately forthcoming with information, and as open as possible in the circumstances (to



a priest in danger of mental strain<sup>43</sup> he will say that he should write once a week!). Among the instructions for dealing with superiors, where clearly Ignatius is aware of the incompetence and obtuseness that will often occur, and where he builds safeguards round the superiors to protect them, there are strong and detailed recommendations on the need for regular letters,<sup>44</sup> but he is aware that they require considerable effort and that all too often they will be left to the last possible moment.

The limitations of the letter are also recognized, both practical (the distance and the inadequacies of the postal system)<sup>45</sup> and theoretical (the impossibility of coping with particular local circumstances).<sup>46</sup> One also comes across examples of the deliberate 'dosing' of information. When the superior at Gandía asks for permission to say more than one mass per day (he had also requested permission to adopt the eremitical life for a number of years), the reply of Ignatius temporizes: he has objections, but leaves open the possibility that Fr Oviedo apply to Rome for dispensation via the General Superior. In his private comments to the Secretary (who then passes them on to the Spanish Provincial) Ignatius is much more definite and negative:

not only is he not prepared to petition such a favour for him, but he would positively prevent it . . . and I can also add that I heard Fr Ignatius say that if he had Fr Oviedo nearer at hand, he would try to cure him with suitable medication, not allowing him to celebrate even one mass daily.<sup>47</sup>

In this as in so many of the letters, the dominant characteristic is the extraordinary personal care for the individual: a sickly young priest en route to Cologne from Rome must take appropriate stops,<sup>48</sup> a young man doubtful of his vocation and under great stress should take a year off studying quietly without examinations,<sup>49</sup> Araoz must not take on too many preaching commitments,<sup>50</sup> a timid man is encouraged to be a superior and not to be depressed.<sup>51</sup> The list could be extended indefinitely. On so many occasions the recipient of the letter has the striking impression that Ignatius's whole attention is concentrated exclusively on him.

But there is another twist to these letters which may well be unexpected: on numerous occasions when decisions are required the onus of the final choice rebounds back on the correspondent. A clear example is his early letter of rebuke to a young priest, Fr

Viola, with whom we know he was friendly in Rome.<sup>52</sup> When this scholastic was in Paris (1542) he wrote to Ignatius, 'I considered it proper to write to Your Reverence asking you to kindly notify us if we should change professors or instead waste our time'. Ignatius replies indignantly:

You can judge for yourself if you are really seeking obedience, and if you are really submitting your judgement so that I can tell you what to think. Seeing that you are so sure of your own opinion and absolutely convinced that you are wasting your time, where does any submission of your judgement come in? Or can it be that you think my task is to tell you to waste your time? May God forbid that I should ever find myself doing harm to somebody when I cannot help the person!

It is Viola's own fault if he has chosen the courses incorrectly, and the implication is that it is up to him to extricate himself from his situation now.<sup>53</sup> When writing to those who are not Jesuits about Society matters (e.g. to convince a parent that a son should be allowed to try his vocation,<sup>54</sup> or persuading a sister not to give way to depression over a brother's death,<sup>55</sup> or thanking a mother whose son has joined the Society),<sup>56</sup> it is the reasonableness that is stressed in each situation, so that the correspondent is won over to see the writer's point of view.

On the other hand there is ample evidence in the letters of forceful and difficult decision making: the refusal to accept bishoprics, even though the King of the Romans is asking the Pope for such appointments;<sup>57</sup> the insistence that Borgia should not be made a cardinal, even if the Emperor himself has proposed his name;<sup>58</sup> the opposition both to any parochial appointment<sup>59</sup> and to the supervision of the Portuguese inquisition,<sup>60</sup> as these will impede the mobility essential to the Society's Institute. It is true that Ignatius frequently preferred to send a personal envoy with full powers (including a supply of blank letters signed by himself) to resolve local problems on the spot, but the letters show that he could also provide clear corrections when he felt that the local superior had been misled.

### *Conclusion*

Any brief survey of such a large subject must be very selective, and necessarily incomplete. But in conclusion it is worth drawing attention to the formulas chosen by Ignatius to open and close

many of his letters. The opening phrase is, 'May the supreme grace and love of Christ our Lord always assist and favour us!', preceded of course by a cross and the name JESUS (usually abbreviated to IHS). To close, a prayer to God for grace, 'so that we may feel his most holy will and accomplish it fully'. Throughout the letters there is this quest, inspired by the grace of love of Christ, on the one hand to 'feel' (*sentir*), be-aware-of, the will of God, and on the other to have the ability to accomplish it. It is a quest on which writer and correspondent are embarked together, each providing a distinct part, both coalescing into one mutual comprehension and heartfelt desire. The letters are the channels of communication, allowing vision and government. They, or their equivalents, are as essential today as they were then.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> All references to the letters of Ignatius will be to the standard *MHSJ* edition in 12 volumes, Madrid 1903-1911. The translations (mainly from the Spanish) are taken from a forthcoming publication, a collection of Ignatian writings (including a selection of the letters made by Michael Ivens S.J.) in preparation for the Penguin Classics.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, No 3 (I, pp 77-83).

<sup>3</sup> In fact the two earliest extant letters are considerably earlier (1524 and 1528), both to the same lady, Inés Pascual, and partly involved with begging for money. They are available in English in Rahner, Hugo: *Saint Ignatius Loyola: letters to women* (Herder, Freiburg, Nelson, Edinburgh-London, 1960), pp 173-183.

<sup>4</sup> Bertrand, Dominique, S.J., *La politique de Saint Ignace de Loyola: l'analyse sociale* (Paris, 1985), by a former member of the *Christus* editorial board, now director of *Sources Chrétiennes*.

<sup>5</sup> *Letters*, No 169 (I, pp 495-510).

<sup>6</sup> *Letters*, No 186 (I, pp 572-577).

<sup>7</sup> *Letters*, No 3107 (IV, pp 564-565), in Italian.

<sup>8</sup> See Endean, Philip: "'Who do you say Ignatius is?'" Jesuit fundamentalism and beyond', *Studies in the spirituality of Jesuits* vol 19, no 5 (1987).

<sup>9</sup> This is the thesis advanced by Dominique Bertrand, Part 4, Chapter 3 (see note 4 above).

<sup>10</sup> Endean, Philip: 'Discerning behind the Rules', *The Way Supplement* vol 64 (1989), pp 37-50.

<sup>11</sup> *Letters*, No 7 (I, pp 99-107).

<sup>12</sup> *Letters*, No 466 (II, pp 233-237).

<sup>13</sup> Already stressed in the letter to his brother Martin (see note 2).

<sup>14</sup> See note 12 (p 236).

<sup>15</sup> *Letters*, No 32 (I, pp 179-181).

<sup>16</sup> Ignatius uses the psychological terms of his day and refers to extroverts as 'those of choleric temperament', and to introverts as 'those who are phlegmatic or melancholic'.

<sup>17</sup> As explained in the long letter to Gandía where he experimented with the election of the superior by the local community (with such unfortunate results that the experiment was not repeated), *Letters*, No 181 (I, pp 551-562).

<sup>18</sup> *Letters*, No 123 (I, pp 386-389).

<sup>19</sup> *Letters*, No 2 in Appendix (VIII, pp 680-690).

<sup>20</sup> *Letters*, No 18 in Appendix 1 (XII, pp 239-247), in Latin.

- <sup>21</sup> *Letters*, No 6454 (XI, pp 374-375), in Latin.
- <sup>22</sup> *Letters*, No 4859 (VII, pp 633-636), in Italian.
- <sup>23</sup> *Letters*, No 4012 (VI, pp 89-92).
- <sup>24</sup> See note 17 above.
- <sup>25</sup> The letters to Ingoldstadt and Vienna, see notes 20 and 22.
- <sup>26</sup> The letter to Leuven mentioned above, note 21.
- <sup>27</sup> Two general remarks by him on the Constitutions are recorded: (i) 'He seems to repeat the same thing many times'; (ii) recommending a summary, cf *Constitutions*, I (= *MHSJ* vol 63, Rome, 1934), pp 232-233.
- <sup>28</sup> *Letters*, No 1225 (III, pp 74-75) and No 1506 (III, pp 309-311).
- <sup>29</sup> *Letters*, No 2047 (III, pp 637-638).
- <sup>30</sup> *Letters*, No 4284 (VI, pp 491-493), in Italian.
- <sup>31</sup> *Letters*, No 5 in Appendix 6 (XII, pp 656-657).
- <sup>32</sup> *Letters*, No 5256 (VIII, p 552).
- <sup>33</sup> Vividly described in *Letters*, No 3666 (V, pp 364-365).
- <sup>34</sup> *Letters*, No 4549 (VII, pp 135-138).
- <sup>35</sup> *Letters*, No 5645 (XIV, pp 490-491), in Italian.
- <sup>36</sup> *Letters*, No 4859 (VII, pp 635-636), in Italian (Polanco once more).
- <sup>37</sup> *Letters*, No 5544 (IX, pp 336-338): Fr Jean de la Goutte was captured on his way back from Spain to Italy (1554) and died in captivity.
- <sup>38</sup> *Letters*, No 2383 (IV, pp 126-127).
- <sup>39</sup> Notably *Letters*, Nos 18 (I, pp 137-144) and 12 in Appendix 2 (XII, pp 320-323).
- <sup>40</sup> *Letters*, No 466 (II, pp 233-237).
- <sup>41</sup> *Letters*, No 11 (I, pp 114-118); however this letter was probably never sent, cf Bottereau, Georges: 'La "lettre" d'Ignace de Loyola à Gian Pietro Carafa', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* 45 (1975), pp 139-152.
- <sup>42</sup> *Letters*, No 10 (I, pp 111-112).
- <sup>43</sup> *Letters*, No 1225 (II, pp 74-75).
- <sup>44</sup> *Letters*, No 5400<sup>a</sup> (IX, pp 90-92).
- <sup>45</sup> Ditto, and at the end of a letter to India, *Letters*, No 4012 (VI, pp 89-92).
- <sup>46</sup> *Letters*, No 1854 (III, pp 506-513), in his reply to Fr Brandao's final questions.
- <sup>47</sup> *Letters*, No 260 (II, pp 11-13).
- <sup>48</sup> *Letters*, No 1831 (III, pp 484-486), in Latin.
- <sup>49</sup> *Letters*, No 79 (I, pp 294-295).
- <sup>50</sup> *Letters*, No 1882 (II, pp 534-535).
- <sup>51</sup> *Letters*, No 4020 (VI, pp 109-110), in Italian.
- <sup>52</sup> Fr Viola happened to be walking with Ignatius to say mass for the recovery of Fr Codure, then seriously ill, when Ignatius, 'assaulted by a sudden horror', stopped on the Ponte Sixto over the Tiber and told Viola that he was convinced that Codure had just died (related in Ribadeneira's *Life of Ignatius*). For the letter mentioned here, cf *Letters*, No 52 (I, pp 228-229).
- <sup>53</sup> This story ended fairly happily because Viola went on to be a key figure in the expansion of the Society in France, even if his gauche ways were partly responsible for the Society being banned from Paris for a number of years.
- <sup>54</sup> *Letters*, No 958 (II, pp 603-606), in Italian.
- <sup>55</sup> *Letters*, No 1587 (III, pp 326-327).
- <sup>56</sup> *Letters*, No 6087 (X, pp 483-484).
- <sup>57</sup> *Letters*, No 149 (I, pp 450-453).
- <sup>58</sup> *Letters*, No 2652 (IV, pp 283-285).
- <sup>59</sup> *Letters*, No 4184 (VI, pp 347-348).
- <sup>60</sup> *Letters*, No 5471 (IX, pp 226-227).