

THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND THE CRISIS OF MEDIEVAL PIETY

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IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY Ignatius Loyola came to be seen as a symbol of the Counter-Reformation, and in particular of the points of belief and practice that distinguished Catholics from Protestants.¹ His first official biographer, Pedro de Ribadeneira, extolled him as the captain of the armies of the Church pitted against Antichrist, Martin Luther,² and the image, once established, received new life in the early nineteenth century when the term 'Counter-Reformation' was first used to denote the Catholic counter-attack on Protestantism.³ Nowadays it is generally accepted that the militant side of Ignatius's character has been exaggerated. His formative years were the 1520s in Spain, when he probably had little, if any, knowledge of Lutheranism. In Paris during the 1530s he witnessed the irruption of the Reform into French life, but his thoughts at the time were set on living in Jerusalem. And even when, after 1540, his followers became involved in anti-Protestant work, it was only one of several activities in which the young Society engaged, and never the one to which he himself was most attracted.⁴ Nonetheless he cannot simply be classified as part of the other strand in the early Counter-Reformation distinguished by Hubert Jedin, the movement to reform the late medieval Church.⁵ Not only was it his ambition until 1538 to leave Europe and live in the Holy Land, but a certain mystery surrounds his attitude to one of the main forces in the early Catholic Reform, the evangelical humanists.

According to Ribadeneira, Ignatius was always hostile to the evangelical humanists, particularly Erasmus, whose *Enchiridion* he was invited to read in Barcelona in 1525 or 1526, and which he abandoned in disgust.⁶ In modern times, however, this simple view of his position has been challenged. The evidence suggests that when

writing the Barcelona story Ribadeneira changed and elaborated his sources in order to demonstrate that even in the 1520s Ignatius was orthodox in the late sixteenth-century sense of the term. It appears, moreover, that in Spain, France and Italy Ignatius moved in circles favourable to the evangelical humanists, and was opposed by conservatives who were also hostile to Erasmus. In addition, critical study of the *Exercises* indicates that during the 1530s he may well have read some of Erasmus's writings, including the *Enchiridion*, and that these left their mark on several passages in the text. Finally, it seems that in 1539 and 1540 approval of the Society was delayed in Rome because of certain Erasmian elements in its proposed constitutions.⁷ One might conclude that Ignatius was well-disposed to the humanists after all, but this conclusion is made difficult to sustain by the history of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

In the period after the Council of Trent, the *Exercises* played a crucial role in shaping a confessional Catholic piety that ran counter not only to Protestant belief and practice but to the type of spirituality that Erasmus and his fellow humanists had advocated.⁸ Erasmus, for instance, was strongly critical of the popular devotions of his day, such as the veneration of relics, the invocation of saints, processions, pilgrimages and rigorous acts of penance,⁹ but in the late sixteenth century these were officially encouraged, helped by the *Exercises* in which they are warmly praised.¹⁰ He was particularly critical of popular devotion to the Passion,¹¹ but Ignatius incorporated it into the *Exercises*, and later in the Tridentine Church it was accorded an honoured place. In general, Erasmus criticized the emphasis in late medieval piety on external acts and works, and inclined instead to a spirituality that was meditative and interiorized,¹² but the type of meditation popular in the late sixteenth century, and disseminated by the *Exercises*, encouraged intense activity, not only in the course of prayer, when all the powers of the mind were involved, but in its fruits. As Outram Evennett observed, the decree on Justification issued by the Council in 1547 ensured that

the spirituality of the Counter-Reformation would be one in which activity of all kinds was to play a very large part; in which active striving after self-control and the acquisition of virtues would be vital; in which zeal for good works of mercy and charity, and labour for the salvation of souls, were to predominate.¹³

The substance of the *Exercises* was conceived at Manresa in 1522 and early 1523, and the text was elaborated over the next two decades, reaching its final form in about 1541.¹⁴ If during these years the spirituality of Ignatius was incompatible with that of the Erasmian humanists, how could he have looked on them favourably? The pages that follow seek an answer to this question by examining the circumstances in which the *Exercises* were composed. Just before he began to write them, Ignatius endured a severe spiritual crisis which had all the characteristics of the malaise in popular piety that Erasmus and his fellow humanists had analysed.

The crisis at Manresa

It is well known that at Manresa in the summer of 1522 Ignatius passed through a period of acute doubt and temptation during which he feared that his sins had not all been forgiven, and that this inner torment, which lasted several months, drove him to the point of suicide before it was resolved. The roots of the crisis are not easy to trace, but they seem to go back at least to his conversion at Loyola after the famous battle at Pamplona nearly a year before. Ignatius later told Gonçalves da Câmara that before the crisis at Manresa his spiritual life was marked by an absence of inner conflict. This apparent peace, however, cloaked a serious misunderstanding of the nature of the Christian life. According to da Câmara, he paid no attention to

any interior reality: he knew nothing of humility, charity, patience, of discretion which rules and measures these virtues. Instead his only thought was to perform great external works,

as the saints had done for God's glory.¹⁵ This stress on externals rather than internals was the salient feature of the debased popular piety that Erasmus yearned to renew.¹⁶ In the Spanish translation of the *Enchiridion*, which was published in 1526 and soon became a best-seller, we read these words:

My own experience has taught me that this error of giving greater importance to things that are external and literal than to those which are interior and spiritual is a common plague afflicting all Christians. And it is all the more pernicious for seeming to resemble true devotion and sanctity.¹⁷

For Erasmus all the defects in popular piety flowed from this initial misconception, and Ignatius's behaviour after his conversion at Loyola had other characteristics of the malaise that Erasmus noted.

First, there was his attachment to formal vocal and liturgical prayer. According to his later companion, Diego Laínez, he was much given to vocal prayer before his crisis began, and Juan Polanco, who wrote an early account of his life, noted that in the same period 'he said a lot of vocal prayer, understanding almost nothing, and with little savouring of interior things'.¹⁸ Ignatius himself recorded that it was his custom to spend seven hours daily in private devotions, and although he did not indicate how he filled these sessions, it is likely that they involved recitation of the Little Office of our Lady and of other prayers available in a Book of Hours. In addition he would go to church each day to attend sung High Mass, and would return later for Vespers and Compline.¹⁹ Erasmus did not object to vocal prayer itself, but he lamented the neglect of mental prayer and urged a return to free meditation.²⁰

Secondly, Ignatius was ardent in devotion to the Passion, a practice Erasmus criticized because often it focused on Christ's humanity to the exclusion of his divinity, and issued in despondence rather than compunction and hope. He considered it especially ironical that this commemoration of the main event in human redemption could coexist with popular fear of damnation and with an unhealthy devotion to the Virgin and the saints.²¹ Ignatius was probably drawn to the devotion in the first place by the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph the Carthusian which he read at Loyola.²² Later at Manresa he made a habit of reading an account of the Passion during sung High Mass, probably in his Book of Hours.²³ It was usual for such books to include extracts from the gospel narratives of Christ's death, and they give a clear idea of the excesses that the Erasmians deplored: alongside simple prayers of faith and hope in the saving merits of Christ, one finds in them constant appeals to the merits of the saints, a dolorous preoccupation with judgment, and a superstitious trust in magical prayers guaranteed to cure all ills.²⁴

An indication that Ignatius's devotion to the Passion may have been initially affected by some confusion is given by the fact that it was able to coexist with an eccentric devotion to the Virgin Mary. After his conversion the Virgin appears to have played in his life something of the role of a Lady in the life of a faithful knight. It is well known how, on his way to Montserrat, he met a

morisco who denied the virgin birth, and that he was tempted to fight him for having cast a slur on her honour;²⁵ and at Montserrat itself he kept a vigil of his arms before the Virgin's shrine in imitation of the knight Esplandián in the last book of *Amadís de Gaula*.²⁶ Diego Laínez later wrote that at this time Ignatius's devotion to Mary was unbalanced, or, as he put it, not '*secundum scientiam*'.²⁷ On the same journey to Montserrat Ignatius made a special vow of chastity, not, curiously enough, to God but to the Virgin. Despite this irregularity (Laínez concluded) God deigned to accept it, in view of his good intention.²⁸

A further aspect of Ignatius's behaviour which Erasmus would have identified as a symptom of malaise was his practice of penance. His main aim after leaving Loyola was to do penance, and to this end he regularly flagellated himself once a day. At Manresa he was able to apply the discipline more often, and for several months he survived on a diet of bread and water.²⁹ According once again to Laínez, 'he thought holiness could be measured by austerities and that the man who practised the harshest penance would be the most saintly before God'.³⁰ This kind and degree of asceticism was abhorred by Erasmus, who discerned in it a temptation to rely on works rather than on grace, and who associated it with the monastic tradition, for which he had little liking. Ignatius in his early excesses was inspired by the example of the desert fathers and of the medieval saints, and his love of penance drew him to consider joining a monastic order. He thought of becoming a Carthusian and shelved the idea only when it occurred to him that he might not be allowed to practise all the austerities he had in mind.³¹

Ignatius's reasons for practising such harsh penance give us a further insight into his malaise: he later told Gonçalves da Câmara that at this time his motive was not so much to make satisfaction for sins already forgiven as by his rigours to please God; and although his interest in performing amazing feats often distracted his attention from his sins, he was never conscious that they had in fact been forgiven.³² These remarks reveal the depth of his confusion: he hoped by good works to merit pardon, and underlying his striving was the image of a just God whom he felt it necessary to placate. That his later crisis at Manresa had its origin in this deep-rooted misconception is confirmed by two incidents that occurred during the crisis itself, the first at its onset, the second at its climax.

According to Ignatius's own account, his temptations began one day as he was entering a church to attend the usual services. He saw a vision of something like a snake, and he seemed to hear a voice within him saying, 'How can you put up with this life for the next seventy years?'³³ Complaints about the tedium of the Christian life were common in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and Erasmus identified them as a further symptom of malaise caused by faulty motives: works rooted in fear and self-interest, he wrote, were oppressive; the remedy was to practise them for the love of Christ, whose yoke is sweet and whose burden is light.³⁴ Ignatius's reply to the devil at Manresa is noteworthy. He did not dispute that his life was extremely arduous; instead he replied with force, 'You miserable wretch! Can you guarantee me a single hour of life?'³⁵ And at this the temptation disappeared. His words, like his practice of penance, reveal a preoccupation with the Last Things.

It is significant also that when his crisis reached a climax it did so in the context of confession. At Montserrat he made a general confession of all the sins of his past life, which he prepared in writing beforehand: it lasted three days.³⁶ Thereafter at Manresa it was his custom to go to confession once a week.³⁷ During his crisis, however, he began to fear that there were sins he had omitted to confess, and that might not therefore have been forgiven. It was this fear that eventually took him to the verge of suicide.³⁸ Undoubtedly, his notion of confession was shaped by the many confessional manuals for penitents and priests which at the time were best-sellers. A general confession of three days' duration was the usual procedure that most advised, and they stressed the importance of recalling all sins. Technically, a penitent was obliged to confess mortal sins only; the problem was to distinguish these from the venial ones, and some idea of the anguish this could entail is suggested by the endless pages the manuals devoted to grading the gravity of faults.³⁹ The manuals give clear expression to the ills which Erasmus wished to correct and which led him, by contrast, to stress that inner remorse was far more important than the forms and formulae of confession itself.⁴⁰

Justification

There are many reasons for thinking that the sort of experience Ignatius endured at Manresa was not uncommon at the time. In the western Church of the day anxiety about the worth of human

efforts in the spiritual life appears to have been widespread, and it has been suggested that this anxiety, which underlay debates about the nature of justification, may have been caused by the impact on popular religion of the tenets of Nominalist theology.⁴¹ One of these tenets was the notion that, *pace* Aquinas, there was no necessary link between divine law and the aspirations of human nature, which meant that in practice the norms by which human perfection was to be attained were 'extrinsic to the internal exigencies of human moral aspiration and rational experience'.⁴² Another was the principle that 'to the person who does what lies within him God will not deny grace' (*facienti quod in se est Deus non denegat gratiam*).⁴³ Anthony Levi has written:

The current theology of the late fifteenth century . . . allowed man to earn his salvation by his own efforts, providing they were sufficiently intense. On the level of popular religion . . . the result was great moral tension. Since, in the ordinary theology of the late fifteenth century religious perfection was no longer considered to be intrinsic to moral achievement, it was clearly impossible to know whether one had satisfied the requirement of doing all that lay within one. There were no criteria in the realm of experience on which one could rely to know whether or not one was justified. The inevitable consequence was the growth of the religion of 'works'.⁴⁴

The anguish to which this could give rise is apparent in the lives of two of Ignatius's contemporaries. In 1510 a Venetian nobleman, Paolo Giustiniani, entered Camaldoli, believing the monastic life to be for him 'the most effective form of spiritual action'.⁴⁵ The following Easter, his friend Gasparo Contarini, who had remained a layman, was brought to the point of despair by the recognition that he had not followed Giustiniani's example because he lacked the courage 'to leave the world and do penance for the satisfaction of my iniquities'. Later, after going to confession, he realized that, 'if I did all possible penance and much more besides, it would be of no avail to render satisfaction for past sins, let alone merit eternal happiness'.⁴⁶ His distress was provoked by what has been termed the 'sense of the nothingness of man's efforts at sanctity that seems to have pervaded the later Middle Ages'.⁴⁷ A similar sense of futility underlay the crisis of Martin Luther at the same period when, as a young Augustinian, he strove to observe the externals of his rule with scrupulous exactitude. After reading the

Vitae patrum he longed to imitate one of the desert fathers, 'who would live in the desert, and abstain from food and drink, and live on a few vegetables and roots and cold water'.⁴⁸ But in spite of frequent confession his efforts left his conscience unappeased, not only because they fell short of the perfection God demanded, but because he recognized that even 'if it were possible for man to do *quod in se est*, he could never know for certain whether he had, in fact, achieved this'.⁴⁹ In each of these cases the crisis was preceded by the conviction that the Christian life, in its highest form, involved heroic, penitential asceticism of the monastic kind, and in each of them the sense of personal failure that ensued led to near-despair of God's forgiveness in the context of confession. These features also marked the experience of Ignatius.

The Spiritual Exercises

It was after the resolution of his crisis that Ignatius began to compose the *Spiritual Exercises*. According to his own account, the resolution was effected partly by a growth in his understanding of how to discern between the promptings of good and evil spirits, and partly by a series of visions and other experiences of a mystical kind during which he felt God teaching him as a master teaches a child.⁵⁰ In the period of tranquillity that followed, during the autumn of 1522, he began to write down the first draft of his work. If one examines the text in the light of his earlier misconceptions, one notes how completely his spirituality had altered, and that it had done so in ways of which Erasmus and other evangelical humanists would have approved.

First, the *Exercises* provide a thorough training in mental prayer, and draw the person taking them towards an intimate interiorization of the Christian life. The second annotation enunciates a principle implied throughout the text: 'It is not knowing much that fills and satisfies the soul, but feeling and tasting things internally' ('*no el mucho saber harta y satisface al ánima, mas el sentir y gustar las cosas internamente*').⁵¹ The words 'interno' and 'interior', and their cognates, occur fifteen times in the work.⁵² The value thus attached to interiority is not seen as incompatible with the externals of devotion: the Rules for Thinking with the Church, for instance, contain praise of popular devotions and of liturgical and monastic prayer.⁵³ These rules, which were probably composed in Italy between 1539 and 1541,⁵⁴ may have been intended to defend the Society against the criticisms of conservatives;⁵⁵ whatever their origin they may be

said to take for granted the interiorization of the devotional life that the rest of the text is designed to encourage.⁵⁶

Closely connected with interiorization is the accent on experience. Retreatants are expected to be moved to consolation and desolation 'by various spirits', and if 'spiritual motions' of this kind do not occur it is an indication that something is wrong, as the sixth annotation makes plain.⁵⁷ During the retreat, moreover, they are expected to pray for intense inner experiences, such as remorse, tears, compassion, joy.⁵⁸ For Ignatius, such experience is intrinsic to the soul's quest, the symptom and sign of God's activity within it. This divine activity is, in turn, central to the retreat. Ignatius's sense at Manresa of being taught and guided by God is reflected most noticeably, perhaps, in the rules for making an Election,⁵⁹ and in annotation fifteen where the director is asked to be as sensitive as a balance, allowing God to act directly on the soul and the soul to interact with God.⁶⁰ It is here that the process of discernment (by which in part Ignatius's crisis was resolved) finds its role, enabling director and retreatant to interpret God's will directly. The fact that there are parallels between the rules for discernment set out by Ignatius and the ones recommended in various writings by Erasmus is not surprising: the importance that both men accorded to experience in the interior life made such guidelines indispensable.⁶¹

In the body of the *Exercises*, moreover, one notes all the elements of Ignatius's early and extreme behaviour, but now transformed. In the sections on penance it is pointed out that external acts of penance should be the fruit or expression of internal sorrow, and the virtue specifically counselled is moderation. The first purpose of penance is said to be the making of satisfaction for past sins: there is no mention of pleasing a wrathful God.⁶² A similar stress on motive, especially inner compunction, is evident in the sections on the examination of conscience, which provide simple rules for distinguishing between venial and mortal sins.⁶³ Lastly, the devotion to the Passion that lies at the heart of the *Exercises* is one purged of all the defects that Erasmus and others had analysed: it centres on the divinity as well as the humanity of Christ, and gives rise to faith and hope of forgiveness.⁶⁴ In the colloquy at the end of the opening meditation on human sin, the retreatant is urged to call to mind Christ's saving love exemplified in the Cross, and both then and later, notably in the second week, his desire to act according to God's will is conceived as a *response* to divine love,

not as a means of earning it.⁶⁵ As his gratitude deepens, his motives for following Christ are encouraged to become more selfless: he moves from consideration of his sins to contemplation of the risen Lord, a progression from servile fear to love, and from sorrow to joy, of the kind that Erasmus always counselled.⁶⁶

One may conclude that in their origins the *Exercises* were in no way opposed to the spirituality advocated by Erasmus. They reflect concern with the crisis in popular piety that so disturbed him, and although Ignatius was not himself a humanist, and may have had reservations about some of Erasmus's views, the evidence suggests that he looked sympathetically on the movement of evangelical humanism of which Erasmus was, in Spain, the main spokesman. Furthermore, the fact that the *Exercises* embodied Ignatius's resolution of his crisis helps to account for the tremendous impact they later made on contemporaries. They addressed popular anxiety about the nature and process of justification, one of the most urgent pastoral problems confronting the early sixteenth-century Church.⁶⁷ They did not do so, however, in the terms of contemporary theology, humanist or scholastic, but in the language of the late medieval works of piety that Ignatius had read in Spain. This debt to the medieval past is one reason why, in the last analysis, Ignatius remains hard to classify. It was from Ludolph and Voragine that he originally drew his ambition to go to Jerusalem, and all the works that he read at Loyola and Manresa left their mark on the *Exercises*: evidently he was able to find in them elements compatible with his transformed vision of the spiritual life.⁶⁸ His crisis did not lead him to abandon popular piety but to renew it. This continuity with the Middle Ages was one factor that eventually distinguished his position from that of the early Protestants, but in Spain during the 1520s it was not a sign of anti-Protestantism or even of anti-Erasmianism. Later, however, as the Counter-Reformation became increasingly defensive, it enabled others to interpret the *Exercises* as a providential means of re-affirming Catholic tradition.

NOTES

¹ See I. Iparraguirre, 'La figura de San Ignacio a través de los siglos', in San Ignacio de Loyola, *Obras completas*, edited by I. Iparraguirre S.J. and C. de Dalmases S.J., fourth edition (Madrid, 1982), pp 3-38.

² Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae. Textus latinus et hispanus cum censuris (M.I. Fontes narrativi IV)*, edited by C. de Dalmases S.J. (Rome, 1965), p 339 (henceforward referred to as *FN IV*).

³ H. Outram Evennett, *The spirit of the Counter-Reformation* (Cambridge, 1968), p 4 onwards.

⁴ See my article 'Ignatius Loyola and the Counter Reformation: the hagiographic tradition', *Heythrop journal*, 31 (1990), pp 439-470.

⁵ On the distinction drawn by Jedin, and some of the reasons why it has proved unsatisfactory, see John W. O'Malley S.J., 'Catholic Reform' in Steven Ozment, *Reformation Europe: a guide to research* (St Louis, 1982), pp 297-319 (pp 302-3).

⁶ *FN* IV, pp 173-4.

⁷ The most recent discussion of this controverted subject provides a bibliography of previous studies, and a summary of the main points of view: Pascual Cebollada S.J., 'Loyola y Erasmo. Aportaciones al estudio de la relación entre ambos', *Manresa* 62 (1990), pp 49-60.

⁸ See Irwin Iserloh, Joseph Glazik and Hubert Jedin, *Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (London, 1980), pp 446, 555-564. The best study of the nature of Counter-Reformation piety is still Evennett, pp 23-42.

⁹ On the general features of humanist spirituality see John W. O'Malley S.J., 'The Jesuits, St Ignatius and the Counter-Reformation. Some recent studies and their implications for today', *Studies in the spirituality of Jesuits* 14 (1982) Part One, pp 1-28 (pp 15-26), and the introduction by A. H. T. Levi to Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Praise of folly and letter to Martin Dorp 1515*, translated by Betty Radice (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp 7-50.

¹⁰ Exx 358, 359.

¹¹ O'Malley, 'The Jesuits, St Ignatius, and the Counter-Reformation', p 16; Terence O'Reilly, 'Saint Ignatius Loyola and Spanish Erasmianism', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 43 (1974), pp 301-321 (pp 301; 306-8; 315).

¹² Levi, p 21.

¹³ Evennett, pp 31-32.

¹⁴ On the history of the text see Sancti Ignatii de Loyola, *Exercitia spiritualia* (MHSJ 100), edited by J. Calveras S.J. and C. de Dalmases S.J. (Rome, 1969), p 4-33.

¹⁵ *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis*, volume I, edited by D. Fernández Zapico S.J. and C. de Dalmases S.J., with the help of P. de Leturia S.J. (Rome, 1943), p 382 (henceforward *FN* I).

¹⁶ On the spirituality of Erasmus, and his critique of popular piety, see Carlos Eire, *War against the idols: the reformation of worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986), and the introduction by John W. O'Malley S.J. to Erasmus, *Spiritualia* (Collected works of Erasmus, volume 66) (Toronto, 1988).

¹⁷ Erasmo, *El Enquiridion o manual del caballero cristiano*, edited by Dámaso Alonso, with an introduction by Marcel Bataillon (Madrid, 1932), p 257: 'he visito por experiencia que este error de estimar las cosas exteriores y literales más que las interiores y espirituales, es una común pestilencia que anda entre todos los christianos. La qual tanto es más daños a quanto más cerca anda, al parecer, de santidad y devoción.' (The words in italics were added by the translator, Alonso Fernández de Madrid.) On the crucial importance of this passage in the history of the movement of reform in Spain, see Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (Mexico and Buenos Aires, 1966), p 200.

¹⁸ *FN* I, p 78; 159. The short accounts by Laínez (1547) and Polanco (1547-8) are the earliest biographies of Ignatius that we possess.

¹⁹ *FN* I, pp 390; 396; 402.

²⁰ Bataillon, p 144; pp 572 sqq.; 589-90.

²¹ O'Reilly, 'Saint Ignatius Loyola and Spanish Erasmianism', pp 306-8; Bataillon, pp 577, 590.

²² *Exercitia spiritualia*, pp 38-43; Bataillon, p 589.

²³ *FN* I, p 390.

²⁴ Pedro de Leturia S.J., 'Libros de horas, *Anima Christi* y Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio', in *Estudios Ignacianos*, edited by I. Iparraguirre S.J., two volumes (Rome, 1957), volume 2, pp 99-148; on Erasmian criticism of the *libros de horas* see Bataillon, p 577.

²⁵ *FN* I, pp 382-4.

²⁶ FN I, p 386; see Pedro de Leturia S.J., *El gentilhomme Íñigo López de Loyola en su patria y en su siglo*, second edition (Barcelona, 1949), pp 256-8.

²⁷ FN I, p 76. The phrase calls to mind Romans 10, 2 (Vulgate) and the passage in the opening section of the bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* (MHSJ *Constitutiones*, volume I, pp 24-32), in which each member of the Society is urged to 'use all his energies to attain this goal which God himself sets before him, always according to the grace which each one has received from the Holy Spirit and the proper grade of his vocation, lest any might be carried away by a zeal without knowledge' ('*ne quis forte zelo utatur, sed non secundum scientiam*').

²⁸ FN I, p 76. According to Polanco it was the vow, rather than the devotion, that was not '*secundum scientiam*': FN I, p 158.

²⁹ FN I, pp 78; 159; 380.

³⁰ FN I, p 74.

³¹ FN I, p 378.

³² FN I, p 382: '*y así determinaba de hacer grandes penitencias, no teniendo ya tanto ojo a satisfacer por sus pecados, sino agradar y aplacer a Dios*'. This statement is accompanied by a note by da Câmara explaining its significance: '*tenía tanto aborrecimiento a los pecados pasados, y el deseo tan vivo de hacer cosas grandes por amor de Dios, que, sin hacer juicio que sus pecados eran perdonados, todavía en las penitencias que emprendía a hacer no se acordaba mucho dellos*'.

³³ FN I, p 390: '*¿Y cómo podrás tu sufrir esta vida 70 años que has de vivir?*'.

³⁴ *Enquiridion*, pp 211; 217; 247; 277; 288-9; 291; 409.

³⁵ FN I, p 390; see too the testimony of Láinez, pp 78-80.

³⁶ FN I, p 386.

³⁷ FN I, p 392.

³⁸ FN I, pp 392-6.

³⁹ See J. Calveras, 'Los "confesionales" y los ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio', *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 17 (1948), pp 51-101. The anguish caused by the requirement to confess all sins was depicted vividly by Calvin: *Institutes of the Christian religion*, edited by John T. McNeill, two volumes (Philadelphia, 1960), volume I, pp 641-3. See too Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and confession on the eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, 1977).

⁴⁰ Bataillon, pp 143; 291.

⁴¹ Levi, pp 16-21.

⁴² Levi, p 17; see also the same author's 'The breakdown of Scholasticism and the significance of evangelical humanism', in *The philosophical assessment of theology: essays in honour of Frederick C. Copleston*, edited by Gerard J. Hughes (Tunbridge Wells, 1987), pp 101-128.

⁴³ On this principle, and the pactum theology of justification, see Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: a history of the Christian doctrine of justification*, two volumes (Cambridge, 1986), volume I, pp 83-91.

⁴⁴ Levi, *Praise of folly*, p 20.

⁴⁵ Dermot Fenlon, *Heresy and obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation* (Cambridge, 1972), p 6.

⁴⁶ Contarini's letters to Guistiniani were edited by Hubert Jedin in 'Contarini und Camaldoli', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 2 (1959), pp 51-117. They have been translated into English with an introduction and bibliography by Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Reform thought in sixteenth-century Italy* (Chico, 1981), pp 21-33.

⁴⁷ Charles Trinkaus, 'The religious thought of the Italian Humanists and the Reformers: anticipation or autonomy?', in *The pursuit of holiness in late medieval and Renaissance religion*, edited by Charles Trinkaus and Heiko Oberman (Leiden, 1974), pp 339-366 (p 350).

⁴⁸ Quoted in G. Rupp, *The righteousness of God* (London, 1953), p 103.

⁴⁹ Alister E. McGrath, *Luther's theology of the cross: Martin Luther's theological breakthrough* (Oxford, 1985), p 132. For a recent general comparison of Luther and Loyola see Rogelio García Mateo, 'Ignacio de Loyola: ¿antilutero? Consideración ecuménica de su confrontación histórica', *Manresa* 57 (1985), pp 251-9.

⁵⁰ FN I, pp 398-400.

⁵¹ Exx 2. Erasmus expressed similar sentiments in the *Enchiridion*: see Henri de Lubac S.J., *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, four volumes (Paris, 1959-1964), volume 4, p 440.

⁵² See the information provided in Seppo A. Teinonen, *Concordancias de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Helsinki, 1981).

⁵³ Exx 355; 358-60.

⁵⁴ *Exercitia spiritualia*, p 33.

⁵⁵ Marcel Bataillon, 'D'Erasmus à la Compagnie de Jésus. Protestation et intégration dans la Réforme Catholique au XVI^e siècle', *Archives de sociologie des religions* 24 (1967), pp 57-81 (pp 72-3).

⁵⁶ See Leturia, *Estudios ignacianos*, volume I, p 162.

⁵⁷ Exx 6.

⁵⁸ For instance: Exx 4; 48; 56; 65; 203; 221.

⁵⁹ Exx 169-189 (especially 175, 176).

⁶⁰ Exx 15.

⁶¹ See A. H. T. Levi, 'Erasmus, the early Jesuits and the classics', in *Classical influences on European Culture, AD 1500-1700*, edited by R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1976), pp 223-236; Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, 'Angels black and white: Loyola's spiritual discernment in historical perspective', *Theological studies* 44 (1983), pp 241-257.

⁶² Exx 82-87.

⁶³ Exx 24-44.

⁶⁴ See O'Reilly, 'Saint Ignatius Loyola and Spanish Erasmianism', pp 309-310.

⁶⁵ Exx 53.

⁶⁶ I have studied this progression in detail in 'The Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola and the *Exercitatorio de la vida spiritual*', *Studia monastica* 16 (1974), pp 301-323 (pp 307-314).

⁶⁷ See Alister McGrath, *The intellectual origins of the European Reformation* (Oxford, 1987), pp 24-28.

⁶⁸ The literary sources of the Exercises are discussed in *Exercitia spiritualia*, pp 34-60.