IGNATIUS AND MINISTRY WITH WOMEN

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MUCH CAN BE SAID ABOUT Ignatius Loyola's ministry *to* women, but not much has been written dealing with his collaborative ministry *with* women.[1] Yet it is clear that women played a significant role in that ministry. Ignatian spirituality, a spirituality of action, has been attractive to women from the beginning.[2] During Ignatius' day, when there were few avenues open to women for active apostolic life, that spirituality led to a collaborative ministry between Ignatius and women. What follows is firstly an attempt to sketch how women were co-workers with Ignatius and the early Jesuits, and secondly to see if there is an overall pattern in these relationships that might present us with insights for creating collaborative ministries today.

There are three main areas where Ignatius engaged in collaborative ministry with women: *patronage*, where women gave financial support for various apostolic works; *advocacy*, where Ignatius sought their influence to foster ministerial work; and *active collaborative work*, where women actively engaged in apostolic ministry. Many of these overlap; some women were involved in all three, some in only two or one. We will give examples of the most prominent women in Ignatius' ministry with women, choosing one area for each. An initial, brief reflection on the personal context of Ignatius' dealings with women will give us a better understanding of this collaborative ministry.

Personal context

It all began with a gift, from a woman to a woman. On September 2, 1498, the day of her wedding to Ignatius' brother, Don Martín García de Loyola, Doña Magdalena de Araoz received a gift of a painting of Mary from Queen Isabella the Catholic. Magdalena, who had served as lady-in-waiting to the Queen, brought this gift with her to the ancestral castle of Loyola. It was this painting that was to be so influential in young Iñigo's life for it played a significant role

in his personal transformation. 'In the life of the author of the *Exercises*, Doña's picture of the Virgin had the first place, long before those of Olaz, Aránzazu and Montserrat.'[3] And it was this same Doña Magdalena's books, Spanish translations of Ludolph the Carthusian's *Life of Jesus* and *Legends of the saints* by Jacobus de Voragine, that directly led to Iñigo's new way of life.

Magdalena, too, nursed Iñigo back to health in his long convalescence from the wounds he suffered in the Battle of Pamplona. Later, in 1522, during his turbulent and formative stay at Manresa, other women cared for him and again nursed him back to health when his overzealous penances and fasting almost ended his life. Women gave him lodging at Manresa and in Barcelona.[4] And during his studies at Alcalá in 1526, his chief followers were women, the *Iñigas*.[5]

It is no wonder, then, that he so often sought material and spiritual help from women to help foster the ministerial works of the young Society of Jesus. Since he owed so much to them, Ignatius always had a deep sense of gratitude to the women who gave him support, and he filled his letters with expressions of this gratitude.

Patronage[6]

Contrary to what we might expect, the new humanism of Ignatius' day did not lead to greater freedom for women. Joan Kelly-Gadol in her foundational article 'Did women have a Renaissance?' has shown that '. . . women as a group, especially among the classes that dominated Italian urban life, experienced a contraction of social and personal options that men of their classes either did not, as was the case with the bourgeoisie, or did not experience as markedly, as was the case with the nobility'.[7] Benedetta Carveri adds: 'Humanism rediscovered "man" but not woman'.[8] However, there does seem to have been one main avenue to public life open to women of sixteenth-century Spain and Italy—as patrons of the arts and education.[9] Patronage offered women unique opportunities to participate in the life of service to the Church. Well-placed women frequently had the means and the desire to support good works. Certainly Ignatius took full advantage of engaging women in this form of ministry. He once wrote that those who reject the opportunity of using worldly patronage for religious purposes have 'clearly not learnt to direct all things towards one goal: the greater glory of God'.[10] Thus we find a good deal of his correspondence with women either seeking or expressing gratitude to women for their support and aid in his Church-related projects. Ignatius asked for both political influence

and monetary gifts to move forward the different works of the Society.[11]

Doña Inés Pascual

Women benefactors of Ignatius were many, but one of them remained nearest to his heart, Inés Pascual, a Catalán widow. Ignatius first met Doña Pascual as he was leaving Montserrat for Manresa where he was to write the Spiritual Exercises. From their first meeting in 1522 until her death in 1548, Señora Pascual was his 'sister in Christ our Lord'.[12] Señora Pascual, née Pujol, had property in Barcelona and Manresa, and it was she who found him lodgings and supported his stay both in Manresa and in Barcelona. She, too, sent him off to Paris with money and provisions; and it was she who sent him one hundred ducats a year to support his studies there.[13] It is no surprise then that the very first of Ignatius' letters that survive are addressed to her. What he wrote to her during his student days in Paris best sums up how he regarded her help: 'I shall consider whatever you do as best, and I shall remain contented for I am continually in your debt and for the future I shall always be under an obligation to you'.[14] Ignatius was writing to her to ask her to organize a fund drive for him and his student companions. This and other letters to her are filled with respect for her judgement, recognition of her help and deep gratitude. His women patrons were devoted to him, and Ignatius remained forever devoted to them.

By and large, it was women who were the patronesses of Jesuit education. In Messina, Ferrara, Modena, Bologna, Saragossa and Verona women contributed more to the foundation of Jesuit colleges than men did.[15] In this way, women played an indispensable role in the educational ministry of the Jesuits.

Advocacy

Closely connected with the ministry of patronage is that of advocacy. Perhaps this was the most important and far-reaching ministry of women that Ignatius most frequently called upon. He counted on the influence of women to foster his ministerial projects. Women saw themselves first as a part of a network of relationships which included family, friends, neighbours and acquaintances rather than as members of a hierarchical system or guild.[16] Ignatius, too, had this decidedly 'feminine' bent. He too relied on these broad networks in his own work. In reading his letters one cannot help but be struck by the pattern of his appealing to family, friends and people

of influence and rank in order to move forward the many apostolic projects of the early Jesuits. Even in his letters to other Jesuits he instructs them to put these human resources and relationships to work for the service of the Church.

This personal appeal and reliance on networks of relationships is evident in how Ignatius called upon women of rank to intercede for him on behalf of the apostolic work of the Jesuits. Women in turn would use their influence to support the various works of the young Society, or they would intercede on its behalf when problems arose. Indeed, Ignatius owed any influence over the Habsburg princes to his friendship with the Habsburg women. Hugo Rahner, in his *St Ignatius of Loyola: letters to women*, chronicles this friendship and shows how Ignatius would turn to these high-born women as advocates.[17]

Doña Leonor de Mascarenhas

One of Ignatius' oldest and dearest friends was Doña Leonor de Mascarenhas. She was of the highest Portuguese nobility, a close friend of Francis Borgia's wife, Leonor de Castro, and, more importantly, of the Portuguese Infanta Isabel, the wife of the Emperor Charles V. She came to the Spanish court in 1526 when Isabel married Charles, and she became the royal governess of their children: the future King Philip II, the Infanta Juana, future regent of Spain, who we shall see was to become the only woman Jesuit, and the Infanta María, later Queen of Bohemia and then Empress, wife of Maximilian of Austria. Doña Mascarenhas was his most trusted and influential agent in the Spanish court, and each of her three charges was to play a major role in fostering the work of the Society of Jesus. Because of her help to Ignatius and the early Jesuits, she was called 'the mother of the Society of Jesus'.[18] She herself ran a social welfare programme for poor women, and at one point in her life wanted to become a Jesuit, but felt that it was impossible because she was a woman.[19]

Ignatius first met her in 1527 at Alcalá, and she was one of his most steadfast supporters. Indeed, one of the last letters that Ignatius wrote was addressed to her, and in it he expresses his unrestrained affection for her:

> I received two of your Excellency's letters, dated November and December on the same day, at the end of April. In them I see clearly how deeply you are inscribed in my soul since the first day we got to know each other in our Lord, namely the intense love and charity you bear me in the divine majesty. I hope, in his infinite goodness,

> that this will always remain so and even increase, on your part as well as on mine. . . . I remember, as I already wrote above, how much I have had you and still have you in the most inner part of my soul, and still deeper if I could . . .
>
> Completely yours in our Lord, Ignatius[20]

So highly placed in the court, Doña Mascarenhas was one of the most influential advocates of Ignatius and the Society of Jesus. For example, when the primate of Spain, Archbishop Juan Martínez Silíceo of Toledo, tried to immobilize the work of the Jesuits in 1551–1552, Ignatius sought the help of Doña Mascarenhas. Through her intercession some semblance of peace was restored, although tensions between the Archbishop and the Jesuits continued until Ignatius' death. It is not too much to say, then, that the success of the early Jesuits in Spain was in no small measure due to her influence at court.[21]

Margaret of Austria—'Madama'

While Doña Mascarenhas was Ignatius' advocate in Spain, Margaret of Austria, whom the Romans and the Jesuits called 'Madama', was his influential voice in Rome. Margaret was the illegitimate daughter of Charles V and in order to foster better relations with the papacy, Charles had her marry the Pope's grandson, Ottavio Farnese. Margaret was only sixteen when they were married, on November 4, 1538, and Ottavio was fourteen. Their marriage was a disaster; they fought constantly and each complained to their families. In order to avoid the scandal and harsh political consequences of a serious quarrel between the family of the bride, the daughter of the reigning emperor, and the family of the groom, the grandson of the reigning pope, Ignatius of Loyola came to be called upon to bring peace to the young couple. A moderate peace was restored, and Ignatius and Margaret became lifelong friends.[22] From 1542–1550 Ignatius visited Madama weekly to hear her and her household's confessions. Ignatius wrote her in 1550, '. . . we so completely belong to you with a love that goes far beyond the general desire of charity we have for all', and she wrote Ignatius, 'If we can do anything for you or your Society, you will always find us very ready to do you any favour'.[23]

Ignatius took her at her word, and frequently went to her to advocate all sorts of different projects. One finds the refrain, 'we spoke with Madama about the matter and she intervened with the Pope', spread throughout his letters.[24] She became a powerful

advocate with the Pope, and interceded on Ignatius' behalf many times over the years. As Ignatius wrote to Peter Faber in 1542, Madama 'frequently takes up holy causes, and supports our Society without fail'.[25]

Ministry: co-workers and collaborators

The best example of Ignatius' collaborative ministry with women centres around the formation of the Compagnia della Grazia. This was a group of women and men who supported the Casa di Santa Marta, a place founded by Ignatius in order to provide new lives for the prostitutes of Rome. There were plenty of candidates for the Casa. Mid-sixteenth-century Rome, a city of perhaps seventy thousand inhabitants, had as many as nine thousand prostitutes.[26] The Casa provided a way out for both single and married women who for one reason or another supported themselves by prostitution.

Ignatius was not the first to concern himself with a refuge for these women of Rome. The Oratory of Divine Love had founded the convent of Santa Maria Maddelena on the Via del Corso in 1520. But women who went there were required to live a religious, cloistered life. The Casa di Santa Marta, on the other hand, had a fuller programme: to provide a place where women could either prepare themselves for a regular position in society, prepare themselves to return to married life, or finally to provide a place where they could enter the cloistered religious life. The Compagnia della Grazia was approved by Pope Paul II in the Bull *Divina summaque* on February 16, 1543. Ignatius bought the original house with money earned from the sale of some ancient marble sculptures found while digging the foundations of the new Jesuit house beside the church of Santa Maria della Strada. But from then on, the foundation depended on both the financial and administrative support of women patrons of Rome.

Women of the highest social level in Rome belonged to the Compagnia—the celebrated poet Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara; Countess Catarina Pio di Carpi, the wife of Bonifazio Gaetani, Duke of Sermoneta; Margaret of Austria, daughter of Emperor Charles V, who became the Duchess of Parma; Elena Orsini; but especially, Doña Leonor de Osorio, wife of the imperial ambassador, Don Juan de Vega.[27] All of these women gave their time and money to the establishment of the Casa.

This then, was a ministry to women, begun by Ignatius, but carried on actively by women. Ignatius worked with the women who

cared for and managed the Casa. Perhaps this was his most important collaborative ministry with women since it also aimed directly at serving women.

Doña Leonor de Osorio

Besides Ignatius, Doña Leonor de Osorio was the prime mover of this project. Doña Osorio, married to Juan de Vega, the Spanish Imperial ambassador in Rome, was a major collaborator in the work of Ignatius. Ignatius had become friends with the Vega family shortly after they had come to Rome in 1543. Doña Osorio was very actively engaged in the work of the Casa. Her involvement was described in a newsletter sent to the Jesuits in Spain at the end of May 1545:

> She has specially appointed a woman in her household, whose sole task it is to go into the dwellings of women of immoral life in order to convert them. . . . Not satisfied with this, she herself goes into the churches and on to the streets, talks to the women and takes them back with her to her palace, where she gives shelter to all who wish to lead better lives until they can be accommodated at the *Casa* or with the Penitents. Just recently she was in Sant'Agostino and there she met one of the most notorious courtesans, spoke to her and persuaded her to leave her life of sin. The woman looked with deep contrition upon her sinful and sorry state, and so Doña Leonor took her home with her. In this way five or six have already come through her to live at St Martha's. So great is the love that our Lord has implanted in her soul that she seems intoxicated with the holy service of God . . . when she saw that the house was getting too small to take in so many women, she boldly went to speak to His Holiness, and on this subject alone, showing him the need of enlarging the house and acquiring some of the adjoining buildings. She asked the Pope to buy these houses, and His Holiness generously agreed to her request.[28]

This document is especially noteworthy, since we have so little from this period that tells of this kind of active and public work of women in the Church.

Connected with the Casa is the unique case of Isabel Roser and her two companions, Isabel de Josa and a maidservant, Francisca Cruyllas. Doña Roser was a benefactress of Ignatius from his days in Barcelona. Her husband died in 1541 and from then on she developed the idea of going to Rome to put herself under obedience to Ignatius. What she desired was a female branch of the Society of Jesus. Against Ignatius' wishes, she and her companions set about this project in 1543, going to Rome and eventually obtaining a

rescript from the Pope obliging Ignatius to accept Doña Roser's vows. On Christmas day in 1545, Ignatius accepted Doña Roser's profession along with two of her companions. This new, small group of 'Jesuitesses' took over running of the Casa forming a congregation of women engaged in charitable and apostolic work, something not done before. Unfortunately it lasted only a year, because Roser, used to her own way, did not take well to the demands of religious life. Moreover Ignatius found that he was devoting a great deal of time to Doña Roser and her companions.[29] In May 1546, Ignatius obtained a dispensation of the women's vows. Doña returned to Barcelona where she retired to a Franciscan convent. After a brief period of estrangement she and Ignatius again became friends. Her final letter to him in 1554 is filled with the old affection. In it she asks Ignatius, her '*amatísimo Padre*', for his prayers and assures him of hers; she signs the letter, 'Your Reverence's very affectionate and unworthy servant, sister Isabel Roser'.[30] When Doña Roser died at the end of 1554, Ignatius wrote: 'We have received the news of Mother Roser's death, and we have lovingly said our office for her. *Requiescat in pace.*'[31]

Doña Roser was not the only woman who wanted to live under obedience to Ignatius. Up until the time of his death some twenty-nine women wanted to take vows. Some of them even took vows privately, without telling Ignatius, and signed their names adding 'S.J.'. Moreover some twenty communities of religious women requested to be directed by Jesuits.[32] Since in Ignatius' day communities of religious women, Jesuit women included, were required to live in cloister, both they and their Jesuit priests would be tied down to one place.[33] Ignatius saw the role of the Jesuits as mobile, ready to go at a moment's notice to where there was greatest need. When Mateo Murranos, a Spanish lawyer, asked about a female branch of Jesuits, Ignatius wrote: 'We must always stand with one foot raised, so to speak, that we may be able to run freely from one place to another'.[34] Another consideration was the newness of the Society. It was only just getting started and had few members and many requests for them. With more and more demands for Jesuit priests to take up the pastoral care of women and the consequent lack of mobility that Ignatius envisioned for the Society, he decided that his order should not have women as subjects. After his experience with Doña Roser, then, Ignatius obtained from Pope Paul III the Bull *Licet debitum* in 1549 prohibiting the Jesuits from having religious women subject to their obedience.

What is clear, however, is that Ignatius would have supported such an apostolic order of women. In fact, in 1546 Ignatius wrote: 'I am convinced that . . . to win more souls and to serve God our Lord better and more comprehensively in the cause of spiritual advancement, it would be a good and holy means to found a company of women (*hacer una compañía de señoras*), which others, too, having been found suitable in our Lord, could then join'.[35] What he had in mind was an order of religious women who would not be confined to the cloister but who would dedicate themselves to charitable and social work. Unfortunately, nothing ever came of this plan during Ignatius' lifetime.

The Roser affair did not hamper the work of the Casa, however. It continued to prosper. In the beginning, there were only nine women living in the Casa, but in the next six years three hundred found help there.[36] The Casa di Santa Marta was a great success and similar establishments grew up in Florence, Bologna, Messina, Modena, Trapani and Palermo. Ignatius started a similar project oriented toward providing a place for young girls, for the most part children of prostitutes, who needed a better environment in which to grow up. Again a society, curiously called La Compagnia delle Vergini Miserabili Pericolanti, was founded to support this work near to Santa Catarina dei Funari. It began in 1546 and when Ignatius died there were 130 girls being cared for.[37] Again this was largely funded and run by women.[38]

Princess Juana S.J.

There is of course the one case of a woman Jesuit. Princess Juana of Austria was nineteen in 1554 and Regent of Spain when she took the vows of a Jesuit scholastic. She remained a Jesuit in secret for the rest of her life, until she died at the age of 38 in 1573. At sixteen she married and became Queen of Portugal, but her husband died two years later, leaving her a widow whose son was to become King Sebastian of Portugal. A Habsburg princess, the daughter of Emperor Charles V, she ruled Spain from 1554 to 1559 in the place of her brother, Philip II, who was in England married to Mary Tudor. From the age of four when her mother died, Juana had been in the care of the noble Portuguese woman and friend of Ignatius we met above, Doña Leonor de Mascarenhas.

Undoubtedly the Infanta came to know of Ignatius and the Society of Jesus through Doña Mascarenhas. But the first Jesuits she met were Antonio Araoz and Francis Borgia, both of whom had preached

at the Spanish court. Both Borgia and Araoz became her trusted advisors and to their surprise she announced one day in 1554 that she had decided to become a Jesuit! Of course, the question of her becoming a Jesuit was an extremely sensitive issue. All of the correspondence between the Jesuits in Spain and Ignatius give her the code name 'Mateo Sánchez'. There was no question of refusing the royal request, even if she were nineteen years old and still subject to the Habsburg matrimonial policy. Keeping the matter secret seemed the best policy, since the vows of the scholastic which she pronounced could easily be dispensed, and it made it easier to deal with the awkward situation of having a reigning head of state as a subject of the head of a religious order. Thus it was that Ignatius wrote to the Infanta on January 3, 1555 acknowledging 'the pious and holy desires of a certain person', and, lest it become public, cryptically informing her of permission to enter the Society of Jesus.[39]

The princess now considered herself a full member of the Jesuits and she became a formidable co-worker in Spain. Hugo Rahner writes:

> Her cooperation was often of decisive importance for the prosperity of the works undertaken by the Society of Spain, where its progress was more rapid than elsewhere. With royal self-assurance Juana intervened to stop the persecution of the Jesuits that had broken out in Saragossa, where a mob was going about with banners and smashing the windows of the 'Ignatians'. The regent's letters to the archbishop and to the viceroy at Saragossa are among her most caustic political documents; and how respectfully yet inflexibly she defended the Jesuits against the attacks of the great Dominican Melchior Cano![40]

Princess Juana, then, was involved with ministry in all three ways, as an advocate, as a patroness, and especially as a collaborator and co-worker.

Conclusion

We set out to sketch Ignatius' ministry with women and to look for what might be a pattern that would bring insights for collaborative ministry of today. We have traced that ministry in the areas of *advocacy, patronage* and *collaborative ministry*, and have found a discernable pattern of trust, of respect for women's ability, of sincere gratitude and appreciation for their work, of giving full rein for

women to exercise responsible leadership roles within the context of what was possible in his time. Perhaps more than anything else, collaborative ministry was built on sincere friendship. It was primarily out of friendship that Ignatius sought to work together with women for common apostolic goals.

We should certainly not expect anachronistically to measure Ignatius by the standards we might use today. It is not too much to say, however, that in a time when it was not the case, Ignatius approached and used networks of personal relationships to foster his work for the Church in exactly the same way whether he was dealing with men or women. In fact, there seems to have been only one overall principle operative and this was expressed in his remarks about patronage: 'direct all things towards one goal, the greater glory of God'. Surely whole-heartedly embracing this goal and horizon would go a long way toward fruitful Ignatian collaboration in ministry today.

NOTES

[1] There have been a number of studies of Ignatius' dealings with women. The most helpful, of course, has been Hugo Rahner's magisterial work *St Ignatius of Loyola: letters to women*, trans by K. Pond and S. A. H. Weetman (Freiburg: Herder and Herder, 1959). In addition to those mentioned below, other studies include Carr, Ann: *Women religious & Ignatius Loyola* (Chicago: Jesuit Community, Loyola University Chicago, 1992); Brodrick, James: 'St Ignatius in his dealings with women', *The Month* vol 16 (August 1956), pp 110–114; Blaisdell, Charmarie J.: 'Calvin's and Loyola's letters to women: politics and spiritual counsel in the sixteenth century' in *Calviniana*, Sixteenth Century Journal vol 10, ed by Robert V. Schnucker (Kirksville, Missouri: 1988), pp 235–253; Durão, Paulo: 'Presenças femininas na vida de S. Inácio', *Brotéria* vol 63 (July 1956), pp 4–15; Grand-Mesnil, Marie-Noël: 'Les belles amies de saint Ignace', *Christus* vol 16 (1969), pp 562–574; Granero, Jesús M.: 'San Ignacio y la pastoral femenina', *Manresa* vol 29 (1957), pp 159–161; Lonsdale, David: 'Women and Ignatian spirituality' in *Eyes to see, ears to hear* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1990), pp 172–176; Mateos, Fernando: 'Personajes femeninos en la historia de San Ignacio', *Razon y fe* vol 154 (1956), pp 395–418; Penning de Vries, Piet: 'Women in Ignatius's life' in *Discernment of spirits according to the life and teaching of St Ignatius of Loyola*, trans by W. D. Van Heel (New York: Exposition Press, 1973), pp 153–172.

[2] See Carr, Ann: *Women religious and Ignatius Loyola* (Chicago: Jesuit Community, Loyola University Chicago, 1992).

[3] Leturia, Pedro de: 'Damas vascas en la formación y trasformación de Iñigo de Loyola' in *Estudios Biográficos* vol I (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1957), p 80, cited by Rahner, *op. cit.*, p 116.

[4] Granero, *op. cit.*, pp 320–26.

[5] Among these were Inés Pascual, Jerónima Claver, *hospitalera* of St Lucía Inés Claver, Miguela and Anna de Canyelles, Angela de Amigant, and Brianda de Paguera. *MHSJ Scripta* II p 369.

[6] Unfortunately I did not have access to Jane Priwer's forthcoming book on piety and patronage which deals with women and the early Jesuits. She also has an interesting note on the

Marchesa Vittoria della Tolfa, who she says was the foundress of the Collegio Romano. See 'The Mother of Jesuit Education', *Universitas. The St Louis University Magazine* vol 7, no 2 (Autumn, 1981), pp 5–6.

[7] Kelly-Gadol, Joan: 'Did women have a Renaissance?' in *Becoming visible. Women in European history*, 2nd edition, edited by Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz and Susan Stuard (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), p 176.

[8] Craveri, Bedetta: 'Women in retreat', *New York Review of Books* vol 38, no 21 (December 19, 1991), p 67.

[9] Kristeller, Paul Oskar: 'Learned women of early modern Italy: humanists and university scholars' in *Beyond their sex*, edited by Labalme, Patricia H. (New York: New York University Press, 1980), pp 93–94.

[10] *MI Epp* II, p 481. References to the letters of Ignatius are to the *MHSJ Monumenta Ignatiana* vol I–XII, Madrid 1903–1911. Hereafter *MI Epp*.

[11] Charmarie J. Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp 235–253, examines both Calvin's and Ignatius' appeal to the help of women. She notes that while Calvin's letters are businesslike and even scolding, Ignatius is always courteous and concerned for the spiritual development of the women to whom he writes.

[12] This is how he ended his letters to her.

[13] Rahner, *op. cit.*, pp 173–184.

[14] *MI Epp* I, pp 91–92; Rahner's translation, *op. cit.*, p 183.

[15] Rahner, *op. cit.*, pp 14–15.

[16] Wiesner, Merry E.: 'Women's defense of their public role' in *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, edited by Mary Beth Rose (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), p 10.

[17] Marie-Noël Grand-Mesnil in 'Les belles amies de saint Ignace', *Christus* vol 16 (1969), pp 562–574, treats these friendships with women.

[18] Rahner, *op. cit.*, p 417.

[19] In a letter to Peter Faber in 1542 she wrote: 'If I were a man, my greatest wish would be to choose a life of perfection, i.e., to follow you and Iñigo. But because I am a woman, so sinful and without progress, I do not deserve to think with you and speak with you about holy matters, let alone about matters concerning the Society of Iñigo.' See *MHSJ Fabri Monumenta* (Madrid: 1914), pp 143–145. As we shall see, being a woman was not to stop Princess Juana!

[20] *MI Epp* XI, pp 415–416 (May 19, 1556), cited by Penning de Vries, *op. cit.*, p 170; Rahner, *op. cit.*, p 430. Translation modified.

[21] Rahner, *op. cit.*, pp 417–433.

[22] Rahner, *op. cit.*, pp 75–92.

[23] *MI Epp* III, pp 146–147; V, p 700; Rahner, *op. cit.*, pp 85–88.

[24] See *MI Epp* I, pp 210, 219, 240, 373; II, pp 71, 204, 220, 560 for her intervention with the Pope. Rahner, *op. cit.*, pp 78–79 sketches her work in Rome.

[25] *MI Epp* I, p 182, in a letter to Peter Faber, September 20, 1541.

[26] Heer, Friedrich: *Die dritte Kraft* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fisher, 1959), p 398. Cited by Penning de Vries, *op. cit.*, p 164.

[27] Cf Rahner, *op. cit.*, p 15.

[28] *MI Epp* I, p 305, as cited by Rahner, *op. cit.*, pp 435–36. See also Tacchi Venturi, Peitro, S.J.: *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* vol II part II (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1951), pp 160–170.

[29] For the details of these difficulties see Rahner, pp 262–295; see also Padberg, John W.: 'Juana: princess and Jesuit scholastic', in *National Jesuit News* vol 4, no 2 (October, 1974), pp 1, 4.

[30] *MHSJ Epistolae Mixtae* IV, pp 148–50; Rahner, *op. cit.*, pp 293–295.

[31] *MI Epp* VIII, p 343, (January 28, 1555), to Antonio Araoz; Rahner, *op. cit.*, p 295.

[32] See Penning de Vries, *op. cit.*, p 166.

[33] The Ursulines, founded by Angela Merici in 1535, were an order devoted to teaching girls. They originally had no special clothing and did not practise enclosure. However, they were soon subjects of controversy and eventually were forced into the cloister and religious garb. See

Montner, William: 'Women in the age of reformations' in *Becoming visible*, edited by Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz and Susan Stuard (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), p 209.

[34] Rahner, *op. cit.*, p 254; *MI Epp* II, p 346 (February 22, 1549).

[35] Rahner, *op. cit.*, p 260; *MI Epp* I, pp 421-422, translation modified. According to Granero, *op. cit.*, pp 346-347, the language of this statement makes it clear that Ignatius envisioned an order oriented to active, apostolic life.

[36] Dalmases, Cándido de: *Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuits*, trans by Jerome Aixalá (St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), p 182.

[37] Leturia, Pedro de: 'Origine e senso sociale dell'apostolato di Sant'Ignazio di Loyola in Roma', *Estudios Biográficos* vol I (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1957), p 279.

[38] Tacchi Venturi, *op. cit.*, pp 183-189.

[39] See Rahner, *op. cit.*, pp 58-59.

[40] Rahner, *op. cit.*, p 59.