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THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, THE *SPIRITUAL EXERCISES* AND THE CATHOLIC REFORM

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Four hundred years ago, on December 4, 1563, the Council of Trent held its twenty-fifth and last solemn session. During eighteen difficult years it dominated the ecclesiastical affairs of Europe and its influence was felt far and wide even in the temporal order. No one in Christendom was indifferent to its proceedings, for the issues involved in this Council touched in one way or another the lives of all. In the course of the years it was supported and resisted in turn by their Catholic majesties, Charles V and Francis I, as well as by the Protestant Estates of Germany.¹ Vituperated by Luther and Calvin and avoided by the evangelical theologians it became a wall of separation between the old and the new orders.² United Christendom, which witnessed its convocation in 1545, had vanished as a reality before its closure in 1563. Assembled under trying conditions it was almost doomed to failure before it commenced; the task, which confronted this reform council, was gigantic. For it was asked to revitalize and renew the Church weighed down with the burden of the centuries. In effect, the reform, which the Fathers of this Council achieved, initiated the transformation of the medieval into the modern Church.

Paul III's bull of convocation³ (May 22, 1542) aptly marked out the purpose of the Council which he was summoning: "to ponder, discuss, execute and bring speedily and happily to the desired result whatever things pertain to the purity and truth of the Christian religion, to the restoration of what is good and the correction of bad morals, to the peace, unity and harmony of Christians among themselves, of the princes as well as of the people . . ." ⁴ The conciliar program is clear: reformation of the Christian religion, restoration of Christian morality and reunion of all Christian people.

It is a matter of history that the Council did not reunite all Christians nor did it perfectly reform Christian morality. It did, however, restore spirit and energy to the faltering Church. The years (1564-1630) following the Council testify to the inner renewal which its reform program achieved. Theological scholarship, apostolic expansion, moral betterment, vigorous spiritual growth, the creation of new art forms, successful counter-thrusts in the confessional dialectic, and a sense both of victory and of exaltation are characteristic. Self-defense and self-assertion fill the ecclesiastical atmosphere of the Tridentine age. The old had indeed passed away, but not totally; and the new, which had been discovered in the hard crucible of trial and error, held great promise of an incredible future.

The Catholic Reform was essentially personal reform—the reformation of the Church ‘in head and members.’ As an expression of this reform, the Council of Trent was concerned more with the spiritual than with the organizational, more with the individual in the Church than with the Church as an institution. It aimed at transforming the whole by transforming the parts. Hence in the Tridentine age, personal spiritual renewal was of prime importance. It was the solid foundation on which the Council’s purpose, “the restoration of what is good and the correction of what is bad,” was to rest ultimately.

The restoration of the spiritual involved the inner renewal of religious observance among the faithful. It depended, therefore, on prayer, penance, the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, on the whole series of ascetical practises which nourish Catholic life. But of all the factors which might be enumerated here, none surpasses in importance the liturgy. For apart from the spiritual doctrine of this or that great ascetic, the individual Catholic is most normally sanctified *in* and *through* liturgical observance. It is here, in the area of public, corporate worship—rather than in particular schools of asceticism whose rise coincided with the fall of the liturgy—that the supernatural life is principally transmitted, sustained and enriched.

It is indeed regrettable that the Council of Trent too much neglected this important aspect of Catholic life; but it is even more regrettable that the Tridentine age inherited this liturgical indifference from its historical past. For in the late sixteenth century Catholic worship still preserved that highly clerical complexion which it had received in the Middle Ages. Its character was festival, dramatic and artistic more than corporate, Biblical and interior. The Council of Trent stimulated neither a liturgical reform nor a liturgical renaissance.⁵ The spirituality of the Catholic Reform, therefore, was not structured on liturgical piety, the objective and the communal, but on the ascetical, the subjective and the personal. And this tendency was perfectly in keeping with the spirit of Trent whose reform was concerned with the individual more than with the institutional.

The rich variety of *doctrina spiritualis* which stems from the Tridentine age is too broad to be handled in any single study. I have, therefore, concentrated on one area, the Spanish; and, within this gold mine of *ascetica* and *mystica* which includes such masters as Francisco de Osuna (d. 1542), Teresa of Avila (d. 1582), Luis de Leon (d. 1591) and John of the Cross (d. 1591), I have centered on St. Ignatius of Loyola (d. 1556), the first in time of the great Spanish mystics of the Golden Age,⁶ and the author of the *Spiritual Exercises*. For this little book,⁷ considered in the context of history, offers valuable insight into the aims, ideals, methods and climate of the Catholic

Reform. It is representative of its spirituality in that it seeks ecclesiastical reform through personal reform; and, in inspiring the Society of Jesus, it created one of the principal instruments in the vast work of Catholic restoration.

The *Spiritual Exercises* are rooted in the great mystical experiences of Iñigo López de Loyola, his dramatic conversion to a holy life and his definitive commitment to Catholicism. Fundamentally they represent the first fruits of his deeply moving experience in the cave of Manresa in the months between March 1522 and February 1523.⁸ But actually they are the studied product of more than twenty-five years (1522-48) of practical asceticism and mysticism.⁹ For Ignatius was a most keen observer of the phenomena of the spiritual life; and the movements of the Spirit which he observed within himself he conscientiously recorded.¹⁰ His approach was introspective, analytical and psychological. It centered on his concrete religious experiences which he interpreted in light of the Christ-event. The *Exercises*, therefore, are a systematic presentation of the distilled essence of what mystical encounter with God had taught him.¹¹

The first draft of the *Spiritual Exercises* represent the ascetical doctrine of a saintly Catholic layman, a former courtier and soldier, who had the advantages neither of a university education nor of theological formation. Further, they were developed without the slightest concern for the Protestant revolution in distant Germany. Their title, "Spiritual Exercises to conquer oneself and regulate one's life, and to avoid coming to a determination through any inordinate affection," suggests the purpose of the book. For they were conceived as a method of personal reform, but without their author having at first grasped their broader relation to Church-reform.¹² Only later, *in* and *through* the development of historical circumstances, the universal significance of this spiritual book became apparent. Initially they were regarded as a precious, personal discovery which their author would share with others in need of spiritual renewal.

St. Ignatius defined 'spiritual exercises' in most broad terms:¹³

By the term 'spiritual exercises' is meant every method of examination of conscience, of meditation, of contemplation, of vocal and mental prayer, and of other spiritual activities. . . . We call 'spiritual exercises' every way of preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all inordinate attachments and, after their removal, of seeking and finding the will of God in the disposition of our life for the salvation of our soul.

The program, simple and direct in its statement, envisions a methodical and systematic approach to the spiritual life. Looked at from the purely human side, it embraces three elements or aspects: the positive, pious meditation; the negative, moral purgation; and, the terminal, eternal salvation. As the *Exercises* unfold, all three are transfigured by "the grace and truth" of Christ Jesus.

The *Spiritual Exercises*, as a spiritual method, find their *point de départ* in the Principle and Foundation, structured on the economic triad: God, man and creation, which leads the exercitant on to a theocentric *Weltanschauung*.¹⁴ Through the medium of creatures man gravitates to God. The Four Weeks of meditations which follow are devoted to thoughtful considerations of sin, death, judgment and hell, and to affective contemplations on the mysteries of Christ from His incarnation to His resurrection. The terminal point is the *Contemplatio ad amorem*, a contemplation to obtain selfless love of God, a love epitomized in the ardent petition: "Give me Thy love and Thy grace, for this is enough for me." Day by day through thirty days meditations and contemplations are made in the silence of seclusion. Repetitions and reflections are specified to clarify and solidify the great lessons which have been learned. The exercitant is saturated with prayer. Under the guidance of a skilled director, thoroughly grounded in ascetical theology and human psychology, but especially in Holy Scripture, he is led to the election of a state of life. In light of the great, saving truths of the Gospel the will of God is to be found; and in finding it, God's law is discovered ultimately to be the law of love. The Exercises terminate in personal reformation, reducible to personal commitment to Christ and to his Church.

The Ignatian meditation on Christ the King offers striking insight into the spirituality of the Catholic Reform. For here the voice of victory and triumph are heard. But this exaltation which we are invited to share, is spiritual, proceeding in the *Exercises* from deep, interior, religious motives, from personal "knowledge and love" of the Saviour. The Kingdom of Christ is presented in a clear, vivid, convincing setting in which Christ the King is represented parallel to an earthly king "chosen by God Our Lord Himself, to whom all Christian princes and people pay homage and obedience."¹⁵ Who could (or would) refuse the invitation to serve under this king "so liberal and so kind" in his war against the unbelieving infidel? No one, is the only answer possible, save him who "would deserve to be condemned by the whole world, and looked upon as an ignoble knight."¹⁶ The argument is *a fortiori*. Christ is a still greater king than any earthly king. His cause is ever so more noble. His personal appeal is irresistible.¹⁷

It is my will to conquer the whole world and all my enemies, and thus to enter into the glory of my Father. Therefore, whoever wishes to join Me in this enterprise must be willing to labor with Me, that by following Me in suffering He may follow Me in glory.

The Ignatian response to this invitation is expressed in terms highly reminiscent of medieval chivalry and regal majesty. But under his stylized language is the doctrine of total interior commitment to "the Eternal King and Universal Lord." And in terms of the spirituality

of the Catholic Reform this commitment to Christ is concretely a commitment to His Church on earth.

While the meditations on the *Kingdom* imply personal affiliation with Christ in world conquest, the meditation on the *Two Standards* (*duae vexillae*) forms a personal challenge. Christ, "the Supreme general Leader of all good," confronts Satan, "the mortal enemy of our human nature." It is Jerusalem against Babylon in the Augustinian sense. The royal triad—Christ, man, Kingdom—is now transformed into the sacramental triad—Christ, Christian, witness. But the capital point here is not the presentation to the exercitant of a choice of 'standards,' but rather his realistic instruction in the full meaning of service. The tendency of these meditations of the Second Week is to reduce high religious ideals and desires to concrete, apostolic endeavor, namely to the spread of the Kingdom of Christ by the spread of His sacred doctrine in this world.¹⁸ Thus the teleology of the *Exercises* is in the direction of the real order of things, towards actual accomplishment and towards meaningful service. At the very time that Luther was elaborating his theology of the Cross, Ignatius was working out his spirituality of the Standards, conceived as symbols of service and work on behalf of the Divine Majesty.

It is worthy of note that Ignatius in specifying God as the object of love very shrewdly represents Him as a God of toil. "God on His part," he writes, "works and labors for me in all created things on the face of the earth. Love on my part ought to be found in deeds rather than words." The unexpressed prayer is: 'O God, Who art in truth a God of labor, make me in deed to be a man of work.'

The Ignatian presentation of the *Kingdom of God* and the *Two Standards* is worthy of the grandeur of that age which produced Michelangelo. These two themes have about them all the external majesty and splendor of the art of the Christian Renaissance. But more than that they breathe a deep, inner religious spirit, inspired by the great motifs of salvation history. The spiritual doctrine of the *Exercises* is at once optimistic and humanistic. It is optimistic in the sense that it rests on the conviction that the world is good, man is good and God is good. It allows precious little room for an eschatology structured on a dark pessimism of flight from the world. The humanism appears in the consideration that all "things on the face of the earth were created for man's sake." In fact Ignatian spirituality offers a mystique of all created things for in them as a point of encounter God is to be found. Characteristic is the formula, "hallar Dios en todas las cosas." In a sense he is 'lord of creation,' but only in the sense that all things here below are at his disposal to praise, reverence and serve God. And closely united to this humanism is an unmistakable personalism (but not individualism). Thus in the Incarnation it

is Christ who "has become man for *me*." In reviewing the mystery of the Passion stress falls on "the great affliction Christ endures *for me*." The totality of the mysteries of the earthly Christ is apprehended from the point of view that "all this" has been done "*for me*." This trend runs throughout the *Exercises* and is basic to them.

It is indeed true that the spiritual doctrine of Ignatius is theocentric,¹⁹ though it would perhaps be more precise to define it as Christocentric. For it is the victorious Christ, who is the center of all, the last measure of all. Here with his book of the *Spiritual Exercises* Ignatius presented the Catholic Reform with a systematic spirituality rooted in Incarnationalism, humanism and optimism, and practical to its very core.²⁰ It was a spirituality leading the Church to victory through the personal reform and renewal of her members.

The *Exercises* are not a totally original creation.²¹ In many important respects they are rooted in the spiritual world of the Late Middle Ages. The deep impression which the *Vita Christi* of the Carthusian, Ludolf of Saxony (d. 1378), made on Ignatius is discernible in his presentation of the mysteries of the life of Christ.²² Thus in mental prayer the tendency is towards the concrete, the historical, the detailed, but grasped in a vivid, highly imaginative way. The accent falls on the historical Christ of 'then' rather than on the metahistorical Christ of 'now.'²³ The exercitant is invited "to see the persons," "to see and notice and contemplate what they are saying," "to see and consider what they are doing."²⁴ The composition of place which Ignatius designs for the contemplation of the Nativity of the Lord illustrates the method:²⁵

It will consist here in seeing in the imagination the way from Nazareth to Bethlehem; consider its length, its breadth; whether level or through valleys and over hills. Observe also the place or cave where Christ is born; whether big or little; whether high or low: and how it is arranged.

By and large, a manifold number of factors entered into the composition of the *Exercises*. The *Devotio moderna* and its master piece, the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis (d. 1471), certainly had an influential role in the Saint's work; but, it is questionable whether (or to what extent) the *Exercitatorio de la vida spiritual* of the great Benedictine abbot of Montserrat, Gracia de Cisneros (d. 1510) played a decisive part in the text of the *Exercises* of Ignatius.²⁶ It is rather to the individual genius of the Saint himself that the shape of the work is ultimately due. He gave it its distinctive character, purpose and spirit. Ignatius alone is the author, for the ultimate conception of the work is far too personal to be reducible to multiple influences.²⁷

Very likely during his Parisian period (Feb. 1528-March 1535) Ignatius added the famous *Rules for thinking with the Church* as an appendix to the book of the *Exercises*.²⁸ "There are three things

to note in" these "rules: a detailed eulogy of certain Christian practises; a recommendation of prudence in speech . . . a principle regulating belief and practice."²⁹ The Mass, sacraments, canonical hours, religious orders, the state of virginity, the vows of religion, relics, pilgrimages, the Stations, indulgences, bulls, fast and abstinence, vigils, ecclesiastical art and ornamentation are to be defended and praised. In preaching the Catholic doctrine of predestination, faith and works, filial and servile fear, free will and grace is to be maintained with prudence.

In the spiritual doctrine of Ignatius obedience to the Church is of prime importance. This is characteristic of the spiritual doctrine of the Catholic Reform which was resisting the 'evangelical revolt' which had broken out in all parts of Northern Europe. Thus the first rule reads:³⁰

We must put aside all judgment of our own, and keep the mind ever ready and prompt to obey in all things the true Spouse of Christ our Lord, our holy Mother, the hierarchial Church.

And the *a priori* character of this obedience is further defined in the celebrated thirteenth rule which foreshadows the so called 'blind obedience' of St. Ignatius. Here he writes:³¹

If we wish to proceed securely in all things, we must hold fast to the following principle: What seems to me white, I will believe black, if the hierarchical Church so defines. For I must be convinced that in Christ our Lord, the Bridegroom, and in His spouse the Church only one Spirit holds sway, which governs and rules for the salvation of souls. For it is by the same Spirit and Lord, who gave the Ten Commandments, that our holy Mother the Church is ruled and governed.

The eleventh rule praises both the positive doctors (such as St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, etc.) and the scholastic doctors (such as St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure and Peter the Lombard). This reverence for the patristic and scholastic tradition implicitly affirms a rule of faith—revelation transmitted by the Fathers and Doctors but explicated by the hierarchical *magisterium*. It also foreshadows the direction in which the post-Tridentine Jesuit theology—positive and speculative— would develop.

There seems no doubt now that this set of eighteen *Rules for Thinking with the Church* was conceived under the inspiration of the acts of "the Council of Sens, published with the manifest intention of enlightening all Catholics of Paris, and especially the students of the university, on the Lutheran errors and the complicity of the suspected humanists."³² The Paris of those days was rife with Erasmian cynicism and was under the influence of the Lutheran revolt in nearby Germany. It was a time when a director of souls could hardly overlook the ecclesiastical element (especially its authoritarian aspects) in Catholic spiritual life, which must always be rooted in the Church. Within the context of the *Exercises* these rules were intended to mould

the Catholic heart and mind according to the Church, and to lead it away from the dangerous, at times unChristian (certainly non-Catholic) aspects of certain of the new humanistic and evangelical movements.³³ Though not an integral part of the *Exercises*, they are valuable evidence of the orthodoxy of their author and of the significant, decisive role which he assigned the *magisterium* of the Church in his spirituality. Perhaps no one before him was so insistent on this point.

From the very first, the *Spiritual Exercises* were suspect, at least in some circles. For in the eyes of many Ignatius, the former soldier, the uneducated layman, was ineligible to preach and teach Catholic faith and morals.³⁴ His doctrine was suspiciously regarded as a novelty. His apostolic activity was resented, especially since by force of personality and method his appeal was popular. Wherever he was active as an evangelist, his preaching—based on the *Spiritual Exercises* and, therefore, largely biblical—attracted a devoted coterie of disciples whose lives his teaching soon transformed spiritually. This was dangerous in the tense, suspicious atmosphere which the confessional controversies of that day had created. The lay Gospel-preacher was open to suspicion, particularly since both pulpit and Inquisition were in the hands of the mendicant friars. But while the spirit and the method the *Exercises* appeared to some to be too original to be Catholic, their author, the ardent Basque nobleman, was too Church-minded to be anything but Catholic. It was indeed a problem for the vigilant authorities. Some suspected him of Erasmianism, others of Lutheranism. He did not fit neatly into the categories which his opponents had assigned him.

In Alcalá (1526) the Spanish Inquisition threatened him with capital punishment;³⁵ and later at Salamanca, when confined for his activities, he made the heroic declaration from his miserable cell:³⁶

I protest . . . that there are not so many posts and manacles and chains in Salamanca, but I should desire more of them for the love of God.

Later, in Paris (1529), Venice (1537) and Rome (1538) he was again and again brought in for inquisitorial investigation. But in all respects, both personal and doctrinal, he was given a clear bill of orthodoxy by his examiners. But these painful episodes in his early career were a hard lesson in the obedience which his *Rules for Thinking with the Church* demand.

On September 27, 1540 the Tridentine pope Paul III solemnly approved the *Formula Instituti* of the new Company of Jesus. Here, in the apostolic brief, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, the giving of the *Spiritual Exercises* is explicitly mentioned as one of the ministerial works for which the new Society had been founded.³⁷ In the draft of the Constitutions in 1546 Ignatius showed his firm conviction of the value of his spiritual doctrine by obliging every candidate to the Society to make the *Spiritual Exercises* for the space of thirty days.³⁸ In

the fourth part of the Constitutions, which were composed about 1550, he insisted that the giving of the *Exercises* be among its principal ministries;³⁹ and, in fact, they were to form its inner spirit.⁴⁰ The expertness and dexterity, which he demanded on the part of the directors of this "spiritual armory," raised the giving of the *Spiritual Exercises* to a special art and technique.

But in this period the most violent attacks on the *Exercises* came from Spain, from the circle of Toledo and Salamanca. The campaign, waged by Archbishop Juan Siliceo, Cardinal of Toledo, and Fra Melchior Cano, professor at Salamanca, was notorious for its virulence.⁴¹ It is against this background of concentrated hostility and bitterness that Paul III once again acted in favor of the Society which he had approved. At the request of the illustrious Duke Francis Borgia of Gandia, the pope issued the brief *Pastoralis officii* on July 31, 1548 with a solemn approval of the *Exercises* in all respects "as full of piety and holiness, very useful and conducive to the spiritual edification and advancement of the faithful," and worthy to be extended to the use of the universal Church.⁴² Rome had spoken. But the issue in its fullness far from being dropped came to full flowering a half century later in the celebrated *controversia de auxiliis*.

The chief instrument for the dissemination of the new spirituality of the *Exercises* was the Society of Jesus, which from 1540 ranked in the Church as an approved religious Order. Here without realizing the full import of his act, Ignatius had created an organization whose fundamentals were in many essential respects opposed to those of Protestantism.⁴³ While Luther on theological grounds broke with the Holy See, Ignatius tied his new Society tightly to it.⁴⁴ It was for him the *principium stans aut cadens* of the Church and, therefore, fundamental both to theology and ascetism. In fact, he created certain patterns of Ultramontane thought that were to determine the subsequent theological traditions of his Society. The whole force of its apostolic work was in favor of the Church and her interests—to restore her where she had fallen, to implant her where she was not known. And of high significance to the Catholic Reform is the fact that for Ignatius the Church was the hierarchical Church, that Church at whose head stood Peter in the person of the Roman Pontiff and about whose structure the furious blasts of the Protestant Revolt were storming.

The revolutionary cast of mind, which is characteristic of Ignatius, is expressed in the Society's Constitutions. Here the master idea of the *Exercises*—the Christian as God's perfect servant—is concretely embodied. The whole juridical structure of his Order is inspired by the conviction that it is to produce perfect servants of God. It has been well remarked: "Service is the operative word in the Foundation text and in all Ignatian spirituality."⁴⁵ In terms of this apostolate of service, Ignatius broke ruthlessly with the monastic and

mendicant tradition of the medieval Church. His Society would be unique for its mobility and agility, for its freedom from the ascetical presuppositions of the past. It would be ordered to work, concretely to the work of the Church throughout the world.

In delineating the mode of life of his Order, Ignatius acted in light of this conception. Thus, there would be no distinctive religious garb, no special name in religion, no obligation to choir, no corporal penances obligatory on all, no ecclesiastical titles or honors, no general chapter, no canonical election of superiors (save the General), no prescribed time or duration of meditation for the professed. The highest government of the whole Society was to rest in the hands of those who were certainly proven to be better than mediocre theologians. This would insure enlightened orthodoxy; and, to secure absolute obedience, the government of the Society, like that of the Church, would be monarchical in form. The authentic member of his Society was to be well formed in the school of the *Exercises*, to be a tireless worker under obedience, therefore under the Church. It was service of God through service of the Church. And in his planning there is scarcely any obstacle that he would allow to impede the total commitment to this valuable service.⁴⁶

Within a relatively short time after his conversion, Ignatius began to preach the spiritual doctrine of the *Exercises*,⁴⁷ always with the conviction that in this little book God had in a singular way blessed his life and work. In the course of time it became programmatic for his apostolate. Thus in his Parisian days (1528-35) he gained through the *Spiritual Exercises* his first disciples, the core and heart of the future Society, men such as St. Francis Xavier, the future Apostle of the Indies, Diego Laynez, the second General of the Society, and Alfonso Salmerón—both papal theologians at the third period of the Council of Trent—Pierre Favre, the master *par excellence* of the *Exercises*.⁴⁸ And in the subsequent years the astonishing increment of the membership of the Society is traceable to the *Exercises*.

Within the lifetime of the Saint (d. 1556) his Order spread to almost every part of the Western World and even far beyond it into the Orient. Wherever Catholicism had decayed, it was to be restored; and wherever it had perished, it was to be renewed. Both St. Charles Borromeo (1538-94) of Milan,⁴⁹ and St. Philip Neri (1515-95) of Rome, two of the brightest lights of the Catholic Reform in Italy, were formed under the influence of the *Exercises*. Their active, apostolic careers vividly exemplified the Ignatian concept of service. And St. Peter Canisius (1521-97), the second Apostle of Germany, himself 'reformed' through the *Exercises*, was tireless in his reform of Christian morality through the same *Spiritual Exercises*. This instrument served him well in the vast revival of Catholicism which he realized in Upper Germany and Austria.⁵⁰ Distinguished personali-

ties such as the influential Cardinal Truchsess⁵¹ of Augsburg and the theologian Johannes Cochlaeus⁵² (1479-1552) were formed in the *Exercises*.

The apostolate of the Jesuits Claude Jay and Pierre Favre throughout portions of France and Germany centered on the transmission of the *Exercises*.⁵³ And much later the saintly reforming bishop Francis of Sales (d. 1622) recommended them with high praise.⁵⁴ The fact that one of the oldest extant manuscripts of the *Spiritual Exercises* was written in English suggests their use in England from the second third of the sixteenth century,⁵⁵ and the history of the English Jesuits of the Catholic Reform shows how greatly their subreptitious apostolate in the days of Elizabeth I rested on the spirituality of their founder.

It would not be in accord with the facts to say that Ignatius and the Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were ecumenical minded in the current sense of that expression.⁵⁶ But there was in the early Society a certain amount of openness, understanding and good will towards the Reformers. If the picture is not all light, neither is it all dark. But in the polemical controversy of those days the *Exercises* were not a counter-thrust against the Protestants. In themselves they enjoyed a positive value as a source of Catholic renewal. They were ordered to make bad Catholics good, and good ones better. They aimed at the *Ecclesia deformata* of that day; and their value remains perennial and relevant, for that *Ecclesia* is *semper reformanda*. The history of spirituality shows that they succeeded even in making saints.

The *Spiritual Exercises* were never intended to be a popular devotion.⁵⁷ On the contrary, in their fullness they were most normally given to a select few, to men of special quality, influence, sanctity, education, and capability in following the close argument of the text and the rich religious psychology of its program. They looked to the transformation of men of talent into leaders and saints—the two pressing needs of the Catholic Reform. It was a question here of reform assisted by competent leadership. The ultimate program was renovation of the generality of the faithful through the leadership of a reformed *élite*. It was the same principle which at a later date would induce Jesuits to assume the delicate but influential position of court-chaplain, confessors of kings and directors of princes. It was an expression of the conviction that the members of his Order should be “*cooperatores* of divine grace in the lofty work of leading back God’s creatures to Him, their last end.”⁵⁸

But at the same time the Fathers of the Society could not in terms of their apostolic spirituality neglect the ordinary citizens of the *Respublica Christiana*. Their Constitutions obliged them by vow

to teach catechism to the simple people, and to preach to them the Word of God.⁵⁹ The popular piety, which the *Exercises* fostered, was simple, biblical and ecclesial in character, but perhaps tending too much towards morality and imitation. A most concrete expression of this aspect of Ignatian spirituality is to be found in the *Catechismus* of St. Peter Canisius who wrote down for his people an exposé of the Catholic faith in clear, concrete, meaningful terms. It was a vivid way of demonstrating to the German nation that the old Church could be articulate in formulating her faith.

The Jesuit Churches of the Baroque period epitomize and underline the meaning of their spiritual apostolate. For these vast Houses of God, where light and color, height and depth wondrously blend, suggest the new vigor, strength and spirit which the Tridentine Church possessed. The break with the medieval past is discernible in their whole conception, but especially in the functional purpose which inspired them. For two features of these edifices form the focal center of the Jesuit spirituality of the Catholic Reform: the prominent, distinguished resplendent pulpit for the transmission of the Word of God, and the long, broad, accessible altar-rail for the administration of the Sacrament of Christ.⁶⁰

On December 4, 1563 the Council of Trent held its twenty-fifth and last session. Here, in the closing hours of the great council, the Society of Jesus was approved as "a society of clerks regular for the service of the Lord and His Church."⁶¹ The history of this Church during the years of the Catholic Reform is like the treasure of the wise man, filled with *nova et vetera*—"the new and the old." I have written here mostly of the *nova*, "the new," the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius and their relation to the spirituality of the Catholic Reform. But this whole great religious movement of resurrection and ascension is woven through and through with fibers of many threads, both "old and new." The Catholic revival was the result of a vast conspiracy of saints and scholars, of men and women, of the noble and the ignoble, of the simple and the great, the known and the unknown. It was a movement inspired by many spiritual doctrines, conditioned by many intellectual forces and helped by many hands. It was in the ultimate analysis part of the mystery of God, who fostered the reformation of His Church after He had first allowed its deformation, who permitted the disunion of the faithful in one century as mysteriously as He had fostered their union in another.

1. Cf. R. E. McNally, S.J., "The Council of Trent and the German Protestants," *Theological Studies* 25 (1964) 1-22 for a survey of the split between Catholics and Protestants over the Council of Trent.
2. Cf. H. Jedin, "Ist das Konzil von Trient ein Hindernis der Wiederverein-

igung?" *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 38 (1962) 841-55.

3. H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (London 1941), pp. 1-10. According to the bull the Council was to assemble on November 1, 1542.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

5. J. Jungmann, S.J., "Liturgisches Leben im Barock," *Liturgisches Erbe und pastorale Gegenwart* (Innsbruck 1960), pp. 108-19, and L. Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety* (Notre Dame 1955), pp. 1-9.
6. E. A. Peters, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics* 1 (London 1951) 3. Cf. L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes* 12 (St. Louis 1912) 1, who remarked of St. Ignatius that he was a man "destined to contribute more powerfully than any other, by the force and unequalled range of his activity, to purify the Church and to restore by means of new conquests the balance of her recent losses."
7. The *editio princeps*, containing 114 leaves including the title page, measures 6.25 inches in length by 4.25 inches in width. It bears the impress, "Romae apud Antonium Bladum XI Sept. MDXLVIII."
8. Ignatius' realization of the effective transformation of the cave-experience is intimated in his bewildering question: "What new kind of life is this upon which I am entering?" Cf. *Acta Patris Ignatii* 3, 21, *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola* 1, ed. D. F. Zapico, S.J. et al., *Monumenta Ignatiana* 1, ser. 4 (Rome 1943) 393. Hereinafter cited as *Acta Patris Ignatii*.
9. Cf. on the genesis of the *Exercises* H. Pinard de la Boullaye S.J., *Les étapes de rédaction des Exercices de S. Ignace* (Paris 1955).
10. *Acta Patris Ignatii* 2, 18, p. 389.
11. Cf. J. Brodrick, S.J., *The Origin of the Jesuits* (London 1940), p. 20: "The originality of the Exercises lies in the fact that . . . the book is not so much a book as the condensed, the suffered experience of a most noble heart that had wrestled with God and won emancipation at tremendous cost."
12. Note the rubric in the Rules for Election: "Directions for the amendment and reformation of one's way of living in his state of life." Cf. *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, tr., L. J. Puhl, S.J. (Westminster 1957), p. 78. Hereinafter cited as *Spiritual Exercises*.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
14. H. Bremond, *A Literary History of Religious Thought in France* 3 (London 1936) 17, names Pierre de Bérulle (d. 1629) the father of theocentrism. For Bremond Ignatius was anthropocentric. But cf. on "the modern simplicist tendency to label schools of spirituality" in these terms F. X. Lawlor, S.J., "The Doctrine of Grace in the Spiritual Exercises," *Theological Studies* 3 (1942) 520.
15. *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 43.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, p. 61: "Consider how the Lord of all the world chooses so many persons, apostles, disciples, etc., and sends them throughout the whole world to spread His sacred doctrine among all men, no matter what their state or condition."
19. Cf. n. 14 *supra*.
20. Cf. H. Bremond, *op. cit.*, 3, 47, 60, 61, 336.
21. Cf. on the literary antecedents of the *Exercises* E. Watrigant, S.J., *La Genèse des Exercices de saint Ignace de Loyola* (Amiens 1907) and H. Rahner, S.J., *The Spirituality of St. Ignatius Loyola* (Westminster 1953).
22. Cf. on the *mysterios* of the life of Christ in the *Exercises* J. A. Fitzmyer, S. J., "The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius and Recent Gospel Study," *Woodstock Letters* 91 (1962) 246-74.
23. Cf. J. Jungmann, S.J., "Die Abwehr des Germanischen Arianismus und der Umbruch der Religiösen Kultur im Frühen Mittelalter," *Liturgisches Erbe und Pastorale Gegenwart*, (Innsbruck 1960), pp. 1-86, esp. pp. 65-78. As H. Bremond *op. cit.*, 3, 55 conceives it, Ignatius stresses "the actions" of Christ, Bérulle "the states."
24. Cf. L. L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven 1954), esp. pp. 25 et ff., for the influence of the Ignatian *compositio loci* on the poetic imagery of Robert Southwell, S.J., John Donne and others.
25. *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 52.
26. Note the judgment of P. Dudon, S.J., *St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Milwaukee 1949), p. 206: ". . . the derivation [of the *Exercises*] from Cisneros is a fable."
27. In the preface to the *editio princeps* (1548) p. 6 Ignatius writes that the *Spiritual Exercises* are derived not so much from books as from his own inner experiences and the knowledge which he gained in directing souls.
28. *Spiritual Exercises*, pp. 157-61.
29. P. Dudon, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 459.
30. *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 157.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
32. P. Dudon, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 458.
33. Cf. for example the *Directorium* 12, 3 of Juan de Polanco, S.J., Ignatius' personal friend and secretary, in *Monumenta Ignatiana*, ser. 2, *Exercitia Spirituality* (Madrid 1919) 829. Hereinafter cited as *Exercitia Spirituality*.
34. Cf. Jecome Nadal, S.J., *Epist.* 4, 826, on Ignatius' lack of formal education at the time of the first drafts of the *Exercises*. Cf. also P. Dudon, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 213, n. 23. At Alcalá he was forbidden to preach until he had finished four more years of study. Cf. *Acta Patris Ignatii* 6, 62, p. 451.
35. *Acta Patris Ignatii* 6, 58, p. 443. The inquisitors at Alcalá, thinking Ignatius to be one of the *Illuminati* (*Alum-*

- brados), "threatened him with capital punishment."
36. *Ibid.*, 7, 69, p. 461.
 37. Cf. *Societatis Iesu Constitutiones et Epitome Instituti* (Rome 1949), p. 9. Hereinafter cited as *Constitutiones*.
 38. *Constitutiones* 4, 4, 10, pp. 47-8.
 39. *Ibid.*, 4, 8, 5, p. 157.
 40. L. Pastor, *op. cit.*, 12, 18: "The Society of Jesus in all ages has seen in the Exercises, and particularly in the meditation on the 'Two Standards,' the pattern of its existence."
 41. Cf. A. Astrain, S.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús* 1 (Madrid 1902) 366-84.
 42. The pope, however, did not act until he first had the book examined by three competent censors.
 43. Cf. L. von Ranke, tr. S. Austin, *The History of the Popes of Rome* 1 (Philadelphia 1841) 149-50.
 44. Characteristic of and essential to the Society is a special solemn vow of obedience to the Holy See. Cf. *Constitutiones* 1, 1, 5, p. 31.
 45. Cf. F. X. Lawlor, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 524 where these words of Joseph de Guibert, S.J., are cited.
 46. Cf. O. Karrer, *Der heilige Franz von Borja* (Freiburg 1921) pp. 249-74.
 47. *Acta Patris Ignatii* 6, 57, p. 441.
 48. L. González de Cámara, *Memoriale* 226, *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola* 1, ed. D. F. Zapico, S.J. et al., *Monumenta Ignatiana* 66, ser. 4 (Rome 1943) 658.
 49. "St. Charles Borromeo introduced them among the clergy of the province of Milan." Cf. L. Pastor, *op. cit.*, 12, 18.
 50. Cf. O. Braunsberger, S.J., *Beati Petri Canisii Societatis Iesu Epistulae et Acta* 1 (Freiburg 1896) 76-7. Cf. J. Brodrick, S.J., *Saint Peter Canisius* (New York 1935), pp. 36-7.
 51. Cf. J. Brodrick, S.J., *Saint Peter Canisius*, pp. 153 et ff.
 52. After making the Exercises he rejoiced that "now, once more, a teacher had at last arisen who could speak to the heart." Cf. L. Pastor, *op. cit.*, 12, 18.
 53. Cf. on the apostolate of Claude Jay, *Chronicon Societatis Iesu* by Juan Polanco, S.J., *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* 2, *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu* (Madrid 1894), esp. p. 265, where Father Jay is mentioned as the retreat master of Cardinal Truchsess.
 54. Cf. L. Pastor, *op. cit.*, 12, 18.
 55. The manuscript was "copied by John Helyar, priest and fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at some date between May 1534 and March 1537, probably at Paris." Cf. J. Crehan, S. J., "Saint Ignatius and Cardinal Pole," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 25 (1956) 72-98.
 56. Cf. the harsh letter of Ignatius dated August 18, 1554 in which he outlines for Peter Canisius a strong program against the Protestants. Cf. J. Brodrick, S.J., *Saint Peter Canisius*, pp. 211-14.
 57. Cf. *Constitutiones* 4, 8, 5, p. 158: "Quando . . . omnia tradentur, raris hominibus, vel qui de vitae suae statu deliberare velint, tradi oportebit."
 58. Cf. *Epistola S.P. Ignatii ad scholasticos Conimbricenses* (Rome 1926), p. 21.
 59. *Constitutiones* 5, 3, B, p. 193; 7, 2, E, 1963). pp. 225-26; *Examen* 6, 2, p. 63. Cf. on the vow obliging the professed to instruct in sacred doctrine *Constitutiones* 5, 3, 3, p. 192.
 60. Cf. on Ignatius' concept of the apostolate of preaching n. 59 *supra*, and on his liberal attitude towards frequent Holy Communion P. Dudon, S.J., *op. cit.*, pp. 418 et ff.
 61. Cf. E. Ehses, ed. *Concilii Tridentini Actorum Pars* 6 (Freiburg 1924) 1083.