

The Cultural Milieus of the *Spiritual Exercises*

Tad Dunne

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Imagine that tomorrow you will be visited by a short, wiry Rumanian poet who has spent the last fifteen years walking across Russia in search of the wisest men and women he could find. You will have a few hours to spend with him, talking about his poetry. Presumably most of us would feel both intellectually curious and intellectually exposed: curious to ask about the experiences behind his written word, but exposed to the light which his poetry casts on our unnoticed assumptions. Still, we trust that an honest sage would grant us copious benefits of doubt and gently lead us to uncover wisdom beneath our clumsy questions. A genuine seeker of truth would sidestep our curiosity about himself and stand beside us -- the three of us: ourselves, the poet, and the poetry -- to address the mystery of life together.

So it is with looking at the cultural influences on Ignatius as he wrote the *Spiritual Exercises*. We cannot simply look "behind" his text to understand its origins. The hermeneutics of a classic is a two-edged sword. As we scrutinize the cultural setting in which it was born, a classic can simultaneously scrutinize the present cultural assumptions behind our questions. But the circle of scrutiny is not closed; it can spiral upwards and uncover new paths for action. After all, what is the worth of wisdom if not for some concrete effect? Indeed, the *Exercises* I am talking about refer not primarily to the book Ignatius wrote but to the four "weeks" of prayerful calisthenics designed to release men and women or action.

Three questions in particular strike me as possessing this power to reveal the assumptions both of Ignatius and ourselves and to carry us beyond our cultures as they are to what a future culture might be through the instrumentality of the *Exercises*. First, how important is it to wed the Exercises to the reform of the Church? Second, is war still the best metaphor for the spiritual life? And third, why the great silence about the Holy Spirit?

The Exercises and Church Reform

Ignatius conceived the *Exercise* in an atmosphere of Church reform. Beginning from the twelfth century, the social fabric of the Western world was tearing apart. The Black Death of 1348 killed one out of three Europeans. The recurring encroachments of the Ottoman Empire and the

Hundred Years' War rearranged ancient political allegiances. The vast social organization of Christendom was breaking up into rival nationalisms.

The Church itself was in tatters. During the Great Schism (1378-1417), three popes simultaneously claimed the chair of Peter. While Ignatius was growing up, Pope Alexander VI was dedicating himself to the pleasures of the flesh, then Pope Julius II to politics, and then Pope Leo X to the arts. The organizing power of a Thomistic theology based on faith was now competing with a humanism based on reason. Monasteries had grown rich, to the resentment of the populace, while popes and clerics sold bail bonds on purgatory. This selling of indulgences was not merely the clergy's sin; it also represented a fanatically superstitious Christian population beset by a satanic fever.¹

It is one of the recurring paradoxes of history that when people fear evil spirits, they are also dazzled by the order of the spirits, to the extent of shunning the restraints of law and authority. Beginning with Joachim of Flora in the late twelfth century and the Franciscan Spirituals after him, many Christians longed for a future Church of pure Spirit, where pope, sacraments, and Church laws would no longer be necessary.² In the fourteenth century, Meister Eckhart taught an exalted mysticism, and the Rhine Valley "Friends of God" sought to live out lofty spiritual ideals. As we might expect, such anti-Church sentiments shaped the spirit of many Protestant reformers.

At the same time, there were many attempts to mend the ragged fabric of the Church. The Council of Constance (1417) ended the Great Schism. The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17) attempted to clarify doctrine and end abuses (unfortunately not enforced by Leo X) and the Council of Trent (1545-63) largely succeeded in doing so.

Another reform movement had arisen far from Rome. Late in the fourteenth century, owing to the preaching of Gerard Groote and the founding of the Brethren of the Common Life, a lay movement sprung up in northern Europe known as the *Devotio Moderna*.³ It deliberately worked to break down the medieval barriers of law and custom that existed between the clergy and the laity. It put education more in the hands of lay women and men, thereby raising the dignity of lay discipleship throughout Europe. Thus we have Thomas More, Catherine of Siena, Joan of Arc, and Frances of Rome. Born during the Western Schism, it is understandable that the *Devotio* fed upon a certain alienation from the hierarchical Church. Besides, since the focus of its reform was chiefly on a personal conversion of life and not on a programmatic reform of communities in the Church, it remained marked by its individualistic tone, and this in turn seemed to imply that an organizational Church and communal living were evil or at least unnecessary—an idea that offended clerics and monks.⁴

Where the *Devotio Moderna* relativized the clergy, a later movement, the Clerks Regular, reformed them. Beginning in 1524 with the Theatines, an Italian community dedicated to the intellectual formation of priests, clerks regular abandoned Office in choir, the habit, and obligatory penances. They took no vow of stability, and therefore, because they expected to be on the road and out of sight of superiors, they looked to the vow of obedience to bind them together. Among the half dozen or so congregations of clerks regular that were founded by 1550, the Society of Jesus became the most famous and was known at the time to have been founded specifically for the reform of the clergy.⁵

In the face of the general breakdown of wisdom and the outbreak of fantastic spiritualisms, there also emerged a felt need for discernment and prudence. Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris (d.1429), wrote a work called "Test of Spirits." Citing a phrase from Ignatius of Antioch, he said, "Counterfeit and genuine coins are being circulated. God's money and the devil's money are being passed around; and what is most needed at the present time is, according to our Lord's word, 'expert money changers.'"⁶ Bonaventure, too, gives rules for discernment in his *De Processu Religionis*. Clearly, Ignatius carried on this tradition in his rules for discerning which he included in the book of the *Exercises*.

Finally, we can only mention the most enduring and traumatic attempt at reform: not a mending but a hemming of the separated pieces—the sectarian reforms of the fifteenth century and the great Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, we find Jesuits, whose central formative experience was the *Exercises*, at the center of Church reform, shaping the ecclesiology of the Council of Trent and opening up a number of colleges for the education of clergy—first for their own numbers and then for others preparing for ordination. So it would appear that Ignatius ultimately used the *Spiritual Exercises* for the reform of the Church, particularly through the instrumentality of reformed orders. For centuries afterwards, religious and priests were practically the only people who made them, and the general effect was more to deepen their personal devotion to Christ and their readiness to maintain Church institutions rather than to prepare them to preach the Word of God to the unchurched.

But if Ignatius were sitting here learning about our culture and the Church's mission today, would he still advise that we keep our eyes strictly on revitalizing Church personnel? Perhaps he would educate us in how to use the *Exercises* by telling us how he first conceived them. At no time between his conception of the *Exercises* (1521) and the founding of the Society (1540) did he show any concern with reforming the structure of authority in the Church. Nor, on the other hand, was he content merely to bring

individuals to conversion. His aim was to create apostles—men and women who respond to the call of Christ our Lord, "who chooses so many persons, apostles, disciples, etc., and sends them throughout the whole world to spread His sacred doctrine among all people, no matter what their state or condition" [145].

True, about five years after his experiences at Manresa, as Ignatius weighed several different ways of helping souls, he considered entering a corrupt order for the express purpose of reforming it (A 71).⁷ True, he was ordained and did found an order of "reformed priests." But by his own account, he often speaks of wanting to study in order to help souls more effectively⁸ without ever mentioning a vocation or a desire to be a priest. He did not want to *be* anything: he wanted to *do* something.

Owing most likely to the bad reputation of monks and to rising hopes in a reformed clergy, Spanish Inquisitors insisted that only a priest could exercise leadership in the Church. So, during the years between 1522 (Manresa) and 1528 (to Paris), Ignatius' desire to help souls became concretized in his choice to become a cleric himself.⁹ He gathered a group of reformed priests around him and proposed that they begin catechizing in the Holy Land. In this project, the *Exercises* were to be their primary tool. At this time, he wrote to his confessor, "The Spiritual Exercises are the best means I can think of in this life both to help a person benefit him/herself and to bring help, profit and advantage to many others. Even though you felt yourself to be in no special need, you will see how they will help you serve others beyond anything you ever dreamed of."¹⁰

The Mediterranean war against the Moslems prevented them from traveling to the Holy Land. So, following a contingency plan, they presented themselves to the pope to be sent wherever he thought most expedient. Because of the desperate need for an educated clergy at the time, the Society of Jesus quickly became what it remained for centuries: intellectually prepared educators for the Church.

As with all of us, historical circumstances directed Ignatius with a far firmer hand than his personal desires alone ever could. His yearning to "help souls" by means of the *Exercises* had to be backed-up by clerical training, and the desires he shared with his first clerical companions had to be put at the disposal of the pope. But for all these historical eventualities, we should not lose sight of the fact that just as Ignatius meant the *Exercises* for apostolic enablement and not merely individual conversion, so he meant them to revitalize the entire People of God, not merely the Church's ecclesiastical personnel. The mobilization of a group of reformed priests was merely the concrete and timely strategy to free the energies of "so many persons, apostles, disciples, etc., . . . to spread His sacred doctrine among all peoples, no matter what their state or condition."

If Ignatius conceived the *Exercises* primarily for those people most likely to have an impact on the world, then we should consider our assumptions about who these people might be today. Some commentators have suggested that the *Exercises* ought to be given more to the laity, since their influence in both the Church and in secular society seems to be growing. While this may be so, it overlooks a deeper shift, not in *who* wields influence but in *how* they wield it. In the Western world, the most "influential" people are no longer strictly rich, clerical, or titled individuals. What counts nowadays is teamwork, democratic processes, organizing, ongoing feedback and revision, and negotiating on behalf of a constituency. It has become increasingly unrealistic to give the *Exercises* in such a way that the kind of apostle emerging from them is a spiritual Lone Ranger. Instead, they ought to shape men and women who expect to collaborate no matter which vocation they have followed in the Church. Specifically, the *Exercises* should be given to groups who already work as a team, who pin their effectiveness precisely on group effort, being careful to preserve, however, the very private dealings between God and the individual which Ignatius insisted on.¹¹ In other words, our eyes should turn not from priests and religious to the laity, but from effective individuals to effective groups.

Influential people today, are also far more educated than they were in Ignatius' time. In North America, Catholics are the largest group of educated Christians; their college education stands above national averages. As we might expect, more and more educated men and women are being drawn into the *Exercises*. What is often overlooked, however, is what effect the *Exercises* should have on their professions. In Ignatius' time the *Exercises* empowered a person to minister in a practical, pastoral world with a Christian vision. Today, however, educated Christians recognize that faith expresses itself in work for justice, and justice, in turn, requires the long-range views and the theoretical work of political science, psychology, and economics.

The *Exercises*, in fact, do convey an image of the human person that stands in direct opposition to much of what is taught in the human sciences. For example, Ignatius' views on how our desires for riches and honors lead ultimately to a self-defeating individualism run opposite to the liberal ideal of the self-made person. Also, his easy assumption that we can purposefully and responsibly exercise any feelings we please certainly has a place in modern psychology, which tends to regard clients as slaves, not as masters, of their own feelings. Educated retreatants, therefore, can expect to reenter their intellectual or professional lives with a critical vision gained through making the *Exercises*.

Here, however, Ignatius might advise us that collaboration and critical vision do not by themselves actually detach people from the values that actually govern their behavior. Today, materialism, consumerism, and sexism distort

our vision and constrict our fields of action in ways we hardly notice. To be genuinely healed of this inner blindness requires a conscientization, an overcoming of fear and apathy, and a willingness to let go of anything for the sake of the Kingdom. It is no small work to achieve this detachment. Compared to this difficult inner liberation, collaboration and critique are a piece of cake. But this is where the *Exercises* do their best work, bringing retreatants to detest the sins and biases that entrapped them, and giving them a Spirit-driven Jesus to imitate.

As far as this detachment goes, our times are not much different from Ignatius' times. But when we look at how to direct the energies released by this detachment, our world of collaboration and critical vision open up new possibilities which, paradoxically, are closer to the evangelical purpose of the *Exercises* and less identified with reforming Church personnel. Frankly, I think Ignatius would be wide-eyed with excitement over these uses of the Exercises which our culture has made possible.

A Warfare Spirituality

If Church reform is not at the core of the *Exercises*, what about its warlike spirit? The entire structure of the Exercises, commentators say, is built on the highly militant parables of the Kingdom and the Two Standards.¹² Their polemical features were not Ignatius' own invention, but a development of an ancient tradition. During the convalescence that led to his conversion, he was reading "The Golden Legend," a book on saints' lives by Jacobo de Voragine.¹³ In the section on St. Augustine's "City of God," he read:

That book was concerned with the story of two cities, with the kings of these two cities, Jerusalem and Babylon. For Christ is king over Jerusalem, Satan over Babylon. Two contrary loves gave birth to these cities. The city of Satan was built on self-love, mounting up even to contempt of God; the city of Christ was built on love of God, mounting up even to the contempt of self.¹⁴

This text gave Ignatius an immediate contact with the originating Christian tradition of the warfare spirituality classically formulated by Augustine's theology of history.¹⁵

In the Middle Ages, Augustine's militant spirituality had become supercharged by the spirituality of the crusades. Although the last great crusade ended in 1291, the desire to push the Turks back from Europe continued deep into the time of Ignatius. It engendered a strong belief that God called one to leave home on a crusade, to share in the incarnational work of Jesus in poverty -- drafted, as it were, into the militia of the Kingdom of God with a readiness for martyrdom rivaled today only by the Iranian ethos of Holy War. Although much appeal was made to the spiritual benefits of a crusade -- the chance to do penance for one's sins and to

contribute to "the glory of God" against infidels -- it also ignited papal hopes that its own temporal power over civilizations could be restored.¹⁶

Ignatius grew up in this militant spiritual/political atmosphere. In 1469, Ferdinand and Isabella had united Spain after two hundred years of clan feuds. Months after Ignatius was born, Spanish royal consorts pushed the Moors from Granada, their last strong outpost in Spain, thus making an eight-hundred-year-old dream come true. His own father participated in a crusade against the Moors, and his brother died in one. Ignatius himself longed for free passage to visit the Holy places "perpetually" (A 45). But when historical circumstances forced him and his companions to abandon their hope of helping souls in the Holy Land and to direct their efforts instead to letting the pope tell them where best to serve, Ignatius then seems to have redirected all the style and energy of a crusader into the interior life.

While today we may admire this spiritual transformation of the crusader ideal, none of us can repeat it. The political ideals of Ignatius' day gave him a symbol of dedication, loyalty, and self-sacrifice that reinforces his spiritual vision. But I believe that the reigning political ideals of our own time, while they provide our spiritual lives with an equally dominant symbol, work against us as an apt metaphor for the spiritual life. Our international attitude of balance of powers seems perfectly matched by a spiritual attitude of peaceful coexistence of inner desires, no matter where these desires are directed. Today's popular psychological wisdom runs: "Tolerate everything that arises from consciousness" in the same style that liberal democracy refuses to denounce alien values. Suppression of hostile forces in the psyche is called sickness, and some Eastern spiritualities counsel befriending one's demons. What, then, are we to make of this militant spirituality of the *Exercises*?

Again, Ignatius might answer us by pointing to his experiences. A look at his Autobiography reveals that he did allow as much as possible into consciousness; it is full of astute observations on his spontaneous thoughts and feelings. If his spirituality is warlike, it lies in keeping close watch on the doors of the subconscious and, like an attentive guard at the castle gate, inquiring, "friend or foe?" of all interior movements. If foe, then he deliberately drives out the images and feelings invading his inner sanctum.¹⁷ The problem with today's popular wisdom is not the allowance of unnoticed feelings but the extreme tolerance to being moved by them, as if they represented one's truest self.

Transposing Ignatius' practice into the categories of Freud's unconscious, I believe that Ignatian spirituality today should teach ways of keeping a moral distance between (1) the spontaneous thoughts, images, or feelings that occur in us and (2) our responsible choice either to cooperate with them or suppress them. Failure to guard my own gate results in too easy an

identification of my person with the feelings that rise up in me, the images that capture my attention, and the inner voices that distract me from other inner business. I end up regarding my own person as bad when I only feel bad or becoming overconfident then my head is swimming with images of success. In either case I am not living in the truth of my soul, having been invaded and captured by forces that entered unchallenged. So there is good reason for taking a militant attitude in the spiritual life, although not one that shoots everything that moves. It is rather the militancy of an immigration official guarding the homeland of one's psyche.

Silence on the Holy Spirit

My final question is perhaps the most provocative. Why is there such little mention of the Holy Spirit in the *Exercises*? Ignatius seems to downplay the Spirit's work in a number of contemplations on the life of Christ and to omit the Spirit's role entirely in others. One would think he would be especially reluctant to excise the Spirit from the crucial contemplations on the annunciation and the temptations, but this he does.¹⁸ There is nothing on the Holy Spirit in his Rules for Discerning Spirits or in any annotations. In his only direct reference to the Holy Spirit, Ignatius is absolutely cautious:

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 Church is ruled and governed [365].¹⁹

One reason for Ignatius' silence may be that the ideal of "Imitating Christ" overshadowed any tendencies he might have had towards a spirituality of "Obeying the Spirit." He seems to have inherited the practice of contemplating the Life of Christ from the *Devotio Moderna*, perhaps from Jan Mombaer (d. 1501), who wrote "A Rosary of Spiritual Exercises and Sacred Meditations," which was used at Montserrat, or from a similar book of exercises written by its own abbot, Garcia Jimenez de Cisneros (d. 1510). In these exercises, one contemplated the personality, style, and virtues of Christ in order to model one's behavior after him. So, in his *Exercises*, Ignatius focuses quite strictly on the humanity of Jesus, skipping all the parables, and all but five of his miracles. In about forty-four of the fifty scriptural passages he gives for contemplation, a retreatant is expected to walk somewhere with Jesus, engaging in conversation "exactly as one friend speaks to another" [54].

The spirituality of Imitation has an ancient lineage. It can be found in the Didache (written about time of John's Gospel) and in Ignatius of Antioch (d.c. 107).²⁰ With St. Francis, the ideal became popularized but narrowed to imitating Christ chiefly in poverty. Ignatius was likely influenced by the

Franciscan reform that took place at Arevalo, where, at fifteen years of age, he was assigned to the royal court.²¹ But more than this, *The Imitation of Christ*, the greatest classic emerging from the *Devotio Moderna*, was held dear by Ignatius from the earliest days of his conversion.

Remember that Ignatius was far more apostolic, far more devoted to the Church, and far less individualistic than the ideals of either the *Devotio* or St. Francis would warrant.²² Still, he accepted without question that the actual life of the historical Jesus was meant to reveal how the most meaningful life looks in the flesh:

Those who are progressing in the spiritual life and truly following Christ our Lord love and intensely desire . . . to suffer injuries, false accusations, and affronts, and to be held and esteemed as fools . . . because of their desire to resemble and imitate in some manner our Creator and Lord Jesus Christ.²³

Notice that he regards Christ as "Creator." In Ignatius' view, the very creator of humanity came expressly to show humanity how to walk.

It is doubtful, however, that the spirituality of the *Imitation of Christ* could have so completely overshadowed the role of the Holy Spirit in the *Exercises* were it not also for a "Spiritphobia" spooking the Church at the same time. Not that this is anything new. From the very beginnings of Christianity, many Churches have shown a great fear of the Spirit. For example, where Luke and John depict Christ giving the Spirit to guide the Church, Matthew has Christ say, "Behold, I am with you all days," leaving the Spirit entirely out of the picture. We can find a similar omission by comparing two pauline letters. The Letter to the Colossians makes no mention of the Spirit, but, about 20 years later, the Letter to the Ephesians mentions being marked by the seal of the Holy Spirit, having access in one Spirit to the Father, receiving through the Holy Spirit the revelation of the mystery of Christ and God's saving plan for the world, and of praying in the Spirit at all times.²⁴ Paul himself had troubles with charismatics in Galatia and Corinth. Perhaps Paul, the pauline authors, and then Matthew, were unable to control the problem of private inspiration by the Holy Spirit of God within an institutional Church.

One solution was to channel the work of the Holy Spirit strictly along official lines, emphasizing that the Holy Spirit is given chiefly to Church authorities and not just to any disciples. This is the route followed by Luke (but not John).²⁵ A more psychological solution was to distinguish between the gift of discernment coming from the Holy Spirit and the various personal inspirations, which come from good or evil "spirits." This is the route eventually followed by Ignatius. I say *eventually* because in his *Autograph Directory of the Spiritual Exercises*, the many gifts that come with spiritual contemplation he attributes to the Holy Spirit, while in the final version of the

Exercises they are attributed to the "good spirit" in contrast to the "evil spirit" who moves during spiritual desolation.²⁶ In the Constitutions and the Formula of the Institute, he usually portrays the Holy Spirit as giving someone a vocation (at root a value judgment, not a factual message) or as inspiring wise choices.²⁷ But he had to watch his tongue. The Inquisition was putting the heat on anyone who claimed to have the Spirit in any sense whatsoever. When a Dominican friar once accused Ignatius of speaking through the Holy Spirit. He said of himself, "the pilgrim kept cool at this" (A 65).

Nowadays, there seems to be less reason than ever for silence about the Infinite Spirit of God in the *Exercises*, provided we remember that the Holy Spirit acts more like an umpire than a messenger. Paul says that the love of God has been poured forth into our hearts (Gal 5:5); the Ephesians author speaks of a "spirit of wisdom and revelation" as one comes to know Christ, "so that, with the eyes of your heart enlightened, you may know what is the hope to which he has called you" (Eph 1:18). In other words, we should take seriously Paul's statement that it is the Holy Spirit who gives the power to discern between different spirits (1 Cor 2:14-16; 1 Cor 12:10).

There are a number of places in the Exercises where we can recognize and call upon the Spirit. In the examination of conscience and the examination of meditation, where Ignatius tersely recommends that we ask God for light, we should specifically ask God as Infinite Spirit to give us an eye for the truly worthwhile. And we should thank God as Spirit for those junctures in our day where we knew which path to take and which to avoid. In fact, any time we try to "discern the spirits" that move within us, whether during a retreat or in everyday life, we should ask the Holy Spirit to give us divine perception for which movements are worth admitting into consciousness.

Likewise, in our contemplations on the life of Christ, it is precisely the Holy Spirit that gives us our appreciation of Christ, our attraction to Christ, and our desire to be like Christ. Of course, our imagination can present an unguine Christ, so we cannot be certain that all our images or thoughts about Christ are trustworthy, but we can trust that the Spirit, both in us and in the Church, wants to uncover the real Christ and eventually to expose any false illusions.

But besides calling on God as Spirit for these various times of discernment, we can also recognize and learn about the Spirit at work in the very life of Christ as we contemplate its various scenes. Discerning the Spirit in Christ will mean a certain transformation and development of the highly Christological tradition of the *Imitation*. But I doubt that the pinnacle of imitation lay in merely imitating how Christ behaved externally. Primarily it is an imitation of how he listened within, using his visible behavior as a test

case of the limits of self-sacrifice. "Have that mind in you which was in Christ Jesus," Paul says, describing the general pattern of Christ's inner obedience.

In a daring commitment to an eleventh century reinterpretation of Christ,²⁸ the Society of Jesus in the seventeenth century looked deeper into Jesus the itinerant preacher to find something more at the core of love to imitate, namely, through devotion to his Sacred Heart. Obviously, by "heart" here no one meant the fluid pump in the chest of Jesus; his Sacred Heart stood for the wellspring of divine values, sensitivity, and compassion that moved him. Yet this is exactly what Paul referred to as the Holy Spirit. Dogmatically, then, the time has come to proclaim a fundamental equation about Christ: The Sacred Heart of Jesus *is* the Holy Spirit. When we contemplate the love that drove Christ into the desert; that taught, healed, and gathered companions; that cried, "Abba, Father!"; and that gave himself up to the forces of evil rather than compromise his vocation, it is precisely the Holy Spirit whom we contemplate.

I have been speaking about liberating the *Exercises* for their original purposes of apostolic enablement and about maintaining the proper militant attitudes towards the thoughts and feelings that strike us. But the idea of introducing the Holy Spirit into the very texts of the *Exercises* ought to give one pause. Might this be tinkering with an organic masterpiece that should be left intact? Would Ignatius allow it?

Two considerations prompt me to stand by my suggestion. First, Ignatius in fact adapted the *Exercises* in many ways himself, depending on the situation of the retreatant. Retreatants today do not experience the great fear of spiritualisms that dominated Ignatius' time. Today, we have greater insight both into the psychology of discernment and into Scripture to hold us in good stead. Besides, we would not be overlooking anything in the *Exercises* but merely filling out their meaning with a view of the Holy Spirit which Ignatius clearly expressed elsewhere.

My second consideration, however, seems not merely to allow God to appear as Spirit but to demand it. It is a matter of doctrinal integrity and orthodoxy. God sent two saviors, two "helpers," not one -- the visible Christ Jesus in our history and the invisible Divine Spirit in our hearts. It is theologically impossible to gaze on Christ Jesus without also seeing the Infinite Spirit of Christ and the Father, albeit often unrecognized. Silence may have been necessary during a time of rampant confusion about the Spirit's role, but continuing that silence today verges on practical heresy -- something Ignatius would abhor.

When I first made the Exercises in 1960, I was given Louis Puhl's red, hardbound version. I still have it here, with masking tape holding the spine in place and numerous underlinings inside. Time and time again, I have marveled at the genius of Ignatius lurking behind the words. But, of course,

the point of these particular words has been to liberate me from my own compulsions, making me a malleable instrument in the hands of God. Keeping that purpose utmost in mind as our principle of adaptation, I believe we can give the *Exercises* in a way that both hears the language of Ignatius and speaks powerful words today.

¹ 'Dom Francois Vandenbroucke, "Lay Spirituality from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century," part 2, ch. 9. of Jean Leclercq, ed., *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1982) 490.

² Hugo Rahner, *The Spirituality of St. Ignatius Loyola* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1980) 78. See also "Spiritualism" in *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, Jerald Brauer, ed., (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971) 784-5. For the effect of Joachism on the Jesuits, see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) ch. 9, "Jesuits," 274-290.

³ For a list of main features of this movement, see Thomas Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1976) 29-30.

⁴ Michael Foss, *The Founding of the Jesuits 1540* (New York: Weybright and Talley, nd) 55-6.

⁵ Clancy, 18-20

⁶ Rahner, 79-80. An early directory on the *Exercises* cites this phrase.

⁷ This and similar references use "A" to refer to the autobiography of Ignatius. The number following refers to the paragraph as numbered by Young. See *St. Ignatius' Own Story*, trans. W. Young (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956).

⁸ See A nos. 29, 45, 50, 54, 63, 70, 71, 85. See A 93 and 95 for his only references to ordination and A 85 for a significant omission of the fact.

⁹ See J. William Harmless, "Jesuits as Priests: Crisis and Charism," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 19/3 (May 87) 1-47 for an insightful discussion of Ignatius' rather instrumental notion of priesthood.

¹⁰ Letter to Manuel Miona, Venice, 11/16/1536 in William J. Young, ed., *Letters Of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959) 27-8.

¹¹ See [15] and Javier Osuna, S.J., *Friends in the Lord* (London: The Way Series, 1974) no 3, 52-3.

¹² Rahner, 53.

¹³ The Golden Legend, or *Flos Sanctorum*, was written in Latin by a Dominican in the thirteenth century and translated into Spanish by a Franciscan during Ignatius' childhood -- 1493 and again in 1511.

¹⁴ Rahner, 28.

¹⁵ Of course, God gave Ignatius an extraordinary insight into the struggle of the human soul represented by this parable, and Ignatius made his own contribution to the dialectic, particularly in his Francis-like love for poverty and his more clearly apostolic thrust.

¹⁶ Hans Wolter, "Elements of Crusade Spirituality, in St. Ignatius" in F. Wulf, ed., *Ignatius of Loyola: His Personality and Spiritual Heritage, 1556-1956* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977) 97-134.

¹⁷ He clearly regards them as coming "from without": See [32, 326, 327, 351]. See my "Extremism in Ignatius of Loyola" *Review for Religious* 45/5 (September-October, 1986) 345-355. Compare this to the fifth-century Diodochus of Photiki who takes for granted that "the heart produces good and bad thoughts from itself" and then struggles with the question of how both good and evil thoughts can come out of a person. He will not go so far as to say that the "Holy Spirit and the devil dwell together in our intellect." See *The Philokalia*, trans./ed. by G.E.H. Palmer et al., vol. I (London: Faber & Faber, 1979) 284-5 (nos. 83-5). See also Evagrius the Solitary, "Texts on Discrimination regarding Passions and Thoughts," *ibid.* 38-52, especially no 23, 52. He pits demons against both the Holy Spirit and personal virtue. There is no mention of good spirits.

¹⁸ [262, 263, 268, 273, 274], see also the brief mentions in [304] and [312] about Jesus giving the Holy Spirit.

¹⁹ See a similar remark to Teresa Rejadell in Young. *Letters*, 22.

²⁰ See Rahner, 70. In the New Testament, Paul speaks of imitating Christ mainly in his death. Only as the canon of Scriptures was closing did the ideal of imitating Christ as a model of life become a part of Christian tradition.

²¹ *Ibid.* 18-20.

²² *Ibid.* 55-57, 87.

²³ From the "General Examen" no 44. See George Ganss, ed. *The Constitutions Of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970) 108.

²⁴ Eph 1:13; 2:18; 3:5; 6:18.

²⁵ This is also the strategy of Pope John Paul II. His *Dominum et vivificantem* (1986) repeatedly depicts the passages from John's Gospel as a gift of the Holy Spirit to Church authorities -- "apostles" in the place of "disciples" (nos. 3, 5, 6, 22, 23, 25, 42). He cites the Spirit's work as principally in ordination and secondarily in confirmation, mentioning charismatic gifts only once (no 25). See *Origins* 16/4 (June 12, 1986) 77-102.

²⁶ At <http://www.sjweb.info/documents/cis/pdfenglish/199808704en.pdf>, see the first paragraph under "Notes for Retreats of Election."

²⁷ Formula of the Institute, nos. 3, 4; Constitutions of the Society of Jesus nos. 134, 414, 624, 697, 700, 701; in George Ganss, ed. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970). In some letters, Ignatius does spell out some roles played by the Holy Spirit in guiding a person, mainly through the gifts of prudence, wisdom, and consolation. But see, in particular, Young, *Letters*, 95, 205, 258.

²⁸ For this history of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, see <http://www.catholictradition.org/Two-Hearts/sacred-heart3b.htm>.