"For this institute, for the divine glory": A sketch of the ideal Jesuit candidate in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus

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"FOR THIS INSTITUTE, FOR THE DIVINE GLORY"
A Sketch of the Ideal Jesuit Candidate in the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus

A Thesis
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Introduction

Recently, Jesuit provinces and institutions in the United States have been putting a more concerted effort into promoting Jesuit vocations. Provinces are following the lead of the USA Midwest Province in committing more personnel to vocation promotion and the pastoral care of Jesuit candidates.[1] Institutions like Boston College have committed resources to explore new endeavors such as a house of discernment for college students.[2] The Jesuit Conference of Canada and the United States has invested in enhanced and consistent messaging on a variety of social media platforms.[3] Finally, provincials have encouraged individual communities and Jesuits to contribute to the promotion of vocations, especially on designated feast days such as All Saints and Blessed of the Society of Jesus on November 5.[4]

These vocation promotion initiatives have deep roots in the history of the Jesuits, especially considering the career of an early Jesuit, Jerome Nadal, S.J. who knew the early Jesuit companions in Paris and began his novitiate in Rome under St. Ignatius Loyola in 1545. Shortly thereafter, Ignatius began to trust him with increased responsibility – first, as minister and then, as secretary. Nadal was in the house in Rome when Juan Polanco arrived and began to work with Ignatius on the organization of the *Constitutions*. After serving as the superior of the Jesuits who

[1] James Stoeger and Pat Douglas, "Jesuit Vocations: Helping Others Hear the Call," USA Midwest

[2] Rev. Casey Beaumier, S.J. of Boston College started a house of discernment in the summer of 2016 for men in discernment. See Shannon Longworth, "BC Introduces Housing for Students Considering Jesuit Priesthood," *The Heights*, February 17, 2016, http://bcheights.com/2016/02/17/loyola-house-jesuit-residence-to-open-in-fall-2016.

[3] The Jesuit Conference of Canada and the United States launched a redesign of www.beajesuit.org, to serve all six of its provinces. Photos, videos, and upcoming events are also featured on "beajesuit" platforms such as Instagram and Facebook.

[4] John J. Cecero and Robert M. Hussey, Vocations letter to Jesuits and colleagues of the Maryland and USA Northeast Provinces, October 17, 2018, New York, NY. For example, the provincial superiors of the Maryland and USA Northeast Provinces sent a letter to all Jesuits and colleagues in their provinces to pray for and to promote vocations especially on November 5, a date designated as Jesuit Vocation Promotion. The letter quotes former Superior General, Rev. Adolfo Nicolás, S.J. who wrote, "every Jesuit, every Jesuit community, every Jesuit apostolate, and every colleague of the Society should be a promoter of Jesuit vocations."

started the first college for laymen at Messina, Sicily, Nadal's next assignment was to be promulgator of the *Constitutions*.

In the course of his travels throughout Europe, Nadal also energetically promoted vocations. "By 1562 Nadal rather expected each community to have a promoter who would be especially charged with keeping his eyes open for likely candidates and guiding those who came seeking."[5] The Jesuit historian John O'Malley wrote that Nadal "stressed that every Jesuit needed to do his part to see that 'as many as possible of the very best' entered the Society…"[6] In what marketers today would call a "turn-key" approach – offering a convenient, pre-packaged template – Nadal provided communities and apostolates with "a program of prayer, reading, conversation, and reflection to be used to nurture a call if it was there."[7]

While vocation "promotion" is not explicitly mentioned in the Jesuit *Constitutions*,[8] extensive standards do exist that detail what kind of candidate should be accepted for probation and the process for admission. These standards are all related to how "useful"[9] a candidate will be to the end of the Order. By knowing these standards well and how they are related to values in the history of religious life, an officially-missioned vocation promoter or any individual Jesuit or colleague will have a clear sense of the ideal candidate Ignatius envisioned. Thus, hopefully the promoter will be better able to attract the type of men who will contribute to the end of the Society of Jesus, which is "to devote itself with God's grace not only to the salvation and

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[5] John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 55

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *Cons.* §146. All translations of the Jesuit *Constitutions* are taken from *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* trans. and ed. George E. Ganss (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 128. Hereafter *Cons.* The *General Examen* served a dual-purpose: (1) to instruct a Jesuit candidate on the nature of the Society of Jesus and (2) to function as an examination manual for the vocation director or "helper" to the one "who has the authority to admit." The *General Examen*, offered "in the languages which are commonly found necessary, such as the vernacular of the region where the residence is and the Latin," was itself a precursor to promotional brochures and websites which instruct candidates about the Jesuits.

[9] *Cons.* §147, p. 128.

perfection of the members' own souls, but also with that same grace to labor strenuously in giving aid toward the salvation and perfection of the souls of their fellowman."[10]

In this paper, I will argue that in the Jesuit *Constitutions* St. Ignatius Loyola repeatedly demanded that the attributes of a good Jesuit candidate depend on how "useful"[11] he is for the end[12] of the Society of Jesus. While the early monastic communities we will explore tested the motives behind a candidate's subjective desire to save his soul by following a particular community's rule, Ignatius, in addition to testing for desire, also insisted on a candidate possessing the objective gifts of character and skills necessary for serving the apostolic mission of the Jesuits.

I will offer vocation directors and promoters insight into how Ignatius' ideal candidate for the Society combined the tradition of the great religious orders of the Church with an incessant drive to link all that the Society did, especially with vocations, to the end that he set forth in the *Constitutions*.

[10] *Cons*. §3, p. 77.
[11] *Cons.* §147, p. 128.
[12] *Cons*. §3, p. 77.

Road Map for the Thesis

Chapter I. Candidacy in Early Rules &
Chapter II. Candidacy in the Mendicants and Clerks Regular

I will offer an overview of candidacy in earlier rules (Pachomius, Basil, Augustine, Cassian, Benedict, Gregory the Great) and in the rules of the Mendicants and Clerks Regular (Francis, Dominic, Carafa) to determine what their entrance criteria might reveal about the mission of their communities.[13] These might have influenced Ignatius' way of proceeding as he wrote the *Constitutions* for his own order.

Chapter III. Continuity with Tradition for Ignatius

In Chapter III, I will survey the hierarchy of vocations in the Church that Ignatius inherited from the tradition. Then, I will explore how the above rules influenced Ignatius' own legislation, in two ways especially (1) being slow to admit candidates, and (2) tying the qualities of a candidate to the end of the Society.

Chapter IV. Three Key Qualities of a Jesuit Candidate

I will focus on the *General Examen*, the particularized *examens* that follow it, and Part I of the *Constitutions*, all of which concern what the qualities of a "useful" [*idóneo*] candidate are. These qualities include stability; desire and determination; and natural and infused[14] gifts. For each of these three, I will first examine the quality from a historical perspective: How did Ignatius inherit these from earlier rules and from his theological and cultural milieu? Second, I will ask how Ignatius found this particular quality to be useful for the end of the Society. Third,

[13] Whenever I make an assertion of how a rule instructed a candidate or an examiner to act, I will not be claiming how a candidacy process, for example, actually took place. The study of rules and constitutions helps us to envision what the founders hoped for their communities not how this legislation was actually put into practice.

[14] *Cons*. §723, p. 309 offers the ideal of one – in this case the superior general – who is blessed with infused or supernatural gifts: "[H]e should be closely united with God our Lord and intimate with Him in prayer and all his actions…"

how did Ignatius treat this quality in his other writings and practice? And finally, I will show how these qualities fit into the sketch of the ideal Jesuit.

Chapter I. Candidacy in Early Rules

In the introduction to his 1970 translation of the Jesuit *Constitutions*, George E. Ganss, S.J. placed his project within the context of Vatican II's call for religious institutes: "(1) to return continually to the sources of all Christian life, such as Scripture and Tradition, and (2) to study the original inspiration of their respective founders."[15] In fact, this is just what Ignatius ordered his secretary Juan Polanco to do when he gathered the earlier rules of many other orders before writing the Jesuit *Constitutions*.[16] For the purposes of this paper, then, it is important to go back to the early sources of religious life that might have influenced Ignatius' way of proceeding as he wrote the *Constitutions* for his own order.

Religious life today, as defined by the 1983 *Code of Canon Law*, with its features of intentionally living the vows or other promises in common and being separated from the world according to the purpose of the institute,[17] has its roots in the desert fathers and mothers of the fourth to sixth centuries. Mostly lay men and women, they left the cities, renouncing everything that was connected with "the world" and followed the Gospel call that Jesus posed to the rich man in Matthew's gospel: "If you wish to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me" (Mt 19:21).[18]

The desert ascetics' pursuit of spiritual perfection involved not only renouncing worldly possessions and relationships, but the practice of the discipline [*askēsis*], which consisted in

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[15] George E. Ganss, "Introduction," in *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* trans. and ed. George E. Ganss (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 4; Vatican II, "Decree on the Sensitive Renewal of Religious Life" *Perfectae Caritatis* (28 October 1965) §2 in Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils Volume Two: Trent to Vatican II* (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 940.

[16] Antonio M. de Aldama, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, trans. Aloysius J. Owen (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1989), 5.

[17] *Code of Canon Law*, c. 607, in *Code of Canon Law: Latin-English Edition* (Washington, DC: Canon Law Society of America, 1999), 197–98.

[18] John J. Collins, Mary Ann Getty, and Donald Senior, *The Catholic Study Bible: The New American Bible*, Revised Edition (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). All biblical quotes not included within other cited works will reference the NABRE.

overcoming one's desires, continuous prayer, and a solitary life. It is fitting that the word "monk" comes from the Greek word *monos*, meaning alone since the early monks lived alone as hermits, living "the eremitical life of the solitaries, which took its name from *eremos*, the Greek word for desert."[19]

Later, as more and more joined this movement, ascetics had to decide whether to move farther out in the desert to live their solitary life or to become mentors for new disciples and to live "the cenobitical life, that is the ascetical life practiced within an organized community or monastery, which Greek-speaking Christians called a coenobium – from the word *koinos*, meaning 'common.'"[20]

As we will explore below, over the course of the history of Christianity, communities gradually attached profession rites and formal vows recognized within the Church to institutionalize some of the qualities (obedience, poverty, chastity, stability) that the desert fathers and mothers practiced.[21]

The *Sayings of the Fathers* or *Apophthegmata Patrum*, a fifth- or sixth-century compilation of anecdotes on the ascetic life by desert fathers and mothers active in the fourth and fifth centuries,[22] reveals a number of their qualities of humility, service to neighbor, and

[19] C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. Fourth Edition (London: Routledge, 2015), 4.

[20] Ibid.

[21] John Wortley, trans., *Give Me a Word, The Alphabetical Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (Yonkers, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2014), 18–19.

[22] William Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 19.

discretion.[23] The elders referenced in these sayings were generally answering the question: "What must I do to be saved?"[24]

One desert father mentioned in these sayings is Antony who became one of the most famous ascetics. St. Antony of Egypt (215–356) started out as an anchorite or hermit before becoming a spiritual leader for many others who moved from cities into the Egyptian desert. The author of the *Life of Antony*, Athanasius, recounted how Antony spent his early years of the discipline (prayer and ascetic life) learning from other hermits who lived just outside villages before Antony himself went into the "great desert,"[25] first to live in the tombs a little farther from the village and then to dwell in a deserted fortress in the wilderness.[26] People kept coming to try to see him, without success, until one day, his friends forcibly lifted the door off of the monastery. Then, he began to receive visitors, becoming like a father to them and helping them live the solitary life.[27]

Antony's story had a great effect on some of the founders and communities we will survey in this thesis. The Latin translation of *Life of Antony* spread so quickly that St. Augustine writing his *Confessions* about 50 years later, recalled being amazed by the effect that it had on two men who read it and were converted to the monastic life.[28] Probably motivated by the effect of the *Life of Antony* and the *Testament* of St. Francis of Assisi, Nadal recollected anxiously pushing an elderly Ignatius to share his life story to inspire future generations of Jesuits:

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[23] John Wortley, trans., *Give Me a Word, The Alphabetical Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 18–19. See also John Wortley, trans. *The Book of the Elders: Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Systematic Collection* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012).

[24] Edith Scholl, "The Mother of Virtues: Discretio," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, no.1 (2001), 390.

[25] Athanasius, *Life of Antony*, §3, in Robert C. Gregg, trans. and intro. *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and The Letter to Marcellinus*. Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 32. Hereafter *Life of Antony*.

[26] *Life of Antony*, §12, p. 40.

[27] *Life of Antony,* §14, p. 43.

[28] Joseph T. Lienhard, "On 'Discernment of Spirits' in the Early Church" *Theological Studies* 41 no. 3 (1980), 515–516.

> Since I knew that the holy Fathers, the founders of any monastic institute, normally gave those coming after, as a substitute for a bequest, such advice on which they would be able to rely as something that could be of help to them in attaining perfection of virtue, I was on the lookout for a time when I could tactfully ask Fr. Ignatius for the same thing.[29]

Pachomius

Traditional iconography depicted Antony, representing the anchoritic way of the ascetic life, and Pachomius (286–346), representing the cenobitic form, together.[30] While the *Life of Antony* described Antony as a father to all monks, it did not mention him writing a rule. The first known rule from this time period was that of Pachomius, a contemporary of Antony.

Pachomius, like Antony, experienced a conversion that led to his pursuit of the ascetic life and his eventual service to others. Although Pachomius did not grow up a Christian like Antony, an experience as a young man led him to embrace a life of holiness. After being drafted into the army, Pachomius spent some time in prison, where Christians treated him kindly by bringing food to him and his companions. He concluded that if these people treated him well, even though they did not know him, then their way of life must be worth learning. After his military service concluded, he was baptized and then he spent a few years helping people in his village. Next, he apprenticed under a mentor named Palamon, learning the ascetic life on the outskirts of the village.[31] During these years Pachomius received two visions: the first was to build a monastery and the second was to "reach out to the whole of humanity, to unite – and

[29] "Preface of Fr. Nadal" quoted in *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 3.

[30] James E. Goehring, "Withdrawing from the Desert: Pachomius and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt," *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 89, no. 3 (1996), 270.

[31] William Harmless, *Desert Christians,* 118.

unite by reconciling – the human race to God, and to do so by humble service."[32] Pachomius soon acted on these visions, but his followers exploited his humble service.

Tabennesi, Pachomius's first monastery, experienced growth, but it turned out not to be lasting. The monastery grew quickly as several followers were attracted to Pachomius' reputation for holiness. At first Pachomius saw his role in relation to his followers as a facilitator, serving as a cook and a treasurer for the common fund. Unfortunately, his followers mistreated Pachomius. The final insult that led Pachomius to drive these followers away was when they "began to neglect the synaxis," which was the regular liturgy of prayer.[33] Due to this experience, Pachomius made clear in his rule that future followers would be tested in their desire and determination.

Pachomius was the first anchorite to write a rule for his community.[34] His "rule," made up of the *Precepts*, the *Precepts and Institutes*, the *Precepts and Judgments*, and the *Precepts and Laws*, focused on the monastery's daily life and the ministry of prayer and work. It gave evidence that he learned from his first experience of common life. According to William Harmless, Pachomius did not invent the monastery since there were other monasteries in Egypt at the time; rather "Pachomious's achievement comes from the way he brought together a collection of monasteries into a tightly-regulated whole, with a single head, a carefully ordered hierarchy of offices, and an intricate rhythm of work and prayer and spiritual formation."[35]

Crucial to his rule was how Pachomius aligned his legislation with a purpose for his community. Pachomius must have learned that, in order to set a strong foundation for such a community of monks, he must state the purpose of his community.

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[32] Ibid., 119.
[33] Ibid., 120.
[34] Daniel Marcel La Corte and Douglas J. McMillan, *Regular Life: Monastic, Canonical, and Mendicant Rules* (Kalamazoo, Mich: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), 2.
[35] Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 122.

> At the heart of Pachomius's legislation was the desire to create, down to the most nitty-gritty details of everyday life, a community of equals. The New Testament vision, enunciated in the Acts of the Apostles, was central: "Now the company of those who believe were of one heart and soul, and no one said that any of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had everything in common" (Acts 4:32).[36]

Pachomius used the Greek word *koinonia* or "fellowship" drawn from Acts 2:42 to describe his federation of monasteries that by 345, the year before Pachomius died, numbered nine monasteries for men and two for women.[37] With this purpose of his community clear, Pachomius' earlier experiences naturally led him to test newcomers on their ability to live in a community of equals before being admitted.

In his *Precepts*, Pachomius addressed how to receive a candidate who came to the door of the monastery "to renounce the world and be added to the number of the brothers."[38] The father of the monastery was informed – presumably because it was his decision to accept the candidate – and the porter assumed the responsibility of his initial training.[39]

According to the *Precepts*, the candidate "shall not be free to enter" and "shall remain outside at the door for a few days" thus giving the porter the time to examine him.[40] Evidence showed that the candidate may have arrived at the door illiterate, since later in the *Precepts*,

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[36] Ibid., 132.

[37] Ibid., 122.

[38] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §49.1 in Armand Veilleux, trans., *Pachomian Koinonia: Pachomian Chronicles and Rules,* Volume Two, (Kalamazoo, MI.: Cistercian Publications, 1981), 152. Hereafter Pachomius, *Precepts*.

[39] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §49.2, p. 153. The text of the *Precepts* does not explicitly state that the porter trained the candidate. The text uses the plural pronoun "they" to describe who instructed. For example, "If they see that he is ready for everything." §49.3; "Then they shall strip him of his secular clothes and garb him in his monastic habit." The confusion continues in the next sentence: "He shall be handed over to the porter so that at the time of prayer he may bring him before all the brothers; and he shall sit where he is told." §49.4. The previous sentence seems to refer back to §1.1 "When someone uninstructed comes to the assembly of the saints, the porter shall introduce him according to [his] rank from the door of the monastery and give him a seat in the gathering of the brothers." In favor of the porter's role as initial formator see "The Bohairic Life of Pachomius," which lists the roles of the monastery officials, in which we find "And at the doorway [he appointed] other brothers whose *speech was seasoned with salt* to receive visitors according to each one's rank. [These porters] also instructed those who came to become monks, for their salvation, until he clothed them in the monk's habit. *The Bohairic Life of Pachomius* §26.3 in Armand Veilleux, trans., *Pachomian Koinonia: The Life of Saint Pachomius and his Disciples,* Volume One, (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1980), 48-49.

[40] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §49.1–2, pp. 152–3.

Pachomius stated that a teacher was appointed "if he is illiterate" to instruct the candidate on "the fundamentals of a syllable, the verbs, and nouns…and even if he does not want to, he shall be compelled to read."[41] Unbaptized candidates arrived at the door as well. "In these cases, the catechumenate and monastic formation became one and the same."[42] Testing the candidate's motives required searching to see whether the candidate was open to learning how to read and to being baptized. Training in the *Our Father* and Psalms served both of these purposes.

The wait at the door served to test the candidate's motives in terms of renunciation. Was a candidate simply hoping for a meal and shelter, or did he truly desire to renounce his family and possessions? Renunciation was so central to monastic life that in Coptic documents, "the monk was often called an *apostaktikos*,"[43] or a "renouncer."

The significance of renunciation has its roots in the Gospel of Luke. "In Luke 14:33…a disciple is defined as one who is able to give up or renounce all of his possessions."[44] This passage taken with the "the demand to leave behind one's earthly family, which occurs but seven verses earlier (Luke 14:26)," according to James E. Goehring, "became a *crux interpretationis* for early Christian ascetic practice and later monastic development."[45]

Related to testing the candidate's motives and desire is the idea of "refusal" which has "an eremitical origin, like many other things in communitarian monasticism."[46] Pachomius experienced refusal when he sought to be a monk and knocked at the door of an experienced ascetic named Apa Palamon. Palamon answered the knock at the door: "'What do you want?' –

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[41] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §139, p. 166.
[42] Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 127.
[43] Armand Veilleux, trans., *Pachomian Koinonia: Pachomian Chronicles and Rules,* Volume Two, (Kalamazoo, MI.: Cistercian Publications, 1981), 187. Footnote Pr. 49.1.
[44] James E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 60.
[45] Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert*, 60.
[46] Adalbert de Vogüé, "The Criteria of the Discernment of Vocations in the Ancient Monastic Tradition," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (2000), 155.

for he was abrupt in speech. He [Pachomius] replied, 'I ask you, father, make me a monk.' He said to him, 'You cannot. This work of God is not so simple; for many have come but have not persevered.'"[47] Palamon then explained to the young Pachomius his discipline or "hard ascesis" that the novice would have to follow.

According to the *Precepts*, an examination stage followed. The seemingly brief examination tested the candidate to make sure he was ready to enter the community. The man's character was tested by "carefully… mak[ing] himself known." His freedom to enter was ascertained by his answers to the following questions:

> Has he done something wrong and, troubled by fear, suddenly run away?
> Or is he under someone's authority?

Finally, the question, "Can he renounce his parents and spurn his own possessions?[48] tested his desire for the monastic life, of contributing to the fellowship, and relying on the community for his needs. After successful completion of the examination, the candidate continued to offer proof of his ability to be obedient by being taught how to work and contribute to the community and the prayers.

Notably, in this early rule, one can already see the roots of three particular aspects that influenced subsequent legislation up to and including that of Ignatius with regard to candidacy. These aspects include learning from experience, being slow to admit, and aligning candidacy requirements with the end of the community. Chapter III will feature an in-depth examination of Ignatius' incorporation of these aspects in his *Constitutions*.

While Pachomius learned from his own experience, later founders and communities learned from his rule and from their own experiences. After his first foray of community life,

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[47] *The First Greek Life of Pachomius* §6 in Armand Veilleux, trans., *Pachomian Koinonia: The Life of Saint Pachomius and his Disciples,* Volume One (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1980), 301.

[48] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §49, p. 153.

Pachomius sought to be a father rather than a facilitator. Evidence of a shift to a hierarchy of monastery roles appeared in the candidacy requirements in the *Precepts*, which instructed the porter to inform "the *father* of the monastery" upon the arrival of a newcomer.[49] Experience also taught Pachomius to be slow to admit and to align candidacy requirements with the end of the community in order to accept monks suited to his monastery. Later founders, including Ignatius, cited learning from experience in their legislation. Correspondingly, one explicit mention by Ignatius of learning from experience appeared in the *Formula of the Institute*, regarding admission to profession not being easy.[50]

Being slow to admit allowed for time to examine whether the candidate could contribute to the *koinonia*, the end of the monastery. This early rule featured guidelines for how a candidate should be interviewed about his freedom to enter and his ability to renounce the world, his family, and his possessions. By being refused and commanded to wait at the door, the candidate was tested in his perseverance and exposed to a trial period where his openness to being formed in prayer and learning were verified.

Unnamed trials helped the porter to assess the candidate's ability to serve, and his readiness to do good work. He was not given the habit, which was a sign of his acceptance of being "joined to the brothers"[51] in the community and in common prayer, until this time of initial testing in the ways that would serve the *koinonia* had been completed.

One's desire to live as a monk was based on an understanding of salvation that one could best live a holy life if he practiced the ascetic life in community.[52] As we will explore in the

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[49] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §49.2, p. 153. [My emphasis]

[50] *Formula of the Institute* §6, p. 71. All translations of the *Formula of the Institute* are taken from *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* trans. with ed. George E. Ganss (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970). Hereafter *Formula of the Institute*.

[51] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §49.4, p. 153.

[52] Basil of Caesarea, *Great Asketikon*, Longer Response 7 in Anna M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St. Basil the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 180–81. Hereafter LR. Shorter Responses hereafter SR.

writings of Basil of Caesarea next, because of this understanding, monastic communities felt obliged to welcome a candidate who expressed his desire to live according to the discipline of that particular community. Furthermore, following Pachomius, subsequent rules instituted a time of waiting at the door to test a candidate's perseverance, motives, capacity to renounce his family and his goods, as well as his ability to serve, to learn the discipline and to prove his obedience in order to ensure that his desire to live out his vocation would be a lasting one.[53]

Basil of Caesarea

Basil of Caesarea (329–379) did not write a rule, strictly speaking, but in his early *Small Asketikon* and later *Great Asketikon*, he addressed in a question-and-answer method a number of issues that pertained to the monastic and Christian life. Later communities in the East employed these texts as rules.[54]

Basil's upbringing in a prominent Christian household in Caesarea[55] and his travels to a number of monasteries influenced his ascetic life. After study in Athens and a tour of monasteries in Alexandria, throughout the rest of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia,[56]

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[53] De Vogüé, "The Criteria of the Discernment of Vocations in the Ancient Monastic Tradition," 152.

[54] Silvas, *The Asketikon of St. Basil the Great*, 483.

[55] In a letter to his mentor Eustathius written in 375, toward the end of his life, Basil referred to inheriting his "concept of God" from his grandmother Macrina, the elder, and his mother, Emmelia, who bore nine children. Basil of Caesarea, "Letter 223" in Agnes Clare Way, trans. *St. Basil: Letters,* Volume 2, (186–368). Fathers of the Church, vol. 28 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1955), 130. Basil's good friend, Gregory Nazianzen, referred to his family "inheritance" in the funeral oration for Basil: "the distinguishing characteristic of both his mother's and his father's family was piety." Gregory Nazianzen "On St. Basil the Great" §4 in Leo P. McCauley, John J. Sullivan, Martin R. P. McGuire, and Roy J. Deferrari, trans., *Funeral Orations by Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose* Fathers of the Church; vol. 22 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1953), 30. Basil's younger brother, Gregory of Nyssa, wrote a *Life of Macrina* about Basil's older sister who along with another brother, Naucratius, preceded Basil in the ascetic life. Gregory of Nyssa, "A Letter from Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa on the Life of Saint Macrina" in Joan M. Petersen, ed., *Handmaids of the Lord: Contemporary Descriptions of Feminine Asceticism in the First Six Christian Centuries*. Cistercian Studies Series; No. 143 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1996).

[56] Basil of Caesarea, "Letter 223" in Agnes Clare Way, trans. *St. Basil: Letters,* Volume 2 (186–368). Fathers of the Church, vol. 28 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1955), 128.

Basil, upon his return to Caesarea, drew away from society.[57] In a letter to Gregory Nazianzen in which he tried to recruit his friend to join him, Basil wrote about the solitude at Pontus (across the river from his relatives who were living the ascetic life[58]) and his study of Scripture, emphasizing its importance for "conduct of life" and "imitation of life."

> Meditation on the divinely inspired Scriptures is also a most important means for the discovery of duty. The Scriptures not only propose to us counsels for the conduct of life, but also open before us the lives of the blessed handed down in writing as living images for our imitation of life spent in quest of God.[59]

Thus, his study of Scripture combined with his visits to the great monasteries of the East, his experience in church affairs, and his experience living in a monastery, gave him authority to answer questions posed to him about monastic life.

In the prologue to the *Great Asketikon*, Basil held up communal living as a useful means for achieving the goal of a life of piety.[60] Later Basil drew[61] on his experience in Pontus and in the communities on his journeys in the East: "I observe that a life spent in company with those of the same mind is of greater advantage in many ways."[62] Community life also helped one grow in love and discipline since "the individual does not easily recognize his own faults."[63] The common life, Basil wrote, is "more useful than solitude for preserving the good things given us by God…"[64] Basil throughout his *Great Asketikon* appealed to Scripture to show how communal life is useful for the goal of a life of piety.

Two images – the Body and *koinonia* – shaped Basil's idea of community. First, Basil used the Body metaphor drawn from 1 Cor 12 to describe how each of the "limbs" provided for

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[57] Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 10.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Basil of Caesarea, "Letter 2" in Agnes Clare Way, trans. *St. Basil: Letters.* Volume 1 (1–185) Fathers of the Church, vol. 28 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1951), 8.
[60] Basil of Caesarea, *Great Asketikon*, Prologue 1.1 in Silvas, *The Asketikon of St. Basil the Great*, 153.
[61] Silvas, *The Asketikon of St. Basil the Great*, 180, n. 147.
[62] LR 7.1.1, pp. 180–81.
[63] LR 7.1.6, p. 181.
[64] LR 7.3.20, p. 184.

each other and helped each other "to endure."[65] Basil continued with the Pauline metaphor of the "body having Christ as head."[66] Each individual's charism of the Holy Spirit became the "common possession" of all in the community and thus led to a multiplier effect of charisms with regard to communal living.[67] Basil closed this response in LR 7 with the second image of *koinonia* from the Acts passages (2:44 and 4:32).[68] "Basil's use of the Body metaphor," according to Barton Geger, "is unique among the classic rules. Yet the evidence suggests that koinonia, not the Body, was his ideal image."[69] The following will show how, according to Basil, candidates were received and tested on how they might contribute to the *koinonia*.

In LR 10, Basil addressed whether to accept all candidates or only some.[70] Since people came from a variety of backgrounds to answer the call to "Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will give you rest" (Mt 11:28), Basil offered a universal perspective on the acceptance of candidates. A diverse set of rules accommodated candidates of "higher social rank,"[71] slaves,[72] children,[73] those of robust age,[74] and even married people.[75] For example, Basil accounted for social class when he assigned more "distasteful" tasks to someone of "higher social rank."[76] Children were given a good education; they lived in separate quarters; and boys and girls were separated.[77] In the end, Basil's qualifications all referred back to how these people would live together. All were welcome, but they were tested before being received.

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[65] LR 7.1.2, p. 181.
[66] LR 7.2.9, p. 182.
[67] LR 7.2.13, p. 183.
[68] LR 7.4.37, p. 186.
[69] Barton T. Geger, "To Live and Die in the Society of Jesus: The Idea of Perseverance in the Jesuit Constitutions," STD diss., (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas. Facultad de Teología, 2010), 102.
[70] LR 10.1.1, p. 193.
[71] LR 10.2, p. 195.
[72] LR 11, pp. 195f.
[73] LR 15, pp. 199f.
[74] SR 4.11, p. 204.
[75] LR 12, pp. 196f.
[76] LR 10.2, p. 195.
[77] LR 15.1, p. 201.

Next Basil addressed how probation began with an examination.[78] Since Jesus questioned the young man about his former life, Basil felt confident in allowing someone from his community to inquire about a candidate's character and motives. For Basil, inquiry revealed one's "manner of life"[79] and whether or not a candidate had "a deceiving mind and a false motive."[80]

Basil hoped that testing during probation would help prove a candidate's dispositions toward obedience and fraternal correction and ultimately show his fitness to live in community.[81] If a candidate was of "firm mind and stable purpose and prompt disposition," then "he should be received."[82] Since each of these dispositions affected the community, if the candidate displayed some instability or if he was easily swayed in making decisions, Basil instructed that the candidate "should be sent away while [he is] still outside and the test will not have been to the detriment of the community."[83]

While candidates were still "outside,"[84] Basil directed "those able to skillfully look into such matters" to test whether a candidate was "*a vessel…useful for the Master*, so to speak, *and ready for every good work* (2 Tim 2:21).[85] Lowly tasks were assigned to test for generosity. Depending on the stability of one's character in the past, the upright were given "more perfect teachings,"[86] while those turning from a previously sinful life were tested over time with more

[78] LR 10.1.1, p. 193.
[79] LR 10.1.4, p. 193.
[80] SR 6.4, p. 193.
[81] SR 6.5, p. 193.
[82] SR 6.8, p. 193.
[83] LR 10.1-2, p. 194.
[84] LR 10.1.8, p. 194, n. 220: "Evidently candidates do not live within the community during their probation, but separately in other quarters, coming in through the day to carry out tasks as required, similar to the arrangements for children in LR 15."
[85] LR 10.2, p. 195. [Italics in original]
[86] LR 10.1.9, p. 194.

strenuous work in order to "discover some steadying effect in them."[87] Transparency was tested in whether a candidate was willing to "confess the hidden things of shame"[88] as this regular practice of honesty outlined later in LR 26 was a helpful aid to chastity. Thorough testing touched upon a candidate's mind, body, and soul.

While Basil, for the most part was in continuity with Pachomius, two innovations in the Cappadocian's rules had affects leading up to Ignatius. First, the fact that Basil instructed candidates to be examined while still "outside" led Anna M. Silvas to infer that the candidates lived in separate quarters during probation. Later in the tradition, rules advised that those in probation should live in a guesthouse or a novitiate. Ignatius, too, insisted on a tranquil place separate from the rest of the community, especially during a period known as "first probation," which lasted for a novice's first twelve to twenty days.[89] Accordingly, in the section on stability in Chapter IV, we will discover Ignatius' aim to ensure the stability of the novice community by testing for the "stable purpose" of those in first probation in a place set part.

Second, while Pachomius instructed the porter of the community to examine a new candidate, Basil referred to examiners as "those able to skillfully look into such matters." Here we can notice a growing specialization of community officials engaged in ministry with candidates or those in probation. Of all the legislation we will survey, the Jesuit *Constitutions*, featuring Ignatius' description of the "helper" to the one "who has the authority to admit,"[90] will offer the most detailed description of a community member dedicated to vocations.

[87] LR 10.2, p. 194.
[88] LR 10.2, pp. 194–5.
[89] *Cons.* §190, p. 136.
[90] *Cons.* §143, p. 126.

Augustine

The next rule shares similarities and shows new paths when compared with its forebears. Like Basil and Pachomius before him, St. Augustine (354–430) alluded to the harmonious living of Acts 4 as a goal for his monastery, but unlike the previous founders, he did not outline what a candidacy process looked like.

Following his baptism and the death of his mother, Monica, but before returning to North Africa in 388, Augustine spent a short time in Rome where he learned a little more about the eremitic and coenobitic life, although his "slender knowledge of Greek further prevented him from reading either Basil the Great or a Greek version of Pachomius."[91] In addition, like Basil, Augustine balanced the ascetic life with an active ecclesiastical career.

A reader can trace throughout the *Confessions* how Augustine's desire for the ascetic life in common grew along with his own vocation. Clearly a social man, the beginnings of the common life are apparent in the *Confessions* whenever Augustine gathers his friends around him.[92] In 386, he attempted to establish a community of friends for the pursuit of philosophy at a country retreat near Milan.[93] Discussions with friends and acquaintances led to the moment of his conversion when Augustine was with his friend, Alypius, in the garden.[94] In order to make sense of his new direction in life, Augustine then retired for a few months to Cassiciacum, where he lived a quasi-monastic life of writing and praying the psalms with some others before enrolling as a catechumen at the beginning of Lent in 387.[95] Back in North Africa, Augustine,

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[91] George Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 42.
[92] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule*, 3–8.
[93] Saint Augustine, *The Confessions* 6.14.24 in Maria Boulding, trans. and John E. Rotelle, ed., *The Confessions* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press 1997), 112–13. Hereafter *The Confessions*.
[94] *The Confessions*, 8.12.30, p. 157; Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule*, 4.
[95] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule*, 4.

with his friends, founded houses of ascetic life in Thagaste[96] and then in Hippo[97] after his priestly ordination.

The *Rule of St. Augustine*, a guide written by Augustine for his community at Hippo,[98] hints at the mission of his monastery and its demographics. Augustine's mission, like those of Pachomius and Basil, affirmed the brotherhood over and over again with allusions to Acts 4: "The chief motivation for your sharing life together is to live harmoniously in the house and to have one heart and one soul seeking God."[99] While the monastery might have included of Augustine's original friends group, there must have been at least some diversity of social rank, considering his references to the poor and rich.[100] Nevertheless, since the brothers all seemed to be literate,[101] they could not have come from drastically divergent social classes.

Although the *Rule of St. Augustine* does not explicitly treat candidacy, it does begin with "once you have been admitted,"[102] which implies some process of admission. Other context clues indicate the requirements of admission. Renunciation of goods was an implied admission requirement since Augustine referred to one who "in giving generously to the poor" has become "poor oneself."[103] The brothers were probably literate since books were available, upon request.[104] Consequently, the "work" of the house seemed to include manual labor in addition to an intellectual component.[105]

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[96] Ibid., 47f.
[97] Ibid., 60.
[98] Ibid., 60. It is one of eight surviving legislative texts and a letter (five of which are for women and four are for men).
[99] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 1.2, p. 81 in George Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) Hereafter *Rule of St. Augustine.*
[100] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 1.4–7, pp. 81–3.
[101] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 5.10, p. 97.
[102] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 1.1, p. 81.
[103] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 1.7, p. 83.
[104] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 5.10, p. 97.
[105] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 7.1, p. 101.

Regarding Augustine's legacy, Lawless wrote, the bishop "borrowed from his predecessors in his distinctive way by assimilating the monastic legacy in a manner truly flexible, open-ended, and dynamic."[106] Thus, an ideal candidate sketched from the *Rule of St. Augustine* shares several qualities with candidates from earlier rules: free to give up possessions,[107] open to correction,[108] chaste,[109] and obedient.[110] Even so, Augustine wrote his rule for a group that differed from the communities of his predecessors. First, he was writing for a community of well-educated members. Second, his setting was an urban one.[111] Third, for our purposes, he did not explicitly write about candidacy.

The connection to tradition and the openness to development are themes at work in later rules and constitutions. The Dominicans used the *Rule of St. Augustine* as a foundation for their *Primitive Constitutions,* and other orders adapted the tradition of religious life to their particular charism, as illustrated by how Ignatius repositioned the three traditional qualities (outlined below in Chapter IV) to align with the end of the Society in the Jesuit *Constitutions*.

John Cassian

Well-educated and widely-traveled like Basil and Augustine before him, John Cassian (360–435) founded monasteries in Gaul, yet his surviving writings do not include a rule. Instead his *Institutes* and *Conferences* offer a sketch of life at Egyptian monasteries where he lived previously.

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[106] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule*, xi.
[107] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 1.7, p. 83.
[108] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 4.7-9, pp. 91–93.
[109] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 4.4, p. 89.
[110] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 7.1, p. 101.
[111] Based on the references in the *Rule of St. Augustine* to public baths (5.7, p. 97), churches (4.6, p. 91), and women (4.4, p. 89).

His compilations, the *Institutes* and the *Conferences*, each have a different focus. The former treats the teachings or guiding principles of the elders Cassian encountered: "the rules of their monasteries and, in particular the origins and causes and remedies of the principle vices, which they number as eight, according to their traditions."[112] The *Conferences* "purport to record conversations that were had in different locations, and at different times in the Egyptian desert"[113] with elders on the spiritual and ascetic life. Both compilations served as a bridge between East and West and had a significant influence for western monasticism.[114]

For Cassian, community life was not an end unto itself, but persevering in community life with all of the discipline it required was a means to the proximate goal of achieving "purity of heart," which led to an end of the "reign of heaven."[115] Cassian's proximate goal of purity of heart differed from the way Pachomius and Basil emphasized *koinonia* as an end unto itself.[116]

Columba Stewart wrote, "Cassian's great contribution to monastic theology…" (and to the argument of this thesis) "is a relentless insistence on the long view. He finds the reason for every action and aspect of the monastic life in the striving to reach its goal and end."[117] As we will explore in Chapter III of this thesis, Ignatius displayed a similar relentlessness in pursuing the end for which the Society of Jesus was founded.

Writing about a century after Pachomius, John Cassian described the procedures for candidates who came to the door of the Egyptian monasteries he visited.[118] According to

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[112] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Preface §7, p. 13.

[113] Ramsey, "Introduction" in John Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. and ed. Boniface Ramsey. Ancient Christian Writers, No. 57 (New York: Newman Press, 1997), 7.

[114] Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 403. Chapter 73.5 of the *Rule of St. Benedict* offers the "*Conferences* of the Fathers, their *Institutes*, and their *Lives*" as recommended further reading in Timothy Fry, ed. and trans., *RB 1980: The Rule of Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981), 297. Hereafter RB.

[115] Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 38.

[116] See Geger, "To Live and Die in the Society of Jesus," 114.

[117] Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, 45.

[118] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 1, p. 79.

Cassian's description written from memory twenty years later, the monasteries tested the one "who renounces the world" in virtues that would set the foundation for a life as monk.[119] Cassian not only offered stories of models of monastic life, but he also outlined a clear structure for the testing, probation, and instruction of a candidate.

According to the *Institutes*, the candidate endured a ten-day or longer wait in order to give "an indication of his perseverance and desire, as well as of his humility and patience."[120] Cassian did not offer specific examples of how a candidate gave indication of the above virtues, but he did write that the candidate proved his constancy from the "insults and reproaches" he received outside the door.[121]

Later in the *Institutes*, Cassian proposed particular models of monastic life who went through testing either outside the door or during the next stages of probation. In one story, as a test of obedience and perseverance, John was asked to water a dry, rotten stick to see if it will grow roots and blossom into a tree. In another story, Pinufius was asked, recalling Abraham and Isaac, to throw his eight-year-old son with whom he had entered the monastery into the river to test both his obedience and his renunciation of family. The more realistic test of patience and humility involved a man who came from a noble family with a liberal arts education who was ordered upon arriving at the monastery to sell ten baskets of goods as a street vendor.[122] Tests such as these were arranged to give monks an experience of imitating Christ. One who undertakes these tests then "will not be ashamed to be on par with the poor – that is with the body of the brotherhood – among whom Christ was not ashamed to be numbered and whose

[119] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 1, p. 79.
[120] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 3, p. 79.
[121] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 3, p. 79.
[122] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 29, pp. 93–94.

brother he did not blush to call himself; rather he will glory in having become the companion of his servants."[123]

Wealth and possessions were also important topics to be treated at the door. The candidate was asked about any money he still might be clinging to, "even a single copper coin."[124] This question related not only to the transparency connected with monastic obedience, but also to the desire to live a monastic life. Cassian warned that if a candidate holds onto even a single coin, then when circumstances become difficult in the future, the monk could place his hope of security in his possessions and not in the monastery, its leadership, and its discipline. Related to this issue was whether a monastery should accept the possessions that the candidate renounces before entering. Cassian answered in the negative, as a result of having "been taught by numerous experiences."[125] The worse case scenario Cassian offered was if a man gave his possessions to the monastery and then later if he wished to leave and asked for them back, there would have been a practical problem if the wealth or possessions had already been spent for the work of God.

In this way, Cassian represented a shift from Pachomius and Augustine[126] who were more open to accepting a candidate's property. Ignatius followed Cassian's line of thinking by insisting that a candidate's property was either distributed – preferably to the poor – before entrance or within one-year of entering.[127] Any money that a Jesuit brought with him was noted in a copybook, and if a novice was dismissed, his money was returned to him.[128] To conclude,

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[123] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 5, p. 81.
[124] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 3, p. 80.
[125] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 4, p. 80.
[126] *Rule of St. Augustine*, 1.7, p. 83. For Augustine, "Sharing their possessions with the monastery ought not to become a greater source of pride than if they enjoyed these goods in the world."
[127] *Cons*. §54, p. 92.
[128] *Cons*. §§57–58, p. 93. Juan de Polanco, S.J. in his *Chronicon* §186 from 1551 addresses whether novices should bring in money. "Someone asked Ours whether the Society would be willing to admit a young man whose father wanted to give his son to the Society along with some annual income. The response was that the

Cassian's ideal of renouncing one's possessions and giving them to the poor was rooted not only in the Gospel but also in practical, lived experience.

The communities Cassian described had clear structures for candidacy. After the ten-day wait at the door, having been tested in his virtues and given away his possessions and even the clothes off of his back, he was clothed in the garb of the monastery.[129] His clothes were then set aside in a store room until "thanks to various trials and tests, he…made progress."[130] These trials and tests continued as the candidate worked for a year waiting on travelers in the guesthouse. After this year he served under another elder with nine other men in which they learned not only the alphabet and the rules, but also the goal of ascending "to the loftiest heights of perfection."[131] The candidate progressed by being transparent to his elder about his desires in prayer and practicing obedience in his daily humble tasks.[132]

Cassian's treatment of the theme of perseverance may seem ironic for a man who himself visited and spent time in monasteries in Bethlehem and Egypt before founding ones in Southern Gaul and held up someone for imitation such as Abbot Pinufius who traveled from one monastery to another.[133] This irony brings up a key difference from his predecessors in how Cassian treated perseverance. In this way Cassian was one of the first to take a well-known virtue in the ascetic life and reposition it to fit his end.

Society would not allow this sort of arrangement. Rather, suitable persons come to and are freely accepted by our Institute without any monetary contributions. Somebody who wanted to increase the college's income by donating alms could do so – that was up to him." John Patrick Donnelly, trans. *Year by Year with the Early Jesuits (1537–1556), Selections from the "Chronicon" of Juan de Polanco, S.J.* (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004), 186.

[129] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 5, p. 80.

[130] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 5, p. 81.

[131] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 7, p. 81.

[132] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapters 9-10, p. 81–82.

[133] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapters 30–31, p. 94–96. Abbot Pinufius so desired to practice humility that he ran away twice to another monastery in Egypt and then to one in far-off Palestine.

Similarities abound between Basil and Cassian. Both were widely traveled and classically educated, writing from their experience of the Egyptian monasteries. They differed in the fact, however, that Cassian's contemplation seemed to be an individual pursuit in the midst of community, while Basil's life of piety took into account one's usefulness to the communal pursuit of this end. An example that might demonstrate this difference is the emphasis on testing during probation. While Cassian seemed to revel in the outlandish tests of perseverance of his holy forebears, Basil instructed that menial tasks should be chosen, "if reason judges their performance useful."[134] Watering a dry stick might help one rise above his desires and accept obedience, but a task like mopping the floor would be useful for the overall community.

The second half of this thesis will demonstrate how indebted the Jesuit *Constitutions* were to Cassian's writings. In Chapter IV, we will explore and how Ignatius' treatment of stability is related to Cassian's teaching on discernment, and how Ignatius sharpened distinctions among the stages of candidacy, probation, and profession, which began to take shape already in Cassian's description in the *Institutes*. Finally, Cassian's practice of profiling various holy elders as a way of showing models in the ascetic life was replicated in the form of more general descriptions of the abbot in the *Rule of St. Benedict*, the master of novices in the *Primitive Constitutions* of the Dominicans, and the superior general and others in the Jesuit *Constitutions*.

Benedict

The tradition relies entirely on Pope Gregory the Great for information about St. Benedict. In the *Rule*, which the tradition attributes to St. Benedict, the saint himself is not named as the author. The earliest mention of the *Rule* appeared in Gregory the Great's

[134] LR 10.2, p. 195.

Commentary on 1 Kings, written in the late sixth century.[135] Although Gregory did not cite Benedict by name, the pope did refer to him as the best teacher of the ascetic life.[136] In the second book of his *Dialogues*, the "Life of St. Benedict,"[137] Gregory described St. Benedict and his *Rule*:

> I would not wish it to be unknown to you that the man of God who became famous in the world by so many miracles was also very well known for his words of doctrine. For he wrote a rule for monks, remarkable for its discretion [*discretio*] and elegant in its language. If anyone wishes to have a closer knowledge of his life and habits he will find all the points of his teaching in this rule, for the holy man could not possibly teach other than he lived.[138]

Translated in English as "discretion" or "discernment," *discretio*, mentioned above, has a long tradition dating back to St. Paul. In 1 Cor 12:10, Paul referred to the "discernment of spirits," translated in the Vulgate Bible as "*discretio spirituum*," as one of nine spiritual gifts.[139] The "discernment of spirits" involves recognizing "whether the prophetic word comes from the Spirit of God or from some other spirit."[140] Throughout the Patristic Age, this phrase appeared in exegetical and ascetic writings with reference to the above passage from First Corinthians.

Writers since St. Paul have debated who possessed this gift in the ancient church. Responses ranged from some Christians in Corinth, to the clergy, to intense ascetics like Antony.[141] After Antony, however, the "discernment of spirits is seen as more and more

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[135] Fry, *RB 1980*, 78.
[136] Fry, *RB 1980*, 78.
[137] Ibid., 73.
[138] Adalbert De Vogüé, *The Life of St. Benedict by Gregory the Great* (Petersham, MA: St. Bedes Publications, 1993) *Dialogues*, Book II.36, p. 174. Hereafter *Dialogues*.
[139] Joseph T. Lienhard, "On 'Discernment of Spirits' in the Early Church" *Theological Studies* 41, no. 3 (1980), 508. Lienhard surveys the use of the terms "discernment of spirits" and "discernment" through the early Church.
[140] De Vogüé, "The Criteria of the Discernment of Vocations in the Ancient Monastic Tradition," 144.
[141] Lienhard, "On 'Discernment of Spirits' in the Early Church," 528.

necessary for the monk."[142] Around this same time, a shift took place in how the "discernment of spirits" was treated in ascetic literature.

> Gradually it ceases to be viewed as an exceptional gift or charism and is treated as a virtue, even a necessary virtue. As this change is taking place, the phrase is shortened from "discernment of spirits" to "discernment." The best examples of the later stages of this development are in the *Apophthegmata partum*, Cassian, and the *Rule* of St. Benedict.[143]

Benedict referenced *discretio* at crucial points in the *Rule of St. Benedict*. In Chapter 58, we read that newcomers to the monastery are not to be given an "easy entry," and the one receiving these candidates should "as the Apostle says, *Test the spirits to see if they are from God* (1 John 4:1),"[144] in other words, practice discretion. Benedict's *Rule* suggests *discretio* is an important gift for an abbot to have. In this case, discretion is "the mother of virtues" (drawing on Cassian who wrote that discretion is the "moderator of all virtues"[145]) that will allow a new abbot to "arrange everything that the strong have something to yearn for and the weak nothing to run from."[146]

> Discretion, for Benedict, is no longer precisely a virtue, but rather a control on other virtues, the fine intuition into his subjects' strengths and weaknesses that allows the abbot to guide them and foster their growth without straining them or letting them become lax.[147]

In addition to drawing on Cassian, Benedict took inspiration from earlier monastic sources when he wrote his *Rule* for the monks at Monte Cassino.[148] Writing around 535,[149] Benedict redacted the *Rule of the Master* into a new program.[150] Since he prescribed his *Rule* for

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[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid., 528–529.
[144] RB 58.2, p. 267. [Italics in the original]
[145] John Cassian, *The Conferences*, Book II: Chapter 4.2, p. 87.
[146] RB 64.19, p. 283.
[147] Lienhard, "On 'Discernment of Spirits' in the Early Church," 528.
[148] Fry, *RB 1980*, 442.
[149] Marcel La Corte and McMillan, *Regular Life*, 69.
[150] Fry, *RB 1980*, 442.

"the beginnings of monastic life,"[151] Benedict, in his last chapter, offered a reading list to lead those "to the very heights of perfection."[152] These sources included the Old and New Testament, the writings of the Church Fathers, the *Conferences* and *Institutes* of Cassian, and "the rule of our holy father Basil."[153] Benedict also mentioned their *Lives*, a probable reference to "the brief lives contained in the *Conferences* or to other well-known biographies of monks."[154]

Benedict offered images to project his desired virtues and goals for the monastic life. For his monks "nothing is to be preferred to the Work of God"[155] (the divine office) in the monastery and the image for this mission is: "a school for the Lord's service."[156] This school is not only where a person learns but also one where individuals hone their craft in the presence of others, similar to a guild.[157] He likened the monastery to a "workshop where we are to toil faithfully at all these tasks" in the "enclosure of the monastery and stability in the community."[158] These images show Benedict's insistence on the virtues of stability, patience, and perseverance.[159] In the "Procedure for Receiving Brothers" in Chapter 58, Benedict outlined a process to scrutinize candidates for these desired values.

Benedict's chapter on candidacy, "Procedure for Receiving Brothers," begins with a waiting period at the door, a setting that reveals connections to earlier rules and to Benedict's mission. First, the candidate's desire and determination were tested at the door. While Pachomius and Cassian each mentioned a waiting period at the door from several to ten days and Basil did

[151] RB 73.1, p. 295.
[152] RB 73.2, p. 295.
[153] RB 73.5, p. 297.
[154] Fry, *RB 1980*, 297, n. 73.5.
[155] RB 43.3, p. 243.
[156] RB Prologue, p. 45.
[157] Fry, *RB 1980*, 165, n. Prologue 45.
[158] RB 4.78, p. 187.
[159] In RB 1, pp. 169–71, Benedict also painted a picture of other types of asceticism to situate the superiority of his community. In the first chapter, Benedict described four types of monks: cenobites who live in a monastery for whom this rule is written, anchorites or hermits, sarabaites who live as they choose in groups of two or three, and "gyrovagues who spend their entire lives drifting from region to region, staying as guests for three or four days in different monasteries." Benedict's "plan" is "for the strong kind, the cenobites."

not mention a specific amount of time but did refer to a candidate being "outside," Benedict warned against "easy entry."[160] Benedict's initial waiting period consisted of 4–5 days of "knocking at the door."[161] After this initial testing which also involved the candidate showing "himself patient in bearing his harsh treatment and difficulty of entry,"[162] he lived in the guesthouse for another few days. Following this probation, the candidate moved to the novitiate.

Benedict detailed the structure of the one-year novitiate and its desired outcomes. The candidate moved in with the novices, where a "senior…should be appointed to look after them with careful attention. The concern must be whether the novice truly seeks God and whether he shows eagerness for the Work of God, for obedience and for trials."[163] The job description for the senior or novice master is twofold: First, to win souls and, second, to pay careful attention to the novices. The novices were instructed in the hardships and difficulties of the monastery and also observed for their dispositions of not only patience but also eagerness. After these early days in the novitiate, the Rule states, "[i]f he promises perseverance in his stability, then after two months have elapsed let the rule be read straight through to him."[164] The rule was read, then read again after six more months, and then yet again after the final four months. A novice was observed as to whether he "stands firm" each time and is "thoroughly tested in all patience."[165] Throughout the novitiate the novice was free to leave the monastery, but if he wished to be received he moved to the next step.

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[160] RB 58.1, p. 267.
[161] RB 58.3, p. 267.
[162] Which footnote 58.3 relates to the monastic goal of humility and the imitation of Christ.
[163] RB 58.6–7, p. 267. Benedict's phrase, "truly seeks," is similar to *Cons*. 51 and whether a candidate was "moved by any member of the Society." A similar idea is found in *Spir. Ex.* §15, p. 286. In Annotation 15, Ignatius warned against the spiritual director's undue influence on the retreatant. *Spiritual Exercises* in Ignatius Loyola, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (London: Penguin Books, 1996). Hereafter *Spir. Ex.*
[164] RB 58.9, p. 267.
[165] RB 58.11, p. 269.

Profession entailed a lifelong commitment with features that reminded the monk of his new identity. "He comes before the whole community in the oratory and promises stability, fidelity to monastic life and obedience"[166] in a ritual that involved writing out his promises and making them before God, the saints, the abbot, and his new brethren.[167] This written formula was placed on the altar and kept by the monastery. He was then stripped of his clothes of the world and dressed in a habit, a procedure that harkened back to the earlier rules. Prior to profession, he either donated his possessions to the poor or made a donation to the monastery, "well aware that from that day he will not have even his own body at his disposal,"[168] which seems to speak of the intersection of all three evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The *Rule of St. Benedict* offers continuity with some features of earlier rules. Benedict tested his candidates at the beginning for their perseverance by being slow to admit them, while guiding them into the order of the monastery and its mission by introducing them to the work of God, the labor of the monastery, and the virtues of stability, patience, and humility that *ora et labora* required.

We will see how later rules inherited some innovations from the *Rule of St. Benedict*. These new features included a more robust description of the novice master, a detailed novitiate experience, and an emphasis on testing for a candidate's freedom in relation to what is required by the community by reading the rule at regular intervals during the novitiate. We will see how Ignatius drew on the first two aspects in his description of the Jesuit novitiate. Additionally, while the Jesuit *Constitutions* will instruct a novice to read the rule, the *General Examen*, a Jesuit document including a description of the order for a man is considering entering, will shift this "reading of the rule" to before a candidate formally enters the novitiate.

[166] RB 58.17, p. 269.
[167] RB 58.17-19, p. 269.
[168] RB 58.25, pp. 269–70.

Gregory the Great

Gregory the Great (590–604), the first monk to become pope, did not write a rule for a community but instead wrote a rule that incorporated ascetical practices into the life of an individual cleric. Shortly after assuming the see of Peter, he wrote a treatise called the *Pastoral Rule*[169] in which he transferred many monastic values to the secular clergy, especially pastors. Gregory formed a monastery before he was elected pope, and there is evidence that he knew about the *Rule of St. Benedict* and drew on it for his *Pastoral Rule*.

The relationship between ascetic and pastor was developed during the fourth century by "ascetic-bishops" such as Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose of Milan, and John Chrysostom. They made famous a type of literary genre, the pastoral treatise, that tried to reconcile the tension between their "ascetic idealism and the realities of pastoral ministry."[170] Nazianzen was the first to propose "a combination of action and contemplation" when he described a priest's responsibilities.[171]

In the fifth century, John Cassian, writing with a background of desert asceticism, wrote about the relationship between spiritual mentors and their disciples. Cassian claimed that elders who possessed the gift of discernment from God had "the responsibility…to suspend their own spiritual enlightenment for the sake of instructing novice disciples."[172] This idea, and the fact that many monks who were influenced by Cassian "entered the episcopate in Gaul and elsewhere, forced a sea-change in the practice of spiritual direction in the lay Church [as]…pastoral care in the broader Church became more ascetic."[173]

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[169] Gregory the Great, *The Book of Pastoral Rule*, trans. George E. Demacopoulos (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2007). Hereafter PR.

[170] George E. Demacopoulos, "Gregory's Model of Spiritual Direction in the *Liber Regulae Pastoralis,*" in *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, eds. Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo (Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), 207.

[171] Ibid., 208.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Ibid., 209.

Gregory, writing in the late sixth century, is a key figure in the history of Christian spirituality, George Demacopoulos claimed, not only because he synthesized the two traditions of the desert ascetics and the pastoral care of the parish by regular clergy, but also because of his new, "unique vision of spirituality," which identified "the summit of perfection in the service of others."[174] According to Demacopoulos, Gregory tried to transpose the spiritual father/spiritual disciple[175] tradition of the desert ascetics to pastoral supervision for the wider Church.[176]

In Part I of the *Pastoral Rule*, Gregory outlined the qualifications of one who assumes pastoral responsibility. The gifts that Gregory mentioned as "useful" for benefiting others are the virtues that allowed one to be a "model for everyone."[177] This ideal candidate balanced the external and the internal life: "He must be devoted entirely to the example of good living. He must be dead to the passions of the flesh and live a spiritual life. He must have no regard for worldly prosperity and never cower in the face of adversity. He must desire the internal life only."[178]

At the beginning of Part II, Gregory listed the qualities that the spiritual leader should exhibit.

> Pure in thought, exemplary in conduct, discerning in silence, profitable in speech, a compassionate neighbor to everyone, superior to all in contemplation, a humble companion to the good, and firm in the zeal of righteousness against the vices of sinners. He must not relax his care for the internal life while he is occupied by external concerns, nor should he relinquish what is prudent of external matters so as to focus on things internal.[179]

In a description that balances the contemplation of the internal life with the prudence of the external life and the ability to be useful in discerning what can best help one's neighbor, Gregory

[174] Ibid., 224.
[175] Ibid., 216.
[176] Ibid., 217.
[177] PR, I.6, p. 38.
[178] PR, I.10, p. 43.
[179] PR, II.1, p. 49.

was not only drawing on the rich tradition of his ascetic forebears, but also influenced the tradition that was to come. By identifying service to others with a way of perfection, Gregory was moving past the tradition of Benedict, who warned his monks about going outside because it would not be good for their souls.[180] While Benedict envisioned a wise elder who was experienced in winning souls to instruct candidates,[181] Gregory saw these traits as being useful in the pastoral care of laity outside the monastery.

As one of the most copied manuscripts in the Middle Ages,[182] Gregory's *Pastoral Rule* bequeathed an ideal of a cleric who balanced the contemplative life of the monastery with the requirements of pastoral care of the parish. This ideal of contemplation and service influenced the charisms of the mendicants[183] and clerks regular in the next millennium. In Chapter IV we will explore how, like Gregory, Ignatius unapologetically outlined the balance of infused gifts such as prayer with the natural gifts, including even nobility and wealth, necessary to be a successful pastoral minister.

[180] RB, 66.7, p. 289.
[181] RB, 58.6, p. 267.
[182] Demacopoulos, "Gregory's Model of Spiritual Direction in the *Liber Regulae Pastoralis,*" 224.
[183] Humbert of Romans, the fifth Master General of the Order of Preachers, who we will encounter in the section on the *Primitive Constitutions* of the Dominicans, quoted Gregory's *Pastoral Rule* repeatedly in his "Treatise on the Formation of Preachers." The following citation treats the balance of contemplation and action: Simon Tugwell, ed., *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982), 242. See also Donald Prudlo, ed., *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

Chapter II. Candidacy in the Mendicants and Clerks Regular

The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed increased collaboration between the papacy and religious orders.[184] The expansion of monastic religious orders and the life of regular canons (priests who lived under a rule in a specific community such as a cathedral or a collegiate church) "as a result both of numerous new foundations and of new interpretations of the ancient Rules of religious life" was met with "opposition from the local ecclesiastical hierarchy."[185] These orders turned to the papacy, which gave them protection in return for obedience to Rome.[186] "The most striking evidence of the close alliance between the papacy and the religious orders is the fact that of the nineteen popes of the period 1073–1198, eleven were former monks or canons."[187] Pope Innocent III (1161–1216) supported a new burst of religious life, particularly with the mendicant orders of the Friars Minor and the Order of Preachers.

In light of this momentum, Innocent III appears to have been acting inconsistently regarding his approval of a new mendicant order, the Order of Friars Minor, immediately before the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which prohibited new religious orders. The following canon from the Fourth Lateran Council was most probably the result of a Roman Curia who wanted to control the flow of new initiatives by channeling new foundations into already approved forms of religious life.[188]

> Lest too great a variety of religious orders lead to grave confusion in God's church, we strictly forbid anyone henceforth to found a new religious order. Whoever wants to become a religious should enter one of the already approved

[184] I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 210.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid., 211.
[188] Gert Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*, Cistercian Studies Series, no. 263, trans. James D. Mixson (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2016), 185.

> orders. Likewise, whoever wishes to found a new religious house should take the rule and institutes from already approved religious orders.[189]

Helene Tillman wrote that one must not "read more into the prohibition than its wording clearly says."[190] The new prohibition was not restricting new foundations, but instead ensuring that they were tied to one of the ancient rules after which they could write their own constitutions to apply to their own circumstances and congregations.[191] Since Innocent III approved the community of St. Francis and his followers by word of mouth in 1209, they were exempt from this canon.[192] On the other hand, after Pope Honorius III (1150–1227) approved St. Dominic's Order of Preachers in 1216, they chose the *Rule of St. Augustine* and then began to craft their constitutions.

Francis

St. Francis of Assisi (1181–1226) wrote the *Regula bullata*, so called because it was approved in a papal bull by Pope Honorius III in 1223 entitled *Solet annuere*.[193] In October 1226, shortly before his death, St. Francis dictated his *Testament,* which he cautioned was not "another rule," since it was only "a remembrance" or "an admonition."[194] In the *Testament*, Francis reminded his followers of the verbal papal approval that he received from Innocent III in 1209.

> And after the Lord gave me brothers, no one showed me what I should do, but the Most High Himself revealed to me that I should live according to the form of the

[189] Lateran IV, "On the prohibition of new religious orders" (1215) §13 in Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 242.
[190] Helene Tillman, *Pope Innocent III*, Europe in the Middle Ages Selected Studies, Volume 12 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980), 215.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Regis J. Armstrong and Ignatius C. Brady, trans., *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 136.
[194] *Testament of St. Francis of Assisi*, 156 in Armstrong and Brady, trans., *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982). Hereafter *Testament.*

> Holy Gospel. And I had this written down simply and in a few words and the Lord Pope confirmed it for me.[195]

Despite the timing of this verbal approval before the Fourth Lateran Council, Francis was urged to accept an earlier rule at the chapter of Mats (1221) when some of the friars approached the Cardinal protector, Cardinal Hugolino, about accepting an earlier rule.[196] Francis responded that the way of life, which had been revealed to him by God, had been one of the Gospel, and with great respect to the other orders, his "way of simplicity" was a way of being a "new fool in the world."[197] This "way" included many holdovers from the monastic tradition, including simplicity in clothes, lack of ownership of possessions, chastity, and obedience to a superior.

The word "life" [*vita*] is a key for unlocking the purpose or end of the *Regula bullata*. "When the first friars came to Francis, they had no other ideal or wish than to live as he did."[198] At the heart of the *Regula bullata*,[199] it is "a pattern or form of life that is meant to be lived in pursuit of the Gospel mission; that is, in the striving to witness and proclaim the mystery of the Incarnate Word of God."[200] Thus, the Rule begins: "The rule and life of the Friars Minor is this…"[201] "The very language of its founder [Francis] proves the point: he spoke and thought of this movement as a way, a life, a new way in the Church of following Christ."[202] Its second chapter, regarding candidacy, deliberately begins then with "any who wish to accept this life and

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[195] *Testament*, 154–55.

[196] William J. Short, "The Rule and life of the Friars Minor," in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi,* ed. Michael J. P. Robson (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2011), 57.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Cajetan Esser, "Melius Catholice Observemus: An Explanation of the Rule of Our Order in the Light of the Writings and Other Words of Saint Francis," in *The Marrow of the Gospel: A Study of the Rule of Saint Francis of Assisi by the Franciscans of Germany*, ed. Ignatius Brady (Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1958), 108.

[199] Earlier drafts of this rule include the few sentences from the Gospels that Francis brought to the Pope and the "Earlier Rule" or the Rule of 1221 or the *Regula non bullata* of which we do not have an "original" manuscript. The later rule is contained in the 1223 papal bull of Honorius III approving the order in 1223. Short, "The Rule and life of the Friars Minor," 51.

[200] Armstrong and Brady, trans., *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works*, 136–7.

[201] *Regula bullata*, Ch. I.1 in Regis J. Armstrong and Ignatius C. Brady, trans., *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 137. Here after *Regula bullata*.

[202] Esser, "Melius Catholice Observemus,"108.

come to our brothers" which speaks to a life of the Gospel lived in a community of like-minded brothers.

The candidacy process outlined in the *Regula bullata* begins with an examination. As superiors and therefore the representatives of ecclesiastical authority,[203] the ministers provincial were responsible not only for examining the candidates, but they were also the only ones who had permission to admit newcomers.[204] The minister was to diligently examine the candidate on the basics: the Catholic faith and one's reception of the sacraments.[205] If one professed and observed the aforementioned basics and he had no impediments – mainly no wife or at least a wife who was living continence in a monastery – then the candidate may proceed to the next step, which is the renunciation of property.[206]

The key step of renunciation of property includes a few important elements: a gospel allusion, a mention of freedom, and the possibility of discernment with an elder. First, Francis alluded to Matthew 19:21;[207] Jesus' encounter with the rich man who he encourages to give his possessions to the poor and follow him, to ground commitment to poverty in the mission he has set forth. The life of the Gospel outlined above requires poverty in order for one to be free to move as an apostle.

Second, Francis reasoned that, if someone was not ready to renounce his property at this point, his "good will suffices."[208] Francis warned the ministers and the brothers "not to become solicitous over their [the candidates'] temporal affairs, so that they [the candidates] may *freely*

[203] Ibid., 230. "Just as he has shown in the first chapter of the Rule that a life according to the Gospel can be undertaken only in subordination to the Church, so here he submits the vocation of a candidate to the authority of the Church in the person of the superior."

[204] *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.1, p. 138.

[205] *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.2, p. 138.

[206] *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.3–4, p. 138.

[207] "Jesus said to him, 'If you wish to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me.'" (Mt 19:21).

[208] *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.6, p. 138.

dispose of their good as the Lord may inspire them."[209] In this admonition, Francis outlined two goals (1) to protect Franciscan poverty and (2) to protect the freedom of the candidate, thereby in "the renunciation of their possessions, God's will ought to be sought unhindered by the egoism of men."[210]

Third, in order to aid the candidate to make his own decision on his property, Francis allowed for the ministers to send the candidates "if they stand in need of counsel…to some God-fearing persons who may advise them how they should give what they have to the poor."[211] Cajetan Esser wrote "[n]ote especially the phrase, 'God-fearing persons,' i.e., persons who give their advice with a respectful regard for God. God's will is to be 'sought' in individual cases; it cannot be regulated."[212] After renunciation, the novice received a habit, following the great tradition of ascetic life.

Francis treated probation with a brief description of the clothing of a novice, reminiscent of earlier rules. The tunic, which is part of the clothing of probation, did not have a hood, which Cassian referred to in his first chapter of the *Institutes* as being part of the "garb of the monks."[213] A hooded tunic was received after profession.[214]

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[209] *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.7, p. 138. My emphasis.

[210] Cajetan Esser, *Rule and Testament of St. Francis: Conferences to the Modern Followers of Francis*, (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977), 34.

[211] This point seems to be an innovation, perhaps based on lived experience, from the *Earlier Rule* (or *Regula non bullata*) of 1221. *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.7, p. 138.

[212] Esser, *Rule and Testament of St. Francis*, 34. Ignatius will make similar provisions in his *General Examen* for a candidate who "for some good reasons…does not abandon those goods immediately" *Cons*. 54 or in the case where there is "doubt whether it would be more perfect to make the gift or renunciation of these goods in favor of the relatives rather than others [the poor]…they must be content to leave this matter in the hands of one, two, or three persons of excellent life and learning…and to acquiesce in what these persons decide to be more perfect and conducive to the greater glory of Christ our Lord." *Cons*. 55. More generally, this is related to the *Cons.* 51 regarding being moved by a spiritual director or another member of the Society to enter religious life. Also see *Spir. Ex.* §15, p. 286.

[213] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book I: Chapter 3, pp. 23–24.

[214] *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.14, pp. 138–9.

The end of probation entails another step that Francis crystalized with another quote from Scripture regarding perseverance in the rule: "No one having put his hand to the plow and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God." (Lk 9:62)

The second chapter, which began with an examination of impediments related to chastity and considerations of poverty, now discusses being "received into obedience."[215] Esser wrote

> Profession, therefore, is not reception into a monastery or cloister, but reception into a relationship of obedience. The one making profession is received into the 'realm' of obedience. This spatial image is characteristic of Francis. He preferred to speak of obedience in terms of a friar 'going beyond obedience,' 'straying outside of obedience,' 'standing firm in obedience,' and never speaks simply of something against obedience. Just as the monastery was the 'place' where the monks of ancient monasticism lived their lives, so obedience is the 'place' where the Friars Minor are to live their lives. The friar enters this realm when he consents to and accepts as obligatory the way of life which he has made his own during the year of probation.[216]

Having made this step into obedience, Francis wrote "in no way shall it be lawful for them to leave this Order, according to the decree of the Lord Pope." Geger suggested, even at this early stage, Francis was mindful of departures from his order and thus added measures not included in his early rule, such as a one-year probation period and a reference to church law in order to encourage perseverance after the profession of obedience.[217]

Francis' rules for candidacy exhibit his indebtedness to the ascetic tradition. The candidacy and probation periods outlined in the *Regular bullata* offer particular ways of giving witness to a life focused on the Gospels. These aspects, mostly holdovers from the monastic tradition, include simplicity in clothes and lack of ownership of possessions, chastity in community, and obedience to one's superior.

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[215] *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.11, p. 138.
[216] Esser, *Rule and Testament of St. Francis*, 35.
[217] Geger, "To Live and Die in the Society of Jesus," 126–27.

The *Regula bullata* also exhibited an increasing reliance on the institutional Church and the tradition of religious rules. Within this new "life," grounded in the Gospels and the Church, ministers provincial, as representatives of ecclesiastical authority,[218] were responsible for examining the candidates and admitting them. Ignatius, as we will explore in Chapter III, also stipulated that the provincial had the authority to admit.

The Jesuit founder, while also admiring Franciscan poverty, employed similar measures respecting a candidate's freedom in the renunciation of goods and the desire to enter the order. These procedures, learned by experience for both Francis and Ignatius, were instituted with the hope of leading to lasting vocations.

Hence, while employing the rhetoric and framework of earlier orders, Francis sought to inspire his friars to a new way of life within the institutional Church rather than simply within an enclosure.

Dominic

Pope Honorius III approved the Order of Preachers with the bull *Religiosam vitam* on 22 December 1216, a year after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) prohibited new religious rules. Thus, Dominic chose the *Rule of St. Augustine*, and began writing the constitutions for the order.

For the sake of this thesis, we will treat the *Primitive Constitutions*, a manuscript from the Dominican friary in Rodez, France, which is the edition of the constitutions of the Order of Preachers that existed before St. Raymond of Peñafort, their third Master General, established

[218] Ibid., 230. "Just as he has shown in the first chapter of the Rule that a life according to the Gospel can be undertaken only in subordination to the Church, so here he submits the vocation of a candidate to the authority of the Church in the person of the superior."

other constitutions.[219] Close study of this text reveals extensive borrowing from the *Constitutions of the Premonstratensian Canons* for the first part of the *Primitive Constitutions*, which dates to 1216,[220] while Dominic himself authored most of the second part, which dates to 1220.[221]

Halfway through the prologue, the *Primitive Constitutions* make a remarkable turn from the text appropriated from the Premonstratensian prologue to state the end of the Order:

> For this reason, however, the prelate shall have power to dispense the brethren in his priory when it shall seem expedient to him, especially in those things which are seen to impede study, preaching, or the good of souls, since it is known that our Order was founded, from the beginning, especially for preaching and the salvation of souls.[222]

Study, as the means to the end of the order, "ought to tend principally, ardently, and with the highest endeavor to the end that we might be useful to the souls of our neighbors."[223] This idea of usefulness recalls Gregory the Great's ideal for a cleric.

With this end stated so clearly, we can now look at the thirteenth chapter, "Of those to be received," to understand if the criteria for candidacy can tell us more about the priorities of the order. A candidate, brought before a chapter, lay prostrate and was asked about what he sought. After hearing the austerities of the Order, he responded whether he was willing to observe these things and renounce the world. Before he divested[224] himself of his secular clothing, put on the religious habit, and was received into probation, the candidate was examined.

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[219] Francis C. Lehner, ed., *Saint Dominic, Biographical Documents* (Washington DC: Thomist Press, 1964), 209–211.

[220] Tugwell, ed., *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings*, 455f offers a side-by-side comparison of the first part of the *Primitive Constitutions* with the Premonstratensian *Constitutions*.

[221] Lehner, ed., *Saint Dominic, Biographical Documents*, 210.

[222] *The Primitive Constitutions of the Order of Friars Preachers,* Prologue, p. 212, in Lehner, ed., *Saint Dominic, Biographical Documents*, 212. Hereafter *Primitive Constitutions.*

[223] *Primitive Constitutions,* Prologue, p. 212.

[224] Regarding divesting their property, the *Primitive Constitutions* states that this must be done "[b]efore profession." Presumably candidates then did not have to divest until after the six-month probation period. "Before

The *Primitive Constitutions* offer a more detailed account of the examination and acceptance of a candidate into probation than earlier rules. A review board was to be set up in each convent to examine the candidates:

> In each convent, three suitable brethren shall be elected by the common consent of the chapter to examine carefully into the character and knowledge of those to be received and refer the results to the judgment of the prior and chapter who shall decide whether they shall be accepted.[225]

The authority to accept a candidate involved more than just the prior's decision. "A conventual prior shall receive no one as a lay brother and no one as a cleric without having first asked and obtained the consent of the entire chapter or a majority."[226]

Before the mendicants, the rules we covered did not explicitly state which monastery official received a candidate into probation. In the *Regula bullata*, Francis stated that the ministers provincial are responsible not only for examining the candidates, but they were also the only ones who have permission to admit newcomers.[227] None of the above rules had suggested a candidate review board, although some allowed for committees to examine the character of novices or those in probation.[228] Yet, Dominic's innovative screening process involved two detailed steps: a candidate examination board and acceptance of a candidate into probation depending on the chapter's agreement with the conventual prior.

The examination for candidates outlined in the *Primitive Constitutions* focused on whether the man is free to enter. The examiner asked the candidate about the following

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profession, novices must free themselves of debts and place everything else at the feet of the prior so that they may release themselves entirely." *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XIV, p. 221.

[225] *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XIII, p. 221.

[226] *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XIII, p. 221.

[227] *Regula bullata,* Ch. II.1, p. 138.

[228] Basil directed "those able to skillfully look into such matters" to test whether one in probation (as opposed to a candidate, although the terms candidacy and probation were probably fluid in Basil's time) is "*a vessel…useful for the Master*, so to speak, *and ready for every good work* (2 Tim 2:21)." LR 10.2, p. 195. Francis directed candidates "if they stand in need of counsel…to some God-fearing persons who may advise them how they should give what they have to the poor." *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.7, p. 138. [Emphasis in the original]

impediments: "whether he is married, or is a serf, or is obliged to render an account of anything, or bound by another profession, or suffering from a hidden infirmity."[229] Another impediment was if he was a member of another religious order. Only a "general or provincial chapter" could approve this case. In the specific case of Cistercians who wanted to enter the order, they would not be "admitted without special permission of the Lord Pope."[230] Nor should anyone under 18 years of age be received.

During a probation period of "six months or longer" the novices were under the master of novices "who shall be diligent in training them and instructing them about the Order"[231] by word, deed, and example. This period is shorter than the year outlined by both Benedict and Francis. The novice master's teachings of poverty ("to live without anything of their own") and obedience ("to the will of the prelate in all things") were related to the mission of being an itinerant preacher who needed to know "how to act in all places and under all circumstances."[232] Related to the end of preaching and salvation of souls is the desire for study that the master of novices should inculcate in them:

> how they should be intent on study, so that by day and by night, at home and on a journey, they should be reading or reflecting on something; whatever they can, they should try to commit to memory; how they should be fervent in preaching, when the time comes.[233]

The novice master, much like the novice master in the *Rule of St. Benedict*, has a two-fold job description: 1) to form the novices, but also 2) to serve as a virtuous model.[234]

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[229] "Hidden infirmity" seems to be the first time in the rules we have covered that a health concern has become an explicit impediment. *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XIII, p. 221.

[230] *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XIII, p. 221.

[231] *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XII, p. 219.

[232] *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XII, p. 219.

[233] *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XII, p. 220.

[234] "A senior chosen for his skill in winning souls" RB 58.6, p. 267; The novice master "shall strive to train the novices…according to the words: 'Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart.'" *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XII, 219; Similarly, Ignatius described a novice master as "a person whom all those who are in probation may love…" *Cons*. §263, p. 159.

The organizational structure of the Dominican Order, "[w]ith such refined ways of legislating, of supervision, and of administration," was built "to not only create but also to sustain the best possible conditions for realizing its fundamental concern: the salvation of souls of all humankind."[235] The criteria and formation of candidates offer a case study in how particular sections of the *Primitive Constitutions* clearly relate to the end of the Order. Gert Melville argued that the structure of the Dominican Constitutions is

> a very specific Dominican achievement within the broader context of the history of religious orders…understood as the functional alignment of all elements (whether in relation to one another or to the Order as a whole) to a single goal, which was realized, in practice as well as in principle, without contradiction or conflict.[236]

Key aspects of the Dominican charism aligned with the end of the Order to save souls. Good preaching required study to serve the ultimate goal, and "the business of daily life in turn served study."[237] Even poverty, a requirement for entrance, supported this end. According to Humbert of the Romans, the fifth Master General of the Order of Preachers, who emphasized "that a preacher of his Order who spoke of the poor Christ and the indigent apostles was more trustworthy, when he himself remained poor."[238] This led to the idea, according to Humbert, of "the superiority of his Order," in that it "was founded not only for the salvation of those who entered it but for the salvation of the whole world."[239] As we will explore in the section on the end of the Society in Chapter III, Ignatius drew heavily on the Dominican Constitutions with the same singlemindness of purpose, which structured his order and its *Constitutions*.[240]

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[235] Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism*, 247.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid., 248.
[239] Ibid.
[240] See Aloysius Hsü, *Dominican Presence in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: A Study of Dominican Influence on the Textual Make-up of the Jesuit Constitutions in Regard to the Formation of Novices and the Rules for the Novice Master* (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, 1971).

Carafa

From 1535 to 1538, while waiting to travel to the Holy Land, Ignatius lived in and around Venice, where he encountered a new type of religious life called the "clerks regular." The Order of Clerks Regular, popularly known as the Theatines because of the name of the see (Chieti or Theate) of its co-founder Gian Pietro Carafa (1476–1559),[241] was the first of several orders of clerks regular founded in the sixteenth century.[242] Carafa, later to become Pope Paul IV, and his co-founder, Gaetano Thiene (1480–1547), were both members of the Roman branch of the Oratory of Divine Love, founded in Genoa in 1497 by Ettore Vernazza (1470–1524) as a confraternity with "two goals: the greater devotional perfection of individual members and heroic charitable service to nonmembers."[243] Gaetano Thiene, later known as St. Cajetan, hoped to infuse his new order of clerics with these interior and exterior goals, thereby serving as a model for the lax clergy at the time.[244]

The Theatines' designation as "clerks regular" refers to them being clergy living under a religious rule of life. They saw themselves as creating something new but with early roots: "a group of 'clerics regular' in imitation of a Christian practice considered 'ancient' in their day: the common life established for the clergy in the diocese of Hippo by St. Augustine in the fifth century."[245]

Their way of proceeding included many of the aspects of previous religious orders and also some innovations. Members professed vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and lived a

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[241] John C. Olin, *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 129.

[242] For a survey of clerks regular such as the Theatines, Barnabites, Somaschans, and Jesuits see Mark Lewis, "Recovering the Apostolic Way of Life: The New Clerks Regular of the Sixteenth Century" in *Early Modern Catholicism, Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.*, eds. Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 280–296.

[243] William V. Hudon, ed., *Theatine Spirituality: Selected Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality 87 (New York: Paulist Press, 1996), 9, 21.

[244] Olin, *The Catholic Reformation*, 128.

[245] Hudon, *Theatine Spirituality*, 21.

common life in a religious place. The order had permission to elect a superior and was under the immediate supervision of the pope.[246] New aspects involved combining the vows with pastoral care, or as Mark Lewis writes, adjusting "the notion of evangelical perfection to clerical life."[247] In this way, the co-founder, Gaetano Thiene, hoped to reform the secular clergy through the example of his clergy. Lewis includes a purported quote of Gaetano:

> If God gives me the grace to place under the eyes of secular priests a family of clerks regular, I hope, with the innocence, the poverty, the modesty, and the holiness of these latter, to try to make the seculars abandon their vices and dedicate themselves to the acquisition of virtues.[248]

Authentic or not, the quote certainly captures the implicit purpose of the Theatine rule. In short, Gaetano hoped for a renewal of clergy in the same way that the laity had been renewed through confraternities like his Oratory.[249]

The new order received papal approbation in the brief *Exponi nobis* on June 24, 1524,[250] but since the Theatine Constitutions were not published until 1628, the best way to understand its initial purpose and goals is by the *Theatine Rule* or *Rule of Carafa*, which John Olin describes as more of "a brief statement of the new Order's practices and principles than a Rule in the traditional sense."[251] In this rule, likely composed by Carafa a year or two after the brief of Clement VII, the mission of the Theatines is stated: to "live in a common way of dressing and clerical form of life according to the holy canons and the profession of the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience."[252] A few paragraphs later Carafa writes, "No specific color of dress or

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[246] Ibid., 22–3.
[247] Lewis, "Recovering the Apostolic Way of Life," 286.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid., 285.
[250] Hudon, *Theatine Spirituality,* 23.
[251] Olin, *The Catholic Reformation*, 129.
[252] "Rule of Gian Pietro Carafa," p. 67 in Bernard McGinn, trans., *Theatine Spirituality: Selected Writings*, ed. William V. Hudon, Classics of Western Spirituality 87 (New York: Paulist Press, 1996), 67. Hereafter *Rule of Carafa*.

habit is commanded or forbidden us, as long as it is one befitting decent clerics…"[253] Thus, through exterior appearance and interior devotion the first order of clerks regular sought to affect clerical reform through their good example.[254] Kenneth Jorgensen wrote, "It is interesting that Carafa did not refer at all to the most important goal of the new community, its specific apostolate…"[255] Jorgensen reasoned that the Theatines "implicitly recognized and practiced their specific ministry," which included continued involvement with the Oratories of Divine Love and the performing of their basic duties as priests.[256]

Despite the succinct treatment of the candidacy and novitiate experiences in the *Rule of Carafa*, one can notice innovations to previous rules in the length of the novitiate and the seemingly impossible hurdle of "unanimous consent of the membership, meeting in general chapter"[257] for novices,

> No novice is to be admitted to probation or profession without having been tested and proven by a long time, considerable experience, and patience over two or three years. This happens by consent of the whole Chapter. From the beginning the Novice is to be assigned to one of the brethren who with God's help will instruct him and teach him about the new life.[258]

The novitiate experience is mentioned again later in the Rule after a point where Carafa wrote "it would take far too long to discuss the rest of the way in which we live point by point…anyone who wants to know about it should do what the Lord says…'Come and see.'"[259] One who did this will learn how the order tests "novices and how they are given exercises and

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[253] *Rule of Carafa*, p. 68.
[254] Mark Lewis, "The First Jesuits as Reformed Priests," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, no. 65, (1996), 112.
[255] Kenneth J. Jorgensen, "The Theatines" in *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation, In Honor of John C. Olin on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Richard L. DeMolen (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), 11.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Hudon, *Theatine Spirituality,* 24.
[258] *Rule of Carafa*, p. 68.
[259] *Rule of Carafa*, p. 69.

finally are admitted to profession in a lawful manner."[260] While the Theatines did admit some lay brothers, "they admitted almost exclusively priests who were attracted to their devotional piety and strictness."[261] This is an innovation from earlier monastic orders which, though mostly populated by non-clerics, had some of their own ordained to preside at liturgy.

The candidacy and novitiate requirements of the Theatines, the most rigorous of all the rules surveyed in this thesis so far, reveal a priority to form a small, elite fraternity of priests and some brothers. A two- to three-year novitiate experience with exercises, perhaps in works of charity, followed by admission into the order only after a unanimous vote of the "whole Chapter," truly is the "narrow gate" to which Carafa alludes at the end of his Rule. Ludwig Pastor connected these candidacy priorities to the vision of reform for the new order:

> The system of scrupulous selection observed by the founders of the Order had thoroughly justified itself. The great success of the Theatines undoubtedly is to be attributed to no small extent to this characteristic, that here a small, carefully chosen circle of men, deeply schooled in obedience to the Church, formed, as it were, a *corps d'elite* with which Carafa won his victories. Thus the Theatine Order was not so much a seminary for priests, as at first might have been supposed, as a seminary for bishops who rendered weighty service to the cause of Catholic reform.[262]

If the mission was to set an example for priests and help to reform the church, then they were able to accomplish this through their candidacy requirements and the unintended consequence of a pool of candidates for the episcopacy.

Since the apostolate is not clearly identified in the *Rule of Carafa*, it is helpful to look at how the Theatines exercised their vocation and mission, which seems to have changed depending on who was in office for the three-year term of superior. W. W. Meissner writes that while

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[260] *Rule of Carafa*, p. 69.
[261] Jorgensen, "The Theatines," 13.
[262] Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes, From the Close of the Middle Ages, Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, Vol. X (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Herder, 1938), 418.

Gaetano Thiene, who encouraged preaching and works of mercy, was superior of the Theatines, the order flourished. Despite a rule against not begging for alms, their enthusiasm lifted the spirits of the city and "the faithful responded with generous appreciation."[263] Apparently under the superiorship of Carafa, though, the order focused more on their own austere internal life and not on public ministry, which led to a decrease in donations.[264]

At least one of their contemporaries, Ignatius Loyola, thought they could have done more to serve God and the Church.[265] Early in his time at Venice, probably in 1536, after his studies in Paris and his visit to his home, Ignatius wrote a letter to Carafa about the powerful churchman's new order and offered some unsolicited advice. In the letter, Ignatius noted (1) the incongruence of the fine dress and lifestyle of Carafa when compared to the austerity of the members of his order; (2) the Theatine ideal of poverty, which did not allow for begging, put the order in danger of not having the necessities of life; (3) despite not begging, if the order engaged in public preaching and corporal works of mercy then people might be inclined to give free will offerings.[266] Ignatius couched his observations in light of what would become the defining attributes of his own order in the future, namely how these measures will "increase their praise and service of their true Creator and Lord" and what "will be the best way of preserving and enlarging the pious and holy community" they have already begun.[267]

Despite these criticisms in Ignatius' letter, the early Jesuits might have learned several practices from them, including not adopting a "specific habit in preference to the dress of the honest clergy of the locale and the testing of candidates to the Order by sending them to work in

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[263] W.W. Meissner, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Psychology of a Saint*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 172.

[264] Ibid.

[265] Letter 11, I:114–18; in *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. William J. Young (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), 28-31.

[266] Letter 11, I:114–18, pp. 29–30.

[267] Letter 11, I:114–18, p. 30.

hospitals."[268] Also while the "Theatines decreased their choral recitation of the Divine Office, the Jesuits eliminated it entirely from their life."[269]

Ignatius' letter indicates that he was contemplating the values of this new type of religious life, and how its candidacy requirements affected its mission and ultimately the "increase of praise and service to the Lord." This latter phrase appeared over and over again in the Jesuit *Constitutions* and was one to which he linked every piece of legislation, including candidacy and formation.

Summary

Throughout the history of the earlier rules and the legislation of the mendicants and the clerks regular, there is a consistent theme of drawing from the earlier tradition while adapting certain key virtues or qualities to fit the end of the new community. Along the way, candidacy requirements developed. Different requirements for renunciation of property recognized a candidate's freedom, and were tailored to earlier experiences of ensuring that a decision to the monastic life would be a lasting one. Developments treating freedom and discernment over property were further developed in Francis' *Regula bullata*. Hesitation on whether to admit a member of another religious order in Francis' and Dominic's writings relate to the virtue of stability found in earlier rules. Candidates and those in probation went from being entrusted to the porter to a more clearly defined novice master. Over time, the balance between contemplation and service saw orders recapturing the values of the Gospel as they simultaneously drew on earlier traditions of monastic life to give structure to their charisms. All of these developments would have been in the air by the time Ignatius Loyola began to draw up

[268] Lewis "The First Jesuits as Reformed Priests," 118.
[269] Ibid.

the *Constitutions* of his order by relying on and repositioning the aspects of earlier rules for his order.

Chapter III. Continuity with Tradition for Ignatius

This chapter will benefit from the groundwork laid in the previous chapter with regard to the classic rules and constitutions of the Church that preceded Ignatius Loyola and his writing of the Jesuit *Constitutions*. In the following we will first explore the hierarchy of vocations in the Church that Ignatius inherited from the tradition. The phrase "hierarchy of vocations" refers to the belief that following the evangelical counsels was in the time of Ignatius valued as a higher calling. Then, we will explore two general aspects of the *Constitutions* that Ignatius inherited from previous legislation: (1) being slow to admit candidates, (2) tying the qualities of a candidate to the end of the Society.

Hierarchy of Vocations

In 1549, Ignatius wrote a letter responding to the father of a son who had entered the Jesuit novitiate in Rome.[270] The father of the son was furious. He was also "a person of rank" and the brother of the bishop of Tivoli. One would assume, based on Ignatius' background working for the royal treasurer in Spain and the etiquette he would have learned in that service, that he would have proceeded cautiously in a letter to such a high-ranking person. The manner in which Ignatius proceeded reveals the sense of what a vocation to religious life meant during his time period. Ignatius began "although there is no need for me to apologize in a matter in which the counsels and teaching of Jesus Christ are well known …"[271] This is not exactly something that one would expect in the first paragraph.

Ignatius' confidence as he stated the positions of the son and of the Society gives evidence about how religious life was viewed as a state of life in the sixteenth century. Ignatius

[270] Letter 95, II:603–6; Ignatius Loyola, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 238–40.

[271] *Cons*. §1, p. 238.

stated that the nineteen-year-old's reasons for entering the Jesuits were "his devotion to follow our Institute in order to detach himself from the sins of the world and better save his soul in greater service of God Our Lord …"[272] In one of the closing paragraphs Ignatius stressed the side of the Jesuits: "Our only interest is the service of God and the help given to his soul and that of others who may be aided by him."[273]

Clearly, Ignatius was referring to an understanding of the hierarchy of vocations in the sixteenth century. Following the evangelical counsels, as Ignatius stated above, was in his time valued as a higher calling. Scholastic and patristic writings attest to this, as do sixteenth-century sources in the canons of the Council of Trent and in other early Jesuit sources.

Ignatius and the early Jesuits would have been influenced by the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) during their study at the University of Paris. In a chapter entitled, "The books which should be expounded" in Part IV of the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, Ignatius specifically mentioned that the "scholastic doctrine of St. Thomas" should be followed.[274] Ignatius and his early companions "studied in the Dominican convent of St.-Jacques at the University of Paris, where the Angelic doctor would have been taught"[275] almost two centuries before Ignatius arrived there. Additionally, when Ignatius and his companions reached Rome, the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas "was in vogue there."[276] Ignatius' letter above shows the influence of St. Thomas' theology on the hierarchy of vocations.

In his *Summa Theologiae*, St. Thomas Aquinas, writing in the thirteenth century, approached the question of entrance into religious life (living the evangelical counsels under a

[272] *Cons*. §2, p. 239.
[273] *Cons*. §4, p. 240.
[274] *Cons.* §464, p. 219.
[275] Aldama, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: An Introductory Commentary*, 168.
[276] Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, 1450–1700: *A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 177.

Church-approved rule and in a community), making clear that it would be an objectively higher state of life than marriage or the single life. He asked, "Whether it is praiseworthy to enter religion without taking counsel of many, and previously deliberating for a long time?"[277] Aquinas answered that according to Aristotle, long deliberation are for choices that are doubtful, but "advice is unnecessary in matters that are certain and fixed."[278] He concluded, "entrance into religion is a greater good, and to doubt about this is to disparage Christ Who gave this counsel."[279] An earlier question explored a theme related to vocation promotion: "Whether one ought to induce others to enter religion?"[280] A vocation director today surely would not think so, since one must respect a candidate's freedom, but Aquinas' answer offers some background to Ignatius' argument in the letter above: "Those who induce others to enter religion not only do not sin, but merit a great reward," provided that the inducer does not do it by violence, simoniacally [by selling church offices], or lies.[281]

The roots of this thinking on states of life can be seen much earlier in the tradition in the Patristic Age. In his Letter 48 from the fourth century, Athanasius, who also wrote the *Life of Antony*, writes of two states of life – marriage and virginity – and declared the path of virginity as being able to yield a hundredfold as compared with marriage which would yield thirtyfold:

> For there are two ways in life, as touching these matters. The one the more moderate and ordinary, I mean marriage; the other angelic and unsurpassed, namely virginity. Now if a man choose the way of the world, namely marriage, he is not indeed to blame; yet he will not receive such great gifts as the other. For he will receive, since he too brings forth fruit, namely thirtyfold. But if a man embrace the holy and unearthly way, even though, as compared with the former, it

[277] Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologiae Secunda Secundae, 92–189*. Trans. Laurence Shapcote, eds. John Mortensen and Enrique Alarcón (Lander, WY: The Aquinas Institute for the Study of Sacred Doctrine, 2012), S. Th. II–II. Q. 189. A. 10, p. 846. Hereafter S. Th.

[278] S. Th. II–II. Q. 189. A. 10, p. 846.

[279] S. Th. II–II. Q. 189. A. 10, p. 846–47.

[280] S. Th. II–II. Q. 189. A. 9, p. 844.

[281] S.Th.II–II.Q.189.A.9, p. 845.

> be rugged and hard to accomplish, yet it has the more wonderful gifts: for it grows the perfect fruit, namely an hundredfold.[282]

In addition to the Scholastic and Patristic Ages, Ignatius' thinking on the hierarchy of vocations is also consistent with the teaching of the Council of Trent.

In the sixteenth-century Roman Catholic theological context, living the evangelical counsels was a surer path to holiness than simply living according to the commandments. In 1546, early on in his tenure as superior general, Ignatius missioned Jesuits to serve at the Council of Trent.[283] Canon 10 issued during Session XXIV of the Council, years later in 1563, declared on the sacrament of matrimony: "If anyone says that the married state surpasses that of virginity or celibacy, and that it is not better and happier to remain in virginity or celibacy than to be united in matrimony, *anathema sit*."[284] This idea is echoed toward the end of the *Spiritual Exercises*, where there is preference for the religious life of the counsels over married life: "We should praise greatly religious life, virginity and continence, and we should not praise matrimony to the same extent as these."[285] It is also important to realize there was more than one way of living out the evangelical counsels.

It is possible to follow the evangelical counsels on one's own. Geger referenced Ignatius' own experience early in the *Autobiography,* which the saint dictated to Da Câmara. Ignatius believed it was possible to lead a more strict life of the counsels on his own as a hermit,[286]

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[282] Athanasius, "Letter 48" in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, Vol. 4, trans. Archibald Robertson, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 557.

[283] Letter 123, I:386–89; Ignatius Loyola, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 164–67.

[284] Council of Trent, Canons of the Sacrament of Matrimony, Canon 10, Session 24, 11 November 1563 in *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*, Seventh Revised and Enlarged Edition, ed. Jacques Dupuis (New York: St. Pauls, 2001), 770.

[285] *Spir. Ex.* §356, p. 356.

[286] "Reminiscences" §12; Ignatius Loyola, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 16–17. Hereafter "Reminiscences."

especially since ecclesiastically-approved religious communities during Ignatius' day "often suffered from a reputation for laxity and decline."[287]

However, "[i]n Ignatius's day, religious life (canonical or informal) was considered a safer and surer path to salvation than life 'in the world.' Hence monasteries and mendicant orders generally felt obliged to accept anyone who applied, regardless of skills or personality."[288]

An anecdote might help explain the sixteenth-century climate with regard to salvation and religious life. Da Câmara quoted a holy Jesuit Don Diego de Equía, whom Peter Faber called "Saint" Don Diego:

> To explain how little confidence he had in his own merits for his salvation, and how much he placed it [his hope of salvation] in the Society and order where he was, he would use this simile: "If you offer payment only with a damaged coin that has no value, no one wants to accept it. But when you pay a thousand *cruzados* to a merchant dealing in bulk, even though one of the coins lacks its correct value, it slips through. In the same way my only hope of getting through is thanks to the rest of the Society.[289]

Like some religious orders before them,[290] the early Jesuits were confident in the superiority of religious life in their order in particular. For Nadal, according to O'Malley, "the essence of the life of a member of a religious order was seeking the higher spiritual good."[291] Nadal "believed that Jesus extended to all the invitation to perfection and that 'evangelical perfection' was attainable in a variety of circumstances and conditions of life …"[292] While one could live this perfection outside of a religious order, "the Society and religious orders in

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[287] Barton T. Geger, "Myths, Misquotes, and Misconceptions about St. Ignatius Loyola," *Jesuit Higher Education: A Journal* 5, no. 1 (2016), p. 20, n. 43.

[288] Barton T. Geger, "The *First* First Companions, The Continuing Impact of the Men Who Left Ignatius," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 44, no. 2 (2012), 26.

[289] Luís Gonçalves Da Câmara, "The Memoriale of Luis Gonçalves Da Câmara" §221 in *Remembering Iñigo: Glimpses of the Life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola: The Memoriale of Luis Gonçalves Da Câmara*. Ed. Alexander Eaglestone and Joseph A. Munitiz (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004), 128. Hereafter *The Memoriale of Luis Gonçalves Da Câmara*.

[290] RB 1.13, p. 171: Benedict drew "up a plan for the strong kind, the cenobites"; Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism*, 247: Humbert of the Romans insisted on "the superiority of" the Dominican Order in that it "was founded not only for the salvation of those who entered it but for the salvation of the whole world."

[291] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 66.

[292] Ibid.

general, in which poverty was 'actual' rather than 'spiritual' and to which celibate chastity and obedience under a superior were conjoined," offered a preeminent way of living out this perfection.[293]

Be Slow to Admit

Being slow to admit candidates is part of the tradition of religious life, but Ignatius' reasons for his hesitancy created tension for candidates seeking to save their souls through a Jesuit vocation. As Ignatius wrote the Jesuit *Constitutions* and its preceding documents, the *Formula of the Institute* and the *General Examen*, he kept focused on the Jesuit ministry of apostolic service. Thus, Ignatius was more selective in choosing people who had certain qualities that could be used for the end of the Society which, put simply, was serving the greater glory of God by "helping souls." If a candidate did not have these qualities or couldn't make up for them with an abundance of other qualities, then he was not accepted, and Ignatius might tell him to go to another religious community.[294] While previous religious communities might have been selective or slow to admit candidates as a way of testing the perseverance of the candidate's vocation – for example, by having the candidate wait at the door of the monastery for several days – Ignatius, in his own way of being slow to admit, also tested for one's usefulness for apostolic service. Since the end of the Society differed from earlier orders in the fact that it was founded to be thoroughly apostolic, it is fitting that the reasons for Ignatius being slow to admit would also serve different purposes.

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[293] Ibid.

[294] See Geger, "To Live and Die in the Society of Jesus," 222, where he quotes *Cons*. §235, p. 150, regarding departures from the Society: "In the case of those who leave without permission, if they were previously regarded as little suitable for the Society, there will be no need to take measures to bring them back to it, but only to direct them to another institute, where they may serve God our Lord, and to remit their vows that they may remain without scruple."

Ignatius, like the earlier founders, was learning from his own experience.[295] Just as Pachomius learned from being mistreated by his first companions, so too did Ignatius learn from the experience of his earliest followers, known as the *Iñiguistas* during his time. Geger wrote in "The *First* First Companions," that Ignatius' mistakes and the Iñiguistas failures led to "numerous innovations in the *Constitutions* and *Exercises* that concern the proper discernment of a religious vocation, the quality of men accepted into the Society, and the importance of perseverance."[296]

The *General Examen* and the position of the vocation director are two such innovations in Ignatius' legislation in which he learned from his own experience and the tradition of the earlier rules. These two innovations also are related to Ignatius persistent attention to serving the apostolic end of the order.

In order to give content to a candidate's prayerful pondering about a vocation, Ignatius authored the *General Examen*, which served a double purpose as both an information packet for those who were considering a Jesuit vocation and a guide for the examiners of candidates.[297] This dual role of instruction and examination, similar to the one originally held by a porter in Pachomius' monastery, now was formalized as a document to be shared "in various languages."[298] The first part of the *General Examen* concerned the instruction about the

[295] Two explicit mentions of Ignatius and his early companions learning from their experience appear in the *Formula of the Institute*, regarding poverty §5, p. 69 and admission to profession not being easy §6, p. 71. Examples of earlier rules incorporating points learned from experience include: John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book X: Chapter 25, p. 234 on *acedia*; RB 59.6, p. 273 on receiving the sons of nobles or of the poor; *Rule of Carafa*, p. 67 on poverty.

[296] Geger, "The *First* First Companions," 7.

[297] *Cons*. §146, p. 127 states "Wherever someone has the power of admitting, there should be a complete text of the *Examen* in the languages which are commonly found necessary, such as the vernacular of the region where the residence is and the Latin. The *Examen* is proposed to the one who seeks admission, before he enters the house to live in common with the others."

[298] *Cons*. §146, p. 127.

"distinctive and particular features of the institute" that he desired to enter.[299] The second part of the document guided the examiner though the candidate application process: first pertaining to impediments, then general knowledge about the candidate, and then particular examinations based on the grade of the candidate.

In addition to the *General Examen*, a distinctive feature of Ignatius' legislation, compared with earlier rules, is the position of a vocation director who is referred to as the "helper" of the person who is to admit. Previous rules entrusted candidates to the porter (Pachomius) and to "those able to skillfully look into such matters" (Basil).[300] In Cassian's *Institutes*, the roles of candidate and one in probation seemed to blend; thus, the candidate in the *Institutes* was entrusted to an elder in the guesthouse for the first year.[301] Dominic's "three suitable brethren" formed a review board "to examine carefully into the character and knowledge of those to be received and refer the results to the judgment of the prior and chapter."[302] Ignatius adapted a role that previous rules and constitutions assigned to a person with another job or to a committee.[303] He not only created the position of the job of helper to the one who is to admit, but also outlined this position, which shares a number of qualities with the other positions of authority that he outlined in the *Constitutions*. Finally, more explicitly than his predecessors, Ignatius very clearly connected the job description to the end of the Society of Jesus.

Ignatius described the Jesuit who is the helper to the one who has the authority to admit (ordinarily, the provincial superior).[304] Ignatius offered a comprehensive job description for the

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[299] Aldama, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, 22.

[300] LR 10.2, p. 195.

[301] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 7, p. 81.

[302] *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XIII, p. 221.

[303] It is possible that Ignatius, thanks to his secretary Juan de Polanco's notes on several earlier rules and constitutions, had the Dominican committee model in mind when he profiled his vocation director. Hsü, *Dominican Presence in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 18–19.

[304] *Cons*. §141, p. 126.

helper, nowadays known by the contemporary name of vocation director. This helper is to accompany candidates in order "to know those who enter, to converse with them, and to examine them."[305] He is to be a man of character who possesses "discernment and skill in dealing with persons of such different types and temperaments, that the matter may be carried on with greater clarity and satisfaction on both sides for divine glory."[306] As a model Jesuit, he "ought to know the Society's concerns and to be zealous for its good purposes."[307] In carrying out his job, he should be "moderate to admit" and "free from affection when occasion for it might exist."[308] He should balance securing "an increase of workers for the holy vineyard of Christ, our Lord," with admitting "only those who possess the qualifications for this Institute for the divine glory."[309] Finally, the vocation direction should have the *General Examen* in writing so he can better observe its instructions.

These two innovations, the *General Examen* and the vocation director, show Ignatius' attention to the end of the Society, which we will now treat in the next section.

The End of the Society

Most of the rules that we explored above clearly stated an end. For Pachomius, Basil, and Augustine the end was harmonious living. Cassian's proximate goal of purity of heart led to the ultimate end of the reign of God. Ignatius, following these rules, "saw each single statement, directive, or prescription of his Constitutions as a means toward" the goal of bringing "greater

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[305] *Cons*. §142, p. 126.

[306] *Cons*. §142, p. 126. "The helper should possess discernment and skill in dealing with persons of such different types and temperaments, that the matter may be carried on with greater clarity and satisfaction on both sides for divine glory." Anyone who has been on a "Come and See" weekend would grasp Ignatius' description of "persons of such different types and temperaments." The fact that Ignatius emphasizes "greater clarity and satisfaction on both sides for divine glory" is a key reason why some vocation directors have changed their titles to "director of vocation *ministry*."

[307] *Cons*. §143, p. 126.

[308] *Cons*. §143, p. 126.

[309] *Cons*. §144, pp. 126–127.

glory to God."[310] Ignatius' *Constitutions*, *Spiritual Exercises*, and letters all give evidence of this end.

The end of the Society appears early on in the *General Examen*, a document written by Ignatius meant to give a sketch explaining the Society of Jesus to newcomers:

> The end of this Society is to devote itself with God's grace not only to the salvation and perfection of the members' own souls, but also with that same grace to labor strenuously in giving aid toward the salvation and perfection of the souls of their fellowman.[311]

This end is consistent with the language found in the "Principle and Foundation" of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Ignatius stated: "The human person is created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul…we ought to desire and choose only that which is more conducive to the end for which we are created."[312]

In the beginning of the *Formula of the Institute*, one finds the means by which the end, the greater glory of God, is strenuously carried out. "Whoever desires to serve…" should "keep what follows in mind":

> by means of public preaching, lectures, and any other ministration whatsoever of the word of God, and further by means of the Spiritual Exercises, the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity, and the spiritual consolation of Christ's faithful through hearing confessions and administering the other sacraments. Moreover, he should show himself ready to reconcile the estranged, compassionately assist and serve those who are in prisons or hospitals, and indeed to perform any other works of charity, according to what will seem expedient for the glory of God and the common good.[313]

These means all relate to the Jesuits being public ministers whose mission is apostolic work. Later on in Part VII, Ignatius expanded on this list in his treatment of how Jesuits should be missioned and what missions the Jesuits should assume.

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[310] Ganss, trans. and ed., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* 33.
[311] *Cons*. §3, pp. 77–8.
[312] *Spir. Ex.* §23, p. 289.
[313] *Formula of the Institute* §3, p 66.

Excepts below from Ignatius' letters on subjects regarding formation, assigning Jesuits, and taking on new missions reveal his dogged attention to the end.

In his "Letter on Perfection" to the scholastics at Coimbra who were spending more time in prayer exercises and fasting than studying, Ignatius emphasized the importance of the end for which the Society was founded and how it should be put into practice for the Jesuit vocation:

> So that your minds and hearts be not taken up with these paltry things, nor scattered in various directions, He would have you become converted, all united together, *occupying yourselves in the purposes for which God created you, the honour and glory of God, your salvation, and the assistance of others*.
>
> It is true that all the institutions of Christian religious life are designed for these purposes. However God has called you to this one, and here you must make a *sacrifice of yourselves continuously, for the glory of God and the salvation and well-being of others, not just a matter of general orientation, but throwing your whole life and everything you do into this enterprise*. You must co-operate in this work for others, not just by good example and by prayers of desire, but also through the other, publically visible means, arranged by His Providence for us to use in helping each other. Thus you will see how noble and royal a way of life you have adopted. There is no more noble activity for human beings, or even for angels, than that of glorifying one's Creator and, as far as they are able, of drawing creatures back to Him.[314]

Another example of Ignatius's insistence on the end of the Society guiding every activity of the Society is found in his letter to a parishioner in Morbegno who wished to keep a particular Jesuit, Father Andrea Galvanello, in his parish:

> It is true that *our Society puts all its efforts into work to help and advance the salvation of souls*. The principles both of charity and of our Institute impel us in that direction; the great spiritual need all over the world urges us ever more and more, and spurs on our own willing feet…to any place on earth *where greater hope of God's glory and the salvation of souls summon us like beacons…*[315]

Adhering to the end of the Society led to difficult decisions in areas that were considered good work. One case involved preaching to cloistered nuns. A seemingly easy decision to focus energy outside of the cloister and preach more publically, thus reaching more people for a more

[314] Letter 169, I:495–510; trans. Munitiz and Endean, 172–173. [My emphasis]
[315] Letter 4184, VI:347–48; trans. Munitiz and Endean, 264–265. [My emphasis]

universal effect, led to a difficult case in March 1555 for Ignatius. He had encountered a benefactor named Rodrigo de Dueñas who asked for twenty sermons a year in a monastery of nuns. The favor was not granted, since according to Da Câmara, "we might be left with only one preacher in our college in Medina, who would be more effective preaching in another church of the town…"[316] Ignatius made this difficult decision despite requests from high-ranking people. Da Câmara used this case study as an occasion to elaborate on Ignatius' way of proceeding with regard to the end of the Society:

> Whatever motive of human respect or difficulty arose, our Father never hesitated from doing what he considered might be a *greater service to God or of advantage to a neighbour*. It often happened that there were in Rome one or two excellent apostolic workers occupied in various tasks, of such value that it seemed neither the residence nor the College in Rome could continue to exist without them: despite all of this, if the opportunity presented itself of working elsewhere outside the city to help souls more universally and with great honour to God, the Father would break immediately with all the particular considerations of persons in the residence or in the College, and send the men there, and when the immediate superiors or others in the residence began to tell him how much such persons would be missed, he would reply to them very gently, "what would we do if so-and-so or so-and-so died? Well, then, reckon that they are dead!" or something similar.[317]

When compared with earlier rules, it is striking how clearly structured the *Constitutions* are with regard to emphasizing the end of the Society. The early rules such as Pachomius and Augustine read more like house rules found on a community bulletin board. Cassian's rule was a description of the monasteries he visited in Egypt. Basil's *Great Asketikon* was a question-and-answer document about issues in monastic life. Of the legislation that followed, *The Rule of St. Benedict* and the *Primitive Constitutions* of the Dominicans are notable for their organization.

The *Rule of St. Benedict* used a variety of images to drive home its end. The monastery is a workshop of stability, emphasizing the importance of the stability of one's heart and vocation

[316] *The Memoriale of Luis Gonçalves Da Câmara*, §276, p. 162.
[317] *The Memoriale of Luis Gonçalves Da Câmara*, §276, p. 162. [My emphasis]

and his location.[318] Other images included a house of God[319] and a school for the Lord's service.[320] Each image speaks to a community whose purpose is working together in both prayer and work.

In the Prologue to the *Primitive Constitutions* of the Dominicans, the purpose of the order is clearly stated:

> [I]t is known that our Order was founded, from the beginning, especially for preaching and the salvation of souls. Our study ought to tend principally, ardently, and with the highest endeavor to the end that we might be useful to the souls of our neighbors.[321]

Although the purpose of the order is clearly stated, it is not repeated as frequently as the end is in the Jesuit *Constitutions,* which seems to highlight the point with each paragraph.

Both Benedict and Dominic added sketches of the ideal members of their respective orders in the Benedictine abbot and the Dominican master of novices, which will be addressed below, Ignatius most surely borrowed for his own sketch of the ideal Jesuit in Part IX on the superior general.

Neither of these well-organized rules, though, came close to the constant attention that Ignatius paid to the end of the order. Ganss writes about how Ignatius' worldview was applied to the *Constitutions*:

> In the Constitutions, he applied that same world view [found in the *Spiritual Exercises*] to the government and stimulation of an apostolic religious order, in the hope that its members might lovingly and vigorously associate themselves with Christ in the progressive achievement of His redemptive plan, by working for the application of the fruits of His sacrificial death to the souls of men in order to bring greater glory to God.[322]

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[318] RB 4.78, p. 187.
[319] RB 31.19, p. 229; 64.5, p. 281.
[320] RB Prologue.45, p. 165.
[321] *Primitive Constitutions.* Prologue, p. 212.
[322] Ganss, trans. and ed., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* 33.

Summary

In his book, *From Pachomius to Ignatius,* David Knowles argued that religious life evolved over time from the Egyptian monasteries to the Jesuits who had the "last word" because of their move from the cloister toward the engagement of active service to the world.[323] In the next section we will explore more specifically how Ignatius drew on the earlier rules' rich treasury of inspiration and tradition with regard to particular qualities he valued in candidates.

On the other hand, Knowles' historiography of evolution is not the only way of understanding the Jesuits' mission. O'Malley argued, referencing the work of Jerome Nadal, a close collaborator of Ignatius, that the early Jesuits, including Nadal and Ignatius had a different paradigm in mind, one based on the first apostles and St. Paul.

> No matter how important Nadal may have been in confirming and promoting an orientation in the Society, Ignatius founded the order, and he founded it with active ministry as its goal. Ignatius not only governed the order in its earliest years and inspired it by his example, but he also actually articulated in his writings *the new ideal of a religious order whose piety was unambiguously correlated with ministry.*[324]

With this word of caution stated, it is still important to understand the earlier rules because, while Ignatius needed to articulate a goal toward a mission of apostolic ministry, he and the early Jesuits were required to write up legislation to guide that mission. The Jesuit *Constitutions* was based both on the earlier rules' insistence on testing candidates and relating the requirements outlined for candidates to the end of the community.

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[323] David Knowles, *From Pachomius to Ignatius, A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 62.

[324] John W. O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 16, no. 2 (1984), 1–2. [My emphasis]

Chapter IV. Three Key Qualities of a Jesuit Candidate

In this chapter, we will focus on the *General Examen*, the particularized *examens* that follow it, and Part I of the *Constitutions*, of all are concerned with what the qualities of a "useful" [*idóneo*] candidate are. These qualities include: stability, desire and determination, and natural and infused gifts. For each of these three, I will examine the quality from a historical perspective: how did Ignatius inherit these from earlier rules and from his theological and cultural milieu? Next, I will ask how Ignatius found this particular quality to be useful toward the end of the Society. Then, how does Ignatius treat this quality in his other writings and practice? And finally, I will show how these qualities fit into the sketch of the ideal Jesuit.

Stability

In this section, we will explore how Ignatius inherited the quality of stability from the tradition of earlier legislation we surveyed above. The Jesuit *Constitutions* and Ignatius' other writings reveal his debt to the roots of stability in the ascetic tradition and also how its definition expanded in religious life since the desert. This quality is also important for serving the end of the Society as it relates to testing for a candidate's stability, achieving a stable community of novices, and training stable ministers for the apostolate. Not only do Ignatius' other writings support these points, but they also reveal a related quality of indifference.

For the desert ascetics, stability was a foundational virtue that grounded the rest of their discipline. Stability for the desert hermits consisted primarily of "remaining in one's cell," which was taken "as the principle work of the ascetic life, and in some way encompassing all other works."[325] Remaining in one's cell allowed the monk to observe the simple duties of monastic life: "weaving his baskets (for example), fasting, prayer, the reading of Scripture and the words

[325] James McMurry, "Monastic Stability," *Cistercian Studies* 1, no. 2 (1966), 212.

of the fathers, the remembrance of death."[326] Consequently, stability of place led to a "stability of mind, heart and purpose."[327] Still, this was not easy.

Stability required discernment because of the many temptations that haunted the monk to leave his cell. These temptations were often disguised by the virtue of charity: to visit another monk, to visit the sick, or to feed the poor. Gradually monks realized that time away from the stability of place affected their pursuit of "stability of mind, heart and purpose."[328] "The purpose of the cell coincided with the purpose of each monk's life – perseverance in the search for God…" and leaving a cell would not just be a break, but would mean the monk "would cease communing with God."[329] Discernment, usually with the help of an elder, revealed some exceptions and also some ways of resisting temptations.

Ascetic writers envisioned a variety of ways to stretch the definition of stability beyond one's location. In a similar way to the bond experienced by people praying on a silent retreat together as each individual is united in seeking God, it was possible to be united to others in charity despite living in different cells.[330] In his conference on friendship, Cassian explored this idea: "For it profits nothing if those who disagree about behavior and chosen orientation are together in one dwelling, nor is it a drawback to those who are of like virtue to be separated by distance."[331] Cassian also conceived of other ways that one could practice stability outside of the cell. He shared the story of Archebius was a monk who was stable in charity.[332] When a newcomer arrived, he offered his cell and its furniture and utensils under the guise that he was

[326] McMurry, "Monastic Stability," 213.
[327] McMurry, "Monastic Stability," 216.
[328] McMurry, "Monastic Stability," 216.
[329] McMurry, "Monastic Stability," 214.
[330] McMurry, "Monastic Stability," 215, n. 19.
[331] John Cassian, *The Conferences*, Book XVI: Chapter 3.4, p. 550; also in McMurry, "Monastic Stability," 215, n. 19.
[332] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book V: Chapter 37, p. 138.

leaving. Then he returned a few days later, only to build a new cell again, before repeating the whole episode again when more brothers came to join him.

Despite this exception, the message Cassian sought to impart to his monks was to remain in the cell. Abba Serenus, whom Cassian described as one "who reflected his own name,"[333] said, "The elders are in the habit of telling them of this powerful remedy [for laziness]: Stay in your cells, and eat and drink and sleep as much as you want, so long as you remain in them constantly."[334]

Ascetic writers warned of one particular temptation against stability: *horror loci* or the "fear of the place."[335] Cassian related this idea to the struggle of *acedia* or "a wearied or anxious heart."[336] "Once [*acedia*] has seized possession of a wretched mind it makes a person horrified at where he is, disgusted with his cell, and also disdainful and contemptuous of the brothers who live with him or at a slight distance, as being careless and unspiritual."[337] Cassian recalled fleeing his cell to seek out Abba Paul when he "had been very seriously troubled by the malady of acedia," also known as sloth or torpor.[338] Abba Moses responded to Cassian:

> You did not free yourself from it [*acedia*]; instead, you surrendered and subjected yourself to it all the more. For the adversary will fight you even more strenuously as soon as he sees that you have fled defeated from the conflict, unless you join in the battle instead of choosing to dissipate its passions, when they assail you, by deserting your cell or by torpid sleep.[339]

[333] John Cassian, *The Conferences*, Book VII: Chapter 1.1, p. 247.
[334] John Cassian, *The Conferences*, Book VII: Chapter 23.3, p. 264.
[335] For a classical treatment of *horror loci* and Ignatius' application see Geger, "To Live and Die in the Society of Jesus," 85–88; 264–265.
[336] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book X: Chapter 2, p. 219.
[337] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book X: Chapter 2, p. 219.
[338] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book X: Chapter 25, p. 234.
[339] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book X: Chapter 25, p. 234.

Cassian continued, "Hence experience proves that an onslaught of *acedia* must not be avoided by flight but overcome through resistance."[340] Cassian was pointing to a change that needed to take place interiorly rather than the exterior location of place.

In 1555, Ignatius, as superior general, responded to a letter from an overworked scholastic in Ferrara who hoped for a change of assignment.[341] In his reply to Bartolomeo Romano, Ignatius wrote, following Cassian's line of thought above, that a change of scenery was not what needed to take place, but instead a change in the heart.

> You are much mistaken in thinking that the cause of your unrest, or lack of progress in the Lord, is the place where you are or your superiors or brethren. It comes from inside, not from without: from your lack of humility, lack of obedience, lack of prayer – in a word, from your lack of mortification and fervor in advancing along the way of perfection. You can change residence, superiors, and brethren; but unless you change your interior person, you will never do well; you will be the same wherever you are until you become humble, obedient, devout, and mortified in your self-love.[342]

Later in the letter, Ignatius instructed Romano to recall the "interior man" to "God's service" by cultivating humility, obedience through conversation with his superior, prayer, and the desire for perfection.[343] Ignatius, like Cassian, pointed to the stability that is found in staying in one's place and cooperating with God's grace by resisting with various methods. The idea of cooperation or participation or a search for God suggests another reason why stability was valued in the tradition.

The monastic tradition valued stability because of the belief that since God is stable and immutable, in order for one to be like him, one must practice stability. In his funeral oration for his friend, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen wrote of Basil's pursuit of God:

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[340] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book X: Chapter 25, p. 234.

[341] Letter 5130, VIII:328f.; *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*, trans. Martin E. Palmer, John W. Padberg, John L. McCarthy (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006), 535–536.

[342] Letter 5130, VIII:328f.; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 535–536.

[343] Letter 5130, VIII:328f.; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 535–536.

> Philosophy [the life of piety] was his pursuit, as he strove to break from the world, to unite with God, to gain the things below, and to acquire, through goods which are unstable and pass away, those that are stable and abide.[344]

Cassian also linked stability with participation in the goodness of God:

> Therefore, since nothing is stable of itself, nothing immutable, nothing good but the Godhead alone, and every creature acquires the blessedness of eternity and immutability by arriving at it not through its own nature but through participation with the Creator and through his grace, they cannot maintain the dignity of goodness when compared with their Creator.[345]

Related to this idea of participation in the stability of God is Cassian's means of purity of heart for attaining the end of seeing God (Mt 5:8). Purity of heart was also understood by Cassian as "tranquility or stability of heart," not necessarily purity in the sense of "a pristine state to be protected from corruption but as the trait of human beings become fully alive despite – and because of – the scars inevitably left by this life."[346]

In a more grounded way, identification with God in the monastic life for Benedict entailed patience, related to stability. At the end of the prologue of his *Rule*, Benedict writes about not "swerving" from Christ's teachings in the monastery but "though patience shar[ing] in the sufferings of Christ."[347] Soon thereafter, Benedict criticized monks called the "gyrovagues, who spend their entire lives drifting from region to region, staying as guests for three or four days in different monasteries"[348] who because of their unstable existence could easily fall into "wandering without a purpose."[349]

Ignatius demonstrated that the stability of God was the reason for his men to hold fast to the grade they have been assigned. In the *General Examen* he wrote about spiritual coadjutors

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[344] Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 77.
[345] John Cassian, *The Conferences*, Book VII: Chapter 23.4.1, p. 792.
[346] Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, 42.
[347] RB Prologue 50, p. 167. See also Fry, *RB 1980*, p. 167, footnote Prol. 50 "'patience…sufferings' (*passionibus…patientiam*): The two Latin words are from the same root."
[348] RB 1.10, p. 171.
[349] Joseph F. Conwell, *Impelling Spirit, Revisiting a Founding Experience: 1539 Ignatius Loyola and his Companions* (Chicago, IL: Loyola Press, 1997), 176.

(helper priests) who might seek to change their grade. Rather than pondering whether to become a professed father or temporal coadjutor (brother), he "should with all humility and obedience proceed to make his way along the same path [his original vocation as a spiritual coadjutor], which was shown to him *by Him who knows no change* and to whom no change is possible."[350]

Ignatius inherited the idea of stability in one's vocation and in one's place in the community from the ascetic tradition. Early in his *Precepts*, Pachomius instructed the newcomer to sit only where he is told to sit, and he "shall not be allowed to change his place or rank of sitting until…his own housemaster transfers him to the place he should have.[351] Francis wrote about brothers: "And those who are illiterate should not be eager to learn."[352] In his rules for lay brothers, Dominic wrote, "Furthermore, no lay brother shall become a cleric or dare occupy his time with books for the purpose of study."[353] One of the first things a Dominican novice master should teach his novices is "that they should hold to the place they have been assigned…"[354]

Each of these seemingly punitive points from previous rules and constitutions were actually directives that were related to the ends of their rules. Being seated by rank in the Pachomian communities was a way of serving his end of harmonious living. For Dominic, the preachers were to use their time wisely in order to become specialists in their craft. Therefore the lay brothers were to be focused on the temporal needs of the community to free the preachers to serve the end of the order.

With this background, Ignatius' directive to brother candidates might seem a bit less harsh. A temporal coadjutor ought not to seek "more learning than he had when he entered."[355]

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[350] *Cons.* §116, p. 113. [My emphasis]
[351] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §1, p. 145.
[352] *Regula bullata*, Ch. X.7, p. 144.
[353] *Primitive Constitutions*, Part II, XXXVII, p. 251.
[354] *Primitive Constitutions* Part I, XII, pp. 219–20.

This idea best shown in an example by Da Câmara, who related a story of a brother who, while trusted with the task of tending the stables, taught himself to read.[356] One would think this "self improvement" would be a noble pursuit, but one can also imagine how well he was doing the job he was asked to do which was related to helping to serve the greater glory of God.[357] In this example, if the horses were not fed on time, perhaps they would not be ready for an itinerant preacher to travel to the next town to preach a mission.

As stability became solidified as a virtue in the ascetic life, communities began to include it among the criteria for which novices in probation were tested. For Basil, probation should prove if one is of "firm mind and stable purpose and prompt disposition," and if so then "he should be received."[358] For Benedict, "perseverance in…stability" was a requirement for a novice to move along through probation.[359] On the admission of priests or any cleric, Benedict wrote that if they wish to stay in the community, they must "promise to keep the rule and observe stability."[360] Benedict also insisted on stability with visiting monks who wished to remain in the monastery: one should "bind himself to stability…But if during his stay he has been found excessive in his demands or full of faults, he should certainly not be admitted as a member of the community."[361] The *Rule of Carafa* stated that no novice could be admitted to profession "without having been tested for a long time…over two to three years."[362]

Later rules, such as the *Regula bullata* and the *Primitive Constitutions* endeavored to observe a sense of stability before a candidate was even received into probation as a novice. In the *Regula bullata*, Francis wrote: "The ministers should diligently examine them concerning the

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[355] *Cons*. §117, p. 117.
[356] *The Memoriale of Luis Gonçalves Da Câmara,* §341, p. 195.
[357] *Cons*. §148, p. 128.
[358] SR 6.8, p. 193.
[359] RB 58.9, p. 267.
[360] RB 60.9, p. 275.
[361] RB 61.5–6 p. 275.
[362] *Rule of Carafa* III, p. 68.

Catholic faith and the sacraments in the Church. And if they believe all these things and are willing to profess them faithfully and observe them *steadfastly* to the end…"[363] Dominic expanded from earlier rules the list of impediments to include those with debts, hidden infirmities, age, and candidates who were members of religious orders, all of which considered the basic aspects of the stability of one's life before entrance.[364] These impediments attest to the notion of stability expanding as the sphere of influence in the work of the order grew.

Ignatius inherited stability as a candidacy requirement from the earlier rules. Like those founders before him, he outlined the first questions of the *General Examen* treating with stability in one's faith in the Catholic Church, followed by a number of impediments that would bring into question one's general stability: homicide, infamy, illness, and whether one has taken another religious habit, even for "one day."[365] Like, Dominic, questions about marriage, slavery, and health were asked.[366] Unlike Dominic who made provisions for either the chapter or papal approval of transferring members of other religious, Ignatius adamantly discouraged the practice, even for someone who took the habit for one day:

> every good Christian ought to be stable in his first vocation, above all when it is so holy, one in which he has abandoned all the world and dedicated himself completely to the greater service and glory of his Creator and Lord.[367]

Ignatius also asked how long the family of the candidate was Christian.[368] Ganss noted that while "New Christians" would eventually be discriminated against for entry, Ignatius' question

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[363] *Regula Bullata* Ch. II.2–4, p. 138. [My emphasis]

[364] *Primitive Constitutions.*Part I, XIII, p. 221.

[365] *Cons.* §§22–29, pp. 85–87. Ignatius wrote to Claude Jay on this subject, "to have taken the religious habit or lived as a hermit in monastic garb" is an impediment since "it is an indication of inconstancy to abandon the way of perfection once taken." Letter 2271, IV:36-38; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 364.

[366] *Cons.* §28, p. 86.

[367] *Cons.* §30, p. 87. Ignatius' thinking on this point also appears at the end of the second week of the *Spiritual Exercises* when he speaks of unchangeable and changeable choice. Entering religious life would seem to fall under an unchangeable decision, of which he writes: "In the case of an unchangeable election, if such has already been made, there are no further grounds for election since it cannot be undone." *Spir. Ex.* §172, p. 317.

[368] *Cons.* §36, p. 88.

related to stability in the sense of whether a person was grounded in the faith enough in order to persevere for life in a religious community.[369] Ignatius went beyond Francis who asked about faith and sacraments. Ignatius asked a number of questions about one's practice of prayer, including one's devotions, the times of prayer, spiritual conversations and reading, and Mass attendance.[370] These impediments relate to the basic stability required by a candidate who would be trained to work as a public minister.

Related to probation, Ignatius' longer novitiate than the others surveyed – save the Theatines from whom he learned about external experiments – offered a variety of ways to test the stability of the men in their vocation and in their following through with the end of the Society. Like earlier rules and constitutions, the Jesuit novitiate was a time to involve the novices in the work, prayer, and purpose of the community. But the work of the Society was not only ordered to the end of the salvation of one's own soul but also the souls of others. For Ignatius, this entailed experiences during the novitiate that would test a novice's inner stability, outside the enclosure or cloister.[371]

Additionally, a stable community was something that the founders tried to create. Basil worried that visitors, such as family and friends who were "caught up in the worldly life," would upset the stability in the community.[372] Wanderers,[373] the ancestors to the gyrovagues in Benedict, could stay in Basil's monastery, if they took on the stability of the community.[374] Cassian referred to the community life of cenobites being more conducive to stability then the

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[369] *Cons.* §36, p. 88. Ganss, trans. and ed., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* p. 88, n. 1. "This question was prudent, especially in Spain in the 1500's, because among the Christian Moriscos and Jews (*cristanos nuevos*), some were partial conversions… But many too were fervent Christians and sought to enter religious institutes; and it seems that the aim of Ignatius' question was not to exclude these *cristianos nuevos* but to be informative and ensure their reception of adequate counsel about the difficulties of religious life."

[370] *Cons.* §46, p. 90.

[371] Ganss, trans. and ed., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* 96, n. 7.

[372] LR 32, p. 233.

[373] SR 97, p. 326.

[374] Silvas, *The Asketikon of St. Basil the Great*, 27.

desert life of the hermit.[375] The very stable hermits were able to contend with the demons of desert life, yet life in community allowed for more individuals to contribute to prayer throughout the night to combat the demons in the monastery.[376] As we discussed, Benedict clearly preferred the cenobites, who live in stable monasteries, to the gyrovagues, who travel around without a purpose. In each of these cases, stability and good order of the community was the concern. Outsiders could upset this order and cause distractions.

Ignatius, like Basil who was concerned about whether accepting an unstable candidate would be a detriment to the community,[377] worried at the outset about the stability of the community of novices. Like Cassian and Benedict, who wrote about novices living in a guest house or a separate dwelling, Ignatius strove for a similar living arrangement so as not to upset the peace of the novice community as they were just beginning their time in religious life. While he insisted vehemently on the writing of letters to join minds and hearts later in the *Constitutions*,[378] he made sure that superiors would read letters and discourage outside communication with Jesuit novices.[379] Ignatius also warned against admitting "very difficult" people, since their admission, although "useful to themselves" would not be "conducive to His greater service and praise."[380] Finally, in order to cultivate interior stability in the Jesuit throughout formation, Ignatius instituted simple, perpetual vows for "their own greater merit and stability."[381]

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[375] John Cassian, *The Conferences*, Book XIX: Chapter 6.5, p. 674.
[376] John Cassian, *The Conferences*, Book VII: Chapter 23.1, p. 263.
[377] LR 10, p. 194.
[378] *Cons.* §673, p. 292.
[379] *Cons.* §244, p. 154.
[380] *Cons.* §152, p. 129.
[381] *Cons.* §119, p. 114.

One quality related to stability that Ignatius valued was indifference. He preferred that candidates approach the Society of Jesus, and particularly their grade,[382] with the ideal of indifference – not in the sense of being unconcerned but rather with an interior freedom toward disordered attachments.[383] He also valued this quality in the vocation director who should be "free from affection when occasion for it might exist."[384]

Throughout the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius sought to cultivate this ideal of indifference. In the first annotation, Ignatius defines a spiritual exercise as "every way of preparing and disposing one's soul to rid herself of all disordered attachments, so that once rid of them one might seek and find the divine will in regard to the disposition of one's life for the good of the soul."[385] Indifference to created things is called for later in the "Principle and Foundation." Ignatius encouraged a retreatant to become indifferent to such things and "desire and choose only what helps us more towards the end for which [he or she is] created," which is "to praise, reverence and serve God Our Lord, and by so doing to save his or her soul."[386] When making an election during a tranquil time to either a changeable position or an unchangeable state of life, Ignatius invited the retreatant to

> be in an attitude of indifference, free from any disordered attachment, so that I am not more inclined or attracted to accepting what is put before me than to refusing it, nor to refusing it rather than to accepting it. Rather I should be as though at the centre of a pair of scales, ready to follow in any direction that I sense to be more to the glory and praise of God Our Lord and the salvation of my soul.[387]

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[382] *Cons.* §15, p. 83.
[383] George Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius* (Chicago, IL: Loyola Press, 1992), p. 151, n. 20.
[384] *Cons.* §143, p. 126.
[385] *Spir. Ex.* §1, p. 283.
[386] *Spir. Ex.* §23, p. 289.
[387] *Spir. Ex.* §179, p. 318.

While stability for the monk entailed remaining in his cell, for Ignatius, whose men had "one foot in the air,"[388] stability meant remaining grounded in the "Principle and Foundation" and indifferent to attachments in order to seek the greater glory of God in all that he did.

Even though Jesuits would spend most of their time outside of the community, Ignatius and the early members of the Society sought "companionship in the Lord and a center in the vicar of Christ…they had chosen to be pilgrims for the rest of their lives, finding stability in both the outer and the inner pilgrimage."[389] Unlike the gyrovagues dismissed by Benedict, Ignatius and his early companions traveled with purpose, imitating Christ and the apostles.[390] Also like Benedict's direction for his monks, each Jesuit had prayed to share with Christ his sufferings and also enter into glory with Christ. While this required an inner disposition, it was also relevant to apostolic ministry. Nadal referred to this ideal of prayer and action in Ignatius himself:

> Father Ignatius enjoyed this kind of prayer by reason of a great privilege and in a most singular manner, and this besides, that in all things, actions, and conversations he contemplated the presence of God and experienced the reality of spiritual things, so that he was a contemplative likewise in action (a thing which he used to express by saying: God must be found in everything).[391]

Ignatius' idea of stability on the move was not an innovation in the Church though. Gregory the Great, in his *Pastoral Rule*, criticized ascetics who value their own personal stillness over the "assistance of others, when, in fact, the only-begotten of the supreme Father came forth from the bosom of the Father into our midst so that he might benefit the many…"[392]

Later during the time of the founding of the mendicant orders, the common understanding of stability was tested in the Church by the Franciscans and Dominicans who would move from

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[388] Thomas H. Clancy, "Saint Ignatius as Fund-Raiser," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 25, no. 1 (1993): 3.

[389] Conwell, *Impelling Spirit*, 176.

[390] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 66–7.

[391] Peter Schineller, "In Their Own Words, Ignatius, Xavier, Favre and Our Way of Proceeding," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 38, no. 1 (2006), 6.

[392] PR, Part I, §5, p. 38.

house to house freely and have provincials who governed various houses and regions.[393] More remarkable was the fact that these mendicant orders were founded when the Church was trying to reestablish stability in monasteries and among monks, evidenced by the last few sentences of Canon 13 of the Fourth Lateran Council: "We forbid, moreover, anyone to attempt to have a place as a monk in more than one monastery or an abbot to preside over more than one monastery."[394]

In the above, we have shown how Ignatius inherited the classic virtue of stability from the ascetic tradition going back to the time of the desert fathers and repositioned it to serve the end of his Society as he tested candidates, formed novices, and assigned Jesuits. His decisions in these actions related to his own disposition of indifference, which he also hoped to inculcate in Jesuits starting in the candidacy period.

Desire and Determination

In this section, we will explore how Ignatius' attention to desire and determination continued the tradition found in the classic rules and constitutions we surveyed above. Ignatius, however, repositioned the qualities of desire and determination to fit the apostolic end of his order. First, we will explore the roots of the desert ascetics' desire for God and the determination to persevere in living out that desire with a discipline. Then we will explore how Ignatius may have inherited a few aspects of how earlier communities tested for the desire and determination of candidates, particularly how rules and constitutions outlined steps for (1) testing of candidate's desire and determination to make sure that a candidate's vocation was a lasting one; (2) examining candidates in order to identify accompanying qualities in his character such as

[393] Conwell, *Impelling Spirit,* 518, n. 25.

[394] Conwell, *Impelling Spirit,* 518, n. 25; Lateran IV, "On the prohibition of new religious orders" (1215) §13 in Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 242.

freedom, courage, and generosity; (3) ensuring that a candidate had the drive that fit a particular community's end.

In the *Life of Antony*, a young Antony heard a passage from Matthew 19, which eventually set his vocation in motion and offers us a helpful paradigm for understanding desire and determination as they relate to the ascetic life. On the way to church, Antony, who had been living a moral life, obedient to his parents until their recent death, pondered how the apostles left everything to follow Jesus.[395] Once inside "the Lord's house," he heard the Gospel passage of the rich man's encounter with Jesus in Matthew 19. The rich man approached Jesus, and articulating his desire, asked, "Teacher, what good must I do to gain eternal life?"[396]

Jesus, then, instructed him to keep the commandments, but the rich man responded, "All of these I have observed. What do I still lack?" (Mt 19:20) Essentially the rich man was searching for something more in his life. Jesus said "to him, 'If you wish to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give to [the] poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me.'" (Mt 19:21) Jesus offered the rich man a difficult discipline in order to follow God more perfectly. Alas, the rich man "went away sad, for he had many possessions." (Mt 19:21) Unfortunately, he did not have the determination to carry out the discipline.

Before explaining how this encounter illustrates a paradigm of desire and determination, it is helpful to start with a definition. In an article on desires in the spiritual life, E. Edward Kinerk streamlined the dictionary definition for "a desire" which "is an *inclination* toward some *object* accompanied by a *positive affect*."[397]

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[395] *Life of Antony*, §2, p. 31.
[396] *Life of Antony*, §2, p. 31.
[397] E. Edward Kinerk, "Eliciting Great Desires: Their Place in the Spirituality of the Society of Jesus," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 16, no. 5 (1984), 3. [Emphasis in the original]

The rich man clearly expressed his desire. The object the rich man desires was "eternal life" with God. He sought a good teacher to help him understand his desire. Jesus suggested living out the commandments as a way of attaining his object, but the man told Jesus that he is already doing these things. Looking at him with love, Jesus noticed a deeper hunger, a desire for more. When the rich man heard Jesus' answer, he took leave of the good teacher because he did not have the determination.

The encounter between the rich man and Jesus (and Antony's own experience) demonstrates how the ascetic life is not lived in a vacuum. The man sought a teacher to help him live out his desire. In fact, the commandments that Jesus pointed to are all associated with relationships. Similarly, although Antony lived for nearly twenty years as a solitary, he first learned about the discipline from an elder.[398] Later "many possessed the desire and will to emulate his asceticism…and some of his friends came and tore down and forcefully removed [his] fortress door."[399] Greeting them, Antony shared his insights about the discipline, and he "persuaded many to take up the solitary life."[400] Consequently, those who met Antony in person and those who encountered him through reading Athanasius' *Life* were inspired to search for something more in their own lives. This "more" in the Christian ascetic life, classically referred to as "perfection," entails one relying on others as well as on tradition and Scripture in their desire and determination to find God.

Each of the founders we have covered started their communities as a result of an earlier inspiration. Christians feeding the hungry inspired Pachomius who then sought out Palamon as a mentor. Augustine noticed how others joined a monastery after reading the *Life of Antony*. Then, Augustine's own life began to turn at hearing Ambrose's homilies. Basil and Cassian found

[398] *Life of Antony*, §3, p. 32.
[399] *Life of Antony*, §14, p. 42.
[400] *Life of Antony*, §14, p. 42.

motivation in the holy monks they met in their respective monastery tours. Benedict and his *Rule* moved Gregory the Great. A sermon on Matthew 9–10 to preach the Gospel without money inspired Francis' way of life. Carafa and Thiene, the founders of the Theatines, sought to transmit the renewal they witnessed in the holiness of the mostly lay members of the Oratory of Divine Love to the lax clergy of their day. Finally, during his convalescence, reading the lives of Francis and Dominic inspired Ignatius. Ignatius dictated the following episode in his *Autobiography*:

> Still, Our Lord was helping him, causing other thoughts, which were born of the things he was reading, to follow these. For, while reading the lives of Our Lord and the saints, he would stop to think, reasoning with himself: 'How would it be, if I did this which St. Francis did, and this which St. Dominic did?' And thus he used to think over many things which he was finding good, always proposing to himself difficult and laborious things. And as he was proposing these, it seemed to him he was finding in himself an ease as regards putting them into practice. But his whole way of thinking was to say to himself: 'St. Francis did this, so I must do it; St. Dominic did this, so I must do it.'[401]

Each of these founders sought to imitate the life of Christ found in exemplars within the tradition of the Church. In addition to one's desire for God being inspired by the example of others, the perseverance in the ascetic life that followed required the guidance of others in order to give structure to one's determination in living out a search for God.

Once these founders understood their desire then they were determined to live it out somehow. Comparable to how Antony and Pachomius each sought elders to teach them in the ascetic life and then lived out their ascetic lives in different ways, Ignatius was determined to live out a holy life after his time of recuperation. Ignatius had a clear desire to turn away from his former life. First this meant living in Jerusalem, but soon after the Franciscans ordered him to leave, Ignatius began to realize that years of formal study would be necessary if he wanted to share his spiritual insights with others officially as a priest. Through discernment he recalibrated

[401] "Reminiscences" §6, p. 15.

his desire and the determination to follow it through, which led Ignatius to gather companions to found the Society of Jesus in order to save their own souls and to help the souls of many more for the greater glory of God.

Aspirants to the ascetic life since the times of the desert realized that the prerequisites for following Jesus in the radical way of Matthew 19 involved first having the desire to be perfect, and then following through on that desire by being determined to sell one's possessions, giving them to the poor, and following Jesus. The desert ascetics equated following Jesus with unceasing prayer, working to support themselves, and sharing with the poor and with others. As we discussed above, this involved renouncing all that was concerned with the world: family, possessions, and desires. The desert and regions outside the villages – far from the "worlds" they had just renounced – were the settings for this ascetic life since (1) the religion practiced in the towns was lax and (2) in the desert one could be completely focused on the discipline and on conquering one's worldly desires.

Ignatius learned from communities whose rules suggested employing discernment in order to know if a man truly desired God or if his desire was related to some other attachment or swayed by the bad spirit. Early on this testing was related to whether a candidate was desirous and determined enough to persevere.[402]

The early rules give evidence that an initial necessary step involved the expression of a candidate's desire. Many of the rules surveyed above begin with explicit acknowledgment of a candidate's desire. Pachomian candidates were those who "wish[ed] to renounce the world."[403] Cassian wrote about those who had "a desire to turn to God."[404] Candidates to the Franciscans

[402] De Vogüé, "The Criteria of the Discernment of Vocations in the Ancient Monastic Tradition," 148.
[403] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §49.1, p. 152.
[404] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 1, p. 79.

were referred to as those who "wish[ed] to accept this life."[405] Dominican candidates answered the question "What do you seek?" and then were asked what their "will is?"[406] Carafa reminded "those who wish" to join that the Theatine way of life consisted of "the narrow gate."[407]

In the spirit of the early rules which suggest a wait at the monastery door as the first step in candidacy, Ignatius sought to test one's initial desire and to offer instructions on the nature of the Society. He invited "whoever desires to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in our Society"[408] to

> "*ponder long and seriously*, as the Lord has counseled [Luke 14:30], whether they possess among their resources enough spiritual capital to complete this tower; that is, whether the Holy Spirit who moves them is offering them so much grace that with His aid they have hope of bearing the weight of this vocation."[409]

While the requirements for candidacy in earlier rules tended to blend the roles of the candidate and the one who had entered the monastery but was still under probation, such as a novice, Ignatius made clear distinctions between his expectations for the candidate and the one in probation in terms of desire and determination. In the *Rule of St. Benedict*, for example, discernment on the novice's part continued throughout the novitiate, a practice characterized by the statement:

> he must be well aware that, as the law of the rule establishes, from this day he is no longer free to leave the monastery, nor to shake from his neck the yoke of the rule which, in the course of *so prolonged a period* [the one-year novitiate] *of reflection, he was free either to reject or to accept*.[410]

In contrast, for Ignatius, before the candidate could be accepted into the novitiate, he was to express his "deliberate determination to live and die in the Lord with and in this Society of

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[405] *Regula bullata*, Ch. II.1, p. 138.
[406] *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, XIII, p. 221.
[407] *Rule of Carafa*, p. 70.
[408] *Formula of the Institute* §3, p. 66.
[409] *Formula of the Institute* §4, p. 68. [My emphasis]
[410] RB 58.15–16, p. 269. [My emphasis]

Jesus…"[411] In order to make such a decision Ignatius learned from the earlier rules the importance of freedom.

Earlier rules made provisions for examining a candidate's desire and determination, in terms of whether a candidate was free to enter. Pachomius' command for a newcomer to "make yourself known"[412] would hopefully reveal if someone was a fugitive from marriage, slavery, or some other obligation. Benedict hoped to determine whether a candidate "truly seeks God."[413] This would involve not only ruling out false motives but also testing whether one was willing to give up his own will, in order to desire what Christ desires. Periodic reading of the *Rule of St. Benedict* during the novitiate was a way of allowing the novice to make an informed decision of the monastery he was about to enter. This was clear in Benedict but regular reading of the rule also seemed to be a practice in the *Rule of St. Augustine*.[414]

In addition to examining candidates for impediments involving external obligations and occasions for scandal – as we observed in earlier rules and with the Jesuit *Constitutions* above – Ignatius was also concerned whether someone was *interiorly* free to enter. During the course of the examination, if the candidate passed through a number of impediments, Ignatius listed in Chapter 3 of the *General Examen* "certain questions" so that "the candidate may become better known." Several of these questions treat a candidate's stability, but then Ignatius closed with a few points related to desire and determination, in which he uses these two words interchangeably.

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[411] *Cons*. §51, p. 91. See *Cons*. §194, p. 137 for the exception of the possibility of a brief delay: "If for some good reasons a candidate not yet entirely resolved to serve God our Lord in this Society should be admitted into the house, he should be received as a guest and not for the first or the second probation. But the one in charge should not easily permit this for more than three days, nor without permission from the superior general or at least from the provincial."

[412] Pachomius, *Precepts*, §49.3, p. 153.

[413] RB, 58.7, p. 267.

[414] *Rule of St. Augustine*, Ch. 8.2, p. 103.

Ignatius in three crucial points moved from the general to the particular ultimately concluding with the end of the Society. Answers to these questions determined whether or not the rest of the examination would continue.

First, generally speaking, Ignatius wrote, "Is he determined to abandon the world and to follow the counsels of Christ our Lord?"[415] Ignatius then wanted to get to the root and test the strength of this desire: how long ago did he make this decision; has he wavered and to what extent; more incisively, when did these desires to "leave the world and follow the counsels of Christ" begin to come; finally, what "signs or motives" accompanied them.[416]

Second, Ignatius focused specifically on the Society and asked the candidate about his "deliberate determination to live and die in the Lord with and in this Society."[417] Again he asked the related questions of "since when?" and "where and through whom was he first moved to this?" What follows is a passage that reveals Ignatius' desire for a lasting vocation grounded in one's free desire and determination to answer God's call. It has roots in earlier rules and in Ignatius' other writings.

If the candidate was "not moved by any member of the Society" in his desire to seek entrance, then the interview may continue, but if the candidate responds that he was moved, Ignatius suggested on a pause in the process. If the candidate was moved to these generous desires by another Jesuit – which Ignatius reminded us is licit and meritorious – then:

> it would seem to be more conducive to his spiritual progress to give him [the candidate] a period of some time, in order that, by reflecting on the matter, he may commend himself completely to his Creator and Lord *as if no member of the Society had moved him,* so that he may be able to proceed with greater spiritual energies for the greater service and glory of the Divine Majesty.[418]

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[415] *Cons*. §50, p. 91.
[416] *Cons*. §50, p. 91.
[417] *Cons*. §51, p. 91.
[418] *Cons*. §51, p. 91. [My emphasis]

This is related to Annotation 15 from the *Spiritual Exercises* which states: "The one giving the Exercises ought not to move the one receiving them...to one state of life more than to another."[419] The giver of the Exercises should remain "in the middle like the pointer of a balance, should leave the Creator to work directly with the creature, and the creature with the Creator and Lord."[420] Ignatius was concerned about "anything that might suggest that he [the director] is trying to push him [the retreatant] toward the Society."[421]

Third, this time of reflection would allow the candidate to concentrate on the end of the Society he wished to enter:

> If, after reflection thus about the matter, he feels and judges that for him *to enter this Society is highly expedient for greater praise and glory of God our Lord and also that he may better save and perfect his own soul by helping other souls*, his neighbors; and if he asks to be admitted in our Lord into this Society with ourselves, then the examination may be carried forward.[422]

Even this step requires not only the realization that one desires to enter the Society, but also the second half of this sentence requires one specifically *to ask* to be admitted. If so, then the examination may continue.

Freedom to make this sort of decision is related to the decision regarding the renunciation of possessions by the Franciscan candidate as outlined in the *Regula bullata*. Francis writes that the brothers and their ministers should not "become soliticious over their temporal affairs, so that they [candidates] may freely dispose of their goods as the Lord may inspire them."[423] Ignatius' idea of giving a candidate more time to make sure the decision was entirely his and God's and not moved by another Jesuit might have roots in the way Francis suggested for those who "stand

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[419] *Spir. Ex.* §15, p. 286.
[420] Ibid.
[421] "Directory Dictated to Father Juan Alonso de Vitoria" §8 in *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises: The Early Jesuit Manuscript Directories and the Official Directory of 1599*, ed. Martin E. Palmer (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 18. Hereafter "Directory Dictated to Father Juan Alonso de Vitoria."
[422] *Cons*. §52, p. 91.
[423] *Regula Bullata* Ch. II.7, p. 138.

in need of counsel (regarding disposing of wealth), the ministers may have permission to send them to some God-fearing persons who may advise them how they should give what they have to the poor."[424] Both Ignatius and Francis understood the importance of allowing a candidate to make a decision out of freedom so that in the future when one possibly wavered in determination, he could not place the blame on someone else.

Related to this key step involving freedom of desire and determination is the movement from the First Week to the Second Week of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The preparatory prayer for the First Week of the *Spiritual Exercises* is "to ask God Our Lord for grace that all my intentions, actions and operations may direct purely to the service and praise of His Divine Majesty."[425] Asking for the grace to direct one's life "purely" to the service and praise of God is related to the whole purpose of the *Spiritual Exercises*: "the overcoming of self and ordering of one's life on the basis of a decision made in freedom from any ill-ordered attachment."[426] This is exactly what Ignatius is asking the candidate to do when he is asked to ponder if he was moved by anyone else in his desire.

After one has purified his desires in the First Week of the *Spiritual Exercises* or during this pause regarding desire and determination, then what comes next in the examination could best be related to the transition exercise of the Second Week – the "Call of the King" – where one identifies with the apostolic Christ on mission. Ignatius, like the authors of the earlier rules, reminded the candidate that entrance to the Society will mean identification with Christ. While the earlier rules tended to see this identification with Christ meek, crucified, and suffering in order to align their ascetic ends with him, Ignatius not only included these aspects and tests for

[424] *Regula Bullata* Ch. II.8, p. 138.
[425] *Spir. Ex.* §46, p. 294.
[426] *Spir. Ex.* §21, p. 289.

them but also wanted to foster a candidate's desires to be in the world with Christ on apostolic mission.

If this last section was on purifying desires, then this next section is on the source of the desires. If one is truly free and he is able to hear Christ's call, then a candidate should be asked about his desire and determination to be identified with Christ.

While all the orders we have surveyed tested the candidates desire to be identified with Christ, the Jesuit *Constitutions* is significantly more focused on the identification with a Christ on mission, inspired by the "Call of the King" in the *Spiritual Exercises* who calls "the entire human race, as to all and to each one in particular" calling:

> My will is to conquer the whole world and every enemy, and so enter into the glory of my Father! Therefore all those who want to come with me will have to labour with me, so that by following me in my suffering, they may also follow me into glory.[427]

Those who offer themselves in this task, Ignatius suggested, will demonstrate his desire and determination to serve with the Christ the King:

> My resolute wish and desire, and my considered determination – on the sole condition that this be for your greater service and praise – is to imitate you in enduring every outrage and all contempt, and utter poverty, both actual and spiritual, if your most holy Majesty wants to choose me and receive me into that life and state"[428]

Robert E. McNally wrote, "Thus the teleology of the Exercises is in the direction of the real order of things, towards actual accomplishment and towards meaningful service."[429] McNally also pointed to the "Contemplation for Attaining Love" in the Fourth Week of the *Spiritual Exercises*, where "Ignatius, in specifying God as the object of love, very shrewdly represents Him as a God of toil. 'God on His part," [Ignatius] writes, "works and labors for me in all

[427] *Spir. Ex.* §95, p. 304.
[428] *Spir. Ex.* §98, p. 304.
[429] Robert E. McNally, "The Council of Trent, the Spiritual Exercises and the Catholic Reform," *Church History* 34, no. 1 (1965), 40.

created things on the face of the earth. Love on my part ought to be found in deeds rather than words."[430] Thus, in light of the "Call of the King" and paying attention to God as a God at work, the "unexpressed prayer" in the *Spiritual Exercises* is one of desire for courage and generosity: "O God, Who art in truth a God of labor, make me in deed to be a man of work." [431]

For Basil and Benedict, "to desire the service of God and to desire God, that is what surpasses everything else in importance"[432] regarding whether a candidate had a genuine vocation. Basil wrote about the centrality of desire in discerning a vocation:

> With those who enter the service of God as adults, we must inquire, as was said before, about their past life. It will be sufficient to test whether they seek the divine service very insistently, whether they have a *genuine and ardent desire for the work of God*. This examination must be made by those who have a great sagacity that enables them to scrutinize characters and to put them to the proof. [433]

The work of God, for Basil, included "everything that one does for God, not only prayer but also ascesis [the discipline] and work," [434] while for Benedict the "Work of God" became particularized as the choral office of praying the hours.[435]

A desire for identification with Christ is a notion that is explicit for Cassian. A monk should overcome his desires "[j]ust as someone who has been crucified, [who] no longer has the ability to move or to turn his limbs in any direction by an act of his mind…"[436]

Ignatius also looked for candidates who desire to identify with Christ in suffering injuries, false accusations, and affronts, "and to be held and esteemed as fools…"[437] If a candidate did not yet have the desire to experience this intense identification with Christ, then

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[430] McNally, "The Council of Trent, the Spiritual Exercises and the Catholic Reform," 40. See also *Spir. Ex.* §§230–237, pp. 304–5.

[431] McNally, "The Council of Trent, the Spiritual Exercises and the Catholic Reform," 40.

[432] De Vogüé, "The Criteria of the Discernment of Vocations in the Ancient Monastic Tradition," 151.

[433] As quoted in De Vogüé, "The Criteria of the Discernment of Vocations in the Ancient Monastic Tradition," 151. [My emphasis]

[434] De Vogüé, "The Criteria of the Discernment of Vocations in the Ancient Monastic Tradition," 151.

[435] De Vogüé, "The Criteria of the Discernment of Vocations in the Ancient Monastic Tradition," 151.

[436] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 35, pp. 97–98.

[437] *Cons*. §52, p. 91.

Ignatius placed hope in one who at least desired the "desires to experience them."[438] Ignatius mentioned that this suffering could happen "inside the house or Society" or outside it by any persons whatsoever on earth."[439] Receiving affronts inside the house and the order certainly relate to the earlier rules we explored, while suffering outside the house hints at the apostolic mission of the Jesuits.

Serving this apostolic mission required transparency in how a candidate shared his past life and answers the questions of the examination.[440] This manifestation of conscience, which has its roots in the spiritual master/student tradition of desert asceticism, was used by St. Ignatius for apostolic missions.[441] Understanding a subject's desires and conscience helped his superior to be better able to mission him to the right place. This is a practice that would continue as scholastics, formed coadjutors, and professed fathers.

By the end of the examination, Ignatius expected candidates to unite their desire and determination – their wills – to the will of the apostolic Christ. Rather than deadening their desires, Ignatius, through the inspirational language of the *Formula of the Institute* and *General Examen,* hoped to motivate men, first as candidates, then as Jesuits. In this way, as Ignatius wrote in a letter to Jean Pelletier, the rector of the Jesuit community in Ferrara, desire is a key component of obedience:

> Therefore all should strive to have a right intention, seeking exclusively "not the things that are their own but the things that are Jesus Christ's" [Phil. 2:21]. They should endeavor to conceive *great resolves and desires to be true and faithful servants of God and to render a good account of themselves in whatever responsibilities they are given*, with a genuine abnegation of their own will and judgment and a total submission of themselves to God's government of them by means of holy obedience, whether they are employed in high or lowly tasks. They should pray as fervently as they can to obtain this grace from the Giver of every

[438] *Cons*. §102, p. 109.
[439] *Cons*. §102, p. 109.
[440] *Cons*. §93, pp. 104–5.
[441] Ganss, trans. and ed., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* 104–5, n. 19.

> good. Moreover, the one in charge should from time to time remind them of these things.[442]

Even during the candidacy phase Ignatius hoped to channel one's desires. The disposition he hoped for was much like the one he encouraged at the beginning of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

> It is very profitable for the exercitant to begin the Exercises in a magnanimous spirit and with great liberality towards one's Creator and Lord, offering Him all one's power of desiring and one's liberty, so that the Divine Majesty may make use of one's person and of all that one has according to His most holy will.[443]

The magnanimous disposition that Ignatius hoped for in a candidate's desire to be identified with Christ[444] could be tested also with affronts in the future. Ganss suggested that here Ignatius was writing from experience of his many interactions with the Inquisition and other enemies.[445] In the end, the warnings that Ignatius gives about being tested are similar to the affronts that were experienced in the early monasteries, but for Jesuits, risks were incurred now in the apostolic arena. These reasons demonstrate why testing for one's free desire and determination was so important for Ignatius at the outset.

Natural and Infused Gifts

In this section, we will explore Ignatius's desire for Jesuit candidates to have a variety of natural and infused gifts so that they can be formed as useful, apostolic ministers. First, we will explore what Ignatius meant by natural and infused gifts and relate them to how they served the end of the Society. This will involve looking at how Ignatius gave particular instructions for the different grades in the Society. Then, we will look at how this requirement caused scandal in the years after Ignatius and also how this requirement for gifts was not exactly an innovation on

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[442] Letter 1899, III:542–50; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 347.
[443] *Spir. Ex.* §5, p 284.
[444] *Cons.* §101, pp. 107–8.
[445] Ganss, trans. and ed., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* 108, n. 23.

Ignatius' part in the history of rules and constitutions. Throughout, we will look at how Ignatius treated this quality in his other writings.

In the *Formula of the Institute*, Ignatius stressed the gifts that are essential for Jesuits: "For in all truth this Institute requires men who are thoroughly humble and prudent in Christ as well as conspicuous in the integrity of Christian life and learning."[446] This passage already hints at the balance of natural and infused gifts that we will explore below.

In the first part of the *Constitutions*, Ignatius wrote about "the candidates who should be admitted":

> To speak in general of those who should be admitted, the greater the number of natural and infused gifts someone has from God our Lord which are useful for what the Society aims at in His divine service, and the more experience the candidate has in the use of these gifts, the more suitable will he be for reception into the Society.[447]

Pedro Ribadeneira, a Jesuit who lived with Ignatius for the last sixteen years of the saint's life, described Ignatius's own way of proceeding by balancing his natural and infused gifts.

> In his enterprises he often seemed to pay no regard to human prudence, but to rely entirely on divine providence. Yet when it came to putting such enterprises into action and bringing them to a conclusion he would try out all possible ways of carrying through what he had started. But here, too, he took great care never to place his hope in human resources (which should always remain mere instruments), but in God, the producer of all good. And however the matter turned out, he for his own part wished always to preserve a joyful and peaceful heart.[448]

Examples of Ignatius's desire for both natural and supernatural gifts for candidates abound in his writings. Ignatius wrote to the mother of a Jesuit student and complimented his literary studies, flair, merit acquired by virtue, religious observance, and exemplary conduct, all qualities and activities that will help him "to be greatly loved in Christ by all who have contact

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[446] *Formula of the Institute*. §6, p. 71.
[447] *Cons.* §147, pp. 127–8.
[448] Quoted in Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian*, trans. Michael Barry (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1990), 27.

with him."[449] In other words, the scholastic had the natural and infused gifts necessary to be a useful minister to serve the apostolic end of the Society.

Natural gifts are the gifts that Ignatius stated are given by God "as Creator" and include "solid learning," preaching, "and the art of dealing and conversing with men."[450] These are the gifts that are also useful in the marketplace. Ribadeneira, who knew Ignatius very well, recalled about how he "would say that anyone not good for the world would be no good to the Society, and that the one who had talent for living in the world, that person would be good for the Society."[451] A connection to this idea is found in the *Spiritual Exercises*. During the third time of election, when the soul is not being moved by one spirit or the other Ignatius suggested using one's "natural faculties."[452]

Natural gifts were important for the apostolate for which Jesuits began to be trained even as novices. Unlike the novices of other orders, Nadal commented, Jesuit novices are not trained for "choir and other ceremonies" but for the ministry of helping souls.[453] In the *General Examen*, experiences in the novitiate involving outward work include: serving in a hospital,[454] spending a month on a pilgrimage,[455] teaching Christian doctrine to children,[456] and preaching – or for priests hearing confessions.[457] According to Ganss, like earlier orders Ignatius incorporated practices in the novitiate that would be useful as part of the life and purpose of the order, but unlike the monastic orders which were set "within an enclosure or cloister," Ignatius "intended a new form of apostolic living … in hospitals, villages, cities, or even, after one was missioned to

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[449] Letter 6087, X:483–84; trans. Munitiz and Endean, 274.
[450] *Cons.* §814, pp. 332–33.
[451] Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Treatise on the Governance of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz (Oxford: Way Books, 2016), Ch. I.3, p. 4. Hereafter Ribadeneira, *Treatise.*
[452] *Spir. Ex.* §177, pp. 317–18.
[453] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 80.
[454] *Cons.* §66, p. 97.
[455] *Cons.* §66, p. 97.
[456] *Cons.* §69, p. 97.
[457] *Cons.* §70, p. 97-8.

a distant country among unbelievers. Hence he devised his 'experiences' for his novices which would be an apprenticeship in such living out in the world…"[458]

The practice of service grows during formation. Later in a section in Part IV of the *Constitutions* about how scholastics can be instructed in the means of helping their fellowmen, Ignatius wrote, "In general, they ought to be instructed about the manner of acting proper to a member of the Society, who has to associate with so great a diversity of persons throughout such varied regions."[459]

Throughout the *Constitutions* and in his other writings, Ignatius was very careful to point out the importance of infused or supernatural gifts. In fact, the Society itself, he wrote, "was not instituted by human means; and neither is it through them that it can be preserved and developed, but through the omnipotent hand of Christ, God and our Lord."[460]

Supernatural gifts are related to the first gift in the profile of the superior general in the *Constitutions*. He is to be to be intimate with God in prayer in order to obtain all graces for the rest of the Society,[461] which relates to Ignatius' exhortation to seek God in all things:

> Practice the seeking of God's presence in all things, in their conversations, their walks, in all that they see, taste, hear, understand, in all their actions, since His Divine Majesty is truly in all things by His presence, power and essence.[462]

Ignatius modeled this quality himself. For example, in composing the *Constitutions*, we have a record in his spiritual diary of his deliberating on how to address the type of poverty the Society would practice.[463] His constant prayer of seeking God's confirmation and use of natural

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[458] Ganss, trans. and ed., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* 96, n. 7.
[459] *Cons.* §414, p. 204.
[460] *Cons.* §812, p. 331.
[461] *Cons.* §723, p. 309.
[462] Antonio M. De Aldama, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Part IX, The Superior General*, trans. Ramón E. Delius and Ignacio Echániz (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuits Sources, 1999), 25.
[463] "The Spiritual Diary" in *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 73–109.

reason is a good example of his use of the second and third times of election from the *Spiritual Exercises*.[464]

For a new type of religious order thoroughly immersed in seeking greater service in the world, Ignatius also desired for candidates be endowed with natural and supernatural gifts in order to make the best decisions for the greater glory of God.

Gifts for Grades

The next two sections are divided between those gifts pertinent to temporal coadjutors[465] and those gifts required by those who would go on to serve in spiritual matters.[466]

Ignatius was careful to list the natural and infused gifts required not only by those who would work in spiritual matters but also those who would have more earthy occupations in the Jesuit community. The temporal coadjutors, or brothers "content with the lot of Martha," should be only as numerous as needed to "aid the society in occupations" (such as "cook, steward, buyer, doorkeeper")[467] "which the other members could not fulfill without detriment to the greater service of God."[468] Still applicants to this grade should be men of virtue, "edifying for those inside and outside the house" and "eager to help…for the glory of God our Lord."[469] One thinks of how diligent the Jesuit brother, St. Alphonsus Rodriguez, was in his occupation as a doorkeeper for forty years at the college in Majorca, while at the same time edifying all who entered the doors of the house, including St. Peter Claver, who would serve in Colombia as a missionary to newly arriving slaves from Africa.

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[464] Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, p. 177, n. 97.
[465] *Cons.* §§148–152, pp. 128–129.
[466] *Cons.* §§153–162, pp. 129–131.
[467] *Cons.* §149, p. 128.
[468] *Cons.* §148, p. 128.
[469] *Cons.* §148, p. 128. This idea of edification by the brothers appears in the *Regula Bullata* Ch. VI.7 "And wherever the brothers may be together or meet [other] brothers, let them give witness that they are members of one family."

Ignatius listed the number of qualities needed for a candidate who would minister in spiritual matters.[470] He began by noting the three powers of the soul – intellect, memory, and will – a trio prominently found in the first meditation of the First Week[471] and the *Suscipe* during the Fourth Week of the *Spiritual Exercises*.[472] The qualifications related to the intellect are discretion and evidence of good judgment.[473] Related to the memory are the qualities of aptitude for learning and retaining information.[474] Qualifications related to the will are imbued with an energetic zeal for ministry and affection for the Society of Jesus "which is directly ordered to help and dispose souls to gain their ultimate end from the hand of God our Creator and Lord."[475]

Ignatius then listed a number of extrinsic gifts that are necessary for apostolic service. These include a pleasing manner of speech, good appearance, health, strength, suitable age and even nobility, wealth, and reputation, since all of these qualities "aid toward edification."[476]

In Part VII of the *Constitutions*, "The Distribution of the Members," Ignatius linked the gifts that he has outlined in Part I with the particular ways members who possess these gifts can serve.[477] The healthy and strong may be sent for "matters which involve greater bodily labors."[478] Where worry of spiritual danger exists, the "persons more approved in virtue and more reliable" are sent.[479] Positions in temporal and spiritual government are best filled with members who are discreet and "have a pleasing appearance which increases their prestige."[480]

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[470] *Cons.* §§153–162, pp. 129–131.
[471] *Spir. Ex.* §50, p. 295.
[472] *Spir. Ex.* §234, p. 329.
[473] *Cons.* §154, p. 129.
[474] *Cons.* §155, p. 129.
[475] *Cons.* §156, p. 129.
[476] *Cons.* §§157–161 pp. 129–120.
[477] *Cons.* §624, pp. 276–277. Adaptability to the apostolate can be seen in *Primitive Constitutions* in Part I, VII, p. 217: *The Menu*: "But outside the cloister, it is lawful for the brethren to eat food cooked with meat, lest they be a burden to their hosts."
[478] *Cons.* §624, p. 277.
[479] *Cons.* §624, p. 277.
[480] *Cons.* §624, p. 277.

Jesuits who have "a special gift of skill and learning" would best serve cultivated people.[481] Finally, good preachers and confessors best serve ordinary people.[482]

Since Ignatius and the early Jesuits were often accused of Pelagianism,[483] the heresy combatted by Augustine in which a believer could earn his or her way into heaven through good works, Ignatius made clear in the *Constitutions* the primacy of God's grace. In the last chapter of the *Constitutions*, Ignatius summarized this idea:

> [T]he natural means which equip the human instrument of God our Lord to deal with his fellowman will all be helps toward the preservation and development of this whole body, provided they are acquired and exercised for the divine service alone; employed, indeed, not that we may put our confidence in them, but that we *may cooperate with the divine grace* according to the arrangement of the sovereign providence of God our Lord.[484]

How did Ignatius test for infused gifts? First, the *General Examen* itself was offered as a topic of spiritual conversation, a practice which Ignatius loved, in which a Jesuit could engage with a candidate generally about the aims of the order.[485] Additionally, the role of the vocation director, or helper to one who is to admit, was to converse with and get to know a candidate. Through these conversations, a vocation director could observe hints of one's prayer life. During the application process, besides asking directly about one's prayer,[486] the candidate was asked about spiritual difficulties or scruples and if he was experiencing these, he was entrusted to the care of learned and virtuous Jesuits for spiritual direction.[487] Finally, the vocation director's observation of one's decision-making process [*Cons.* §§50–51] regarding desire and determination revealed the depth of the candidate's infused gifts.

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[481] *Cons.* §624, p. 277.
[482] *Cons.* §624, p. 277.
[483] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 250.
[484] *Cons.* §814, pp. 332–333. [My emphasis]
[485] André de Jaer, *Together for Mission: A Spiritual Commentary on the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Francis C. Brennan (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2001), 25.
[486] *Cons.* §46, p. 90.
[487] *Cons.* §§47–48, pp. 90–1.

Ignatius gave ample reasons why these natural and extrinsic gifts are useful "to the extent that they aid toward edification,"[488] yet he and later Jesuits were accused of being elitist and having ulterior motives for focusing on the wealthy and noble classes. In Directive 8, "On selecting young men and how to retain them," the author of an anti-Jesuit tract, *Monita Secreta*, mentioned ways to influence and groom students at Jesuit schools who are of "good intelligence, of uncommon comeliness who are noble and rich."[489] The directive also instructs how to receive a student into the Society in another province since it may be difficult "to attract in their homeland the sons of senators and aristocrats…"[490] This immediately brings to mind the case of St. Stanislaus Kotska, the son of a Polish senator, who traveled to Bavaria and then eventually to Rome to be received into the novitiate there. Thomas Vance Cohen in his doctoral dissertation explored the recruiting policies of the Jesuits and how there was a germ of truth regarding the recruiting policies outlined in *Monita Secreta* .[491]

Ignatius was determined to weather these sorts of criticisms because he firmly believed in serving the end of the Society. Da Câmara recalled how Ignatius addressed this sensitive topic:

> He [Ignatius] did not want to say either, that only well-educated and gifted men should join the Society, and those gifted enough to persuade their neighbours, but rather only that *those should be admitted who, beyond the need of their own perfection, helped by good example others both in the house and outside*.[492]

Ignatius' genuine appraisal of extrinsic gifts was not exactly an innovation in the Church. In his rule, Augustine gave specific instructions to both those "who had nothing"[493] in

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[488] *Cons.* §161.

[489] "The Private Directives of the Society of Jesus," Directive 8 in *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita Secreta: The Forged Secret Instructions of the Jesuits: Myth and Reality*. Series IV--Study Aids on Jesuit Topics; No. 28 (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005), 224.

[490] Ibid.

[491] Thomas Vance Cohen, "The Social Origins of the Jesuits: 1540-1600," PhD. diss., (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1973), 225 f.

[492] *The Memoriale of Luis Gonçalves Da Câmara,* §158.

[493] *Rule of St. Augustine*, Ch. 1.5.

the world before the monastery and "those who enjoyed some measure of worldly success,"[494] so that both groups could live out their "chief motivation for…sharing life together…to live harmoniously in the house and to have one heart and one soul seeking God."[495] In this case, Augustine realistically assessed what a candidate might have brought with him in terms of possessions and character.

In his *Pastoral Rule* that was "was among the most copied manuscripts to circulate in the Middle Ages,"[496] Pope Gregory the Great outlined the qualifications for a pastor. He seemed to hint that a wealthy and noble person assuming leadership being preferable, since such a person would have "no regard for worldly prosperity" and would "not lust for the possessions of others, but give freely of his own."[497] In his introduction to the *Pastoral Rule*, Demacopoulos stated that Gregory Nazianzen, who was the first to propose a combination of action and contemplation, concluded in his *Apology for his Flight to Pontus*,

> [T]he ideal candidate for the priesthood was a man who had the benefits of wealth and education (in antiquity, only the wealthy received an education) but who had abandoned the pleasures of the aristocratic life and adopted the life of abstemiousness and contemplation (i.e. the life of the monk).[498]

The Dominican *Primitive Constitutions'* insistence on the importance of study, even for novices, makes one think that gifts related to study and learning had to be a part of the screening for ordination candidates, although they were not explicitly stated in the *Primitive Constitutions*. G. R. Galbraith wrote about how the means of studying led Dominic to make some adjustments to fit the goal of forming good preachers for the salvation of souls: "the object was clearly to leave as much time as possible in each day free for study…The office was to be said quickly.

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[494] *Rule of St. Augustine*, Ch. 1.7.
[495] *Rule of St. Augustine*, Ch. 1.2.
[496] Demacopoulos, "Gregory's Model of Spiritual Direction in the *Liber Regulae Pastoralis,*" 224.
[497] PR Part I.10, p. 43.
[498] Demacopoulos, "An Introduction for the Reader," in *The Book of Pastoral Rule*, 13.

There was no mention of manual work."[499] In order to avoid "wasting his highly trained friars' time on the necessary domestic work," St. Dominic, "borrowed from other orders the system of having a sufficient number of *conversi* or lay-brothers in every house to do all the household duties."[500]

After an examination was finished, Ignatius wrote that the candidate ought to have all the qualities mentioned in the *General Examen*. However, since that is nearly impossible, the deciding factor of admission was whether "when everything is taken into account, his admission would be a service to God our Lord and conducive to the end of the Society."[501] Ignatius following the "Principle and Foundation" was not afraid to take everything into account regarding a candidate's qualities. "Everything" included even a realistic look at one's extrinsic gifts.

Summary

The following letter best summarizes how Ignatius treated the qualities of stability, desire and determination and gifts, while defining the Jesuit vocation as one that has its sights on the end of the Society.

A letter that Ignatius wrote to two Portuguese Jesuits regarding whether they should serve as confessors to King of Portugal gives a glimpse into how Ignatius viewed the vocation of the Jesuits, especially with regard to the three qualities we just surveyed: stability, desire and determination, and natural and infused gifts. After laying out the context of the letter, I will relate how Ignatius' response reinforces the "Principle and Foundation" of the *Spiritual Exercises*, the

[499] G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925), 176.
[500] Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 176.
[501] *Cons*. §162, pp. 130–131.

end of the Order, and Ignatius' insistence on linking the Jesuit vocation to this end, despite what critics might say.

In 1553, Ignatius wrote a letter to Diego Miró, who along with Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, declined the request of King John III of Portugal to serve as confessors for himself and his family.[502] Both Jesuits declined the post. They believed that accepting it would not be aligned with the Society's aim "to serve souls in conformity with [the] profession of humility and lowliness" which included a directive against seeking dignities or prelacies.[503] While Ignatius admired their motives, which were "grounded in humility," he disagreed with their decision against serving as the confessors to the King and his family.[504]

Ignatius' response helps clarify his insistence on serving the greater good. First, the priests should be interested in administering the sacraments "to persons of every condition and age," not only the lowly but also "those of highest degree."[505] Second, looking at the end of the Society, "the universal good and God's greater service," Ignatius insisted on how much more important it is to serve the King "in a matter which is so appropriate to the [Jesuit] profession."[506] Ignatius outlined a top-down approach where "spiritual benefit given to the sovereign should be rated above that which might be given to others," since the "good of the head is shared by all the body's members, and the good of the sovereign by all his subjects."[507] Ignatius was referring to what we would now call "the multiplier effect," whereby the good of the king would have a greater effect on the good of so many others because he was the head of his nation.

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[502] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 409–411.
[503] *Cons*. §817, p. 334.
[504] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 410.
[505] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 410.
[506] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 410.
[507] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 410.

After outlining these reasons for taking this position, Ignatius reminded the two Jesuits how they were to carry it out. Here we can notice hints of the aforementioned qualities from this chapter.

One of the motives for the two Portuguese Jesuits' decision was safety, which Ignatius rules was not a "pertinent" reason. Ignatius wrote: "If all we looked for in our vocation was to walk safely, having to place the good of souls second to keeping far from danger, we would have no business living and dealing with our neighbor." This relates to our discussion of Ignatius' ideal of stability, which did not involve the tranquility of the cloister, but instead a stability of purpose grounded in the "Principle and Foundation" with an eye toward what is more conducive for serving the greater glory of God. Ignatius' worldview valued indifference to "any considerations or talk from the crowd," which could keep one "from what could turn out to be of great service to God and to Their Highnesses and for the common good."[508]

Related to desire and determination, Ignatius instructed in his letter to "proceed with a pure and upright intention, not seeking our own interests but those of Jesus Christ [Phil. 2:21]."[509] The desire and determination to live out one's vocation should be linked to the things of Christ not to avoidance of difficulties since, as Ignatius wrote, Jesus "himself in his infinite goodness will protect us…" Placing hope in the Lord, Ignatius wrote, "unless his mighty hand held our profession fast, no avoidance of such dangers would avail to keep us from falling into them and worse."[510] Ignatius highlighted an important aspect of desire and determination that we covered above, when we recalled the preparatory prayer for the First Week of the *Spiritual Exercises*: "to ask God Our Lord for grace that all my intentions, actions and operations may be

[508] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 411.
[509] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 411. Ignatius also quotes [Phil. 2:21] in the letter above linking eliciting great desires with obedience.
[510] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 411.

directed purely to the service and praise of His Divine Majesty."[511] Pure intention means seeking an interior freedom to desire the things of Christ and rely on His protection in one's determination to carry them out.

Finally, Ignatius encouraged the two Jesuits in the gifts that are proper to the Jesuit Institute. Ignatius stated, "it is our vocation to have dealings with *all* people."[512] The superior general grounded this statement in the Pauline exhortation to "make ourselves all things to all people in order to gain all for Christ [1 Cor. 9:22]."[513] Ignatius reminded the Jesuits not only to have confidence in their own gifts of interacting with both kings and commoners, but to "[h]ave confidence in the divine Goodness" and of the need to "beg God our Lord to give us his abundant grace always to know his most holy will and entirely to fulfill it."[514]

Ignatius' letter offers a practical look at how he hoped Jesuits would practice the qualities of stability, desire and determination, and natural and infused gifts that he tested for in candidates, inherited from the tradition, and repositioned for the end of the Society of Jesus.

Sketch of the Ideal Jesuit

In the Declaration to the Preamble of the *Constitutions*,[515] Ignatius gave an overview of his procedure of organizing the document. He proceeded "from the less perfect to the more perfect" starting with the qualities outlined for a candidate and then moved toward his preservation and progress in probation, instruction on learning and other means of helping the neighbor, vows as a means to guide him along this path, distribution of workers in the vineyard, union with distant members in the vineyard, the Society's head and the government descending

[511] *Spir. Ex.* §46, p 294.
[512] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 411.
[513] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 411.
[514] Letter 3220, IV:625–28; trans. Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy, 411.
[515] *Cons*. §137, pp. 122–23.

from him to the body, and the preservation and development of the body of the Society.[516] After reading the qualities of a candidate, one can see them now perfected in Part IX, Chapter 2: "The kind of person the superior general should be."[517] O'Malley claimed that this is an idealized profile of what Ignatius hoped every Jesuit would be: "prayerful, virtuous, compassionate but firm, magnanimous and courteous, not without learning, unswervingly committed to the Society and its goals and a person of sound judgment."[518]

A question that may arise was whether Ignatius was describing himself? Carlos Coupeau pointed to this passage as proof of why Polanco should be seen as more than just Ignatius' scribe, since Ignatius would clearly not have been able to write about himself because of his humility.[519] The profile of the superior general, however, shows Polanco's influence, not because Ignatius was too humble (this betrays a misunderstanding of Christian humility[520] in which one properly values his God-given gifts), but due to the fact that Polanco would have gathered earlier rules and constitutions that offered profiles of ideal members of their communities. These portraits included Abbot Pinufius in Cassian,[521] Benedict's "Qualities of the Abbot,"[522] and Dominic's "Master of Novices."[523] Thus it is no surprise that Ignatius would offer a similar profile for his ideal Jesuit. The fact that this profile shows influences of other orders more likely proves

[516] *Cons*. §137, pp. 122–23.
[517] *Cons*. §§723–735, pp. 309–11.
[518] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 81. Ignatius' contemporaries felt the same way. Da Câmara writes about the first time that he read the Constitutions: "I was greatly impressed there in Rome when I read the *Constitutions* for the first time, shortly before returning to Portugal, for as I read them I seemed to see in them then a portrait of our Father [Ignatius]."
[519] J. Carlos Coupeau, *From Inspiration to Invention: Rhetoric in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2010), 206.
[520] Josef Pieper, *Faith, Hope, Love* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997), 102 references Aquinas' treatment of humility in S. Th. II–II. Q. 161. A. 5, p. 540. Pieper wrote, "humility…is the attitude of man before the face of God."
[521] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapters 30–43, pp. 94–102.
[522] RB 2, pp. 171–79.
[523] *Primitive Constitutions,* Part I, VII, pp. 219–220.

Polanco's influence since as secretary to Ignatius he collected a number of rules and made notes for Ignatius.[524]

In this section, I will take each of the six qualities of a general and note possible influences or connections to earlier rules and constitutions as well as to the three qualities of stability, desire and determination, and natural and infused gifts that we just reviewed as qualities that Ignatius looked for in Jesuit candidates.

The first quality is to be closely united and intimate with God in prayer. This quality emphasizes Ignatius' insistence on the divine founding of the Society[525] and the importance of infused gifts for a Jesuit.[526]

The superior general as the head of the Society[527] has an important spiritual role as an intercessor, which is related to the superiors profiled in earlier rules. Evidence of this idea appears in the *Rule of St. Augustine* where community members are reminded that the superior is "accountable to God for you."[528] Similarly, Benedict instructed the abbot to "always remember that at the fearful judgment of God, not only his teaching but also his disciples' obedience will come under scrutiny."[529] Ignatius' ideal Jesuit, though, requires an ongoing intercession for his subjects, rather than only rendering an account at his final judgment.

While the Jesuit candidate was asked about his prayer life in the *General Examen*[530] and novices[531] and scholastics[532] were formed to pray, Ignatius had no rule regarding prayer for professed fathers except for "discreet charity" since he assumed they were "spiritual and

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[524] Antonio M. de Aldama, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, trans. Aloysius J. Owen. (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1989), 5.
[525] *Cons*. §812, p. 331.
[526] *Cons*. §147, pp. 127–28; §813, p. 332.
[527] *Cons*. §719, pp. 307–8.
[528] *Rule of St. Augustine*, Ch. 7.3, p. 101.
[529] RB 2.6, p. 173.
[530] *Cons*. §§46–48, p. 90.
[531] *Cons*. §261, p. 158.
[532] *Cons*. §§432–345, pp. 184–186.

sufficiently advanced to run in the path of Christ…"[533] It is clear, however, that Ignatius expected candidates to have the beginnings of a prayer life that would grow in familiarity with the Lord throughout his Jesuit formation and beyond.

The second quality of the superior general, to be an "example in the practice of all virtues,"[534] and to be a model or a mirror for those in the Society and edifying for those outside the Society[535] is also rooted in the tradition. Augustine wrote of the superior: "Let him [the superior] be a model of good deeds for everyone."[536] A superior general who is "independent of all passions"[537] would possess the purity of heart of which Cassian wrote.[538]

The absence of passion was important for both candidates and vocation directors. At the beginning of a secondary list of impediments, Ignatius listed "passions which seem uncontrollable."[539] The vocation director also should be free from affection with regard to being swayed about an individual's candidacy by friends and family members and other concerns unrelated to serving the end of the Society.[540] Ignatius was looking for a candidate who is stable in his own vocation and thus from this stability could pursue his desire and determination to live out God's call.

Ignatius expected those who would be Jesuits serving in spiritual matters as public ministers to be models of the virtues they hoped to encourage in others. Even temporal

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[533] *Cons*. §582, pp. 259–60.
[534] *Cons*. §725, p. 309.
[535] *Cons*. §726, p. 310.
[536] *Rule of St. Augustine*, Ch. 7.3, p. 101.
[537] *Cons*. §726, pp. 310.
[538] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book IV: Chapter 15, p. 126. "It is like a person who is making an effort to hit at a splendid prize for excellence, which is situated high up and designated by small indicators. With the keenest gaze he estimates the trajectory of the dart, knowing that the great palm of glory and the prize and reward depend upon his accurate vision. He shuts out every other object from his sight, directing it to where it is necessary, where he sees the point with its reward and prize. There is no doubt that the palm of skill and the reward of excellence will elude him if the line of his sight deviates ever so slightly."
[539] *Cons*. §179, p. 134.
[540] *Cons*. §143, p. 126.

coadjutors should be "lovers of virtue and perfection…edifying for those inside and outside the house."[541]

The description of the virtues that follows has roots in earlier rules and constitutions. These include being able to "mingle rectitude and necessary severity with kindness and gentleness," [542] which recalls Benedict's description of the abbot who "must vary with circumstances, threatening and coaxing by turns, stern as a taskmaster, devoted and tender as only a father can be."[543] Fortitude of soul relates to the candidate's perseverance with constancy as was tested in the older rules by persevering at the door.

All of the virtues that were described as part of the second quality of the superior general are related to how useful a candidate would be later as a public minister. A virtuous man is more likely to encourage virtue in others by his example alone. Good habits speak to stability in one's soul, which would allow one to pursue his vocation with pure intention.

The third quality of a superior general, consisting of great understanding, judgment, and discernment, has a long tradition going back to Benedict who referred to discretion as the mother of all virtues,[544] useful for "directing souls and serving a variety of temperaments."[545] Interestingly, Ignatius described his vocation director in a similar way: "This helper should possess discernment and skill in dealing with persons of such different types and temperaments, that the matter may be carried on with greater clarity and satisfaction on both sides for divine glory."[546]

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[541] *Cons*. §148, p. 128.
[542] *Cons*. §727, p. 310.
[543] RB 2.24, p. 175.
[544] RB 64.19, p. 283
[545] RB 2.31, p. 177.
[546] *Cons*. §142, p. 126.

This third quality relates to the intellect, a natural gift, in which Ignatius insisted candidates "should have sound doctrine or ability to acquire it, and in respect to things to be done, discretion or evidence of good judgment which is necessary to acquire discretion."[547] A candidate's decisions and motives about their own personal life and education are helpful for understanding how a candidate might employ discretion in his life as a Jesuit. Ignatius also felt the need to note that admitting "very difficult or unserviceable" men to the Jesuits is "not conducive to His greater service and praise."[548]

A superior general who is vigilant and energetic in carrying out business, the fourth virtue, fits the image of a man on the move, at battle, not giving into *acedia*, the midday demon from Cassian's list of eight evil thoughts that could also be described as weariness and lethargy.[549]

Ignatius related this quality to the will. It is related to our treatment above of desire and determination. Jesuit candidates "should be…energetic in whatever enterprise of the divine service they undertake, and zealous for the salvation of souls."[550] An image that comes to mind is from St. Francis Xavier's letter to Ignatius from the Indies pleading for help from Europe to catechize the multitudes of people he was meeting in India.[551]

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[547] *Cons*. §154, p. 129.
[548] *Cons*. §152, p. 129.
[549] John Cassian, *The Institutes*, Book X.1, p. 219.
[550] *Cons*. §156, p. 129.
[551] "Multitudes out here fail to become Christians only because there is nobody prepared to undertake the holy task of instructing them. I have often felt strongly moved to go to the universities of Europe, especially Paris, crying out like a madman, and say to those in the Sorbonne who have more learning than good will to employ it advantageously: "How many souls are missing heaven and going to hell through your negligence?"

If only, while they studied their humanities, they would also study the account that God will demand for the talent he has given them, many might feel the need to engage in spiritual exercises, so as to discover God's will in their hearts and embrace it rather than their own inclinations, saying: "Lord, here I am. What would you have me to do?" Send me where you will, if necessary even to India." An extract from two letters from Saint Francis Xavier to Saint Ignatius, dated October 28, 1542 and January 15, 1544 in Martin O'Keefe, ed., *Supplement to the Divine Office for the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2002), 141–42.

The good health of the general, the fifth quality, speaks to the long-term preservation and growth of the Society and has its roots in the rules that prescribed moderation in diet and clothes. For Ignatius, service to the greater glory of God meant preserving good health over the course of a lifetime in order to be a healthy servant to the mission.

Ignatius connected a candidate's natural gifts of health and appearance to the end of the Society. Good health is necessary to "sustain the labors of our Institute."[552] A good appearance will help one interact well with those whom he will serve.[553]

For holding such a public position, the final virtue, extrinsic endowments, such as "nobility and wealth, which was possessed in the world"[554] as discussed earlier under natural gifts, will be helpful in encountering cultivated and noble people.

Summary

This chapter surveyed how the qualities Ignatius desired in a Jesuit candidate related not only to his profile of the ideal Jesuit but also demonstrated his continuity in thinking with the tradition of earlier orders of the Church. Ignatius's incessant desire to link all that he did, especially recruiting new Jesuits, to the end that he set forth in the *Constitutions* was revealed in each of the key qualities of stability, desire and determination, and natural and infused gifts and how Ignatius repositioned the meanings of these qualities that he inherited from the tradition to fit the end of his Society.

[552] *Cons*. §159, p. 129.
[553] *Cons*. §158, p. 129.
[554] *Cons*. §734, p. 311.

Conclusion

While the earlier rules we surveyed were slow to admit and most founders stated an end for which their communities were founded, none were more adamant about being slow to admit and single-minded on the end than Ignatius. The interplay of these two ideas is apparent in the three following warnings, in which Ignatius cautioned the one who admits and his helper (the modern-day vocation director). These warnings were not just for the sake of making entrance to the Society difficult in order to test the constancy of a candidate's vocation, rather Ignatius linked each of the following three warnings explicitly to the apostolic end of the Society (see emphasized phrases).

1. Charity for all should be chosen over the charity for one person.

> Furthermore, the one charged with admissions should be vigilant that charity for an individual does not impair the charity for all,[555] which should always be preferred as being *more important for the glory and honor of Christ our Lord.*[556]

The apostolic end of the Society of Jesus requires members of the order to "embrace all kinds of persons, to serve and help them in the Lord of all men to attain to beatitude."[557] However, this zeal for charity should be distinguished with the enthusiasm to incorporate new members into the order. That particular "charity and zeal should embrace only those who are judged useful for the end it seeks."[558]

Although the "charity for all" quoted above seems to refer to all souls, it could have a secondary meaning regarding the charity of the Society of Jesus. In this reading, one could think of a troublesome, unstable Jesuit candidate, as described by Ignatius earlier in Part I: admission of "persons who are very difficult or unserviceable to the congregation is not conducive to His

[555] The context seems to mean all souls as in the people of God rather than all Jesuits.
[556] *Cons*. §189, p. 135.
[557] *Cons*. §163, p. 131.
[558] *Cons*. §163, p. 131.

greater service and praise, even though their admission would be useful to themselves."[559] Related to our discussion of stability, an unstable Jesuit would upset the stability of the community focused on the "greater service and praise" of God.

2. The person who admits should know the Society and what kind of people can serve its purpose.

> Both he who has the authority to admit and his helper ought to know the Society's concerns and to be zealous for its good progress, so that no other consideration will be so strong as to deter him from what he judges in our Lord to be *more suitable for His divine service* in this Society. Therefore he should be very moderate in his desire to admit.[560]

This directive from Ignatius harkens back to our discussion of the discernment[561] that a vocation director must possess and his ability to be indifferent[562] to all considerations that are not related to the end of the Society.

Knowing the Society's concerns is related to this thesis in the sense of being able to situate the concerns of the Society in its founding documents and the tradition of the Church. Understanding how Ignatius' writings were grounded in the tradition could help a vocation director from being swayed by the considerations that arise from culture or other pressures.

3. Although the more universal good is the goal and would seem to imply recruiting more Jesuits, Ignatius clarifies that quality should not be sacrificed for numbers.

> Just as care should be taken to cooperate with the divine motion and vocation by endeavoring to secure in the Society an increase of workers for the holy vineyard of Christ out Lord, so too should much thought be given to admit only those *who possess the qualifications required for this Institute, for the divine glory.*[563]

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[559] *Cons*. §152, p. 129.
[560] *Cons*. §143, p. 126.
[561] *Cons*. §142, p. 126.
[562] *Cons*. §143, p. 126.
[563] *Cons*. §144, pp. 126–27. Also see *Cons*. §819, pp. 335–6.

This warning seems to sum up Chapter IV on the three key qualities of a Jesuit candidate. These qualities and how they are connected to the apostolic end of the Society should be kept in mind for a vocation director almost as a dashboard of metrics. In other words, is this particular candidate standing before me stable in his prayer life, education, and character? Does he exhibit the desire, the zeal, and determination in fulfilling his obligations in the world and his commitment to discernment? Does he have the objective gifts necessary to be a useful, apostolic minister? These questions about a particular candidate – not concerns about numbers – should guide a vocation director.

Unfortunately, space limits an exploration of how these three key qualities could be considered with regard to vocation promotion measures, but for now it is better to have a concise grounding in Ignatius' writings on the qualities of a candidate and how these qualities are related to the tradition and Ignatius' apostolic end. Before one recruits candidates, one must attend to this grounding combined with cooperation with the "divine motion."[564] This process will hopefully lead to "greater clarity and satisfaction on both sides [the Society's and the candidate's] for divine glory."[565]

[564] *Cons*. §144, p. 126.
[565] *Cons*. §142, p. 126.

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