



**“An abundance of devotion” [De 1]
A Study of Devotion in the *Spiritual Diary*
of Ignatius of Loyola**

Author: Christopher M. Staab, SJ
Director: Prof. Dr. Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, SJ

MADRID | May 2022

Table of Contents

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	13
----------------------------	----

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....	15
---------------------------	----

PART I

An overview of the theological and spiritual tradition of devotion that precedes Ignatius of Loyola

1. Constitutive discourses on devotion	29
--	----

INTRODUCTION	29
--------------------	----

1. To pledge oneself in service: ancient meanings of devotion.....	31
--	----

2. Jesus Christ: to live in the full power of devotion.....	35
---	----

3. The depth of the relationship between God and the person: two Christian reflections on devotion	39
---	----

3.1. Devotion as the desire for God – Bernard of Clairvaux	41
--	----

<i>a. The grace of recalling God’s gifts.....</i>	42
---	----

<i>b. Interior disposition for worshipping God.....</i>	44
---	----

3.2. Devotion as the will to serve God – Thomas Aquinas	46
---	----

<i>a. The offering of one’s will to God.....</i>	47
--	----

<i>b. The causes and the affective experience of devotion.....</i>	49
--	----

CONCLUSIONS	50
-------------------	----

2. <i>Devotio moderna</i> – Devotion takes center stage	53
---	----

INTRODUCTION	53
--------------------	----

1. Devotion that produces devotions: a look at late medieval devotional practices	54
---	----

1.1. Devotion that led to devotions.....	56
--	----

<i>a. Four foci of devotional practices.....</i>	57
--	----

<i>b. A devotion that unified and moved: pilgrimages.....</i>	58
---	----

1.2. A devotional text that led to the source of devotion: Ludolph of Saxony’s <i>Vita Christi</i>	61
--	----

a. <i>To be present in the Gospel scene</i>	62
b. <i>The meditation goes deeper: to do as Christ did</i>	64
2. Devotion comes into the modern era: <i>Devotio moderna</i>	65
2.1. <i>Devotio moderna</i> in the Netherlands: a new return to Christian discipleship.....	66
a. <i>General features: community life, work, relationship to learning</i>	67
b. <i>Spiritual lives: interiority, meditation, growing in virtue</i>	72
c. <i>Devotion: a life's vocation</i>	74
2.2. <i>Devotio moderna</i> in the Iberian Peninsula: spiritual reading, methodical spiritual exercises and the practice of recollection.....	77
a. <i>Cardinal Cisneros: a university, the Bible, and spiritual literature</i>	78
b. <i>García Jiménez de Cisneros: lifting your affect up to God, methodically</i>	80
c. <i>Recollection: to be filled and share with others devotion</i>	84
CONCLUSIONS.....	89
3. Devotion in Thomas à Kempis' <i>Imitation of Christ</i>	93
INTRODUCTION.....	93
1. An overview of a spiritual bestseller: author, compositional features, and genre.....	95
1.1. The question of authorship.....	95
1.2. Compositional features, style, and genre.....	98
2. Interiority, progress and devotion: the major themes of the work.....	103
2.1. A turn inward: the theme that reunites many themes.....	105
a. <i>Peace and humility</i>	106
b. <i>The spiritual life: hardships, temptation, and nature vs. grace</i>	108
c. <i>Examination, discernment, and the spiritual person</i>	110
2.2. Spiritual growth and progress.....	112
a. <i>A movement into deeper relation with God that comes from God</i>	112
b. <i>Growing in spiritual freedom and indifference</i>	116
2.3. The grace of devotion.....	118
a. <i>Consolation: a pedagogy for an internal spiritual experience</i>	119
b. <i>Devotion: a grace given that lasts in one's interior</i>	123
c. <i>Devotion and devotions to advance in the spiritual life</i>	126
d. <i>The fullness of devotion: giving glory to God</i>	128
CONCLUSIONS.....	130

CONCLUSIONS PART I

PROMISE, EXPERIENCE, AND MOVEMENT: DEVOTION.....	135
--	-----

PART II**The features and the form of the *Spiritual Diary***

4. The context, text, and hermeneutical tradition of the <i>Spiritual Diary</i> of Ignatius of Loyola	143
--	------------

INTRODUCTION	143
1. Context of the text: a burgeoning new religious order	144
1.1. The acquisition of a church and an income	146
2. The text: important (and curious) features of it	148
2.1. Textual features of the first booklet of 40 days	149
<i>a. Organizational aspects</i>	149
<i>b. Crossing out and deleting words, phrases, and paragraphs</i>	151
<i>c. Additions and insertions</i>	152
<i>d. Importance of these observations</i>	154
2.2. Textual features of the second booklet of 352 days	156
<i>a. Organizational aspects</i>	156
<i>b. Two abbreviations and a code</i>	157
<i>c. Less insertions and deletions, similar rigor, and perchance more freedom</i>	159
3. Brief history of the document and a path towards a new hermeneutic.....	160
3.1. Early testimony of Ignatius' personal notes	161
3.2. Hermeneutical perspectives that emerge from this tradition	163
3.3. A hermeneutical perspective inherent to the text: relationship	167
CONCLUSIONS	170

5. Spiritual narratives and Ignatius the writer – approaching the form of the <i>Spiritual Diary</i>	173
---	------------

INTRODUCTION	173
1. Biblical antecedents to the <i>Diary</i>	176
1.1. Jeremiah and Ezekiel: the interiority of the word.....	177

1.2. Daniel and John of Patmos: writing and interpreting the word	179
2. Narratives on the personal experience of God.....	181
2.1. Augustine’s <i>Confessions</i>	182
2.2. The <i>Memorial</i> of Blessed Angela of Foligno	185
2.3. The <i>Life</i> of St. Teresa of Avila	192
2.4. General conclusions on these three narratives for the <i>Diary</i>	196
3. A genealogy of the <i>Diary</i> – Ignatius the writer.....	199
a. <i>Arévalo – Ignatius the bookkeeper and poet</i>	200
b. <i>Loyola – Ignatius faithfully copies others’ texts</i>	203
c. <i>Montserrat/Manresa – Ignatius’ versatility as a spiritual writer</i>	205
d. <i>The entire geography of his life – Ignatius the letter writer</i>	208
e. <i>Rome – Ignatius the framer of constitutions</i>	209
CONCLUSIONS	212

6. A discernment notebook and the signs that lead him to God’s will..... 215

INTRODUCTION	215
1. Praying and writing in the <i>Spiritual Exercises</i>	219
1.1. The examination of conscience and “making a mark” [<i>Ej</i> 25].....	220
1.2. The additions which are his daily spiritual practice	223
1.3. The election and the making of a list.....	226
a. <i>The time of his election and the structure of that time</i>	229
b. <i>A hermeneutic for this time</i>	233
Excursus - the Deliberation of the First Companions.....	236
1.4. Brief conclusions on the compositional structure of the <i>Diary</i> in relation to the <i>Spiritual Exercises</i>	242
2. The genre of the <i>Diary</i>	243
a. <i>General considerations of the text as a “diary”</i>	243
b. <i>General considerations of its classification as “spiritual”</i>	245
2.1. A hypothesis – a notebook to record what he feels, so that he might know and then act.....	248
a. <i>Separation so that the signs can speak to him</i>	251
b. <i>Time – bit by bit note the course of the movement</i>	256
Excursus - signs that redact, alter and clarify earlier ones.....	259
2.2. The first booklet – the multiple texts that help him decode his spiritual movements.....	261
a. <i>A question with an alternative</i>	261

<i>b. The points for deliberation</i>	262
<i>c. His petition – the third preamble</i>	264
2.3. The second booklet – from a discernment of his prayer to a particular examination of his tears	266
<i>a. From feeling to knowing spiritual gifts – March 13th to May 28th</i>	267
<i>b. A particular examination of a spiritual gift – May 29th to February 27th</i>	268
3. A discernment notebook: a literary genre at the heart of the Jesuit charism	272
CONCLUSIONS	276

CONCLUSIONS PART II

DEVOTION: THE SIGN IN AN ITINERARY OF FEELING, KNOWING, AND ACTING.....	281
---	-----

PART III

Devotion in the Spiritual Diary

7. Devotion as promise.....	287
INTRODUCTION	287
1. The offering of himself to God	288
1.1. The structure of his prayer	288
1.2. The mass as the center of his devotion	289
<i>a. The Mass in his discernment itinerary of feeling and knowing</i>	292
<i>b. Vesting for mass</i>	295
<i>c. From “mass” to “sacrifice”</i>	298
1.3. Adapting himself to God	301
<i>a. Adapting his mind and heart for an experience of God</i>	302
<i>b. Adapting himself: a pedagogy of desire</i>	304
1.4. Savoring, delighting in, and enjoying the divine presence	306
<i>a. The joy of finding God’s will</i>	307
<i>b. Caught by the desire to delight in God</i>	310
1.5. Brief conclusions on Ignatius’ promise to God	312
2. An ever-deepening relationship with Jesus	313
2.1. The Mother and the Son as favorable to help him.....	314

<i>a. In the company of the Mother</i>	314
<i>b. The Son who sends apostles to preach in poverty</i>	317
2.2. The mediators who are no longer seen or felt.....	320
<i>a. The mediators who hide from him</i>	320
<i>b. Without feeling or seeing the mediators</i>	321
<i>c. Learning to discern the sign of the mediators</i>	323
<i>d. The Son who orders all things to the Father</i>	324
2.3. Brief conclusions of the Mother and the Son as mediators	326
<i>a. A personal, felt and immediate mediation</i>	326
<i>b. Ecclesial</i>	328
<i>c. Mediation as movement into the mystery of God's life</i>	329
2.4. Jesus who does everything.....	331
<i>a. The head of the Society comes to its superior general</i>	331
<i>b. Jesus who gives him the desire for reconciliation and reconciles him</i>	340
<i>c. Ignatius at the feet of the divine will</i>	342
2.5. Brief conclusions of Jesus as mediator.....	343
CONCLUSIONS	344

8. The experience that guides him to God's will 349

INTRODUCTION	349
1. Language, the spiritual experience, and devotion	353
1.1. Devotion: immediately present and beyond him.....	357
1.2. The sign of devotion from the inside.....	359
2. A two-fold interpretive spiritual structure	360
<i>a. Tears</i>	361
<i>b. Devotion</i>	363
2.1. Overview of devotion in the first booklet.....	365
2.2. Overview of devotion in the second booklet.....	367
2.3. An interpretive key for his discernment	368
<i>a. Movement towards God and God's will</i>	368
<i>b. The pervasive internal sensation that reliably guides him</i>	369
<i>c. A personal presence that is sought</i>	372
<i>d. Devotion that warns him to stop</i>	373
<i>e. Brief conclusions on the experience of devotion</i>	376

2.4. Thoughts, Jesus, and the new way, all in devotion.....	377
<i>a. Thoughts and devotion</i>	379
<i>b. Thoughts of Jesus and devotion</i>	381
<i>c. His discernment of a new way and devotion</i>	383
<i>d. Brief conclusions on devotion with Jesus, thoughts and the new way</i>	387
2.5. Warmth, clarity and brightness.....	388
<i>a. Sensory adjectives used</i>	389
<i>b. Other spiritual gifts that occur with this devotion</i>	390
<i>c. A devotion that creates him anew each day</i>	392
<i>d. Brief conclusions on devotion as warm, bright, and clear</i>	396
CONCLUSIONS	397
9. Moved by the gifts to the Giver of them all	403
INTRODUCTION	403
1. Movement – a basic spiritual premise	405
1.1. Devotion and consolation: distinct spiritual languages	407
1.2. Devotion and consolation: different spiritual visitations.....	412
Excursus - Spiritual visitations.....	413
1.3. From codification to expansiveness.....	415
2. Spiritual movement that guides him in his apostolic discernment	418
<i>a. Devotion and apostolic discernment</i>	418
3. The movement to trust.....	421
3.1. A movement towards confidence and trust	421
3.2. Firmness, the good spirit, and growing in the theological virtues.....	423
4. The visits from God he experiences as he awaits confirmation	426
4.1. Seeing and feeling.....	427
<i>a. Seeing and feeling the Holy Spirit</i>	429
<i>b. Dialogue with and in the Spirit</i>	431
<i>c. Intelligences that shape his desire for confirmation</i>	433
<i>d. Feeling and grasping many divine secrets</i>	435
4.2. Devotion that leads him.....	439
4.3. Devotion that ends in praise and love of God.....	441
<i>a. The movement that ended in love</i>	443
<i>b. The more complicated place of visions and confirmation</i>	446
<i>c. A movement configured upon circumincession: union in difference</i>	448

CONCLUSIONS	449
<hr/>	
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS	457
<hr/>	
Bibliography.....	475
Primary Sources.....	475
Secondary Sources.....	479
Research tools.....	495

Acknowledgements

Though not a spiritual diary recounting movements to arrive at an election, the investigation and elaboration of this thesis has been its own spiritual and human journey. Each day brought its own movement, occasioning a host of feelings, sentiments, and ideas. Palpable moments of devotion did emerge in the writing of it, and at others, it waned and was ever so slight.

Perhaps the clearest sign of devotion emerged in the generosity of so many who contributed to this research. The idea for this project began several years ago in the Masters of Ignatian Spirituality program directed by José García de Castro. The passion that Dr. García de Castro brought to us as well as his interest in this topic encouraged me to find my way through the “abundance of devotion” to its centrality in Ignatius’ spiritual experience. Along with all those that formed a part of that program, I would also like to extend my gratitude to my Jesuit community, my superior Manuel García Bonasa, and my friends who have supported me throughout this research.

I cordially thank the librarians at the Universidad Pontificia Comillas and at the library in Loyola, Spain. José Vivas Mariscal, Jonathan Yangua Carpizo, José Rufino Novo Zaballos at Comillas and Olatz Berasategui Olazabal in the archives in Loyola were always prompt, diligent, and kind in helping me. My heartfelt thanks too to Cristina Ruiz for helping prepare the layout of this text.

This thesis, however, is not entirely circumscribed by an academic setting. “Devotion” may not have been a word commonly used by my parents or my sister, but it was everywhere to be found in the promise and sacrifice they lived day by day. Perhaps it is the case that the topic chose me, and in this research, I have found what has been abundant in my life.

Finally, an important word of gratitude to Dr. Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao for his direction and accompaniment of this investigation. His encouragement and push for rigor was as present and abundant as devotion in Ignatius’ *Diary*. At every turn, he helped make this academic process a journey into the Ignatian charism which I have experienced as a journey to the One who encounters us in devotion.

*List of abbreviations*Ignatian sources

- Epp* *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola, Societatis Iesu fundatoris, epistolae et instructiones*, eds. M. Lecina, V. Agustí, F. Cervós, 12 vols. Madrid, 1903-1911 (MHSI 22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42)
- FD* *Fontes documentales de sancto Ignatio*, ed. Cándido de Dalmases, IHSI: Rome, 1977 (MHSI 115)
- FN* *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initis*, eds. Dionisio Fernández Zapico, Cándido de Dalmases, 4 vols. Rome, 1943-1965 (MHSI 66, 73, 85, 93)
- MBroet* *Epistolae PP. Paschasii Broëti, Claudii Iaii, Ioannis Codurii et Simonis Rodericci Societatis Iesu*, ed. F. Cervós. Madrid, 1903 (MHSI 24)
- MCo* *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutionun Societatis Iesu*, eds. Arturo Codina, Dionysio Fernández Zapico, 4 vols. Rome, 1934-1948 (MHSI 63, 64, 65, 71)
- MHSI Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu
- MNad* *Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal, Societatis Iesu*, ed. F. Cervós, Miguel Nicolau, 5 vols. Madrid, Rome 1898-1962 (MHSI 13, 15, 21, 27, 90)
- MScripta* *Scripta de sancto Ignatio de Loyola Societatis Iesu fundatore*, eds. A. Ortiz, et. al., 2 vols. Madrid, 1904-1918 (MHSI 25, 56)

Dictionaries and Journals

- AAS* *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*
- AHSI* *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*
- ARSI* *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*
- Aut* *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Real Academia Española, 1726), Madrid: Gredos 1990
- CIS* Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis
- Cov* Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611), Barcelona, 1943
- DBE* *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, ed. Real Academia de la Historia, 50 vols. Madrid, 2009-2013
- DCECH* *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico*, eds. Joan Corominas, José A. Pascual, 6 vols. Gredos: Madrid, 1991
- DCT* *Diccionario Crítico de Teología*, ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste. Madrid: Akal, 2007
- DdE* *Diccionario de Espiritualidad*, ed. Ermanno Ancilli, 3 vols. Barcelona: Herder, 1983-1984
- DdM* *Diccionario de Mística*, eds. L. Borriello, E. Caruana, M.R. del Genio, N. Suffi, Madrid: San Pablo, 2002
- DEI* *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*, ed. Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana, 2 vols. 2nd ed. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 2007
- DHCJ* *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, eds. Charles O'Neill, Joaquín M^a Domínguez, 4 vols. Madrid - Rome: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, IHSI, 2001

<i>DS</i>	H. Denzinger - P. Hünermann, <i>The Sources of Catholic Dogma. Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum</i>
<i>DSp</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique, Doctrine et Histoire</i> , eds. M. Viller, F. Cavallera, J. de Guibert, 17 vols. Paris: Beauchesne, 1937-1995
IHSI	Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu
IJS	Institute of Jesuit Sources
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , accurante J.P. Migne, Paris, 1844-1865
<i>RAM</i>	<i>Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique</i>
<i>SSJ</i>	<i>Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits</i>
STh	Summa theologiae

Other abbreviations

BAC	Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos
CUP	Cambridge University Press
ff.	and following
M-ST	Mensajero-Sal Terrae
OUP	Oxford University Press
s.v.	sub voce

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Ignatius of Loyola began registering his prayer in February of 1544 in the document that has come to be known as the *Spiritual Diary* by reporting “an abundance of devotion” [De 1]¹. The description is simple and precise; it seems to suggest a welcome and familiar presence that filled his interior. In his straightforward style, the writer transmits, as one would expect in what were personal notes, a known experience, one immediately recognizable. It came on this day, February 2nd, in abundance, and this would be the first of many occasions that devotion accompanied his prayer and his celebration of the mass. At times he felt “much” devotion [De 13], others were “new” [De 22], and at some moments it was “intense” [De 36], even reaching “the most intense” [De 8]. Such descriptions portray his fine sensitivity to the internal movements that he experienced in prayer. For those familiar with his spirituality, this is unsurprising. His conversion is recounted as his desire to conform his life to Jesus Christ and as a concomitant awakening to his interior as the place of God’s communication. That same attention to internal movements as possible indications of God’s language to him is on full display at the beginning of this spiritual process in 1544.

If devotion in his diary were only “abundant”, “new” or “intense”, perhaps a reader could gloss over it. But it assumes other resonances and dimensions. For example, it appears over a series of weeks as a presence which he felt as warm, soft, and bright [De 56]. Its luminosity and gentleness suggest that it had a life of its own and that it was not his to control. His notes also convey the idea that it pervaded him warmly on what must have been cold winter mornings in early March in Rome. And this is not all: on one occasion it assumed a color; it appeared to him as red in appearance [De 49]. On another he reports that he could taste it – it was very sweet [De 71]. In another period of his prayer, he felt his devotion as afraid of making a mistake [De 50]. This last description is as rich as it is enigmatic; devotion as that which expressed a fear, a doubt, or a misgiving. In a word, his

¹ All translations from the *Diary*, unless otherwise indicated, are mine. Citations to the text in brackets follow the abbreviation *De* established by the editors of the *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*. Critical edition of the *Diary* bears the title “Ephemeris S.P.N. Ignatii” in *MCo* I, 86-158. For this study, multiple versions have been consulted which I will detail in chapter 4. The version edited by Ignacio Iparraguirre and Manuel Ruiz Jurado in *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: BAC, 2013), 291-364 (hereafter work cited as *Obras*) will be the principal point of reference given that it most clearly indicates the changes made to the text by the author.

attention to this spiritual experience impresses, and the range and precision of his language on it suggest its importance in his prayer.

All of this would be sufficient to motivate one to explore further this spiritual reality, but Ignatius' descriptions of it continue. It was also a spiritual gift that moved him. This characterization of it gives the sense that it was pulling him into new spiritual places and presences. He will report that it led him to an experience of confidence, hope, and even to the presence of the Trinity [De 98]. If earlier it occasioned in him fear, in other moments it brought him to a place of trust. Finally – yes there is one further element to his experience of this spiritual gift – Ignatius found that devotion “ends in” one of the divine persons or Mary [De 101]. This description seems to point to the contemplative nature of his prayer: he allowed the experience to unfold and to take him to the very presence of God. The peripatetic pilgrim from Loyola, now largely confined to a room and an office in Rome, is led deeper into the mystery of God's life. In a plethora of manifestations, devotion appears to have guided him on that journey.

1. State of research on devotion and the *Spiritual Diary*

a. *Devotion*

This brief description of devotion in the *Spiritual Diary* represents only a cursory reading of the text. These are but the broadest annunciations of how this particular spiritual experience manifested itself in his prayer. Nevertheless, for as abundant as its presence is and for as important as it would appear to have been to him – and for as fascinating as it is for a reader to discover so many dimensions to one spiritual gift – studies in the field of Ignatian spirituality have not examined the place and the meaning of devotion in a way that would correspond to its significant presence in his personal notes from 1544-1545. To date there exists only one study, monographic in character, on devotion in Ignatian spirituality. That study, titled *La devoción en el espíritu de san Ignacio*, was realized by Alfonso de la Mora². Published in 1982, the work was his doctoral thesis from twenty-five years earlier. In the forty years since that study, no serious critical reflection has investigated the topic. There is, however, a fine article on it by Santiago Thió de Pol in the *Diccionario de Espiritualidad*

² Mora, *La devoción en el espíritu de san Ignacio* (Rome: CIS, 1982).

*Ignaciana*³. Yet, its treatment in that comprehensive dictionary on the Ignatian charism would appear to suggest that it occupies a peripheral place in Ignatian spirituality: a mere four pages are dedicated to it. Much more extensive treatment is given to topics such as the examen of consciousness⁴ and consolation⁵; respectively, those articles run twice and three times as long as that on devotion.

The status of devotion is perhaps best represented by the way that critical introductions to the *Diary* present it. In essence, in introductions to the document devotion figures inconspicuously, or it is overlooked completely. For example, in his introduction to Ignatius' autograph text, Victoriano Larrañaga dedicates entire sections to the gift of tears, *loquela*, and to the grace of reverence and veneration. Devotion, a term used one hundred and sixty-six times in the *Diary* is not mentioned at all⁶. In the most recently published collection of Ignatius' works in Spanish, Ignacio Iparraguirre and Manuel Ruíz Jurado mention devotion once, and that in a citation from a footnote from Larrañaga which is nothing more than an indiscriminate and exhaustive list of graces recounted in the text⁷. This situation is somewhat rectified by Santiago Thió de Pol in his version of the *Diary* published in 1990. In the wonderful commentary in which he guides the reader through the text, he includes a three-page commentary on devotion⁸. His analysis is strong, but it is not meant to be critical nor exhaustive. In critical introductions to the text in English, scant attention is given to devotion. Joseph Munitiz, in his very good translation of the *Diary*, prefaces it by only referring to the "sudden onslaught [that] devotion can cause"⁹. For his part, George Ganss, in his presentation of an abbreviated translation of the *Diary*, indicates "the extraordinary mystical phenomena which often accompanied" his prayer, but devotion is not mentioned; it appears to have been too prosaic to be considered a mystical gift¹⁰. In short, the few scholars that have dealt seriously with the *Diary* have not directed readers' attention to its presence or import.

³ Thió de Pol, "Devoción", in *DEI* 1:584-587.

⁴ See, Adolfo Chércoles and Josep Rambla, "Examen de conciencia", in *DEI* 1:841-850.

⁵ See, Jesús Corella, "Consolación", in *DEI* 1:413-425.

⁶ See, Victoriano Larrañaga, "Introducción al Diario Espiritual", in *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, vol. 1, *Autobiografía – Diario Espiritual*, ed. Victoriano Larrañaga (Madrid: BAC, 1947), 629-681.

⁷ See, Iparraguirre and Ruíz Jurado, "Introducción", in *Obras*, 271-289, on 276.

⁸ Thió de Pol, *La intimidad del peregrino* (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 1990), 123-125.

⁹ Joseph Munitiz, *Iñigo: Discernment Log-book. "The Spiritual Diary" of Saint Ignatius of Loyola* (London: Iñigo Enterprises, 1987), 15; (hereafter text cited as *Iñigo: Discernment Log-book*).

¹⁰ Ganss, "Introduction to the Spiritual Diary", in *Ignatius of Loyola. "Spiritual Exercises" and Selected Works*, ed. Ganss (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 229-234, 230.

b. The Spiritual Diary

The *status quaestionis* on devotion is all the more surprising given devotion's multifaceted presence in a body of writing so authoritative as is the *Diary*. In essence, no other spiritual gift is described so richly and with such diversity in a document that is so his. This last point cannot be passed over too quickly. No other writing in the Ignatian corpus, for as rich and as sophisticated as it may be, brings us to Ignatius' actual experience of God as does this autograph text. It is *the* source that shows us his encounter with God in his own language. That he would use "devotion" in such manifold ways in his personal description of his prayer and the Eucharist would suggest that the term, and concomitantly the encounter with God signaled by it, was immensely important to him. Such a deduction cannot be made with the same force or cogency regarding other spiritual descriptions of his in other texts. In brief, it is hard to imagine undertaking a study of more relevance to Ignatian spirituality than to study how Ignatius himself conceived of and understood his encounter with God. I aim to do exactly that in the pages that follow.

Nevertheless, for as important as the *Diary* would appear to be for reflection on his spirituality, not unlike the status of devotion in the field of the studies on his charism, it appears to be a largely overlooked document in his corpus. Scholars do not seem to know how to read it, General Congregations of the Society of Jesus do not cite it, and Jesuits themselves, especially in the English-speaking world, seem to have only the vaguest of notions on it. As an example of the state of research on the *Diary*, one need only turn to what is arguably the most rigorous collection of research on Ignatian spirituality. I refer to the *Colección Manresa*¹. Within the fine studies of that collection, not one work deals directly and critically with the *Diary*. Moreover, in investigations that deal with topics germane to it, it is often surprisingly omitted. The clearest example of this is to be found in Cristian Peralta Núñez's study *Elegir en tiempos de incertidumbre*². That study investigates the election in Ignatian spirituality; yet no chapter analyzes the *Diary*, a stunning omission given that it is an autograph document of his that shows him making an election. Similarly, in *El sujeto*, a collection of essays that study Ignatian anthropology, there is no article that engages this topic with seriousness from the perspective offered by the *Diary*. And where one would think it would be invoked – for example in articles that deal with Ignatius as a retreatant, the

¹ Fine, albeit occasional studies on the *Diary* appear in the journal *Manresa*, but again, they do not pretend to be exhaustive studies.

² Peralta Núñez, *Elegir en tiempos de incertidumbre* (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2020).

Ignatian experience of God, or the faculties of the soul – it is not cited³. The situation is somewhat different in the collection of essays on aspects of dogmatic theology in the Ignatian charism as several articles pick up on its importance⁴. But those articles do not pretend to be studies of the *Diary*, rather they allude to the text in the service of their respective theological topics. Should one look to studies in English, one may not know that the document exists in the Ignatius corpus. There is the doctoral thesis by George Panikulam, “The Problem of ‘Seeking Confirmation’ in the *Spiritual Diary* of St. Ignatius of Loyola” (2004), nonetheless, more indicative of the status of the *Diary* is the absence of any treatment on it in the fine monographic publication *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*. For a text that recounts his experience of God in his own hand, this is a remarkable oversight.

Given the particular state of research on devotion and what appears to be a general tendency to bypass the *Diary* as a source for thinking about Ignatius’ spirituality, this study seeks to understand the abundant presence of devotion and reposition the *Diary* as a source for thinking about his spirituality. The abridged summary I have given above on devotion in his diary suggests that devotion was an exceptional gift in his interior life. In essence, an attentive reading of the *Diary* motivates this study and holds out the possibility that such an exploration of it may take us to a central part of his prayer. Quite possibly this was the spiritual gift – that language from God – that most guided him in his search for God’s will and God’s very life. Such a conjecture may seem venturesome, but I will study devotion in all of its manifestations to test this hypothesis. I will also do this in such a way that takes the form of the text into account. It may be that reading the *Diary* “brings a feeling of wandering in a forest without guideposts”⁵. My aim in the pages that follow will be to provide the reader with sure guideposts to follow Ignatius in his discernment. And I will take these guideposts one step further as I will argue that the *Diary* embodies a genre of writing essential to Jesuits and to all those that follow the Ignatian charism.

³ See, *El sujeto: reflexiones para una antropología ignaciana*, ed. Rufino Meana Peón (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2019); (hereafter collection cited as *El sujeto*). Respectively, the articles mentioned: Domínguez Morano, “Ignacio de Loyola: el primer ejercitante”, 153-174; Manuel García Bonasa, “Experiencia ignaciana de Dios”, 129-151; Rufino Meana Peón, “Las potencias del alma revistadas”, 383-407.

⁴ See, *Dogmática Ignaciana*, ed. Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2018); (hereafter work cited as *Dogmática Ignaciana*). The three articles are: Ángel Cordovilla Pérez, “‘Al hablar al Padre, mi amor se extendía a toda la Trinidad’ [De 63]. Rasgos del Dios de Ignacio”, 73-96; Bert Daelemans, “‘Unción del Espíritu Santo’ [Co 414]. En el cruce de voluntades: pneumatología ignaciana”, 205-240; Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, “‘Siguiéndoos, mi Señor, yo no me podré perder’ [De 114]. Líneas maestras de la cristología ignaciana”, 133-175.

⁵ Ganss, “Introduction to the *Spiritual Diary*”, 232.

2. The proposal of this investigation: the grace of devotion

This study seeks to place before the reader devotion as it appears in his *Spiritual Diary*, a text that recounts his prayer during a 13-month period from 1544 to 1545. I will seek to offer a hypothesis as to its importance in this discernment process recorded in his diary. In this way, this investigation has a fundamental aim: to investigate in detail one aspect of his spiritual experience from one text of his. One could simplify this further: the object of this research will be one word from one document. However, this is not any ordinary word nor is this any ordinary text. And herein lies the beauty and the complexity of the chapters that follow: the study of devotion promises to unearth a fascinating spiritual term that guided him and countless believers before (and after) him in their desire to live their faith. It is also to undertake a rigorous analysis of the *Diary* itself, uncovering the form of the document so that a gift recounted in it can emerge in all its splendor. The study of a spiritual term in a personal document will require an array of careful hermeneutical procedures, not least among them a critical attention to the history of the term and a clear enunciation of the genre of the document.

Notwithstanding a critical-historical approach taken in these pages, with a decided emphasis on spiritual, theological, and biblical texts, this study cannot be reduced to a mere genealogy of a word and its meaning in a personal diary from the 16th century. This investigation ultimately seeks to describe an encounter and a relationship. It aims to be a chapter in the field of spiritual theology whose task, always urgent and necessary, is to disclose God's communication with the human person in such a way where the reader discovers that this same God is communicating in equally rich and diverse ways with him or her. In the case of Ignatius of Loyola, one aspect of that communication appears to have been designated as "devotion". Consequently, this research into a term and a document is also an inquiry – intuitive, partial, and even tentative in its assertions – that seeks to follow a spiritual topic to its end which is nothing less than the human experience of grace. Discovering the contours of his sense of devotion, that he described as "much", "soft", and "ending in" the Trinity, may help readers to know that this is how God communicates to them. As such, this exposition of devotion, though patently academic in nature, does hope to remind readers that these myriad descriptions of the grace of devotion are actually less about Ignatius and his saintly interaction with God than they are about God. They are but indices of God's search for the human person that continues unabated to this day. It may be that this

study recovers an important part of the spiritual experience of Ignatius for the field of studies on him. Yet, I would suggest that this investigation is more intrepid, or at least wider in scope. It presents devotion as that “ever ancient, ever new” experience of God’s grace that can be felt and known by person.

a. The outline of this study

The structure of this study into three basic units derives from the fundamental aim to explore the grace of devotion in his personal text. The first unit will establish the wider theological and spiritual reflection on devotion that would have arrived to Ignatius. The second seeks to establish the form of the *Diary*. Finally, the third section, recovering the insights of devotion from the first and the form of the document from the second, will detail in three chapters devotion in his autograph text. As such, I will guide the reader into a brief history of devotion, make familiar or more readable this document of his, and then offer a detailed analysis of this spiritual gift as he registers it occurring in his prayer and in his celebration of the Eucharist.

The reader may be surprised to discover that this research into devotion unfolds in such a circuitous manner. Yet this is because the term is an ancient one, understood by way of stories and then transposed into New Testament letters where it signaled God’ gift of His self to the human person in Jesus and in the Spirit (1 Tm 3:16). From its earliest appearance up until the time of Ignatius, it appears to have been a word of rich connotations. As such, writers such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, Gerard Zerbolt, and Francisco Osuna will be invoked given that their observations comprise original and *originating* discourses on it. In addition, the reader will see a section given over to the *devotio moderna* as well as an entire chapter dedicated to Thomas à Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ*, the most famous book to emerge from that spiritual movement. Regarding Kempis’ text, a study on devotion could hardly not be comprised by what has been considered the most popular devotional work of Western Christendom. According to the great English man of letters, Samuel Johnson, “it was said to have been printed, in one language or another, as many times as there have been months since it first came out”⁶. At the end of the 18th century Johnson was being hyperbolic, but not overly so. And Ignatius was one such person who promoted the book’s divulgation, recommending it to his earliest companions and citing it by name in the *Spiritual*

⁶ James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. Robert Chapman (Oxford: OUP, 1970), 897.

Exercises. He was an assiduous reader of it, and he appears to have imbibed much of its spirituality. Though largely and inexplicably forgotten since the Second Vatican Council, this study will recover Kempis' text as that which may provide the strongest clues to understand his conception of and interest in devotion. Furthermore, this introductory unit of chapters, in part necessary in order to have a basic sense of the term, yields fundamental orienting features on it. As I will argue, to speak of devotion is to speak of a promise, an experience, and a movement. Those categories, spiritual and theological in nature, will guide my reading of the *Diary*. I do believe that they open up his text in interesting ways. To what extent they are illuminating hermeneutical tools that disclose more critically the grace of devotion I will leave the reader to judge.

The second unit of chapters realizes an equally important component of this investigation: it places before the reader the text and provides a cogent articulation of its form. I believe the *Diary* is an eminently readable document whose structures emerge from a careful scrutiny of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Though perhaps not a literary genre *per se*, I believe that his text is best understood by way of the category of a "discernment notebook". On its surface, this affirmation may not appear especially novel; but for studies on the *Diary*, it is. In the relatively few studies of the *Diary*, I have discovered only one that has attempted a critical argument about its form. To date, I would suggest that the strongest argument advanced on its structure is that offered by José García de Castro. This Jesuit scholar, whose work I will cite extensively in my research, argues that the text is a mystical document, characterized by language and grammatical expressions found in a mystical genre of writing⁷. Such an approximation is helpful. However, this study will do something much more basic: I will show the reader the structures that comprise it and that give it a followable form. It may have mystical elements, but discernment is the overriding interpretive key to the text. As such, I will make the text accessible to the reader in a way where it becomes not just a readable document in Ignatius' corpus, but where it represents an essential style of writing for Jesuits and for all those that seek to follow the Ignatian charism. This argument, a clear step forward in the field of Ignatian spirituality, will help us to see anew the *Diary* as the text that occupies, or ought to occupy, the center of reflection on his spirituality.

In my hypothesis, I will argue that the *Diary* makes visible the first part of a discernment itinerary. Such an interpretation accounts for its form, and it reminds us that Ignatius was in the process of discovering which spiritual experiences were in fact from the

⁷ José García de Castro, "Semántica y mística: el *Diario espiritual* de Ignacio de Loyola", *Miscelánea Comillas* 59 (2001): 211-254; (article hereafter cited as "Semántica y mística").

Spirit. Here too the route towards the classification of the document as a discernment notebook may appear rather roundabout. The reader will see that I make a foray into other personal narratives on the experience of God. Augustine's *Confessions*, Angela of Foligno's *Memorial*, and Teresa of Ávila's *Life* are presented in order to arrive at a clearer sense of its structural aspects. The *Diary* is a peculiar document, but it is not so unique as to not be included and contrasted with distinguished texts from the broader tradition of personal writing on God. Ignatius is, I will argue, a writer, and his style emerges against the backdrop of other narratives as well as alongside of his other writings.

Finally, devotion. I will study that spiritual experience so richly attested to in his autograph text by way of the categories of promise, experience, and movement. Though general, these classifications permit a detailed consideration of devotion. His *promise* to God is on full display in this text: he structures his prayer, seeks the company of the mediators, and continually attempts to adapt himself to the experience given. But more than representing his promise, in devotion he meets Jesus, the one who does everything for him. His promise to God is met and exceeded by God's promise to him in Jesus. He finds in Jesus the mystery of God's love for him that "calls to him more deeply and loves him more wisely"⁸. In addition, the pages of his diary suggest that his profound encounter with the Father and the Son at La Storta continued to be as present as ever. La Storta was an originating encounter of his with God, and those same relational lines outline the grace of devotion.

Similarly, his *experience* of devotion may be one of the more remarkable aspects of his discernment. He always looks to it, and it arrives to him in manifold ways that affect his body and his thoughts. It seems to inhabit the DNA of his spiritual experience, so ingrained in him that, no matter how lofty or convincing the encounter with God may have been, he always makes a kind of side-ways glance to check it. Similarly, in the multiple smaller discernments that emerge within the larger question of poverty, devotion always seems to assure him that he is finding a way to God. In short, in the structure of his discernment notebook, it appears as the sign upon which the entire discernment process rests.

Nevertheless, the novelty of the argument advanced may reside in the analysis of devotion as *movement*. Though Ignatian spirituality has given pride of place to the spiritual movement of consolation, his autograph text suggests something different. It could be that his hermeneutical axis to understand the movement of the Spirit in his life was devotion. In

⁸ Michael Buckley, *What do you seek? The Questions of Jesus as Mystery and Promise* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 10.

this way, this investigation repositions devotion as a central aspect of his prayer. For Jesuits and for all those that orient their life in the Spirit by his charism, the hypothesis offered may widen their frame of reference for thinking about spiritual motions in his and their own life. Concurrently, this last chapter modestly attempts to resituate the *Diary* as an authoritative text for thinking about his spirituality. The *Exercises* are, undoubtedly a crucial document to understand his spirituality and theology. But in a way that is different from that spiritual book, *all* of Ignatius is present in his prayer observations from 1544-1545. In summary, I will offer the reader an argument that takes us to the center of his experience with God. That center, deeply familiar to him, was devotion.

b. A grace and a text for readers today

The writing of this thesis has coincided with major historical moments in the world, not least among them, a global pandemic and a war in Europe. On a smaller scale, and much more hopeful one, it has also overlapped with the 500th anniversary of the conversion of Ignatius. The cannonball wound was but the beginning of his lifelong search for God, and his *Diary* represents a particularly intense moment of one phase of that search. In his fragility and vulnerability in Loyola, he met Jesus in a new way, and that companionship led to a new charism in the Church and a new apostolic order. Though the encounter with Jesus during his convalescence was deeply personal, it is available in rich ways to all those that follow his charism. In much the same, his *Diary*, though a personal document, is now an open and public text. It too is available to all of us. And like texts before and after it, it impacts a reader. In part, the image of Ignatius' encounter with God that emerges in its pages impresses for its fullness and realism. With God he experiences beautiful movements, but it also portrays him as clinging to a desire to get what he wants from God. Indeed, even the saint from Loyola struggled to overcome his narcissism and ego. But the effect of this text on readers may be simpler and less hagiographic. It is a text which transmits devotion: the grace in which God reveals his promise to the person, a promise that is felt and that moves him or her – not an insignificant grace for us in our times. In short, the *Diary* is an extraordinary piece of writing that turns us back to our lives, encouraging each one of us to throw wide the doors of our souls to God who in Jesus and the Spirit encounters us, as He encountered Ignatius, in devotion.

PART I

An overview of the theological and spiritual tradition of devotion that precedes Ignatius of Loyola

*The Mystery of Our Devotion is Deep***Constitutive discourses on devotion**

INTRODUCTION

The object of this study is Ignatius of Loyola's spiritual experience of devotion as registered in his *Spiritual Diary*. As a way to grasp the significance and the depth of this spiritual reality in his life as represented in his prayer observations from 1544-1545, I propose in these first three introductory chapters to outline the history and the theology of devotion, the key term of this investigation. Devotion enjoys a long and rich usage in the spiritual and theological tradition of the Church, and as such, allows us to consider some of the more prominent spiritual writers of the Christian tradition. Given that Ignatius and his first companions emerge from this spiritual milieu, in these chapters I will furnish the broad outlines of how devotion has figured in the way that the human person has experienced, interpreted, and expressed his or her relationship with God.

At the same time that I indicate my intention to provide a sketch of devotion in the Christian spiritual tradition, I am immediately conscious of undertaking an immense, if not impossible task. The history of devotion is long, beginning with the use of the term in Latin in Roman culture before the advent of Christianity. That comprehension of the word influenced early Christian communities, and late New Testament writers apprehended the term's significance, integrating it in their letters. Yet, devotion in the Scriptures is only the beginning of a wide-ranging theological, spiritual and ecclesial reflection on this topic. And this is not to mention the multiple personal, communal and ecclesial devotions or religious practices that have marked the Church's life through the centuries. In light of this, Ignatius of Loyola can be considered just one figure of countless whose life has been marked by the experience of and the theological reflection on devotion. Given this vast and extensive tradition, the possible avenues for such an investigation into this subject matter are numerous, if not endless. Indeed, the risk of producing a cursory and superficial analysis is great.

However, a simple reflection on the word proves to be of great help for structuring an investigation on it. “Devotion” is a word that describes a relationship. In essence, the term, in its origins and in its use at least up until the 16th century, if not beyond and including its use in our current context, is relational. It points to the way in which the human person felt the divine presence and sought to relate to God. At the risk of simplifying further, devotion essentially describes the relationship between two beings, one divine and the other human. This is, I recognize, perhaps not the most novel insight. But this relational structure implicit in the word provides a hermeneutical perspective and a point of departure for this investigation. In addition, the relational connotation of devotion hints at the theological depth of such a study. That is, when we examine devotion we are entering into the story of grace, God’s revelation to the human person that can be experienced, and once experienced, interpreted and expressed in religious language¹. “Devotion” is that religious language that points to God’s grace as that which is a real experience for the person, and as that which seeks a response by and in him or her. Though not a synonym for “grace”, “devotion” does place us in its broad theological horizon. In this way, a study of devotion in Ignatius of Loyola, seeks to describe, if not systematize, theologically and spiritually, one part of his experience of God’s grace.

With this relational frame of reference as a point of departure, these first three chapters will examine the history and the theological spirituality of devotion. Ordered chronologically, each chapter seeks to explore the content of this spiritual experience. Though the arc of this study is extensive given that it will highlight the way devotion was understood from Roman times to its use in Thomas à Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ*, the objective in each of these chapters is modest: provide that which is minimally necessary to understand the principal theological reflections of devotion which arrived to Ignatius. This background will be essential for a more complete and precise analysis of his experience. My intent is not to be exhaustive, but to offer the relevant theological formulations of devotion that would have formed part of the spiritual and theological atmosphere of the saint from Loyola. With this spiritual context established, it will be possible to discover what in Ignatius’ experience of devotion was traditional and what, if anything, was novel. Similarly, the narrative, descriptive and deductive approach guiding this study² provides a methodology

¹ Here I follow closely the language of Edward Schillebeeckx in *Cristo y los cristianos: gracia y liberación*, trans. A. Aramayona (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1982), 70.

² Following Charles André Bernard who suggests that the method of spiritual theology ought to be descriptive, deductive and be constituted by a phenomenological openness. See, Charles André Bernard, *Teología Espiritual*, trans. Alfonso Ortiz and Vicente Hernández, 6th ed. (Salamanca: Sígueme, 2007), 106-113.

that is focused and attentive to detail. Also, my framing of devotion by way of the heuristic of relationship will underscore what is essential in this spiritual experience, that is, the movement between the human person and God. This particular hermeneutical frame also serves to remind us that the object of this study is hardly an object. Rather, it is the way – at times complex and at others trite – in which the human person has sought to describe his experience of and desire for God.

Given the objective to investigate the constitutive pre-Christian and Christian understandings of devotion, I will begin by analyzing the term's use in Latin in pre-Christian Roman culture as well as its use in several New Testament texts. It may surprise the reader that this investigation begins in a context so distant and remote from that of the subject matter. However, both of these contexts gave rise to and represent *originating* discursive traditions regarding the topic of devotion. That is, both have shaped the understanding of the term that exists to our present day. Continuing this investigation into the constitutive understandings of devotion will lead, in the third part of this chapter, to the spiritual and theological considerations of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Thomas Aquinas. Both offer reflections that are essential for understanding how devotion was experienced and reflected upon. In brief, this opening chapter of this study seeks to discover the fundamental elements of the topic.

1. To pledge oneself in service: ancient meanings of devotion

In Roman religious expression, the verb “*devovere*” denoted “to vow as an offering or sacrifice”³. In this general meaning of the term, the emphasis falls on the action or the solemn oath that took the form of a sacrifice, an offering, or an expiation. At the same time, the vow to the gods was made in exchange for or in the hopes of a favor from them⁴. Consequently, two actions circulated in the word: the offering, properly speaking, the devotion, as well as the receiving of what was being solicited or sought⁵. This very general meaning is illustrated by its use in military circles. For instance, the act of devotion was carried out by a general who “devoted” his or the army’s life on behalf of the patria. For this reason, the noun is defined as “the devotion by a general, etc., of himself (and his army) to

³ *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), s.v. “*devovere*”.

⁴ Jean Chatillon, “*Devotio*”, in *DSp* 3:702-716, on 703; Redento Valabek, “*Devoción*”, in *DdM*, 558-560, on 558; Roberto Moretti, “*Devoción*” in *DdE* 1:567-572.

⁵ See Jacques Le Brun, “*Devoción y devociones en la época moderna*”, *Historia y Grafía* 26 (2006): 57-75, on 59.

the infernal gods on his country's behalf"⁶. Lurking just beyond this definition is one of the stories told by the Roman historian Titus Livius (59-17 B.C.). In his *History of Rome*, Livy tells the story of the Roman Consul Publius Decius Mus who, sensing the confusion and weakening of his troops in battle with the Latins, implored the Pontifex Maximus: "dictate to me the words in which I am to devote myself for the legions"⁷. Decius completed the ritual prayer and offered his very life in sacrifice to the gods for his troops. Returning to the scene of battle, he was vanquished, but his soldiers, inspired by his offering and emboldened by his fearlessness, conquered their enemy. Though just one example of many of heroic self-sacrifice⁸, these stories molded the understanding of devotion so that it referred to the total act of self-sacrifice – the very offering of one's life⁹ – to the gods for the safety and the life of others¹⁰. Additionally, it is in this context that the word came to be associated with the idea of invoking the wrath or the curse of the gods. To devote one's self to the gods as Decius did was to invoke the curse of the gods upon one's very life, and in that way free the life of others. For example, after the prayer in which he "devoted" himself, Decius "appeared as something awful and superhuman, as though sent from heaven to expiate and appease all the anger of the gods and to avert destruction from his people and bring it on their enemies"¹¹. Decius became the "execrated" or the "cursed"¹² so that his troops and patria might live¹³.

⁶ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "devotio".

⁷ Titus Livius, *History of Rome*, ed. Canon Roberts (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1912); on-line version last consulted on 26 March 2020. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0026%3Abook%3D8%3Achapter%3D9#note1>

Also for consultation, Livio, *Historia de Roma desde su fundación* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1990), libro VIII, capítulo 9.

⁸ Two books later in his history, Livy tells the same story of Decius's son who, finding himself in a similar situation, losing in battle to the Gauls and the Samnites, invokes the memory of his father, and recalls that "it is a privilege granted to our house that we should be an expiatory sacrifice". He follows the prescribed prayers, and, just as his father, "devotes" himself to the gods. See, Livius, *History of Rome*, Book X, chapter 28.

⁹ According to Juan de Dios Martín Velasco, this is the "strong meaning" of the Latin word. See, Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico* (Madrid: Trotta, 1999), 149.

¹⁰ In his study of European institutions, Émile Benveniste suggests that the history of Decius is that which "donne son plein relief à la notion *deuouere*". See Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, 2. *Pouvoir, droit, religion* (Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1969), 233-243, on 237. For a more contemporary reflection on devotion, see also Giorgio Agamben, *Homo sacer, Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1998), 96ff.

¹¹ Livius, *History of Rome*, Book VIII, chapter 9. Similarly, the story of Decius's son is illustrative. After carrying out his prayers of devotion, Decius's son declares: "I carry before me terror and rout and carnage and blood and the wrath of all the gods, those above and those below. I will infect the standards, the armor, the weapons of the enemy with dire and manifold death, the place of my destruction shall also witness that of the Gauls and Samnites". Livius, *History of Rome*, Book X, chapter 28.

¹² Both participles are reported in the definition of the adjective "devotus" in *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

¹³ This meaning of the word that signals the offering of one's life for one's patria seems to have been particularly important in Spanish use of it; Sebastián de Covarrubias offers this observation in his dictionary: "Llamaron en España antiguamente devotos a los que muerto su príncipe, se derrocaban sobre sus espadas y morían juntamente con él". See, *Cov*, s.v. "devoto".

To further understand the key word of this study, it is important to consider briefly Roman religious sensibilities. Though not exactly known for their religiosity, it seems that the Romans did have, in fact, quite a high esteem for their religious practices. The following excerpt from a passage of Cicero is revelatory on this very point:

If we care to compare our national characteristics with those of foreign peoples, we shall find that, while the latter will be found equal, or even superior to us in other respects, in religion, that is, in the worship of the gods, we shall be found to far excel them¹⁴.

Perhaps their heightened religious sensibilities were in part due to their belief that the gods “intervened and exercised influence over the affairs of men and the events of history”¹⁵. Given this belief in the decisive action of the gods in their life, “devotion” expresses how they situated themselves before the gods, attempting to invoke or influence this divine action by way of their promises, vows, or sacrifices. Yet the relational sphere of devotion was not limited to the gods. “Devotion” also included the action by which a citizen consecrated himself in service to a leader or to the emperor¹⁶. As such, the word also referred to the absolute fidelity and dedication of a person to another, to a pursuit, or to a particular occupation¹⁷. This meaning demonstrates that the relational content of the word moved between sacrifices or vows to the gods and to the offerings and promises to civil leaders. In part, this fluidity between the religious and the civil spheres in the term’s use reminds us that Roman religion “was inextricably intertwined with social and political life”¹⁸. It is enough to note that in both instances – whether to the gods or to a leader – the emphasis is on what the person does to or for another.

Additional inquiry into the word reveals that it also referred to an established formula with which the sacrifice or the vow was made¹⁹. “Devotion” was to make a vow in a

¹⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*, book II, chapter III, trans. Francis Brooks (London: Methuen, 1896), accessed on 25 November 2019. <https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/cicero-on-the-nature-of-the-gods>

In light of this, Robert Wilken, in his study of roman perspectives on Christianity, writes that “not only *were* the Romans religious, they also *considered* themselves religious”. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans saw them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 57, author’s emphasis.

¹⁵ Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans saw them*, 58.

¹⁶ Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:704. In her study of the history of “devotio”, Chatillon gives the sense that this was a later development of the word. However, in his analysis of “piety” in Roman culture and Roman religious expression, a word very closely associated with devotion and translated by the Greek *eusebeia*, Wilken suggests that piety first referred to family, leaders and to the fatherland, and later evolved to include the relationship with the gods. For a succinct analysis of *pietas* in Roman culture and religion, see Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans saw them*, 56.

¹⁷ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “devoevere”; Moretti, “Devotion”, in *DdE* 1:568.

¹⁸ Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans saw them*, 48-67.

¹⁹ Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:703.

ritualized or prescribed way. This demonstrates the extent to which the Romans were attentive to all aspects of the ritual act, so much so that “attention to the smallest details, the minutiae of religious ceremonies” formed part of the religious ceremonies, providing them with the assurance that the gods would respond benevolently²⁰. This scrupulousness to ceremony or ritual is evident in Livy’s story where Decius follows the minute prescriptions of the Pontifex: “the Pontifex bade him veil his head in his toga praetexta, and rest his hand, covered with the toga, against his chin, then standing upon a spear to say the words [of the prayer]”²¹.

Finally, but no less importantly, another meaning refers to the internal motivations that would have prompted the sacrificial offering to the gods. As such, “devotion”, in this sense, designates the internal dispositions of fidelity, obedience and respect that informed such a vow or promise²². In this way, faithfulness, interior attachment, and loyalty comprise strong synonyms of the word²³. Thus, at the same time that the word denoted the realization of external acts of promise or vow-making to the gods or other civil leaders, it also designated the internal dispositions of faithfulness, attachment and respect that would have constituted the motivations for such acts²⁴.

The study of the word “devotion” presents core aspects of Roman religious experience, such as “the Roman belief in divine providence [and] in the necessity of religious observance for the well-being of society”²⁵. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this investigation it is sufficient to note the multiple valences of the term. As a way to summarize, four meanings or aspects of the term are important to retain. First, “devotion” signals a vow or a promise made to a god or to another. Second, it was ritualized; there were ceremonies for it. Consequently, the vows, promises, or sacrifices were public in nature. Third, devotion often was realized in the hope to obtain a favor, but not exclusively so. The tradition of heroic dedication and self-sacrifice of military generals attests to devotion as that which is done with no hope nor desire of personal compensation, but rather for the salvation of others. Finally, the term referred to the internal dispositions of faithfulness, reverence and

²⁰ Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans saw them*, 59; see also, Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:704.

²¹ Livius, *History of Rome*, Book VIII, chapter 9.

²² Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:702; Valabek, “Devoción”, in *DdM*, 558.

²³ Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:705.

²⁴ In his study, Valabek suggests that the meaning of the term with respect to internal dispositions developed in the context of the “devotion” or promise made to a leader or emperor. However, Chatillon proposes a much more modest approach, arguing that it is simply too hard to sequence the origins of the various meanings that the term accumulated over time. Cf. Valabek, “Devoción”, in *DdM*, 558; Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:705.

²⁵ Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans saw them*, 63. “Devotion” appears to be, with “piety”, a word that reveals much of Roman culture.

obedience that were to form part of the honoring of the gods, civil leaders, or one's family.

This general outline of devotion forms the foundation of the word. These meanings comprise the hermeneutical bases from which posterior reflection on the term has proceeded. Indeed, it is striking to see the similarity between these uses of the term and the reflection on it in Christian theology. As an example, the *Diccionario de mística* introduces the term in the following way:

In Christianity devotion designates all ritual and liturgical acts that are offered to God as a sign of the service owed to Him...At the same time, and although not always easily distinguished from the exterior acts, devotion refers to the interior dispositions necessary to celebrate the liturgy, that is, reverence, faith and commitment²⁶.

This excerpt demonstrates that the Christian comprehension of devotion stems from the Roman usage of it. It is almost an exact mirroring of what devotion meant for the Romans: a service to the gods by way of external ritualized acts, as well as the dispositions that accompany or ought to accompany such promises or vows. To complete this initial survey of the word's foundations, I will now turn to the New Testament Scriptures. There it is possible to discover an innovation in the term that diverges in an important way from the ancient Roman understanding of it.

2. Jesus Christ: to live in the full power of devotion

New Testament passages point to the development of another interpretive tradition with regards to devotion²⁷. In light of the Paschal mystery, devotion also came to express what God has done in and through his son Jesus Christ. The believer's promise or fidelity to God continued to be taken into consideration in New Testament reflection. But the term also signaled the action of God on behalf of the person. Returning to the heuristic of relationship that is guiding this analysis, an attentive reading of relevant New Testament passages suggests that the emphasis shifts to the divine side of the relation. Now it is God's action that takes precedence; it is God who makes a vow or a promise to the human person to obtain what it is that He seeks and desires.

First, however, an important semantic approximation is required. "Devotion" derives from Latin, and for this reason the first step of this inquiry is to discover, in New Testament texts written in Greek, the semantic field of Greek words most closely associated with it.

²⁶ Valabek, "Devoción", in *DdM*, 558; translation mine.

²⁷ All quotations from the Bible come from the Revised Standard Version.

Fortunately, the association of “devotion” with Greek biblical terms is not a difficult task. The semantic terrain comprised of the verb “sebomai”, the nouns “eusebeia” and “eulabeia”, as well as the adjective “eusebes” are those words which most closely approximate us to it²⁸. Three of these words contain the root “seb”, a root that denoted, according to its use in Greek literature, “being afraid of, or having a kind of reverential awe for something which prevented one from doing something disgraceful”. This fear or awe which guided one’s actions also included “the object of reverential awe, holiness, or majesty”²⁹. The derivations from this root, all used to convey “piety, reverence, loyalty, and fear of God”³⁰, are akin to and synonymous with “devotion”. In particular, the word that most lines up with it is the noun “eusebeia”, defined as “profound respect, piety, and religion”³¹. The noun’s use is limited to the Pastoral Epistles, 2nd Peter, and to one very important use in Acts of the Apostles. Though not of the same root, the noun “eulabeia” suggests, in a more generic way, piety³². Notwithstanding the fact that this last term occurs in only two New Testament passages³³, it too will be important to consider in order to arrive at a more complete understanding of “devotion” in the New Testament.

The authors of the Pastoral Epistles and the 2nd Letter of Peter employ “eusebeia” in a variety of ways. The general sense of the word, given the *Sitz im Leben* of these texts, refers to the way that the Christian should conduct his or her life in the world³⁴. For example, the

²⁸ Paul Stuehnenberg, “Devout”, in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 2:184.

²⁹ *Greek English Lexicon*, ed. Henry Liddell, Robert Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1588; for further analysis of the root “seb” see, W. Günther, “Piedad, religión”, in *Diccionario teológico del Nuevo Testamento*, ed. Lothar Coenen, Erich Beyreuther, Hans Bietenhard, 2nd ed. (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1986), 3:359-361.

³⁰ *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, ed. William Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 326.

³¹ *Greek English Lexicon*, 731, which defines *eusebeia* as “reverence towards the gods or parents, piety or filial respect”; see also Peter Fiedler, “eusebeia” [εὐσεβεία], in *Diccionario Exegético del Nuevo Testamento*, ed. Horst Balz, Gerhard Schneider (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1996), 1:1684-1686, on 1684; also, André Mehat, “Piété”, in *DSp 12/2^a:1694-1714*, who offers: “En grec, on reconnaît dans *eu-seb-ès* la racine du verbe *seb-omai* ‘vénérer’ dont le sens primitif est incertain”, (1695); a helpful dictionary has been that of Amador Ángel García Santos, *Diccionario del griego bíblico* (Barcelona: Herder, 1965) where the author defines *eusebeia* as “the respect and love of God, piety, devotion, religion” (363); likewise for reference, G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) which offers the following definition of *eusebeia*: “devotion, sense of duty; devotion to God, piety”. Additionally, the observation by the historian A.D. Nock is helpful to situate *eusebeia*: “Classical Greek has no word which covers religion as we use the term. *Eusebeia* approximates to it, but in essence it means no more than the regular performance of due worship in the proper spirit”. A.D. Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford: OUP, 1933), 10. Also Wilken who suggests that “eusebeia” is the word most closely associated with “devotion”. See, Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans saw them*, 54.

³² Liddell and Scott report “eulabeia” as “caution”, and “a careful employment of”, and, in the third entry for the term, “reverence, piety”. See, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 720. Also W. Mundle, “Piedad, religión”, in *Diccionario teológico del Nuevo Testamento*, 3:358.

³³ Used in the Letter to the Hebrews in 5:7 and 12:28.

³⁴ Following the outline of Marc-François Lacan who surveys devotion first with reference to the Christian community and then in relation to Jesus. See, Lacan, “Piedad”, in *Vocabulario de Teología Bíblica*, ed. Xavier Léon-Dufour (Barcelona: Herder, 1965), 615-617.

author of the letter to 1st Timothy offers encouragement to the community to live a life full of devotion (1 Tm 2:2), and to train themselves in piety and devotion (1 Tm 4:7). In this sense, the word points to the reverence and obedience in carrying out one's Christian obligations. In another pastoral text, devotion assumes the status of a virtue and, as such, should be strived for (1 Tm 6:11). Its status as one of the characteristics of a Christian way of living is also announced in 2nd Peter where the author situates devotion in a succession of virtues. The writer proposes that perseverance is supported with devotion, and devotion, in turn, allows one to live a life of kindness and love (2 Pt 1:5-7).

It is possible to consider the use of “*eusebeia*” in these texts, which in the Christian canon are representative of late reflections on Christian living, as a response to or the result of greater contact with Roman culture. The historian Robert Wilken advances the theory that Christian writers started employing the term to show the Romans that their religion was not a superstition but in fact a legitimate religious expression that would benefit secular society³⁵. But even if the Greek term was used to garner favor and acceptance in society, it was never disconnected from the central Christian message of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. As such, passages of these epistles establish the relationship between doctrine and devotion. Thus, for the writer of 1st Timothy, the community should continue to live in the truth of Jesus Christ, the true doctrine which is in accordance with true devotion (1 Tm 6:3). This idea of living in the true knowledge of Jesus Christ, which leads to a true devotion, that is, an authentic Christian praxis, also finds an echo in the letter to Titus (Ti 1:1). Finally, the author of 2nd Timothy cautions his readers regarding those who live devotion only in appearance. Interestingly, this devotion is not characterized as a false devotion, rather it is one in which the community “denies the inner power of it” (2 Tm 3:5).

The association of “*eusebeia*” with Jesus, however, functions much more than as a way to animate the Christian community's fidelity and adherence to Him. In the context of describing the qualities of the bishops and deacons of the communities, the writer of 1st Timothy includes an ancient hymn about Christ:

The mystery of our devotion (*eusebeia*) is very deep indeed: He was made visible in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen by angels, proclaimed to the gentiles, believed in throughout the world, taken up in glory (1 Tm 3:16).

As an ancient hymn, or psalm about Christ, “with the specific character of teaching

³⁵ Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans saw them*, 66-67.

and confession”³⁶, this passage expresses the salvific action of God in Christ with “*eusebeia*”. The appearance of “*eusebeia*” in this hymn suggests that the Christian community, at a date much earlier than the composition of this epistle, and likely in the context of worship, sang to and revered³⁷ Jesus as the one whose life expressed devotion. In this way, devotion gains a deep significance. It is much more than a way of living in the world; it is a way to express the Christian kerygma. In other words, Jesus’ incarnation, the outpouring of His life in mercy to others and in obedience to the Father, and the action of the Holy Spirit to carry forth this message to the world reveal the content of it. Devotion expresses what God has done for the human person in and through his Son and Spirit.

As important as this scriptural citation is, it is not the only one that places the divine action at the center of devotion. In a passage from the Letter to the Hebrews, the author makes an important reference to Jesus’ devotion or piety. Specifically, the author states that Jesus offered his sacrifices with tears and cries, and that it was for “*eulabeia*” [devotion, piety] that Jesus was heard by His Father (Heb 5:7). This passage reveals that Jesus is the pious or devout one. His life, poured out in compassion to others and in faithfulness to the will of the Father³⁸, represents the essence or the fullness of devotion. He is the reference point for Christian devotion. Consequently, the Christian interpretation shifts the emphasis in the relational structure of the word. In the Christian understanding, devotion represents not only a way of relating to God, but it becomes a way to express the life of Jesus, revealing what God has done in His Son and what God continues to do through the outpouring of the Spirit. Living in true devotion then is to live in the Son, or, as in the words of 2nd Timothy suggest, to live not in the appearance of devotion but in the full power of it. The full power of it is Jesus.

This idea of living in the full power of Christ’s devotion finds a compelling illustration in a passage from the Acts of the Apostles, specifically the narrative of the curing of the lame man in chapter 3. In response to his fellow Israelites who believe that it was his own power that cured the man, Peter exclaims: “Men of Israel, why do you wonder at this, or why do you stare at us, as though by our own power or *eusebeia* we had made him walk?”

³⁶ Martin Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 284. The author indicates that there is relative consensus that 1 Tm 3:16 is a hymn, or, in his language, a psalm about Christ. Given that these kinds of passages are limited in number, “their significance is consequently all the greater” (284).

³⁷ Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology*, 286. Hengel argues that the passage’s poetic and hymn-like character is obvious.

³⁸ This very brief formulation of the Christology of the Letter to the Hebrews is informed by Albert Vanhoye, “La identidad del sacerdote según el Nuevo Testamento”, in *El ser sacerdotal: fundamentos y dimensiones constitutivas*, ed. Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao (Madrid: Comillas, 2010), 23-36.

(Acts 3:12). Peter is clear: it was not his power or his devotion that cured the man, rather, as he plainly expresses, “And his name, by faith in his name, has made this man strong whom you see and know” (Acts 3:16). This passage, in which “*eusebeia*” refers to the power of Christ acting in the believer, read in conjunction with 1st Timothy and the Letter to the Hebrews, suggests that Christian devotion is participation in the devotion of Christ. In this interpretive paradigm, devotion is to live as He lived, where God is the true protagonist in human life, and where God’s Spirit configures the life of the believer according to the life of Jesus. If in Roman religious and cultural expression devotion was primarily the action of the person, the New Testament reveals to us the primacy of the action of God in the believer. In this way, the Christian scriptures inaugurate a whole other interpretive tradition regarding devotion. The point of emphasis is the action, sacrifice and promise that God makes to humanity in Jesus Christ and in the continual presence of that salvific action in the Holy Spirit.

3. The depth of the relationship between God and the person: two Christian reflections on devotion

The preceding analysis confirms the relational nature of the term, pointing as it does to the existence of two discourses on it. This relational architecture provides this study with a clear structure and, in a way, it obviates any need to detail period by period, or author by author, the posterior reflection on this spiritual experience. In other words, the discourse of devotion will move in this relational framework, highlighting on the one hand, the liturgical practices, the service or the interiority of the person, or, on the other, it will point to the primacy of the action of God in the believer. To demonstrate that this is indeed the case, this section of this chapter will highlight two significant expositions on devotion in the Christian spiritual tradition: one from St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the other from St. Thomas Aquinas. A study of their considerations will suggest to what extent the reflection on devotion draws from and develops upon this interpretive tradition.

The selection of these two authors is much more than merely testing a hypothesis regarding the relational constitution of devotion. Two other criteria govern the inclusion of these two theologians. First, both are towering figures in the Christian spiritual and theological tradition, and both advanced crucially important reflections on the topic of

devotion³⁹. St. Bernard, considered the “last of the Fathers, but not unequal to them”⁴⁰, represents an ineludible point of reference for reflection regarding the affective experience of God⁴¹. Similarly, given the magnitude of the *Summa Theologiae*, as well as the fact that “devotion” receives a specific analysis in this great work, Thomas Aquinas is also touchstone for the consideration on the subject matter. Their imprint, at times palpable, and at others merely latent, pulses through much of the spiritual tradition that follows them. In brief, both offer constitutive reflections on devotion. Second, both spiritual writers bear significantly on the object of this study. Ignatius and his early companions were formed by the reflection of Bernard and Thomas; specifically, in Paris their formation would have been both scholastic and patristic⁴². However slight the textual references might be in the Ignatian corpus to Bernard – there is a reference to him in the *Exercises* [*Ej* 351] – the Cistercian monk’s spirituality comprises the very bedrock of the spirituality of Modern Devotion⁴³, a spiritual movement which configured in a very significant way the religious environment in which Ignatius was formed⁴⁴. With reference to the great Dominican theologian, the connection is much more explicit. Both the *Spiritual Exercises* [*Ej* 363] and the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* [*Co* 464] make direct reference to him⁴⁵. And these references are hardly casual. As John O’Malley reminds us, “the Jesuits would never have selected Thomas unless

³⁹ See Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:711 and 714 where the author highlights the influence of Bernard and Thomas Aquinas. Similarly, both Chatillon and Moretti suggest that both theologians were crucial for the major exponents of Modern Devotion. See also Moretti, “Devotion”, in *DdE* 1:568.

⁴⁰ “Atque ultimus inter Patres, sed primis certe non impar”. See Joannis Mabillon, “Praefatio Generalis” in *PL* 182; 14-56, 26, paragraph number 23.

⁴¹ Martín Velasco calls Bernard “el iniciador de la vía afectiva”. See, Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico*, 376.

⁴² See Philippe Lécrivain, *París en tiempos de Ignacio de Loyola (1528-1535)*, ed. José A. García (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2018), 170-178; for connection to St. Bernard, see also Enrique García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Taurus, 2013), 206ff; for the contact with Aquinas’s work, see Victoriano Larrañaga, “Los estudios superiores de San Ignacio de Loyola”, *Razón y Fe* 153 (1956): 221-242, especially 230-234; James Farge, “The University of Paris in the time of Ignatius of Loyola”, in *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, ed. Juan Plazaola (Bilbao: Mensajero, 1992), 221-243, see 224, 232; similarly, José García de Castro, who suggests the following: “nosotros no lo creemos solo probable, sino casi seguro; Ignacio estudió a Santo Tomás y llegó a estar familiarizado con su obra”, see García de Castro, *El Dios emergente* (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 2001), 58, nota 37.

⁴³ For his influence on Modern Devotion, see Anselme Le Bail, “Bernard”, in *DSp* 1:1454-1499, especially 1496-1497.

⁴⁴ See, for the connection among Bernard, Modern Devotion, and Ignatius, García de Castro, *El Dios emergente*, 102.

⁴⁵ In my references to these Ignatian texts, I follow the abbreviations indicated by the editors of the *Diccionario Espiritualidad Ignaciana*. As such, *Ej* represents the *Spiritual Exercises*, and *Co* the *Constitutions*. I will be working with the Ignatian texts both in Spanish and English. For the texts in Spanish, the principal source will be *Obras*, edited by Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado. For the English version of the *Exercises*, the version edited by George Ganss (New York: Paulist Press, 1991); for the *Constitutions*, the translation will be that of *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms* (St. Louis: IJS, 1996); unless indicated, the translations of these two Ignatian texts will come from these texts.

they found in him elements compatible with their religious vision”⁴⁶. In order to deepen this investigation in the spirituality of devotion, as well as to approach more critically Ignatius’ experience of this spiritual reality, Bernard and Thomas constitute fundamental points of reference.

3.1. Devotion as the desire for God – Bernard of Clairvaux

Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153)⁴⁷, considered to be the “greatest public figure of his time”⁴⁸, remains a preeminent figure for the study of spirituality. Although his corpus of writing is immense, it is possible to survey his texts and to locate particular uses and meanings attached to devotion. A close study of his texts that explicitly use the term suggest that there are two major points of reference to it. It is a grace from God, and, it is a means or a way of responding to God. Focusing on his sermons, I will investigate both of these uses, zeroing in on the theological and spiritual content of devotion. Also, mention needs to be made, albeit briefly, that many other theological expositions of his have contributed in significant ways to the devotional life of the Church. For example, his reflections on the most holy name of Jesus, the Sacred Heart, the holy name of Mary, and the guardian angels have given rise to devotional practices centered on these aspects of the faith⁴⁹. Furthermore, many of Bernard’s texts appeared in devotional manuals, in large part composed by Franciscans in the 13th and 14th centuries⁵⁰. In short, Bernard is a monumental figure for devotion, both in terms of orienting religious practices as well as for investing the term with deep theological content.

⁴⁶ John O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 249.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of his life, his works, doctrine, and influence, see Le Bail, “Bernard”, in *DSp* 1:1454-1499; Jean Leclercq, *Saint Bernard Mystique* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1948); Etienne Gilson, *La Théologie Mystique de Saint Bernard* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1947); likewise, the very helpful introduction by Mariano Ballano in a selection of Bernard’s texts published by BAC, *En la escuela del amor* (Madrid: BAC, 1999), xiii-xxxii. Two books by the great Cistercian historian Jean Leclercq provide wonderful introductions to his life and writings: *San Bernardo y el espíritu cisterciense*, trans. Mariano Ballano (Burgos: Monte Carmelo, 2017), and *Bernardo de Claraval*, trans. Miguel Montes (Valencia: Edicep, 1991).

⁴⁸ Christopher Dawson, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 201.

⁴⁹ For this general overview see, Ailbe Luddy, *San Bernardo, el siglo XII de la Europa cristiana* (Madrid: Rialp, 1963), 673-681. For Bernard as the “star” in the history of devotion to angels, see, Joseph Dühr, “Angeles”, in *DSp* 1:580-625, especially 600-603.

⁵⁰ See Leclercq, *San Bernardo y el espíritu cisterciense*, 112.

a. *The grace of recalling God's gifts*

Firstly, and most emphatically, Bernard declares that devotion is a grace from God⁵¹. In one of his more well-known sermons⁵² on the Song of Songs⁵³ that expounds upon the importance of Jesus' humanity⁵⁴, the Cistercian abbot declares that "devotion to the humanity of Christ is a gift and a very great gift from the Holy Spirit"⁵⁵. For Bernard, meditation on Jesus' humanity occasions the gift of this grace⁵⁶. In another text from the same body of writings, the saint describes the intimacy between the Word of God and the soul. Both are spirits and both possess tongues with which they can communicate to each other. But it is the Word of God, "present in every place" that ultimately stimulates and moves the soul, without which "the tongue of devotion would not be encouraged to speak"⁵⁷. Similarly, in another sermon, this time on the feast of the Circumcision of the Lord, the abbot puts the matter more bluntly: "God gives this grace [of devotion] as a favor, as something lent and not given, so

⁵¹ In her philological and historical study of "devotion", investigating primarily the term's use and history in French spiritual texts, Lucy Tinsley finds no significant use of "devotion" up until its "sudden efflorescence in the XIIth century". Tinsley traces what she calls the "semantic rise" of the term in which it arrives as a grace. It was by way of the powerful impetus of Bernard that devotion became "almost suddenly, overwhelmingly, dominant in the Middle Ages". See Lucy Tinsley, *The French Expressions for Spirituality and Devotion: A Semantic Study* (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1953), 28, (hereafter cited as *The French Expressions*).

⁵² For a discussion on the literary genre of the sermon in medieval monastic culture, see Jean Leclercq, *El amor a las letras y el deseo de Dios*, trans. Antonio M. Aguado, Alejandro M. Masoliver (Salamanca: Sigueme, 2009); Leclercq, analyzing Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs, argues that the format of the composition most likely indicates that the commentaries on the Song of Songs would not have been proclaimed to an assembly of monks (223).

⁵³ For an analysis of the importance of the Song of Songs in medieval monastic culture and the reasons why this text was so commented upon see Leclercq, *El amor a las letras y el deseo de Dios*, 117-120.

⁵⁴ As an example, one such phrase from this very moving sermon that highlights the humanity of the Son of God: "Siempre que ora tiene ante sí la imagen del Hombre Dios que nace y crece, predica y muere, resucita y asciende". See San Bernardo de Claraval, *Obras completas de San Bernardo* Vol. 5. "Sobre el Cantar de los cantares. Sermón 20".6.285. In my references to Bernard, I will indicate the volume number, the name of the text, the paragraph number and then the page number. All quotations from Saint Bernard come from the edition of his works by the BAC. *Obras completas de San Bernardo*, ed. Los monjes cistercienses de España, 8 vols. (Madrid: BAC, 1983-1993); all translations mine.

Regarding the privileged place of the humanity of Christ in his thinking, it is worth noting how Le Bail considers Bernard "the leader of the expansion of the devotion to Christ's humanity" (1481). The author highlights his influence on St. Bonaventure, and Franciscan spirituality, as well as on Groote, considered the founder of Modern Devotion, and on Kempis, the most well-known author of said school; for a detailed description of this influence, see, Le Bail, "Bernard", in *DSp* 1:1495-1498; for the explicit pedagogy of love that begins with the meditation of the person of Jesus in Bernard, see, Étienne Gilson, *La théologie mystique de Saint Bernard*, 100-115.

⁵⁵ *Obras*. Vol. 5. "Sobre el Cantar de los cantares. Sermón 20", 8.289. For a more critical appraisal of Bernard's devotion to the humanity of Christ, see Giles Constable, who offers that "he [Bernard] and other Cistercian writers were ultimately less concerned with Christ's earthly life and body than with the eternal Christ". See Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious Thought* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 188ff, (hereafter cited as *Three Studies*).

⁵⁶ Tinsley, *The French Expressions*, 36. For the author, "meditating on the humanity of Christ from one's heart is the keynote of affective spirituality" (36).

⁵⁷ *Obras*. Vol. 5. "Sobre el Cantar de los cantares. Sermón 45", 8.605.

that in opportune moments we might remember the difficult ones, or conversely, so that during times of adversity we might not forget the favorable ones”⁵⁸. Taken together, these considerations suggest that devotion is a gift from God that favors the communication between the person and the Creator, and it provides a certain equilibrium to the person to live peaceably, whether in moments of difficulty or in moments of consolation.

Closely related to these references to devotion as a grace is the idea that it comes about in the recognition of God’s goodness in the life of the believer. In other words, the realization that God is acting in one’s life, and that His action is salvific and redemptive, provokes in the heart of the Christian an experience of devotion. For example, returning to his sermons on the Song of Songs, Bernard discusses in one of his texts the three aromas or perfumes that accompany the Christian. The first is the scent of compunction⁵⁹. But much better than this is devotion “which is prepared by the memory of all of God’s gifts”⁶⁰. This same idea recurs in another sermon in which he describes the second perfume: “there is another perfume that is called ‘devotion’, and this one is made in remembering all of the divine gifts”⁶¹. And this experience of devotion as the memory of God’s gifts in the life of the believer, actually leads the soul back to Jesus: “there are those that live exclusively given over to God, with great fervor and gratitude, and we can affirm that they pour out this perfume [of devotion] over the head of Jesus Christ”⁶². Likewise, returning to one of his sermons on the Song of Songs, he draws on these same images, exhorting his monastic community to live in a profound spirit of gratitude, which is to live “in the holy anointing that recalls the gifts of God in the joyful gratitude of holy devotion”⁶³. Devotion is a grace, and it is also the memory of grace’s action in the life of the believer. As he suggests, Christ’s salvific action in us “demands, without a doubt, all of our love. It captivates all the devotion of our heart, and it calls for our practice of justice”⁶⁴.

⁵⁸ *Obras*. Vol. 3. “En la Circuncisión del Señor. Sermón 3”, 10.269.

⁵⁹ Tinsley points out that in the writings of Bernard there are, clustered around devotion, words such as compunction, humility, reliance upon grace, as well as joy and consolation. Tinsley, *The French Expressions*, 37.

⁶⁰ *Obras*. Vol. 5. “Sobre el Cantar de los cantares. Sermón 12”, 10.191-193.

⁶¹ *Obras*. Vol. 6. “Sermones varios. Sermón 87”, 6.423-425. The same metaphor of the three perfumes appears in his *Sentences*: “There are three perfumes: ...the second one is that of devotion for the memory of benefits received that anoint the head of Jesus”. *Obras*. Vol. VIII. “Segunda serie de sentencias”, 169.105.

⁶² *Obras*. Vol. 6. “Sermones varios. Sermón 90”, 3.431-433.

⁶³ *Obras*. Vol. 5. “Sobre el Cantar de los cantares. Sermón 11”, 1.171.

⁶⁴ *Obras*. Vol. 5. “Sobre el Cantar de los cantares. Sermón 20”, 2.279.

b. Interior disposition for worshipping God

In addition to being a grace from God connected to the memory and recognition of God's action in the life of the believer, his writings also suggest that this spiritual reality is one that the person is in a way responsible for. For example, in one very moving passage from his collection on the Song of Songs, he writes that the soul reaches out to the Lord and finds itself held. As a response to this experience of union, the soul "holds onto the Lord with the firmness of faith and with the affection of devotion"⁶⁵. In this way, devotion is an affective holding onto and not letting go of the love of God. In a text of an altogether different literary genre, that of his sentences⁶⁶, Bernard offers a much more straightforward description: "devotion is worship of God, and as such consists of three elements: faith, hope and love"⁶⁷. Further on in the same collection of writings, discussing how one is to worship God, he states: "the sacrifice of the work of justice requires the oil of discretion. And the sacrifice of praise demands the balm of devotion"⁶⁸. Both of these observations indicate devotion as the way the person should approach the Lord, a disposition he or she can, to a certain extent, nurture. To this end, the abbot of Clairvaux indicates ways that the monk can foster the grace of devotion in his life: "four things increase the grace of our devotion: the remembrance of our sins, the evocation of punishment, the idea that one is a pilgrim, and the desire of eternal life"⁶⁹. Thus, though primarily a grace from God, there is in the writings of Bernard another set of meanings that correspond with its ancient Roman uses that refer to how the person can offer himself or herself to the Lord.

The Cistercian saint also draws heavily from the meaning of the term which referred to the interior dispositions necessary for worship. For example, regarding how one is to approach the Lord, he rhetorically asks in his very well-known sermon on the birth of Mary: "Is there by chance another way than that of the force of desire, the ardor of devotion and the purity of prayer?"⁷⁰. The answer clearly is "no"; it is the ardor of devotion which allows us

⁶⁵ *Obras*. Vol. 5. "Sobre el Cantar de los cantares. Sermón 79", 5.987.

⁶⁶ For a review of this genre, see Leclercq, *El amor a las letras y el deseo de Dios*, 219-223. Though my analysis will not consider his letters, another significant literary genre in the corpus of Bernard, numbering some 550, it is pertinent to suggest here that his letters were important for the Society of Jesus in its earliest years. Ignatius' secretary, Juan Alfonso de Polanco encouraged Jesuits to read Bernard's letters as models for the kind of correspondence desired by Ignatius. See, Leclercq, *San Bernardo y el espíritu cisterciense*, 118.

⁶⁷ *Obras*. Vol. 8. "Tercera serie de sentencias", 21.137.

⁶⁸ *Obras*. Vol. 8. "Tercera serie de sentencias", 84.205.

⁶⁹ *Obras*. Vol. 8. "Segunda serie de sentencias", 7.63.

⁷⁰ *Obras*. Vol. 4. "En el nacimiento de Santa María", 5.423. For an analysis of this sermon and the way that Bernard presents Mary as the one who by her love, that is, by her desire, devotion, and justice she was united to God, and constituted as the new Eve, see Le Bail, "Bernard", in *DSp* 1:1487-1488.

to draw near to the Lord. As a further illustration of this, he encourages his monastic brethren to enter into the season of lent with great fervor: “I say this, my brothers, so that no one flinches and begins this time of fasting with little devotion”⁷¹. In this same text, he warns his brother monks: “Our enemy exhausts all means so that our sacrifice loses its abundance of devotion and so that it will not be pleasing to the Lord”⁷². Likewise, on the feast of the nativity of the Lord, one of the ways in which he inspires his listeners to enter into the mystery of the feast is by invoking their desire for devotion: “look for, then, the deep waters of devotion”, the waters that irrigate and give life to all the good works of a righteous life⁷³. And in a more general way, as a way to inspire and motivate the prayer of his community, he animates them: “pray the psalms wisely [and remember], in just the same way that honey hides in wax, devotion hides in the words of the Scripture”⁷⁴.

Finally, there is one more component to his thinking on this spiritual and theological reality: devotion brings about certain effects in the life of the believer. It is not so hidden that it is not felt. According to the Mellifluus Doctor, the “light of devotion is a very peaceful guide, and it is the sabbath of the soul”⁷⁵. For those that experience it, it is joyful, and because of its presence, “the monk can live as an indefatigable soldier”⁷⁶. In a similar fashion, he proposes that devotion “provides a joyful calm to the soul”⁷⁷. Calm, joy, and a certain indefatigable constancy in the Christian life seem to be the ways that he perceives its manifestation.

In addition to presenting devotion as a grace and as an internal disposition, it is plausible to consider, given the suggestive and metaphorical language with which he describes devotion, that this great doctor of the Church seems to have been as interested in rousing his listeners to an actual experience of devotion as he was in presenting a theological treatise on it⁷⁸. In part, this seems to be the function of his evocative allegorical language and his use of the metaphor of perfume and ointment to describe it. These rather affective, even sensual images – comparing it, for example, to a balm that soothes the soul – remind us that

⁷¹ *Obras*. Vol. 3. “En la Cuaresma. Sermón 3”, 1.421.

⁷² *Obras*. Vol. 3. “En la Cuaresma. Sermón 3”, 1.421.

⁷³ *Obras*. Vol. 3. “En la natividad del Señor. Sermón 1”, 6.207.

⁷⁴ *Obras*. Vol. 5. “Sobre el Cantar de los cantares. Sermón 7”, 5.133.

⁷⁵ *Obras*. Vol. 3. “En la Circuncisión del Señor. Sermón 3”, 10.269.

⁷⁶ *Obras*. Vol. 3. “En la Circuncisión del Señor. Sermón 3”, 10.269.

⁷⁷ *Obras*. Vol. 6. “Sermones varios. Sermón 17”, 8.163.

⁷⁸ It might be too much to ask his texts that which they do not pretend to offer, that is, a systematic spiritual theology. G.R. Evans puts it this way: “we are not looking at a systematic theologian, but rather at a ‘reactive’ one, who writes about problems as they arise and are presented to him”. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 72. Similarly, one of the great authorities on Bernard, Dom Jean Leclercq, echoes this very idea: “Mais il se place rarement au point spéculatif: il se situe presque toujours sur le terrain de la pratique et de l’expérience”. Leclercq, *Saint Bernard Mystique*, 485.

devotion is, above all, relational, and for Bernard, the relation that devotion establishes with the Lord is strikingly intimate. It moves in the same semantic field as that of love and desire. This becomes more apparent in one further example. In a homily on the gospel passage of the wedding feast at Cana, the Cistercian writer creatively interprets Jesus' command to the servants to fill the vessels with water. In Bernard's way of reading the passage, Jesus is telling his followers to "desire devotion, ask for the wine, seek fervor"⁷⁹. This is the overall function of his reflection on devotion: to inspire us to seek it, and in seeking it, enter into the mystery of God's life and love. In this way, Bernard's language, at once beautiful and evocative, creates the very disposition of, and desire for, this deep spiritual experience. As a way to conclude, in the monastic and Cistercian milieu as represented by Bernard, devotion seems to have been a spiritual concept employed to express the semantics of desire on both sides of the divine-human relationship. It expressed the movement of God towards the person, and the way that the person sought the Lord with ardor, desire, and love.

3.2. Devotion as the will to serve God – Thomas Aquinas

Though the influence of St. Bernard can be felt all through the middle ages right up until modern times⁸⁰, his is not the only reflection that will reverberate throughout the spiritual tradition of devotion. Another decisive formulation on this topic is that of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)⁸¹. The great Dominican theologian studies devotion in the second part of his *Summa theologiae*⁸² in the context of his reflection on religion⁸³. In this part of his magnum opus, after studying the question of what constitutes religion, Thomas turns to

⁷⁹ *Obras*. Vol. 3. "Domingo primero después de la octava de Epifanía. Sermón 2", 8.337.

⁸⁰ Such is the appraisal of Chatillon in "Devotion", in *DSp* 3:711.

⁸¹ Within a bibliography worthy of the size of Thomas Aquinas's output, my selection of texts has included Jean-Pierre Torrell, "Thomas d'Aquin", in *DSp* 15:718-773; Romanus Cessario, "Tomás de Aquino", in *DdM*, 1691-1694; M.D. Chenu, *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1950); Ralph McInerny, "Introduction", in *Thomas Aquinas Selected Writings*, ed. and trans. McInerny (London: Penguin, 1998), ix-xxxiv; similarly helpful Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Iniciación a Tomás de Aquino: su persona y su obra*, trans. Ana Corzo Santamaría (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2002).

⁸² For a very helpful and clear introduction to Thomas's *Summa*, see Bernard McGinn, *Thomas Aquinas's "Summa theologiae": A biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); also helpful, especially for its concise overview of the *Summa* is Torrell, *Iniciación a Tomás de Aquino*, especially 161-177; for historical background that indicates the rise of the universities and the scholastic method, two components crucial to the *Summa*, see Jan Aertsen, "Aquinas's philosophy in its historical setting", in *The Cambridge Companion to Aquinas*, ed. N. Kretzmann, E. Stump (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 12-37.

⁸³ *STh* IIaIIae q. 82. References to the *Summa* are taken from an online version in English from http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1225-1274_Thomas_Aquinas_Summa_Theologiae_%5B1%5D_EN.pdf; last consulted on 25 January 2022; I have also compared this version with that of the BAC, that takes as its text the Leonine Edition begun in 1880; *Suma Teológica*, ed. Francisco Barbado Viejo (Madrid: BAC, 1948-1955); the topic is found in Tomo IX, 2-2 q.82 a.1-4, pages 36-44.

devotion, organizing his analysis in four articles: its nature, its relationship to religion and charity, its causes, and its effects. Though innovative in its own right, Thomas’s reflection demonstrates a remarkable consistency with the relational nature of this spiritual category. Namely, the word delineates the richness of the divine-human relation.

a. The offering of one’s will to God

The great scholastic theologian’s analysis begins with reference to ancient uses of the word. In two occasions in this question, he invokes the use of the term from its Roman context. In the first article, he reminds his readers that “in olden times among the heathens a devotee was the one who vowed to his idols to suffer death for the safety of his army”⁸⁴. The allusion to the story of Decius by Livy – the very one alluded to above – is evident. The second connection to the Roman context occurs in the article where he recalls that the Latin word “*devovere*” signified a vow; this allows him argue that devotion, as a vow, is an act of religion⁸⁵. These two explicit references to the word’s meanings from the Roman context are not just points of departure for his argument, rather they form the very foundation of it.

He argues that devotion is “the will to do readily what concerns the service of God”⁸⁶, or, as he puts it slightly differently in the 2nd article, is to do that which pertains to the worship of God. Yet there is an important point of emphasis in his formulation. Devotion is, above all, the *will* to serve God. Thus, it is not only the action, the sacrifice or the promise made to God, but it is the very will of the person offered in service to God. He formulates this definition in his first article of the question: “devotion is a special act of the will”⁸⁷. And in the second article, he advances in his thinking: as a religious act, it is a special act of the will to do what pertains to the worship of God⁸⁸. This is how Thomas recasts and innovates devotion: he locates it in the interior of the person, specifically in one of the faculties of the soul, that is, the will. As such, it is the point of departure for all subsequent religious action, be it interior or exterior⁸⁹. In this line of thinking, devotion touches that which is most central or intimate to the human person, that is, their desire or will. Moreover, by way of devotion,

⁸⁴ IIaIIae q. 82. a.1.

⁸⁵ IIaIIae q. 82. a.2.

⁸⁶ IIaIIae q. 82. a.1.

⁸⁷ IIaIIae q. 82. a.1.

⁸⁸ IIaIIae q. 82. a.2.

⁸⁹ To illustrate this, one need only look at the topic treated in the next question: prayer. In other words, devotion, or the will to serve God, is that which precedes prayer.

the person offers his or her will to God⁹⁰. In this way, devotion forms the bedrock of the relationship to God given that it signals a kind of readiness to or a promptness for those acts which serve God. In the hermeneutic of the human-divine relationship that is guiding this initial foray into “devotion”, Thomas’s comprehension of it would appear to be at the ground level of the relation. That is, if there is no devotion – the offering of one’s desire to God – it is hard to imagine the possibility of a relationship. This seems to be the direction of his argument: religion depends upon devotion. To use his own words: “religion belongs to that virtue to have the will ready to do such things, and this is to be devout”⁹¹.

I suggested earlier Thomas’s formulation is something of a touchstone for the reflection on devotion. As an example of this, it is not out of place to refer to one of the more famous and widely read books on devotion, *The Introduction to the Devout Life* by Francis de Sales (1567-1622)⁹². At the beginning of his book, the author suggests that devotion is a kind of spiritual agility and vivacity: “devotion... makes us active, ready, and diligent in keeping God’s commandments, but furthermore it stimulates us to the eager and loving performance of all the good works”⁹³. The emphasis on promptitude and being eager to do good works hearkens back to Thomas’s article on devotion. This connection becomes clearer when, much later in his text, the Bishop of Geneva declares that “devotion does not consist in that sweetness, consolation, and visible tenderness... [rather] in the resolute, prompt, and active will to execute what we know to be pleasing to God”⁹⁴. Thomas’s consideration of devotion permeates this expression, and the clear allusion to his thinking reveals its importance for posterior reflection⁹⁵.

⁹⁰ Le Brun, “Devoción y devociones en la época Moderna”, 64.

⁹¹ IIaIIae q. 82. a.2.

⁹² For a review of his life, spiritual works and ecclesial activity, see, Pierre Serouet, “S. François de Sales”, in *DSp* 5:1057-1097, especially the analysis of the *Introduction to the Devout Life* on 1064-1066; also, very helpful, given her historical analysis of “devotion” is Tinsley, *The French Expressions*, 161ff. What is more, the author argues that the Bishop of Geneva gave the term “devotion” special extension and nuances. Tinsley argues that “we witness [in the book] the actual renaissance of the word DÉVOTION, which had been languishing, if not moribund, as a religious term” (168).

⁹³ Version in English used is that of Francis de Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life* (Charlotte, Tan: 2013), 4.

⁹⁴ De Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, 278-279.

⁹⁵ Le Brun makes this same connection between de Sales and the Angelic Doctor. See, Le Brun, “Devoción y devociones en la época Moderna”, 65.

b. The causes and the affective experience of devotion

In the last two articles of this question on devotion Thomas explores its causes and effects. In terms of its causes, “the extrinsic and chief cause of devotion is God”⁹⁶. Though there is no further elaboration on God as the chief cause of devotion in this 3rd article, it is important to keep in mind the entire movement of the *Summa*. It has been described as a movement of “exitus-reditus”⁹⁷, where God is at the beginning and the end of all things, attracting all things that have been created back to Himself⁹⁸. Given this idea of a kind of circular movement that frames the entire work, the theological density behind this simple formulation emerges. Devotion forms part of this movement back to God, intimating the idea of being attracted by the Lord. This attraction back to God also occurs on account of what Thomas identifies as “intrinsic causes to devotion”. The logic of this argument is that “every act of the will proceeds from some consideration... consequently meditation must needs be the cause of devotion, in so far as through meditation man conceives the thought of surrendering himself to God’s service”⁹⁹. In this line of reasoning, thoughts, meditations or ideas form a part of what he labels “intrinsic causes of devotion”. He identifies two considerations that especially provoke in us the will to serve God. The first is God’s goodness and loving kindness, and the second is the consciousness of one’s own personal shortcomings. Notwithstanding these considerations, they remain, for the Dominican theologian, abstract. The person, according to Thomas, needs sensible objects to guide him or her, and for this reason the meditation on the humanity of Christ provides a “chief incentive to devotion”¹⁰⁰. Jesus’ humanity¹⁰¹ is like a “guiding hand” that leads us to God,

⁹⁶ IIaIIae q. 82. a.3.

⁹⁷ This Neoplatonic reading of the *Summa* was advanced by M.D. Chenu, “Le plan de la somme théologique de Saint Thomas”, *Revue Thomiste* 47 (1939): 93-107; for a more contemporary review of the literature on the plan or structure of the *Summa*, see, Brian Johnstone, “The Debate on the Structure of the *Summa theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas: from Chenu to Metz”, in *Aquinas as Authority*, ed. P. Geest, H. Goris, C. Leget (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 187-200; for an alternate scheme, one that proposes that each section corresponds respectively to God, man, and Christ, see Rudi te Velde, *Aquinas on God* (Cornwall: Ashgate, 2006), 10-18; Torrell also summarizes the debate, *Iniciación a Tomás de Aquino*, 169-171.

⁹⁸ Torrell, “Thomas D’Aquino”, in *DSp* 15:749-750.

⁹⁹ IIaIIae q. 82. a.3.

¹⁰⁰ IIaIIae q. 82. a.3. A total of 33 questions are dedicated to Jesus’s human life in the 3rd part of the *Summa*, specifically questions 27-59. Torrell points to 435 occurrences of the word *conformitas* as just one indication of Aquinas’s emphasis on Jesus’s humanity. See, Torrell, “Thomas d’Aquino”, in *DSp* 15:758-759.

¹⁰¹ Though there is no scholarly consensus on how Thomas understood the imitation of Christ, “there is no question, however, that Thomas held up the humanity of Christ as an example in the *Summa theologiae*”. See Constable, *Three Studies*, 238.

awakening us to a love of divine things and a desire to serve God¹⁰².

Finally, as a way to conclude his investigation into devotion, the angelic doctor discusses the diverse effects that it can cause in the person. Principal among these is “spiritual joy of the mind”, though special consideration is given to sorrow, given that it “is its secondary and indirect effect”¹⁰³. For example, in the consideration of Christ’s passion, there is “something that causes sorrow” in it; similarly, the remembrance or consciousness of one’s sins can provoke a “sorrow which is according to God”¹⁰⁴. Sadness and sorrow have their place in the spiritual experience of devotion given that both can activate the desire to serve God. In short, the affective responses need not be uniform, but the will is unified in its movement towards God. In conclusion, Aquinas’s exposition highlights devotion as the offering of the will to God. It is the desire to serve Him; a desire motivated by the consciousness of God’s goodness. Though he never calls it a grace, it is God who causes it, and the reflection on the humanity of God’s son has a special place in it.

CONCLUSIONS

The principal objective in this chapter has been to introduce the topic of devotion and to discover the core theological and spiritual formulations on it. I would offer these five conclusions, conclusions that are best understood as foundational comprehensions of devotion that, as such, form the base of this study.

1. An ancient word expressed in ancient stories

“Devotion” is an ancient word, expressive of the way that the human person related to the gods by way of a pledge, a vow, or a commitment. What is more, at the root of the word are stories, narratives of heroic feats and self-sacrifice to the gods on behalf of the safety and well-being of others. In this way, devotion points to something much more than a vow or a pledge; it suggests the human capacity for giving one’s life to and for another without any desire for recompense.

¹⁰² Perhaps the clearest expression of this is found in the third part where the Dominican Theologian writes that “the full participation of Divinity, which is the true bliss of man and the end of human life... and this is bestowed upon us by Christ’s humanity”. IIIa q. 1. a.2.

¹⁰³ IIaIIae q. 82. a.4. These effects are in accord with the two considerations highlighted above that lead to devotion: that of God’s goodness and one’s shortcomings.

¹⁰⁴ IIaIIae q. 82. a.4.

2. *God's devotion to humanity: Jesus Christ*

The Christian tradition, heedful of the deep resonance of the term, picked up on its connotation of self-sacrifice and dedication, but from another perspective. No longer was it solely what the human person did to or for the gods, it was now God, in His Son Jesus Christ, who was understood to be the author or the giver of devotion. As such, devotion in Christian parlance, transposed the meanings of promise, sacrifice, and fidelity to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. In other words, devotion is the gift of God's very life to the human person. To use the expression from 1st Timothy, the mystery of Christian devotion is deep indeed; it refers us back to the paschal mystery, and the ongoing redemptive action of that mystery by and in the Holy Spirit.

This interpretive tradition, along with that from the Roman context, reveal the relational structure in this topic. Specifically, it connotes a relationship in which self-donation, sacrifice and service are essential aspects. This is the groundwork, the original humus of the term which this brief investigation has unearthed.

3. *Devotion and faculties of the soul*

From this ground the Christian tradition has developed its own spiritual and theological reflection. Noteworthy in this tradition are Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and Saint Thomas Aquinas; both theologians use the term to explore, in their respective ways, the interiority of the human person in his or her relationship to and desire for God. For the Dominican theologian, devotion is the offering of one's will to God. For the Cistercian abbot, devotion is a grace, and it is the memory of God's gifts in the life of the believer. Both of these formulations – devotion as a grace and the offering of one's will to God – appear to be constitutive Christian discourses on the topic.

4. *A deep religious sentiment*

In addition, devotion for both theologians is a felt experience. This is one of the great Christian innovations with regards to devotion. That is, the human person feels the divine presence. And as a deep spiritual sentiment, it may be akin to happiness and joy, but sorrow too has its place in it. For Bernard devotion occasions feelings of calm, constancy, and a certain equilibrium. Likewise tears and compunction can be manifestations of it. God's movement towards the person provokes this felt experience, producing in him or her a kind of "reditus" back to Him.

5. *An emerging aspect – the humanity of Christ*

Finally, a careful consideration of the reflection of both of these theologians reveals a component of their thinking on it: meditation and reflection on the humanity of Christ causes devotion. As the writer of 2nd Timothy suggested, there is an inner power in devotion, and this is to be found Jesus' humanity. Drawing from the deep scriptural roots of Christian devotion, Bernard and Thomas establish the groundwork for future theological and spiritual reflection on devotion as that which is intimately connected with the humanity of Christ, a reflection that will be taken up with considerable vigor in the late medieval religion. Thus, at the same time that this spiritual term allowed the two Christian writers to explore more deeply the human person's interiority, and the relationship with God that occurs there, devotion also referred them back to the human life of God's son. Devotion appears to be caught up with what it means to be human before God, which is to be human like God's Son Jesus.

To conclude, there are a constellation of themes: self-sacrifice, grace, the will to serve God, interiority, a felt experience, and Jesus' humanity. These appear to be the constitutive aspects of the Christian reflection on devotion, and from the rich terrain of these ideas, late medieval spiritual reflection will emerge with great potency. It is to that theological and spiritual moment that I will turn in the following chapter.

*Infused into the very marrow of our souls****Devotio moderna* – Devotion takes center stage**

INTRODUCTION

This previous chapter made an important claim about the spiritual experience of devotion: it is relational in nature. To that end, the survey of some of the core discourses on it revealed important characteristics of this relationship: it includes sacrifice, interiority, feeling, and a desire to serve. Similarly, the reflection on Jesus' humanity occupies an essential place in this relationship as the one who mediates it. Regarding this last point, there is the very felicitous expression in the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Jesus' humanity is the "guiding hand" of devotion. This metaphor suggests that it is Jesus' human life, and the meditation on that life, that leads us by the hand, as it were, into relationship with God. This figurative expression is important as it reminds us that more than a genealogy of the word "devotion", tracing origins and originating discourses, this investigation has attempted to demonstrate that with "devotion" the human person expresses an experience of God. "Devotion" is a word that tells the story of this divine-human relationship. It is an ancient word expressed by ancient narratives, powerfully initiated by the Roman historian Livy, and dramatically reinterpreted by the Christian scriptures and enriched by subsequent theological reflection.

All of this is helpful for this theological and spiritual approximation to the experience of devotion of Ignatius of Loyola as he registers it in his *Diary*. Attentive to the objective to discover his experience of devotion, in this present chapter I will take a step closer towards Ignatius, examining the more immediate spiritual and theological atmosphere of devotion that could have configured his experience of this spiritual reality. To this end, I will traverse several centuries, turning now to the practices, texts and movements that form the latter part of medieval Christianity. Not only is the reflection on devotion in this period important for

Ignatius and the early Society of Jesus, it represents, for the broader story of devotion whose narrative I am following, a decisive moment. It was during this period that the Church witnessed the emergence of a spiritual movement whose very name included the topic of this investigation: Modern Devotion. In this way, devotion, present but not prominent in the spiritual reflection of the Church, came to characterize an entire spiritual current which configured not only the person's relationship to God, but to the Church and to broader society as well.

My objective in this chapter is to examine the spiritual current known as *devotio moderna*. To do this, I have organized this section in two parts. In the first, as a way to provide continuity between the previous chapter and the subject of Modern Devotion, I will provide a brief overview of late medieval devotional practices and an analysis of a key devotional text, the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony, that emerges from this milieu. I will then undertake, in the second part, an analysis of Modern Devotion, focusing on the life and spirituality of the Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. Finally, I will point to the manifestations of Modern Devotion that developed in the Iberian Peninsula. Once again, conscious of the extensiveness of the content that both parts of this chapter encompass, my objective is modest and focused. I seek to indicate the spiritual and theological content, that is, those elements, images, and practices, that most configured devotion in this time period, and which could have formed the more immediate spiritual context of Ignatius of Loyola.

1. Devotion that produces devotions: a brief look at late medieval devotional practices

The topic of late medieval devotional practices is important for two reasons¹. First, a brief outline of them will allow us to better understand Ignatius of Loyola and his earliest companions. Given that “late medieval piety was at least as important as scholasticism and humanism” on them², a cursory mention of significant medieval devotions will help apprehend their spiritual life. The second reason involves an important observation regarding the term of study as it is emerging in this introductory unit of chapters. The fascinating

¹ For treatment of late Middle Age devotion, helpful for this study has been R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c.1215 – c.1515* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997); Constable, *Three Studies*.

² O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 264. Similarly, the observation from Joseph de Guibert that “Ignatius was a man from the Middle Ages who had strayed into the sixteenth century in the height of its development” provides clear motivation to detail aspects of late Middle Age spirituality. See, de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, ed. George Ganss, trans. William Young (St. Louis: IJS, 1986), 71.

aspect of devotion are its multiple meanings³. In addition to the meanings alluded to above as interiority, deep feeling, the will to serve, and the connection to the humanity of Jesus, the word also refers to religious acts, objects, prayers, or other spiritual exercises by which a person draws near to and worships God⁴. Not unfamiliar to us, this meaning of devotion, often rendered by the use in its plural form “devotions”, is that of sundry practices which involve a host of personal, cultural, and ecclesial features. One could adopt the view that there is opposition or tension between devotion as an internal experience and devotions as external practices⁵. However, another approach considers devotions as the specification and organization of the spiritual experience⁶. In this way, devotions attest to the creative activity of religion⁷ and the way that the deeply felt interior experience of God finds exterior expressions. To point to devotional practices then is to present the external sphere of activities in which the human person sought and continues to seek God. In addition to a critical analysis of spiritual texts, I believe that to fully engage the term of this investigation requires an exploration, however cursory, of the multiplicity of faith expressions that emanate from or that in fact inform a spiritual theology of devotion.

But to accentuate the positive meanings of devotions as I am is to recognize briefly the drastic evolution that the connotation of the word has suffered. Though the semantic remaking of the term is not the object of this study, I do want to acknowledge that, generally speaking, in contemporary religious parlance, the term can be considered, at best, ambiguous, and at worst, as having a negative connotation. More concretely, from the 17th century onwards, “devotion” began to take on pejorative connotations⁸, connotations that still prevail. As an example, to speak of devotion or devotions is to consider those rather simple feelings for God or those rather unreflective mechanical acts in which one bargains with or solicits favors from Him. The word’s use in contemporary religious idiom to evoke a deep religious

³ It is worth mentioning here that five articles by six writers comprise the entry for devotion in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*. The lemma are “Devotio”, “Dévotion”, “Dévotion Moderne”, “Dévotions”, and “Dévotions prohibées”.

⁴ I am following Émile Bertaud and André Rayez, “Dévotions”, in *DSp* 3:747-778, especially 747-748.

⁵ Such is the view of Kees Waaijman who suggests that “By means of the word “devotion” spirituality is thus read as a tension-filled reality: the sphere of the heart (inwardness, fervency, dedication) and the sphere of the external (devotions, practices, consecrated spaces and times)”. See, Waaijman, *Spirituality: Forms, Foundations, Methods* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 345.

⁶ Following Bertaud and Rayez, “Dévotions”, in *DSp* 3:749.

⁷ Dawson, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture*, 219.

⁸ “Et depuis le 17^e siècle ce terme est souvent pris en mauvaise part pour fausse dévotion, hypocrisie”. Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:715. Exact same point made in Le Brun, “Devoción y devociones en la época Moderna”, 70; Tinsley’s study is even more dramatic and insightful. She describes the semantic deterioration of the word in the 17th and 18th. See, Tinsley, *French Expressions*, especially 140-143, and 186. In her argument, the author cites texts by French Jesuits who casted suspicion on the word (188ff).

experience has been compromised⁹. The concept does not occupy a high place on the scale of spirituality¹⁰. Thus, to examine devotion, is, to a certain extent, an exercise in recovering a term of great depth in the Christian tradition. It is not my intent to rectify four centuries of use that have simplified or have relegated it to certain ecclesial sectors. But it is my desire to evoke the richness of the term, and to study, in particular, just how expressive the word was for Ignatius of Loyola. I believe this study of the *Diary* will do just that for Ignatian spirituality and for all readers of his autograph prayer observations.

1.1. Devotion that led to devotions

Devotion led people to do things, and in the late Middle Ages, devotion led people to do a lot of things. The center of Christian devotion, even “the preeminent feature of medieval religion”, was the mass¹¹. But attending mass was just one of many religious activities that constituted devotion. Though hardly an exhaustive list, practices such as saying prayers, fasting, participating in processions, joining the activities of confraternities, visiting Marian sites, giving alms, and attending sermons constituted ways in which men and women expressed their will to serve God¹². Crucial to understanding devotional practices is to bear in mind the belief “in the permanent intervention of God in the life of humankind” that permeated the Middle Age mindset¹³. Coupled with this was the belief that evil was not an abstract force, but rather “real, visible, and tangible, capable of inflicting actual physical damage”¹⁴. Whether it was the personal search for God¹⁵ or the desire to ward off malignant forces, devotional practices seem to have been a unifying factor of medieval life. They cut across social classes, to a certain extent representing a mixture of lay and clerical initiative¹⁶,

⁹ Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:715. Such is the conclusion of Chatillon. A more personal note is not out of order here. The responses of peers and colleagues to this investigation have reflected this semantic deterioration. The typical response to the topic of this investigation is one of askance, as if devotion were at best ancillary to Ignatius’ spiritual experience.

¹⁰ Again, following Tinsley, *The French Expressions*, 248.

¹¹ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 137, 139.

¹² Richard Kieckhefer, “Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion”, in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 75-108, 81.

¹³ André Vauchez, “Saints and pilgrimages: new and old”, in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 4, *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500*, ed. Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 324-339, on 325.

¹⁴ Joseph Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 15.

¹⁵ Swanson argues that “it was the personal search for God that was the keystone, generating varied responses”. At the same time, the author reminds us that there existed devotional practices that clearly stressed the “more magical aspects of the relationship between God and man, exploiting religious practices and traditions to secure benefits and control the elements”. See, Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, on 177, 182.

¹⁶ Kieckhefer, “Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion”, 101.

and in this way provided a common identity across distinct social spheres¹⁷. For this reason, devotions represent a dense religious and social phenomenon, crucially important to national, local, and religious identity. They not only draw attention to how people lived their relations with the sacred, but also how they lived and related to each other¹⁸. Though hard to pin down given that they could also occupy an intermediate position between public acts of the Church and those carried out in the intimacy of one's home¹⁹, and given the presence of strong affective components in them²⁰, the plethora of devotions in the late medieval period points to a Church that was vibrant and effective²¹.

a. Four foci of devotional practices

Though diverse and multiple in their manifestation, and very much conditioned by the local situation of the Church and in creative contact with other social activities²², it is possible to identify four aspects of the faith that gave rise to more important devotional practices of the late Middle Ages: the passion of Christ, Mary, the Eucharist, and the saints²³. Though it is not easy to single out one as more important than the others, each represents fascinating aspects of how believers expressed communally and personally their faith. For example, reverence of the saints was one of the keystones of the human relationship with the divine²⁴. They were considered powerful intercessors for the faithful. Additionally, the translation into every vernacular language of James of Voragine's *Golden Legend* marked an evolution in this cult: the "saints... now inspired affectionate devotion rather than reverential

¹⁷ Keith Luria, "'Popular Catholicism' and the Catholic Reformation", in *Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. K. Comerford, H. Pabel (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2001), 114-130, on 120-121.

¹⁸ Luria, "'Popular Catholicism' and the Catholic Reformation", 116.

¹⁹ Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion", 101.

²⁰ Bertaud and Rayez, "Dévotions", in *DSp* 3:748.

²¹ Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, vol. 6, part 1, *Mysticism in the Reformation (1500-1650)* (New York: Crossroad, 2016), 6; similar on this point of the creativity and inventiveness in the late Middle Ages is John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 120, (book hereafter cited as *Sisters and Brothers*). Yet, this view is not shared by other scholars. For example, Sumption suggests that the "Church in the fifteenth century was a very much more rigid institution than it had been in the twelfth". Similarly, Terence O'Reilly paints the late Middle Ages as a time of malaise and great moral tension. Notwithstanding the legitimacy of these claims, I believe – as I hope to demonstrate – that *devotio moderna* represents a significant moment of growth and creativity, pointing to a real and effective spiritual vibrancy in the Church during this period. See, Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 274; O'Reilly, "The Spiritual Exercises and the Crisis of Medieval Piety", *The Way Supplement* 70 (1991): 101-113.

²² Natalie Zemon Davis, "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion", in *The Pursuit of Holiness*, ed. C. Trinkaus, H. Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 307-336, on 314.

²³ Here I follow the outline of Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion", 83-100.

²⁴ Vauchez, "Saints and pilgrimages: new and old", 324.

fear”²⁵. Similarly, to speak of Marian devotion is to speak of “one of the most widespread and dynamic aspects of late medieval spirituality”²⁶. And in the later Middle Ages, there was an explosion in religious practices directed to the Virgin Mary, many of which were driven by the laity²⁷. Nor can devotion to the Eucharist be excluded. The elevation of the host at mass was the moment in which the faithful believed that Christ came down to them, and it was a unifying moment, symbolizing the community’s communion²⁸. But in the period of the later Middle Ages, Christ and his passion may be considered “a key feature... in spirituality in the fifteenth century”²⁹. This emphasis on devotion to Christ’s humanity and passion points to the continuity between the theological reflection of Saints Bernard and Thomas on devotion and actual devotional practices³⁰. Moreover, there can be little doubt that devotion to the humanity of Jesus grew in large part with St. Francis of Assisi and Franciscan spirituality³¹. The great unifying factor in all of these devotional practices, whether it was seeking a saint’s intercession or visiting a Marian shrine, was the personal search for God. This was the key element: “the desire for closer contact with God, to create a more private religion and an individual relationship with the divinity was significant throughout the period”³².

b. A devotion that unified and moved: pilgrimages

Devotions were an articulating force in society, unifying Christians in a particular place and providing a common identity. But they were also a centrifugal force. They moved people, and set them on a journey. And one of the more fascinating spiritual and religious activities of late medieval religion which generated both an inward, unifying movement along

²⁵ Vauchez, “Saints and pilgrimages: new and old”, 336; on the importance of this book, Swanson is equally emphatic on this point, see *Religion and Devotion*, 158.

²⁶ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 144.

²⁷ Following Vauchez, “Saints and pilgrimages: new and old”, 338.

²⁸ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 138.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 143.

³⁰ For a very thorough list of devotions to the humanity of Jesus, see, Bertaud and Rayez, “Dévotions”, in *DSp* 3:765-771.

³¹ François Vandenbroucke, “Nouveaux Milieux, Nouveaux Problèmes, du XII au XVI siècle”, in *Histoire de la Spiritualité Chrétienne*, vol. 2, *La Spiritualité du Moyen Age*, ed. L. Bouyer et al., (Aubier: Editions Montaigne, 1961), 273-644, especially the end of his chapter “Printemps Franciscain”, 380-381. The importance of Franciscan spirituality is echoed by Heiko Oberman who suggests that “Franciscans proved to be in tune with the Zeitgeist; so much so that for two centuries late medieval spirituality, piety and theology outside the university halls can be said to have been dominated by them”. See Oberman, “Shape of Late Medieval Thought”, in *The Pursuit of Holiness*, 3-25, on 7.

³² Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 173.

with an outward one was pilgrimages³³. In late medieval Christianity, pilgrimages were extremely popular, and they comprehended other devotional practices³⁴. For example, pilgrimage “was intimately connected with the cult of the saints”³⁵; in essence, a saint’s life provided the opportunity for pilgrimage. Here, the great examples would be the journeys undertaken to Rome and to Santiago of Compostela³⁶, two major destinations for visiting tombs of the apostles, and, as in the case of Rome, for the reception of papal indulgences³⁷. In addition, pilgrims, after returning from the veneration of a saint’s tomb or a holy site, often formed confraternities in honor of the saint, furthering social and communal ties³⁸. Similarly, the cult of the Virgin provided another incentive to make a journey. And in late medieval religion, pilgrims need not to have travelled far given the number of local or minor shrines in her name³⁹. Whether it was to touch or simply to stand before a relic or a tomb⁴⁰, men and women were on the road⁴¹. Finally, there was the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, that journey to trace physically the geography and the events of Jesus’ life. In the late Middle Ages, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, under the direction of the Franciscans since 1337, took on a kind of “modern devotion” hue. In other words, the sacred itinerary of Jesus’ life was punctuated and organized with methodical meditations on events of His life⁴² which encouraged pilgrims to “experience and relive Christ’s final sufferings”⁴³.

If pilgrimages integrated many elements of late medieval religious expression, they

³³ See, within the very complete article on pilgrimage, Pierre André Sigal, “Pèlerinage: Moyen âge occidental”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:918-929.

³⁴ In part, this is the thesis of Sumption’s study. For the Oxford historian, “pilgrimage affords a unique reflection of medieval religion at every stage of its complicated development”. See, Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 302.

³⁵ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 166.

³⁶ “The most significant locations of holiness and supernatural power were the relics of saints”. See, Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 10; for the connection of the surge of relics in relation to the inability to travel to the Holy Land, see, Francisco Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio. La vida de Cristo en los “Ejercicios Espirituales” y la tradición bíblica en la “Vita Christi” del Cartujano* (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2020), 210; (hereafter book cited as *El evangelio según San Ignacio*).

³⁷ Sigal, “Pèlerinage: Moyen âge occidental”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:924-925, where the author shows how indulgences changed the practice of pilgrimages.

³⁸ Sigal, “Pèlerinage: Moyen âge occidental”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:925.

³⁹ Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 269.

⁴⁰ “Vers la fin du moyen âge, cependant, une évolution est sensible: au désir de toucher les reliques se substitue peu à peu celui de voir”. Sigal, “Pèlerinage: Moyen âge occidental”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:923.

⁴¹ “Female pilgrims were a familiar sight on the roads... [and there was] a sudden reappearance of large numbers of female pilgrims in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries”. Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 262; similarly, Vauchez, who suggests that “never, perhaps, had Christians travelled so much as at this period [end of the Middle Ages], and women seem to have been particularly involved”. See, Vauchez, “Saints and pilgrimages: new and old”, 339.

⁴² Sigal, “Pèlerinage: Moyen âge occidental”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:926.

⁴³ Constable, *Three Studies*, 228; for more on Franciscan custodianship of the Holy Land, see Sylvia Schein, “La ‘Custodia Terrae Sanctae’ franciscaine et les juifs de Jérusalem à la fin de moyen-âge”, *Revue des études juives* 141 (1982): 369-377.

also involved a combination of multiple spiritual intentions. Whether for undertaking asceticism, for missionary purposes, the visiting of holy sites, for penitential motives or to obtain an indulgence⁴⁴, there existed a deep spirituality that undergirded this devotional practice. At the same time, it is not easy to deduce aspects of what could have constituted this spirituality given that, although extremely popular, “pilgrimage is remarkably ill recorded”⁴⁵. Documents do survive⁴⁶, in fact, “more books were written about pilgrimage than about comparable medieval institutions”, but the texts tend to be largely anecdotal and autobiographical⁴⁷. Clearer, however, are the kinds of ceremonies by which pilgrims began their journeys as well as the prayers, purification rites, and the high masses by which the spiritual experience was finalized⁴⁸. Notwithstanding its popularity, or perhaps because of it, the tradition certainly had its critics. Pilgrims were criticized for being curious, frivolous, or for trying to escape their responsibilities at home⁴⁹. Even if it was an act devoid of spiritual motives, it still remained by far the most important external religious observance of late medieval religion⁵⁰.

But more than an observance or a spiritual practice, pilgrimage permeated late medieval spirituality in two important ways⁵¹. First, there is the tradition in which Christian life was represented as a pilgrimage. This was a way of conceiving all of “earthly life as a phase of the journey, the *peregrinatio*, the pilgrimage, in which individual Christians sought to merit, even earn the reward to heaven”⁵². This tradition, too extensive to survey here, is thought to have begun with the trilogy of works of the 14th century Cistercian monk Guillaume de Digulleville (1295-1358)⁵³. The second understanding, not wholly unrelated to the comprehension of Christian life as a pilgrimage, is that of pilgrimage as a spiritual journey with and in Christ’s life. In this regard, pilgrimage was not physical movement to

⁴⁴ Sigal, “Pèlerinage: Moyen âge occidental”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:918-920.

⁴⁵ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 165. The author suggests that the documentary evidence of pilgrimages is “fragmentary and impressionistic” (166). This is his appraisal though later on in his study he does refer to guide books, route books and books of indulgences that would have accompanied pilgrims (261).

⁴⁶ “Of the Jerusalem pilgrimage there is a vast literature – between 1100 and 1500 some 526 accounts were written that have survived”. Donald Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley: University California Press, 1980), 17.

⁴⁷ Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 16-17.

⁴⁸ On both of these points, see Sigal, “Pèlerinage: Moyen âge occidental”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:921-923.

⁴⁹ Yet this curiosity was immensely creative. Sumption, connecting writing with pilgrimage when he notes that fleets that left Venice in the late 15th century carried diarists, argues that pilgrimages represent “the first chapter in the history of mass travel”. Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 258.

⁵⁰ Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 268.

⁵¹ Here I follow Aimé Solignac, “Pèlerinage”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:888-893.

⁵² Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 191.

⁵³ Solignac, “Pèlerinage”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:892; likewise, Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 300; the titles are: *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, *Le Pèlerinage de l’âme*, *Le Pèlerinage de Jésus-Christ*; for description of the three texts and of the author, see, Maur Standaert, “Guillaume de Digulleville”, in *DSp* 6:1201-1203.

visit holy places, rather it was an interior journey in which one followed Christ. Though this internal pilgrimage could and did have physical manifestations, such as the Stations of the Cross or the representation of vernacular passion plays⁵⁴, the following and the imitation of Christ was also lived as an interior experience. In essence, as the Middle Ages progressed, Christ's earthly life grew in importance, and devotions emerged around every aspect of His life, with believers "modell[ing] their own lives on His with a degree of literalism which would have surprised and even shocked people in the early Middle Ages"⁵⁵. Religious art, especially painting and sculpture, helped facilitate the affective identification with and imitation of Jesus' life⁵⁶. Literature too facilitated this inner pilgrimage with Christ, and one prime example of a text that guided its readers on an interior journey with Him was Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*.

1.2. A devotional text that led to the source of devotion: Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*

A particularly important expression within this milieu of devotional practices which had as their focus Jesus' humanity – and one that has considerable significance for the object of this study, given that the *Autobiography* of Ignatius of Loyola reports his reading of the text during his convalescence in Loyola⁵⁷ – is the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony (1300-1378)⁵⁸. This book, thought to be composed sometime before 1368, represents one of the great literary, theological, and spiritual masterpieces of the Middle Ages, and it is regarded as

⁵⁴ Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion", 81.

⁵⁵ Constable, *Three Studies*, 169-170.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁵⁷ The reference is in number 5 of the *Autobiography*. Critical version in "Acta Patris Ignatii", in *FN I*, 353-507; English translation comes from the new version of the text edited by Barton Geger, titled *A Pilgrim's Testament: The Memoirs of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Boston: IJS, 2020), (hereafter *Au* with paragraph number in the body of text. Again, I follow the abbreviation of the text as established by the authoritative *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*); Spanish version of the text which I will also employ is that of Iparraguirre, Ruiz Jurado, in *Obras*, 23-105. It is important to point out, as José García de Castro does, that notwithstanding the reference to Ludolph's text in the *Autobiography* penned by the Portuguese Jesuit Gonçalves da Câmara, the reference to the *Vita Christi* is silenced in the earliest biographies – those of Diego Laínez and Juan Alfonso de Polanco – of Ignatius. See, García de Castro, "La *Vita Christi* de Ludolfo de Sajonia († 1377) e Ignacio de Loyola († 1556)", *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 86 (2011): 509-546, especially 524-529.

⁵⁸ For a biography of his life and list of other works of his, see Walter Baier, "Ludolphe de Saxe", in *DSp* 9:1130-1138; for an analysis of his life and the *Vita* from an Ignatian perspective, see of Paul Shore, "Ludolfo de Sajonia", in *DEI* 2:1149-1153. The version of the text that I have consulted is the two-volume edition from the MHSI nova series, Ludolfo de Sajonia, *La vida de Cristo*, ed. E. del Río (Madrid-Rome: Comillas, IHSI, 2010); all translations mine.

one of the most widely read devotional texts in the fifteenth century⁵⁹. In the estimation of the Jesuit scholar Francisco Ramírez Fueyo, the book contains practically everything that a Christian European of the 15th and 16th century could read in any theological or devotional book, could discuss with any spiritual person, and could hear in any sermon in church⁶⁰. Immense and extensive – it is divided into two parts, each respectively containing 92 and 89 chapters – the book functions as an organic unity, taking the reader on a journey through the entire life of the Son of God, beginning with a chapter on the eternal and divine generation of Jesus right up to a consideration, in the penultimate chapter, of the glory of heaven and the pain of hell. In this way, the author, the once Dominican friar turned Carthusian monk, folds into one narrative the four Gospel texts where each chapter covers a mystery or set of mysteries from His life. Considering the book as a whole, “two-thirds of the chapters of the *Vita* are on the public life”⁶¹. And the chapters are voluminous⁶², incorporating material from the spiritual tradition that precedes it. Ludolph’s work, considered a kind of *Summa evangelica*, and in close correspondence with the liturgy⁶³, felicitously presents a Gospel passage with theological reflection from both the Greek and Latin patristic tradition⁶⁴. As the editor and translator of a modern edition of the work in Spanish puts it, Ludolph compiles and makes his own 14 centuries of reflection on the Gospels⁶⁵.

a. To be present in the Gospel scene

Yet the Carthusian writer’s vast compilation of the material is hardly the most important aspect of the work. Perhaps its most important feature is its structure that “aid[ed] the reader in grasping and meditating upon the sense and meaning of the scriptural text”⁶⁶. Concretely, the author utilizes the scheme of *lectio, mediatio, oratio, and contemplatio*⁶⁷.

⁵⁹ Paul Shore, “The *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony and its Influence on the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola”, *SSJ* 30/1 (1998), 5.

⁶⁰ Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 14.

⁶¹ Mary Immaculate Bodenstedt, “The *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus the Carthusian”, in *Ludolphus the Carthusian*, ed. J. Hogg, A. Girard, D. Le Blévec (Salzburg: Analecta Cartusiana, 2007), v-160, on 97.

⁶² Milton Walsh argues that Ludolph is intentionally prolix in his text, so that the reader might savor the event under consideration. Walsh, ““To be always thinking somehow about Jesus””, *SSJ* 43/1 (2011), 7.

⁶³ For a more extensive commentary on the connection of Ludolph’s meditations with the liturgy, see Bodenstedt, “The *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus the Carthusian”, especially 130-133.

⁶⁴ For an overview of his sources, see the table provided by Bodenstedt, “The *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus the Carthusian”, 51-52.

⁶⁵ Del Río, “Introducción”, in *La vida de Cristo I*, vii-xxviii, xvi.

⁶⁶ Charles Abbott Conway, *The “Vita Christi” of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion Centered on the Incarnation: A Descriptive Analysis* (Salzburg: Analecta Cartusiana, 1976), 32.

⁶⁷ Following Ramírez Fueyo, who will modify the outline in his study to that of *lectio, meditatio, conformatio, and contemplatio*. See, Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 239-291; very helpful too has been

Consequently, the reader begins with a summary of the scene of Jesus' life, and in the very reading of the Gospel passage, the contemplation and meditation of it occurs⁶⁸. In this way, *lectio* is not separate from *meditatio* o *contemplatio*. Furthermore, Ludolph has a precise understanding of what reading and meditating on the life of Jesus means. The medieval writer establishes as a hermeneutic the following observation: “if you want to profit from these things... make yourself present at that which Jesus says or does...as if you heard it with your ears, and saw it with your eyes”⁶⁹. In short, the meditation that the reader is to undertake is that in which he or she is present. For this reason, the author, throughout his text, will remind the reader that what is most important is to “enter into contact with Jesus... the man who showed us what it means to be divine by his words and deeds”⁷⁰. He constantly encourages the reader to imagine that he or she is actually present in the scene. For instance, in the scene of Jesus' birth, the Carthusian monk directly addresses the reader: “Look at Jesus's great poverty”⁷¹. Likewise, in a chapter dedicated to Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman at the well, the author invites the reader to be at His side: “sit with him, see him tired and humiliated, in need of bodily nourishment of food and drink”⁷². And in an even more vivid illustration of how Ludolph situates the reader in the Gospel scene, in the chapter dedicated to Jesus' burial, the writer urges the reader: “bury yourself in the same tomb with Jesus”⁷³. Jesus' humanity is expressed in its fullness, and Ludolph guides the reader into knowing it intimately⁷⁴. At the end of the book, he elucidates how he has sought to proceed: “the meditation should arouse the affect, the affect the desire, and the desire should produce tears, until you appear in the presence of the Lord”⁷⁵. Being in the presence of the Lord is what his book is all about.

García de Castro, “La *Vita Christi* de Ludolfo de Sajonia (†1377) e Ignacio de Loyola († 1556)”, 509-546; for an analysis of how Ludolph treats meditation, vocal prayer and contemplation in the work, see also, Bodstedt, “The *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus the Carthusian”, 117-145.

⁶⁸ Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 264, 270.

⁶⁹ *La vida de Cristo* I. Prólogo del autor.11, p. 8. References will indicate the volume number, the chapter, the paragraph number within the chapter, and finally the page number in which the quotation can be found.

⁷⁰ Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 266.

⁷¹ *La vida de Cristo* I.9.7, p.79.

⁷² *La vida de Cristo* I.62.11, p. 534.

⁷³ *La vida de Cristo* II.66.9, p. 593.

⁷⁴ This movement of Ludolph's narrative aligns with what Constable suggests about late medieval spirituality: “realism, far from being, as it is sometimes said, a Renaissance imposition on medieval religious sentiment, was a reflection of the essence of late medieval spirituality. It corresponded to the desire of Christians to take seriously, and if possible to imitate even in their own bodies, every aspect of Christ's life on earth”. Constable, *Three Studies*, 232.

⁷⁵ *La vida de Cristo* II.89.1, p. 773.

b. *The meditation goes deeper: to do as Christ did*

However, this is not the only function of the meditation: the invitation is more than that of entering into the Gospel scene, rather it is to be of service in it. As an example, in a very vivid description of the descent of Jesus from the cross, the author implores his reader: “you, my dear, approach piously and spiritually the descent of your Lord and God from the cross ... entomb him and do what they are doing”⁷⁶. In the very next chapter, he encourages the reader to stay involved, helping in the scene: “you too, wash with your tears his body, sprinkling everything with his sacred blood”⁷⁷. Likewise, in a very tender portrait of Mary and the beloved disciple John, returning home after Jesus’ burial, the writer depicts their extreme fatigue and sadness, and he encourages the reader to “console and comfort Mary... and try to prepare them something and serve them”⁷⁸. In this way, the reading of Ludolph’s work is far more than coming into intimate contact with the life of Jesus; his text draws the reader into serving Him. At the heart of Ludolph’s work is not only the meditation on Christ’s life “but more particularly the imitation of that life”⁷⁹. The reader is to cultivate “a love that is heroically expressed”⁸⁰.

This movement into greater familiarity of and desire to imitate Jesus is reinforced by the prayers with which he concludes each chapter⁸¹. The language and the tone of these brief passages, perhaps the most original parts of the work⁸², are remarkable for their intimacy, and they are a clear aid to facilitate what the author lays out in his prologue when he suggests that the reader ought to converse familiarly with Him⁸³. In saying these prayers, chapter after chapter, it is hard to imagine any other scenario than that of the reader gaining a greater knowledge of the life of Jesus, ultimately having his or her life affectively and effectively configured with that of Jesus⁸⁴. I might take, as an example of this, one of the final prayers

⁷⁶ *La vida de Cristo* II.65.3, p. 583.

⁷⁷ *La vida de Cristo* II.66.8, p. 593.

⁷⁸ *La vida de Cristo* II.66.13, p. 596; given that “the desire to participate in the sufferings of Christ was a central theme in late medieval spirituality” it is not surprising to find a in the passion the densest cluster of invitations to participate in Jesus’s life. See, Constable, *Three Studies*, 226.

⁷⁹ Conway, *The “Vita Christi” of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion*, 129.

⁸⁰ Emily A. Ransom, “St. Ignatius in the Affective School of Ludolph of Saxony”, *SSJ* 53/3 (2021), 18.

⁸¹ As an indication of their importance, it is worth noting, with Walsh, that the prayers that conclude each chapter were later published on their own in devotional books. See, Walsh, ““To be always thinking somehow about Jesus””, 16.

⁸² See the study by Ramírez Fueyo in the chapter “Las oraciones vocales del *Vita Christi* y las oraciones vocales en Ejercicios” in his *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 317-357. Also, Bodenstedt, “The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian”, 127. In an analysis of the text’s Latin, the author suggests that Ludolph “shows himself a master of rimed prose” (129).

⁸³ *La vida de Cristo* I. Prólogo del autor.13, p. 9.

⁸⁴ Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 335.

of the book in which the reader is invited to make his or her own the following words: “that I might enjoy for all of eternity your desirous presence, for that which I pine, Jesus, my desire, my reward, my life”⁸⁵. As the language of this passage suggests, the life of Jesus is to become the life of the reader. This is the movement of this potent devotional work from the 14th century: a presentation of the life of Jesus that combined a clear methodical structure with a strong affective component to facilitate the identification of the reader with Jesus. In brief, Ludolph’s *Vita Christi* is a remarkable moment in the spirituality of devotion: it proposes an interior pilgrimage with Jesus in the mysteries of His life which includes being with him, loving him, and serving him. With Ludolph’s emphasis on an affective identification and effective imitation of Jesus, the great themes of the spiritual current known as Modern Devotion come into view⁸⁶.

2. Devotion comes into the modern era: *Devotio moderna*

Though much of the style and structure of Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi* provides the outlines for the spiritual movement known as *devotio moderna*, given this spiritual current’s importance for context of Ignatius and the founding of the Society of Jesus, I will elucidate central features of it in this section. Once again, it is important to state that the goal is to provide a précis of it, recognizing that a more thorough treatment of the topic exceeds the limits of this chapter. Given this objective, I have organized the presentation in two sections. First, I will detail the spiritual movement by reference to its founders as well as to the structure and the spirituality of the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life – arguably one of the more novel aspects of the program. Secondly, I will explore the coetaneous spiritual reformist tendencies – very much in harmony with *devotio moderna* as it emerged in the Netherlands – in the Iberian Peninsula. Specifically, I will survey the reform programs of Cardenal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, García Jiménez de Cisneros, and that of the Franciscan Observant reform movement known as recollection, or, in Spanish, *el recogimiento*. In this way, the second part of this chapter will offer an approximation both thematically and geographically to the spiritual context in which Ignatius emerged.

⁸⁵ *La vida de Cristo* II.87.11, p. 765.

⁸⁶ See, Shore, “Ludolfo de Sajonia”, in *DEI* 2:1150.

2.1. *Devotio moderna* in the Netherlands: a new return to Christian discipleship

*Devotio moderna*⁸⁷, “the most successful religious movement in late medieval Europe”⁸⁸, has its roots in a very specific place and group of persons. The father of the movement is considered to be Gerard Grote (1340-1384) from Deventer, the Netherlands⁸⁹. Grote, highly educated, having studied theology, medicine, and canon law at the Sorbonne in Paris, and then having taught philosophy in Cologne, experienced something of a conversion, recollecting himself for a period of years (1374-1377) at a Carthusian monastery. At the same time, he opened his parents’ home in Deventer to a group of poor, peasant women that were looking to live together simply in community⁹⁰. Upon emerging from the seclusion of the Carthusian monastery where, according to a document of 1458, he had been “striving to reform his interior man to the likeness of God in which he had been created”⁹¹, he was ordained a deacon and dedicated himself to preaching in the diocese of Utrecht. His preaching, characterized as encouraging the practice of virtue and the imitation of Christ⁹², created a following, and eventually a community of men, similar to the one of women that had been in his home, coalesced around him. These groups eventually became the Brethren of the Common life and the Sisters of the Common life, both considered to have been founded by way of his inspiration⁹³. One of Grote’s earliest disciples, and one of the first that

⁸⁷ The nomenclature to refer to the movement varies. Van Engen adopts the terminology “Modern Day Devout” and “New Devotion”; in keeping with the larger scholarly tradition, I will use “Modern Devotion” or its Latin equivalent *devotio moderna*. For my research, the ineludible points of reference have been Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance. A History of the “Devotio Moderna”* (Grand Rapids: The Reformed Press, 1924); R.R. Post, *The Modern Devotion. Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

⁸⁸ Anne Bollmann, “The Influence of Devotio Moderna in Northern Germany”, in *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. E. Anderson, H. Lähnemann, A. Simon (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 231-259, on 231; (book hereafter cited as *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion*).

⁸⁹ Both the name “modernae devotionis” and the idea of Grote as its “fountain and origin” are very old, attributed to Henry Pomerius, in a text of his that dates before 1420, see Pierre Debongnie, “Dévotion moderne”, in *DSp* 3:727-747, on 727; for Grote, the points of reference are Post, *The Modern Devotion*; Theodore van Zijl, *Gerard Groot. Ascetic and Reformer (1340-1384)* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1963); Georgette Epiney-Burgard, *Gérard Grote (1340-1384) et les débuts de la dévotion moderne* (Wiesbaden, 1970); Jean Tiecke, “Gérard Grote”, in *DSp* 6:265-274; the spelling of his surname varies immensely; I will adopt, following Van Engen, “Grote”.

⁹⁰ Rudolph van Dijk reports that Grote, in opening his house to a group of women, was merely following the example of a priest from his city, Henri Stappen, who had done the same thing. See, Rudolf Th. M. van Dijk, “Windesheim”, in *DSp* 16:1457-1478, on 1467.

⁹¹ Cited in Constable, *Three Studies*, 238. The document, titled, *Lives of the Brothers*, indicates Rudolf Drier and Peter Hoorn as the authors.

⁹² Tiecke, “Gérard Grote”, in *DSp* 6:268; though it is important to point out, as does Van Engen, that no sermons of his survive, if they were ever written down. See, Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 45.

⁹³ The observation by Van Engen, that “what Grote may have intended and what the devout actually became must not be blurred” is an important one. See Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 47.

gathered in community around him in Deventer, was Florens Radewijns (1350-1400)⁹⁴. Radewijns is another central figure and one who would give concrete form to Grote's charismatic preaching. He is considered the “indisputable founder of the Brothers' houses”⁹⁵ as well as the founder of the Windesheim Congregation of Regular Canons. This religious community, “the legally authorized branch of the Modern Devotion” that lived according to the rule of St. Augustine, along with communities that adopted the status of Third Order of Franciscans⁹⁶ were, together with the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, the three significant structural or institutional developments of this spiritual revival⁹⁷. Taken as a whole, the emergence of these communities represents a kind of “new return to the primitive church with a personal and communal life characterized by simplicity, poverty, humility and fervor”⁹⁸.

a. General features: community life, work, relationship to learning

A brief overview of some of the more significant external aspects of the households of the Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life will reveal key elements of the spiritual movement⁹⁹. The place to start is with the most obvious feature of their life, and indeed one of the more distinctive: they lived in community. From the beginning, these were communities of goods and of life, and the desire to break with possessions and to live humbly and simply was strong. When a member joined a community, he or she pledged “the

⁹⁴ For an overview of his life, works, and spirituality, see Martin van Woerkum, “Florent Radewijns”, in *DSp* 5:427-434. A more complete overview is that of Thom Mertens, “Introduction”, in *“Tractatus devotus”*: *Petit manuel pour le dévot modern*, ed. and trans. Francis Joseph Lagrand (Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 7-37. His name in English receives many different spellings; I will adopt what appears to be the most common, “Radewijns”, used both by Post and Van Engen.

⁹⁵ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 143.

⁹⁶ Van Engen suggests that the establishment of the religious house at Windesheim and the adoption by so many houses with the status of Tertiaries was done partly as a tactical and strategic move to seek legal cover from bishops and others who would have been hostile to a community of men or women who were not living under a rule. See, Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 90, 124-125; also, Van Engen, “Introduction”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, ed. John Van Engen (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 5-61, on 20.

⁹⁷ Van Dijk, “Windesheim”, in *DSp* 16:1457-1478; Pierre-Marie Gy, “*Devotio moderna*” in *DCT*, 362-364, on 363; Debongnie, “*Dévotion moderne*”, in *DSp* 3:727.

⁹⁸ Van Dijk, “Windesheim”, in *DSp* 16:1458.

⁹⁹ Though it exceeds the scope of my study, mention needs to be made of how the movement evolved over the 15th century. One such view is that there was an “ever-strengthening process of monasticization” in all aspects of the *devotio moderna*. For this view, see Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the “Imitatio Christi”, 1425-1650. From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller* (London: Routledge, 2016), 48; another view, offered by Van Dijk, outlines five generations or periods (early enthusiasm, recognition and consolidation, florescence, ongoing impact and regularization, and late flowering), see, Van Dijk, “Toward Imageless Contemplation – Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen as Guide for *Lectio Divina*”, in *Spirituality Renewed: Studies on Significant Representatives of the Modern Devotion*, ed. Hein Blommesteijn, Charles Caspers, Rijcklof Hofman (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 3-28, on 8, note 22; (book hereafter referred to as *Spirituality Renewed*).

renunciation of private property and the contribution of all personal income for the upkeep of the common household”¹⁰⁰. Their communal life is all the more remarkable given that they were not held together by any vows. What is more, there was no authorized rule that governed the homes, rather each house adopted its forms or “house customs” to uphold their common life¹⁰¹. These documents, called “house customaries”, the very “connective tissue of their collective households”¹⁰², provided the outlines, both charismatic and practical, for their communal venture. The model for them was clearly the early Christian community that held everything in common and shared what was surplus with the poor. Although their communal arrangement required delicate legal maneuvering with regard to Church law and civil jurisdiction, theirs was an alternative, and for it they were criticized by all. Yet they “never defended their way of life as something different from the existing Church”¹⁰³. They seemed to have been much less pretentious, modestly maintaining that in their living “according to friendship”¹⁰⁴ they were incarnating the earliest Christian way of living.

Theirs was an intense life, and though it varied from house to house, and differed among the Brothers’ and Sisters’ communities, their life was patterned off of Carthusian and Cistercian traditions. As such, their daily routine was an impressive combination of prayer, reading, study, work, and communal responsibilities. In terms of pastoral ministry, the Brothers acted as confessors or spiritual guides to Sisters, schoolboys, or to men of goodwill¹⁰⁵. But a significant portion of the brothers’ and sisters’ day was dedicated to work. Perhaps conscious that townspeople were irritated by the fact that those who professed religion did not work, but rather lived off of others, the members of the Brothers and Sisters of the Common life never begged¹⁰⁶. In order to avoid then, as one house customary puts it, “panting after others for gifts”¹⁰⁷, the Brothers dedicated themselves to the copying of

¹⁰⁰ Koen Goudriaan, “Empowerment through reading, writing and example: the *Devotio moderna*”, in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 4, *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500*, ed. Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 407-419, on 408.

¹⁰¹ The collection of Modern Devotion texts edited by Van Engen includes one customary from a Brother’s house, “A Customary for Brothers”, and one from a Sister’s, “A Way of Life for Sisters”. See, Van Engen, *Devotion Moderna: Basic Writings*, respectively 155-175, 176-186.

¹⁰² Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 179.

¹⁰³ Van Engen, “Late Medieval Anti-Clericalism: The Case of the New Devout”, in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Dykema, Heiko Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 19-52, on 33.

¹⁰⁴ Van Engen citing an anonymous text of the 15th century that describes the style of living as friendship, see Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 199.

¹⁰⁵ “Schoolboys and men of good will (lay folk) were, beyond sisters, the two main categories of people for whom the brothers felt a religious and quasi-pastoral responsibility”. Van Engen, in *Devotion Moderna: Basic Writings*, 327, note 4.

¹⁰⁶ “Virtually every reference to the Modern-Day Devout lifestyle noted explicitly that they did not beg”. See, Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 188.

¹⁰⁷ “A Customary for Brothers”, in *Devotion Moderna: Basic Writings*, 155-175, on 158; for the importance of their work as copyists, see Goudriaan, “Empowerment through reading, writing and example”, 412-413.

religious and spiritual manuscripts and the Sisters, typically, worked with textiles. However, female communities did copy and work with texts: they compiled private prayer books and organized collections of texts for communal and private meditation¹⁰⁸. Though in fact the communities most likely supported themselves from the inherited incomes that they themselves placed at the disposition of the entire household¹⁰⁹, work was central to their life.

Their work put them into contact with texts. These were men and women who spent their days surrounded by books. As a result, the Brothers and Sisters were familiar with the mystical, spiritual and theological tradition that preceded them¹¹⁰. And as copyists, they were not indifferent to what they read. In other words, they were copyists *and* readers; they were attentive to the internal, affective resonance of what they were copying. In this way, they seamlessly integrated their labor as copyists, translators, and compilers of religious material into their larger spiritual project of reflection, meditation, and the cultivation of the internal experience with God. It is true, labor consumed the largest portion of their day, but “reading came in second”¹¹¹. It was a basic activity of theirs, and they read with the pen¹¹². That is, they took notes, jotting down passages for later personal meditation in their own personal diaries or *rapiaria*. Considered the “most famous advocates of lay reading” of the Scriptures¹¹³, they believed that the reformation of the Church, namely, a return to authentic Christian living, occurred through spiritual reading¹¹⁴.

Yet curiously, and quite paradoxically, in the historiography of the movement, there is always mention of their animadversion to learning and theological speculation¹¹⁵; the claim is made that with Modern Devotion, a split emerged between theology and spirituality¹¹⁶. Though it is not my intention to dispute these affirmations, it does seem important to qualify

¹⁰⁸ “Despite the long neglect of women’s works, it is becoming clear that, in both Germany and the Low Countries, the 15th century constituted a period of extremely active religious literary and scribal engagement on the part of women”. Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 11.

¹⁰⁹ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 192.

¹¹⁰ Bollmann, “The Influence of Devotio Moderna in Northern Germany”, 236.

¹¹¹ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 269.

¹¹² The phrase is from Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 312.

¹¹³ Such is the appraisal of Christopher Ocker, “The Bible in the 15th Century”, in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 4, *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 472-493, on 485, 489; yet, it needs to be remembered that Grote, for example, translated texts into Latin, thus for “clerical members of the *Devotio moderna* the use of Latin remained obligatory”. See, Goudriaan, “Empowerment through reading, writing and example”, 414.

¹¹⁴ Van Dijk, “Windesheim”, in *DSp* 16:1475.

¹¹⁵ All of the dictionaries reviewed point to this; see, for example, Gy, “*Devotio moderna*”, in *DCT*, 364; also, Bernard, *Teología Espiritual*, 68, 70.

¹¹⁶ Debongnie, “*Dévotion moderne*”, in *DSp* 3:744.

them¹¹⁷. These were men and women that studied, their houses had libraries, and, if one house customary is indicative of others, surplus money was not just given to the poor, but directed to the upkeep of their libraries¹¹⁸. Their reading never precluded intellectual exploration¹¹⁹; time, each day, was allotted to study, and a considerable amount of it¹²⁰. For instance, in his small treatise on the spiritual life, Radewijns fixed two hours for study, insisting that spiritual reading be done methodically and not hastily¹²¹. He was also clear as to what this study was for, and how it was to be done: “according to [Saint] Bernard, he [the one studying] must, through reading, strive to awaken love, and through love, prayer, so that he may pray while studying and reading”¹²². One house customary echoes this same idea: reading is undertaken “to stir our memory” and “to move our affections”¹²³. Similarly, in *The Spiritual Ascents*, the spiritual work considered “the single most influential devotional treatise from among the Brothers of the Common Life”¹²⁴, the author Gerard Zerbolt (1367-1398) is clear on the place of reading¹²⁵. In the arduous ascent back to God, reading is that which nourishes and gives rest to the soul¹²⁶. All of these observations, coupled with the fact that some of the Brothers’ houses established hostels for students, a few of which eventually evolved into schools¹²⁷, demonstrate no aversion to study. Rather, their epistemological approach differed: the members of these communities immersed themselves in texts to nurture their inner lives. This epistemology is even more clear in Zerbolt’s work: “the point [in reading] is not so much that you learn something, but rather that it profits you and others through you”¹²⁸. This was their objective in reading: to grow in virtue and to profit others.

¹¹⁷ “While never repudiating literacy or Latinity and thus remaining within the clerical estate broadly conceived, the Brothers worked out a distinctive approach which continues to puzzle scholars and is often labeled simply as anti-intellectual”. See, Van Engen, “Late Medieval Anti-Clericalism”, 47.

¹¹⁸ “But if some good should afterwards devolve upon us, we can assign a third part to our library, and give the rest to the poor”. See “A Customary for Brothers”, in *Devotion Moderna: Basic Writings*, 171.

¹¹⁹ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 269; following Mertens who suggests that “study” and “spiritual reading” are near synonyms, see, Mertens, “Rapiarium”, in *DSp* 13:114-119, on 117.

¹²⁰ Van Dijk reports that on feast days communities held conferences on spiritual texts. Van Dijk, “Windesheim”, in *DSp* 16:1475.

¹²¹ See Radewijns, “*Tractatus devotus*”: *petit manuel pour le dévot modern*, ed. and trans. Francis Joseph Lagrand (Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 79.

¹²² Cited in Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 323.

¹²³ “A Customary for Brothers”, in *Devotion Moderna: Basic Writings*, 156-157.

¹²⁴ Van Engen, “The Virtues, The Brothers, and the Schools”, *Revue Bénédictine* 98 (1988): 178-217, 180; in another text, Van Engen suggests that this text was “one devotional work probably common to nearly every house of the Modern Devout”. Van Engen, “Introduction”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 57.

¹²⁵ For an overview of his life and works, see Willem Lourdaux, “Gérard Zerbolt de Zutphen”, in *DSp* 6:284-289; also the brief synopsis of Debongnie, “Dévotion moderne”, in *DSp* 3:730-731.

¹²⁶ Gerard Zerbolt, “The Spiritual Ascents”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 243-315, on 286; Radewijns espouses the very same program. See, Radewijns, “*Tractatus devotus*”: *petit manuel pour le dévot modern*, 75-84.

¹²⁷ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 151ff.

¹²⁸ Zerbolt, “The Spiritual Ascents”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 288.

And to profit others, they not only read, but they wrote. Grote, Radewijns¹²⁹, Zerbolt and John Mombaer (1460-1501)¹³⁰ are some of the more famous ones. And this is not to mention the most popular work to emerge from the movement: Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*. Also, given the recent trend in scholarship on the Sisters of the Common Life, scholars are now aware of the many female writers of the movement, such as Salome Sticken (†1449)¹³¹ and Alijt Bake (1415-1455)¹³². Both produced texts on the communal and mystical life.

A more precise understanding of the distance they took from speculative theology can be found by looking more globally at religious and social culture of the era. Scholars of the late Middle Ages suggest that anti-intellectualism was a trend of the times, “not alien to the Franciscan tradition, and particularly noticeable in the beginning stages of the *devotio moderna*”¹³³. The disdain for speculative theology and the concomitant movement towards the inner experience could have been the result of a larger cultural experience of insecurity. As Susan Schreiner puts it in her study of the period, “the ‘anti-intellectualism’ evident in some fifteenth-century treatises was actually an affirmation of the priority of experience over learning, but never a rejection of knowledge”¹³⁴. In this way, the attention to the interior life, perhaps driven by the desire for assurance and certitude, produced a new epistemological emphasis, which in turn gave rise to a search for new symbols and new language to affirm the truth of the faith. Though it exceeds the scope of this presentation to analyze the kinds of cultural and religious anxieties to which *devotio moderna* could have been responding to¹³⁵ - though it is interesting to consider the experience and effects of the plague – this broader view of the era does help us situate more critically their supposed anti-intellectualism. Likewise, it is judicious to remember, with Post, that “not everything that was devout in the

¹²⁹ According to Mertens, Radewijns's *Tractatus devotus*, an in-house text for the community of Brothers, was the first systematic treaty on the spiritual life of the Modern Devotion. See Mertens, “Introduction”, in “*Tractatus devotus*”: *petit manuel pour le dévot modern*, 34.

¹³⁰ Mombaer's most influential work, his *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum* “was intended to help them [the members of the Common Life] in the three principal functions in which the Devotionalists had to perform in their devotional life: the praying of the hours, communion, and meditation”. See, Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 543. For Debongnie, the work is a complete summary of the spiritual doctrine, principles and practices of *devotio moderna*. See, Debongnie, “Dévotion moderne”, in *DSp* 3:743.

¹³¹ For a very brief description of her life, see Van Engen, “Introduction”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 49. The editor also reproduces a text of Sticken, “A way of life for Sisters” on 176-186.

¹³² For a brief biography and analysis of the works of this writer, see Wybren Scheepsma, “Mysticism and Modern Devotion – Alijt Bake's (1415-1455), Lessons in the Mystical Way of Living”, in *Spirituality Renewed*, 157-167.

¹³³ Oberman, “Shape of Late Medieval Thought”, 11.

¹³⁴ Susan Schreiner, *Are you alone wise? The Search for Certainty in the Early Modern Period* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 255.

¹³⁵ Given the current context of the Covid-19 pandemic, it is relevant to point out that both Grote and Zerbolt are reputed to have died of the plague.

late Middle Ages formed part of Modern Devotion”¹³⁶. Nevertheless, the turn inward does appear to have been part of a larger religious phenomenon.

b. Spiritual lives: interiority, meditation, growing in virtue

Though much of the structure of Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life is redolent of monastic culture, it is important to remember, as Van Engen indicates, that the “Brothers and Sisters remained visible in the city, keeping up contacts with friends and relatives, purchasing supplies at the market, selling their books and textiles, going out to work in their gardens and fields”¹³⁷. They were townspeople, and they participated in parish churches. Yet the members of these communities seem to have been “conscious that they possessed their own distinctive quality in the domain of piety, devotion, and spirituality”¹³⁸. This distinctive quality of their spirituality can be found in their emphasis on the personal, interior and affective spiritual experience. In essence, it was the heart that most concerned them. For instance, they attended their parish church to hear mass daily “where the Eucharist was especially honored and desired”¹³⁹. They went together, but sat apart from others so as to “direct their hearts more intently toward God”¹⁴⁰. Likewise, Zerbolt, using the metaphor of ascent to frame the spiritual journey, writes that “you only ascend so much as you advance in your heart”¹⁴¹. In fact, the very first ascent of three laid out is “is that which returns you to your heart”¹⁴². Sin separates the person from himself or herself, hence the need to return to the self. The ascent started from one’s heart, but it also, unsurprisingly, ended in purity of heart¹⁴³, the full expression of the original dignity of the human person. What is more, even the most basic spiritual exercises were described in reference to the heart. Continuing with the same treatise, Zerbolt defines meditation as “the means by which you studiously turn over in your heart what you have read or heard and thereby stir up your affections”¹⁴⁴. Prayer was even more simple; it was the desire for God, “a certain familiar and pious conversing”¹⁴⁵. There is a clear echo of the monastic practice of *ruminatio* in Zerbolt’s formulation on

¹³⁶ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, xi.

¹³⁷ Van Engen, “Late Medieval Anti-Clericalism”, 43.

¹³⁸ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 315.

¹³⁹ Joseph Duhr, “Communion fréquente”, in *DSp* 2:1234-1292, on 1267.

¹⁴⁰ “A Customary for Brothers”, in *Devotion Moderna: Basic Writings*, 158.

¹⁴¹ Zerbolt, “The Spiritual Ascents”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 245.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 257.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 255-256.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 288.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 286.

meditation¹⁴⁶, yet the emphasis both in meditation and in prayer is on the personal nature of the experience with God. And the heart was the place of this encounter, since for Zerbolt and other writers of this movement it was “within the heart that progress and transformation took place”¹⁴⁷.

Meditation from one’s heart was at the center of the Common Life, and this meditative activity was to be carried out throughout the day, in every free moment available¹⁴⁸. As an aid to this activity were the *rapiaria*, or spiritual journals of the members, in which they could write down that which most led them to ponder sacred mysteries¹⁴⁹. Consequently, in a highly regimented and structured day¹⁵⁰, the members were to be constantly ruminating on pious subjects, and among these, “the rumination of the life of Christ surpass[e]d all other meditation”¹⁵¹. Indeed, it is hard to underestimate the importance they gave to the meditation of the Gospels, and in particular to Jesus’ passion. In a text of his titled *Resolutions and Intentions, but not Vows*, a document that was later read as foundational of the movement, Grote indicates that the Gospel of Christ is the root of all study¹⁵². Moreover, the itinerant preacher counsels: should one be distracted at mass, “direct yourself to the passion of Christ”¹⁵³. And, as a warning to those who would not fast, he offers: “whoever refuses to fast seems to betray and crucify Christ with his crucifiers”¹⁵⁴. Regarding the meditation on the passion, Zerbolt is even more pointed; he counsels his readers “to think of Christ as dying for you alone”¹⁵⁵. The passion of the Lord focused, intensely, the spiritual lives of the members of the Modern Devotion; it reminded them that love, not fear, was at the center of their lives¹⁵⁶.

Though meant to be carried out all throughout the day, their meditation and prayer were organized. They prayed according to highly organized and methodical structures. As an example, in his *Small Devotional Treatise, or Tractatus Devotus*, Radewijns concludes his

¹⁴⁶ Elizabeth Anderson, Henrike Lähnemann, and Anne Simon, “Introduction: Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany”, in *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion*, 1-19, 2.

¹⁴⁷ Schreiner, *Are you alone wise?*, 213.

¹⁴⁸ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 324.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 542.

¹⁵⁰ For daily routines with an approximation as to their schedules, see Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 135, 142.

¹⁵¹ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 324.

¹⁵² Edited and translated version of this text, “Resolutions and Intentions, but not Vows”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 65-75.

¹⁵³ Grote, “Resolutions and Intentions”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 72.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁵⁵ Zerbolt, “The Spiritual Ascents”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 284.

¹⁵⁶ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 300.

text with directed and focused spiritual exercises to meditate on the Passion¹⁵⁷. For each day of week, and at a set hour, the author outlines a series of meditations to consider prayerfully and attentively what Jesus suffered in each part of his Passion. The passages are brief, laced with scriptural excerpts and simple instructions. Organized in chapters, these spiritual exercises are remarkable for their simplicity and for their focus on Jesus' experience. In this way, Radewijns trains the reader's attention on Jesus, specifically on His goodness, humility, and love, day by day drawing the reader into a closer relationship with His savior, no doubt achieving what he states at the outset as the goal of these meditations: that they "stimulate us to love"¹⁵⁸.

This last point is a crucial one for the adherents to this movement: all that they did personally and collectively, whether it was in work or in prayer, was to take concrete form in the exercise and living of the virtues. The cultivation of and progress in the virtues was of paramount importance to them. Consequently, when Radewijns proposes a series of spiritual exercises to "stimulate love", he is not thinking abstractly, but rather concretely. Love is to be shown in one's daily tasks in the community. For them love was sweet, delightful, and peaceable; they never described love as ravishing or self-annihilating¹⁵⁹. Though it is possible that scholars have overplayed the practical, concrete, and virtue ordered program of Modern Devotion to the exclusion of its more mystical elements¹⁶⁰, it is hard to minimize the importance of the cultivation of the virtues of patience, humility and love. Zerbolt's *Ascents* systematically expressed this, yet all of the members lived by and under personal resolutions¹⁶¹, that is, the personal and concrete commitments to make progress in the virtues.

c. *Devotion: a life's vocation*

The above summary of the Brothers and the Sisters of the Common Life outlines the external structures and the internal contours of how they understood devotion. In essence, everything in their life was dedicated to the cultivation of an intense internal experience of God. They organized their day in terms of work, study, communal responsibilities, and

¹⁵⁷ Radewijns, "*Tractatus devotus*": *petit manuel pour le dévot modern*, 159-171; much less detailed are the exercises Zerbolt outlines in his *Spiritual Ascents*, see *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, exercises on 275-285.

¹⁵⁸ Radewijns, "*Tractatus devotus*": *petit manuel pour le dévot modern*, 159.

¹⁵⁹ Van Engen, "Introduction", in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 31.

¹⁶⁰ The observation is from Gerrit Gerrits, "Johannes Brinckerinck – Life, Sermons and Thought", in *Spirituality Renewed*, 57-120, on 119.

¹⁶¹ Another key term in the Modern Devotion lexicon, most likely going back to Grote himself and his understanding of the spiritual life. For more on resolutions, see, Van Engen, "Introduction", in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 29; as well as his study *Sisters and Brothers*, 176.

meditation, and every moment was aimed at fostering this intimacy with God. They knew that this was what they were about, and that devotion was the encounter with God to which all aspects of their life were directed. And they were not without a formulation of what devotion meant for them. In his spiritual tract, Zerbolt suggests two forms of devotion. The first is “a sweet affection or affectionate inclination towards the good”¹⁶². This devotion, ephemeral in nature, remains at the level of a feeling. It is largely found in beginners, helping them to move towards good and avoid evil. But for Zerbolt, this feeling cannot be confused with a far more important experience of devotion “which is not something transient but in a sense infused into the very marrow of the soul”¹⁶³. Much more than a feeling, a desire, or a repudiation of sin, this is a spiritual state in which one is “rooted through the habituated virtues, and is always ready to fulfill God’s will, to do or to suffer all things”¹⁶⁴. It is, for the great writer of the Modern Devotion tradition, a permanent quality of the will, “which can be virtually judged love”¹⁶⁵. This is the devotion which this movement aspired to live: a permanent offering of the self to do God’s will in love. Zerbolt gave all of them the clear outlines of their spirituality: to move from devotion as an affectionate feeling to that in which one’s life radiated, continually, love.

The *devotio moderna*, as scholars have suggested, is in profound continuation with the tradition that preceded it¹⁶⁶. They looked to the desert fathers for inspiration and to the Cistercians and Carthusians for daily structures. Not surprisingly, they were readers of St. Bernard, and their attention to the inner, affective experience with God that is nurtured by meditation on the life of Christ clearly points to the influence of the great Cistercian saint. Bernard’s reflection on devotion provides one of the keys to understand Modern Devotion: it is the grace of that experience with God that they sought in all of their activities. To live the devout life was to live in deep relationship with God, in deep intimacy with His son Jesus, and in harmony and in peace with others.

Equally important is the influence of Saint Thomas in their thinking. Though the explicit references are not present – a fact unsurprising given their resistance to speculative study and reading – their emphasis on virtuous living does indeed connect with Thomas’s understanding of devotion as the offering of one’s will to God. The men and women of the *devotio moderna* made resolutions, organized their prayer methodically, and examined

¹⁶² Zerbolt, “The Spiritual Ascents”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 293.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Chatillon, “Devotio”, in *DSp* 3:714; see also Otto Gründler, “Devotio Moderna” in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, 176-193, on 179.

themselves regularly because they wanted to do God's will. Zerbolt's formulation on devotion as that state in which one is "always ready to do God's will" can hardly be understood outside of the context of the *Summa Theologiae*. Consequently, though the literal references are absent, the Dominican theologian's thinking on devotion undergirds their spirituality. They may have been reluctant to admit it, but their lives were deep expressions of Thomas's reflection on devotion.

Their modernity lies not in proposing a break or challenge to the past, but rather in the way that they incarnated, for their times, a style of Christian living that both drew from the tradition and integrated new practices. To think of devotion then in this historical moment is to consider the inclusion of new ways to cultivate the inner, affective experience with God. For instance, they read Scripture and saw their lives as intensely related to Jesus', *and* they wrote this down in journals. To call them "spiritual writers" on account of the log-books or *rapiaria*, or to consider these texts as spiritual diaries may in fact force the matter, yet the inclusion of writing as a way to cultivate devotion was clearly theirs. They were hungry for getting devotion into the very marrow of their souls, and reading and writing were ways that they "sustained their souls in their pilgrimage"¹⁶⁷.

In this brief summary, it may appear that I have overplayed the textual aspect of their life. But this was only because these were men and women surrounded by texts. In the felicitous observation of Van Engen, "at the heart of this Modern Day Devotion were texts and lives, reading to shape lives, lives then memorialized in texts"¹⁶⁸. In essence, they found devotion in texts, and they wrote life stories, biographies of their own members, to enfold others in the experience of devotion. Story and narrative were important to them. It was the way they grew in virtuous living. However, those written texts were hardly the most important narrative in their lives. That was reserved for their inner life. These were men and women who were discovering their own personal spiritual narrative. They wrote and they read because both were ways to elucidate, interpret and understand their inner lives. Consequently, it is possible to affirm that the spirituality of Modern Devotion is not only an attention to the inner life, but the capacity to objectify that life. Literacy in the 15th century was expanding, and thanks to the members of this movement, literacy of the interior life was developing as well.

Finally, the most compelling and simultaneously most obvious aspect of their expression and experience of devotion cannot be overlooked. More than the spiritual text

¹⁶⁷ Zerbolt, "The Spiritual Ascents", in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 286.

¹⁶⁸ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 302.

that they were reading and more than that which they were creating by their own notes, their lives were the clearest representation of devotion. In an era consumed with questions about how to live, expressed by an entire genre of mirror literature¹⁶⁹, the members of the *devotio moderna* were men and women who lived devotion. Their entire life – internal and external – was an expression of what a human life might look like in deep relationship with God. Conscious of having a particular style, they spoke not just of their houses, but of “our way of life”¹⁷⁰. This way of life was a vocation to live devotion, a vocation, as Zerbolt expressed it, as a spiritual ascent. But it was also, as he suggests at the end of his treatise, a spiritual descent. It was to live devotion in the world with others. Their goal was that “inner devotion... may radiate outward in external morals and actions”¹⁷¹. In conclusion, devotion, though expressed by the metaphor of spiritual ascent, was actually a journey back to the self, to the “high mountain of your natural and primordial dignity”¹⁷²; it was to live fully in the image and likeness of God.

2.2. *Devotio moderna* in the Iberian Peninsula: spiritual reading, methodical spiritual exercises and the practice of recollection.

Though distant geographically from the Netherlands and Northern Germany – the epicenter of the earliest expression of *devotio moderna* – the Iberian Peninsula was not without its own spiritual dynamism¹⁷³. Given its peculiar geographical situation and history, Modern Devotion comprised just one of multiple international influences that contributed to the spiritual and ecclesial developments in the Spain in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries¹⁷⁴. Also, the social and political context of the various kingdoms at this time is very much connected to these spiritual developments. The unification of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, as well as with the reconquering of the peninsula from Muslim domination,

¹⁶⁹ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 315; Constable, *Three Studies*, 234; and very much a premise of Ludolph’s presentation of the life of Christ: “Ponte siempre delante este clarísimo espejo de toda santidad: la vida y costumbres del Hijo de Dios y Señor nuestro Jesucristo”. *La vida de Cristo* I. Prólogo del autor.10, p.7.

¹⁷⁰ “A Customary for Brothers”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 165.

¹⁷¹ Zerbolt, “The Spiritual Ascents”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 308.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 246.

¹⁷³ It is important to point out that *devotio moderna* spread all through Europe: “The movement’s texts and teachings spread quickly throughout Germany, France, and Hungary”, intertwining itself with the Observant reform movement that was taking place in the mendicant orders all throughout the continent. For a description of this connection in different contexts and in different religious orders, see Gabriella Zarri, “Ecclesiastical Institutions and Religious Life in the Observant Century”, in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James Mixson, Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 23-59, on 47.

¹⁷⁴ I would like to thank Professor María Jesús Fernández Cordero of the Universidad Pontificia Comillas for her insight regarding “las fuentes internacionales de las tendencias reformistas en España”.

positioned Spain as an emerging political and economic power. Indeed the political vision of the Catholic Monarchs King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella included important ecclesial and spiritual reforms¹⁷⁵. Conscious of these broader and more complex ecclesial, political and economic factors at play in the spiritual reform movements on the Iberian Peninsula, this investigation seeks to highlight three significant programmatic spiritual developments: the ecclesial and spiritual renovation promoted by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros; the reform undertaken by García Jiménez de Cisneros in the Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat; the Observant movement, specifically that of the Observant Franciscans known as the recollected or *los recogidos*¹⁷⁶. All three shaped the spiritual climate of the Iberian Peninsula, and for this reason, they offer important considerations for the context of Ignatius.

a. Cardinal Cisneros: a university, the Bible, and spiritual literature

As archbishop of Toledo and Inquisitor-General of Castile, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436-1517)¹⁷⁷ initiated two major projects: the founding of the University of Alcalá¹⁷⁸ and the publishing of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, a six-volume rendering of the Bible in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin. Under his tutelage and direction, Alcalá became “a climate of theological exposition, textual criticism, and linguistic fluency”¹⁷⁹. Similarly, the printing of the Bible in its original languages suggests his attempt to renovate the Church in Spain by way of a return to Sacred Scripture in its original languages¹⁸⁰. However, these projects often overshadow another of equal or even greater importance: the Cardinal was a major patron for the publishing of devotional and spiritual

¹⁷⁵ For more on the ecclesial and spiritual reforms spearheaded by the monarchy, see José García Oro, *Cisneros y la reforma del clero español en tiempo de los reyes católicos* (Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1971). A complete and helpful overview of 15th and 16th century religious development can also be found in Adolfo de la Madre de Dios, “Espagne. Age d’Or”, in *DSp* 4:1127-1146.

¹⁷⁶ In identifying these three movements, I am following the outline of McGinn as he introduces the spiritual currents in Spain before the golden age of the great Spanish mystics, in *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, vol. 6, part 2, *Mysticism in the Golden Age of Spain (1500-1650)* (New York: Crossroad, 2017), 4; (book hereafter cited as *Mysticism in the Golden Age of Spain*).

¹⁷⁷ For a summary of his life and political interventions, see José García Oro, “Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco”, in *DBE* 27:804-809; for a more extended biography see the two-volume edition of the BAC by the same author, García Oro, *El cardenal Cisneros, vida y empresas*, 2 vols. (Madrid: BAC, 1992, 1993); also helpful are the observations of Adolfo de la Madre de Dios, “Espagne. Age d’Or”, in *DSp* 4:1128.

¹⁷⁸ For a brief summary of the university and the way it organized the studies of languages and theology, see García Oro, *Cisneros y la reforma*, 343-347.

¹⁷⁹ Lu Ann Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 3.

¹⁸⁰ It is important to recall that “Cisneros was immutably opposed to vernacular translations of scripture”. See Felipe Fernández-Armesto, “Cardinal Cisneros as a patron of printing”, in *God and Man in Medieval Spain: Essays in honor of J.R.L. Highfield*, ed. D. Lomax, D. Mackenzie (Wiltshire: Aris & Philips, 1989), 149-168, on 158.

texts. In terms of numbers of volumes, “Cisneros’s devotional library was on a vastly greater scale than his other projects”¹⁸¹. Indeed, the titles and the range of spiritual texts published by him are impressive. They include the Rules of St. Francis, St. Clare and those of the Franciscan tertiaries – all not surprising given his Observant Franciscan background¹⁸². Perhaps more surprising is to discover that the work of Franciscan piety that seems to have most attracted him, and that reached up to four editions, was *The Memorial* of the Tertiary Franciscan Angela of Foligno¹⁸³. He also sponsored the printing of the works and letters of Saint Catherine of Sienna, a biography of her by Raymond of Capua, as well as the *Book of Spiritual Grace* by the Benedictine Saint Mechtilde. Mention also needs to be made of his printing the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Climacus and the *Book of the Lover* by Raymond Llull. Finally, important for the object of this study is his publication of the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony¹⁸⁴, as well as Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ*¹⁸⁵.

Albeit concise, this brief mention of his founding of the university at Alcalá, of his printing of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, and of his publishing of devotional literature provides a glimpse of the broad outlines of his ecclesial reform project¹⁸⁶. These outlines were biblical, theological, and spiritual¹⁸⁷. In publishing Franciscan rules, he seems to have been clearly interested in strengthening religious life. Noteworthy too is his interest, even fondness, for spiritual texts from women. It is possible to detect his predilection for female mendicant authoresses and lives of female saints¹⁸⁸. These works are mystical and hagiographical in character, and this seems to have been his goal: moving members of the various religious families into a more direct and intense experience of God¹⁸⁹. Thus, at the

¹⁸¹ Fernández-Armesto, “Cardinal Cisneros as a patron of printing”, 159; for a review and commentary on Cisneros’s devotional library, see 159-168; see also Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, *La siembra mística del cardenal Cisneros y las reformas en la Iglesia* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1979), 45.

¹⁸² Francisco de Cisneros lived at one of the most important centers for Spanish spirituality, La Salceda, where he became the superior. See Francisco Juan Martínez Rojas, *Ciencia y recogimiento: la vía de Cisneros para la reforma del clero* (Madrid: Universidad de San Dámaso, 2016), 15.

¹⁸³ See Fernández-Armesto, “Cardinal Cisneros as a patron of printing”, 160.

¹⁸⁴ Ambrosio Montesino’s translation of Ludolph’s *Vita* has the honor of being the first book printed at Alcalá; an immense project undertaken to satisfy Queen Isabella, see, Bodenstein, “The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian”, 22; García Oro, *El cardenal Cisneros*, 2:474-475.

¹⁸⁵ For the dates and location of publication of all of the works cited, see Adolfo de la Madre de Dios, “Espagne. Age d’Or”, in *DSp* 4:1128.

¹⁸⁶ I have limited this overview to the more benevolent aspects of Cisneros’s reforms; for detail on the way he carried out an aggressive policy of conversion of Muslims and Jews, see Bert Roest, “From Reconquista to Mission in the Early Modern Period”, in *A Companion to Observant Reform*, 331-362, 335-340.

¹⁸⁷ In the estimation of Ramírez Fueyo: “son años de florecimiento de la cultura teológica y bíblica, y de su difusión por medios impresos”. See, Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 74.

¹⁸⁸ Fernández-Armesto suggests that the publication of female writers “reflects his notorious susceptibility to excesses of spinsterly piety”. Fernández-Armesto, “Cardinal Cisneros as a patron of printing”, 166.

¹⁸⁹ García Oro, *El cardenal Cisneros*, 2:485; Lu Ann Homza, “The Religious Milieu of the young Ignatius”, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 13-31, on 17.

same time that he was strengthening religious communities' observance of their rules, he was introducing literature that promoted a more individual and personal experience of God¹⁹⁰. As a result, spiritual reading as a way to develop and cultivate one's own personal experience of God was forming part of the spiritual and ecclesial terrain.

b. García Jiménez de Cisneros: lifting your affect up to God, methodically

A similar kind of innovation, albeit on a much more local scale, can be seen in the life and work of Francisco de Cisneros's cousin, García Jiménez de Cisneros (1455-1510)¹⁹¹. Sent by his relative to the Benedictine Monastery in Montserrat, García de Cisneros led an extensive reform of the entire monastic community during his time there from 1493-1510. Befitting one of the sons of St. Benedict, he reinvigorated the recitation of the office as well as liturgical prayer¹⁹². In part, this reform was facilitated by his installation of a printing press in the monastery¹⁹³. But this project went much further than merely printing liturgical texts and breviaries¹⁹⁴. As the result of the very plausible contact he had with adherents of *devotio moderna* in a trip that he made to France in 1496¹⁹⁵, García de Cisneros composed two significant spiritual texts: *Exercises for the Spiritual Life* and *The Directory of the Canonical Hours*. I will comment briefly on the *Exercises* as it constitutes the first text in Spain that introduced methodical mental prayer¹⁹⁶. Though perhaps not read by Ignatius in the contact that he could have had with the Benedictine community in 1522 and the early part of 1523¹⁹⁷, it is likely that the work would have at least permeated the entire spiritual climate

¹⁹⁰ Fernández-Armesto, "Cardinal Cisneros as a patron of printing", 167.

¹⁹¹ Perhaps the most comprehensive and recent biography of the Benedictine abbot and reformer is that of Dom García M. Colombás, *Un reformador benedictino en tiempo de los reyes católicos. García Jiménez abad de Montserrat* (Abadía de Montserrat, 1955). Also helpful is Miguel Carlos Vivancos Gómez, "Jiménez de Cisneros, García", in *DBE* 27:809-812; Mateo Álamo, "Cisneros", in *DSp* 2:910-921; the very first biography of the Benedictine abbot comes to us from J. Lloret, *Vita F. Garciae Cisnerii, abbatis ac reformatoris monasterii Montisserrati*, published at the beginning of the 1570 edition of the *Ejercitatorio*.

¹⁹² Alamo, "Cisneros", in *DSp* 2:920.

¹⁹³ For an analysis of this work, as well as the publications during his lifetime, see, Colombás, *Un reformador benedictino*, 133-144.

¹⁹⁴ "En 1500 on distribua 120 missels, 400 bréviaires, 600 processionnels et 600 hymnaires et offices des morts". Alamo, "Cisneros", in *DSp* 2:912.

¹⁹⁵ Colombás speculates that Cisneros would have likely met with Jean Standock as well as John Mombaer. Standock had been schooled by the Brothers of the Common Life, but Mombaer, an Agustinian friar of Windesheim, the last great representative of the modern devotion tradition, would have been a significant influence for the Benedictine monk. In any event, the influence is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the second work to be printed at the abbey was the *Spiritual Ascent* by Gerard Zerbolt. See, Colombás, *Un reformador benedictino*, 130-133, and 139.

¹⁹⁶ Alamo, "Cisneros", in *DSp* 2:920.

¹⁹⁷ In addition to the *Autobiography*, multiple sources attest to his presence in Montserrat. Diego Laínez and Juan Alfonso de Polanco both mention it in their biographical texts. See, respectively, "Epistola Patris Laynez

of Montserrat both for monks and pilgrims.

The *Exercises*, or in Spanish, *Ejercitatorio*¹⁹⁸, provides an initiation of the interior life by way of a methodical structuring of spiritual exercises and by the inclusion of an anthology of texts related to contemplation and the contemplative life¹⁹⁹. Divided into two main sections, the first of which treats the three classical spiritual paths of purgation, illumination, and union, and the second which covers the topic of contemplative prayer, the author announces that the goal of the spiritual program is to unite the soul with God²⁰⁰. Directed not to the haughty or learned, but rather to the simple and devoted – and for that reason composed not only in Latin but in Spanish – García de Cisneros provides a very followable and practical program of meditations to achieve union with God. Most obviously, this program resides in the series of weekly meditations. He begins his program with a reflection on one’s sinfulness and the passion of the Lord (purgative way)²⁰¹, moves to a consideration of God’s goodness (illuminative way)²⁰², and finally brings the person to a series of spiritual exercises on the perfections and praise of the Lord (unitive way)²⁰³. However, providing content for the day’s meditation is only one structural aspect of many. For instance, the Benedictine abbot indicates the where, the when, and the bodily posture the monk should assume for each spiritual exercise. Moreover, he details the order of prayer itself: first there is the recognition of one’s faults, then the supplication of mercy, and finally a moment of gratitude²⁰⁴. Notwithstanding this attention to detail and structure, the monastic reformer is hardly rigid. Rather, he allows for flexibility, but the flexibility has a clear criterion: “[pray] in this manner or another, according to how contrition and devotion inclines your heart”²⁰⁵. It is then one’s attentiveness to the movements in one’s interior, and the presence of the feeling or religious sentiment of devotion, that guides one’s decisions regarding spiritual exercises.

de P. Ignatio”, in *FN I*, 54-145, on 76-78, and “Summarium hispanum de origine et progressu Societatis Iesus auctore P. Ioanne de Polanco”, in *FN I*, 146-256, on 159. For both texts, I will be using the edited version of Antonio Alburquerque, ed., *Diego Laínez, S.J. Primer biógrafo de S. Ignacio* (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 2005); (this biographical epistle hereafter cited with reference to the editor Alburquerque and title *Diego Laínez, primer biógrafo* with paragraph number).

¹⁹⁸ For my study, I have used the critical edition of the *Ejercitatorio* in *Obras completas II*, ed. Dom C. Baraut (Abbadía de Montserrat, 1965), 77-455; in the references to the spiritual text, I will refer to the page number of the edition; all translations mine.

¹⁹⁹ Colombás, *Un reformador benedictino*, 230;

²⁰⁰ Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, “Prólogo”, 91, 454.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 142.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 202-216.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 238.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 216.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

This is the Spanish version of what Modern Devotion writers did in northern Europe²⁰⁶: the book proposes very clear methodical structures to develop a personal and affective relationship with God.

Lest this summary give the impression of a rather cold organization of spiritual exercises, it is important to mention that García de Cisneros enfoldes this structure in a remarkably human and tender tone²⁰⁷. Though paternal, the tone is not paternalistic; he wants to help the one making the meditations to grow in love of God. In this way, he coaxes his reader into following his advice. This aspect of the text corresponds to the way that the author constantly encourages the reader to approach God affectively. Though structured and regimented, prayer is to come from the heart and from one's desires. For instance, the book opens with sixteen general considerations on the spiritual life, considerations meant to be approached from one's heart, so that the "fire of desire might be awoken" in the person²⁰⁸. As such, fervor is to reign in the soul of the one who practices this program²⁰⁹. Further evidence of the importance of praying with desire and fervor can be seen in the way the author prefaces the prayers he provides for the reader. Very similar to the style of Ludolph's *Vita Christi*, García de Cisneros provides texts for prayers, but he also comments on how they are to be prayed. For example, as a preface to a prayer of contrition, the Benedictine reformer encourages the reader to "pray with lit-up affection"²¹⁰, or "with sighs and groans and all of your energy"²¹¹. In brief, a spiritual exercise is a "lifting [of] your mind to God with sighs and inflamed desires, speak[ing] to the Lord in your heart, saying with love..."²¹².

However important sighing and inflamed desires are for this author²¹³, García de Cisneros never loses sight of the importance of moderation. For the Benedictine spiritual writer, prudence and temperance are fundamental parts of the spiritual life. As such, he indicates, in his introductory chapters, the following advice: "The fifth condition is that everything be moderate, that is, one should keep in mind, to have discretion in taking the

²⁰⁶ This is not to exclude other spiritual currents that influenced and are present in the text. For a summarized compendium of the various spiritual schools and authors cited, see Javier Melloni, "Introducción", in, *Compendio breve de ejercicios espirituales compuesto por un monje de Montserrat entre 1510-1555*, ed. J. Melloni (Madrid: BAC, 2006), xv-lxi, xxiv-xxv.

²⁰⁷ I share Colombás's appraisal of the text: "Otra cualidad propia del estilo de Cisneros es ese tono paternal y afectuoso" evidenced by his use of "hermano", "hermano muy amado", and "hermanos muy amados". Colombás, *Un reformador benedictino*, 237-8.

²⁰⁸ Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, 112.

²⁰⁹ Colombás, *Un reformador benedictino*, 253.

²¹⁰ Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, 150.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 152.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 240.

²¹³ The earliest biography of García de Cisneros written in 1570 specifically mentions his deep prayer life, his love for solitude, and his experience of the gift of tears. See, Colombás, *Un reformador benedictino*, 432.

exercises and in doing them”²¹⁴. In a similar manner, he titles one of his chapters in the following way: “Such are the exercises, and the moderation with which one should have with them”²¹⁵. The author has a simple anthropological motive for this: “not everything is conducive to everyone, and not everyone can do the same thing equally”²¹⁶. Notwithstanding this very humane anthropology, the larger motive is the theological spirituality that permeates the text. In essence, García de Cisneros wants each person to have an experience of the Lord, and thereby grow in the virtue of charity and in purity of heart²¹⁷. In other words, the concrete and flexible methodological structure aimed at inflaming one’s heart and desire for God is eminently practical; it is to experience the love of God so that, in turn, one might return that love to God and others.

Though a novel text in the Iberian Peninsula, García de Cisneros’s composition demonstrates profound continuity with the major lines of devotion that I have been accompanying. His *Exercises* propose a practical, flexible, and affectively oriented spiritual program to develop a personal relationship with God. As a result, Ignatius, in his sojourn in Manresa and Montserrat, could have come into contact with a vibrant spiritual atmosphere, one in which he would have learned to pray with “lit up affection”, but with an affection organized methodically. Though the source material does not permit us to know with any certainty if he came into direct contact with the *Exercises*, the *Directory*, or with an anonymous treatise titled the *Compendium of Short Exercises*²¹⁸ – a condensed version of the previous two works – his eleven months in the Catalan region immersed him in Modern Devotion²¹⁹. Ignatius may not have familiarized himself with Grote, the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, nor would he have met Cisneros himself, but he was practicing their methodical prayer and forming himself in a spirituality where devotion was a key element²²⁰. It was what one felt in the journey towards union with God. And this experience of God, though a gift, was not a haphazard spiritual occurrence. It was indicative of a relationship, and as such, one could exercise one’s self in it, with moderation and flexibility. One of the great legacies of García de Cisneros, though not original to him, is that one can assiduously

²¹⁴ Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, 106.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 108.

²¹⁷ Alamo, “Cisneros”, in *DSP* 2:915.

²¹⁸ See Javier Melloni, “Montserrat”, in *DEI* 2:1284-1287, 1286.

²¹⁹ De Guibert identifies Cisneros as “the principal intermediary who transmitted the influence of the New Devotion (Devotio Moderna) to the spirituality of Ignatius”. See de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, 158.

²²⁰ Melloni’s thesis is that Ignatius extended his sojourn in Catalonia in part because of the spiritual direction he was receiving and on account of the spiritual exercises, either those of the *Exercises* or of the *Compendium*, that he was doing. See, Melloni, “Montserrat”, in *DEI* 2:1286.

and diligently practice spiritual exercises to receive from God the very grace of devotion²²¹. This surely would have impressed and greatly helped the pilgrim from Loyola.

c. Recollection: to be filled and share with others devotion

Cisneros's spiritual renewal of the Benedictine monastery at Montserrat participates in a wider historical moment of the Observant reform movement²²². Generally speaking, this movement represents a broad, continent-wide reaction against the lax living of religious life in conventual houses and a desire to "observe" more faithfully and authentically the evangelical simplicity and fervor at the heart of each charism. This tendency, expressed with different accents among the various religious orders, typically included a renewed vigor to live the vow of poverty and a deeper attentiveness to the interior life. Also, it is possible to see two phases in the overall trajectory of this spiritual development. First, there was a more inward-looking stage and then a decidedly more pastoral or missionary development which included preaching, catechism, and education²²³. In this more expansive moment of the Observant reform, especially in the first part of the 15th century, the reformist communities of religious orders were "without any doubt the most important vehicle" for the dissemination of the spirituality of Modern Devotion²²⁴.

Of special interest for this study, and decisive for an understanding of the spirituality in Spain in the 16th century²²⁵, is the Franciscan Observant reform, arguably one of the more impressive manifestations in all of the Observant reform developments²²⁶. Perhaps dating as far back as the late 14th century²²⁷, Franciscans in the Iberian Peninsula, in search of a more

²²¹ Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, 106.

²²² For an excellent survey of the Observant movement in various orders throughout Europe, see Bert Roest, "Observant reform in religious orders", in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, 446-457; also helpful are the selection of essays in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*.

²²³ Roest, "Observant reform in religious orders", 455-457; Melquíades Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos: nueva visión de la mística española (1500-1700)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1975), 23; (book hereafter cited as *Los recogidos*).

²²⁴ Gabriella Zarri, "Ecclesiastical Institutions and Religious Life in the Observant Century", in *A Companion to Observant Reform*, 47.

²²⁵ Andrés Martín is emphatic on this point: "Si preguntamos cuál es la vía espiritual básica en la España del siglo XVI, sin cuyo conocimiento no es posible penetrar a fondo en la historia de nuestra espiritualidad y de nuestra pastoral, e incluso diría en no pocos aspectos de nuestra cultura, la respuesta de la historia es decidida y contundente: la vía del recogimiento". Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos*, 32.

²²⁶ Roest, "Observant reform in religious orders", 447.

²²⁷ This early date is calculated given that one of the early figures in the movement, Peter of Villacreces is thought to have died in 1422. Notwithstanding this early date, McGinn identifies two periods in the movement as it was experienced in Spain: the more official and juridical consolidation of houses (1480-1523) and the reflection and systematization of the life in texts (1523-1559). See, McGinn, *Mysticism in the Golden Age of Spain*, 25.

authentic living of their charisma, began living in communities separate from their conventual houses. In documents of the Order, these houses were called “domus orationis” or “recollectionis”²²⁸. Members of these houses lived a more eremitical life than that of the conventual houses. Considered the heart and soul of the Franciscan observant movement²²⁹, these hermitages or small communities were centers of intense prayer, silence, poverty, and recollection²³⁰. The members of these houses of prayer or “recollection” were referred to as the “recollected”, or, in Spanish, “los recogidos”. However, this name evolved to designate not just the houses or their members, but rather the style of their interior life, a style characterized by a spirit of withdrawal, silence, and deep interiority. One of the great exponents of this spirituality was Francisco de Osuna (1492-1540)²³¹.

Though Osuna was not the only Franciscan writer on the prayer of recollection – two others, Bernabé de Palma and Bernadino de Loredo, were also important²³² – there is little debate as to his place in the Franciscan Observant tradition as well as to his importance in the broader context of Spanish mystical and spiritual reflection. For starters, “he is the first author that utilizes the Spanish language to treat mystical topics”²³³. He is also considered “the most widely read of the Franciscan writers on *recogimiento*... whose work ranks among the greatest writings of Spain’s Golden age of mysticism”²³⁴. Osuna’s most famous spiritual text is his six-volume set titled the *Spiritual Alphabet*. This *magnum opus* represents his comprehensive exposition of the spirituality of the movement²³⁵, and it is in the third volume – the *Third Alphabet* – in which he explores the mysticism of recollection. In light of increasing suspicion and fear of illuminist spiritual tendencies in the Iberian Peninsula, the author undertakes a vigorous exposition of the spirituality of recollection to defend it from those that might call its practitioners illuminists, or “alumbrados” in Spanish²³⁶.

A brief examination of this text is important for two reasons. First, as alluded to above, Osuna represents a touchstone for any investigation into spirituality in Spain in the

²²⁸ Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos*, 36.

²²⁹ Melquíades Andrés Martín, “Osuna, François de”, in *DSP* 11:1037-1051, 1038.

²³⁰ Adolfo de la Madre de Dios “Espagne. Age d’Or”, in *DSP* 4:1139.

²³¹ For an overview of his life, works, and spirituality, see Andrés Martín, “Osuna”, in *DSP* 11:1037-1051; Hermenegildo Zamora Jambrina, “Osuna, Francisco de”, in *DBE* 39:293-297.

²³² An extensive treatment of both of these writers can be found in Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos*, 176-230.

²³³ Zamora Jambrina, “Osuna, Francisco de”, in *DBE* 39:296.

²³⁴ McGinn, *Mysticism in the Golden Age of Spain*, 34. Andrés Martín sharpens this observation to say that he was the most widely read spiritual writer between 1527-1555. Andrés Martín, “Osuna”, in *DSP* 11:1040.

²³⁵ For an overview of the topics treated in each of the six volumes, see Andrés Martín, “Osuna”, in *DSP* 11:1040.

²³⁶ This was not enough to keep the author from landing on the Index of Prohibited books of 1559; it was the publication of a work promoting the frequent reception of communion, titled *Gracioso convite de las gracias del santo sacramento del altar*. This led to his “disqualification” as a spiritual writer. See Adolfo de la Madre de Dios, “Espagne. Age d’Or”, in *DSP* 4:1133; Andrés Martín, “Osuna”, in *DSP* 11:1040.

16th century. He was widely read in the 16th century, and for this reason it behooves us to do the same. Second, the spirituality of recollection permeated the Iberian Peninsula, therefore understanding it and how devotion fit into this system will allow me to bring a more nuanced and sharper focus on how Ignatius might have thought of the spiritual life and the place of devotion in it²³⁷. Given the prolix nature of the author’s style, I will limit my observations to his depiction of recollection and devotion.

The Franciscan writer begins his description of recollection by pairing it with theology. He calls it a mystical theology, a first theology, even a hidden theology²³⁸. His apology of recollection appears to respond to critics that would have decried its vacuous nature, thus the initial description of it as knowledge of God. For him, recollection is substantive, and “it is more important to desire the hidden theology than the speculative”²³⁹. What is learned comes directly from the Lord: “Christ held for himself the office of teaching in secret the hearts of those who live this hidden theology as a divine science”²⁴⁰. He continues: the prayer of recollection is “the interior and secret school where God teaches the soul”²⁴¹. Very much in harmony with Modern Devotion, recollection is the personal experience of the Lord and the intimate knowledge that comes from Him. This is not to say that Osuna disdains speculative knowledge or learning; in fact, he stresses the importance and the place of guidance and spiritual accompaniment in this process, but personal experience is the bedrock of his spirituality. For him, experience, more than a feeling, is “an integral way of knowing, even things that cannot be put into words”²⁴².

But he will put into words this new way. In a series of fascinating pages, the author provides a practically exhaustive list of descriptions to elucidate the nature of recollection. For example, he describes it as a science, wisdom, the art of loving, a profound spiritual exercise, union, an exchange of wills, abstinence, attraction, spiritual ascension, and the advent of the Lord to the soul²⁴³. Other descriptions are explicitly relational, such as where he describes the spirituality as that of a friendship and an embrace of a devoted heart with

²³⁷ See also Mark Rotsaert, *Ignace de Loyola et les nouveaux spirituels en Castille au début du XVI^e siècle* (Rome: CIS, 1982).

²³⁸ Francisco de Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual*, ed. S. López Santidrián (Madrid: BAC, 2007), 199-200; all translations mine.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 200.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 241.

²⁴² McGinn, *Mysticism in the Golden Age of Spain*, 37; for the place of experience in Osuna, and its (and his) importance in Teresa of Ávila, see, Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico*, 292.

²⁴³ Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario*, 201-202.

Christ²⁴⁴. In another set of characterizations, Osuna emphasizes its spatial qualities, referring to it as a vineyard, a golden cup, or a locked garden where only God is the only one with the key. These characterizations demonstrate his remarkable capacity to present the prayer²⁴⁵. His language is existential and vivid, popular rather than technical²⁴⁶, abounding in metaphors and allegories²⁴⁷. For example, the bucolic allegory – very much befitting a Franciscan – “feed the flock of your holy desires in the field of devotion which is recollection”²⁴⁸ – is not at all out of place in his text. In brief, there is an image for all of his readers because recollection is for everyone. However, among all the appellations and sobriquets offered, the author has a preferred name: “recollection”. And he enumerates ten reasons why this designation is befitting, the first of which is particularly important: “the first, because it unites those that use it, making them one in heart and in love”²⁴⁹. The clear evocation in this passage of the first Christian communities that were of one mind and one heart (Acts 4:32) reminds us of Osuna’s overall project, and the Observant reform movement writ large: encourage the personal experience of the Lord so that the community might live in accord with the Gospel. The passage also indicates the centrality of the heart in recollection. To live in one’s heart, united with others was to live as “los recogidos”. The similarity with Modern Devotion is palpable.

Coupled with his prowess in employing metaphors to describe recollection, he is able to offer definitions. For instance, he posits the existence of a “general recollection”, which he defines as a kind of measured-ness, serenity, and peacefulness of the soul with which one engages in his or her daily tasks²⁵⁰. In this state, the soul of the person is disposed to growing in holiness and wisdom. It is also a precursor to “special recollection” which is when one “withdraws into one’s very self to pray well to the Lord in silence”²⁵¹. This is a deeper interior state where one’s whole life enacts a concentrated, focused, and natural movement from the heart to God²⁵². Though it may be an arduous exercise at first, one can grow in it: “true recollection is that which gathers the powers of the soul and unites them so that, without

²⁴⁴ Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario*, 205. In total, there are 40 names given to this spiritual exercise.

²⁴⁵ He demonstrates this same capacity in his description of grace (311ff) and of love (421ff). Both remarkable passages for a phenomenology of the experience of grace and love.

²⁴⁶ The observation is from Vicente Muñiz Rodríguez, “Experiencia de Dios y lenguaje en Francisco de Osuna”, *Laurentianum* 28 (1987): 44-105, 73.

²⁴⁷ Zamora Jambrina, “Osuna, Francisco de”, in *DBE* 39:296; Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos*, 38.

²⁴⁸ Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario*, 412.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 208.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 400.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 400.

²⁵² In his study of Osuna’s text, Vicente Muñiz Rodríguez suggests that the heart for Osuna indicates the center, the very substance of the soul, the intimate depth of our being where life comes from. See, Muñiz Rodríguez, “Experiencia de Dios y lenguaje en Francisco de Osuna”, 73.

becoming tired, one can give oneself to this prayer tirelessly”²⁵³. In summary, recollection is an ever-deepening integral movement into relationship with God²⁵⁴.

In his spiritual system, Osuna accords a place to devotion, and his reflection on it shows him in continuity with the spiritual reflection on it that precedes him. For example, in one of the few passages where Osuna invokes St. Francis of Assisi, he writes: “those that follow the spirit of St. Francis, running away from idleness, will not kill the spirit of prayer and devotion”²⁵⁵. The Franciscan tradition has a place for devotion, and that he associates it with St. Francis would seem to suggest that it occupies a very important place. Moreover, it is possible to see devotion as circulating in the same semantic field as the above-mentioned descriptions of recollection. Consequently, devotion is akin to an embrace, an attraction, an exchange of wills, or friendship, to name only a few of those appellations. Likewise, in a passage in which he uses the phrase “spirit of devotion”, he writes: “the spirit of devotion is the principal foundation for all religions”²⁵⁶. This statement recalls Aquinas’s observation that devotion “belongs immediately to religion, and, through the medium of religion, to charity”²⁵⁷. Osuna follows the Dominican theologian, alluding to the fact that devotion is the very groundwork of relationship with God. It is the will or the desire to serve God, and without it, there is no foundation, that is, no religion or divine worship. In another passage where the Franciscan comments on apostolic activity, he reminds his reader that “all works that lack devotion are in fact dead works”²⁵⁸. Again, the argument is redolent with the thinking of St. Thomas. If there is no will ready “to do that which pertains to the worship or service of God”²⁵⁹, works are, as Osuna suggests, lifeless.

In addition to being the will to serve and to grow in worship and in relationship with God, Osuna maintains another line of thinking on the topic: devotion is a spiritual feeling that reveals God’s presence. This is a key component of his thinking on it. In a passage very typical of his style, he writes: “the great spiritual masters know what the spirit of devotion tastes like, and with this knowledge, they also have its flavor”²⁶⁰. Once again, the author uses the phrase “the spirit of devotion”, but this time to indicate a feeling, a spiritual sentiment,

²⁵³ Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario*, 450.

²⁵⁴ Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos*, 15. According to this author, one of the key aspects of all of Spanish mysticism is the emphasis on integration: “La afirmación de la integración del hombre en sí mismo para unirse con Dios es pieza fundamental de la mística española de la edad de oro” (14).

²⁵⁵ Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario*, 387.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 257.

²⁵⁷ *IlaIIae* q. 82. a.2.

²⁵⁸ Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario*, 353.

²⁵⁹ *IlaIIae* q. 82. a.2.

²⁶⁰ The play on words is marvelous in Spanish: “los maestros y los sabios saben a qué sabe el espíritu de devoción, y con el saber tienen también el sabor” (265).

and a very profound one, one that aligns with the sense of taste. As a gloss to what he means by “spirit of devotion”, he suggests that it is a kind of faithful messenger which brings us to God. And it realizes this in multiple ways: it enlightens our understanding, inflames our affections, strengthens our weaknesses, and it guides all of our works, and it sweetens our praise of God²⁶¹. The spirit of devotion is an integrative spiritual experience, not unlike recollection in that all aspects of the person move towards God. Osuna elucidates devotion further in another passage where he discusses its absence. According to the author, God removes the experience of devotion for two reasons, both of which have to do with sin. When devotion leaves a person on account of a fault, a venial sin, or even for a past mortal sin, the result will be that the person will not be able to return to his or her “close communicative familiarity” with God²⁶². The phrase is evocative and rich: devotion is that closeness, warmth, and deep communicative intimacy with God.

One final observation will complete this survey of this remarkable spiritual text. In a passage similar to St. Bernard’s interpretation of the wedding feast at Cana²⁶³, Osuna expounds upon the Gospel parable of the virgins who prudently carried oil for their lamps; at the end of his interpretation, he addresses the reader directly: “be solicitous in searching for the oil of devotion because on account of it, you will be worthy to enter into the celestial wedding”²⁶⁴. But this is not all; the oil of devotion is not only for one’s salvation, allowing one to enter into the heavenly banquet. Rather, it is to be shared with others: “by your doctrine and by your work, fill the vessels which are those empty hearts of your neighbors”²⁶⁵. God fills the life of the believer with His presence – devotion – and this is the gift that is given “for the benefit of others”²⁶⁶.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has surveyed late Middle Age devotional practices, the spiritual renewal known as *devotio moderna*, and three significant spiritual reformist movements – all in deep harmony with Modern Devotion – in the Iberian Peninsula. This exposition has sought to trace the lines of continuity, to the extent that they exist, with the reflection of St. Bernard

²⁶¹ Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario*, 353.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 525.

²⁶³ In terms of the number of quotations, Saint Bernard is cited the most in this text – fifty times. See, Muñiz Rodríguez, “Experiencia de Dios y lenguaje en Francisco de Osuna”, 80.

²⁶⁴ Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario*, 479.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 479.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 248; for further indications on the pastoral aspect of recollection, see 106, 197, 260, 397.

and St. Thomas on devotion. This study suggests that such lines of continuity are visible. Moreover, in this period of late medieval spirituality the word “devotion” emerges as a central and powerful way to evoke the human experience with God. To state this more cogently, the term of this study takes center stage in religious and spiritual idiom: it signals not just an experience of the divine, but the desire to offer to God one’s very life. One’s whole life could be an expression of devotion. This was surely the case for the members of the Modern Devotion. Theirs was a vocation to live devotion and, according to Zerbolt’s spiritual treatise, this vocation was understood as an ascent to God, an ascent which involved a concomitant descent to others. The apostolic or pastoral side of devotion is never far from the internal, affective side.

Yet, this chapter seeks to be much more than an apology or an encomium of devotion in late Middle Age spirituality. My objective is to locate the content and the contours of devotion that could have informed Ignatius of Loyola’s comprehension of it. To that end, four important observations seem particularly germane.

1. Affective identification with Christ

The review of devotional practices of late medieval Christianity reveals the panoply of activities by which men and women drew closer to God. The saints, the Virgen Mary, the Eucharist, and the humanity of Christ all nurtured in powerful ways the faith of the Church. Additionally, pilgrimage, informed by multiple motives, was a significant expression in which men and women offered their will, even their very lives to God. Yet, pilgrimage was also interior: it was the journey that one made, day by day, with Christ. It was walking with him in His life, even feeling in one’s own life, what He felt and what He experienced. And this suggests a new accent in the relationship of devotion to the humanity of Christ. Now it was not just His humanity that occasioned devotion, but it was an identification with that humanity. Specifically, His feelings, His sentiments or His emotions, felt in the life of the believer, were what provoked devotion. The emotional geography of His life was the place of encounter with devotion.

2. Language that can be interpreted

Another aspect of the spiritual program of Modern Devotion was the reading of spiritual texts and the practice of writing down that which would have helped the person in his or her spiritual life. The members of these communities wrote down passages to remember them and to continue meditating upon them. Perhaps the motive was not just to

remember, but to relive the feeling of closeness to God that they produced. Regardless of the motive, writing down citations that produced an internal movement became a spiritual exercise. But the recording of passages was much more than merely registering that which produced an internal spiritual movement to which one could go back to. This practice points to a consciousness that devotion was a language which a person could decode. Words, phrases, and lines from books mediated the experience, and one could go back to those very words to discover a communication in devotion. Though the experience of intimacy with God may not have lasted, the members of the Modern Devotion movement appear to have recognized that it was a communication, and as such, capable of being interpreted. Consequently, the interior journey with Christ could be read or interpreted to see how and where it was going. In this way, devotion was followable, an interpretable reality, an intimate communication of God's presence, but not so intimate that it could not be comprehended. Or at least written down. Ignatius comes of age in a spiritual culture that not only understands the experience of God as devotion, but perceives it as a kind of language. It is a communication from God, and writing down what provokes devotion is a way to find out what God is saying.

3. *Spiritual exercises to grow in the pedagogy of devotion*

The emphasis on intimacy and on a deep affective experience as that which constitutes devotion cannot overshadow another crucial aspect of late medieval religious practice: methodical spiritual exercises. In other words, the interior pilgrimage of identifying ever more deeply with Christ did not necessarily just happen, rather it was possible to cultivate it by way of a followable program of detailed spiritual exercises. Indeed, the affective, intimate experience of God does not preclude a more disciplined, even rigorous method. This is a fascinating aspect of devotion. It is, to use the very evocative phrase from Osuna, "close communicative familiarity with God", *and* a familiarity with God cultivated by a method and a program. This combination of growing in closeness with God and methodical spiritual exercises points to another important comprehension regarding this topic: there is a pedagogy to devotion. One can grow and learn how to relate to God. Or, to refer to the above-mentioned point that devotion is a language, one can learn how to read God's language in his or her life. In this way, the language of devotion is not so self-evident, but rather, by methodical spiritual exercises, one does indeed become more literate in interpreting what devotion is revealing.

4. *The effective identification with Christ*

For as much as devotion can be felt, comprehended, and discovered, late medieval spirituality suggests a startlingly simple affirmation on this spiritual experience: it is the desire to do God's will. The Modern Devotion tradition generally represents this; it is to offer one's entire life to God. Reading, writing, working, and living in community were ways to give one's life to God. The idea was that their devotion radiate outward in actions. If there was an ascent to an experience of great union with God, that ascent also involved a descent: it was to live virtuously, responding with one's whole life to God. Devotion then is eminently practical. It takes root in the heart, and so rooted, the person moves beyond the sweet affection of the spiritual experience to do and to suffer that which forms part of God's will. If the experience is one of communicative familiarity with God, that intimacy is to ultimately be shared for others. For this reason, devotion never pertains solely to the affective realm of the person. It is to seep into the marrow of one's bones informing all that they did. The affective identification with Christ is but a prelude to an effective configuration with his life, the one who offered his whole will to God.

In summary, an investigation of devotion in late medieval spirituality proposes a fascinating configuration of elements: devotion as an interior journey of ever-deepening affective identification with Jesus; a language in which God communicates with the person; a pedagogy in which one continually grows in it; the will to serve God in one's life. These are the fundamental elements of devotion which formed late Middle Age spirituality. This was the climate in which Ignatius began his spiritual adventure.

To go beyond all devotion to seek the glory of God
Devotion in Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*

INTRODUCTION

The conclusions from the previous chapter have traced with more precision the comprehension of devotion that was present in the late Middle Ages. The survey of late medieval devotional practices and the overview of Modern Devotion, both as it developed in the Low Countries and in the Iberian Peninsula, suggest that devotion was a deeply meaningful spiritual concept. It referred to concrete religious practices and felt internal experiences. The latter included an affective identification with Christ's human life and the perception that devotion was a kind of language from God, a language that involved a kind of pedagogy. Ignatius came of age in an era where believers sought to practice, to live, and to have an experience of devotion.

However, before entering into a detailed study of his experience of devotion in the *Diary*, it is necessary to consider one further aspect of late medieval spirituality: *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis. This spiritual text was immensely popular and for the study of Ignatius it may represent one of the more important sources to understand his spirituality. Ignatius, like so many before and after him, was a reader of Kempis' classic spiritual book. Testimony from early companions of his points us in this direction. For example, the Portuguese Jesuit Luis Gonçalves da Câmara recorded in personal notes of his made while in Rome that Ignatius

... said that at Manresa he had seen *the little Gerson* for the first time, and that since then he had never wished to read any other devotional book. He recommended it to all he had dealings with, and each day read a chapter one after the other; after dinner and at other times he would open it at random, and he always came across something that was close to his heart at that time and which he needed¹.

¹ See "Memoriale seu diarium patris Ludovici Gonzalez de Camara", in *FN I*, 508-752, 584. Modern version in Spanish with notes and an excellent introduction by Benigno Hernández Montes, *Recuerdos Ignacianos*.

This observation lines up with that offered by another early Jesuit, Jerome Nadal, who indicated the same idea: Ignatius recommended that he read each day a chapter from the *Imitation*². He does seem to have considered it, as another Jesuit wrote, the crown jewel of spiritual books³. Lest there be any doubt about his preference for it, the *Imitation* figures in no less prominent a place than in the *Spiritual Exercises* [Ej 100]. Given this firm documentary evidence of the importance of the book for him, this chapter will consider the most popular and most complete book to emerge from the Modern Devotion tradition⁴. Kempis' *Imitation* is a great spiritual text, a work that cannot be excluded from an analysis on the spirituality of devotion. Though it may appear hyperbolic, an inquiry into this work is nothing short of an examination of one of “the most influential devotional books in Western Christian history”⁵.

In order to provide an in-depth study of the *Imitation*, I have organized this chapter in two main sections. First, I will provide an overview of Kempis' book, alluding, broadly, to the question of its authorship and attending more specifically to the text's compositional features, style, and literary genre. Next, I will provide an analysis of the book's major themes. Spiritual themes from late Medieval spirituality and the Modern Devotion tradition abound in the work. Three will be examined: interiority, the emphasis on making progress in the Christian life, and devotion. Understanding the spirituality of Kempis' *Imitation* and, more specifically, the spiritual experience of devotion, will provide a clear frame of reference upon which the spiritual experience of devotion of Ignatius can come into sharper relief.

Memorial de Luis Gonçalves da Câmara (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 1992), passage on 92, number 97; (hereafter *Recuerdos Ignacianos*, citing editor with reference to paragraph number). Above translation comes from the English version translated and edited by Alexander Eaglestone and Joseph Munitiz, *Remembering Iñigo. Glimpses of the Life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. The “Memoriale” of Luis Gonçalves da Câmara* (St. Louis-London: IJS-Iñigo Enterprises, 2005). I will adhere to the Spanish version of the text edited by Hernández Montes. I will also explain in this chapter the question of authorship that emerges in the reference to the work as “the little Gerson”.

² See, “Chronicon Natalis”, in *MNad* I, 1-25, 19. For a translation of this text into Spanish, and a very fine introduction, see Ignacio Ramos Riera, “*Chronicon Natalis*”: *Una lente para introducirse en el surgimiento de la espiritualidad ignaciana* (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2019), 211. Bibliography on this Jesuit of the first generation corresponds to his importance; in a word, it is immense. For starters, see, Robert Maryks, “Nadal, Jerónimo”, in *DEI* 2:1315-1319; Ruiz Jurado, “Nadal, Jerónimo”, in *DHCJ* 3:2793-2796.

³ In a document titled “Responsio P. Manarei ad quaedam”, Olivier Mannaerts wrote that Ignatius called the book “la perdz de los libros espirituales”. See, *MScripta* I, 506-524, on 516.

⁴ The formulation on the book is from Rudolf Th.M. Van Dijk, “Thomas Hemerken a Kempis”, in *DSp* 15:817-826, on 817. See also O'Malley for further commentary on Ignatius' decades' long commitment to the book, in O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 25.

⁵ Van Engen, “Introduction”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 8.

1. An overview of a spiritual bestseller: author, compositional features, and genre

1.1. The question of authorship

Thomas Hemerken of Kempis⁶ was born in the diocese of Cologne in 1379 or 1380⁷. At a young age, and perhaps following his elder brother John, the young Thomas arrived in Deventer in 1392 and began studies. There he came into contact with Florens Radewijns, the head of the community of the Brothers of the Common Life at Deventer⁸, as well as with other the founding figures of the Modern Devotion movement. He reports in a later work of his that as a youngster he “visited and looked [in] on every day” the Brothers’ community in Deventer⁹. With this community, his contact was intimate, and it indelibly marked him. Years later, in a text of glowing affection for the life of the Brothers, he claimed “never to have seen people so devout and fervent, yet living among the laity, free of worldly life”¹⁰. It is safe to venture that as a schoolboy he was sponsored and cared for by the community¹¹, likely participating in the spiritual life of the house, specifically its “collations”, or spiritual conversations. Nearing his twenties, Thomas joined the recently founded monastery of Mount St. Agnes which formed part of the Windesheim congregation where, again, his brother John had preceded him and was at that time, in 1399, its prior. In 1406, Thomas donned the habit as a monk; he spent the rest of his life, simply and humbly, in this same monastery, exercising various community functions until his death in 1471¹².

⁶ A brief word about his name. “Hemerken” means “little hammer”, in reference to his father who was a blacksmith. “Kempis” refers to a town, Kempen. The word also designates a kind of geographical terrain, that of a moor or heath. In referring to the author, I will follow the custom of referring to him as “Kempis”. I thank Bert Daelemans SJ, for the insight into the author’s name.

⁷ As can be expected the bibliography on Kempis is immense. I will be following Van Dijk, “Thomas Hemerken a Kempis”, in *DSp* 15:817-826; similarly, Post, *Modern Devotion*, 521-536; a more extensive treatment is that of J.E.G de Montmorency, *Thomas à Kempis: His Age and Book* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1906), specifically 84-105; likewise, Van Engen in “Introduction”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 7-10.

⁸ In his work, *Dialogue for Novices*, Kempis reports that he waited on Radewijns at table. Cited in Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 88.

⁹ Cited in Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 86.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 267.

¹¹ Regarding this phenomenon of caring for and even functioning as hostels for young schoolboys, Van Engen reports that as yet there is no focused study of how the Brothers oversaw young students. See, Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 144.

¹² It is relevant to point out that Kempis’s life very nearly coincides with the enormous growth of the Windesheim canons. In 1475, 100 years after the founding of the congregation, and four years after the author’s death, there existed a total of 92 houses. See, Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the “Imitatio Christi”*, 53.

His literary output¹³, the most prolific of any writer from the Windesheim tradition¹⁴, provides a fascinating window into this 15th century spiritual writer. Sermons, reflections on virtues, pious treatises, instructions to novices, and meditations on various feasts comprise his writings. And all of this for a person who had no university theological studies. Even more importantly, and as an indication of his indebtedness to and place in the Modern Devotion tradition, he authored biographies on Gerard Groote, Florens Radewijns, as well as the *vitae* of nine disciples of Radewijns, among them Gerard Zerbolt¹⁵. He is also the author of a “customary”, that is, an early guide or plan of living for one of the houses of the Brothers of the Common Life in Zwolle¹⁶. In addition to composing numerous texts, he was, as so many were from the Modern Devotion tradition, a copyist of texts. He copied two Bibles, both of which reached their final form in ten volumes; he also produced copies of missals and choir texts. Given this immense literary production, it is not a stretch to see an element of his own biography in the following recommendation he makes in the *Imitation*: “Never be completely idle, but be reading or writing or praying or meditating or working in some way for the common good”¹⁷.

Though I will maintain that the monk from St. Agnes was the author of the *Imitation*, it is important to point out that the question of the text’s authorship, the subject of much debate, has not been settled definitively¹⁸. Though a full analysis of this topic exceeds the objectives of this chapter, a brief mention of the text’s purported authors is relevant¹⁹. The tradition that attributes the text to Kempis is long and firm. He copied the work at least three times, and an analysis of these manuscripts demonstrate that he made significant modifications to it²⁰. A manuscript of 1441, signed by him, and considered the autograph

¹³ The critical edition of his texts is that edited by Michael Pohl, *Thomae Hemerken a Kempis Opera omnia*, 7 vols. (Freiburg: 1910-1922).

¹⁴ Van Dijk, “Thomas Hemerken a Kempis”, in *DSp* 15:819; the author also provides a complete overview of all of his works on 819-821.

¹⁵ These biographies are all contained in his work *Dialogus noviciorum*, in Pohl, ed. *Opera omnia*, vol. 7.

¹⁶ “A Customary for Brothers”; the very text referred to in the previous chapter. See Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 155-175.

¹⁷ *Imitation*, Book I.19. Hereafter, my citations will indicate the book with a roman numeral and chapter with a cardinal number. I will be using the English translation of the *Imitation* by William Creasy in constant reference to the Pohl’s critical edition in Latin. Creasy bases his translation from Pohl’s and provides an elegant rendering of the text. *Imitation of Christ*, ed. William Creasy (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 2017).

¹⁸ Such is the guarded position of Van Engen. See Van Engen, “Introduction”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 8. See also Pierre Debongnie and Jacques Huijben, *L’auteur ou les auteurs de “L’Imitation”* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1957).

¹⁹ The debate is summarized by Albert Ampe in “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – auteur”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2338-2354, see especially 2341-2354; also helpful is Post, *Modern Devotion*, 525-533; the more complete analysis is Debongnie, Huijben, *L’auteur ou les auteurs de “L’Imitation”*.

²⁰ Ampe, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – auteur”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2348.

version, has helped to solidify his position as its author²¹. However, given its early anonymous circulation many other authors were ascribed to the work. In fact, the list of reputed authors includes more than 40 names²², and “the very range of attributions suggests that it could have been written almost anywhere in western Europe at any time between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries”²³. Extant manuscripts report that Basil of Cesarea, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, or Ludolph of Saxony was its author²⁴. Others situate the text firmly within the Modern Devotion tradition, ascribing it to Gerard Groote or Gerard Zerbolt²⁵. Similarly, there is a tradition which suggests that an Italian Benedictine monk of the 12th and 13th centuries, Giovanni Gersen, was its author²⁶. However, the strongest non-Kempist position is that which maintains that Jean Gerson (1363-1429), a prolific spiritual writer of the late 14th and early 15th century, and chancellor of the University of Paris, authored the work²⁷. An extraordinary amount of manuscripts circulated at an early date with his name, as well as versions of the *Imitation* that were published with other works from the French theologian²⁸. In fact, the incunable version of 1483, published in Venice and attributed to Gerson, is considered to have been the edition that propelled the *Imitation* to its immense publication success²⁹. As a result of this tradition, Ignatius and his companions referred to the book as the “Gersoncito”³⁰.

²¹ “Finitus et completes anno Domini m.cccc.xli. per manus fratris thomae Kempis in monte scte agnetis prope zwollis”. Cited in Ampe, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – auteur”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2348.

²² Van Engen in “Introduction”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 8.

²³ Constable, *Three Studies*, 240.

²⁴ Ampe, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – auteur”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2342.

²⁵ The advocate here is J. Van Ginneken, *Trois textes pré-kempistes du premier livre de “l’Imitation”* (Amsterdam, 1940), cited in Post, *Modern Devotion*, 526, and Ampe, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – auteur”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2347. Ginneken’s view is compelling: he argues that the work is the final product of three authors. Groote started it, Zerbolt continued it, and Kempis put the finishing touches on it. Ginneken was a Jesuit philologist and writer, very interested in the Modern Devotion tradition. For biography on him see Godefridus Pijnenborg, “Ginneken, Jacques van”, in *DHCJ* 2:1733-1734.

²⁶ For a brief synopsis of this purported author, see Réginald Grégoire, “Gersen (Jean)”, in *DSp* 6:313-314. This is not a strong position for the simple fact that “historiquement, il est impossible de prouver son existence” (313).

²⁷ For an overview of his life, works, spiritual doctrine, and influence, see Palémon Glorieux, “Gerson (Jean)”, in *DSp* 6:314-331; also helpful is Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the “Imitatio Christi”*, 81-83.

²⁸ See Albert Ampe, *L’Imitation de Jésus-Christ et son auteur* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1973), 56-57; Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the “Imitatio Christi”*, 82. Von Habsburg reports that the *Imitation* was incorporated in some printed editions of Gerson’s *Opera Omnia*.

²⁹ Debongnie, Huijben, *L’auteur ou les auteurs de “L’Imitation”*, 319.

³⁰ I might add that it was only in the 13th edition published in Spanish, in 1536, where Juan de Ávila, in a prologue to the text, declares: “es bien que sepas que quien hizo este libro no es Gerson, como hasta aqui se intitulaba, mas fray Thomas de Kempis”. Of the first 12 editions printed in the Iberian Peninsula, 8 were attributed to Gerson, 1 to Erasmus, and three were anonymous. See Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero Hispanoamericano* (Barcelona: Librería Anticuaria, 1926), 4:271-281, see especially 272-273.

1.2. Compositional features, style, and genre

The *Imitation* is best understood as a book that groups four distinct pamphlets or treatises that circulated independently³¹. What we now consider the first book was the pamphlet that circulated the most frequently, but all of the other sections circulated autonomously, if in much smaller numbers³². Likewise, the titles of each of the treatises varied. The most frequent, and the ones adopted in the critical edition of the text, are the ones I will adhere to. A brief overview of these titles and the number of chapters in each of the books demonstrates how diverse the text as a whole is. The first book, with 25 chapters, bears the title, “useful recommendations for the spiritual life”; the second, much shorter in length, with only 12 chapters, is headed “suggestions for the interior life”; the third book, the most extensive, reaching 59 chapters deals with the topic of “spiritual consolations”; and the last book, of 18 chapters, is labelled “a devout exhortation for receiving Holy Communion”³³. Once pulled together as a single text, the title that was given, as early as 1472, and that has persisted, is the *Imitation of Christ*, probably taken from the opening lines of the very first book³⁴.

Each of the treatises that eventually came to comprise the work has its own tone, tenor and redactional style, thus it does not seem that they were designed as parts of a larger project³⁵. Though many have tried to devise a narrative arc that unites the four pamphlets³⁶, scholarly consensus suggests that the different books were not thought of as constituting a single unit. The assessment provided by Huijben and Debongnie, the result of their minute study of the vocabulary and themes of each of the treatises, is prudent: the four books are

³¹ See, for this conclusion, the textual analysis of the four books by Pierre Debongnie in “Les Thèmes de l’Imitation”, *Revue D’Histoire Ecclésiastique* 36 (1940): 289-344, analysis on 292-307; (hereafter cited as “Les Thèmes”).

³² In their study of 361 Latin manuscripts of the text, Huijben and Debongnie catalogue the number of manuscripts which contained one of the books, a grouping of two or more books, and manuscripts that contained all four books. See, Debongnie, Huijben, *L’auteur ou les auteurs de “L’Imitation”*, 4.

³³ According to Bernard Spaapen, this book, “est, avec les hymnes de saint Thomas d’Aquin, le plus beau texte de la seconde moitié du moyen âge sur la dévotion et la mystique eucharistiques”. See, Spaapen, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – doctrine spirituelle”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2355-2368, 2366.

³⁴ See, for a wider discussion on the various titles that accompanied the work, Ampe, *L’Imitation de Jésus-Christ et son auteur*, 23-26.

³⁵ Ampe, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – auteur”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2339.

³⁶ The most common interpretation is one that sees the first three books as a project of interior reform and Book IV, on the reception of the Eucharist, as the culmination and fruit of that reform. Von Habsburg is a very good example of this. See, Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the “Imitatio Christi”*, 145, 161. A less common interpretation is that of Montmorency who finds a movement in the books similar to that of Henry Suso in his *Letters to his Spiritual Daughter*. Montmorency ventures that Kempis “framed his work on the ground plan devised by Suso”. This interpretation, though compelling, is not shared in the wider literature on Kempis’s devotional treatises. See, Montmorency *Thomas à Kempis, His Age and Book*, 218-221.

distinct and do not share a common plan, though they may correspond to successive stages of spiritual and/or intellectual development³⁷. At the same time, there is a sufficient continuity in terms of style, word choice and themes to attribute the four treatises to the same author³⁸. In terms of the date of publication, the most judicious estimates, according to the circulation of the earliest manuscripts, place it between the years 1420 and 1427³⁹. However, the time frame of composition is much harder to determine given that the treatises could have evolved from Kempis' own spiritual log-books or "rapiaria", an idea that I will explore when I address the genre of the book.

Simplicity and elegance characterize the overall style of the *Imitation*⁴⁰. For this reason, it no doubt appealed to members of Kempis' monastic community, perhaps its initial intended audience⁴¹. At the same time, its modest, unpretentious, and graceful narrative style surely account for how it captivated a much wider readership⁴². The narrative voice of the text speaks a language intelligible to any reader; the author offers, in each chapter of every book, reflections, proverbial advice, and counsels in order that the reader might deepen his or her Christian life. Though this appraisal may run the risk of being hyperbolic, it is hard to imagine a text more densely and tightly woven: nearly every line in the book exudes a deep knowledge of the Christian human experience. In this way, the reader quickly surmises that he or she is in the presence of one who knows the Christian life, has reflected deeply upon it, and has a gift for communicating it in an accessible way.

Very much in harmony with the simplicity of its style is its tone. The voice of the narrator is compassionate and warm, and at the same time challenging and serious. If there is a movement that can be discerned across the four texts, I would suggest that it is to be found in the voice of the narrator. It becomes progressively more personal and intimate⁴³. This

³⁷ Debongnie, Huijben, *L'auteur ou les auteurs de "L'Imitation"*, 14; see also Ampe, *L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ et son auteur*, 17.

³⁸ See Ampe, *L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ et son auteur*, 16; Debongnie, "Les Thèmes", 306, 338.

³⁹ Debongnie, Huijben, *L'auteur ou les auteurs de "L'Imitation"*, 29.

⁴⁰ Reporting on the style of the entire corpus of texts, Van Dijk reports that Kempis wrote in an elegant medieval Latin. See Van Dijk, "Thomas Hemerken a Kempis", in *DSp* 15:821.

⁴¹ Post argues that it was *only* intended for a monastic audience, Post, *Modern Devotion*, 533. However, I will follow Von Habsburg who suggests that the text also contemplates a wider audience. See Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the "Imitatio Christi"*, 45-46.

⁴² As an indication of how captivating its style was, one early alternative title for the *Imitation* was *Tractatus de musica ecclesiastica*, or *Musica Ecclesiastica*. See, Robert Jeffery, "Note on the Translation", in *The Imitation of Christ*, ed. and trans. Robert Jeffery (London: Penguin, 2013), page number not indicated; similar comment made by Ampe in, *L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ et son auteur*, 25-26.

⁴³ Debongnie, "Les Thèmes", 305; Spaapen, "Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – doctrine spirituelle", in *DSp* 7/2^a:2357. Similarly, in their study of the number of affective words used in the four books, Degongnie and Huijben report that 40 are used in Book I, 69 in Book II, 241 in Book III, and 128 in Book IV. The style becomes more intimate and personal because of the diction used. See, Degongnie, Huijben, *L'auteur ou les auteurs de "L'Imitation"*, 12.

occurs principally by the way that the author structures the final two books as a dialogue between the Lord and a disciple⁴⁴. Without forcing an interpretive scheme on the four texts, it is striking to observe that in the first two books the writer encourages the reader to deepen his or her interior life, and then in the final two books he makes explicit, by way of a dialogue, what interior intimacy with the Lord might look like. Notwithstanding the legitimacy of this interpretation, perhaps the best summary of the text's style and tone is one given in the felicitous expression of the German Jesuit theologian Johann Michel Sailer⁴⁵ in his introduction to the text published in 1794: it is a book that comes from the heart and appeals to the heart of its reader⁴⁶.

The most adequate hermeneutic to interpret the work's genre is to consider it first as a 15th century text⁴⁷, and then, specifically, as a text that emerges from the Modern Devotion tradition⁴⁸. Though it is not my intent to summarize the 15th century religious and spiritual world, nor do I desire to repeat what was presented in the previous chapter on Modern Devotion, it is essential to locate the work in the broader ecclesial and spiritual context of the century, as well as point to spiritual practices or structures of the *devotio moderna* that allow us to comprehend the book's genre. Regarding the text's position in the Modern Devotion tradition, sharp lines between the Windesheim Canons and the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life need not be drawn. Following Post who argues that it is a fallacy to conclude that there is a separation between the two groups⁴⁹, I will situate Kempis squarely within the *devotio moderna* in my analysis of the book's genre and in my subsequent analysis of its spirituality. First, to illuminate the book's genre, two aspects of 15th century spirituality with their respective parallels in Modern Devotion circles are important to mention.

One of the defining traits of the 15th century was its "insistent moral didacticism"⁵⁰. This observation helps situate the genre of the work given that chapter after chapter offers advice and counsel as to how to live a Christian life. Though warm in tone, it never ceases to

⁴⁴ For a brief analysis on the difference in the dialogue of the two books, see Debongnie, "Les Thèmes", 318, 332.

⁴⁵ For a brief biography and overview of this theologian and bishop's works, see, Robert Lachenschmid, "Sailer, Johann Michael", in *DHCJ* 4:3462-3463.

⁴⁶ Cited in Spaapen, "Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – doctrine spirituelle", in *DSp* 7/2^a:2356; the same idea in O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 266.

⁴⁷ Here I follow Van Engen's lead as he suggests in his article on the 15th century: "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church", *Church History* 77/2 (2008): 257-284.

⁴⁸ Again, Van Engen, who suggests that "the *Imitation* itself should in any case be approached, historically speaking, by way of the New Devotion rather than the other way around". See, Van Engen in "Introduction", in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 8. In his other text, the author states that "the booklets that came to comprise the *Imitation* breathed the spiritual energies and insights he first acquired during his years in devout gatherings". Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 157.

⁴⁹ Post, *Modern Devotion*, 523.

⁵⁰ Van Engen, "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church", 280.

be didactic. Line after line takes the form of counsel, admonition, advice, and encouragement. If moral exhortation permeates the religious atmosphere of the time, Kempis' four books demonstrate a profound example of this tendency. His is a book that is constantly goading the reader to make strides in his or her Christian life. He advocates a practical ascetism, and his language, almost devoid of metaphors to illustrate the spiritual life, is very much in accord with this concrete and pragmatic emphasis.

Within the Modern Devotion tradition, this trait of exhorting others to live a more Christian life assumed a particular form. The Brothers of the Common Life held or delivered what were called "collations"⁵¹. These were communal gatherings with lay people and schoolboys in which various Christian and Biblical topics were discussed⁵². Closer to spiritual conversation than sermons, collations were the venue in which "homespun advice [was offered] to guide people toward a distinct lifestyle"⁵³. Kempis himself describes them in his *Customary for the Brothers*: "Mutual collations, whereby we discuss something from Scripture in a charitable exchange, not only instructs us in knowledge but also kindles our fervor, and thus specifically nurtures brotherly love"⁵⁴. Similarly, there is a passage in the *Imitation* in which the author refers to collations: "devout conversation [*collatio*] greatly helps our progress, particularly where people of like mind and spirit are bound to each other in God"⁵⁵. The chapters of Kempis' *Imitation* echo this Modern Devotion practice; they place the reader in the presence of the narrator who communicates his spiritual experience in an exhortatory, personal, and intimate manner. Furthermore, linking the book to the practice of collation allows us to see the aim or goal of the book: to kindle in the reader fervor and love.

The second aspect of 15th century religious and spiritual life that helps illuminate the genre of the *Imitation* was the era's "strong and distinctive meditative tone"⁵⁶. This was one of the central features of the Modern Devotion movement, that is, a certain meditative attitude in and towards everything. And this meditative approach involved a certain style. According to Van Engen, "in the fifteenth century a literature of *consolatio* in all its

⁵¹ The reference to the *Conferences* or *Collationes* of John Cassian is unmistakable. Groote placed, just after the Gospels, Cassian's *Collations* as "sacred books to study". See, Grote, "Resolutions and Intentions", in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 70. Also, in his analysis of Radewijns, Gründler suggests that there is a notable influence of Cassian in his works. See, Gründler, "Devotio Moderna", 181.

⁵² Van Engen, "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church", 276. The author also reports that these "collations" were a central practice of the houses of the Common Life: "so central was this activity that references to it permeate the lives of the Brothers". See, Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 285.

⁵³ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 288.

⁵⁴ Cited in Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 160.

⁵⁵ *Imitation*, I.10.

⁵⁶ Van Engen, "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church", 281.

manifestations and dimensions flourished as never before”⁵⁷. Kempis’ book clearly reflects these trends. His tone is reflective, ponderous, and, at times brooding⁵⁸. Similarly, by titling one of his treatises “on spiritual consolation”, it is possible to see one more point of convergence between the *Imitation* and the wider spiritual-religious trends of the era.

Within the Modern Devotion tradition, this meditative tone depended upon a very concrete practice: spiritual writing. As observed above, the earliest communities of the Sisters and the Brothers of the Common Life created a literary genre to channel and focus their meditation. This genre was called “rapiarium”⁵⁹. These were the spiritual notebooks in which the brothers or sisters transcribed a passage from scripture, another spiritual text, or from a work that they were copying. These “personal scrapbooks”⁶⁰ were highly individual, allowing for the personal assimilation, even memorization of passages⁶¹. Thus, within a highly regimented communal life, spiritual writing gave each brother and sister a more intimate or private venue to experience interiorly what he or she was reading or copying.

Kempis’ *Imitation* emerges from this tradition of “rapiarium”⁶² and appears to disclose the redactional method of these notebooks⁶³. As Post observes, the treatises could very well be “the result from his own meditation on and with the many texts which Thomas collected in his rapiarium”⁶⁴. Though in a very embryonic stage these pamphlets could have been his own “rapiaria”, the final text is much more than a personal log book of spiritual points. It is more akin to a “rapiarium” made public, that is, personal spiritual points redacted for a wider public. To put this another way: the author takes the genre from a mere collection of scriptural or spiritual passages and crafts a supple narrative, enfolding the vast majority of the over one thousand scriptural references in the book in his own language⁶⁵. In this way, Kempis could be considered a profoundly creative writer, working from a specific genre, but

⁵⁷ Van Engen, “Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church”, 282.

⁵⁸ I agree with the observation of Spaapen that the text is “parfois même pesant”. See, Spaapen, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – doctrine spirituelle”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2359.

⁵⁹ See Mertens, “Rapiarium”, in *DSp* 13:114-119. Mertens, though conscious of the difficulty that such personal texts represent for historical research, suggests that the genre of the “rapiarium” was in fact created by the Modern Devotion tradition.

⁶⁰ Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 278.

⁶¹ Mertens, “Rapiarium”, in *DSp* 13:116.

⁶² Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the “Imitatio Christi”*, 32-33. In his overview of all of Kempis’ works, Van Dijk postulates that the foundation of many of his works can be found in the “rapiaria” tradition. See Van Dijk, “Thomas Hemerken a Kempis”, in *DSp* 15:821.

⁶³ See Spaapen, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – doctrine spirituelle”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2358.

⁶⁴ Post, *Modern Devotion*, 528.

⁶⁵ See Spaapen, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – doctrine spirituelle”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2359. Spaapen also provides a short list of some of the most cited Biblical texts, but also remarks that as yet there does not exist an investigation into how the author uses scriptural passages. For a table that shows the number of scriptural citations and allusions by book, see Debongnie, Huijben, *L’auteur ou les auteurs de “L’Imitation”*, 16.

molding and shaping that genre into a fluid narrative exposition of Biblical and spiritual themes.

The consideration of the *Imitation* as forming part of the genre of the “rapiaria” not only accounts for the book’s structure, but it also provides insight as to how the work may have been read by its earliest readers. For the Brothers and the Sisters of the Common Life, the “rapiarium” had a very specific purpose: to support and foster the spiritual life of the person. It allowed for the personal assimilation and consideration of spiritual texts. This much seems evident. But a closer examination of the place of the “rapiarium” in the spiritual program of the Modern Devout suggests that these personal notebooks occupied an intermediary place between *lectio* and *meditatio*⁶⁶. In other words, one copied down brief points, isolating them from their context, that would later serve as subject matter for prayer or for personal rumination during other activities⁶⁷. In this way, the spiritual notebook functioned as a link or a bridge between meditative reading of a spiritual text and personal prayer. The “rapiarium” ultimately facilitated the movement into one’s own interior and personal contact with the Lord.

This is how Kempis’s book operates. It is a text that acts as a bridge into personal prayer: “it’s aim was to intensify spirituality, not to catechize”⁶⁸. He provides the points for the reader’s rumination, and then by the simplicity of the presentation and by his explicit summons throughout the text, Kempis invites his lector to enter into his or her own heart. In this way, form and content collaborate harmoniously to achieve the desired end: to know, firsthand and personally, the inner beauty of living in harmony with God’s will and imitating His son⁶⁹.

2. Interiority, progress and devotion: the major themes of the work

The origin and the structure of Kempis’s text, as a collection of four spiritual treatises that circulated independently which do not respond to an overall plan of the author, would suggest that the that the most adequate hermeneutic for an analysis of the major themes of the

⁶⁶ Mertens, “Rapiarium”, in *DSp* 13:117.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the “Imitatio Christi”*, 17; Post puts it this way: “The aim of the *Imitation* was the fostering of virtue, the intensification of spirituality... it assumes that the reader or hearer was already acquainted with dogma”. Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 28.

⁶⁹ *Imitation*, III.20.

work ought to proceed book by book⁷⁰. Such a method corresponds to its genre as that of individual pamphlets or treatises. However, it is important to recall that the object of this study is not only an analysis of the *Imitation* in and of itself, but also a study of the text as it arrived to Ignatius of Loyola. Given that he read it as a unit and not as individual pamphlets⁷¹, I will treat the *Imitation* as if it were one book with four sections.

Conscious of the difficulties of discovering and uniting major themes across disparate spiritual treatises⁷², this exposition, modest in scope, will proceed in three parts. First, I will present the crucially important theme of interiority. The author elucidates this topic by way of the themes of the heart, peace, humility and the examination of one's life. Next, there is Kempis's call to grow in the spiritual life. His is a pragmatic spirituality, and as such he insists upon the importance of making progress in one's following of Jesus. Finally, I will examine his very nuanced treatment of devotion. Very much connected to the themes of interiority and growth, devotion is presented as a kind of spiritual itinerary of giving glory to God. With these three topics – interiority, growth in virtue, and devotion – the very leitmotifs of the Modern Devotion tradition emerge.

⁷⁰ A book-by-book analysis can be found in Spaapen, "Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – doctrine spirituelle", in *DSp* 7/2^a:2360-2367; see also Debongnie, "Les Thèmes", 307-338; also helpful is Rogelio García Mateo, "Imitación de Cristo", in *DEI* 2:994-1001, especially 995-997.

⁷¹ There is little scholarship that has sought to identify the actual edition of Kempis' *Imitation* that Ignatius would have read. According to Calveras and Dalmases, it is not of great importance. See, *Exercitia Spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola*, ed. José Calveras, Cándido de Dalmases, vol. 100 MHSI (Rome, 1969). 47. Santiago Arzubialde, for his part, basing his conclusion on a comparison of the language of the *Imitation* with that of the *Exercises*, offers his opinion that Ignatius would have had in his hands a copy from a 1516 printing in Burgos. See Arzubialde, "La limosna, reforma de la propia vida y estado", *Manresa* 58 (1986): 3-40, 10, note 5. Enrique García Hernán seconds this hypothesis in "...exhortando a las confesiones y comuniones" [*FN* I, 126]. *Confesores de Ignacio de Loyola*", in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 437-467, 444; (article hereafter cited as "Confesores de Ignacio de Loyola"). Another possibility, given his documented encounter with it in Manresa and that by 1522 there had already been three editions of it in Catalan (1482, 1491, 1518), he could have read it in that language. See, for editions published in Catalan, Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero Hispanoamericano*, 4:153-154.

⁷² Though he does carry out an analysis, Debongnie calls the attempt to summarize the *Imitation* a "entreprise désespérée". He also criticizes previous attempts where, in his view, each interpreter tends to "retrouver dans le petit livre le système ascétique de leur choix". Conscious of the difficulties of pointing out the key themes in such a text, this exposition seeks to highlight those themes central to the Modern Devotion tradition. See Debongnie, "Les Thèmes", 289. The more expansive study and one that will refer to on occasion is that of P.E. Puyol, *La doctrine du livre de Imitatione christi* (Paris: Victor Retaux, 1898).

2.1. A turn inward: the theme that reunites many themes

Discipleship and imitation of Christ⁷³ begin with an encounter in one's heart⁷⁴. Thus, as it was for Zerbolt, so it is for Kempis: the first part of following Christ is a return to one's heart: "Christ will come to you and comfort you if you prepare a place for him in your heart"⁷⁵. Consequently, Kempis motivates, even admonishes the reader to turn inward⁷⁶. At times, this encouragement to attend to one's heart and to find Christ there is expressed with great depth and intimacy. One such example is when Jesus say to the disciple: "I would willingly speak to you and reveal my most inner thoughts if you would carefully await my coming and open the door of your heart to me"⁷⁷. The Jesus that Kempis depicts is one who is not indifferent to the movement of the person's heart: "Your tears and your soul's longing, your humility and your grief-stricken heart have moved me and brought me to you"⁷⁸. However, at other times, the author's tone changes as he admonishes the reader to shut out the world and all that can distract from such an experience of the Lord: "Go into your room and shut out the noise of the world"⁷⁹. Intermittently, Kempis's emphasis on turning inward is cast as a retreat from and an avoidance of others. This language can give some of the chapters a kind of misanthropic hue. The oft-cited example of this is when the author quotes Seneca, writing that "as often as I went out among men, I returned less of a man"⁸⁰. This reclusive and pessimistic tone has prompted commentators to suggest that there is in Kempis "a radical lack of confidence in the human person"⁸¹. Indeed, one of the interpretive traditions of the work situates it in the *contemptus mundi* tradition, so prevalent in late

⁷³ Throughout the four books, Kempis uses the name "Jesus" 87 times, "Jesus Christ" 13, and "Christ" 87. I will adhere to his style, at times naming the Son of God as Christ, at others Jesus in accord with the passages cited. See the comparative table of these uses across the four books in Debongnie, "Les Thèmes", 313.

⁷⁴ The critical edition of the text reports 172 uses of the word "heart". See, *Concordance to the Latin Original of the Four Books Known as the "Imitation of Christ"*, ed. Raynor Storr (London: OUP, 1910), 92-96; (hereafter book cited as *Concordance*). For an interpretation of "heart", I follow Debongnie who suggests that "cor qui désigne simplement l'intérieur, l'âme attentive à sa vie spirituelle". See Debongnie, "Les Thèmes", 305.

⁷⁵ *Imitation*, II.1.

⁷⁶ According to O'Malley, "of greatest importance to the Jesuits must have been the *Imitations's* most general message: the call to inwardness, to reflection and self-awareness, to personal appropriation of religious truth in holiness of life". See, O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 266.

⁷⁷ *Imitation*, III.24.

⁷⁸ *Imitation*, III.21.

⁷⁹ *Imitation*, I.20.

⁸⁰ *Imitation*, I.20.

⁸¹ Faustino Boado, "¿Por qué ha perdido actualidad el 'Kempis'?", *Razón y Fe* 185 (1972): 361-375, 373.

medieval monastic spirituality⁸². However, contempt or fleeing the world is not the dominant leitmotif of the work; interiority, and not avoidance of the world, dominates the author's spiritual horizon. For Kempis, interiority occasions intimacy with Jesus, an entirely life-giving experience that brings joy⁸³: "when you enter my heart, everything rejoices in me"⁸⁴.

The personal encounter with Christ in one's heart creates the conditions for a true understanding of one's self and the world. To see the world and one's life truly is to see it as God sees it, and this can only happen by the cultivation of a deep interior life. As an example, the author writes: "If your heart were right, then everything in God's creation would be a mirror of life and a book of holy teachings"⁸⁵. Seeing the world as filled with God's presence is the fruit of a rich interior life. And as a counter to those that would see the spirituality of Kempis as misanthropic, in the very first chapter of the text he encourages the reader "to love the world, not for its own sake, but for God's"⁸⁶. Loving engagement with the world is hardly foreign to his spirituality⁸⁷. In fact, love is at the heart of this work, but the disciple has to learn how to love, and this can only occur by way of intimacy with the One who truly loves.

a. Peace and humility

Within this broad, constant and global emphasis on interiority, Kempis situates other aspects of the spiritual life. As an example, he discourses on the experience of true peace⁸⁸, reminding the reader that the only way to experience true inner harmony is to place God first in one's life⁸⁹. With the following words spoken by the disciple, "You [Lord] are the heart's true peace; you are its only rest"⁹⁰, the spiritual writer recalls that peace comes about as a result of communion with the Lord. Moreover, this reflection on true peace is practical. Serenity and tranquility are obtained by avoiding idle chatter, gossip, and unnecessary

⁸² For an analysis of this tradition and why Kempis' *Imitation* does not exclusively belong to it, see Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the "Imitatio Christi"*, 40-43. For a more detailed analysis of this tradition, and texts that participated in it, see, Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 198ff.

⁸³ I follow Van Engen's idea that the spirituality of the Modern Devotion was "entirely positive". See Van Engen, "Introduction", in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 25.

⁸⁴ *Imitation*, III.5.

⁸⁵ *Imitation*, II.4.

⁸⁶ *Imitation*, I.1.

⁸⁷ Here I follow Von Habsburg who offers that the *Imitation* "had from the outset presented a spirituality that engaged with the world without recognizing its values". See, Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the "Imitatio Christi"*, 160.

⁸⁸ In its noun form, "peace" is used a total of 90 times throughout the four books. See, Storr, ed., *Concordance*, 372-374.

⁸⁹ See, for example, *Imitation*, III.42, III.53,

⁹⁰ *Imitation*, III.15.

meddling in the affairs of others. Furthermore, peace is more than internal harmony or a benign feeling of contentment. He reminds the reader: “do not believe that you have found real peace if you feel no burden nor that all is well if you suffer no opposition”⁹¹. Real peace is not the absence of opposition or difficulty; it is identification and communion with the crucified Lord. For Kempis, the passion of the Lord is the central, governing image of Jesus that undergirds and permeates his entire reflection. As such, he declares: “Everything is founded on the cross, and everything consists in dying on it, and there is no other road to life and to *true inner peace* than the road of the holy cross and of our daily dying to ourselves”⁹². In this way, the turn inward is ultimately a path to communion with the Lord in his cross. This is the path to true peace.

Along with this reflection on peace, the author discusses extensively the virtue of humility⁹³. Over the course of the four books, various ideas emerge as to what constitutes this virtue. The most consistent formulation is expressed in the first chapters of Book I: humility is the grace to see ourselves as God sees us⁹⁴. And this discovery of who we are comes from God and is the path to God: “a humble understanding of yourself is a surer way to God”⁹⁵. At the same time, self-knowledge is, according to the author, not easily achieved. Very often, as the author plainly states, “our opinions and our understanding often lead us astray and offer very little insight... having eyes, we do not see”⁹⁶. But Kempis’s exposition on humility challenges the reader to accept the truth of who he or she is. And on this particular topic, his language is direct, sincere, and challenging. For example, he reminds us that “our private prejudices overshadow our sound thinking”, or that “many people have their own private motives for what they do, and they are not even aware of them”⁹⁷. In short, it is hard to see ourselves as we really are since “no one is easily led beyond his own point of view”⁹⁸. With observations such as these and in language that eschews the abstract, the text provides a path towards humility that is grounded in true self-knowledge. At times, however, Kempis’s unflinching commentaries can be difficult to absorb. For example, he confronts his

⁹¹ *Imitation*, III.25; similar idea expressed in II.3: “Yet all the peace we have in this life must be rooted more in humble perseverance than in a lack of difficulties”.

⁹² *Imitation*, II.12, emphasis mine.

⁹³ In texts from the Common Houses, “nothing received more emphasis than humility”. Van Engen, “Introduction”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 33. Debongnie, in a comparative table of spiritual themes, indicates the number of times humility appears as a theme in each of the four books. His conclusion is straightforward: “L’humilité s’est fortement développée”. Debongnie, “Les Thèmes”, 319-320, as well as the comparative table of “les idées maitresses des quatre livres” on 343.

⁹⁴ *Imitation*, I.1,2.

⁹⁵ *Imitation*, I.3.

⁹⁶ *Imitation*, I.3.

⁹⁷ *Imitation*, I.14.

⁹⁸ *Imitation*, I.2.

reader with the fact that “we have little enthusiasm for daily progress”⁹⁹. But more often than not, his realism demonstrates a deep comprehension of the human experience. For instance, in the fourth book, he has the disciple declare: “I hardly know how to spend a half hour in devout prayer”, and in another passage, in a reference to the slightest of temptations, the disciple admits: “I am toppled by a gentle breeze”¹⁰⁰. The function of this realism is to help the reader comprehend his or her life with humility. Yet, the writer never forgets to mention a greater truth that envelopes the Christian’s life: God is never far from His disciple. For this reason, in the dialogue of Book III, the Lord reminds the disciple: “When you think yourself far from me, I am often closest to you”¹⁰¹.

b. The spiritual life: hardships, temptation, and nature vs. grace

Connected to his exposition on humility as knowing one’s self is a pedagogy regarding hardship and temptation. In accord with his very grounded and practical spirituality, difficulties, obstacles, and hardships constitute the Christian life. For the author, “troubles and hardship call us back to ourselves”¹⁰². Not only do they remind us who we are, often weak and vacillating disciples, but they form a part of what it means to live in the world as a disciple. The spiritual life in the book is a life that is lived in the midst of trials and difficulties. It is a life of work and struggle; Jesus did not send out his disciples to be idle, but rather to work, and “to bear much fruit through hardship”¹⁰³.

Temptations function in much the same way. They indicate that “our minds are not yet firmly fixed on the Lord”, but still attached to things of this world¹⁰⁴. Additionally, they present opportunities to persevere in faithfulness and love of the Lord. In trying to overcome them, “a person proves how much progress he has made in the spiritual life”¹⁰⁵. In this way, temptations are revelatory, even positive signs for the disciple as they signal movement and growth in the spiritual life. In another part of his text, Kempis identifies two sources for them. They come from within: “we carry temptation’s source within us”¹⁰⁶. They are a kind of raging desire within ourselves, “a pleasure which clashes with our desire for God”¹⁰⁷. The

⁹⁹ *Imitation*, I.11.

¹⁰⁰ *Imitation*, III.20.

¹⁰¹ *Imitation*, III.30.

¹⁰² *Imitation*, I.12.

¹⁰³ *Imitation*, III.30.

¹⁰⁴ *Imitation*, I.13.

¹⁰⁵ *Imitation*, I.13.

¹⁰⁶ *Imitation*, I.13.

¹⁰⁷ *Imitation*, I.13.

other source derives from the “old enemy” or the devil who “never sleeps”¹⁰⁸. The author reminds the reader that “the old enemy, who is against all that is good, never stops tempting... day and night, he lies in wait”¹⁰⁹. Though the Christian would like to escape temptations, Kempis invites the reader to serenely accept their presence in the spiritual life, recognizing that the evil one tempts us “in a variety of ways”¹¹⁰. One more patent way in which the evil one tempts the Christian, and one that the author seems to be particularly preoccupied by, is the temptation to not receive Holy Communion. Concerned about this, Kempis alerts the reader to distrust a scrupulousness induced by the old enemy: “You should not fail to go to Holy Communion because of his taunts or because of any fuss he causes”¹¹¹. For the writer, the reception of the Eucharist is of paramount importance, and a person, in his view, should receive it “at every opportunity”¹¹².

The above observations on the place of hardships and temptation in the life of the believer demonstrate the pragmatic and concrete nature of Kempis’s spirituality. He never lets the reader imagine any other scenario than one of facing obstacles, whether internal or external. At times, his accent on such obstacles does become onerous; to read once that we are “hollow and worthless, fickle and weak [persons]” can be helpful to gain a more sober view of one’s life. However, the author relentlessly call’s the reader’s attention to this fact. This aspect of his work forms a part of the anthropological theology that undergirds his thinking. For the writer, grace and nature are two distinct and diametrically opposed realities. In a chapter which he begins by alerting the reader to “pay attention to the particular movements of grace and nature”, he develops an entire exposition of these two contrasting realities. Though the descriptions are rich, his thinking borders on the simplistic. For instance, he writes: “nature is greedy and likes to take rather than to give”, whereas grace is “kind and sharing, shuns selfishness, is content with little”¹¹³. Likewise, he suggests that “nature seeks to have curious and beautiful things... but grace delights in simple and humble things”¹¹⁴. Given that nature and grace are two antagonistic forces, nature has to be curbed and grace “poured in”. The descriptions are appealing for their clarity, but ultimately end up offering a facile view of the spiritual life. The pessimistic hue that at times colors his

¹⁰⁸ *Imitation*, II.9.

¹⁰⁹ *Imitation*, III.39.

¹¹⁰ *Imitation*, IV.18.

¹¹¹ *Imitation*, IV.10.

¹¹² *Imitation*, IV.10.

¹¹³ *Imitation*, III.54. According to François Vandenbroucke, this is basic premise of his thinking on discernment. See, Vandenbroucke, “Discernement des Esprits – au moyen âge”, in *DSp* 3:1254-1266, 1262.

¹¹⁴ *Imitation*, III.54.

thinking derives from this binary theological position.

c. Examination, discernment, and the spiritual person

Though at times Kempis's accent on human frailty and on life as a series of obstacles can strain his text, it is more often the case that his intuitions and perspicacity on Christian living help the reader to be more attentive to his or her life. Though he may be harsh, he is not naïve, and he does not allow the reader to have an ingenuous perception on Christian discipleship. Another way of stating this is that Kempis challenges the reader to become more critical of his or her life. In line with this, he proposes a spirituality of constantly examining one's life: "we must examine our outward and inward affairs and set them both in order"¹¹⁵. In another passage, he insists that we should always keep watch over ourselves¹¹⁶. An examination of one's conscience is to learn how to disentangle one's self from feelings, as well as to discover that "not everything high is holy; nor everything sweet, good; nor every desire, pure; nor every affection, pleasing to God"¹¹⁷. This is the remarkable and nuanced aspect of his reflection on the practice of examination. It is living a life of discernment, recognizing with great spiritual acumen that "not every desire is from the Holy Spirit, even though it may seem right and good to a person at the time"¹¹⁸. In essence, Kempis is convinced that deception forms part of the spiritual life: "many people are tricked by what seems to be good"¹¹⁹. In this way, the examination of one's life, desires, and actions constitutes an essential spiritual practice. Given his pragmatism, he proposes the following: "in the morning make your plans; in the evening go over your conduct, reviewing how you behaved this day in word, deed, and thought"¹²⁰. Curiously though, the author does not outline in more detail how one might actually go about such an examination of one's day. In my study of the text, I have identified only one chapter in which the broad sketches of an examination can be glimpsed. In that passage, he catalogues a host of failings and shortcomings, and then pivots to a second aspect of what might constitute the spiritual practice: "after you have confessed these failings... firmly resolve to change your life and to do better"¹²¹.

¹¹⁵ *Imitation*, I.19.

¹¹⁶ *Imitation*, II.3.

¹¹⁷ *Imitation*, II.10.

¹¹⁸ *Imitation*, III.15.

¹¹⁹ *Imitation*, III.54.

¹²⁰ *Imitation*, I.19.

¹²¹ *Imitation*, IV.7.

His spirituality of the examination of conscience includes the reception of the Eucharist. Though the Eucharist occasions many graces, most obviously that of “a sharing in the intimate fellowship with Jesus”¹²², Kempis suggests that it contributes to a more attentive and critical appraisal of one’s life. He writes that the reception of Holy Communion will help the person to be more “watchful against all the temptations and deceits of the devil”¹²³. In this way, the turn inward, one of the constitutive and fundamental aspects of his spirituality, has to evolve, according to the author, in an *examined* interiority¹²⁴. It is not enough to hide or seek refuge in the recesses of one’s heart. Kempis asks more; the reader is encouraged to identify movements in his or her interiority and to question what seems good and holy. But this is not all. According to the spiritual writer, one of the fruits of such a spiritual practice is that “[the one] who honestly examines his own behavior would never judge other people harshly”¹²⁵. The examination of one’s life ought to lead to a kinder, gentler judgement of others. In essence, it produces love towards another.

Though Kempis never summarizes his thinking, giving us, as it were, a core expression of his spirituality, he does on occasion indicate how he understands a truly spiritual person. These are privileged textual moments that allow us to glimpse the more central elements of his spiritual vision. The following observation is one such example:

The person who knows how to walk by an inner light is not overly influenced by his surroundings, and he needs neither special places nor special times of prayer. A person who can quickly focus inwardly is at one with himself, because he never completely loses himself in his outside affairs. He is not distracted by such things, nor does occasional necessary business sidetrack him, but he adjusts himself to such things as they come¹²⁶.

This is a remarkable passage: the truly spiritual person is one that can live a deep inner life in the midst of others. Such a person is hardly one who shuts out others, avoiding the company of other men and women, but rather one whose inner life is so developed that outside affairs do not distract him or her from communion with the Lord. He or she is interiorly free, capable of responding to demands of life with agility and simplicity. This appears to constitute what we might call a Kempean turn inward.

¹²² *Imitation*, IV.10.

¹²³ *Imitation*, IV.10.

¹²⁴ Writing on the practice of self-examination, Van Engen suggests that the practice “served as a kind of basso continuo that underlay and sustained nearly all other spiritual and communal exercises among the Modern Day Devout”. See, Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 296.

¹²⁵ *Imitation*, II.5.

¹²⁶ *Imitation*, II.1.

2.2. Spiritual growth and progress

As important and ubiquitous as the topic of interiority is in the *Imitation*, it is exceeded in importance by the author's insistence on making progress in the spiritual life¹²⁷. One of the more famous lines that expresses this topic is his appeal to "uproot every year a single fault"¹²⁸. There is no question that this phrase captures well his spirituality, recalling his eminent pragmatism. Moreover, he encourages the reader to have a plan, a life-project so to speak, and to follow that plan to grow in virtue. According to the author, the Christian is one who has a daily occupation: "to strive to master ourselves and daily to grow stronger and to advance from good to better"¹²⁹. Though one can detect in his thinking the emergence of a more modern subjectivity which involved the refashioning of the self, Kempis never imagines this growth outside of a relationship with Christ. Growth is a grace; it is the fruit of a relationship with the Lord. This is cogently articulated in the words that the author has Jesus declare to the disciple: "I have come to make you a better person"¹³⁰. Progress in Christian life is nothing short of a response to the call of Christ.

As one could expect from the style and the compositional nature of the book, this topic receives a variety of descriptions. Though lacking systematization, it is possible to reunite aspects of his thinking on this issue in two categories. First, progress is conceived relationally; second, it leads to indifference or spiritual freedom.

a. A movement into deeper relation with God that comes from God

Given the pragmatic and concrete tenor of the *Imitation*, one might be tempted to consider the call to progress in the Christian life as the result of one's own personal effort. Though effort and work are requisite, Kempis's spirituality is not a harbinger of renaissance humanism. The governing narrative in his mind is not the emergence of a new, refashioned humanistic self, but the story of salvation. Jesus, the one who became "the most humble and abject of all"¹³¹ in order to save the human person, forms the center of Kempis's reflection on

¹²⁷ In his review of the literature more directly associated with the houses of the Common Life, Van Engen reports that "few phrases appear so often in their lives and spiritual treatises as progress in virtues". I believe the same affirmation is apropos to the *Imitation*. See, Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 267.

¹²⁸ *Imitation*, I.11.

¹²⁹ *Imitation*, I.3.

¹³⁰ *Imitation*, IV.12.

¹³¹ *Imitation*, III.13.

growth in the spiritual life. Thus, even before the disciple says “yes” to the Lord, it is Jesus who says “yes”¹³²; he is the one who “has stooped to serve us”¹³³.

The primacy of God’s action on behalf of the believer is made explicit in his reflection on the Eucharist and on God’s word. The sacrament symbolizes the divine initiative and desire for communion with the human person. In his book on the reception of the Eucharist, the author reminds the reader that it is Jesus who calls the person to receive Him in the bread and wine: “It is only out of my goodness and grace that you are allowed to approach my table... It is I who have called you”¹³⁴. The disciple learns that Jesus becomes present in the Eucharist because it is His desire: “you do this because you want to”¹³⁵, and in another chapter of the same book, the disciple grasps God’s pedagogy in the Eucharist: “You want me to receive you, you want me to be one with you in love”¹³⁶. The Eucharist is the outstanding symbol of God’s desire for intimacy and communion, and it gives the disciple the strength to live his or her life of discipleship. Though Kempis does not advocate explicitly for frequent reception of it, that conclusion is hard not to deduce from his considerations¹³⁷.

Similarly, special attention is given in these treatises to the place of God’s word as that which produces growth in the believer’s life. The author, a person so accustomed to texts and words, clearly understands the power of God’s word¹³⁸. As a kind of general principle, he offers that “God’s word speaks to us in many ways”¹³⁹. Moreover, the effect of hearing God’s word is real: “when the word speaks to us, we are set free”¹⁴⁰. And it need not be a flood of words: “but if he speaks only one word, consolation is great”¹⁴¹. Similarly, God’s word is clearly efficacious: “The person I speak to will quickly become wise and will progress far in the spiritual life”¹⁴². In addition, prayer for the monk from the Windesheim congregation is a sharing of one’s personal words with the Lord. In essence, prayer is a conversation, a talking with the Lord¹⁴³, but it is something that one learns how to do: “to

¹³² *Imitation*, III.9.

¹³³ *Imitation*, III.10.

¹³⁴ *Imitation*, IV.12.

¹³⁵ *Imitation*, IV.2.

¹³⁶ *Imitation*, IV.4.

¹³⁷ Such is the conclusion of Duhr, “Communion fréquente”, in *DSp* 2:1267.

¹³⁸ As Von Habsburg argues, “the modern devout had always retained a keen sense of the power of the written word, exemplified by their prolific manuscript copying”. See Von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the “Imitatio Christi”*, 243.

¹³⁹ *Imitation*, I.5.

¹⁴⁰ *Imitation*, I.3.

¹⁴¹ *Imitation*, II.8.

¹⁴² *Imitation*, III.43.

¹⁴³ *Imitation*, III.11,108.

know how to talk with Jesus is a great art”¹⁴⁴.

As a result, growth in the spiritual life, correctly understood in the *Imitation*, proceeds from the salvific action of God in the person; it is a grace given: “you receive it [heaven’s grace and God’s comfort] so that you may grow in virtue and humility”¹⁴⁵. Though understood as a grace from God, Kempis’s preferred way to talk about growth in the Christian life is by way of the virtues. And first among these is love. Kempis consistently reminds the reader that love of God and others is what defines the Christian life: “The person who is truly great has great love”¹⁴⁶. Love is a central theme of his, and it informs his thinking on Christian practices. For instance, he glosses abnegation as that by which one “redirect[s] love from yourself to others”¹⁴⁷. The strength, however, of his reflection on love is his capacity to descend to the concrete, even quotidian details of life to point out how one might go about living a life of love. For instance, with a person that is experiencing difficulties and temptation, he counsels: “never deal harshly with others who are tempted”¹⁴⁸. Kindness and patience are the way to deal with those that suffer. Attuned to the difficulties of community life, love is often represented as a respectful non-judgmental attitude towards others. As such, the author encourages the reader to “not entangle yourself in things that do not concern you”¹⁴⁹, and to learn “to keep silent about others and not to believe the gossip or spread it around”¹⁵⁰. And in times of trial or severe difficulty, the spiritual writer suggests: “hold your tongue. Let no rash word slip from your mouth that may shock or disillusion those little ones who are new to the spiritual life”¹⁵¹. His advice is sound, practical, and convincing. He descends to the concrete and quotidian situations of life to show that it is there that virtue, especially love, has to take root.

Though not recognized for proposing a spirituality of service, a more complete picture of his insistence on growing in the spiritual life allows us to see the importance of this aspect of Christian living. For example, he offers the following criterion: “yet to serve the needy a good work may be put aside or exchanged for a better one”¹⁵². Though it is not clear what he means by putting aside a good work, the primacy of responding to another in need is

¹⁴⁴ *Imitation*, II.8.

¹⁴⁵ *Imitation*, III.49.

¹⁴⁶ *Imitation*, I.3.

¹⁴⁷ *Imitation*, III.39; according to the analysis of Debongnie, “il [l’amour] est la raison et le but des exigences de l’abnégation intérieure”. Debongnie, “Les Thèmes”, 322.

¹⁴⁸ *Imitation*, I.13.

¹⁴⁹ *Imitation*, III.25,

¹⁵⁰ *Imitation*, III.45.

¹⁵¹ *Imitation*, III.57.

¹⁵² *Imitation*, I.15.

unambiguous. And in other passages, the call to serve others is unmistakable: “serve others with works of love”¹⁵³; likewise, he reminds the reader that he or she “has come to serve and not to rule”¹⁵⁴. At other times, his challenge is more blunt: “stop being enamored of yourself”¹⁵⁵ and place yourself at the service of all¹⁵⁶. His logic is simple: you must give all to receive all. Likewise, in times of difficulty and distress, the surest way to extricate one’s self from feelings of desolation is to “take refuge in humble tasks” and “to refresh yourself in good works”¹⁵⁷. Even the celebration of the Eucharist is an occasion to be helpful. In a passage directed to priests, the author implores ordained ministers to “seek to be helpful to others rather than to indulge [their] own devotion”¹⁵⁸. But perhaps the most important expression of service is the one which he frames as the natural consequence of imitating Christ: “those who follow you truly love the world and others through you...and whatever good they find in God’s creation, they refer it all back to you”¹⁵⁹.

This observation, that those who love Jesus will truly love the world and others, brings us to the central element of these four books: the imitation of Christ. Kempis’s call to grow is fundamentally Christological. It is to be constantly seeking Jesus in prayer, in silence, and in the inner recesses of one’s heart. To find Him and hear His voice in one’s heart is to imitate the Lord and to grow in love, humility, and service to others. To imitate Christ is to model one’s life after his and accept suffering as he did¹⁶⁰. Though short on references to Jesus’ earthly ministry, he is never reticent on the passion. He tirelessly directs the reader’s eyes to the crucified Jesus, because looking at him on the cross will provide sure aid to continue on the Christian journey: “a religious person who trains himself intently and devoutly in the holy life and Passion of the Lord will find everything he needs, and he will find it in abundance”¹⁶¹. The passion of the Lord is the point of departure and, paradoxically, the point of arrival for the faith, since for him “everything is founded on the cross”¹⁶². Thus, to imitate Christ is to contemplate the cross and to live like He did in his patient, loving acceptance of the Father’s will. In one of the more tender expressions of dialogue in book

¹⁵³ *Imitation*, I.15.

¹⁵⁴ *Imitation*, I.17.

¹⁵⁵ *Imitation*, III.11.

¹⁵⁶ *Imitation*, III.13.

¹⁵⁷ *Imitation*, III.51.

¹⁵⁸ *Imitation*, IV.10.

¹⁵⁹ *Imitation*, III.34.

¹⁶⁰ “Christ is constantly held up as a model both of suffering and of human virtue”. Constable, *Three Studies*, 241.

¹⁶¹ *Imitation*, I.25.

¹⁶² *Imitation*, II.12.

III, the disciple says to the Lord: “Let your servant be trained by the example of your life”¹⁶³. This is the path that Kempis delineates for his reader to grow in his or her Christian life: the imitation of the Lord.

b. Growing in spiritual freedom and indifference

In addition to characterizing progress in the Christian life as the imitation of Christ, Kempis proposes that growth involves an experience of inner freedom or indifference. This spiritual freedom occurs on two relational levels: with others and with God. For instance, in social relations, the truly fervent person is the one that “bears all things well”¹⁶⁴. Or, in an even more plain and quotidian expression, such a person is ready for anything¹⁶⁵. Descending to even more concrete human experiences, Kempis describes the spiritual person as one “who has great peace of heart [and] pays no attention to either praise or blame”¹⁶⁶. This spiritual freedom also characterizes the disciple’s relationship with the Lord. Namely, the truly mature Christian can arrive at such an interior freedom where sadness, pain, and other disquieting spiritual experiences do not occasion fear, but rather are accepted as part of the relationship with the Lord. As an example, he writes: “nothing given by the most high God is insignificant. And if he should send you pain and sorrow, you ought to be thankful, too, for whatever he permits he does for our own good”¹⁶⁷.

As a way to help the reader make this journey towards greater freedom, Kempis draws from the tradition of pilgrimage as a metaphor for human existence¹⁶⁸. He proposes that the reader adopt the subjectivity of a pilgrim as a kind of imaginative aid to consider anew what it means to be a Christian. As is his custom, he directly addresses his reader: “if you wish to make progress, think of yourself as a stranger on earth, as a pilgrim. You should become a fool for Christ if you wish to lead a religious life”¹⁶⁹. His language could not be clearer: to grow and make progress is to adopt new categories to think of one’s life, and the

¹⁶³ *Imitation*, III.56.

¹⁶⁴ *Imitation*, I.25.

¹⁶⁵ *Imitation*, I.25.

¹⁶⁶ *Imitation*, II.6.

¹⁶⁷ *Imitation*, II.10. Phrase that evokes the Letter to the Romans: “We know that in all things God works for the good of those who love him, who have been called according to his purpose” (8:28).

¹⁶⁸ See, Solignac, “Pèlerinage”, in *DSp* 12/1^a:892.

¹⁶⁹ *Imitation*, I.17; it is relevant to point out that Peter Hans Kolvenbach identifies this very passage from Kempis as one of the sources for Ignatius’ desire to be esteemed as a fool for Christ. See, Kolvenbach, “Locos por Cristo”, in *Decir... al “Indecible”*, ed. Ignacio Iglesias (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 1999), 115-131, 122-123. For more on the tradition of “fools for Christ”, see François Vandenbroucke, “Fous pour le Christ – en occident”, in *DSp* 5:761-770.

category of pilgrimage captures the freedom, indifference, and single-minded pursuit of God so central to his spirituality. The author makes more explicit his thinking further on in the same book: “Keep yourself as a pilgrim and a stranger on earth, a person to whom the affairs of the world mean nothing apart from Christ”¹⁷⁰. Similarly, in the first chapter of his second book, he proposes this same paradigm: “The world is not your permanent home; wherever you may be you are a stranger, a pilgrim passing through”¹⁷¹. Likewise, in the book on spiritual consolation, the author returns to the image of a pilgrim, elevating the importance of the idea by placing it in the context of the first Christian community: “Peter instructed the faithful followers of Christ to keep themselves as strangers and pilgrims in this world”¹⁷².

He knows that the journey is arduous and long, and for this reason, he offers a plethora of lucid observations on the topic of human weakness. Difficulties are inherent and inescapable, and never pretending to over-idealize Christian life and progress in it, he recognizes that growth, at times, hardly occurs. What is more, he understands human resistance to it. For example, should one feel a diminution in fervor or spiritual feelings, his counsel is clear: “all is not lost if you sometimes feel less affectionate toward me and my saints than you would like”¹⁷³. As important as feelings are for the spiritual experience, he relativizes their importance: “You must not judge according to the way you feel”¹⁷⁴. Similarly, the desire for growth often betrays the Christian, and this is not a problem: “my dear friend, your desire for virtue cannot always remain at a fever pitch, nor will you always hold steady in a lofty flight”¹⁷⁵. Though the book may seem to operate at a high pitch, the author never lets the reader deceive himself or herself. Even temptations are not a problem: “if you feel yourself set upon or badly tempted, still all is not lost”¹⁷⁶. And should one give in to temptation, he reasonably suggests: “How can you always carry on in unwavering virtue when Lucifer could not while he was in heaven nor could Adam while he was in paradise?”¹⁷⁷. Though the appeal to grow is never lessoned, it is tempered by a realism whose function is, quite paradoxically, to create freedom. He helps the reader accept his or her reality in which desires fluctuate and temptations often overcome us. In short, his work not only advocates spiritual freedom and indifference, but the reading of it is a veritable

¹⁷⁰ *Imitation*, I.23.

¹⁷¹ *Imitation*, II.1.

¹⁷² *Imitation*, III.53.

¹⁷³ *Imitation*, III.6.

¹⁷⁴ *Imitation*, III.30.

¹⁷⁵ *Imitation*, III.51.

¹⁷⁶ *Imitation*, III.57.

¹⁷⁷ *Imitation*, III.57.

formation in these two qualities.

In summary, freedom and spiritual indifference express Kempis's understanding of growth in the spiritual life. The experience of them are sure indicators one's progress in the spiritual itinerary of the imitation of Christ. Yet more than simple markers, I would suggest that they represent his vision of the pinnacle of the spiritual life. In other words, the culmen of Kempis's spirituality is the spiritual freedom to accept all of life as if it were from the hand of God. Though his book does at times employ a more mystical or nuptial language regarding union with God¹⁷⁸, the depth of his spirituality is not to be found in an ecstasy of union with God¹⁷⁹. Rather, it is to be found in his constant summons to grow in internal freedom. An observation of his on "true" contemplatives is indicative: "This is why there are so few contemplative men and women today: very few people know how to let everything they do in this world flow from their love of God"¹⁸⁰. The truly mature Christian is not one who dissolves into a kind of mystical union with the Lord, but the one who is free to receive all of life from God. The ultimate point of progress in the Christian life for this author is to be able to say that "whatever He permits He does for our own good"¹⁸¹. Spiritual indifference and freedom take us to the center of Kempis's spirituality.

2.3. The grace of devotion

The previous two sections of this study are important not only in that they indicate two major themes of the *Imitation*, but they also provide the hermeneutical framework in which devotion is situated. Devotion is a grace that has everything to do with the development of a fuller, richer interiority. Also, devotional practices, mentioned throughout the four treatises, are invoked and emphasized in so far as they deepen one's interior life. Both of these aspects of devotion as an expression of the interior life will be treated with more detail in this section. Similarly, Kempis does not separate devotion from his governing insistence on growth and making progress in the spiritual life. On a very basic level, this means that devotional practices should be undertaken in so far as they contribute to progress in the virtues. The litmus test for everything in the spiritual life is growth. This too applies

¹⁷⁸ A beautiful example of this can be found in III.21.

¹⁷⁹ Attentive to the biographical resonances in the book, Debongnie suggests that Kempis was a mystic, but refrained from relating those experiences: "Moins soucieux d'introspection que de vérité utile, il ne songe pas à raconter ses ascensions mystiques". See, Debongnie, "Les Thèmes", 328.

¹⁸⁰ *Imitation*, III.31.

¹⁸¹ *Imitation*, II.10.

to the grace of devotion. In his thinking, this grace involves a spiritual itinerary in which one moves beyond the sensible manifestation of feeling God’s presence into the desire to do God’s will. The context that contains the majority of his uses of the term suggests that in the Eucharist the believer is in the privileged place to both feel God’s presence and experience the desire to do His will.

These are the broad outlines of devotion across the four books. However, a full analysis of it only emerges with greater clarity with an investigation into another spiritual movement that he describes: consolation. With the topic of consolation, another important aspect of his spiritual exposition emerges. As a kind of sub-narrative to that of imitating Christ, his book is a primer on consolation, offering a kind of pedagogy for the reader on it. Consolation’s similarity to and difference with devotion will not only point to the fundamental aspects of his spiritual theology, but it will also indicate what may have been the spiritual terrain from which Ignatius was to forge his comprehension of and language on both of these realities. To begin the study of devotion I will first establish the nature of consolation.

a. Consolation: a pedagogy for an internal spiritual experience

Kempis’s *Imitation* presents a remarkable exposition of the theme of consolation in the spiritual life¹⁸²; all four treatises of his text address this spiritual experience in a range of ways¹⁸³. He uses the term in its noun form no less than one hundred and two times¹⁸⁴. Though one might expect Book III, titled “on Interior Consolation”, to present the majority of uses and the greater elaboration on it, it is actually Book II “on the Interior Life”, with 33 uses of the term in 12 short chapters where Kempis most concentrates his thinking on consolation. The closest approximation in the four treatises to a definition of the experience is offered in Book III. There he writes, in the voice of the Lord, “I usually visit those I love in two ways... one by way of temptation, the other is by consolation”¹⁸⁵. Though thin on

¹⁸² An indication of the importance of consolation in the text is suggested by the title in French of *L’internelle consolation* that was found in “plusieurs éditions incunables”. See, Debongnie, Huijben, *L’auteur ou les auteurs de “L’Imitation”*, 7. Also, Debongnie brings this very revealing detail about how Kempis was remembered in the the monastery: “Et la chronique du Mont-Sainte-Agnès disait semblablement du défunt Thomas: “Mire consolativus””. Debongnie, “Les Thèmes”, 324.

¹⁸³ Considering the 15th century as a period extremely rich in texts on consolation, Marcel Viller provides a brief overview of the way consolation figures in all of Kempis’ works. See, Viller, “Consolation Chrétienne”, in *DSp* 2:1611-1617, on 1614-1615.

¹⁸⁴ Storr, ed., *Concordance*, 84-86.

¹⁸⁵ *Imitation*, III.3.

details, the observation suggests that consolation is one of the ways that God makes His presence known and felt. Kempis's main concern regarding this divine visit seems to be with its origin; he is less concerned, if at all, with elaborating upon its sensible manifestation or upon the finality of such a visit. In fact, in no part of his text does he provide synonyms for it nor a description of its nature. Though it is a visit of the Lord's presence, Kempis does not indicate the experience as revelatory of anything other than that. The point of inflection throughout the four books is its origin as external to the person. For instance, it is Christ and God's word that lavishly provokes consolation¹⁸⁶, and this is why the disciple opens Book III imploring a word from the Lord for his or her consolation¹⁸⁷. Yet, as evident as all of this may appear, the disciple has to learn to seek the consolation that proceeds from God's presence and word. This is the pedagogy that he proposes to the reader: an itinerary of discovering the consolation that comes from God.

The first step in this process is to recognize that consolation can come from various sources. The author demonstrates this by the range of adjectives that he uses to describe consolation. There is outward or external consolation, which actually impedes the inner consolation that comes from God¹⁸⁸. He also describes consolations that are "worldly"¹⁸⁹, "earthly"¹⁹⁰, and "human"¹⁹¹. Regarding these, the author reminds the reader that any consolation that comes from anywhere other than God is hollow or worthless¹⁹². The consolation that comes from God is "heavenly"¹⁹³, "divine"¹⁹⁴, "inner"¹⁹⁵, and "spiritual"¹⁹⁶. On rare occasions, in fact only three, will Kempis indicate consolation as a grace¹⁹⁷. More than describing or analyzing the nature of these consolations, Kempis seeks to move the reader from the external, worldly, or human consolations, consolations which do not last¹⁹⁸, into an experience of, or search for, those that come from God. Accordingly, he alerts the reader to the tendency to turn to others for comfort and consolation instead of looking to God for it¹⁹⁹. The smallest hardship frightens the disciple and typically occasions a search for a

¹⁸⁶ *Imitation*, III.43.

¹⁸⁷ *Imitation*, III.1,2.

¹⁸⁸ *Imitation*, I.10.

¹⁸⁹ *Imitation*, III.26.

¹⁹⁰ *Imitation*, III.53.

¹⁹¹ *Imitation*, III.40.

¹⁹² *Imitation*, II.5.

¹⁹³ *Imitation*, II.9; III.30, 59.

¹⁹⁴ *Imitation*, II.9.

¹⁹⁵ *Imitation*, I.10,25; IV.4.

¹⁹⁶ *Imitation*, II.10.

¹⁹⁷ *Imitation*, II.10; III.5, 7.

¹⁹⁸ *Imitation*, III.23.

¹⁹⁹ *Imitation*, I.11.

word of consolation from anyone²⁰⁰. In light of these very understandable human proclivities to avoid difficulty, he encourages the reader to look for consolation from God alone: “When you look for consolation from nothing but God, then you begin to know God perfectly”²⁰¹. This is Kempis’s pedagogy: to form the reader to look exclusively to God for consolation. And in order to arrive at this point in one’s relationship with the Lord, he encourages the reader to imagine God’s largess with this heavenly gift: “heavenly consolation is promised to us... and divine consolation is to help us”²⁰². God is the giver of all inner consolation, and this consolation is a help against all trials and obstacles²⁰³. As such, one can pray for it²⁰⁴; however, this is never framed as a prayer for the grace of consolation.

In this pedagogy for recognizing divine consolation, Kempis identifies patterns of this heavenly visit, thereby helping the reader to be attentive to its coming and going. For example, should a person be deprived of consolation, one ought to examine his or her prayer, since often a spiritually careless or tepid person “lacks inner consolation and cannot find it anywhere else”²⁰⁵. But the lack of consolation can be interpreted in other ways as well. For instance, its absence, rather than turning the person back in on himself or herself, can be nothing more than a prelude to its advent in a much more potent form: “when you no longer feel God’s consolation, do not despair right away. With humility and patience, wait for the heavenly visit, for God will return a richer consolation to you”²⁰⁶. Not only is the lack of consolation a portent of its immanent arrival, it can simply alternate with temptation: “usually, temptation is a sign of consolation to follow”²⁰⁷. In this way, though Kempis does not detail the nature of the experience in and of itself, he does describe the global spiritual reality in which consolation, a transient spiritual experience, alternates with spiritual aridity or temptation.

Though an important part of his understanding of the interior life, its secondary place in relation to Christian virtues is consistently highlighted. It is never more important than the virtue of patience or humility. The goal of the Christian life is not to experience consolation, but to love, blessing God in times of trials and in consolation²⁰⁸. The spiritual experience can follow temptation, but if not, Kempis encourages the reader to endure, even to opt for

²⁰⁰ *Imitation*, III.6.

²⁰¹ *Imitation*, I.25.

²⁰² *Imitation*, II.9.

²⁰³ *Imitation*, IV.4.

²⁰⁴ *Imitation*, IV, 9, 16.

²⁰⁵ *Imitation*, I.25.

²⁰⁶ *Imitation*, II.9; III.30.

²⁰⁷ *Imitation*, II.9.

²⁰⁸ *Imitation*, II.11.

adversities and difficulties in place of consolation, since this is to be more like Christ. Here the centrality of the cross colors and informs his thinking on this spiritual reality. To imitate Christ is to bear one's cross as He did, and in such an act, under the weight of one's cross, every "burden will be changed into a divine consolation"²⁰⁹. Yet, Kempis never interprets consolation as a sign or a confirmation of one's configuration with Christ. Although it is a sign of a rich inner life with God, it is never read as an indicator of progress in or movement towards Christ. Though the idea that "our progress does not depend upon consolation"²¹⁰, is a very reasonable one, it is striking that in his thinking consolation appears as an isolated gift from God, curiously disconnected to the larger spiritual movement of the person and his or her living of the virtues. This is made more apparent in another passage where again he reduces its importance in the spiritual life, equating it with visions, a spiritual experience of no consequence to Christian living: "a person's worth is not measured by visions or consolations"²¹¹. Such a statement borders on the visit, nevertheless it is surprising to find that this spiritual experience, understood as a visit of God to the believer, does not have a more articulated place in the following of Christ.

In summary, it is possible to identify four essential aspects of consolation in his spiritual system. First, though he appears disinclined to call it a grace, it is one of the ways that God visits the person. As a result, consolation is the feeling or internal sentiment by which God manifests his presence to the person. Second, Kempis reminds the reader that all kinds of consolation abound in the experience of the Christian; the hard work is to look only for that which comes from God. Though without providing clues as to how to do this, the author animates the reader to look for heavenly, inner or divine consolation. Third, consolation is not a lasting spiritual experience; it comes and goes, alternating with temptation, the other way that God visits the person. Finally, consolation is always subordinate to the Christian living of patience, humility, and love. Configuration to Christ is the goal, but the author never connects consolation with the larger movement of imitating Him.

²⁰⁹ *Imitation*, II.12.

²¹⁰ *Imitation*, II.12.

²¹¹ *Imitation*, III.7.

b. Devotion: a grace given that lasts in one's interior

Though used less frequently than “consolation”, “devotion” is a term of significant depth in the *Imitation*. With a total of forty-three uses, twenty-nine of them occurring in Book IV – the book that primarily deals with the reception of the Eucharist²¹² – Kempis employs the term in multiple contexts of the spiritual life. Globally, and very much in accord with the tradition that precedes him, the term designates the movement between God and the human person. Within the broad relational terrain of the term, Kempis gives prominence to its meaning as that which highlights God’s action in the life of the believer. For example, the author has the disciple ask: “Where is this devotion?”. The answer comes without hesitation: “Surely, in your sight and in the sight of your holy angels, my whole heart should burn and weep for joy”²¹³. Similarly, in a passage in Book III titled “a prayer asking for the grace of devotion”, the disciple cries out for God, exclaiming to the Lord that “I am nothing without you”. The disciple also beseeches: “do not turn your face from me, do not delay coming to me, do not take away the consolation of your love, lest my soul be like a parched land, thirsty for you”²¹⁴. This highly emotional and relational language indicates the grace of devotion as the felt experience of being with God, before His very face. Additionally, in this same prayer, drawing from the spiritual tradition that associates devotion with doing God’s will – a clear allusion to Thomas Aquinas – Kempis invites the reader to beseech the grace to do just that: “O Lord, teach me to do your will”²¹⁵. Consequently, in this brief passage styled as a prayer for the reader, Kempis implies that the grace of devotion is both the experience of God’s presence as well as the desire to do His will.

The author reveals the importance of devotion by the number of passages which indicate its status as a grace, and as such, that which one is to pray for. Also, in language not unlike that of St. Bernard that equated devotion with a balm or perfume, the disciple implores God: “pour forth your grace from above; water my heart with heavenly dew; send down the waters of devotion”²¹⁶. The importance of the grace of devotion comes into sharper focus in the dialogical structure of the third and fourth books where Jesus instructs the disciple to implore it. For example, Jesus addresses the disciple in these words:

²¹² Storr, ed., *Concordance*, 133-134.

²¹³ *Imitation*, IV.11.

²¹⁴ *Imitation*, III.3.

²¹⁵ *Imitation*, III.3.

²¹⁶ *Imitation*, III.23.

Seek persistently the grace of devotion, ask for it earnestly, look for it patiently and confidently, accept it thankfully, hold onto it humbly, use it with care, and leave the time and manner of this heavenly visit to God until he comes to join you²¹⁷.

Likewise, in another passage, Jesus encourages the disciple: “you must wait for the grace of devotion with firm hope and humble patience”²¹⁸. It is such an important aspect of the relationship with the Lord, that in another section of the text, Jesus reminds the disciple: “if you do not have this grace but instead feel yourself to be dry, keep on praying, sighing, and knocking at my door. Do not give up until you are made worthy of receiving some crumb or drop of saving grace”²¹⁹. Albeit a crumb or a drop, devotion is crucial to the life of the believer in Kempis’s vision; one is to pray persistently for it. It is a saving grace, or as the author suggests in another passage, it is “the reward of being with you”²²⁰.

It does seem significant that Jesus instructs the disciple to pray for the grace of devotion. This would seem to convey the importance of the spiritual reality, a status not accorded to consolation – Jesus never instructs the believer to ask for the grace of consolation. It would also suggest that Kempis sees devotion as that which originates on the divine side of the relationship²²¹. This line of thinking aligns with that of Thomas Aquinas: God is the chief cause of it. God acts first, visiting the person, and provoking in him or her the desire for this grace. As a manifestation of God’s presence to the disciple, is not unlike consolation²²². But a close reading of his text suggests that he understands the two spiritual realities differently²²³.

First, devotion is a broader, deeper, and more encompassing spiritual sentiment than consolation. For instance, where consolation is transient, devotion lasts. As an example, the author criticizes those that only carry their devotion in books and not in their hearts²²⁴. The implication is that devotion can reside in the interior of a person, in a way globally orientating the person in his or her life. Similarly, Kempis reminds the reader that “if our

²¹⁷ *Imitation*, IV.15.

²¹⁸ *Imitation*, IV.15.

²¹⁹ *Imitation*, IV.12.

²²⁰ *Imitation*, IV.17. Though it does seem to be the case, as Tinsley points out, that “no precise judgement is possible” regarding how Kempis understands the concept of grace, it does seem to be that which sanctifies and elevates the person to God. See, Tinsley, *The French Expressions*, 123.

²²¹ *IIaIIae* q. 82. a.3.

²²² “La grâce de la dévotion, c’est la visite de Dieu et la consolation”, in Puyol, *La doctrine*, 540.

²²³ Though conscious of the depth and magnitude of Puyol’s study on the *Imitation*, and very much indebted to his research, his observation that “l’auteur... emploie indifféremment, pour designer la suavité spirituelle accordée à l’amour fervent par la bonté divine, les termes consolation, grâce, dévotion, joie” is where I diverge. I will attempt to show that there is a difference between consolation and devotion. See, Puyol, *La doctrine*, 536, note 1.

²²⁴ *Imitation*, III.4.

spiritual progress relies on outward observances, our devotion will not last”²²⁵. Again, the language suggests that devotion endures, even permeating the life of the person, especially the one who cultivates the inner life. The indication that devotion can remain with the person suggests that this spiritual grace refers to a deep religious sentiment that can accompany the person, indicating that he or she lives in relationship with God²²⁶. His thinking very much evokes that of St. Bernard who suggested that devotion is akin to a peaceful guide or a joyful calm that permeates the person. It seems to enfold the believer. Receiving the Eucharist is to receive God’s very life, which the author understands as “to receive the great grace of devotion and the love of doing what is right”²²⁷. This is the grace of devotion: the experience of being in relationship with God with the concomitant desire to serve Him²²⁸. Simplifying, it involves a feeling that moves the person to realize that which God is calling him or her to do.

Second, in addition to comprising a more lasting and pervasive spiritual sentiment indicative of one’s relationship to and life before God, devotion appears to contain a finer or nuanced revelatory dimension. For instance, in addition to affirming that it can abide with the person, Kempis seems to understand devotion as a spiritual experience that can increase. As an example, the disciple declares that upon frequently receiving Holy Communion, “the intensity of my love and my devotion to you may ever increase”²²⁹. And if it can increase, it can also decrease. One such way it can diminish is by “prying too deeply into” aspects of the faith²³⁰. Its abiding with, increasing or diminishing are all details that suggest that it is a variable, even fluctuating spiritual experience. Not unlike consolation it alternates, but its movement appears much less drastic than that of consolation. Whereas the alternation of consolation alerted the person to the presence or absence of God, the increase or decrease in devotion points to a revelatory dimension much more nuanced. Such movement may suggest that it is a kind of language that God uses to communicate how the believer is progressing in his or her relationship to God. Globally, it does appear for Kempis that consolation is the sign that God is present, whereas devotion appears as the more nuanced sign of how to be

²²⁵ *Imitation*, I.11.

²²⁶ Puyol refers to the grace of devotion as a disposition of the soul. See, Puyol, *La doctrine*, 540. The author refers to the distinction between accidental devotion, that is, the sensible feeling of God’s presence, and that of substantial devotion, that of the disposition to do God’s will. He then argues that Kempis, eminently practical, does away with the distinction between the two, making the grace one integrated experience.

²²⁷ *Imitation*, IV.1.

²²⁸ I follow Puyol closely here: “Notre pieux livre représente l’état de l’âme fervente, *vivante en communication constante avec Dieu*, et favorisée de la grâce de la devotion”. Puyol, *La doctrine*, 540, note 1; emphasis mine.

²²⁹ *Imitation*, IV.4.

²³⁰ *Imitation*, IV.18.

with God and further know His will.

c. Devotion and devotions to advance in the spiritual life

In addition to being a grace given by God, Kempis understands devotion as that which forms part of what the person can do to move closer to God. More specifically, it is a way to be in God's presence and a concrete spiritual practice that one performs to move closer to Him. As a way of approaching God, Kempis's thinking, albeit thin on elaboration, transmits the idea that one ought to be with God in or with devotion. For example, commenting generally on the spiritual life, the author refers to the Holy Fathers as examples of devotion in prayer²³¹. The idea seems to be that they were men of ardor, fervor, and great desire. Similarly, when it comes to the reception of the Eucharist, he alludes to all of salvation history in order to remind the reader of the great love and devotion with which it is necessary to approach the sacrament²³². In this same book, he characterizes the saints as those that lived with ardent devotion²³³. Though the author does not expound upon on this, the idea seems to be that devotion constitutes a kind of internal spiritual climate that the person can or should generate in prayer. The point seems to be simple, and one that his reader would have understood: devotion is the way that one is with God.

In other contexts of the book, devotion is also invoked to refer to those practices which the believer carries out to cultivate his or her relationship with God. Here Kempis's thinking is nuanced. He is critical of devotional practices principally because, in his view, they may not change the person. One particular practice that seems to have vexed the monk from St. Agnes were pilgrimages. In the first treatise, he writes: "few people are made more holy by visiting churches and shrines"²³⁴. Similarly, in his book on the Eucharist, he comes back to this issue: "Often curiosity and the desire to see new things lead people to make pilgrimages. They seldom change their lives as a result, though, especially if they run from place to place with no real change of heart"²³⁵. His criticism is clear: devotional practices often do not produce any change. The point of inflection in all of his spirituality, making progress, informs his thinking on devotions and devotional practices. And in one very striking passage of Book IV, one directed towards priests that offers concrete counsel on how

²³¹ *Imitation*, I.18.

²³² *Imitation*, IV.1.

²³³ *Imitation*, IV.17.

²³⁴ *Imitation*, I.23.

²³⁵ *Imitation*, IV.1.

to say mass, Kempis writes: it is more important “to seek to be helpful to others rather than to indulge [your own] devotion”²³⁶. The criterion is clear and simple: being of service to another is more important than satisfying your own personal spiritual exercises.

Coupled with this metric of making progress in the Christian life, he insists that devotions be private. Very much in line with his emphasis on interiority, he encourages the reader to do them, but to “keep your private devotions to yourself”²³⁷. In the same context, he argues for moderation in devotions, alerting the reader to the danger of private devotions that are indiscreet²³⁸: “some unwary people have brought themselves to ruin through private devotions... they followed their hearts instead of their reason”²³⁹. As such, moderation, reason, and discretion form a part of one’s spiritual exercises of devotion.

Although he offers criticism of and criteria for discerning and examining devotional activities, Kempis very much encourages a simplified practice of them²⁴⁰. His emphasis on interiority is not such that it excludes some external configuration. He extols special feast days as times of devotion which require more careful preparation²⁴¹. In a passage where he warns the reader that often the evil spirit seeks to thwart or impede devotional practices, he lists a number of them. They include honoring the saints, remembering the Passion, recalling your sins, keeping watch over your heart, and firmly resolving to advance in virtue²⁴². In deep accord with the spirituality of Modern Devotion, Kempis highlights those practices which foster a deeper interiority and progress in the spiritual life. This is the litmus test for Kempian devotion: advancing in virtue. As such, a devotional practice is one that strengthens one’s relationship with the Lord. Although he does not use the term “discernment” in the context of devotions²⁴³, his text offers criteria for an examination of them.

²³⁶ *Imitation*, IV.10.

²³⁷ *Imitation*, III.7.

²³⁸ Spaapen, “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – doctrine spirituelle”, in *DSp* 7/2^a:2365. The author suggests that the book, “with rare perspicacity” highlights the dangers of a disordered attachment to sensible consolation (2365).

²³⁹ *Imitation*, III.7.

²⁴⁰ Following O’Malley: “The *Imitation* explicitly and implicitly called for a simplification in the practices of the devout life”. See, O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 266.

²⁴¹ *Imitation*, I.19.

²⁴² *Imitation*, III.6.

²⁴³ The *Concordance* shows only three uses of the noun discernment in the four books. See Storr, ed., *Concordance*, 145. The contexts are III.22 where God discerns how to give gifts; III.50 where the disciple pleads for the gift to “discern between material and spiritual matters”; and III.54 where Jesus instructs the disciple that spiritual movements are so subtle that only a truly illuminated discerning person can distinguish them.

d. The fullness of devotion: giving glory to God

The broad outlines of Kempis's vision fall within the framework of the tradition that precedes him. Specifically, devotion is a relational concept, signaling, on the one hand, a deep religious sentiment given by God which can enfold and abide in the person as a sign of one's relationship and profound connection to the Lord. On the other hand, Kempis highlights practices with which the Christian can move towards God. And on this point, Kempis provides a new element. He does not only advocate for spiritual exercises such as praying to the saints, meditation on the passion, or in receiving Holy Communion, but he provides criteria for the discernment of these activities. They should be private, moderate, as well as examined to determine if they are, in fact, moving us towards God.

However, in his spiritual system, these two aspects of devotion – the experience of God's presence and that which the person does to grow in relation with God – are less separate than they first appear. It is one relational movement, and it is always dynamic. The grace of devotion is the grace to be always growing in it. For him, and in accord with the reflection of Thomas Aquinas, growth in this grace is the ever-growing desire to do God's will. This is the trajectory of devotion as Kempis understands it: to experience God in such a way where one's whole life becomes oriented to the realization of His will. Curiously then, his text, the most famous devotional work of Western Christianity, is actually a book that encourages the reader to go beyond devotion as a feeling into devotion as an ever-deepening desire to serve God.

This reflection is presented in two stages. First, he offers general criticisms of the role or the place of spiritual feelings in the interior life. In essence, he is wary of those who depend upon feeling God's presence. He asks: "Can we not call all those people mercenaries who are constantly seeking spiritual consolation?... Where shall we find a person who is willing to serve God without receiving something in return?"²⁴⁴. Similarly, in a very subtle and penetrating insight, Kempis confronts the reader with the self-interest that often forms part of the spiritual life: "what [many] so earnestly ask of God, they ask not solely to honor him but to satisfy themselves as well"²⁴⁵. His general counsel on spiritual feelings seems to be: "Enjoy them when you feel them, and be thankful for them, but do not seek them out. Chasing after such feelings can consume you. Try, instead, to maintain spiritual calm"²⁴⁶. In

²⁴⁴ *Imitation*, II.11.

²⁴⁵ *Imitation*, III.49.

²⁴⁶ *Imitation*, III.6; a similar criticism of spiritual feelings is made in II.12.

much the same way, and perhaps reflecting on the immense expansion of the Windesheim congregation and houses of the Common Life, the author proffers this criticism of those that desire to live the contemplative life: “One great obstacle is that they rely on signs and feelings and have little concern about doing away with their own self-centeredness”²⁴⁷. In the spiritual logic of the author, spiritual feelings can become attachments, and it is for this reason that he has Jesus declare in the text: “whoever wishes to walk freely with me must put an end to all excessive attachments and cling to no person or created thing out of a grasping self-love”²⁴⁸.

The second stage of this reflection directly outlines the evolution that ought to occur with and in the grace of devotion. Given that he understands it as a grace that manifests itself as a deep religious sentiment, Kempis singles it out for a more critical appraisal. He makes clear that it has a place in the spiritual life, but a place subordinate to other features of Christian life; his words are unambiguous: “Neither should you consider yourself something great or especially beloved by God if you happen to enjoy great devotion and tenderness. A true lover of virtue is not known by such things as this, nor does your progress and perfection consist of such things”²⁴⁹. A similar clarification of its place in relation to living a virtuous life is made in the following passage, one previously cited: “my dear friend, patience and humility in troubled times are more pleasing to me than much consolation and devotion in prosperous ones”²⁵⁰. His hierarchy is clear: humility before devotion. And in a stunning passage, in the very same chapter in which he invites the reader to seek the grace of devotion, Kempis writes that Holy Communion offers a pedagogy in which one learns “not to focus on his own devotion and comfort, but goes beyond all devotion and consolation and seeks the glory of God”²⁵¹. To go beyond all devotion as a felt spiritual sentiment in order to give glory to God is the spiritual itinerary that Kempis proposes. Given the pragmatic and concrete nature of Kempis’s spirituality, to give glory to God is to follow and imitate Jesus, the very image and reflection of this glory²⁵². Consequently, the grace of devotion can be seen as comprehending a spiritual itinerary of feeling and doing; it is the movement from the feeling of God’s presence into the ever-deepening desire to serve God, as Jesus did, with all of one’s life.

²⁴⁷ *Imitation*, III.31.

²⁴⁸ *Imitation*, III.53.

²⁴⁹ *Imitation*, III.25.

²⁵⁰ *Imitation*, III.57.

²⁵¹ *Imitation*, IV.15.

²⁵² See, 2 Cor 3:18; 4:6; see also the introductory commentary on Christological titles in Luis Ladaria, *Antropología teológica* (Madrid-Rome: Comillas, Gregoriana, 1987), 22ff.

CONCLUSIONS

The objective in this chapter has been to provide a focused study of the *Imitation of Christ*, one of the great devotional texts of Western Christianity. To do this, I have read the work as one text comprised of four sections. In this way, this investigation presents an interpretation of the work as it was read by the majority of readers, not least of which includes the reader who is central to this study, Ignatius of Loyola.

The question of its authorship, style and literary genre have helped to disclose the work's connection to the Modern Devotion movement. Kempis may not be the most important writer to emerge from that tradition, but he is certainly its most famous. As such, his style and genre recall the profound simplicity and pragmatism of this spiritual current. The brief survey presented on the theme of interiority, the importance of making progress in virtuous Christian living, and the experience of devotion recall the central spiritual themes of the movement from the Netherlands, and they indicate just how prevalent was the turn inward in 15th century spirituality.

The conclusions attempt to highlight clearly the fundamental spiritual elements presented in the *Imitation* and the itinerary that the grace of devotion presents.

1. An examined interiority and an examined devotion

The topic of interiority is decisive. It is central because for Kempis the turn inward is the beginning of the encounter with Christ. Moreover, the cultivation of a deep interior life need not lead to reclusion, rather it can be lived in the midst of external, worldly affairs. The tradition *contemptus mundi* does color his language, but this discourse does not exclusively account for the way Kempis understands interiority. For him it can be lived with others. Most importantly, it is an examined interiority. The author inculcates a critical, reflective and probing posture towards the spiritual life. By extension, it is possible to deduce that the experience of devotion was for Kempis an examinable spiritual phenomenon.

2. Growth in spiritual indifference

Similarly, Kempis's *Imitation* is a clarion call to imagine the spiritual life as one of growth. Again, his Modern Devotion roots permeate his thinking: the Christian vocation is to grow in the virtues. I believe that this comprehends the strongest argument against the

tendency to read Kempis as misanthropic. His emphasis on making progress in Christian life demonstrates his incarnate spirituality which espouses a loving posture towards all of reality. In essence, a life of patience, humility and love is what the author seeks to instill in the reader. In addition to progressing in the virtues, growth in Kempis's spiritual system is to be found in spiritual freedom and indifference. For the monk from Mount St. Agnes, maturation in Christian living does not lead to nuptial union with God, but rather to spiritual indifference where God's action, in all of its manifestations, is accepted with gratitude.

3. *Consolation: the building blocks for a spiritual language*

Though hardly a phenomenologist of the interior experience of God, the *Imitation* does provide an outline of the spiritual experience of consolation. It is a religious feeling that signals God's presence. As important as this affirmation appears, and as ubiquitous as the term is, I would offer that consolation has a limited connection to the larger movement of growing in the spiritual life. In other words, though revelatory of God's visit, it is not invested with more revelatory content. His chief concern is to distinguish the consolation that comes from God and that which has its origin elsewhere. As pragmatic as he is, the author offers no insight as to how to make such a distinction. The only pedagogical help offered is that consolation alternates with temptation. In short, Kempis's language on consolation is simple, but therein lies its value: the building blocks for erecting a more elaborate system are in place.

4. *A grace of feeling and knowing*

Unlike consolation, devotion constitutes a more substantial theological and spiritual reality. First, it is more consistently represented as a grace. In essence, as Saints Bernard and Thomas observed, it comes from God. He also reveals the influence of the Cistercian Doctor of the Church when he characterizes it as a more pervasive spiritual sentiment. The language of "carrying devotion" suggests that the grace of devotion is not only the grace of being with God, but it is also the consciousness of that relationship. Gifted with this grace, one would not only feel it, but know it. Thus, the grace of devotion integrates cognitive and sentient aspects of the person.

5. *The devotional practice*

The observations on devotional practices in this text are infrequent. Indeed, it is surprising to note that in what is considered the most popular devotional book of Western

Christianity, there is so little emphasis on devotions. When mentioned, they are framed by very clear criteria: they should be private, moderate, and beneficial to one's relationship with God. Of singular importance for him is the reception of the Eucharist. The encounter with Christ in the sacrament is a profound interior experience, and it is in the sacramental context where he most speaks of devotion. It is as if *the* privileged place of its occurrence is in the Eucharist. One ought to approach the Eucharist with devotion, that is, with love, attention, and reverence, and equally prominent in his reflection is the idea of devotion as a grace given in the sacrament. Though its connection to the Paschal mystery is only implicit, it does seem to refer to the gift of God's self to the believer in Jesus. In this same Eucharistic context, Kempis offers that it is the grace to feel which would lead to an increase of faith, hope, and love.

6. *The movement and trajectory of devotion*

Another aspect of Kempis's thinking on devotion suggests that it is a spiritual movement, and as such, as revelatory for the believer. Its increase and decrease, as an observable and recognizable spiritual experience, point to it as revealing some kind of interpretable content – which clearly may vary depending upon the person's situation – that helps the person discern his or her Christian practice. In this way, it appears to be a more nuanced spiritual experience than consolation. It changes and varies, and for this reason it appears to contain a specific communication from God. Though Kempis is not explicit on this point, quite possibly the gift of devotion harbors some relationship to the discernment of God's will. To notice its increase or decrease would be an exercise in discernment.

7. *Grow beyond devotion*

Finally, and in continuity with his spiritual system, devotion is a grace in which one matures and develops. In other words, the grace of devotion involves a movement which the author describes as going beyond all devotion to the service of God's will. In continuity with Saint Thomas Aquinas, Kempis points to the offering of one's will as the apogee of this grace. The believer moves from devotion as a felt experience to the desire to do solely that which gives glory to God. Such an outline of devotion as that which involves a feeling to know God's will and then to do it points us in the direction of Ignatius and his discernment in the *Diary*. It is to his text that I will turn in the following unit of chapters.

CONCLUSIONS PART I
PROMISE, EXPERIENCE, AND MOVEMENT
the Mystery of Devotion

The first three chapters of this investigation have surveyed the spiritual and theological reflection on devotion. It has found that devotion is an ancient term that has evolved in its use. For the Roman historian Livy, the devoted one was the person that invoked the wrath of the gods upon himself in order to save others. Many centuries later and in a vastly different context, Thomas à Kempis characterized the devoted one as the believer whose only desire was to do God’s will. Despite the vast differences in time and worldview, there surfaces a striking constant in this narrative: devotion attests to the human person’s remarkable capacity to offer his or her entire life to another. It shares the same semantic terrain as promise, selflessness, and not least of all, love. To study devotion is to be reminded of the extraordinary depth in the person’s interaction with, capacity for, and sacrifice to the Transcendent.

Like many before him, Ignatius used “devotion” to name an experience of God. And that word reached him with an accumulation of meanings, nuances, and connotations. Following the legacy of Bernard of Clairvaux, it would have expressed for him the affective nature of the human-divine relationship. As a student of Thomas Aquinas, he could also have considered that devotion, more than an internal feeling given by God, was the “resolute and prompt will” to do that which is pleasing to God. As a priest in Rome and as a reader of Kempis’s *Imitation*, he may have been inspired to say mass seeking the grace of devotion and the love to do what is right.

Any one of these considerations could constitute a promising avenue for further reflection. Yet taken together, I believe that this background study offers three constitutive categories that comprise the spiritual concept of devotion, and, as such, provide a critical and a historical lens by which Ignatius’ experience, as represented in his *Diary*, can be studied. Devotion reveals an aspect of *promise*, a felt *experience*, and provokes or causes a *movement*. To speak of devotion is to speak broadly of some kind of promise felt or acted upon, a palpable and felt somatic experience, as well as a movement or mobilization towards someone or something. Albeit simple, these categories have the advantage of approximating

us to the experience and understanding that Ignatius could have had regarding devotion *vis-à-vis* the tradition that precedes him. In addition to their phenomenological component, each is not without theological depth. In this way, these categories provide a hermeneutical key to consider devotion in the *Diary*, and they permit a corresponding theological reflection that could point to devotion's importance in his spiritual experience.

In the following paragraphs I will elucidate these three topics and the issues they raise for the study of his autograph text. Taken together and considered as relational in nature, they delineate what is at the center of the Christian experience and reflection on devotion: Jesus.

- *Promise*

In its most ancient sense, devotion denotes a promise in the form of an action or a vow that the person makes to God or to another¹. The level of this promise varies, but it can reach the dimension of a total sacrifice of one's life. Christian devotions derive from this sense of the word; they are the practices that externalize and give ritualized form to the human promise to God. It also signals the reverential, respectful, and attentive way that the person carries out his or her promise². As such, this inquiry into Ignatius' experience of devotion will seek to identify those practices – sacramental, liturgical, personal – and that style by which he concretized the offering of his self to God.

In addition to devotion as the person's movement towards God, Christian reflection has expanded the relational terrain of the term to indicate that it fundamentally involves God's commitment to the human person. As a result of this interpretive tradition, devotion is understood as God's promise to the person. The New Testament passage from 1st Timothy situates the life, passion, and resurrection of Jesus as that action by which God reveals His promise to humankind. Indeed, the mystery of Christian devotion is deep: it suggests a spiritual experience in which God draws the person into a deeper relationship with Himself. As such, this study of Ignatius' experience of devotion will seek to be attentive to the ways in which he became conscious of God's promise to him. At least at the outset of this study, it would appear that the Eucharist occasioned in him that experience of the Lord who "desires to give me even his very self, in accordance with his divine design" [*Ej* 234].

¹ See, also, *DCECH*, s.v. "voto".

² See, *Aut*, s.v. "devoción".

- *Experience*

In both pre-Christian and Christian discourses on devotion, reference is always made to internal feelings. In essence, devotion is always considered a felt experience. Nevertheless, the tradition studied in these pages testifies to the range of feelings by which it can be described. Bernard of Clairvaux and, following him, Thomas à Kempis, suggest that it is a sentiment that orients a person's life. Thomas Aquinas enumerates a range of human emotions, all of which effect a unified movement towards God. For its part, the Modern Devotion tradition, attentive to the affective experience of God, suggests devotion as both a transient, ephemeral feeling and one that, with maturation in the Christian life, passes to a deeper level. Indeed, a crucial aspect to understand Ignatius' experience of devotion is to attempt to understand what he was feeling. However elusive it may be to pin down his actual experience of it, I will also probe the pages of his personal document to discover why it was important to him to feel or to *know* that he was feeling it.

Devotion was a spiritual concept that allowed Christian writers to explore the vast interior geography of the person and the intimacy with which he or she experienced God. For Bernard of Clairvaux, the experience of it was associated with one's memory. To remember God's action in one's life and to recall God's goodness occasioned devotion. For Thomas Aquinas, devotion was connected with the will; God's action prompted or mobilized the will of the person to respond to Him and to perform religious acts. The investigation into his felt experience of devotion is the beginning of an exploration into his internal experience of God. The question I will ask of Ignatius relates to the way he connected devotion with aspects of his soul. In brief, the study of devotion in the pages of his *Diary* needs to ascertain in what way the feeling was connected to his desires, his thoughts, or even his memory. This may help determine why it was important to him to experience devotion in his discernment.

- *Movement*

The tradition studied in these three chapters suggests that devotion occasioned a powerful movement in the life of the believer. If it was a deep feeling, occasioning deep internal peace or joy, it was also not without a deep impetus to move, to act, or to realize God's will. The pages of Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ* make this aspect of devotion evident: one was with Christ in his life to be and act like him. Similarly, Gerard Zerbolt, perhaps the most important writer from the Modern Tradition, situates the spiritual reality as a state of being always ready to do God's will. In brief, devotion occasions a deep somatic resonance in bodies; it also moves those bodies in history.

This strong apostolic aspect of devotion picks up on one of the more ancient elements of it: it is to give all of one's life for another. And the gift of one's self has been formulated all throughout the Christian reflection on it. Aquinas's formulation of devotion as that of offering one's will to God intimates this apostolic character. The Modern Devotion tradition, with the leitmotif of growing in virtuous living, clearly points to it. Though action is not a major theme of the *Imitation of Christ*, Kempis's formulation to go beyond all devotion to the service of God's will provides the embryonic outlines for a decidedly apostolic understanding of devotion. This inquiry will seek to discover in what ways devotion moved Ignatius. Perhaps part of his interest in this particular grace was precisely because he understood that it was a felt experience from God that would lead him to act.

These three topics of promise, experience, and movement express the relational density of devotion, and they will help open the pages of Ignatius' *Diary* to discover the nature of his experience. At the nucleus of these categories there exists an essential and basic itinerary. Devotion involves a feeling and a doing. This is the structure of this spiritual concept as it arrives to Ignatius. It is to *feel* God in one's life and to *do* that which corresponds to that divine presence. "To feel" and "to do" are the operative infinitives that undergird this spiritual reality. And all of this is, as I have tried to suggest, eminently personal and relational. This is because the center of Christian reflection on devotion is occupied by a person: Jesus.

His is the life that most eloquently reveals devotion as promise and experience; his is the life that inspires the movement that emerges from it. To feel devotion, an idea central to St. Bernard, or to live devotion, as so many adherents to the Modern Devotion did so humbly and unpretentiously, one need only look to God's Son. It was for this reason that Kempis, looking at Jesus on the cross, claimed that everything for a Christian's life could be found there. The monk from the Windesheim congregation saw a suffering Jesus on the cross, but a suffering which pointed to God's love for humanity that was also the deepest expression of human love for God and others.

Far more than one more category to be investigated, Jesus' humanity pulls together the Christian reflection on devotion and reveals that it configures the believer in the life of the Son. This is the Christian interpretation of devotion. It signals what it means to be human before God; it is to be human like God's Son Jesus. And to be human like Jesus involves a experiencing his presence and living or acting like He did: humbly and lovingly. In the felicitous expression from St. Thomas Aquinas, Jesus' humanity "guides us by the

hand” into the spiritual reality of devotion, awakening in us a “love of divine things and a desire to serve God”.

The study of Ignatius’ experience of devotion in the *Diary* will investigate how Jesus’ humanity underlies his experience of devotion as promise, as a felt spiritual phenomenon, and as the occasion for movement. With these three categories, it will be possible to determine how Ignatius lived – borrowing once again from the language of 1st Timothy – the *mystery* of devotion. It is to the text of his *Diary* that I now turn.

PART II

The features and the form of the *Spiritual Diary*

“Judging it to have been well written” [De 9]**The context, text, and hermeneutical tradition of the *Spiritual Diary* of Ignatius of Loyola**

INTRODUCTION

The personal spiritual experience of Ignatius of Loyola, and the singular place given to devotion in that experience, is nowhere more on display than in the text of his that has been titled the *Spiritual Diary*¹. As one of the extant autograph writings of his, this document provides an unparalleled insight into his personal spiritual experience². It is a unique text in his corpus as it allows us to read his experience of God in his own words. Though the time frame of these personal notes of his is limited – he begins recording his prayer experiences on February 2nd, 1544 and concludes the following year on February 27th – this thirteen-month period provides a fascinating window into his prayer, his celebration of the mass, as well as the spiritual experiences that were important to him in his relationship with God. It is also the document that unambiguously demonstrates that “devotion” was one of the more significant spiritual categories by which he understood that relationship.

Before examining his experience of devotion as represented in this text and verifying its correspondence to or divergence from the previously announced categories of promise, experience, interpretation, movement, and well as its relationship to Jesus’ humanity, this chapter will establish three important features of the *Diary*: its context, the nature of the document itself, and the interpretive tradition surrounding it. First, to understand this document, it is important to consider what initially prompted him to undertake this venture of

¹ As previously indicated, the critical edition of the text bears the title “Ephemeris S.P.N. Ignatii” in *MCo*, 86-158. In addition to the version edited by Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado in *Obras*, 291-364, I will refer to the version edited by Santiago Thió de Pol titled *La intimidad del peregrino*. Also very helpful for his excellent commentary is the French edition of the *Diary* translated Maurice Giuliani, *Journal Spirituel* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959). For an English translation, I have consulted that of Munitiz, *Iñigo: Discernment Log-book*. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of the *Diary* will be mine. Those translations from Munitiz’s text will be indicated with a footnote.

² This observation cannot be passed over too quickly. The autograph text of the *Diary* exists, whereas the autograph of the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Autobiography* have – as of yet – not been located.

recording his spiritual experiences. In addition to identifying the issue that drives the text, the first section of this chapter will briefly delineate the context of the writer and the concomitant apostolic growth of the newly founded Society of Jesus. Second, I will examine the nature of the text, specifically its structure and other singular organizational features. As peculiar and uneven as the text is³, compositional aspects of it yield important considerations about the spiritual process of its author. Lastly, I will indicate the hermeneutical tradition that accompanies the document. Seen alongside of other writings of his, it may be, as one scholar has indicated, “the most forgotten of all the foundational texts”⁴, yet it is not without a clear interpretive tradition. As such, in this chapter I seek to set before the reader the context, the text itself, and the hermeneutical tradition in which the document arrives to us. These considerations will also begin to evoke Ignatius’ comprehension of devotion as a sign of God’s language to him that he feels in his interior.

1. Context of the text: a burgeoning new religious order

The broad context of the *Diary* is the consolidation and the simultaneous expansion of the Society of Jesus that was in its fifth year of existence. With ecclesial approbation conceded by the papal bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* in September of 1540⁵, the Order founded by Ignatius and his companions was experiencing impressive apostolic growth in multiple geographical directions⁶. Members were dispersed across Europe, and Francis Xavier had begun evangelization in the Portuguese colonies to the east⁷. In spite of his great reluctance, Ignatius was elected Superior General of the Order in 1541 and from Rome was coordinating this apostolic labor. Though substantially less itinerant than he had been, he was hardly unoccupied. In a period of only four years, he had spearheaded three significant

³ The observation is from Santiago Thió de Pol, “Diario espiritual”, in *DEI* 2:592-595.

⁴ Noëlle Hausman, “Ignacio de Loyola y la misión del Espíritu Santo. Una lectura del Diario Espiritual (1544-1545)”, *CIS* 63-64 (1990): 37-57, 37; (article hereafter cited as “Ignacio de Loyola y la misión del Espíritu Santo”).

⁵ Papal bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* in *MCo* I, 24-32; English translation of the papal document taken from *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms*, ed. John Padberg (St. Louis: IJS, 1996); (text of the *Constitutions* in English hereafter cited as *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*).

⁶ “Dentro de un año entero después que la Sede Apostólica confirmó la Compañía, ya estaba esparcida por las provincias de Italia, Francia, España, Alemania, Irlanda, Portugal y la India”. See, Pedro Ribadeneira, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, in *FN* IV, 381, (book III, chapter 4); (hereafter cited as *Vita* with reference to page number as well as book and chapter number). English translations, unless otherwise noted, come from the version translated by Claude Pavur, titled *The Life of Ignatius of Loyola* (Saint Louis: IJS, 2014).

⁷ Xavier began his journey to the east on the 7 April 1541 in the ship “Santiago”, see Paul Dudon, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, trans. Joaquín Cardoso (Mexico: Buena Prensa, 1945), 315.

apostolic ventures: the foundation of an orphanage, Holy Mary of Aquiro⁸; the house of St. Martha for prostitutes and the fraternity that would care for it, the Society of Grace; as well as a house for catechumens, specifically for Jews and Muslims that sought to be received in the Catholic Church⁹. In addition to these more cooperative or structural pastoral responses to marginalized populations, Ignatius appears to have diminished, but not altogether neglected, other pastoral ministries such as giving the Spiritual Exercises, teaching catechism, preaching, as well as hearing confessions. At the same time, as superior of the order he was charged with drafting its constitutions. Given all of these activities, and his precarious health in the midst of all of them, it is not surprising that he would write in a letter to Peter Faber in 1542, that “busy as some members of the Society may be, I am sure that I am, if not overly so, at least no less busy than anybody else – and with poorer physical health”¹⁰.

The *Diary* is typically understood as that document that responds to his task of drafting the legislative text of the apostolic body. This is not a mistaken point of departure, and for this reason the first critical edition of the document, realized by the editors of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* in 1934, places it as one of a series of documents related to the *Constitutions*. In essence, the document reveals his personal discernment of how the order should live its vow of poverty. At the same time, it seems prudent not to disassociate the spiritual process that this text reflects from the apostolic activity that surrounds it. In other words, perchance his personal contact with the poor in Rome and his growing experience in organizing guilds and fraternities to care for diverse populations contributed and focused his reflection on the issue of poverty, helping him to see the importance of establishing a clear line of proceeding on the vow. Similarly, Ignatius was inhabiting a new role in a new religious order. For the first time in his life, he was charged with establishing a clear directive regarding poverty, not just for himself, but for an entire religious congregation. The existence of the *Diary* points to the importance of the question at

⁸ See, Polanco, *Chronicon Societatis Iesu*, ed. José María Vélez (Madrid: 1894), 1:110; Ricardo García-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola: nueva biografía* (Madrid: BAC, 1986), 528-529.

⁹ A source for information on the last of these two confraternities, written in 1545, is found in *Epp* I, To Members on various topics (Rome, May, 1545), 304-307. Letter not included in a collection of letters translated in English. I refer to the translation of a selection of letters edited and translated by Martin Palmer, John Padberg, and John McCarthy, in *Ignatius of Loyola. Letters and Instructions* (IJS: St. Louis, 2006). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations will come from Palmer, Padberg, and McCarthy with the reference to the title *Letters and Instructions* and page number where the quotation can be found. Thus, I will adhere to the MHSI collection as well as indicate a brief reference to its location in an English source.

For more on these confraternities, see also, Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN* IV, 405-407, (book III, chapter 9); also, García-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 537.

¹⁰ *Epp* I, Ignatius to Peter Faber (Rome, 10 December, 1542), 236-239, 238; *Letters and Instructions*, 92.

hand; it also shows him negotiating the transition from a personal living of poverty – something deeply important to him – to a more corporate incarnation of it¹¹. The *Diary* is composed in this period of his life in which he is quite literally laying the foundations for the communal project of the Society of Jesus¹², and it would appear to present him discovering a spiritual method to do this. Perhaps it was for this reason that he decided to dedicate time to discern the issue of poverty, write down his experiences, and in this way develop a process of his spiritual governance of the Order.

1.1. The acquisition of a church and an income

In their first deliberations regarding the regimen of poverty that they intended to follow, Ignatius and his companions decided to live “as far away as possible from the contagion of avarice”. In their expression of how they wanted to live the vow of poverty, they were unequivocal: “they cannot, either individually or in common, acquire any civil right to any stable goods or to any annually recurring produce or fixed income for the sustenance or use of the Society”¹³. Though rigorous, present in this declaration from their founding formula is their experience of the joy they felt in living evangelical poverty¹⁴. A different regime of poverty would govern their colleges, destined as they were for men that sought entry into the religious body. Yet, this initial formulation regarding their absolute prohibition of receiving income changed. In the very inchoate deliberations of March of 1541, in which were drafted very schematic points regarding the life of the order, Ignatius, along with Diego Laínez, Alfonso Salmerón, Jean Coduri, Pascal Broët, and Claude Jay, modified their original idea in order to allow for the reception of income for the maintenance of the sacristies of the Churches of their professed houses: “the sacristy can receive an income for all necessary things”¹⁵. Thus, in less than year after their papally approved

¹¹ For a critical view of this, see William Meissner, *To the Greater Glory – A Psychological Study of Ignatian Spirituality* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1999), 54-55; (hereafter book cited as *A Psychological Study*).

¹² In his analysis of this process, Mora recalls another factor of it. He offers that Ignatius had in mind the twelve apostles, or, “el colegio apostólico”, as the model that inspired his vision of the Order. See, Mora, *La devoción en el espíritu de san Ignacio* (Rome: CIS, 1982), 45, (hereafter cited as *La devoción en el espíritu*). Given the importance of Mora’s study for mine, I will introduce his monograph in the third section of this chapter in which I present my hermeneutical focus.

¹³ Papal bull *Regimini militantes Ecclesiae* in *MCo* I, 29; *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 10.

¹⁴ “From experience we have learned... that a life as like as possible to evangelical poverty is more gratifying”. See papal bull *Regimini militantes Ecclesiae*, in *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 7.

¹⁵ See the document “Constitutiones anni 1541” in *MCo* I, 33-48, on 35: “la sacristía pueda haber una renta para todas las cosas de menester, de aquellas que no serán para los profesos”.

original declaration, and at a moment when Ignatius had not yet been elected Superior General of the Order, a modification was made in their living of poverty so that a fixed income could be received; the upkeep and the expenses of the sacristies, and by implication the churches themselves, would have a guaranteed income. The professed houses of the Order, however, would not benefit from this income; they would remain dependent upon alms alone¹⁶.

This reversal may be read as taking a step backwards in terms of their vow of poverty¹⁷, but perhaps it is more indicative of the evolution of the nascent Society of Jesus and its attempt to adapt its way of living the vow of poverty to a new apostolic reality, something that the Society has continually striven to do¹⁸. The change of course was occasioned by their reception from Pope Paul III of the parish church of Our Lady of the Way¹⁹. In November of 1540 the Holy See entrusted this church to the Jesuits, and with it came a fixed income for its sacristy. In part, this acquisition seems to have been facilitated by the diplomacy of the first Italian to enter the Order, Peter Codacio. This skilled Roman churchman from a noble family²⁰, who joined Ignatius and the companions in 1539, obtained from Paul III in June of 1541 an official bull which solemnly confirmed the Society's ownership of the church and declared that the earnings, the revenue, and the income from it would be applied to its sacristy²¹. As such, the adjustment of the regime of poverty to allow for the reception of the revenue for the sacristy forms part of the changing landscape of their growth as an apostolic religious body. The Society of Jesus was a growing religious and entering new apostolic terrain. The discernment undertaken in the first part of the *Diary* revolves around this particular point of accepting or not this income. The question for him was to ensure the gratuitous nature of the apostolate and also to establish the apostolate's

¹⁶ In his introduction to the *Diary*, Victoriano Larrañaga reports that such an arrangement followed the standard practice of the mendicant orders. See, Larrañaga, "Introducción al Diario Espiritual", in *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, vol. 1, *Autobiografía – Diario Espiritual*, ed. Victoriano Larrañaga (Madrid: BAC, 1947), 629-681, 668; (hereafter book cited as *Obras completas*).

¹⁷ Such is the view of Mora, *La devoción en el espíritu*, 44; Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado also hint at this when as they ask the leading question: "¿No sería esta cláusula una preterición del ideal primitivo?", see "Introducción", in *Obras*, 271-289, 278.

¹⁸ For further analysis of the vow of poverty over the course of the Society's history, see Urbano Valero, "Pobreza", in *DEI* 2:1452-1462, especially relevant to the two initial regimes of poverty in the early Society are 1453-1456.

¹⁹ See, Thió de Pol, "Diario espiritual", in *DEI* 1:593.

²⁰ For a brief biography on Codacio, see Mario Zanfredini, "Codacio (Codazzo), Pietro", in *DHCH* 1:831-832; see also Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN* IV, 387, (book III, chapter 5) for an appraisal of his role in this acquisition.

²¹ See, for complete papal text, *MCo* I, 69-77. The relevant passage is: "aplicamos y apropiamos los frutos, rentas y provechos de esta Iglesia de Santa María a la dicha sacristía" (73).

viability²².

2. The text: important (and curious) features of it

Composed in Spanish with occasional words in Italian and Latin²³, the *Diary* is a document comprised of two small notebooks, or in Spanish, *cuadernillos*. The manuscript book or codex measures 310 x 230 mm, and the autograph pages are slightly smaller, measuring 295 x 222 mm²⁴. The first booklet consists of 13 folios, and it covers the period from February 2nd to March 12th 1544. The second booklet, comprised of 12 folios, contains his observations on his prayer from March 13th to February 27th of 1545²⁵. Neither book contains a title. The disparity evident in the amount of time covered in these two groupings of folios – 40 days in first 13 and an astounding 352 days in the second of 12 folios – immediately suggests a marked change in how Ignatius went about noting his prayer experiences. Even the most cursory observation of a photographic reproduction of the manuscript bears this out²⁶. The folios of the first 40 days, during which Ignatius discerns the issue of the reception of income for the churches' sacristies, present a document somewhat narrative in style, though largely elliptical in its descriptions. It is also heavily redacted. The nearly ubiquitous textual corrections indicate that its author was working hard to express himself. The second notebook, though it continues structures from the first, presents significant differences. In this part of the document, it is difficult to determine what he was discerning. The author indicates, on two occasions and only in the most general terms, his discernment of the missions and some other aspect of the Society of Jesus' life [*De* 161, 223].

²² The observation comes from Peter-Hans Kolvenbach; see Kolvenbach, "Sobre la eucaristía", in *Selección de Escritos*, vol. 2, prepared by A. Verdoy (Compañía de Jesús de España: España, 2007), 98-103, on 101.

²³ His use of Latin indicates the access he had to spiritual theology in that language. On this, see, Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, *The Road from La Storta* ed. Carl Starkloff (St. Louis: IJS, 2000), 129. For more on his knowledge of Latin, see, José García de Castro, "Ignacio de Loyola y las lenguas en la Europa del siglo XVI (1491-1556)", *Revista de Filología Española* 99 (2019): 57-88, 77; (hereafter article cited as "Ignacio de Loyola y las lenguas").

²⁴ See, Giuseppe de Gennaro, "La expresión literaria mística del Diario Espiritual ignaciano", *Manresa* 35 (1963): 25-46, 29, (hereafter "La expresión literaria mística"). The author also proffers further details on its subsequent binding by Cardinal Cienfuegos in the early part of the 18th century. See also, Arturo Codina, "Notitia codicum", in *MCo* I, ccxxvii-ccclxiii, on ccxxxix-ccxlii for the *Diary*.

²⁵ Here I follow the division offered by José García de Castro, "Semántica y mística" 213. However, there exists a range of viewpoints regarding the structure of each booklet. For example, Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado indicate that the first booklet contains 14 folios, and they offer no comment on the second, see "Introducción", in *Obras*, 272; for his part, Thió de Pol indicates that both booklets contain 12 folios, see "Introducción General", in *Intimidad del peregrino*, 21; Munitiz, in his introduction to his translation, offers no comments on the document itself.

²⁶ I want to thank José García de Castro for providing the library of Universidad Pontificia Comillas with a photocopy of the manuscript. It bears the simple title *San Ignacio de Loyola Diario Espiritual*.

This indication that he began to look into the missions of the Society has prompted scholars to consider that he was composing the document “Constituciones circa misiones”²⁷. Later in this booklet, he notes that he “began and proposed to meander through (*andar por*) the Constitutions” [De 223]. Such a statement is exceedingly broad, it is possible to conjecture with Arturo Codina that Ignatius also drafted during this period the document that has been titled “Of other constitutions” (*de otras constituciones*), a text cautioning against ambition in the order²⁸. In summary, in the second notebook, discernment topics are vaguely hinted at, but they never reach the concrete nature of the question of the income that he reviews in the first booklet. And this makes reading it difficult. Though the opening entries of it evidence minimal narrative descriptions, the style of it quickly evolves into the format of a kind of ledger. It is as if the former page of the treasurer of the King and Queen of Spain were merely cataloguing²⁹ the movement, this time not of debts and credits, but of tears³⁰.

2.1. Textual features of the first booklet of 40 days

a. *Organizational aspects*

The first notebook has an unusual beginning. In the first line, he indicates the votive mass that he offered to Our Lady. Below, he begins his numbering system, but he numbers this first day with the number “4”. Next, he indicates the day “martes” (Tuesday) and records his observations of what he experienced in his prayer. Under the word “martes” he draws two vertical lines intersected by a horizontal line, which appears to symbolize his experience of a vision³¹. The second, third, and fourth entries in this notebook receive the numbers “1”, “2”, and “3”, and these numbers correspond to the three previous days: Saturday the 2nd, Sunday the 3rd, and Monday the 4th. A possible hypothesis to account for this backtracking is

²⁷ Following Arturo Codina in his excellent preface to the critical version of the text. Introduction titled “Articulus II. De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride, 1544-1545 (Monumentum 19)”, in *MCo* I, xcvi-cxx, cxix; (hereafter Codina’s introductory text cited as “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride” with page number in roman numerals). Critical edition of the text “Constituciones circa misiones” can be found in *MCo* I, 159-164.

²⁸ Again, following Codina’s hypothesis in “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, cxix. Codina, the editor of these preliminary documents to the *Constitutions*, titles this text “Contra ambitum”, and it can be found in *MCo* I, 164-166.

²⁹ I believe Codina’s observation is sharper than he may realize: “This Diary is a *catalogue* of the benefits that he received”. See, Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, ciii, emphasis mine

³⁰ For more on Ignatius’ time spent at and working for Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, the senior economic official of the Catholic Monarchy, see Luis Fernández Martín, *Los años juveniles de Iñigo de Loyola: su formación en Castilla* (Valladolid: Caja de Ahorros Popular, 1981); (hereafter cited as *Los años juveniles de Iñigo*); also helpful on this period of Ignatius’ life is the biography by García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola*, especially 43-52.

³¹ Iparraguirre, Ruiz Jurado, ed., *Diario espiritual*, in *Obras*, 291, note 4.

that he began writing on Tuesday, February 5th, and he realized that something of what he had experienced that day had been occurring in him the previous three days. This may be the case. On February 5th, he relates a kind of “feeling or seeing Our Lady as favorable to intercede for him” [De 4], and perhaps this evoked for him the initial movement of this experience that began three days earlier when, on February 2nd, he had felt an “increased trust in Our Lady” [De 1]. Albeit slightly confusing, this opening is actually quite illustrative: Ignatius begins his diary attending to a movement and to a person, and he locates the beginning of that movement³². And at this initial phase, it is a movement related to his experience of Mary and Jesus as mediators.

This is the only place in this first booklet that does not proceed chronologically. The rest of the days recorded in this notebook unfold without any irregularity to March 12th, and the observations for each day appear to have been written on the day that he experienced them³³. In addition, the document demonstrates a high degree of organization. Ignatius numbers each entry with an ordinal number and, as already mentioned, indicates the day of the week. The numbering system appears to have organized his process and to have been helpful to him. For example, in his observations for day 19, February 20th, he refers to an earlier experience: “as it is written in chapter 17” [De 57]. Yet this system suffers a curious break or change. Day 34 of this journal corresponds to Thursday, March 6th. However, the next day, Friday, he backs up the numbering to 25 and then continues in order to March 12th, the last day of this booklet, with the number 30. Though it is hard to determine the reason for these changes, the overall care of the text and rigorous search for precision indicates that the adjustment was intentional.

In terms of the days of the week, it is interesting to note he does get them wrong, and persists in the error for several days. For example, after Monday, February 11th, he begins the next two days writing “Wednesday”, and “Thursday”. It appears that on the third day, in the midst of writing “Friday”³⁴, he realized his error, wrote the correct day of the week, and then went back to correct the previous two mistaken days. He is a careful diarist, but Ignatius

³² This hypothesis, which I follow, was offered by Thió de Pol, in *Intimidad del Peregrino*, 48-49, note 44: “Según esta hipótesis, Ignacio empezó el Diario el 5 de febrero, el cuarto día de su discernimiento, y consignó brevemente los tres días anteriores, para dejar constancia del proceso desde el inicio” (49).

³³ See, Arturo Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, c; (hereafter, his introduction to the Diary cited as “Articulus II”). Though he will point out days in the second booklet whose observations appear to have been written at a posterior date, the editor can find no reason to conjecture that in the first booklet Ignatius did not write each day’s experiences on the same day.

³⁴ The manuscript shows the following “15 ~~vie~~ jueves”. The hypothesis that Ignatius realized his error and then went back to revise the previous two days is from Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado, ed., *Diario espiritual*, in *Obras*, 299, note 47.

is prone, like any of us, to simple slips of getting the day wrong³⁵. Perhaps the most important organizational feature of this booklet is the votive mass. With one exception, February 18th, Ignatius always indicates the mass that he will celebrate the following day. Thus, the indication of the mass, though it appears in his folios as if it were a heading to the day, was written by him the day before³⁶.

b. Crossing out and deleting words, phrases, and paragraphs

In terms of its legibility, the manuscript presents challenges. In part, this derives from the fact that the ink bleeds from one side of the page to the other. Also, the document's legibility is severely hampered by the writer himself, specifically by his penchant for crossing out words and revising what he wrote. Some of these deletions are, as alluded to above, simple corrections of mistakes. However, the majority of them show the author making clarifications and fine distinctions. In a word, Ignatius is an extremely meticulous writer, and this minute attention to his experience is demonstrated on the very first day. In his observations of February 5th, he first indicated that before, during and after the mass he found himself with "much abundance of devotion"; however, that was apparently not exactly the case. He drew a line through "~~much~~"; his devotion was only "abundant" [*De* 4]. Also, on that same day, he first reports "interior and exterior tears", only to cross out the two adjectives. At other times, the changes clarify the content of his prayer. For example, deep into a movement towards the Blessed Trinity, and with an emerging sense of being led by the three divine persons, he first indicates that he wondered what God wanted of him. However, he replaced "God" with the "Holy Trinity", the object of his pursuit and love [*De* 119]³⁷. However, not all of his deletions add, at least for the reader, more detail to his experience.

³⁵ Another possibility is the hypothesis offered by Codina. He suggests that this error raises the possibility that Ignatius did not write his prayer experiences on these days but at a later date. See, Codina, "De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride", c.

³⁶ I follow the hypothesis of Miguel Fiorito, "La lucha en el Diario Espiritual", *Boletín de Espiritualidad* 59 (1978): 1-40, 6-7. I will return to this very point when I examine more closely how structural features of the *Diary* emerge from the *Spiritual Exercises* in chapter 6.

In this 40-day period, he celebrates 7 masses to Our Lady, 7 of the day (one Saturday, 6 on Sunday), 16 to the Trinity, 4 to Jesus, 2 to the Holy Spirit, and masses of the following feasts: Annunciation of the Virgin, Saint Matthias, Ash Wednesday, and the Mass of the Five Wounds.

³⁷ Some of the changes made could point to his obsessive personality. For example, he relates an experience of kneeling and given thanks for "so many graces received". Not content with the expression, he modified it to read "for so many benefits" received. Yet, apparently not satisfied with that expression, he made one last change: "for so many gifts and graces received" [*De* 41]. Or the following series of revisions: first "tears", then the second revision which read "came to tear", but finally settling on the phrase "on some water to my eyes" [*De* 141].

For example, he reports on February 17th an experience of devotion that drew him “to stay there enjoying certain movements and interior consolations”. The phrase is very expressive, one that we would expect from him. However, he deleted the latter part of it, so that it now reads “enjoying what I felt” [*De* 41]. The correction may express more accurately his experience, but there is no question that there is a loss of detail. In terms of the focus of this investigation, it is significant to observe that of the 159 times that he uses the word “devotion” in the first booklet, only once does he delete it. This would appear to suggest that he almost never had to rethink an experience that he originally labelled as “devotion”. The only time that he does cross out the word was in his description of his prayer after mass on March 6th. He originally indicated that he found himself with so much “satisfaction, devotion, tears and spiritual visitations”. However, that was apparently overstating the experience; it seems that he only found himself with “so many tears and spiritual visitations” [*De* 122]³⁸.

c. Additions and insertions

One other feature of the text includes the phrases that he inserts and adds to his observations. On some occasions, these additions add nuance or allow the writer to affirm an experience without offering a categorical declaration on it³⁹. Ignatius seems to recognize that the search for the precise expression of a spiritual experience often is that which contains subtlety and even ambiguity⁴⁰. For example, in a period of growing intimacy with the Blessed Trinity facilitated by the presence of Jesus, he carefully describes this experience: “[it was] seeming to me to be the Blessed Trinity for the showing or the feeling of Jesus” [*De* 67]⁴¹. Apparently not satisfied with the circumspection of the phrase, he revised the observation to read: “seeming *in some way* to be of the Blessed Trinity”. On another occasion, after writing that he felt “the Holy Spirit”, he modified the phrase to proffer that he

³⁸ Mention too needs to be made of the entire paragraph that he draws lines through on Saturday, February 9th, where he had reported an experience of it [*De* 11]. But *De* 122 is the only place where he eliminates the word.

³⁹ In the felicitous expression of José García de Castro, in his excellent study of the *Diary*, there are groups of terms that rest upon “esa tensión vaguedad-precisión”. See, García de Castro, “Semántica y mística”, 239.

⁴⁰ And this is in addition to the very clear moments when he writes that he cannot explain what he felt or saw.

⁴¹ The verb “parecer” appears crucially important to him as is evidenced by his use of some form of it 96 times. See, Ignacio Echarte, ed., *Concordancia Ignaciana* (Bilbao-Santander-St. Louis: M-ST-IJS: 1996), 899-902. And this dependence upon the verb “parecer” is all the more striking given his awareness of how false humility can hide behind it. As an example, in his letter to Teresa Rejadell, he takes her to task for employing the verb and avoiding a clearer declaration of her desires. See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Teresa Rejadell (Venice, 18 June, 1536), 99-107, see especially 102; editors of the collection of letters in English translate “parecer” as “think”, see, *Letters and Instructions*, 19.

“felt or *saw in some manner* the Holy Spirit” [De 18]. Similarly, he relates an experience of feeling shame before Mary, but his addition suggests that he was not exactly sure what he felt: “feeling in me a certain shame *or I am not exactly sure what* before her” [De 35]. Paradoxically, this ambiguous expression “I am not exactly sure what” adds nuance and depth to his text⁴².

Another type of addition, very common in this booklet, and one that demonstrates his attention to the spiritual experience as a process that has a beginning, middle and end, are those that specify more concretely the time of the spiritual experience felt. Thus, for example, he is able to circumscribe that “*at the beginning*” of his accustomed prayer [De 65] he felt considerable devotion or that it was “*throughout the mass*” that he felt very great devotion and much tears [De 72]. He also adds that in his accustomed prayer on Ash Wednesday he felt much devotion and that “*after*” this prayer this devotion continued as he moved to the second period of his prayer in his room [De 82]. Likewise, in one of the exceptional references to his activity outside of his prayer, he indicates that on the street “*until 3:30 in the afternoon*” he was calling to mind – with love and movements to cry – the Blessed Trinity [De 110]. His attention to the timing of his spiritual movements demonstrates his understanding that their beginning, duration, and end are revelatory for his discernment.

One of the key insertions that he made in the first booklet involved the word “devotion”. On twelve occasions he redacted the text to include “devotion” to indicate that it had formed part of the spiritual experience that he had felt. For example, in two moments where he was explicitly reviewing his reasons for and against the reception of income, he added that in this process he found himself “*with devotion*” [De 10, 13]. In the same context of explicitly discerning the issue, he appears to want to underscore, or at least remind himself, that the oblation was made “*not without devotion*” [De 40, 41]. Additionally, in an observation connected to the election, he inserts that in giving thanks for the entire process, “*a new devotion came to him*” [De 22]. The other examples of his insertion of “devotion” involve various moments of prayer. For example, on March 2nd, he indicates that at the end of the prayer he was with “*a certain movement, devotion, and tears*” [De 94]. This kind of

⁴² Regarding this very insertion, García de Castro asks: “¿Cómo pensar en matizar el sentido de una frase añadiendo el ‘no sé qué’?”. See, García de Castro, “Semántica y mística”, 241. In much the same way, regarding the verb “parecer”, George Panikulam offers: “The uncertainty expressed implies the author’s desire to be more accurate or transparent”. See, George Panikulam Kunjhu Kunjhu, “The Problem of ‘Seeking Confirmation’ in the *Spiritual Diary* of St. Ignatius of Loyola” (STD diss., Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2004), 104; (hereafter thesis cited as “The Problem of ‘Seeking Confirmation’”).

addition continues in another moment when, preparing the altar for mass, he felt “*considerable devotion and tears*” [De 100]. In another moment in mass he found himself “*with such devotion*” [De 107], and likewise on March 11th even after the mass he was “*with devotion*” [De 143]. Finally, the two remaining instances of the inclusion of “devotion” constitute important clarifications for him. He writes that his devotion to Jesus “*did not diminish his devotion to the Blessed Trinity*” [De 138], and that whether he saw or did not see a vision, he “*found devotion*” [De 143]. These additions suggest that in reviewing his notes, he was asking himself for the presence or the absence of devotion. And in some instances, it was more present than he had initially realized.

Even more importantly for the topic of this investigation, no other spiritual experience is inserted in the text as often as devotion. Perhaps, given the physicality of tears, he does not fail to observe their presence no matter how light they may be. There is only one occasion in which he adds “tears” to the text [De 100]; he will, however, on eight occasions, specify their kind or their intensity. The other interior experiences that he adds, though significant, are few, and they do not approach his careful attention to devotion. Examples of other less frequent insertions are a “visit” [De 96, 105], “benefits” [De 21], “feeling intelligences” [De 33], “assistant grace” [De 88], “greater satiation” [De 103], “contentment” [De 134], “interior satisfaction” [De 148].

d. Importance of these observations

All of these aspects of this first booklet of the *Diary* constitute remarkable features of it. On a very conspicuous level, these redactional details suggest that he read and reread what he wrote⁴³. Further evidence of this can be found in what appear to be posterior marginal annotations that he inserted into his text. For example, he appears to have added the phrase “of the persons that hid themselves” [De 20] and “confirmation of Jesus” [De 66]⁴⁴, small marginal notes, as it were, to mark stages of his process or to guide a future reading of his notes. In addition, he enclosed or boxed in various passages. From February 19th to the 29th, Ignatius received powerful visionary experiences⁴⁵ which he found significant enough to

⁴³ On this facet of rereading the text, Miguel Fiorito suggests that he could have done this “*tratando tal vez de volver a sentir la experiencia pasada... o para agradecer las gracias recibidas con anterioridad*”, see, Fiorito, “La lucha en el Diario Espiritual”, 8.

⁴⁴ Here I follow the indication of Thió de Pol as to the location of this marginal comment on Jesus; see Thió de Pol, *Intimidación del Peregrino*, 110.

⁴⁵ In this eleven-day period, only on two days – February 22 & 26 – is he without some kind of vision. Of the sixteen passages that he draws lines around, eight of them involve the binomial verbal expression “sentir o ver”

demarcate with lines and to transcribe them to a separate folio⁴⁶, perhaps, as Javier Melloni remarks, “to return to what has been lived, to explore the excess of meaning that all interior experience contains”⁴⁷. Perhaps by enclosing them in boxes he was signaling his desire to continue praying with them. It is plausible to assume that in writing about his experiences, he found himself propelled forward in this spiritual adventure and that new horizons were opening for him.

This first booklet also suggests that Ignatius was an author in constant search for the right word, the adequate expression, or the phrase that would most accord with what he felt. In the suggestive formulation of José García de Castro, Ignatius in the *Diary* shows himself to be a searcher of the word, selecting precision as the linguistic option to describe his experience⁴⁸. Though there are times when he employs metaphors and images, he overwhelmingly prefers to describe precisely his experience. Even more importantly, this observation on the style of his writing suggests that the investigation for the content of what Ignatius understands as devotion is a promising one. Namely, the precision of his *Diary* suggests that what he experienced as devotion held a particular and distinct meaning for him.

This precision may be a symptom of his obsessiveness or scrupulosity, and many instances of this document could be invoked to support such a personality profile. But this first booklet more cogently points to his rigorous commitment to open himself to God and God’s gifts⁴⁹. Similarly, and to highlight an obvious point, that desire to find God’s will took place in prayer *and* writing. Like adherents to the Modern Devotion tradition before him, he

[*De* 52, 54, 63, 70, 74, 75, 77, 83], whereas in the remaining eight passages, Ignatius simply indicates a “ver” [*De* 55, 67, 85, 87(2), 88, 89, 90].

⁴⁶ Document can be found reproduced in *MCo* I, cexli. In his introduction to the *Diary*, Codina points out that this page is numbered “2”. It is reasonable to believe that there existed other pages, minimally a first and a third one. He ventures that Ignatius summarized the first 13 folios into three or four, and he calls this abbreviated version the “Breviario”: “rightly this could be called the Breviary of the longer Diary”. See, Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, xcvi.

⁴⁷ Javier Melloni, *Éxodo y éxtasis en Ignacio de Loyola* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 2020), 153; for further commentary on these passages, see, Simon Decloux, *Comentario a las Cartas y Diario Espiritual de S. Ignacio de Loyola* (Rome: CIS, 1982), specifically 82, 105, (hereafter cited as *Comentario a las cartas y Diario*).

⁴⁸ García de Castro, “Semántica y mística”, 223-224; and before him, Abad: “Leído con más atención, se descubren con frecuencia expresiones gráficas, vivas, exactas, que reflejan con precisión insuperable los fenómenos más íntimos del espíritu”, see, Camilo María Abad, “Introducción”, in *Diario espiritual de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Santander: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 1956), 9-57, 22. For his part, Panikulam sees in the linguistic register a reflection of the man: “He was by character a man of precision”. See, Panikulam, “The Problem of ‘Seeking Confirmation’”, 110.

⁴⁹ “El *Diario* [nos da a] Ignacio en toda su verdad y simplicidad; en el rigor de su apertura a Dios y a sus dones”, see, Decloux, *Comentario a las cartas y Diario*, 124.

turned to writing to listen to and to interpret God's action in his interior. In this way, his *Diary* could be conceived as a distant relative of the practice of the *rapiaria*⁵⁰.

Paradoxically, this document, at times an absolute mess and barely legible, evokes the delicacy and care with which he perceived God's action and communication with him. His deep love for God is plainly on display in these pages. Furthermore, the organization, the deletions, the insertions all implicitly reveal his conviction that the divine language can be represented in human language⁵¹. But with difficulty. The very pages of his diary reveal how the divine movement exceeds, even strays outside of the lines of human grammar and syntax. Even the tension that Ignatius creates with ambiguous formulations and with his overwhelming preference for the verb "seems" can only point to, but never exactly capture, God's action with and in him. On occasion he will appear to despair at not being able to express himself – "to write cannot be done nor can the other things be explained" [*De* 27] – yet, Ignatius does write and explain himself. Though the divine movement that he experiences spills over into the margins, and with difficulty is represented in second and third revisions, the *Diary* testifies to his belief that God's action in the human person not only can be felt, but it can be put into words.

2.2. Textual features of the second booklet of 352 days

a. *Organizational aspects*

The second notebook shares similar organizational features with the first, and the author develops new ones to simplify the reporting of his experience. In this second *cuadernillo*, each day receives a number, and he begins the numbering anew on the first day recorded in it – March 13th. However, he adjusts his numbering system several times – changes whose logic is very difficult to ascertain⁵². Also, beginning in October, he changes altogether the style of his numbering system: he numbers his prayer observations according to the day of the month. In addition, there are what appear to be patent mistakes: he skips number 55, jumps from number 85 to 89, and repeats 110. Finally, it is worth noting that not

⁵⁰ If in the Modern Devotion tradition, the spiritual journal functioned as a "maillon intermédiaire" between spiritual reading with meditation, for Ignatius the journal allows him to objectify or see his prayer. See, for the argument on the *rapiaria* in the Modern Devotion tradition Merton's, "Rapiarium", in *DSp* 13:113-119, on 117.

⁵¹ For a learned exposition on his "respect and confidence in language", see, Kolvenbach, *The Road from La Storta*, 125-135.

⁵² I will detail these changes, and review those already alluded to in the first booklet, in more detail in Chapter 6 where I will investigate more carefully the form of the *Diary*.

all of the days in these 352 are recorded. On the days he does not say mass, he records nothing, but he is careful to adjust his numbering system. For example, he omits five days in August (24th-28th), and skips the corresponding numbers 95-99 [*De* 328]. Likewise, in December he goes three days without saying mass [*De* 445]. In January of 1545 there are several breaks: from the 2nd to the 11th [*De* 453], from the 13th – 19th [*De* 456], and the last six days of the month, from the 26th to the 31st [*De* 463], also go unreported⁵³.

Similar to the first notebook, Ignatius indicates the day of the week and, at least initially, the votive mass that he will celebrate⁵⁴. In terms of the mass, it is interesting to note the presence of what appears to be a cycle of them. On four different occasions, Ignatius realizes a sequence of masses that are offered to Our Lady, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, and then the Trinity⁵⁵. It is possible that each of these cycles could have represented smaller discernment processes on some aspects of the *Constitutions*. However, in this second booklet the feature of indicating the votive mass is not consistent, and then it ceases altogether. For example, from April 29th to May 10th there is no mention of the person to whom he offered the mass [*De* 212-220]. This occurs again from May 30th to June 7th [*De* 242-250]. Finally, from July 5th to the end of the journal, February 27th, though the mass is the central point around which he makes his observations, he no longer indicates to whom he offered it [*De* 278-490].

b. Two abbreviations and a code

As alluded to earlier, Ignatius organizes more synthetically his observations. Though he begins in much the same way as he ended the first booklet, relating his experiences in a brief, elliptical format, this soon gives way to a significant simplification and compression. If in the first booklet, he detailed the manifold spiritual gifts he experienced, the gift of tears becomes the exclusive object of his attention. Not only does he focus his examination on this one gift, but he observes its quality and the place of its occurrence with minute care. For

⁵³ Codina's hypothesis seems reasonable: for reasons of bad health, he could not celebrate mass. See, Codina, "De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride", cvi.

⁵⁴ In his careful reading of the manuscript, Codina demonstrates days in which the annotations were most likely not made on the day they occurred but at a later date. He points to three examples of this. The first involves the first three days of the second booklet, March 13th, 14th, and 15th; the second occurs from August 11th – 16th, where he inserted Sunday's annotation between two others; and finally, from May 5th – May 10th. See, Codina, "De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride", c-cii.

⁵⁵ These appear in the following numbers of the *Diary*: 162-166; 167-171; 172-175; 204-211; 226-229. It is interesting to note his inclusion of the Holy Spirit in what appears to be a mediatory liturgical cycle, and how that person of the Trinity is not included in the mediatory prayers or triple colloquies as outlined in the *Exercises* [*Ej* 63, 147, 168, 199, 225].

instance, beginning on March 17th, he uses the letters “a”, “l”, and “d” to indicate the time of his tears in relation to the mass. “A” represents tears before the mass, “l” during, and “d” is after⁵⁶. Strangely, even though he employs a system for abbreviation, he will actually write out when he experienced them. And if there is no letter, he will simply indicate that he was “without tears”. The abbreviated format however does not preclude him from making a brief comment on them. The one variation to this format is the inclusion on October 12th of “t” [De 374]. His description on that day appears to indicate the letter’s meaning: “afterwards later much” (*después tarde muchas*) [De 374]⁵⁷. As Codina points out, if the word “tarde” is understood as an adverb, it would mean the tears came sometime later. On the other hand, if understood as a noun, it would mean they came in the afternoon⁵⁸. The observation is important, but given that the other abbreviations are adverbs, it does seem probable that the “t” is as well. Notwithstanding this ambiguity, from the end of the May to the very last entry, Ignatius follows this three-letter code (“a”, “l”, “d”) to indicate when tears came to him in relation to the mass.

The author continues his focus on his tears and introduces a code and another abbreviation system. Beginning on October 4th, he indicates with dots above the “a” (the abbreviation for tears before mass) the time of his prayer in which these tears came to him. Given that he had three prayer periods before the mass – his accustomed prayer in his bed, his preparatory prayer in his room, and his preparation for the mass in the chapel – the dots appear to allow him to record in which moment the tears came⁵⁹. For instance, the letter “a” without dots, would indicate tears in one of the three periods, the symbol “ä” would report that tears occurred in two of the prayers, and an “a” with three dots would indicate tears in all three prayer periods. He then specifies with the letters, “O”, “C”, and “Y” the period of prayer in which the tears came. “O” represented his earliest or accustomed prayer, “C” was his prayer in his room, and “Y” was his prayer of preparation for the mass in the chapel⁶⁰. Lest this all remain rather strange to the reader, two examples can help demonstrate his shorthand. For example, on October 14th [De 376], he noted: “ä Martes, C.Y. con muchas”. On this Tuesday, he experienced much tears in two places before the mass “ä”: in his room

⁵⁶ Following Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, cviii.

⁵⁷ On several other days he indicates tears that came later without employing the letter “t” [De 423, 424, 429, 434, 475, 476].

⁵⁸ Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, cxi. The Jesuit editor and scholar also points out the other days of November 30th [De 423], December 6th [De 429], and December 11th [De 434], where Ignatius writes the same temporal expression “después tarde” but does not use the “t” in the series of letters.

⁵⁹ I will explore the structure of his prayer in more detail in chapter 7.

⁶⁰ Again, following Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, cix-cxi.

“C” and then in the chapel “Y”. On this day he apparently did not have tears during nor after the mass. Another example from the same month is his experience on October 20th [*De* 382]: “*á l d Lunes, antes C.Y. y en ella y después de ella mucha abundancia de ellas*”. On this Monday, he had a great abundance of tears before the mass “ä” – in his room “C” and in the chapel “Y” – as well as during the mass “l” and after “d” it. With this second abbreviation system and more focused codification, Ignatius continues and completes his diary⁶¹.

c. Less insertions and deletions, similar rigor, and perchance more freedom

On the whole, save for the first two folios of this part of the *Diary*, this second booklet is a much more legible document than the previous one. Apart from the entries for March, the first week of April, and occasional days in May, Ignatius ceases to report with any narrative detail his prayer experiences. Though he does continue to cross out phrases and add more precise clarification⁶², the text, because of its simplification, demonstrates much less editorial work. As such, there is no question that his investment of time was significantly less in this part of his note-taking. Though what it gains in legibility, it clearly loses in appeal. Day after day, as if it were a kind of ledger, Ignatius simply notes his tears, the spiritual experience that dominates this second book. And this lack of narrative makes the text, to put it mildly, vastly less interesting⁶³. Globally considered, of the ten and a half months covered in this booklet, nine merely record his tears. Nevertheless, his precision about them does not wane. Though there is the rare occasion in which he notes that he was at mass with “much superabundance of tears” [*De* 367, 394, 416], much more common are adjectives such as “abundance”, “much” or the laconic expression “with tears”.

This booklet, with two sets of abbreviations and a kind of personal code of dots, can give the impression that the author is minutely and obsessively concerned with tears as a sign of God’s presence in his prayer. However, it is possible to perceive, amidst his rigor and attention, an author much more relaxed. For example, there is a five-day period in early May which he resumes with the phrase “it seems that I had them” [*De* 218-219]. Likewise, there

⁶¹ On Christmas of 1544, Ignatius reports celebrating three masses. And he specifies for each one the tears and their location [*De* 446].

⁶² For example, on July 21st, he first reported “without tears”; he changed it to read: “almost without tears” [*De* 294].

⁶³ De Gennaro uses the rather harsh nouns “monotonía y sequedad” to describe the text. He does not seem to catch the irony of describing the second booklet, full as it is of tears, as “sequedad”. See, de Gennaro, “La expresión literaria mística”, 33. Nor does Panikulam, in his rather mordant observation: “The entries are dry and monotonous as the entries of any ledger or telephone directory”. See, Panikulam, “The Problem of ‘Seeking Confirmation’”, 84.

are days when he records that he did not know if he had them [*De* 283], or could not remember [*De* 314]. Observations such as these are unrecognizable to the exacting quality of the first book. Similarly, there are two three-day periods that he goes without them, and this appears not to cause him any grave consternation or doubt⁶⁴. In essence, this second notebook appears as a much quieter, more pacific text. Though I will investigate in more detail the form of both booklets in chapter 6 of my study, it is enough to indicate at this moment that the differences between the two booklets could point to a spiritual evolution that the author experienced over this 13th month period. The hard, arduous work of finding the right expression so evident in the first booklet appears to have evolved into calm and simple noting of one – perhaps the most significant to him – of God’s gifts. It could be the case that the communication between God and Ignatius became much more fluid, and tears symbolized this now porous, soft, and flowing relationship with the divine⁶⁵.

3. Brief history of the document and a path towards a new hermeneutic

In detailing the context and the textual features of the document, I have attempted to place before the reader Ignatius as well as his personal journal. However, to visualize even more carefully the document implies an awareness of the hermeneutical assumptions in which it arrives to a reader. This involves much more than the mention of its publication history, which in the case of this text, is brief. The first publication of the first booklet, accompanied by fragments of the second notebook, was realized in 1892 by the Spanish Jesuit Juan José de la Torre. Thirty years later a translation of that publication in German was produced by Alfred Feder⁶⁶. These dates, along with the publication of the critical edition in 1934, constitute important moments in the document’s history. However, the brevity of this publication history belies the rather clear hermeneutical lines that accompany it. Ignatius’ earliest companions were aware of the text, and their observations have generated important critical assumptions on it. Given that my study necessarily interacts and seeks to dialogue with this hermeneutical tradition, in this present section, I will detail briefly the earliest remarks on the document and the interpretive assumptions that are derived from

⁶⁴ I have only located a period of three days as the longest period that he goes without them: *De* 248-250, 254-256.

⁶⁵ Reflecting on his tears that dominate the second booklet, Melloni offers: “La familiaridad del Peregrino con las lágrimas muestra que, cuanto más caminaba hacia adentro, más tierno se volvía”. See, Melloni, *Éxodo y éxtasis*, 161.

⁶⁶ See, Iparraguirre, Ruiz Jurado, “Introducción”, in *Obras*, 284.

these testimonies.

3.1. Early testimony of Ignatius' personal notes

Far different from the current situation which tends to overlook the *Diary*, the earliest biographers of Ignatius seem to have been minimally cognizant of it, if not very familiar with the document itself. The earliest testimony, albeit slight, comes from Diego Laínez's letter of 1547 in which he gives an account of Ignatius' life. Near the conclusion of his letter, considered the first biography on Ignatius, the author alludes to "many other diverse things" he heard from Ignatius. He writes that Ignatius communicated to him "the visitations that he had on the mysteries of the faith, such as the Eucharist, especially the person of the Father and for a certain time afterwards the person of the Word, and lately of the person of the Spirit"⁶⁷. The reference to the Eucharist and to his increase in knowledge of the persons of the Trinity, albeit basic elements of the Christian faith, makes it possible to consider, as I believe García Hernán acutely observes, that Laínez was aware of the existence of the *Diary* or at least to the process recounted in it⁶⁸.

Stronger testimony of knowledge of Ignatius' personal notes appears in the so-called *Autobiography* composed by the Portuguese Jesuit Gonçalves da Câmara⁶⁹. Rounding out his narrative, Gonçalves da Câmara rather hastily questions Ignatius on how he composed the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions*⁷⁰. Regarding the composition of the latter text, the Portuguese biographer reports that he learned that "the method that he followed while he was drafting the Constitutions was to say mass each day, and to present to God the point that he was treating, and to pray over it. He always had tears at prayer and at mass" [*Au* 101]. Just before that description, the author reveals that his beloved subject informed him with more detail about this process:

⁶⁷ See Albuquerque ed., *Diego Laínez, primer biógrafo*, 59.

⁶⁸ García Hernán reads this very passage from Laínez's missive and offers that "se deduce que conoce la existencia del *Diario Espiritual*". See, García Hernán, "Una 'nueva' biografía. La *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* de Juan Alfonso de Polanco", *Manresa* 93 (2021): 197-204, 200.

⁶⁹ For as important as this figure is in Ignatian historiography and spirituality, the bibliography on him is remarkably small. See, for example, the one-page entry on him by José Vaz de Carvalho, "Câmara, Luís Gonçalves da", in *DHCJ* 1:608-609.

⁷⁰ Questions, that as García de Castro points out, need not coincide with the telling of the story. The author could have picked up these details at any point during his stay in Rome with Ignatius. See, García de Castro, "El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola. Aspectos lingüísticos y léxicos" (PhD diss., Universidad de Salamanca, 1999), 47; (hereafter cited as "El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola").

In particular he spoke to me about decisions over which he had spent forty days, saying Mass each day, and each day with many tears. The question was whether a church could have any fixed income, and whether the Society could make use of that [Au 100].

With his curiosity piqued at such a process, and apparently seeing him with papers that could have included the *Diary*, he asked Ignatius to show him “the rather large bundle of writings of which he read to me a good bit” [Au 100]. Ignatius, however, demurred. Though the “large bundle of papers” may or may have not included the *Diary*, his testimony would appear to suggest that some of those papers were in fact the first booklet of it.

Further testimony regarding Ignatius’ personal text also comes from Peter Ribadeneira⁷¹. In one rather unofficial writing of his, in notes thought to be written sometime between 1559-1566, this long-time companion of Ignatius recounts an event in 1544 which could refer to the pages of the *Diary*. Albeit anecdotal and with no small hagiographical coloring, the story is interesting. Ribadeneira, an excellent writer, sets the scene well: in 1544 the nascent religious order was in the process of refurbishing the house to which they would move to in September of that year. However, they were suddenly found without money to pay for the work and their household items were in the process of being confiscated to meet the costs incurred. All of this was reported to Ignatius, and, according to the author, he responded with his characteristic freedom: “if they take our beds, we will sleep on the ground, as poor men, for that is what we are”. Yet, it appears Ignatius was reluctant to part with one thing. Ribadeneira reports that Ignatius made this request: “I would only ask that they leave behind some papers; and if they were to want to take them, in God’s name they could”⁷². It is intriguing to imagine that Ignatius was referring to his diary; he could lose anything in the house, but if it were up to him, he would rather not lose “some papers” of his.

In his official biography of Ignatius, Ribadeneira demonstrates great familiarity with the text. He indicates that “a notebook written in his own hand, was found in a certain little box after his death”⁷³. In the following two paragraphs, the author details the *Diary* and demonstrates his careful reading of it. He specifies the question that Ignatius was discerning, and then offers that God inspired Ignatius to write everything that happened to him for the space of forty days in his morning prayer, in his preparation for the mass, in the mass itself, as well his moment of prayer after the mass. In addition to capturing the distinct prayer

⁷¹ This Jesuit holds an exceptional place in the history of the Order. For more on the Toledan who lived some 71 years in the order, see Ruiz Jurado, “Ribadeneira, Pierre de”, in *DSp* 13:526-532; Armando Pego Puigbó, “Ribadeneira, Pedro de”, in *DBE* 43:276-277;

⁷² Ribadeneira, “De actis patris nostri Ignatii”, in *FN* II, 317-394, on 368-369.

⁷³ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN* IV, 611, (book IV, chapter 2).

moments, Ribadeneira offers more details on some of the content narrated in it: “There one perceives with what continual and extraordinary illuminations of the Most Holy Trinity his mind was filled, about the divine Essence, about the procession of the divine Persons, about their nature and operation”⁷⁴. His summary of the *Diary* even quotes specific language in it. For example, to affirm the point that his experiences in prayer were such that they redounded in his body, he cites the passage where Ignatius reports “feeling sensibly all of his veins in his body” [*De* 47]⁷⁵. His familiarity with the language of the *Diary* suggests that he had the text in front of him or at least the first booklet of it⁷⁶. Finally, this early companion advances this interpretation of the text: “[it is] so that we might realize what status the Constitutions ought to have, with what reverence we ought to treat them, and with what zeal and care we ought to follow them”⁷⁷.

3.2. Hermeneutical perspectives that emerge from this tradition

These early testimonies of the *Diary*, principally those from Gonçalves da Câmara and Ribadeneira, are important for several reasons. First, they remind us of the importance that the text held for Ignatius; that he would read portions of it to his Portuguese Jesuit companion some ten years later suggests that he found it relevant or illustrative of who he was. The image of Ignatius reading his personal journal also softens the representation of him; quite possibly, he was less reticent about his personal experience that we might think. Similarly, the documentation of his personal notes by these two biographers indicates that the document was known and that it helped his earliest companions fill in details about his personal prayer and experience of God. Testimony from another early companion of his points us in this same direction. In his response to the petition from Rome to return all documents about Ignatius for the composition of an official biography, Jerome Nadal wrote: “about the devotions and sentiments of Father Master Ignatius in prayer, written in his hand, I do not have it; our Father Master Laínez does, and I think he left it with Father Salmerón; nevertheless, I have a copy and, in any event, if you cannot find it there, I will send it as fast

⁷⁴ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN IV*, 613, (book IV, chapter 2).

⁷⁵ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN IV*, 613, (book IV, chapter 2); translation mine; Pavar misses or does not make the connection of “venas” with one of the more noteworthy references to Ignatius feeling his body in his prayer.

⁷⁶ Much later in his biography, he cites passages from the *Diary* verbatim; he quotes from March 14th [*De* 156] and March 30th [*De* 178], both from the second booklet. See *Vita*, in *FN IV*, 755-759, (book V, chapter 1), quoted passage from the *Diary* on 757 and 759.

⁷⁷ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN IV*, 613, (book IV, chapter 2).

as I am able”⁷⁸. Nadal’s descriptions of a document of “devotions and sentiments” quite possibly refers to the *Diary*. In brief, it does seem to be the case that this document was known, and perhaps it even circulated, helping the men understand more fully the personal spiritual experience of their beloved spiritual father.

Perhaps even more importantly, the testimony from Gonçalves da Câmara and Ribadeneira inaugurated two strong hermeneutical traditions regarding the document. First, the observation from Gonçalves da Câmara, specifically his indication of a large bundle of papers, or, in Spanish, “un fajo muy grande de escritos”, has given rise to the thesis that the *Diary* only reflects part of a much larger collection of personal notes or diaries now lost⁷⁹. It is argued that a text of only two notebooks hardly constitutes a large bundle of papers, therefore what we have only represents a part of what was a much larger set of personal notes and diaries⁸⁰. This line of thinking has given rise to the commonplace that the text before us is incomplete⁸¹. Implicit in this hermeneutic is the idea that the *Diary*, in and of itself dense and hard to follow⁸², is further handicapped because it lacks material that should either precede or follow it. Quite possibly for this reason it is easy to omit in studies on Ignatius⁸³ or in reflections on Jesuit life⁸⁴.

⁷⁸ *MNad* III, Nadal to Francis Borja (Mainz, 20 Feb, 1567), 369-382, 377. It is compelling to consider that Nadal had the *Diary* in mind when he exhorted Jesuits to pray with texts of Ignatius: “leer, meditar y gustar lo que ha escrito el padre maestro Ignacio, con toda ponderación, devoción y humildad. Esto ha de dar a sentir nuevo espíritu y devoción propia de la Compañía... en modo suave, fuerte, fácil, libero, intrínseco, devoto y mansueto, con continuo espíritu y devoción...”, “De la oración, especialmente para los de la Compañía”, in *MNad* IV, 672-681, 680.

⁷⁹ For example, Víctoriano Larrañaga who states: “con ser una mínima parte de aquel ‘fajo bien grande de manuscritos’”, “Introducción al Diario Espiritual”, *Obras completas*, 629; more recently, Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado: “San Ignacio debió de escribir otros muchos fascículos similares a estos dos que de modo providencial se han salvado de la destrucción”, in “Introducción”, in *Obras*, 272; or, the felicitous French expression “la liasse reste au secret”, see Pierre-Antoine Fabre, “Introduction”, in *Ignace de Loyola Écrits*, ed. Maurice Giuliani (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1991), 313-318, 313; similar observation made by Decloux, *Comentario a las Cartas y Diario*, 81.

⁸⁰ Adolf Haas, for example, hypothesizes, with no reference to sources, that Ignatius kept a diary from the days of his conversion. See, Haas, “The mysticism of St. Ignatius according to his *Spiritual Diary*”, in *Ignatius of Loyola: His Personality and Spiritual Heritage*, ed. Friedrich Wulf (St. Louis: IJS, 1977), 164-199, 165, (hereafter cited as “The mysticism of St. Ignatius”).

⁸¹ For an overview of those positions that see the *Diary* as a part of a much larger collection of personal notebooks, see, Panikulam, “The Problem of ‘Seeking Confirmation’”, 75-76.

⁸² I concur with Ruiz Jurado: “Se ha escrito mucho y se escribe sobre las diversas obras de San Ignacio; pero lo más difícil normalmente es escribir sobre su Diario Espiritual”, see, Ruiz Jurado, “La oración de san Ignacio en su Diario Espiritual”, *Manresa* 84 (2012): 63-77, 63; (hereafter article cited as “La oración de San Ignacio”).

⁸³ An example, and a significant one for Ignatian studies, is the *Diary’s* absence in Francisco José Ruiz Pérez’s excellent study *Teología del camino*. This is surprising, especially given that Ignatius clearly and explicitly refers to being shown a new way or “via”. His “talante peregrino”, to use Ruiz Pérez’s language, is nowhere more on display than in the *Diary*. See, Ruiz Pérez, *Teología del Camino* (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 2000).

⁸⁴ Similarly, the *Diary* has figured in the reflection of the more recent General Congregations only in the most marginal of ways. The last time it was cited in a General Congregation is now over 25 years ago; it appears in a footnote in the document on Poverty from General Congregation 34. Father Peter-Hans Kolvenbach did reference it in his introduction to the Congregation’s voting on the Society’s Law. See text entitled

Second, the eloquent testimony from Ribadeneira situates the *Diary* as a kind of hermeneutical key to another text, that is, to the *Constitutions*. It is clear that Ribadeneira engages the document on its own terms; he appears to have had it or at least to have read it when he composed his biography. Nevertheless, he ultimately reads it as that which teaches the Jesuit how to comprehend and live the legislative text of the *Constitutions*. This too is another commonplace in the hermeneutical tradition of the *Diary*⁸⁵. As an example, the modern reading of the *Diary* begins with this premise. In his very impressive preface and stunning editorial and interpretive work on the autograph text, Arturo Codina affirms in his opening sentence that “there is only one document that declares more than any other the work and diligence that Father Ignatius put in redacting the *Constitutions*”⁸⁶. In this interpretation, its ultimate meaning is found outside of it, in another text; it shows us the care and profound spiritual experience that undergirds the *Constitutions*. That is a helpful paradigm, and the brief allusions to points of the *Constitutions* in it do allow for such an interpretation. But overplaying its relationship to the legislative text of the Order shifts the focus from the internal movement of the document to another text of an altogether different genre that was composed, lest we forget, in collaboration with others. I would suggest that the *Diary* is more than a primer on how to read the *Constitutions*,

Both of these interpretive traditions regarding the *Diary* form, even mediate, access to the text. Not only aware of this hermeneutical tradition, I will diverge from both strands of it. First, I will propose an interpretive approach that considers this text as a complete unit which begins in February of 1544 and ends in February of 1545⁸⁷. This approach of honoring the text as that which is not lacking any material will, minimally, permit a comprehension of it on its own terms. I can only study what the documentary evidence presents, and that evidence exhibits a text that provides no indication of missing material. In other words, there is a beginning to the *Diary*, a middle that continues to develop initial themes and experiences,

“Introduction of Father General to the Final Voting on the Society’s Law”. It is also cited in Decree 2 of General 32, “Jesuits Today”, number 30. Mention too is made, in the same Congregation, of the *Diary* in a footnote, in decree 12 “On Poverty”. For documents in English from General Congregations 31-35, see, *Jesuit Life and Mission Today. The Decrees & Accompanying Documents of the 31st – 35th General Congregations of the Society of Jesus*, ed. John Padberg (St. Louis: IJS, 2009). In brief, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the *Diary* does not constitute a source for reflection on Jesuit life.

⁸⁵ Munitiz alludes to this when he writes: “for this was only the exordium of the whole book of the *Constitutions*”. See, Munitiz, “Introduction to the *Spiritual Diary* of Ignatius Loyola”, *The Way Supplement* 16 (1972): 101-116, on 103.

⁸⁶ Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, xcvi; at near the end of his introduction he returns to this, cxvii-cxx.

⁸⁷ An approach also taken by Panikulam, “The Problem of ‘Seeking Confirmation’”, 78. The author posits that the text is integral: “There is uninterrupted continuity, from the chronological point of view, of the recordings”.

and an end⁸⁸. Thus, to entertain the idea that Ignatius had bundles of diaries and somehow destroyed them, leaving for us only the one from 1544-1545 is to engage a compelling hypothesis, but one that rests on the rather subjective interpretation of what constitutes a “fajo grande”⁸⁹. More importantly, to engage that hypothesis is to restrict, seriously, a critical engagement with the document. If read as a complete unit, a reader can discover the multiple elections that occur in his process as well as his remarkable growth in his relationship to God.

The only serious argument I have encountered in which the text of the *Diary* is interpreted as alluding to pages or parts that precede it is developed by Miguel Fiorito. He, following Codina, highlights that on February 18th Ignatius reported an experience of very little enjoyment in his prayer (*muy poco gusto*) [*De* 44]⁹⁰. Originally, he had written something far more expressive: “with much less enjoyment than I have had in the past twenty days”⁹¹. Fiorito invokes this phrase to argue that the *Diary* formed part of a larger set of notes, given that 20 days earlier would have referred to a period of time before the first entries of the first booklet. However, this argument, as intriguing as it might be, ultimately rests on a phrase that Ignatius deleted. By deleting it, the author demonstrates that he is not in agreement with it or, like so many other deletions in the document, it is simply not accurate. In addition, I would offer that the original phrase could have meant that ever since he started his *Diary* he had not experienced such little enjoyment in his prayer. In this sense, his rough estimate of having been praying and discerning for about twenty days was not off by much. And perhaps in a further examination of his notes, with a penchant to avoid hyperbole in any form, he crossed it out because it was not true.

With respect to the tradition of reading the *Diary* as a kind of spiritual footnote to the *Constitutions*, there can be little doubt as to their relationship. Ribadeneira is right: it teaches us how to read the legislative body of the Order. Yet, a close reading of the document demonstrates that the spiritual movements in it do not always report back to legislative

⁸⁸ As far as I can tell, José García de Castro is the only scholar who maintains this hypothesis, clearly enunciated at his lecture titled “Diario espiritual de san Ignacio de Loyola” (lecture, Aula Fabro, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 4 October 2018), accessed 10 September 2020, [https://tv.comillas.edu/media/D.+Jos%C3%A9+Garc%C3%ADa+de+Castro%2C+SJ.++%22Diario+espiritual+de+san+Ignacio+de+Loyola.%22+Aula+de+Espiritualidad+Pedro+Fabro.++4+10+2018/1_paw20z4j/15794425_1](https://tv.comillas.edu/media/D.+Jos%C3%A9+Garc%C3%ADa+de+Castro%2C+SJ.++%22Diario+espiritual+de+san+Ignacio+de+Loyola.%22+Aula+de+Espiritualidad+Pedro+Fabro.++4+10+2018/1_paw20z4j/15794425_1;);

⁸⁹ Codina has quite a grand thesis on this point: “The Diary can and should be considered just one part not only of all that he wrote in his whole life but of all that he wrote while writing the Constitutions”. I will examine the hypothesis that writing was important to Ignatius, but it is hard to sustain that he wrote diaries his whole life or the entire composition of the Constitutions was done with journals. See, Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, cxx.

⁹⁰ See, Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, cxx; Fiorito, “La vida espiritual de San Ignacio según su Diario Espiritual”, *Boletín de Espiritualidad* 57 (1978): 1-40, 6; (hereafter article cited as “La vida espiritual”).

⁹¹ See, *Diario*, en *Obras*, footnote 85.

questions of the order. If the initial motive for recording his spiritual experiences was to discover God's will regarding the question of poverty, new phases in the journey opened up to him. These other phases and spiritual processes can emerge when the text is read on its own. This is not to gainsay that the *Diary* gives spiritual density to the *Constitutions*, but its spiritual depth is not dependent on that of another text.

3.3. A hermeneutical perspective inherent to the text: relationship

I will read the *Diary* as a complete textual unit but not in isolation from other writings of his. It is a document that exists in a larger body of writing, and its content and form emerge when seen alongside of those other texts. Especially helpful for understanding the structure and the experiences noted in the *Diary* are the *Spiritual Exercises*⁹². Such an interpretive move is hardly new, and it is one that I will follow⁹³. Many scholars have studied how the *Diary* enacts the very practices prescribed in the *Exercises*. Notably among these studies is one that directly concerns the object of my investigation. Alfonso de la Mora, in his monograph to which I have already alluded, *La devoción en el espíritu de san Ignacio (Devotion in the spirit of St. Ignatius)*, interprets the *Diary* and devotion in reference to the *Exercises*. For instance, he reads the text as that which illustrates the times of election in the *Exercises*; he also understands devotion as a kind of consolation, and for that reason considers the rules for the discernment of spirits as applicable to it⁹⁴. This approach is insightful, but the facile identification of devotion with consolation merits deeper inquiry⁹⁵. Moreover, Mora does not situate Ignatius' experience in the larger tradition. With no reference to the spiritual tradition of devotion, it is hard to determine continuity or difference in Ignatius' experience of it.

One other aspect of Mora's study limits his analysis of devotion in the *Diary*. Not unlike many commentators on the *Diary*, he does not attend to the form of the text. In brief,

⁹² In chapter 6 of my study I will directly address the question of the *Diary's* relationship with the *Exercises*.

⁹³ The literature on this is abundant and diverse; each author tends to highlight a different aspect of the *Exercises* in their reading of the *Diary*. For example, Fermín Lator, "Los Ejercicios y el 'Diario' de nuestro Santo Padre", *Manresa* 17 (1945): 97-115; Ángel Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa en la espiritualidad de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 2nd ed. (Vitoria, 1989), 211-213; (hereafter cited as *La santa misa*); Mora, *La devoción en el espíritu*, especially 31-39; Santiago Thió de Pol, "La experiencia de Dios en los Ejercicios y en el diario espiritual de S. Ignacio", *Manresa* 61 (1989): 343-354; Fiorito, "La vida espiritual", 17ff. Outside of the field of Ignatian studies, there is the perspicacious (and indispensable) study by Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux), 1976.

⁹⁴ Mora suggests that devotion is a kind of (*una especie de*) consolation. See, Mora, *La devoción en el espíritu*, 58, 144. Thió de Pol, in his article on devotion, offers a similar interpretation. See, Thió de Pol, "Devoción", in *DEI* 1:585.

⁹⁵ This very topic will form an important part of chapter 9.

the author does not investigate the genre or the structure of the document. That question is crucial for establishing a frame of reference by which the spiritual experiences reported can be understood. In the following two chapters, I will investigate more carefully the form of the text in order to propose a hypothesis as to its genre. Understanding the genre of the *Diary* will clarify the text before us and go a long way in providing a solid ground by which the spiritual experience and the theology of devotion can be understood. In essence, I believe that two “backgrounds” are required: one comes from the Christian tradition on devotion and the other comes from the text itself. Clarity on both of those frames of reference will allow for a sharper focus on the experiences reported. This is not to suggest that the designation “spiritual diary” is mistaken, rather it is to argue that the nomenclature does not account in a critical way for its features. A closer study of the *Diary* with the rules and the structures of the *Spiritual Exercises* can provide us with an understanding of the text that is more cogent and precise than simply that which is “spiritual” and “diary”.

In addition, the hermeneutic that I will adopt emerges from the conclusions of the previous section. To that end, I will examine devotion by way of the categories of promise, experience, and movement. In each of these, I will scrutinize the way Jesus, specifically the humanity of Jesus, permeates these categories. These classifications permit a focused analysis of Ignatius’ experience of devotion in accord with the spiritual tradition that precedes him; they also can contribute to a potentially new perspective regarding his experience of it and, more generally, regarding the autograph text itself. The *Diary* has yet to receive a detailed study of the experience of devotion that not only reads the text as one complete unit, but also as a chapter in the longer history of the Christian experience and reflection on devotion. I hope to begin to contribute to that void.

The first unit of this investigation has provided an invaluable point of departure for studying the *Diary*. It is also more than the requisite background narrative that offers indispensable context. It implicitly confirms the insight that feelings and sentiments – even religious ones – are socially constructed⁹⁶. They come from a much larger context and tradition. Though devotion was “authentically” experienced by Ignatius and other Christian believers, it comprises a religiously constructed sentiment. It was one of many other kinds of religious sentiments available to him. He could have chosen the inner experience of peace, spiritual poverty or consolation as the inner sentiment to which he could have attached such importance. But he chose, as I believe the *Diary* makes plainly manifest, devotion. To

⁹⁶ For a lucid overview of this, see, Mónica Bolufer Peruga, “La historia de uno mismo y la historia de los tiempos”, *Cultura escrita & sociedad* 1 (2005): 42-48, on 45-46.

understand that choice is to consider the rich architecture of this religious feeling. And it is to consider his attraction to this term. Quite possibly he wanted to construct his relationship with God with and in devotion, that is, with a decided interest in that which consists of a rich inner experience, signals a promise, and produces movement. He may have been attracted to devotion for the simple, but profound itinerary of feeling and doing which constitutes the nucleus of it.

Perhaps, and even more simply, the relational nature of the term appealed to him. This hypothesis will be explored, but at this initial moment of understanding the text before us, the optic of relationship goes a long way in simplifying and illuminating the document, reminding us that Ignatius' diary is a simple, even straightforward document. In it, Ignatius asks God a simple, concrete question⁹⁷: should the sacristies of the Society's churches receive income, a partial income, or none whatsoever? And he listens for the response⁹⁸, trusting that God will answer him and that he will be able to understand that response⁹⁹. This dialogical structure intimates that the *Diary* is a deeply relational text. It represents his desire to move towards God's will and God's very life, and it is a text that conveys his perception of God's movement towards him. It is fascinating to see devotion appear with such frequency in this relational structure, as if it were pulling together both God and Ignatius in one harmonious movement.

I am hardly, however, the first person to observe the presence of devotion in the *Diary* and its relevance to understanding more carefully Ignatius' spiritual life. Two of his earliest companions, Gonçalves da Câmara and Ribadeneira, seem to have caught it as well. Well known is Gonçalves da Câmara's concluding observation on Ignatius, one that has become something of a catchphrase on Ignatius. At the end of his narrative, he wrote that Ignatius "had always grown in devotion, that is, ease in finding God" [Au 99]. This observation occurs in the part of the text in which the author reports having heard Ignatius read aloud parts of his *Diary*. Given the context of this phrase, a context permeated by references to Ignatius' personal journal, it is plausible to imagine that in hearing passages from it,

⁹⁷ Not a new insight into the text. See, for example, de Gennaro, "La expresión literaria mística", 30. Also cogently expressed by José García de Castro in his lecture "*Diario Espiritual de San Ignacio de Loyola*". (lecture, Aula Fabro, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, October 4, 2018), accessed 10 September 2020, https://tv.comillas.edu/media/D.+Jos%C3%A9+Garc%C3%ADa+de+Castro%2C+SJ.++%22Diario+espiritual+de+san+Ignacio+de+Loyola.%22+Aula+de+Espiritualidad+Pedro+Fabro.++4+10+2018/1_paw20z4j/15794425

⁹⁸ The idea, in part, comes from Mora's study. Of the many very trenchant observations contained in the monograph, the author understands devotion as a "dialogue between God and the human person, where the divine response would be the devotion". See, Mora, *La devoción en el espíritu*, 24.

⁹⁹ For a more complete study on Ignatian anthropology, see the collection of essays titled *El sujeto: reflexiones para una antropología ignaciana*.

Gonçalves da Câmara perceived the importance of devotion in Ignatius' spiritual life. He then did what a good writer does: he employed a term so dear to his subject in a rather brilliant, epigrammatic summary of Ignatius. The description could not be more felicitous. Ribadeneira seems to have enacted the same kind of procedure. With both the *Diary* and Gonçalves da Câmara's biography at hand, he too framed his description of Ignatius' spiritual life with "devotion"¹⁰⁰. At the beginning of Book V in which he makes a clear apology for his sainthood, the author highlights Ignatius as having lived, first and foremost, the virtue of devotion. He seems to have understood Ignatius' union and familiarity with God with "devotion"¹⁰¹. In the same section of his biography, Ribadeira indicates how as an old and infirm man, Ignatius was given the grace and spirit of devotion¹⁰². In this way, two of the earliest narratives written about Ignatius not only refer to the *Diary*, but they select devotion as a basic interpretive key to understanding his spiritual life. This study of the *Diary* picks up where they left off.

CONCLUSIONS

1. *From his context to ours*

This chapter has indicated the context in which Ignatius composed the *Diary*. That context involved the impressive expansion of the Society of Jesus in multiple geographical directions and in various apostolic fronts. Similarly, Ignatius himself was establishing diverse pastoral works with very clear juridical structures. These were founding moments for the new religious order. Though foundational discernment had been done and ecclesial approbation had arrived, their discernment now had to evolve to meet more immediate and pressing apostolic questions. In essence, Ignatius and his companions were discovering their mission as it unfolded and evolved. The *Diary* takes place as a discernment in this broad and challenging context of discovering their particular way of proceeding according to God's will. This general context would suggest that a study of the *Diary* is germane to the present one of the Society of Jesus. A study of the document's form, content and spirituality promises to yield interesting insights into Ignatius; it also may produce important considerations for the Society of Jesus' discernment which continues to take place in a context of immediate and pressing apostolic questions.

¹⁰⁰ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN IV*, 737, (book V, chapter 1).

¹⁰¹ See also, Thió de Pol, "Devoción", in *DEI* 1:585.

¹⁰² Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN IV*, 749, (book V, chapter 1).

2. *A register with a structure*

The brief overview of the *Diary* presents a document that is asymmetrical. The author appears to be constantly, even tirelessly at work on it during the first 40 days, and then, in the second booklet, his attention eventually sharpens to one aspect of his spiritual experience. Reading the autograph text as one compositional unit gives the sense that it changes according to his needs. Though both booklets are dissimilar, they convey the idea that they are responding to the author's interest.

The general sketch that I have provided of the *Diary* gives the indication that he is tracking his spiritual experiences. He numbers the days, changes those numbers, reports rather elliptically his experiences each day, and then develops abbreviations and codes to catalogue that experience. Everything appears as a kind of register; it even looks like a personal log-book, as if he were tabulating experiences, keeping track of them with numbers, letters, letters with diacritical marks, and key words. Nevertheless, it is a safe premise to suppose that this way of organizing his observations was helpful to him, and perhaps these structural aspects made his experience more readable. Things are less uneven than they appear. In short, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he had a structure in mind. These latent structures present in the registering or cataloguing of his experiences need to be made explicit.

3. *A text and a spiritual experience not totally unknown*

Early references to the *Diary* by some of the more well-placed figures in the Society of Jesus suggest that the text was known and that it provided Ignatius' early companions of insight into his personal spiritual experience. Though it appears that Ignatius kept it safely tucked away, it was not as concealed as one would think. His companions pointed to it in order to grasp the spiritual depth with which their Institute had been founded. They also knew that their way of proceeding had been forged by his intimacy with God. The confidence that this provided them in their life and mission must have been great.

The references to the *Diary* also present the intriguing possibility that not only was the text known, but that the experience of devotion was identified as one of the singular aspects of his spirituality. That Gonçalves da Câmara and Ribadeneira, two early biographers of his, would allude to devotion, suggest its importance to them and to him. It is remarkable to observe at the early stage of this investigation that Ignatius looked for devotion in his discernment, and his early biographers turned to the same spiritual category to construct their

image of him.

4. A relational structure within the tradition

Broadly conceived, the *Diary* exhibits a relational structure. Ignatius asks God a question and awaits the answer. He appears to have every expectation that God will reply and that, over time, he will know the response. And to know the answer, he registers, day by day, his experience. The prominent presence of devotion as one of the more significant spiritual categories by which he represents his prayer suggests that it helped him understand God's answer. It appears to be a spiritual experience in some way signaling his sense of God's communication to him. In this way, his use of the term does appear to confirm the intuition guiding this thesis: devotion expresses a relational movement between God and the human person. But his text advances this idea: he seems to understand devotional as communication from God. At this point in this study, it appears to be a sign or a language from God. The previously announced categories of promise, experience, and movement will need to attend to what appears to be the communicative nature of devotion.

“He spent part of his time in writing, and part in prayer” [Au 11]

**Spiritual narratives and Ignatius the writer – approaching the form of the
*Spiritual Diary***

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter’s observations on the context, the text, and the hermeneutical tradition of the *Diary* provide the broad and the requisite frame of reference for this investigation. Should the object of this study have required justification, the last chapter has suggested that the study of devotion is relevant to a comprehension of the *Diary* itself and to the man. Devotion comprised an important part of Ignatius’ personal discernment, and it figured as one of the elements by which early biographers of his communicated his life to others. They seemed proud to advertise to their readers that he was a man that lived and grew in devotion.

Another conclusion from the previous chapter has intimated the importance of the form of the *Diary* in order to understand its content. In many ways, such an argument hardly needs further elaboration. Nevertheless, my premise in this chapter and in the following is straightforward: clarity about the form of the text before us will redound in clarity regarding its content. An understanding of its unique structural features will add depth and cogency to the observations on devotion that will follow. This is also to suggest that perhaps the spirituality of the document does not only reside in the content. Quite possibly, a reader can come to grasp the depth of the spirituality present in it by way a of clear understanding of its structure. Moreover, an accounting of the form will situate the content in its rightful place¹. This will allow us to avoid, on the one hand, a hagiographical reading, and on the other, an interpretation of the document that ignores or devalues what is actually on the page before us. In addition, an adequate delimitation of the form of the document quite possibly represents

¹ Roland Barthes offers the intriguing hypothesis that “discrediting the form serves to exalt the importance of the content”. Perhaps, to miss the form of the *Diary* is to misread its content. See, Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 39.

one of the aspects of it that has most eluded readers. Ignatius' personal diary is, at first glance, an unusual document, and if it belongs, as I believe it does, to a genre of "spiritual diaries", it still remains exceptional. For all of these reasons, I would like to advance, at this point of my study of Ignatius' autograph text, a hypothesis regarding its genre.

Studies on the form of the *Diary* are rare. As I mentioned in the introduction to this investigation, I believe the strongest such argument is offered by José García de Castro who identifies the text as a mystical text, "a linguistic articulation that expresses a relationship to the Divine"². The scholar brings all of his sophisticated philological skills to bear on the document, pointing in compelling ways to the mystical terrain of the language, grammar, and syntax. In studies on this Ignatian text, the seriousness with which García de Castro takes on the genre is uncommon. More typical is the approach of Munitiz. In his introduction to his English translation of the autograph text, he titles one such section "the literary genre". However, the argument remains impossibly broad and for this reason his hypothesis is not clearly enunciated³. In his doctoral thesis, Panikulam, largely following Munitiz proposes a hypothesis, but it suffers the same ambiguity; it is simply not clear how he reads the document⁴.

I will argue that Ignatius' *Diary* embodies a very particular genre that is best understood by the outline of spiritual discernment that he proposes in the *Spiritual Exercises*. In short, he is in a discernment process moving from feeling to knowing [*Ej* 313]. However, before I detail this hypothesis, I will propose in this chapter two lines of analysis to better understand the text before us. First, notwithstanding its particular nature, the *Diary* participates in a much wider tradition of personal spiritual narratives. Reviewing that tradition, albeit briefly, will help illuminate the particular way that Ignatius writes about his own personal experience of God. In order to do this, I will establish a frame of reference comprised by the prophetic and apocalyptic biblical tradition, the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, Angela of Foligno's *Memorial*, and Saint Teresa of Avila's *Life*. Ideally, this investigation of personal spiritual narratives would have also included a careful study of an example of one of the devotional notebooks or *rapiaria* from the Modern Devotion tradition. However, given that they were literally scrap-books, few have survived. Only one or two, dating to the 16th century, a very late date for the Modern Devotion movement, have been found. And these texts, written in Dutch, have yet to be edited. For the moment, the line of

² See, García de Castro, "Semántica y mística", 219.

³ See, Munitiz, "Introduction", in *Iñigo: Discernment Log-book*, 3-25, on 6-8.

⁴ See, Panikulam, "The Problem of 'Seeking Confirmation'", 68.

inquiry that could seek a comparison of the *Diary* with this style of personal writing considered the “distinctive mark of the Modern-Day Devout” remains to be pursued⁵. Nevertheless, this present study, albeit selective and necessarily limited in scope, will sketch a backdrop of clear points of reference by which the style and the form of Ignatius’ way of writing about his experience can emerge.

Second, I will offer a brief analysis of the style and features of Ignatius’ other writings. Here the frame of reference is comprised by other compositional acts of his; the nature and characteristics of these texts can point to aspects of his writing style that will help us understand the *Diary*. Two frames of reference then will sharpen my argument on the *Diary*. With the larger context of writings on the personal spiritual experience and then the more personal backdrop of his own writings, it will be possible to zero in on the genre of this composition. Furthermore, I would modestly suggest that now, almost one hundred years after the publication of the critical edition of the text, an opportune moment has arrived for an interpretation of it both in terms of the spiritual tradition of narratives on the experience of God and in terms of his other compositions⁶. My hypothesis on the text’s genre, which seeks to underscore its novelty, sophistication, and deep connection to the *Spiritual Exercises*, perforce depends upon a brief discussion of how authors before him have put into writing their spiritual experience and how this document of his connects with other writings of his.

Before beginning this analysis, an important supposition that undergirds this inquiry into the genre of his diary needs to be made explicit. That premise is that God communicates to the person, and His communication is intelligible⁷. Ignatius does not subscribe to a radical apophatic posture which posits God as unknowable or God’s will as indecipherable. His belief in a God who communicates and who enters into relationship with the person is manifestly demonstrated in the *Diary*. For him, God’s communication to the human person can be felt, and the *Diary* reveals that the act of writing helped him to understand or know that communication from God. Perhaps the most forceful expression of God’s

⁵ I want to thank Professor John Van Engen of the University of Notre Dame, whose work I cite extensively in the first chapters of my investigation, for his gracious help on the particular topic of the notebooks from the Modern Devotion tradition. For a photograph of a page of one extant *rapiarium*, see, Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 280; above citation is from the same study (279).

⁶ The writing of this thesis occurs during the Ignatian centenary which takes as its motto: “To see all things new in Christ”. Slightly modifying that formula, I propose, modestly, to see the *Diary* and devotion anew. For the announcement of the Ignatian year, see Arturo Sosa, “Ignatian year 2021-2022”, *ARSI* 27/2 (2020): 602-604.

⁷ This is the first conclusion that Gabino Uríbarri draws from the collection of essays under the title *Dogmática Ignaciana*: “En su experiencia fundacional de Loyola, Ignacio comprobó cómo *Dios se comunica*. Dicho en nuestra terminología, el misterio abisal y trascendente puede entrar en relación con la persona humana”. See, Uríbarri Bilbao, “A modo de conclusión. ‘Definir o declarar para nuestros tiempos de las cosas necesarias a la salud eterna’ [Ej 363]. Arquitectura básica de la dogmática ignaciana”, in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 503-524, 504, author’s emphasis, (hereafter article cited as “Arquitectura básica de la dogmática ignaciana”).

communication to the person by Ignatius is to be found in the 15th annotation of the *Spiritual Exercises* where he offers that “it is more appropriate and far better that the Creator and Lord himself should communicate himself to the devout soul” [*Ej* 15]. This profound conviction undergirds the *Diary*. Though the intelligibility of that divine communication may not be patent to him each and every day, the document emerges from this basic theological principle that God enters into relationship with the person and that relationship is ultimately intelligible. This premise may not be unrelated to the genre of the text before us. This is to suggest that its form may also express his way of understanding God’s communication. For this reason, the issue of the form of the text is crucial, not only to interpret his experience of devotion but also to explore with greater depth how he conceives of his relationship to God. However, it is fundamentally in the interest of situating devotion, as clearly as possible, that the exploration on the genre of his *Diary* encounters all of its meaning and force for this investigation.

1. Biblical antecedents to the *Diary*

The prophetic and apocalyptic traditions constitute the remote antecedents of Ignatius’ *Diary*. These biblical stories comprise the inspired frame of reference from which posterior narratives and writing on the experience of God emerge in the Christian tradition. Though far too vast to summarize in these pages, I will indicate the salient elements of these foundational narratives that point to the relationship between God and the human person which is mediated by or as that which produces a text. In essence, these stories present the themes of interiority, God as the one who writes upon the human heart, and God’s desire that His word might consume the very life of the prophet. My intent in offering this brief survey is to locate the essential themes and images by which the prophetic and apocalyptic traditions describe the encounter with God and the writing of that encounter. Ignatius’ *Diary* is a singular text, but seen as emerging from the humus of the biblical tradition, so attentive to the word of God and the generativity of that word, his personal notes can be seen as much more than experiences recorded. They comprise the text that God is writing on his heart and that he is seeking to discern.

1.1. Jeremiah and Ezekiel: the interiority of the word

The prophet Jeremiah discloses the experience of hearing God's word come to him and of devouring those words. They were his joy and his happiness, but they would become sources of his despair and solitude (Jer 15:16). Jeremiah is the prophet who suffers the rejection of the people, and in that rejection feels the aloneness of a God that is cast aside. He gives voice to his feelings, and his confessions "as a personal testimony to the inner struggle of the prophet [are] unique among the books of the Old Testament"⁸. As a confessional prophet, his inner experience is more than a turbulent whirlwind of emotions. His interior life, full of passion, affliction, and lamentation, expresses what the community does not see; his passion is God's passion⁹. In his development as a prophet, "his identity is configured in the response to the word that he has heard", and his whole life becomes the expression of God's word which is also his mission¹⁰. His life, and not just his word, is the message to the people¹¹. The depth of his interior experience of God in some ways symbolizes and announces the new covenant. God proclaims to his people: "I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts" (Jer 31:33). This is the most vital and moving of the visions to be found in this book¹². God's covenantal relationship with his people deepens; his law is written on their very hearts¹³.

God's writing in the interior of the person is the offer of his covenant, and that alliance is generative; it begets compositions, oracles, and visions. The prophet is called to utter these words, to write them down, and to make explicit God's communication to his people. As an example, Jeremiah reports hearing God direct him to write all of His words on a scroll. The prophet does this, employing Baruch, and to him Jeremiah dictated "all the words of the Lord which the He had spoken to him" (Jer 36:4). To write God's word is to pass it down to future generations; it is to live in those words as words of promise¹⁴ that demand a transformative action in history¹⁵. At the same time, the image of Jeremiah

⁸ Lawrence Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 371.

⁹ See, Walter Brueggemann, *La imaginación profética*, trans. Jesús García-Abril, 5th ed. (Santander: Sal Terrae, 1983), 61-63.

¹⁰ See, Carlos Domínguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis* (Madrid: Trotta, 2020), 197.

¹¹ See, for example, the analysis by Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, rev. ed. (Kentucky: John Knox Press, 1996), 129-147, especially 145-147.

¹² The estimation is from Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament*, 374.

¹³ For more on the personalization in Israel's relationship with God, see, Manuel Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 5th ed. (Salamanca: Sígueme, 2006), 316-317.

¹⁴ See, for example, Jaldemir Vitório, "Jeremias, profeta crítico do poder imperial", *Estudios Bíblicos* 30 (2013): 389-412, 408.

¹⁵ See, Domínguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 196.

dictating all that he heard to another represents a parable of the experience of God: God writes on the interior of the person, and that language is made comprehensible when it is told, written down, and interpreted by others. The new covenant with God, written in the interior of the person¹⁶, also contains the impetus to write and express that experience to and for others¹⁷.

At the risk of conflating prophetic traditions, many of the same themes appear in the prophetic tradition of the prophet Ezekiel¹⁸. In what is perhaps one of the more famous images from this book, God calls out to the prophet: “Son of man, eat what is offered to you; eat this scroll, and go, speak to the house of Israel” (Ezek 3:1)¹⁹. Again, God’s word is given to the person to be devoured. The divine voice comes to him, instructing him to receive in his heart all the words spoken to him (Ezek 3:10). The prophet is to absorb and integrate these words into his heart, the place from which he is to think and act. From his heart, he will speak words that are not his, and he will see, unlike few before him, visions of God’s glory. Though the visions of God’s majesty seem solely directed to Ezekiel, the intimacy of the relationship with God is not exclusive to him. The prophet symbolizes, in his faithful and responsible living of his relationship with God, the interior covenant that God seeks with all His chosen people²⁰.

This divine pedagogy, however, is not complete. The word of God is not meant to merely inhabit the person’s life, but, in effect, to devour that life. The devourer is devoured. The prophet’s whole life becomes a sign, a prophetic sign to the people, and he, like Jeremiah before him, learns that his whole life embodies God’s covenantal language to his people²¹; everything that he lives or feels is communication from God to His chosen people²². In this way, his very life is his great pastoral teaching on personal responsibility and

¹⁶ For more on the argument that relates Scripture and experience, specifically, bodily experience, see, Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Revelatory Body. Theology as Inductive Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2015), 36-63. He argues: “Scripture consistently points to humans as the medium of revelation... of locating the arena of divine activity squarely in the bodily experience of its characters” (51).

¹⁷ “Lo que distingue al profeta de los demás hombres religiosos es que su revelación no se limita a la percepción, ni a la aceptación, ni a la interpretación. Exige la transmisión”. See, Melloni, *Vislumbres de lo real. Religiones y revelación* (Barcelona: Herder, 2007), 196.

¹⁸ See, for example, Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament*, 387.

¹⁹ The word of God is first ingested and then proclaimed. For more on this dynamic, crucial to evangelization, in which the author highlights this very passage, see, Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, *El mensajero: perfiles del evangelizador* (Bilbao-Madrid: Desclée de Brouwer, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006), 44; (book hereafter cited as *El mensajero*).

²⁰ Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament*, 397.

²¹ “Ezekiel presented his body as an expression of God’s word”. See, Johnson, *The Revelatory Body*, 52.

²² Again, following Johnson: “The prophetic tradition therefore strongly supports and extends the premise that human bodies can be revelatory of God”. See, Johnson, *The Revelatory Body*, 55

accountability²³. In brief, the trajectory of the divine pedagogy in the prophetic tradition indicates that God’s writing in the interior of the person is ultimately meant to pervade and permeate the person; his or her whole life becomes a sign of God’s presence. This is what God desires for Ezekiel: “You shall be a sign to them, and they shall know that I am the Lord” (Ezek 24:27). His life is that sign, God’s writing to the people.

1.2. Daniel and John of Patmos: writing and interpreting the word

Two further examples, drawn from the apocalyptic tradition will suffice to indicate the biblical thinking that undergirds the relationship between the experience of God and writing. The Book of Daniel casts the prophet as the one who sees, reads, and interprets God’s writing. Daniel is the great diviner of words. He is attentive to God’s communication everywhere, as he decodes the external historical signs as well as the internal signs as revelation from God. The book dramatizes this in the opening chapters which situate the prophet in the court of King Nebuchadnezzar. Upset by a dream, the king cannot find anyone to interpret it; he then summons Daniel. The dream is a text for Daniel that he reads ably. First, he narrates the dream, giving it a clear form and syntax; then follows his interpretation which situates the king in his rightful place before God: “You, O king, the king of kings, to whom the God of heaven has given the kingdom” (Dan 2:37). Another example of Daniel’s interpretation of God’s language, taken from the same cycle of stories, involves his decoding the writing on the wall. During a banquet offered by King Belshazzar, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, “the fingers of a man’s hand appeared and wrote on the plater of the wall of the king’s palace” (Dan 5:5). None of the king’s wise men could read the writing. Again, Daniel was summoned since he was reputed to know how to “interpret dreams, explain riddles, and solve problems” (Dan 5:12). Daniel reads the words on the wall with ease, and he interprets them for the king. As a sign of his deep prayer and unshakeable faith in God, Daniel finds the writing of God everywhere: it is in dreams and it is literally on the wall²⁴. It can be seen, read, and interpreted. The book makes clear that God has not only *not* abandoned his people in their duress, but he is filling their lives with his communication. He

²³ Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, 173.

²⁴ He is, in the words of Ugo Vanni, “una ‘estrella’ de la oración”. See, Ugo Vanni, “La espiritualidad de la apocalíptica”, in *Espiritualidad del antiguo testamento*, ed. Antonio Bonora (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1994), 243-263, on 260.

is the God of their history, the absolute sovereign of all of history²⁵. They only need see the writing on the wall and interpret it.

The second example from the apocalyptic tradition which dramatically intertwines the experience of God and writing comes from the New Testament Book of Revelation. John is the paradigmatic example of the one who hears God call out to him and who reports with faithfulness all that he saw. Similarly, he is a scrupulous writer, describing with minute attention to detail the visions that unfolded before him. His authority as a writer comes from on high, and he writes what he sees: “Write what you see in a book” (Apoc. 1:11). The visions are extraordinary, yet the seer understands his role according to the tradition that preceded him²⁶. For instance, he hearkens back to that tradition when he reports seeing an angel with a scroll in his hand and hearing a voice from heaven call out to him: “Take and eat it. It will be bitter to your stomach, but sweet as honey in your mouth” (Apoc. 10:9). The word of God is like a scroll that he devours; the word now penetrates his being, and more than a hearing or a seeing, it is a taste. All of senses are engaged as he discovers more and more the word within and outside of him. Everything that he sees speaks to him of the victory of the Lamb, and he writes of this victory for the Christian communities’ liturgical celebrations.

But John, an exuberant and soaring writer, is also a careful writer. He gives every indication of reporting nothing more or less than what he sees. His *caveat* at the end of his book demonstrates his extreme attention to the word:

I warn every one who hears the words of prophecy of this book: if anyone adds to them, God will add to him the plagues described in this book, and if anyone takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away his share in the tree of life and the holy city (Apoc. 22:18-19).

Every word is a word of salvation, and revision is prohibited by the seer of Patmos. However, the book is not closed; its seals are open. John knows this, as he himself heard the angel declare to him: “Do not seal up the words of the prophecy of this book” (Apoc. 22:10). Though the inspired texts are sealed, God in Christ and through the Spirit continues to communicate with the human person. Men and women have felt that communication; they have, to use the language of the prophetic tradition, devoured and then been devoured by the scroll that was put before them. And they have written of that experience, expressing each in

²⁵ “La constante [temática expresada por Daniel] que más se impone a la atención es la soberanía absoluta de Dios sobre toda la extensión de la historia”. See, Vanni, “La espiritualidad de la apocalíptica”, 260.

²⁶ Ugo Vanni, *Apocalipsis. Una asamblea litúrgica interpreta la historia* (Pamplona: Verbo Divino, 1982), 13.

their own way – in a fascinating array of literary genres – the final words of the book of Revelation: “Come, Lord Jesus” (Apoc. 22:20).

In summary, the prophetic and apocalyptic tradition presents God as the one who communicates with His people. The divine communication occurs in their history and in creation. It also takes place in their interior lives: God offers His promise of a covenantal relationship to the very heart of the person. The prophetic tradition has formulated this experience with the metaphor of writing: God writes the language of his love on the scroll or heart of the person. The signs of that interior language run deep, but not so deep as to not receive expression. In short, the biblical tradition testifies to writing as a way to elucidate the interior experience of that deep communication for one’s self and for others. The prophet exteriorizes God’s word in writing, and in the process makes manifest the extent to which he has been devoured by that word.

2. Narratives on the personal experience of God

Though the Biblical tradition may appear distant from the *Diary*, it may provide the strongest point of reference to consider the author and the theological and spiritual depth of the content that he was expressing. For instance, as an author, Ignatius shares the carefulness of the seer of Patmos, hesitant to add or subtract words. He is also subject and vulnerable to deep feelings and emotions as was the prophet Jeremiah. His entire interior life seems to be redolent with God’s communication. Though Ignatius may not have thought of himself as devouring or as being devoured by God’s word, the intense spiritual experiences noted in his personal journals suggest the metaphor is not wholly irrelevant. He was, like the prophets before him, trying to exteriorize the language that he felt God was writing in his interior and in his body. The content of that language is ultimately, as it was for the people of Israel, the expression of God’s promise to him.

With this inspired frame of reference clearly outlined, I will now consider three personal expressions on the spiritual experience. Without leaving aside theological and spiritual themes, I will focus principally on the style of the presentation realized by each author. Though limited in scope, a brief study of Augustine’s *Confessions*, Angela of Foligno’s *Memorial*, and Teresa of Avila’s *Life* can raise structural issues and perspectives for a sharper consideration of Ignatius’ personal document. In essence, its peculiar nature can come into relief when seen alongside of other personal narratives.

2.1. Augustine's *Confessions*

Augustine of Hippo's (354-430)²⁷ *Confessions*, considered to be one of the texts that inaugurates the literary genre of autobiographical writing on the experience of God²⁸, are a confession of his faith in and love of God²⁹. As an author, Augustine ranges over all aspects of his life because in them and through them he can give praise to God. No part of his humanity remains at the margin of his confession of God's greatness. All of it is invoked to talk about or to God. In his prose, he explores the tensions, desires, and debates within himself, and undoubtedly the humility and the sincerity with which he expresses himself accounts for the book's foundational place in the history of literature. The way in which he understands all of his life as a dialogue with God situates the book as an originating text for the genre of literature that treats of the personal experience of God. Indeed, at the fountainhead of all spiritual writing is Augustine's *Confessions*. Unquestionably, Ignatius' *Diary* is vastly different kind of expression of the experience of God than Augustine's. But if Ignatius in Rome began an interior spiritual pilgrimage of discernment with a personal diary, it was in some ways because Augustine mapped the interior journey as *the* journey to God³⁰.

In addition to the previously mentioned confessional aspect to the text, Augustine creates a genre of writing on the self that includes meditations and philosophical reflections on time and memory. On the one hand, these fit easily together given the pastoral intention guiding his writing³¹. But it is the narrative voice that pulses with energy and desire that pulls the text together. Augustine is a passionate writer, and at one point, addressing God, as he often does, he declares that he writes "to rouse up towards you my own affections"³². His prose, stirring and vibrant, moves him as it no doubt moves a reader. But what is moving for

²⁷ For an overview of his life, doctrine, and monastic rule that he established, see, Ch. Boyer, "Augustin", in *DSp* 1:1101-1130.

²⁸ See, F. Vernet, "Autobiographies spirituelles", in *DSp* 1:1141-1159, especially 1141, where the author posits: "L'autobiographie véritable apparait au IVE siècle, avec le Sur lui-même de saint Grégoire de Nazianze et les *Confessions* de saint Augustin".

²⁹ I will be working from the translation by John K. Ryan (New York: Doubleday, 1960). All quotations will include book, chapter, as well as page number. *Confessions*, Book I, chapter 4, 45.

³⁰ I follow here Juan Antonio Estrada who argues: "Agustín es el maestro de la vida interior, con lo que abre las puertas a la autorreflexión del hombre sobre sí mismo, sobre el mundo (que está en función del hombre) y sobre Dios, al que busca llegar desde las mismas estructuras de la subjetividad". See, Estrada, *Dios en las tradiciones filosóficas*, vol. 2, *De la muerte de Dios a la crisis del sujeto* (Madrid: Trotta, 1996), 48; (hereafter cited as *Dios en las tradiciones filosóficas*).

³¹ See, for example, the chapter in Book X where he addresses "my fellow citizens and pilgrims with me, those who go before me and those who follow me, and those who are companions on my journey". *Confessions*, Book X, chapter 4, 232.

³² *Confessions*, Book XI, chapter 1, 277.

him is not the retelling of his life, but the discovery of God in it. In this way, writing his spiritual autobiography is a way for him to make the interior journey to find God. In the writing of his story, he is discovering God who is the fashioner or artificer of it. The “you” of the narrative, to whom Augustine the narrator constantly addresses, is not just the one who has never forsaken him³³, but is the one who has been directing the entire story. In the same way that God opens the pages of scripture to him, God, throughout this narrative, is opening the pages of Augustine’s life to him³⁴.

This signals the other movement in the text. In detailing his life story, he not only finds God, but he discovers his true self. The pages of his biography are being opened up to him in his writing and he is seeing himself, discovering who he is in the presence of God. For Augustine, God is nearer to him than he is to himself. Thus, to be near God is to be near himself; it is to return from a land of “unlikeness to likeness”³⁵. To find God’s story is to find his own story. This is suggested in his constant pleas to God to show him to himself. As an example, “I beseech you, my God, show me to myself, so that to my brothers, who will pray for me, I may confess what wounds I find in me”³⁶. The gift of God’s self to Augustine, is, at the same time, the gift of the truth of who he is. In brief, his confession is the discovery of the truth of his life before God, and the very writing of his life is a process that illuminates that truth: “as to that which I am ignorant of concerning myself, I remain ignorant of it until my ‘darkness shall be made as the noonday in your sight’”³⁷.

Yet, as these pages make abundantly clear, to see the truth of one’s self is not easy. Augustine alludes to this when he writes that men “love (the truth) when it shows itself to them, and they hate it when it shows them to themselves”³⁸. It is this confrontation with the truth of who he is before God that makes this personal narrative so poignant, engaging, and – at the risk of being redundant – truthful³⁹. In this way, content coincides with form: to see the truth of himself is to narrate truthfully. And Augustine excels at this. For instance, he represents the agony of his conversion, and, perhaps, what is even more compelling, the on-going difficulty of living with and in his wounded self. He laments, for example, “the

³³ “I wandered upon the broad way of the world, but you did never forsake me”. See, *Confessions*, Book VI, chapter 5, 140.

³⁴ *Confessions*, Book XI, chapter 2, 278.

³⁵ “I found myself to be far from you in a land of unlikeness”. See, *Confessions*, Book VII, chapter 10, 171.

³⁶ *Confessions*, Book X, chapter 37, 270.

³⁷ *Confessions*, Book X, chapter 5, 233.

³⁸ *Confessions*, Book X, chapter 23, 252.

³⁹ Estrada illuminates this aspect of Augustine: “La antropología agustiniana está abierta a la alteridad divina, no se cierra sobre sí misma y planea una dinámica de constante apertura y conflictividad como único camino para alcanzar la plenitud y la identidad personal”. See, Estrada, *Dios en las tradiciones filosóficas*, 50.

strength of onerous habit”⁴⁰; he is simply unable to extricate himself from such selfish, concupiscible ways of seeing himself and others. Speaking about these sinful ways that exist alongside of his desire to live fully and freely in God, he exclaims: “Here I can abide, although I would not; there I wish to be, but cannot; in both ways I am wretched”⁴¹. In a word, Augustine never flinches to comment on all that he suffers. A reader cannot help but be moved and even identify with such a narrator, especially one who, even after his conversion, courageously declares: “in your sight I have become a riddle to myself, and that is my infirmity”⁴². His mode of expression – searingly honest, open, and transparent – seems to have left an indelible mark on posterior writing on the personal experience of God. To write about God is to give considerable space to the fearless exploration of one’s self⁴³. This style of writing on the self with God can be felt in Ignatius’ *Diary*. Though he is not writing a story of his life in these pages of 1544-1545, he is exacting and unflinching in his recording of experiences. Therein lies the influence, albeit remote, of Augustine’s way of narrating the spiritual experience in one’s interior.

In spite of this potent narrative thread of debate, tension, and agony in his self, there is little indication that, once found, he ever experienced difficulty in finding God in his life story. In brief, the narrative exudes a kind of confidence in detecting God everywhere and at all turns. All episodes of his life, even in their minute details, are brought forth and appear to speak to him transparently of God’s presence. To state this more clearly, the divine presence in his life poses no hermeneutical difficulty. Traces, signs, and divine marks are to be found everywhere, even if that meaning is only to be found partially. As an example, he declares that in his childhood there existed “a trace of your own most mysterious unity from which I took my being”⁴⁴. He chronicles his story to confess those signs, marks, and traces of God’s life in him. And if he did not come across them in his life, it was not because they were not there, rather, it was because he was distant from himself. In some ways like the prophet Daniel before him who saw, read, and interpreted God’s writing wherever it was to be found, for Augustine there is never a problem of interpreting the signs of God’s love in his life⁴⁵. They were always there, even in the darkest days of his wandering: “You were before me, but

⁴⁰ *Confessions*, Book X, chapter 40, 272.

⁴¹ *Confessions*, Book X, chapter 40, 272.

⁴² *Confessions*, Book X, chapter 33, 262.

⁴³ Vernet, “Autobiographies spirituelles”, in *DSp* 1 :1141. As an example, “Within me are those lamentable dark areas wherein my own capacities lie hidden from me”. See, *Confessions*, Book X, chapter 32, 260.

⁴⁴ *Confessions*, Book I, chapter 20, 63.

⁴⁵ See also, Bernard McGinn and Patricia Ferris McGinn, *Early Christian Mystics. The Divine Vision of the Spiritual Masters* (New York: Crossroad, 2003), 152-170. The McGinns bring to the fore the place of this seeing in Augustine: the Church.

I had departed even from myself, and I did not find myself, and how much less you!”⁴⁶. For Augustine, God is “the most high and near at hand, most secret and most present”⁴⁷. That anthropological theology, which also gives a clear place to God’s transcendence⁴⁸, allows him to brim with confidence and to declare: “When is it that you have not walked with me, O Truth?”⁴⁹.

In summary, Augustine’s *Confessions* present a genre of writing on the personal experience of God that is both for others and for the self. Augustine tells his story, and the chronicling of that story allows him to rouse himself up affectively towards God and discover God in the narrative of his life⁵⁰. The act of writing allows him to move closer to God, a movement which is also, simultaneously, a movement towards his interior. This configures one of the central features of his writing on the experience of God, perhaps one that has marked posterior writing on the personal experience of God: to know God is to know one’s self. And according to Augustine, one of the marks or the signs of the authenticity of this self-knowledge is to be found in the tension, agony, and emotional duress that it occasions. In deep accord with this content, the form of his prose is truthful, spontaneous, and searching. Yet the genre maintains a fascinating paradox: at the same time that the life of the self is inscrutable, ambiguous, always in tension, the signs of God are everywhere, and they never seem to pose any interpretive difficulty. They are all around him, and his *Confessions* portray his journey to confess and to share all of them.

2.2. The *Memorial* of Blessed Angela of Foligno

The scribe to whom the tertiary Franciscan Angela of Foligno⁵¹ (1248-1309) dictated her spiritual testament or *Memorial*, as it is titled in English, begins with a brief apology of the work⁵². He reports that the text had been read by a Cardinal deacon and “eight well

⁴⁶ *Confessions*, Book V, chapter 2, 114.

⁴⁷ *Confessions*, Book VI, chapter 3, 137.

⁴⁸ In the letter from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on Christian meditation, Augustine is invoked as the “Great Doctor of the Church (who) recommends concentrating on oneself but also transcending the self which is not God, but only a creature”. See Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on Some Aspects of Christian Meditation*, AAS 82/4 (1990): 362-379, number 19.

⁴⁹ *Confessions*, Book X, chapter 40, 271.

⁵⁰ “La autobiografía implica recorrer el itinerario experiencial analizando el proceso de iluminación del yo que lleva a descubrir a Dios en las vivencias personales y en ellas reconocer la propia identidad”. See, Estrada, *Dios en las tradiciones filosóficas*, 54.

⁵¹ Very brief overview of her life and work by P. Doncouer, “Angèle de Foligno”, in *DSp* 1:570-571.

⁵² All references to Angela’s text come from *Angela of Foligno. Complete Works*, ed. Paul Lachance (New York: Paulist Press, 1993). The Franciscan translator and editor has chosen the title *Memorial*. I will refer to that title and page number in my references.

known lectors of the Order of Friars Minor”. These were no ordinary readers, but men who were professors, ministers, and inquisitors⁵³. Should these churchmen not suffice as guarantees for her story, he adds that three others, “as well as many other trustworthy friars examined it”. In short, the book was carefully reviewed, and it arrives in the lector’s hands fully approved. Not only was there no sign of false teaching in it, but they treated the narrative “with humble reverence, and cherish it most dearly, like a holy book”⁵⁴. The Franciscan scribe and confessor to Angela, who was also her relative, defends the text, but more importantly offers a hermeneutic: it is a holy book to be read carefully, devoutly, and with reverence. And it has continued to fascinate readers ever since, presenting desire and feelings as central components of the spiritual experience. God is deeply felt, and her style of finding God in her feelings may help us consider Ignatius’ attention to his feelings and body in prayer.

Angela’s story is almost exclusively spiritual in nature and very few biographical details of her life find their way into her account. Though we learn, for example, that she had been married and had children, and that at some point in her spiritual journey her husband and children died, her account is not the story of her life⁵⁵. She adopts another genre to tell her story: “she had designated (drawing from her own experience) thirty steps or transformations which the soul makes as it advances on the way of penance”⁵⁶. In the first part of these transformations, the narrative moves quickly outlining nineteen steps or stages. At step nineteen, the one to whom Angela dictated her story interrupts the narrative and explains how he came “to know of these things and was compelled to write all about them”⁵⁷. After this brief interruption, he continues the story, but it appears the editor or Angela rethought the original idea of thirty steps; the Franciscan scribe and compiler condenses the

⁵³ Important to understand this affirmation is Caroline Walker Bynum’s observation: “The major philosophical, theological and spiritual leaders of Europe in the thirteenth century were Franciscans and Dominicans”. See, Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 13.

⁵⁴ *Memorial*, 123. For more on this paragraph titled “Testificatio” or “Aprobatio” which accompanies three of the oldest manuscripts of the book, and for the way it historically situates her life, see, Pablo García Acosta, “Introducción”, in *Libro de la experiencia. Angela de Foligno*, ed. and trans. Pablo García Acosta (Madrid: Siruela, 2014), 11-28, 14-15.

⁵⁵ Other details emerge: she had a female companion with whom she lived, prayed, and participated in apostolic work. Her story reports that they both visited a leprosarium.

⁵⁶ *Memorial*, 124. As this quotation indicates, her story moves between a 1st and 3rd person account. The Franciscan scribe seems to anticipate the reader’s perplexity at this as he addresses the issue: “I wrote in the third person, although she always spoke to me concerning herself in the first person. But, in order to go faster, I sometimes left my text in the third person, and I have not yet corrected it” (137).

⁵⁷ *Memorial*, 133. The redactional history of the text is far too vast and exceeds the scope of my investigation. Lachance addresses this in section of his Introduction titled “The formation of Angela’s Book”, in *Angela de Foligno. Complete Works*, 47-54.

following eleven steps into seven and designates them as “supplementary”⁵⁸. However, these last seven stages are hardly supplementary. They comprise the bulk of the narrative as they describe the protagonist’s movement into a more profound union with God⁵⁹.

The trope of steps employs a classic medieval monastic narrative to outline stages on the way to union with God⁶⁰. Notwithstanding the traditional mold, the structure quickly gives way to the personal experience of the protagonist. And that experience, at least at the beginning, surprises for its simplicity. For example, the first step is one of “awareness of one’s sinfulness”, the fourth step is “a growing awareness of divine mercy”, and the seventh step is similarly clear and profound: “I was given the grace of beginning to look at the cross”⁶¹. It is not easy to tell how long these steps last, and Angela offers little insight: “In some of the steps I lingered longer, and for a shorter time in others”⁶².

These first steps are not traversed and left behind, but rather are steps that spiral and come together. Her perception of her sinfulness, her sense of God’s mercy, and her profound identification with Christ, whom she refers to as the God-man and the Pilgrim, whose love for humanity reached its apex on the cross, function like rings or concentric circles that continually intersect and overlap⁶³. In this way, her narrative is the sustained elaboration of themes announced at the beginning. For example, at the end of her journey, she powerfully declares that “I understand that God is no less present in a devil than a good angel”⁶⁴. In short, she has arrived to find that “He alone is everywhere encompassing everything”⁶⁵. Everything has its being in God’s mercy: “He is present in good deeds and in adultery and homicide”. Alongside of this powerful declaration, she continues to recognize her humble truth: “I see myself completely full of sin and obedient to it, devious, impure, totally false and erroneous”⁶⁶. Her awareness of sin has only deepened, but now the difference is that she sees God’s mercy everywhere.

Divine mercy is nowhere more evident than on the cross. The crucified Christ is

⁵⁸ He seems to allude to this process in the following metaphor: “I had so little grasp of their meaning [Angela’s revelations] that I thought of myself as a sieve or sifter which does not retain the precious and refined flour but only the most coarse”. See, *Memorial*, 137.

⁵⁹ For example, in the English version that I am using, the first 19 steps comprise a total of 10 pages. The seven supplementary steps encompass nearly 80.

⁶⁰ The number of 30 steps proposed at the beginning “recuerda los treinta peldaños de la escala para subir hasta Dios, que había escrito Juan Climaco, muy leído en toda la Iglesia”. See, Teodoro Martín, “Introducción”, in *Libro de la vida. Vivencia de Cristo*, ed and trans. Teodoro Martín (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1991), 11-24, 16.

⁶¹ *Memorial*, 125.

⁶² *Memorial*, 129.

⁶³ The image comes from Martín, “Introducción”, 19.

⁶⁴ *Memorial*, 212.

⁶⁵ *Memorial*, 217.

⁶⁶ *Memorial*, 215.

everywhere in her story, inhabiting all aspects of her spiritual experience and journey. She learns, as mentioned above, to see the cross, and then, in another stage her vision of the crucified Jesus sharpens: “He told me that I should look at his wounds... he showed me how he had endured all these wounds for me”⁶⁷. Her steps are but moments of an itinerary towards an identification with Jesus’ suffering on the cross. It is Jesus who relates his entire passion to her⁶⁸, recounts “all the things having to do with his love”⁶⁹, and invites her “to see more of his passion than I have ever been told”⁷⁰. The mysteries of Jesus’ life, especially his passion, comprise these steps, and in the cross, she finds new desire: “meditating on the passion showed her the way and was an example to her of what she must do”⁷¹.

Yet as powerful as is her awareness of her sinfulness, God’s mercy, or her identification with the suffering Jesus, it is Angela’s passionate desire that most characterizes her story. Feeling and desire that redounds in her body configure her personal spiritual narrative. Though the redaction of her text is massively complicated, it hardly diminishes the voice of her desire for God. In a word, her story pulses with her hunger for God. So much so that it is hard to come across a step in her journey which is not described with some kind of deep emotion and feeling. For instance, early in her spiritual awakening, the dominant emotion is grief and lamentation for her sins. She weeps, and the consolation that she feels is bitter. Yet, it is only a matter of time before she is ablaze with love of Christ. And this love is every bit bodily as it is spiritual: “the meaning of the cross set me so afire that, standing near the cross, I stripped myself of all my clothing and offered my whole self to him”⁷². Her experience is erotic, passionate, full of fire and warmth. That is nowhere more evident than the beginning of her story. In a pilgrimage from Foligno to Assisi, Angela reports that “she was in a state of prayer all along the way”⁷³. She felt during the journey God’s voice and presence, and this produced in her great consolation and sweetness, “the sweetest I have ever

⁶⁷ *Memorial*, 127. Angela has, as Thomas Merton suggests, “a real sense of Christ crucified as a result of the evil in her”. In one of his conferences to novices at the Abbey of Gethsemani, Merton spoke on Angela and her mysticism. I want to thank Dr. Paul Pearson of the Thomas Merton Center at Bellarmine University for making available to me this 35-minute conference that Merton gave on April 11th, 1965. Though unavailable for distribution by the Merton estate, it can be found in the complete listing of his conferences at <http://www.merton.org/Research/AV/novitiate.aspx>. Accessed 8 April 2021; (hereafter conference referred to as “Angela of Foligno”).

⁶⁸ *Memorial*, 140.

⁶⁹ *Memorial*, 160.,

⁷⁰ *Memorial*, 180.

⁷¹ *Memorial*, 184. A clear example of the argument proposed by Walker Bynum: the shift in emphasis to Christ’s humanity occasioned a “compulsion to build into the Christian life a literal imitation of the details of Jesus’ ministry”. See, Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 16.

⁷² *Memorial*, 126.

⁷³ *Memorial*, 139.

heard”⁷⁴. Yet, when this consolation leaves her, as God had indicated it would, she cries out bitterly: “Love still unknown, why? why? why?”⁷⁵. She throws herself on the ground screaming and shouting. She is a distraught lover, wild in her hunger for God’s presence⁷⁶.

If for Augustine to find God was to enter into his interiority, for Angela it is to direct her deeply passionate and erotic feelings to God. She makes the genre of the narrative of steps or stages to God a vehicle to describe bodily feelings⁷⁷. It is not hyperbolic to affirm that feeling is the ground of her knowledge of God⁷⁸. For example, told by God that the Trinity had already entered her, she doubts. Yet the voice she hears continues to affirm that indeed “The trinity has entered you”. She needs, however, to feel the Trinity within her: “what I wanted was that God would make me actually feel that on this point, the presence of the Holy Spirit in me”⁷⁹. Similarly, when pressed by the Franciscan scribe on how she knows something to be true, she retorts: “because I have experienced how the soul feels it to be so”⁸⁰. Her soul feels, and as it progresses in the spiritual life it grows in the capacity to feel. This is the striking element of her journey; her soul expands in its capacity to feel: “God... expands the soul and gives it gifts and consolations which the soul has never before experienced”⁸¹. At times, this emphasis on feeling appears to be an end itself⁸². As an example, given a vision of Christ, she reports “I was even so delighted by that vision that I did not ask him to help me nor did I have anything good or bad to say. I simply delighted in seeing that inestimable beauty”⁸³. At the same time, her desire to delight in God appears, at times, insatiable. For instance, in a vision in which she sees herself associated with Mary and the saints, she comments: “all of this seemed too little to me, namely to be associated with the

⁷⁴ *Memorial*, 142.

⁷⁵ *Memorial*, 142.

⁷⁶ The description of her as “wild” comes from Merton. He described her as “the wild kind of wild mystics”. Merton, “Angela of Foligno”.

⁷⁷ For an analysis of “gozo sublimado” in Angela, see, Domínguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 298.

⁷⁸ In one prayer experience, she comes to greater self-knowledge: “And when I became aware and *felt* who I was and what I had become by offending him, I felt that no creature was as vile as I”. *Memorial*, 165, emphasis mine.

⁷⁹ *Memorial*, 145.

⁸⁰ *Memorial*, 149. In another very similar context, she responds to the query of her scribe: “For my part I do not doubt when such a fire in in the soul because the soul then knows that God is truly present, for no other could produce this effect” (158).

⁸¹ *Memorial*, 213.

⁸² God appears in her story as the one who continually draws her outside of herself: “I who speak with you am the divine power who wishes to bestow a grace upon you. And this grace, a special one, is the following: I want you to be useful to all who will see you... I also want you to be of service”. *Memorial*, 168.

⁸³ *Memorial*, 147. Luke Timothy Johnson’s essay on the theology of the body illuminates this aspect of Angela’s capacity to delight in God. He suggests that “the body’s capacity for pleasure does not appear as a threat to virtue that must be battled, but seems much more like an element in genuine virtue that should be embraced”. It appears that for Angela, delight and pleasure were experiences that consolidated her movement to God. See, Johnson, *The Revelatory Body*, 144.

saints and his mother”⁸⁴. Only Christ will content her desire⁸⁵. In summary, according to this Italian mystic, the journey to God is best described as “to attain the One she was feeling”⁸⁶.

Yet for as much as her hunger and desire for God leap off the page, hers is not the only desire that pulsates through the text. God’s passion and hunger even surpasses hers. It is God, the Beloved, who speaks to her plainly, repeating, as if it were a refrain, “I love you more than you love me”⁸⁷. In essence, her particular bodily and erotic experience of God presents an image of God similarly passionate about the human person. He delights in the human person and seeks to be desired and longed for. And Angela struggles to learn this. Distraught at never being satisfied and upset over the transitory nature of consolation, she asks for the grace to receive all of God’s love. She reports hearing God tell her that this cannot be: “for in this life, I want you to hunger for me, desire me, and languish for me”⁸⁸. Borrowing from the language of the prophetic tradition before her, she has to learn that she cannot devour God, but rather, she must learn how to desire God and live with her desire. In brief, the steps of her transformation reveal a pedagogy of desire. For instance, she finds her soul given “the grace of wanting God”⁸⁹, finding that “this gift is to have a desire”⁹⁰. This is another remarkable aspect of her spiritual journey: the desire for God is a gift, and longing for God need not occasion shouts and screams, but can come to comprise a sign of God’s presence⁹¹. In this way, desire is not only a feeling that she has, but it appears to become a sign for her; she learns to read it as a gift from God.

Angela never shies from revealing her feelings, and she is not reluctant to share her feelings towards her story as she hears it told back to her. Mostly, she seems to be disgusted by it; she finds it so poorly told that it causes her shame. In this regard, her text diverges radically from Augustine before her and Teresa after her. Unlike them, she does not appear happy with how it represents her. She offers this rebuke to her scribe: “everything that we

⁸⁴ *Memorial*, 152.

⁸⁵ At the end of her story, she relates her surprise at being joyful at seeing Christ and others: “It was shown to me how Christ comes accompanied by a mighty throng, or host. Usually, I find delight only in Christ, and so I was amazed that this time I found delight in both him and his host, and this was a source of great wonder to me”. *Memorial*, 211.

⁸⁶ *Memorial*, 183. Ignatius has a similar expression in his *Diary*: “para alcanzar el que es amoroso” [*De* 187].

⁸⁷ Though the expression can hardly be considered novel in the Christian experience, it is, again, to be found in Ignatius’ text: “Dios nuestro Señor (que más me ama que yo a mí mismo)” [*De* 185].

⁸⁸ *Memorial*, 153. I would suggest that the power and the depth of her mystical experience is disclosed by her image of God’s otherness. In a later part of her journey, she hears God say to her: “he (God) is solicitous that you not overstep your proper limits” (194).

⁸⁹ *Memorial*, 188.

⁹⁰ *Memorial*, 189.

⁹¹ *Memorial*, 189: God is the one who tells her: “I am the one making you feel that desire”.

are trying to say about this experience reduces it to a mere trifle”⁹². She finds it defective, lacking, even blasphemous. If in the experience of God “my body thrilled with delight as I lay in this experience”⁹³, the hearing of her story causes her to think it is dry and condensed⁹⁴. Perhaps for the reader, who has come to know the intensity of her personality, this attitude towards her text is not surprising. It is also tempting to conclude that she espouses an apophatic posture towards the experience of God, especially when she declares: “the more one feels God, the less is one able to say anything about him”⁹⁵. However, Angela never renounces language. Her apparent rejection of it serves another purpose: it ensures that her experience remains hers. The distance she takes from the representation of her feelings allows the uniqueness of her relationship with God to remain intact. She is, after all, as she reminds us, the most loved woman by God in the valley of Spoleto⁹⁶.

In summary, Angela’s story borrows from a conventional format of stages to describe the spiritual journey, and she fills that format with her particular energy, feeling, and passion⁹⁷. There is in her journey to union with God reveals a veritable phenomenology of feeling: warmth, joy, delight, sweetness, grief, sadness, and perplexity. Angela’s list of bodily feelings is long but never exhausted, and just when she reaches a feeling whose height or depth she had never before experienced, another one comes to her that is even more exalted. There appears to be no limit to her capacity to feel and for God’s capacity to bring her to even deeper experiences. For her, to know God is in many ways to feel God, and for that reason that she immerses herself in them, trusting that they constitute clear signs of God’s communication to her soul. Her feelings permeate everything, even the telling of her story, an act which occasions for her nothing but negative emotions. She struggles with it, chides it, and appears to take distance from it. Yet, she never stops narrating her story. Quite possibly the greatest testimony of her love for God is to be found in the sharing of her story. It is her complete offering of self to God and others; she does it with love and passion, and

⁹² *Memorial*, 148.

⁹³ *Memorial*, 148.

⁹⁴ *Memorial*, 156. Another aspect of this is her attitude toward paintings: “This is why I no longer wanted to look at these paintings, because they seemed to me to signify almost nothing by comparison to what really happened”. *Memorial*, 162.

⁹⁵ *Memorial*, 191.

⁹⁶ *Memorial*, 172: “he has more love for you than for any woman in the valley of Spoleto”.

⁹⁷ Sexual desire is significant and integral part of her journey to God, a tradition of reflecting on the experience of God that harkens back to Origen, “the father and creator” of nuptial mysticism. See, Pierre Adnès, “Mariage Spirituel”, in *DSp* 10:388-408, on 391. Also, Johnson, taking his cue from the mystical tradition, whose treatment of eros as a metaphor for the relationship with God exceeds the limits of this study, offers this observation: “sexual desire... is a dimension of somatic experience that both impels us on a quest for the other and enables us to think about the one who is truly Other in deeply satisfying ways”. See, Johnson, *The Revelatory Body*, 152.

this in spite of the way that it made her feel.

2.3. The *Life* of St. Teresa of Avila

Teresa's work, not unlike Augustine's many years earlier, stands as one of more expressive and moving first-person narratives of the experience of God⁹⁸. She writes, like the Latin Church Father before her, to confess her love of God and to proclaim His great mercy in her life⁹⁹. This, however, is one narrative focus. The polyvalent work also assumes a more didactic intention as the author describes and offers treatise-like depictions of prayer¹⁰⁰. She is explicit about this intention. In the prologue, she indicates that her taking pen to paper was undertaken at the command of her confessors to tell of "the favors and the kind of prayer the Lord has granted me"¹⁰¹. This is the explicit intention of her narrative, and this allows her to establish her human feminine experience as the narrative ground of her text. In brief, she speaks from her experience in a way that is frank, conversational, and direct – a style which directly accords with her understanding of God as her friend.

As she announces in the prologue to her text, others ask her to describe the graces she has received in prayer. That she would respond to this request by writing a narrative of her life suggests how Teresa understands prayer. Prayer is a relationship, more specifically, a friendship with God that develops in life. For this reason, the best way to express this is to tell her life story. There is no question that she would have been capable of expressing, with metaphors and comparisons, different stages or experiences of prayer outside of the autobiographical genre as she did in the *Interior Castle*. But at this moment of her life she chose to express prayer as a story that unfolds in her life story. The several chapters that she

⁹⁸ "The Life... is a classic of Christian theology in the expanded literary style of autobiography". See, Mary Sullivan, "From Narrative to Proclamation: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Autobiography of Teresa of Avila", *Thought* 58 (1983): 453-471; (hereafter article cited as "Rhetorical Analysis of the Autobiography of Teresa").

⁹⁹ One of the titles that she gave to her life story was "De las misericordias de Dios", one that Juan Antonio Marcos sees as that which best suggests the intentions of the author. See, Juan Antonio Marcos, "'Concertar esta mi desbaratada vida'. (El círculo hermenéutico vida-lenguaje)", in *El Libro de la Vida de Santa Teresa de Jesús. Actas del I Congreso Internacional Teresiano*, ed. Javier Sancho Fermín, Rómulo Cuartas Londoño (Burgos: Monte Carmelo, 2011), 159-177, 159; (article hereafter cited as "El círculo hermenéutico").

¹⁰⁰ See, María Teresa Hernando, "La focalización narrativa en el Libro de la Vida de Teresa de Jesús", in *La espiritualidad española del siglo xvi. Aspectos literarios y lingüísticos*, ed. María Jesús Mancho Duque (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 1990), 199-204; (hereafter article cited as "La focalización narrativa").

¹⁰¹ All quotations come from the translation by Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez, *The Collected Works of Saint Teresa of Avila*, vol. 1 (Washington D.C.: Institute of Carmelite Studies, 1987). All citations from *The Book of Her Life* (hereafter cited as *Life*) will follow the recognized format of chapter and paragraph number. I will also include the page number from the English edition I am working with. Spanish version of the text consulted is that found in *Obras completas*, ed. Alberto Barrientos, 6th ed. (Burgos: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2016).

dedicates to prayer are hardly digressions; even though they break the linear nature of her story, they move it forward¹⁰². She knows this, and, if the reader had any doubt, she makes this clarification: “I now want to return to where I left off about my life; for I think I delayed more than I should have so that what follows would be better understood. This is another new book from here on – I mean, another new life”¹⁰³. Her expression is as fascinating as it is revelatory: she sees her life as a book that she is unfolding with and before God.

This metaphor of her life as a book is not gratuitous, but rather one firmly located in her relationship with God. Upon learning of the prohibition of spiritual books in Spanish, and concerned about not being able to read, she hears God say to her: “Don’t be sad, for I shall give you a living book”¹⁰⁴. That living book is her life story. Her use of the metaphor “book” to describe her life suggests that for Teresa writing this book of her life was much more than responding to the command of her confessors. It was a way for her to do that which was most important to her: grow in her friendship with the Lord¹⁰⁵. It was also a way for her to persuade her readers to enter into a life of friendship with God in prayer¹⁰⁶.

Friendship comprises the central metaphor by which she understands her relationship to God. And though she stands confidently on the solid ground of her experience to talk about friendship with God, this was not always the case for her. She often remarks on how difficult it is to explain how God works in the soul, and she also describes the pain of not having been believed by her confessors. Though it does seem that her prose flows fluidly from her pen, she says that it was not easy to come up with the words and comparisons by which she could relate how God brought her so intimately to Himself¹⁰⁷. In this way, her story is also the story of her acquiring the language to talk about God in her life. She relates, for example, in a process very similar to Ignatius’ copying excerpts from books in Loyola, that she underlined passages in the book *Ascent of the Mount* that she found indicative of her experience of prayer¹⁰⁸. She gave these underlined texts to her confessors so that they could understand her experience. Also, similar again to Ignatius, she reports writing out her

¹⁰² Hernando demonstrates that Teresa employs verbs in the present tense; this change in time however does not break the paradigm of the genre, but it does introduce elements of modification. See, Hernando, “La focalización narrativa”, 203.

¹⁰³ *Life*, 23.1, 200.

¹⁰⁴ *Life*, 26.5, 226.

¹⁰⁵ In the very felicitous expression of Juan Antonio Marcos: “la vida humana es un viaje para aprender a ser persona... la escritura, en Teresa, es parte central de ese proceso”. See, Marcos, “El círculo hermenéutico”, 177.

¹⁰⁶ Sullivan, “Rhetorical Analysis of the Autobiography of Teresa”, 456. Sullivan describes the book as deliberative or political discourse in which Teresa seeks to convince all of her audiences “that God in his mercy unfailingly favors the person who does not give up prayer” (457).

¹⁰⁷ “For a long time, even though God favored me, I didn’t know what words to use to explain His favors; and this was no small trial” (*Life*, 12.6, 122).

¹⁰⁸ *Life*, 23.12, 205.

confession – “as clear an account of my life as I knew how to give” – as a part of this process of learning how to express herself¹⁰⁹. In a very real way, her story chronicles her acquisition of a language to talk about her experiences with God¹¹⁰. She, like Ignatius before her, discovered the signs of that language that came from God.

This discovery is aided by the one to whom she constantly addresses: God. Teresa makes clear that God has given her “the favor of understanding what it is [her prayer] and knowing how to speak about it”¹¹¹. God gives her the language to tell her story, even speaking to her directly in words that hardly need any interpretation. Like Augustine before her who heard God in the garden, Teresa reports hearing clearly the voice of the Lord: “Serve me, and don’t bother about such things”¹¹². Likewise, on the occasion of her first experience of rapture, she hears God say to her: “No longer do I want you to converse with men but with angels”¹¹³. Similarly, on the crucially important point of the humanity of Christ, she declares: “Many, many times have I perceived this truth through experience. The Lord has told it to me”¹¹⁴. At the core of her experience, the ground on which she founds her story, is God who speaks directly to her. And when God speaks, “I am made to understand”¹¹⁵. For as much as she bemoans difficulties in writing on or expressing her prayer, her life story presents no hermeneutical difficulties. Even the finer points of prayer, ones that she was worried about explaining, are revealed to her at just the time of her writing. As an example, in her description of the third stage or third water of prayer, she announces: “the Lord today after Communion granted me this prayer... He put before me these comparisons, taught me the manner of explaining it”¹¹⁶. This again recurs with the fourth stage, a degree of prayer she thought impossible to explain: “God enlightened my intellect: sometimes with words, at other times showing me how to explain this favor”¹¹⁷.

What is compelling about Teresa’s *Life* is that the prose moves so spontaneously and lightly that the text gives the sense of having come from on high¹¹⁸. Borrowing from the

¹⁰⁹ *Life*, 23.15, 207.

¹¹⁰ In describing the sisters with whom she lives at the new foundation, this point comes back: “Their language allows them to speak only of God, and so they only understand one who speaks the same language, nor would they in turn be understood by anyone who doesn’t” (*Life*, 36.26, 321).

¹¹¹ *Life*, 23.11, 205.

¹¹² *Life*, 19.9, 168.

¹¹³ *Life*, 24.5, 211.

¹¹⁴ *Life*, 22.6, 194.

¹¹⁵ *Life*, 25.9, 217.

¹¹⁶ *Life*, 16.2, 148.

¹¹⁷ *Life*, 18.8, 160.

¹¹⁸ The style and the ease of her prose makes Teresa think that it comes from on high: “when the Lord gives the spirit, things are put down with ease and in a much better way. Putting them down is then like copying a model you have before your eyes” (*Life*, 14.8, 137).

imagery of the prophetic tradition before her, it is as if the narrative were a scroll that God gave to her and that she unraveled¹¹⁹. Though she may be ambivalent about her own authorship, the conclusion she draws from her life is not far from the prophetic tradition before her: God is the speaker, author, and source of that story¹²⁰. His language to her, be it in intellectual or imaginative visions or locutions, resolves her questions, calms her anxiety, and provides her with confidence to face her confessors.

She also teaches her readers how to recognize God’s voice. She maps out points of reference for discerning the signs of the language that come from God, the self, or from the devil¹²¹. She delineates the different affective resonance of each voice, yet discernment occupies a secondary role since God’s voice is so much more potent than the others. As an example, and on a topic connected to the discernment issue of Ignatius’ *Diary*, Teresa faced the difficult discernment of whether to accept income for the new monastery that she and others desired to found. At first the question posed no difficulty: “there would never be any income”¹²². They would rely purely on alms. However, at times she wavered as her confessors saw things differently. But she always found firm resolve in her decision: “when I returned to prayer and contemplating Christ on the cross, so poor and naked, I couldn’t patiently accept the idea of being rich”¹²³. Nevertheless, she reports being assailed by doubts. For a narrator so adept at describing the contours of her inner life, and so attentive to the didactic aspect of such personal revelations, it is surprising that she glosses over the nuances or manifestations of these movements. They must have been intense since. Sensing the increasing opposition in the city to her desire for a complete abdication of monetary assistance, she decided to compromise and accept some income. However, at prayer, the night before the matter was to be debated, she reports that “the Lord told me not to agree”¹²⁴. In this way, the issue was settled, and she never lets the reader see the wavering, the movement, or even the struggle.

Yet, curiously this can hardly be considered a kind of *Deus ex machina* recourse that exonerates her from the responsibility and the freedom to choose. The style of her text – a reconstruction of her past for the present – has already prepared us for an exposition where

¹¹⁹ She believes as much: “in dealing with these earthly things, where so much is covered up, as the Lord once told me – for many of the things I write about here do not come from my own head, but my heavenly master tells them to me” (*Life*, 39.8, 345-346).

¹²⁰ Sullivan, “Rhetorical Analysis of the Autobiography of Teresa”, 464.

¹²¹ See, for example, *Life*, 25.

¹²² *Life*, 33.13, 291.

¹²³ *Life*, 35.3, 304; see also 35.6, 305.

¹²⁴ *Life* 36.20, 318.

God intervenes with clarity. In this way, the style of her prose accords with her experience of God. Both are clear, diaphanous, and engaging. Though much physical and emotional suffering are alluded to in her story, her prose moves with an authenticity matched by the straightforwardness with which God speaks to her. Teresa speaks plainly and spontaneously because that is how she perceives God's language to her. With a rather playful and self-deprecatory image, she makes this clear: "let them believe me (believe for the love of the Lord this little ant, for He wants it to speak)"¹²⁵. That God should speak through this little ant should not surprise the reader since God "communicates secrets to [the soul] and treats it with such friendship and love"¹²⁶.

In conclusion, Teresa's *Life* presents a style of writing in which autobiography appears as the natural home or place for the telling of the favors and graces of God. In part, this structure derives from her pivotal understanding of God as friend. At the same time, it reflects the preponderant place of experience in her discourse. She writes from her experience, the very place where God has acted in her and spoken to her. Not unlike Augustine before her, she writes to God and for God, as well as to and for others, allowing the telling of her story to widen the scope of her audience, as she seeks to persuade her readers to pray and experience God as she does. In this way, she creates a genre of personal writing in which she shares her experience of God, but also seeks to claim audaciously that the female experience can teach and persuade others about life in the Spirit. Her spontaneous, fresh, and self-deprecatory prose gives substance to her claims, and she seems to take a cue from Augustin as she does not shy from telling her readers of her own abject sinfulness. The writing of her story is, as it was for Augustine, a prolonged exercise in self-knowledge¹²⁷. But hers is also the confident affirmation of her experience; that is where God speaks to her, and it is from that experience where she speaks to others.

2.4. General conclusions on these three narratives for the *Diary*

These three texts represent but a small portion of the vast literary tradition of the genre of writing on the personal spiritual experience. All the while recognizing the limited nature of this selection, as well as the substantial differences between each of the three books reviewed, it is possible to make a brief set of conclusions which can help bring into focus

¹²⁵ *Life*, 31.21, 273.

¹²⁶ *Life*, 27.9, 231.

¹²⁷ Marcos, "El círculo hermenéutico", 177.

relevant narrative and structural issues for the study of Ignatius' *Diary*.

- Motivations – human and divine – for writing

As personal as their experiences were, each author decided to write and share their spiritual encounters with God for wider divulgation. Viewed globally, their motivations were not dissimilar: confess their faith and love for God, share an experience to help others, and indicate steps or stages in their relationship with God. Likewise, each author does hint at a motivation that came from on high. They wrote and in that very process they discovered that God desired them to share their experience for others. It would appear, given the very personal nature of his document, that this question of authorial intentions and motives is not apropos to the *Diary*. Nevertheless, he wrote and he kept what he wrote. For this reason, the question of why he wrote, the possibility that an audience was considered, and why he saved what he wrote represent germane issues that can help disclose the nature of the *Diary*.

- The relationship of the writer to his or her text

In addition to the decision to write their experience, each author appears to establish a certain relationship with the text before him or her. For Augustine, his story seems to move and arouse him; Angela seems generally dismayed by how different her story is in comparison to the actual experiences she felt; for her part, Teresa, though she may struggle to describe her experience, ultimately discovers that God is with her, guiding, as it were, her pen across the page. For each of them, the act of representing the experience not only is commented upon, but it appears to perform some kind of function for them in their relationship with God. The study of the *Diary* requires pointing to the relationship that the writer establishes with his text and the feelings it generated in him. Knowing how Ignatius felt with regards to his *Diary* can disclose the ways in which writing was helping him in his relationship with God.

- The relationship between the writer and God

Each text presents a strong narrative voice unafraid to make cogent assertions regarding the experience of God. Though doubt and uncertainty are alluded to in their texts, these writers – or narrators in the case of Angela – convey confidence that God communicated to them. Not only did each author feel or hear that communication, but they understood it. The signs of God's language may have been different in each of their cases, but the interpretation of that communication appears to have posed no difficulty. In part, this

is the result of a structural aspect in these texts: God appears, as it were, as a character in the stories. He has a place, a voice, even a role. More than an addressee in these narratives, God is a protagonist. He is spoken to and He speaks. This raises the issue of how Ignatius, the writer, structures his relationship with God in the *Diary* and the way he represents the communication, and the interpretation of that communication, between God and him.

- The structure as that which discloses an understanding of God

The different narrative structures reveal much about each author's experience of God. At the risk of oversimplifying, the structure appears to conform or respond to their understanding of God. For instance, for Augustine and Teresa, God is always present to them, thus their entire life story – the genre of an autobiography – is the structure that corresponds to how they understand and experience God. Though throughout their life they may not have been conscious or present to God, He was always present to them. The structure that Angela of Foligno adopts presents a different image of God. The outline of stages or steps seems to imply that there are recognizable steps that one goes through in the relationship with God. Those steps have a beginning and union with God is their end. They also need not match up precisely with her life. In leaving out a whole part of her life, she seems to implicitly suggest that not all of one's life need fit into those steps. In essence, the structure that each writer adopts discloses a certain experience and understanding of God. This is to suggest that the particular arrangement of his *Diary* represents more than utilitarian choices or pragmatic ends. He writes the way he does because this is how he knows and understands God. The study of the genre of the text, as well as the consideration of what he includes and excludes, can illuminate in interesting ways his understanding of God.

- Stories that impact the reader

Finally, one last consideration includes the way that the narrative works on or affects the reader. One way to gauge this effect is by way of the governing metaphor that is used to describe the writer's experience with God. Augustine exhibits a preference for interiority; Angela focuses her attention on her feelings and desires; Teresa employs the felicitous metaphor of friendship to describe her deepening experience and love of God. In part, the metaphor or predominant image employed forms the very epistemological ground of the author's relationship to God. Augustine knows God in his interiority, Angela in her feelings, and Teresa in her experience of the kindness and infinite goodness of God. The metaphor also provides an interpretive key that discloses how the narrative seeks to affect the reader.

Augustine’s story encourages the reader to enter into his interiority; Angela provokes her reader to feel, desire, and learn to desire; Teresa invites the one reading her story to imagine the possibility of friendship with God. Ignatius’ *Diary*, no longer a private text, but a public one, contains metaphors, words, and a whole style of presenting a personal relationship with God that affects a reader. It will be important to identify the key words or images that he uses and the way those images act upon the reader. It may be that devotion is both one of the central spiritual experiences recounted, and the very spiritual experience that the text seeks to inculcate in its reader.

These brief conclusions, configured as points of departure, will help situate the study of the *Diary*. Perhaps the most important conclusion from the above study is that God communicates to the person, and a significant part of the experience of that communication is not only what God says to the person or the nature of the experience, but the form with which or in which the person writes it. Obviously, content is important, but the structure also provides a fascinating perspective into the person’s relationship with God. In this way, this investigation promises to approach us to his *Diary* and the spiritual experience of devotion in a new way.

3. A genealogy of the *Diary* – Ignatius the writer

The enumerated conclusions above bring into focus structural issues that will help disclose the nature of the *Diary*. However, before turning to the analysis of it, one more line of inquiry will further sharpen this present study. In this section, I propose to offer a brief analysis of the style of his other compositions. Though not considered a spiritual writer like Teresa of Avila or John of the Cross, Ignatius turned to writing in many different periods of his life. His literary production, albeit not considered “literary”, is substantial. Ignatius was a highly educated man, attending the premier universities of his time, and writing formed a part of his human, academic, and spiritual life. At its most obvious level, the *Diary* demonstrates that he turned to writing in a process of discernment. That is not an unremarkable fact.

In this present section, I will turn to the kinds of writing that he employed at various

points of his life¹²⁸. Not only did he write at many different stages of his life, but he employed multiple genres, and features of these genres inform the composition of the *Diary*¹²⁹. Understanding, briefly, his compositions, both those before and after the *Diary*, can illuminate this document that he composed in 1544-1545. In this way, this analysis pretends to offer a kind of genealogy of the *Diary*, that is, tracing the elements of other texts of his that may have found their way into this personal document of his. My intention is not to force a narrative ark on the Ignatian corpus which culminates in the *Diary*, but rather to attend to the peculiar compositional features of his other texts as that which can further elucidate the *Diary*. As I will argue, he seems to have been an attentive, versatile, and thoughtful writer¹³⁰, and these two booklets of this 13-month period represent a sophisticated kind of writing whose features can be gleaned in other texts of his. As such, an overview of the multiple texts in the particular geographical contexts of his life will not only situate the *Diary* in his life, but such a study, albeit brief, will provide clues to understand its features.

a. Arévalo – Ignatius the bookkeeper and poet

As an adolescent, Ignatius was formed in the administrative house of Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, treasurer to the King and the Queen of Spain. Modern biographers point to the brilliant economic situation of the house, the ascendent political trajectory of the treasurer himself, and the mobility that Ignatius would have had in functioning as a page in the treasurer's very modern economic and bureaucratic administration¹³¹. In studies of the officials and functionaries with which the Catholic Monarchy surrounded itself, Velázquez de Cuéllar is singled out for special encomiums: he is considered one of the best examples of the

¹²⁸ Ignatius appears to represent a very good case study of the affirmation that “A partir del siglo xiv creció el universo social de los usuarios, directos o indirectos, de la escritura, siendo su muestra más clara la diversificación y riqueza de las actividades gráficas”. In this section, I will point to this diversity and richness in his graphic activity. See, Antonio Castillo Gómez, “Introducción”, in *Escribir y leer en el siglo de Cervantes*, ed. Castillo Gómez (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1999), 19-37, 22.

¹²⁹ I am in full agreement with Ramírez Fueyo's thesis that Ignatius was “un hombre de letras, antes que de armas”. See, Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 154.

¹³⁰ I take distance from the hypothesis offered by Panikulam who suggests that “he was not a born writer, but a man of limited endowments of eloquence and learning”. See, Panikulam, “The Problem of ‘Seeking Confirmation’”, 72.

¹³¹ I follow here García Hernán's biography of Ignatius, especially his very aptly titled chapter on this period of Ignatius' life: “Entre lo medieval y lo moderno”. See, García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola*, 44-64; also important is the previously cited in-depth study by Luís Fernández Martín, *Los años juveniles de Iñigo de Loyola. Su formación en Castilla*; also, Rogelio García Mateo, “Formación administrativa de Ignacio de Loyola en Castilla y su personalidad”, *Manresa* 59 (1987): 279-288.

administrative talent by which the King and Queen governed¹³². Likewise, occupying an important place in the household, and much beloved by Queen Isabella, was his wife, Doña María de Velasco. Throughout her life, María de Velasco demonstrated a remarkable capacity to adapt to complex and changing political situations. As such, Ignatius grew up in an environment of extremely talented men and women.

Though documents of a young Ignatius do not survive from this period of his life, Arévalo is the place to begin to think about how Ignatius learned to write. In essence, he appears to have been engaged in tasks in and around administration, human relations, and record keeping¹³³. The duties of a clerk, a scribe and a page provide the rough outlines his place in the household¹³⁴. And he was on the move, entrusted, at times, with the responsibility to deliver sums of money to others¹³⁵. Perhaps more by osmosis than by direct instruction, his position in this household allowed him to acquire a solid formation in what we would now call the humanities¹³⁶. He learned administration, human relations, and governance. In such an environment, “impregnated with the new humanist tendencies at that time dominant”¹³⁷, it is probable to imagine an apprenticeship in rhetoric; he would have learned how to address others both orally and in written texts. Courtesy and formality would have been important skills, as would be the ability to narrate briefly and concisely.

In addition, multiple literary genres could have been a part of the range of activities that he was asked to carry out. As an example, it is possible to imagine an apprenticeship in letter writing, an art that would serve him well later in life. The rigor and order of his letters and instructions written as general of the Order speak to this formation¹³⁸. Similarly, it is likely that he had at hand ledgers, accounting books, and notebooks to account summarily for

¹³² Miguel Rodríguez Cancho, “Conocer a Fernando el Católico: mitos, tópicos y realidad histórica”, in *Fernando el católico, rey*, ed. Antonio Miguel Bernal (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2016), 27-46, on 43-44; also Fernández Martín, *Los años juveniles de Iñigo*, 27-28.

¹³³ On this period of his life, Iñigo Arranz offers the very prudent appraisal: “deben rehuirse los dos extremos de considerarle un ‘militar’ o un ‘burócrata’”. This is helpful, but perhaps the opposition between the two areas is false. Given my interest and estimation of the highly sophisticated nature of his texts – *Diary*, *Exercises*, letters, and *Constitutions* – I lean towards underscoring that which may unite the two areas, namely, formation in human relations and communication. Moreover, the trajectory of his life suggests that he had a solid formation in a range of social skills. See, Arranz, “Arévalo”, in *DEI* 1:192-196, 193.

¹³⁴ García Mateo, “Formación administrativa de Ignacio de Loyola en Castilla y su personalidad”, 284.

¹³⁵ García Hernán has located a document from 1510 which places Ignatius in Salamanca. For this reason, the Spanish biographer concludes that “hay que poner en cuarentena la idea de que siempre estaba en la corte junto al rey. Al parecer, iba de un sitio a otro, al servicio del contador”. See, García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola*, 49.

¹³⁶ Following Ramírez Fueyo who argues that Ignatius, among other areas, would have learned the art of governing as well as Latin. See, Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 150.

¹³⁷ María Jesús Mancho Duque, “Rasgos caracterizadores del léxico de los *Ejercicios Espirituales* de Ignacio de Loyola”, in *Actas del XIX Congreso Internacional de Lingüística e Filología Románicas*, ed. Ramón Lorenzo Vázquez (A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1992), 685-704, 693; (article hereafter cited as “Rasgos caracterizadores del léxico de los *Ejercicios Espirituales*”).

¹³⁸ See, Arranz, “Arévalo”, in *DEI* 1:195.

his work. As such, he would have cultivated the skill and the penchant for the right word, the exact expression, and a capacity to quantify. In short, I would argue that the imprint of Arévalo permeates his life and his writing life. Far from being “a forgotten parenthesis between his youth and his conversion at Loyola”, this period of time, reaching nearly ten years, formed his way of thinking and organizing the world that can be seen in texts of his¹³⁹. During this long period of formation at Arévalo, Ignatius developed what would be a lifelong relationship with the word, not least of which the word in its written expression¹⁴⁰. The way he constructed his compositions, be they letters, points for a meditation, or observations on his prayer in a personal journal trace their roots to this formation in Arévalo. If those texts show a high degree of conceptual precision in a style of writing generally very functional and concise¹⁴¹, it is because the milieu in which he was immersed was that of a treasurer. The *Diary*, a kind of spiritual ledger, reminds us of this formation in Arévalo. There he learned that exactitude mattered, as did attention and reverence, not only to persons, be they royal or divine, but to the word itself.

Arévalo, however, was not all sums and ledgers. He was surrounded by literature, art, and, unquestionably, the most influential men and women of the era. All of this would have filled the imagination of an adolescent Ignatius. Part of this rich cultural humus included books. He worked in and with a family whose house was stocked with them, and not just any books, but some of the more impressive Christian texts of the era. Though it is hard to imagine that he was a reader of the texts that were found in Velázquez de Cuéllar’s residence, the treasurer’s library was impressive. The works of St. Augustine, Kempis’s the *Imitation of Christ*, the *Book of Revelation (Memorial)* of Angela de Foligno, and, not least of which, books of fiction and stories of chivalrous knights constituted the library¹⁴². Reading and writing characterize the environment of the household, and with this perspective of Arévalo, a crucial period that cannot be ignored in any study of Ignatius, his decision to enroll at the most important universities in Europe appears unsurprising. He grew up in a culture of letters, and his commitment to study as a way to help others accords with this early period of formation. There is evidence too that Ignatius tried his hand at writing literary texts. His

¹³⁹ Arranz, “Arévalo”, in *DEI* 1:194.

¹⁴⁰ See, García de Castro, “Ignacio de Loyola y las lenguas”, 82.

¹⁴¹ See, for example, the excellent analysis of his language by Maria Jesús Mancho Duque, “Lenguaje ignaciano”, in *DEI* 2:1115-1120.

¹⁴² For an immensely detailed account of the auction of Queen Isabella’s patrimony, executed by the Velázquez de Cuéllar and his wife, María de Velasco, and the purchases made by them, many of which included books, see, Fernández Martín, *Los años juveniles de Iñigo*, 62-120, list of books on 76-84.

secretary in Rome, Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517-1576)¹⁴³, reports in his latter biography on Ignatius that in his youth Ignatius was particularly given to devotion to St. Peter, so much so that he composed verses in Spanish to the apostle¹⁴⁴. His literary formation had to have been excellent¹⁴⁵. The page in the treasurer's house was learning many things about administration, communication, and human relations. And in composing a poem to St. Peter, he was turning to writing as a way to express his religious experience and fervor.

b. Loyola – Ignatius faithfully copies others' texts

During his convalescence in Loyola, well known is the importance of reading in his conversion¹⁴⁶. Lesser known is that writing appears to have constituted an important aspect of his change of heart. As he began to talk with others about the things of God, and he saw how much it benefited their souls [Au 11], Gonçalves da Câmara, the author of the *Autobiography*, reports that there came to Ignatius the idea to put down on paper some of the more essential parts of the life of Christ and life of the Saints that he had been reading. The project was an ambitious one: “he set himself very diligently to write a book” [Au 11]¹⁴⁷. And according to the author's marginal note, it was voluminous, reaching some 300 folios or 600 pages. But this was no ordinary book; he wrote the words of Christ in red ink and the words of Our Lady in blue, copying the very format of the *Life of Christ*¹⁴⁸. Gonçalves da

¹⁴³ For biographical details on Ignatius' secretary, see, García de Castro, “Polanco, Juan Alfonso de”, in *DEI* 2:1462-1471; also, Cándido de Dalmases, “Polanco, Juan Alfonso de”, in *DHCJ* 4:3168-3169.

¹⁴⁴ “Colebat peculiari devotione S. Petrum Ignatius, quem etiam hispanicis carminibus in eius laudem compositis, venerates fuerat”. See, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*, in *Chronicon Societatis Iesu*, ed. José María Vélez (Madrid: 1894), 1:13. See new translation of Polanco's *Vita* by Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo, *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2021), 53; (hereafter in reference to Polanco's *Vita* I will follow Alonso Romo's translation, indicating him as editor and work as *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*). García-Villoslada also offers that in Arévalo, the greatest and oldest church was St. Peter's which was his parish at the time. See, García-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 93, note 33.

¹⁴⁵ García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola*, 76.

¹⁴⁶ Lesser known is if Ignatius would have read out loud or in silence. The question is relevant given that it structures the reader's relationship to the text: “la lectura silenciosa construye un espacio de relación con el texto más personal”. See, Castillo Gómez, “Introducción”, in *Escribir y leer en el siglo de Cervantes*, 30.

¹⁴⁷ Laínez in his letter of 1547, appears to allude, albeit enigmatically, to writing when he declares that Ignatius was reading and “sacando de [la Vida de los Santos] lo que le parecía para su propósito”. Polanco, in his *Summario*, is more explicit: “sacando [de sus lecturas] los puntos que le parecían de mayor santidad para imitarlos”. However, in his *Vita* of Ignatius, the Jesuit secretary from Burgos is even more straightforward regarding this activity in Loyola, affirming that Martín García, Ignatius' brother, recognized the conversion “por el modo diverso de sus conversaciones y de sus ocupaciones en leer y escribir cosas piadosas”. Given this testimony, it seems likely that Ignatius turned to writing as a part of his spiritual activity in Loyola. See, respectively, “*Sumarium Hispanum de Origine et Progressu Societatis Iesu*”, in *FN I*, 146-256, 158; Alonso Romo, ed., *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*, 57.

¹⁴⁸ The first editions of the *Vita Christi* were written, as Rogelio García Mateo points out, in two colors: biblical passages were printed in red ink and the rest of the text in a dark blue. See, García Mateo, *Ignacio de Loyola: su espiritualidad y su mundo* (Bilbao: Mensajero, 2000), 52; on this very point, Ramírez Fueyo suggests that

Câmara descends to more detail, as if he had the document in front of him, indicating that Ignatius wrote on “polished and lined paper, and with good handwriting because he was a very fine penman” [Au 11]. As a summary of his activity in Loyola, the author writes: “he (Ignatius) spent part of his time in writing, part in prayer” [Au 11].

The writing alluded to in the *Autobiography* seems to refer to his copying the words of Jesus and Mary. Quite possibly it included more. Even if, however, he was only copying, this would be significant. It recalls the literary genre of the *rapiarium* created by the members of the Modern Devotion spiritual movement. The features of that genre are straightforward: the practitioners of this spiritual tradition transcribed that which moved them. Words and phrases that stirred them interiorly were copied down in notebooks that were considered, as their name in Latin suggests, “grab bags” of pious material. There also existed a practical component to this act of transcription. This notebook of words and passages could be reviewed and meditated upon later in prayer. In essence, each person was making their own points for their prayer and establishing their own criteria to gauge their progress in the virtues. Though on the surface, this literary genre appears simple and elementary, it is the first step towards the articulation of the more personal language of God to the believer. In other words, copying is more than a simple act of transcription. It is the necessary first step of appropriating religious material, and it is the beginning of the process of uncovering those feelings and sentiments that move in one’s interior. The passage copied is not just any passage, but one that “speaks” to the reader. As such, the act of copying a text is a real, albeit partial, communicative act with God. Moved by a phrase or an image, the person writes it, and in that act dialogues with the affective echo that inhabits him or her. Transcribing passage after passage reveals a search for that divine language.

This is what Ignatius is realizing in this rudimentary compositional act. He is beginning to find God in his interior by way of short passages or pious expressions. As a neophyte in the spiritual life with little experience in dialogue with God, he, quite naturally, borrows the language of others. That language helps him build his own spiritual vocabulary, and it also could have helped him connect words and thoughts with internal movements¹⁴⁹. Perhaps, in writing he was moving from feeling to knowing, a process that will comprise his

“como escribano que era, el uso de tintas diversas no le resultaría difícil”. See Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 156.

¹⁴⁹ Ramírez Fueyo sees the process as more complicated: “Ya al copiar en Loyola del Cartujano seguramente Ignacio extrajo, resumió en ocasiones, y también enmendó al Cartujano, quizás entonces ya comparándolo con otros textos que tenía a su disposición”. Without denying the possibility of such intellectual work, it does seem that the author, a biblical scholar by training, projects onto his subject the very practices he so skillfully realizes in his study. See, Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 193.

understanding of discernment [*Ej* 313]. Quite possibly too he was discovering the discourse of a spiritual movement, seeing as he writes that his spiritual movements are a kind of narrative with a beginning, middle, and end. In summary, writing, as the *Autobiography* indicates, constituted a key activity in his nascent spiritual life. The copying of the words of Christ and of Mary is the first step towards writing down the signs of the language of God that he will do so attentively many years later in his *Diary*.

c. Montserrat/Manresa – Ignatius’ versatility as a spiritual writer

According to the *Autobiography*, Ignatius’ sojourn in the Benedictine abbey of Montserrat was short but intense. His first act was to don a pilgrims’ garb, make a vigil to Our Lady, and find a confessor to confess his sin. He would change his outward clothes, donning a new identity, and in his confession, he would seek to return to his deepest and truest identity, one not marred by sin. This general confession would cover his entire life. Gonçalves da Câmara reports that the confession lasted three days, and that “he made a general confession in writing” [*Au* 17]. Three days of writing in which he examined his life and sought to name to his sins. No longer only copying the language of others, he was making an inventory, a personal one, of his sinfulness. Drawing on his skills at Arévalo, he accounts for his sins, records them faithfully, perhaps even attending to their quality and their quantity. Likewise, the collection of the words of Jesus and Mary that he composed at Loyola hovers in the background. To the language of Jesus and Mary, he responds by writing his sins and by seeking forgiveness. Arévalo gives him the form, and Loyola provides the inspirational content to his confession. In his general confession, and in another confession of his that he made in writing in Manresa in a time of intense scruples [*Au* 22], he appears to have turned to writing to express himself before God. He wrote to respond to the deeper writing of love and mercy that was taking place in his heart.

After his pilgrimage to Montserrat, Ignatius resided in Manresa for the following eleven months. In part, his decision to sojourn in this village was to “note some things in his book. This he carried around very carefully, and it consoled him greatly” [*Au* 18]. As in Loyola, he continued to write and pray, and it appears he wanted to dedicate more time to writing. In short, writing and praying undergird his experiences in this small Catalan village where Ignatius was favored with profound spiritual experiences. The first biographical text on Ignatius, written by Diego Laínez in 1547, attests to the depth of these experiences. Laínez comments that Ignatius was singularly illustrated and consoled in the Blessed Trinity,

and that in the Trinity, Ignatius found particular joy and delight. And he adds this detail: such was his experience that “he set himself to write a book on the Trinity”¹⁵⁰. Though the author does not provide further details on this book or where it ended up, the detail is revelatory. It also aligns with the observation offered by Gonçalves da Câmara that Ignatius prayed and wrote. It does seem to be the case that in his spiritual life Ignatius had a tendency to transcribe or to write that which he experienced. Though no record exists of this book on the Trinity, it presents Ignatius no longer making lists or transcribing the words of others, but rather expressing his experience and ideas in writing. Like his confession, writing on his experience of the Trinity would help him name and understand who the Trinity is in his life. Furthermore, the mention of this work points to the emergence of a clear apostolic dimension in his writing. His experience, written down, can be offered to others.

Ignatius appears to have been busy in Manresa writing since it is also during this time that he began what would become his great spiritual composition: the *Spiritual Exercises*. Though the genesis of the text may predate Manresa, his experiences there fundamentally configure it¹⁵¹. In many ways, this work represented a continual compositional endeavor of his. For almost a near twenty-five-year period, the text was in some ways always open, subject to further elaboration, revision, and additions¹⁵². His ongoing spiritual experiences and those of others contributed to the development and maturation of the book. Moreover, his many years of rigorous university studies inform and pulse through it¹⁵³. The *Exercises* present an author who is patient; he allows the text to emerge over time. The attentive scribe and note-taker from Arévalo, the faithful transcriber of words and images from Loyola, and the theologian from Paris coalesce and develop in an Ignatius that outlines for others a spiritual methodology. The writing of this text shows him in tune with his own inner experience of God, but also as able to take distance from that experience to create a spiritual program for others with a clear method, outline, and guidelines for discernment. Likewise,

¹⁵⁰ See, Albuquerque, ed., *Diego Laínez, primer biógrafo*, 12.

¹⁵¹ For the critical edition of the diverse texts that have come to form the *Exercises*, see, *Exercitia Spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola*, ed. José Calveras, Cándido de Dalmases, vol. 100 MHSI (Rome, 1969). For narrative overview in Spanish on the topic of the genesis of the text, see, Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales de S. Ignacio. Historia y Análisis*, rev. ed. (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 2009), 31-62; (book hereafter cited as *Ejercicios Espirituales*). Also helpful is Melloni, “Ejercicios espirituales: el texto”, in *DEI* 1:685-689, 686.

¹⁵² Following García de Castro in the introduction to the elegant edition of the autograph manuscript of the *Exercises*. See, García de Castro, “Introducción”, in “*Ejercicios espirituales*” de san Ignacio de Loyola. Edición del manuscrito autógrafo (Bilbao: Mensajero-Fundación Gondra Barandiarán, 2021), 9-44, 20. Ramírez Fueyo offers on this point that “el texto de los *Ejercicios* fue un texto vivo”. See, Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 196.

¹⁵³ Again, following Melloni, who points to the *Versio prima Latina* as that text which is complete and definitive in 1541. See, Melloni, “Ejercicios espirituales: el texto”, in *DEI* 1:685.

the text shows him as an author attentive to concrete and palpable images¹⁵⁴. Though he was not the first to create a program of spiritual exercises, the fact that he set about writing such a book would seem to suggest that he had seen the genre before and he ventured that he could improve upon it. In a word, he was confident in his spiritual experience, theological background, and in his skill as a writer¹⁵⁵.

Though officially closed with its papal approbation in 1548, the *Exercises* represents that composition in which the author constructs a narrative of spiritual experiences so that the person, following the order of daily prayer, through his or her experiences with God, can find the divine narrative in his or her life. Following the arc of the text, the retreatant discovers not Ignatius, the author of the document before him or her, but God, the author of his or her very life. Though far too vast to summarize here, the *Exercises*, in essence, help the retreatant create the order necessary to feel and to know God’s language in him or her. And this discovery of the divine action in the person is to lead the retreatant to elect that which is placed in him or her. In this way, the author of the *Exercises* creates a particular kind of spiritual program whose end seeks to create a dialogue between God and the one doing them¹⁵⁶. More than an experience of God or a theophany, what Ignatius is “methodically seeking is in fact a semiophony”, that is, the emergence of the signs of God’s language in the person¹⁵⁷. The retreatant and God learn how to speak to each other¹⁵⁸. In short, the *Exercises* generates language. And in certain moments it calls for and generates writing¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁴ See, Pablo Lamarthée Estrade, *Conocimiento interno* (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2020), 148. All the while recognizing, with Mancho Duque, that “los campos simbólicos son prácticamente nulos”. See, Mancho Duque, “Rasgos caracterizadores del léxico de los *Ejercicios Espirituales*”, 688.

¹⁵⁵ In her review of the lexicon that the *Exercises* presents, Mancho Duque makes this concluding observation on its author: “No hay, sin embargo, cultismos pertenecientes a un nivel poético, sino más bien, vocablos propios de los prosistas, a los que hoy tal vez calificaríamos de ‘ensayistas’ o intelectuales, del XV”. See, Mancho Duque, “Rasgos caracterizadores del léxico de los *Ejercicios Espirituales*”, 693.

¹⁵⁶ See the very suggestive interpretation of the *Exercises* offered by Roland Barthes who suggests that the retreatant accepts the task to become a constructor of language, and that the method employed by Ignatius is to create the conditions of an “interlocution, that is, a new language that can circulate between the Divinity and the exercitant”. See, Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 44.

¹⁵⁷ Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 53.

¹⁵⁸ “The area of the *Exercises* is essentially that of the exchanged sign”. See, Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 46. Or, García de Castro who points to the “diversas modalidades de conversación que van apareciendo en el interior del ejercitante”. See, García de Castro, *La voz de tu saludo. Acompañar, conversar, discernir* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 2019), 84.

¹⁵⁹ I will point to these other texts that emerge between the one doing the *Exercises* and God in the following chapter.

d. The entire geography of his life – Ignatius the letter writer

In this section of my analysis of Ignatius the writer, the geography of this literary genre of his expands immensely. Similarly, the time frame knows no fixed demarcation. Ignatius was an immensely prolific letter writer during a large portion of his life, if not for his entire life. The number of these documents, the range of styles employed within the category of epistolary writing, and the breadth of his addressees demonstrates that he was a man of letters, artfully employing what was considered the “humanists’ preferred style of communication”¹⁶⁰. The sheer number of texts he composed in this broad genre of letters testifies to his commitment to cultivate and nurture relationships¹⁶¹. In this way, his letter writing participates in the same dynamic as his earlier compositional acts. If at Loyola he prayed and wrote to deepen his relationship with God, he learned the craft of letter-writing, developed his own style within the genre, and employed the genre to the same relational end. With his letters, he constructed, cultivated, and maintained relationships, and many of these over long periods of time¹⁶².

His epistolary body of writing gives every indication that he mastered the form of this genre¹⁶³ and that over time he appropriated the genre, acquiring his own style and formulaic expressions¹⁶⁴. In addition, the sheer amount of extant letters of his testifies to his investment in this genre. And the expenditure of energy and time could not have been insignificant. In the estimation of one of his earliest companions, Ignatius labored over his missives, reading and rereading them so often that others were amazed at the time he spent on them¹⁶⁵. The topics dealt with encompass everything from the banal to the sublime, but in all of them, their author sought to solidify ties, make amends, further projects, and offer help¹⁶⁶. No other

¹⁶⁰ For a complete overview of the epistolary body of Ignatius’ writings, see, García de Castro, “Cartas”, in *DEI* 1:294-306, quotation on 294.

¹⁶¹ Though it has come under harsh criticism in Jesuit circles, García Hernán’s biography on Ignatius offers the very insightful thesis that Ignatius was a man deeply gifted in forming relationships. In the author’s own words: “Tenía una capacidad elástica para conciliar opiniones y ganar personas”. I would only add that this “capacidad elástica” is nowhere more on display than in his letters. See, García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola*, 24.

¹⁶² García de Castro points out the 24-year relationship that Ignatius maintained with Isabel Roser by way of letters. See, García de Castro, *La voz de tu saludo*, 115.

¹⁶³ On the genre, Castillo Gómez points to the number of publications on how to write a letter as an indication that letter writing had become “la práctica social de escritura más significativa” in the 16th century. See, Castillo Gómez, “Introducción”, in *Escribir y leer en el siglo de Cervantes*, 23.

¹⁶⁴ See, García de Castro, “El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola”, 618-621.

¹⁶⁵ “Cuando Ignacio escribía carta de negocios graves era tan mirado y remirado en leerlas y enmendarlas, y gastaba tanto tiempo en esto, que nos ponía admiración”. See, Pedro Ribadeneira, “Dicta et facta Sancti Ignatii”, in *FN* II, 465-499, 494.

¹⁶⁶ In his list of topics addressed, García de Castro singles out one commonly forgotten theme: “un tema poco conocido es el reflejo de la vida diaria en el epistolario”. See, García de Castro, “Cartas”, in *DEI* 1:305.

literary genre shows more clearly his commitment to writing and the place of writing in his religious identity. The number of these documents suggest that his vocation was caught up in writing and he used the written word creatively and dynamically his entire life. Moreover, all of his previous academic and spiritual formation comes to bear in his epistolary body of texts, a corpus that in no small way created the very life of Society of Jesus¹⁶⁷. The adolescent from Arévalo, who learned etiquette, method, and form¹⁶⁸, combines with the adult, ever attentive to the language of God in the interior, to construct a network of friendships in the Lord.

e. Rome – Ignatius the framer of constitutions

Arriving in Rome in Rome at the end of 1537, Ignatius' peripatetic life came to an end. He would spend the rest of his years in the Eternal City, founding with his companions and then witnessing the incredible growth and expansion of the Society of Jesus. The members of the apostolic body knew that its head was Jesus, and they believed that the Spirit – whose law of love was written in their hearts – would govern all of their corporate apostolic ventures [Co 134]. However, they also recognized the need for documents more juridical in nature, a legislative text that would both orient them and give them full standing within the Church. Ignatius, elected superior general of the order, was charged to draft these constitutions.

In yet another example in what is a stunning panoply of literary genres that comprise his writing life, Ignatius composed a legislative text that describes the entire movement of a Jesuit into the apostolic body. The final document, the fruit of his collaboration with his secretary, Polanco, as well as the result of deliberations with his earliest companions, expresses the life and the mission of the Society of Jesus. However, the text's structure, far from being an enumeration of points or dry statutory clauses, borrows the architecture of a narrative to depict the entire ark of Jesuit life. That trajectory, represented in the First and General Examine, the Preamble, and the ten principal parts of the *Constitutions*, relates the first encounters of the candidate with the Society and describes the spiritual journey to full incorporation into the apostolic body. And incorporation into the Society, far from a point of

¹⁶⁷ “Una de las claves del éxito de la rápida expansión de la orden, tanto numérica como geográficamente, descansa en la red de comunicación interna que estableció entre personas e instituciones de la Compañía de Jesús. Las cartas eran la vida”. See, García de Castro, *La voz de tu saludo*, 118; author's emphasis.

¹⁶⁸ “En la casa de Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar se guardaba con escrúpulo la etiqueta palaciega”. See, Arranz, “Arévalo”, in *DEI* 1:193.

arrival, is the commitment to continually move with God¹⁶⁹. As a writer, Ignatius had to think about all of the stages of this spirit-filled process. That he understood Jesuit life as a movement into union with its members and with its head as consisting of a beginning, middle, and end suggests that narrative formed a part of his spirituality. Writing was leaving its mark on his way of thinking about the person's relationship with God and others.

The genius of this compositional act not only lies in its form and content, but in the author's openness to allow the experience of the men to inform it¹⁷⁰. That he took years to draft the text is not due solely to the absence or the presence of an able secretary – though Polanco's role was constitutive – but perhaps more to his writerly intuition that a spirit filled text emerges over time with an attention to experience. Not unlike the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Constitutions* represent another open text of his. It emerges as a complete composition in so far as the apostolic experience of the men assumes greater and richer dimension. He can only describe who they are once the men have a sense of their identity in and as a result of their mission. Ignatius is this kind of writer, patient to allow the inner law of charity that the Spirit is writing in their hearts to emerge with clarity and definition. The text of the *Constitutions* depends upon the development of that inner text of the apostolic experience of the men in their mission. As in Loyola, Ignatius sets about transcribing. This time he is not copying the words of Jesus and Mary, but the experiential language of his companions written by the Spirit so that future companions might follow that same Spirit.

In the context of his authorship of the *Constitutions*, it is germane to allude briefly to the place of writing that he asked for and required of the men that formed the apostolic body. Well known is his emphasis on communication in letters as a way to foster the union among the many members of the Society. He was specific about this, dedicating letters to the men imploring them to write and instructing them how to go about it. In an early letter of his to Peter Faber, he indicates the multiple kinds of genres that the men should employ when writing. Should his companion Faber have had any doubts about how to proceed, he indicates that he should “keep this letter or some equivalent reminder in front of you when

¹⁶⁹ One of the great interpreters of the Ignatian charism in the United States, Howard Gray, offered this about the spiritual itinerary of the *Constitutions*: “The movement is the progressive personal assimilation of one's vocation, of moving into that sacred place where each Jesuit can say *I am the Society of Jesus, its life is entrusted to me; I have journeyed into spiritual maturity before God*. For it is neither geographic space nor specific work nor distinctive religious garb, custom or devotions which establish a Jesuit's identity. Rather it is his commitment to move with God”. See, Gray, “What kind of document?”, *The Way Supplement* 61 (1998): 21-34, 25; author's emphasis. See also, José Carlos Coupeau, “Constituciones”, in *DEI* 1:435-445, on 437 and 441

¹⁷⁰ Perhaps the most complete article on the redaction of the *Constitutions* remains Antonio Aldama, “La composición de las Constituciones”, *AHSI* 42 (1973): 200-245.

writing your main letters”¹⁷¹. He understood too that writing requires a certain carefulness, because “writing is permanent and gives lasting witness”¹⁷². These letters about writing show him aware of writing as a process of revision, correction, attention to the addressee, and ultimately as that which forms a part of their life and mission. Writing was not meant to be an onerous task of merely simply reporting activities, rather as one more part of their life done “for the greater glory of God and for the greater spiritual fruit of ours”¹⁷³.

There is also documentary evidence that suggests that he encouraged the men to turn to writing for their personal growth in the Lord. As an example, in a letter of his to Bartholomew Romano, a scholastic who was experiencing difficulties in his community in Ferrara, Ignatius pens a very pointed letter, indicating to him that the cause of his problems is not others, but they come from within him. After a series of recommendations, Ignatius concretizes for him a way to proceed: “every month write a few lines on how you are doing in humility, obedience, prayer, and desire for your own perfection; and [write] also on how your studies are going”¹⁷⁴. Likewise, in a very caring and tender letter to Francisco Mancini, a Jesuit who suffered extremely difficult health problems, he encourages the young Jesuit: “and write us once in a while, however briefly”¹⁷⁵. One more example may suffice. In a missive sent to Stefano Baroello, a candidate on a probationary experience in Sicily, Polanco advises him: “you will write here to Rome whenever you like and at least once a month, telling how things are going etc”¹⁷⁶. Should these examples seem but anecdotal, there is the global comment from Ribadeneira about how important writing was for him: “he used another notice and circumspection with those greatly tempted others more calumnious... he made them write, because writing cannot be so easily perverted”¹⁷⁷. Such an observation from Ribadeneira suggests that writing was a crucial part of how Ignatius understood growth in the life of the Spirit. In short, he seems to have encouraged his companions to write and pray as he did, and as such it is not too much to suggest that writing configured a significant part of Ignatius’ life.

¹⁷¹ *Epp* I, Ignatius to Peter Faber (Rome, 10 December, 1542), 236-238, 238; *Letters and Instructions*, 93.

¹⁷² *Epp* I, Ignatius to Peter Faber (Rome, 10 December, 1542), 237; *Letters and Instructions*, 91.

¹⁷³ *Epp* I, Ignatius to Nicolás Bobadilla (Rome, uncertain month and day, 1543), 277-282, on 280; translation mine; *Letters and Instructions*, 96.

¹⁷⁴ *Epp* VIII, Ignatius to Bartholomew Romano (Rome, 26 January, 1555), 328-329, on 329; *Letters and Instructions*, 536.

¹⁷⁵ *Epp* VI, Polanco (Ex. Comm) to Francisco Mancini (Rome, 7 April, 1554), 585-587, on 586: “Et scriveteci qualche volta, si ben sia molto in breve”; *Letters and Instructions*, 490.

¹⁷⁶ *Epp* XII, Polanco (Ex. Comm) to Stefano Baroello (Rome, January 1548), 226-328, on 226: “et pur scriuerete qua a Roma quando ui piacerà, et almeno una volta il mese, delle cose come procedano, etc.”; *Letters and Instructions*, 230.

¹⁷⁷ Ribadeneira, “De actis patris nostri Ignatii”, in *FN* II, 388.

That he composed a poem to St. Peter at some point in his youth points to what would become a feature of his life: the spiritual experience mediated by texts, either those of others or those of his composition. Though he may have discovered in that experience of composing verses to St. Peter that he did not have a vocation to a more metaphorical or literary expression of his sentiments, he never stopped turning to writing as a way to grow in relationship with God and forge lasting relationships with others. And to that end, he employed a range of literary genres. He copied the words of Jesus and Mary, wrote his confession, composed a treatise on the Trinity, and no doubt drafted many texts and compositions during his university studies. All would have brought him closer to God. His letters performed the same function: they brought him closer to others. This affective and relational component configures his compositions, and should be held in as high regard as is his penchant for the right word and precise expression. In addition, he is a patient writer, allowing his texts to evolve and emerge. Not unlike Teresa of Ávila, his writing depends, radically so, upon experience, but unlike her and Augustine before him, he is a writer that refrained from the autobiographical genre to help others. He took distance from that genre, and as a writer, this distance-taking also appears as a writerly feature of his. Not only then is he a writer with the ability to invest himself affectively, he also demonstrates the uncommon capacity to not have to rely on first person narratives to express himself. This feature may have to do with a personal reserve of his, but it may point to a profound conviction of his spirituality: his experience need not specify that of the other. Thus, he takes distance from his texts, so much so that in the *Exercises*, he disappears so that the retreatant and God can communicate. Relationship, exactitude, patience, and distance: the genesis of the *Diary* is found in and consists of these same elements.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter began with an overview of the way in which the Biblical tradition describes the experience of God that finds expression in writing. The inspirational frame of reference is not just one of series of interesting hermeneutical perspectives on how writing mediates and expresses God's communication to the human person. Rather, to hearken back to these foundational narratives is to uncover their actuality and living power. It is to discover that God writes his covenant of love on the interior of the person and that interior covenantal language can be read and expressed. Those signs are everywhere, and they are

always seeking to invade and fill the life of the person. Ignatius turns to his interior to decipher that scroll of divine language that is moving within him. Yet the Biblical tradition reminds us that his process is more than merely unravelling that scroll and reading it. As he reads the signs of God's language in him, he is becoming that sign. This general conclusion outlines the depth of the theology and spirituality in this text that is before us. Focusing further on the content of this chapter, the following three conclusions highlight the salient issues.

1. Writerly choices and their spiritual import

Ignatius' *Diary* participates in a wider tradition of texts that narrate or reveal the personal experience of God. Like authors before him, he was sufficiently motivated to compose a document whose very form establishes a relationship between God and him. Moreover, as the experience of authors before him suggests, it is possible to imagine that the *Diary* affected him in some way. He was not indifferent to the act of composing it, and quite possibly that very act was also producing some movement in his relationship with God. These structural considerations are important in that they remind us that Ignatius was no less writerly or less literary than writers before him. To not consider these aspects of his *Diary* because of its ostensibly personal nature is to miss the importance of the choices that he made as a writer. Similarly, situated against the backdrop of more well-known spiritual texts, these choices of his suggest a very particular experience of God. Content and the structure afford a perspective into this experience.

2. Writing as a part of his life

This chapter has sought to argue that writing comprised an important part of his spiritual life. Even the most cursory glance at the *Diary* suggests that writing helped him to objectify his experience. However, the array of genres that he turned to throughout his life lends credence to a hypothesis that writing was perhaps akin to or a kind of spiritual exercise for him. As an author, he was versatile and agile, as well as very attentive to the person to whom he was addressing. Moreover, I would suggest that one of the more important features of his style as a writer was his capacity to let texts evolve over time. He gave time to his compositions, allowing experience and others to inform how to craft what he was writing. To put this slightly differently, he was a patient author, as if he knew that the text before him had its own life. It might just be the case that he treated his texts in the same way as he did a spiritual movement. This is to say that he watches the content before him unfold, and as an

author he attempts to interfere as little as possible. Form then for him is that which allows God's communication to emerge.

This is a crucial consideration for the *Diary*. Though he was writing it each day, it could very well be that it comprises yet another example of an open text of his, one whose meaning and clarity he was watching emerge. It is a piece of writing of *his*, but he took sufficient distance from it so that its content could truly reveal to him the will of another. He is clearly present in the text, but just as his authorial presence disappears in the *Exercises*, it could be that he is seeking to recede in the text so that another can emerge.

3. *A piece of writing that affects a reader*

One of the advantages for considering the *Diary* in the wider tradition of writing on the personal experience of God is that it reminds us that it is a text that affects a reader. Though it may have been hidden away by its author, and then stowed for several centuries in an archive, it is now circulating. Jesuits read it and study it in their formation. Men and women that seek inspiration from the Ignatian charism are in a better position now than ever before to read the text. In short, we are no longer dealing with a private or personal document, but rather one that is public. Consequently, it is not irrelevant to consider how the structure and the governing ideas in it effect or work on the reader. This spiritual diary of Ignatius may not have the expansiveness of Augustine, the passion of Angela, nor the affability or charm of Teresa's *Life*, but it is a unit that impacts a reader, quite possibly creating in him or her a movement towards a certain style of engaging with God. Features of that style may be the same ones found in his texts: patience, precision, relationship, as well as openness. In short, texts act upon and do work on their readers, and it is not too much to suppose that the style of this personal text, read almost 500 years after its composition, works upon its readers. Its stylistic features may create those same dispositions necessary for living the charism of the Society of Jesus.

With these two literary backgrounds, it is time to study the literary genre of the *Diary*.

“He wrote down what went on in his soul” [Au 100]**A discernment notebook and the signs that lead him to God’s will**

INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters, I have referred to the *Diary* as a kind of ledger, log-book, or register. This characterization describes well what a reader encounters on the page. It appears as the product of a bookkeeper who seeks to account for the movement, not of deposits and withdrawals, but rather the occurrences of different spiritual experiences. Day after day there is a minute description of what happened, the degree in which the experiences occurred, and the evolution or change in them from one prayer period to the next. In this sense, the document is much more functional than expository. Though there are days in which a whole spiritual movement is described with some explanative detail, this is the exception rather than the rule. Readers are not mistaken in considering it as bordering on the indecipherable. For this reason, understanding the document as the register of his experiences in prayer helps situate it.

The description of the *Diary* as a “register” is apropos for another reason. I believe the designation not only responds to what is before us, but it also connects to a style of writing that can emerge from the *Spiritual Exercises*¹. Though writing is not considered an essential part of the spiritual experience outlined in the *Exercises*, a close reading of it suggests that some form of it is or could be involved. The most explicit reference to writing, albeit very remote from anything narrative in nature, occurs in the context of the “Daily particular examination of conscience” [*Ej* 24-31]. In that practice, Ignatius invites the person to make a mark to register the frequency of having committed a sin or defect that he or she would like to overcome. But this is not the only exercise in the book that depends upon some form of writing. The act of registering or noting experiences is implicit in diverse moments.

¹ The thesis of the connection between the *Exercises* and the *Diary* is widely shared by Ignatian scholars, but I have found its most cogent articulation in terms of the structural aspects of both texts in Barthes’s, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 46ff.

In short, the *Exercises* are not so spiritual as to not include pen and paper. The one that makes them writes and produces texts, and these “compositions” illuminate the more inconspicuous structures in the *Diary*. In this chapter, I will review those parts of Ignatius’ spiritual book – the particular examination, the additions, and the third time for making an election – that can call for writing and are found in the *Diary*.

One further aspect from his *Exercises* further discloses its form. I believe the strongest hermeneutical key to understand the structure of the *Diary* is the general outline of discernment that Ignatius provides in his introduction to the two sets of rules for that spiritual operation. In that paragraph, he suggests that the guidelines aim to help the person in some way to *feel* the movements within him or her in order to *know* their origin and *respond* accordingly [Ej 313]. The verbs “feel”, “know”, and “act” – this last verb is rendered literally as “receive” or “reject” – outline the structure of discernment that each set of rules will elaborate upon and nuance. The *Diary* conforms to this basic orientation of discernment [Ej 313] and it depends upon or works with practices from the series of rules of “greater discretion of spirits that pertain to the Second Week of the Exercises” [Ej 328]. Even more specifically, the *Diary* shows the first part of this discernment itinerary: he records of all that he *feels* in prayer so that he might *know* what comes from God.

Perhaps the idea that the text before us is a record of feelings and thoughts experienced in prayer for his discernment will strike the reader as hardly novel. Such an appraisal is easily deduced from the most cursory glance at the text. However, there is precision to the operation that Ignatius is carrying out which I will demonstrate. One thing is to say that it is his discernment notebook, quite another is to show how the notebook works, and I aim to do that in this chapter, modifying this general hypothesis for the first and second booklet given their difference.

This chapter, like the previous, requires that an important premise that undergirds the *Diary* and that provides an essential consideration for its interpretation. The preceding chapter postulated the general principle that God enters into relationship with the person and that he or she is able feel and understand that communication. That supposition, as stated earlier, finds a powerful formulation in the 15th annotation of the *Exercises*, and as such, provides a foundational element of his spirituality. It comprises the very basis of the *Diary*, and it also is a premise which links him to Augustine, Angela, and Teresa. Yet, Ignatius’ faith in a God that is radically communicative also includes an important nuance. Tucked in the *Spiritual Exercises*, but hardly hidden from the sight of commentators and specialists of

Ignatius' spirituality, is his idea that there exists in the person three kinds of thoughts². He expresses it this way: "I assume that there are three kinds of thoughts in myself. That is, one kind is my own, which arises strictly from my own freedom and desire; and the other two come from outside myself, the one from the good spirit, and the other from the evil" [*Ej* 32]³. This affirmation functions as a preface to the steps for making an examination of conscience for a general confession of one's sins [*Ej* 33-42]. But its reach can be extended beyond that particular exercise. It suggests his belief that not every thought, that is, both the logical or rational formulations as well as those more affective and imaginative in nature, come from the person⁴. And not only do some thoughts proceed from outside of him or her, but they may come from two very different places. To reflect upon one's thoughts is to enter into a complex arena of great diversity where one discovers one's self as inhabited and moved by diverse spiritual agents⁵.

This crucially important theological and anthropological position suggests that for Ignatius the interior of the person is the place of diverse communication⁶. There is not just one language that can be felt or heard, but three⁷. Given that they all may appear similar, and that communication from the evil spirit may initially appear as akin to that which comes from God (2 Cor 11:14)⁸, Ignatius exercises caution in interpreting his spiritual experiences. As a consequence of this presupposition, the act of separating these languages and identifying their

² The tradition on thoughts or "logismoi" in the spiritual tradition stretches back to the desert fathers and to the systematization of Evagrius Ponticus to whose formulation Ignatius adheres. For a brief overview of this, see, Heinrich Bacht, "Logismos", in *DSP* 9:955-958.

³ Carlos García Hirschfield considers this number "un elemento fundamental de su teología espiritual". See, García Hirschfield, "Todo modo de examinar la consciencia (una pieza clave en el magisterio espiritual de Ignacio)", *Manresa* 62 (1990): 251-271, 254; (article hereafter cited as "Todo modo de examinar").

⁴ In his article on the thoughts, Marko Rupnik offers the idea that "otro matiz que caracteriza tanto a Ignacio como al tiempo en el que vive es la atención al afecto, al sentimiento, que Ignacio lee en una relación recíproca con el pensamiento". See, Rupnik, "Pensamiento", in *DEI* 2:1440-1445, 1441. More helpful is García Hirschfield: "pensamientos no son fundamentalmente formulaciones lógicas con un contenido filosófico o ideológico, sino ante todo movimientos interiores, 'mociones'". See, García Hirschfield, "Todo modo de examinar", 256. García de Castro, in his article "Moción", sharpens the observation on their content: "hemos de tener en cuenta que pensamiento en Ignacio es un término con un espectro semántico más amplio que el estrictamente racional que consiste en la elaboración de ideas; incluye la imaginación, la fantasía o los contenidos actualizados de la memoria". See, García de Castro, "Moción", in *DEI* 2:1265-1269, 1265.

⁵ It is this Ignatian presupposition that allows commentators, such as Ignacio Boné, to observe that "lo nuclear en los Ejercicios es una experiencia de alteridad, de escucha y de encuentro con Alguien distinto de uno mismo". See, Boné, "Vulnerables y hospitalarios: Espiritualidad ignaciana y alteridad", *Manresa* 80 (2008): 109-123, 109.

⁶ In his very fine essay on motions or spiritual movements in Ignatian spirituality, Francisco José Ruiz Pérez pointedly states: "para la espiritualidad ignaciana, la interioridad es un espacio profundamente dialógico". See, Ruiz Pérez, "'Mociones' ignacianas. Algunas reflexiones desde la antropología teológica", *Manresa* 91 (2019): 109-118, 114.

⁷ I follow Arzubialde who calls the three thoughts "three languages". See, Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 79.

⁸ See, 2 Cor 11:14. "And no wonder, for even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light". Ignatius' formulation of this is to be found in *Ej* 332.

origins – discernment – occupies a fundamental place in his spiritual understanding⁹. This is not to suggest that for Augustine, Angela, or Teresa there was no act of discernment nor is it to suggest that they made facile attributions of their interior experience with God, but it is to suggest that his very point of departure involves a much different conception of how the person is inhabited and moved by diverse spiritual realities. It may be that this principle is revolutionary as it problematizes in important ways God's communication to the human person and how the person knows God's will¹⁰. Yet, Ignatius never renounces the experience of God and knowing those signs that come from His language. Some spiritual experiences come from God in such a way that they cannot be doubted¹¹. Nevertheless, this premise makes clear, in many ways not unlike the desert fathers before him, that diverse spirits are active, and that it is not readily apparent to the person which signs proceed from which spirit. It is this principle that has prompted some Ignatian scholars to employ the anachronistic designation of him as a "master of suspicion"¹². The moniker is not wholly off the mark given that he exercises extreme caution, even suspicion, at what moves in his interior¹³. For this reason, a more complete expression of the theological premise of God's communication to the person that underpins his spiritual experience must take into account his belief that the person can be moved not only by God, but by the evil spirit and by his or her own free will as well. Should that not be sufficiently problematic, he also posits, in line with the tradition before him, that the origin of these interior languages may not be immediately evident. Herein lies the theological premise that underpins the previously cited introduction to his two series of rules on discernment [*Ej* 313]. One feels interior movements, but that is only one part of a process of discovering the origin of those movements and of then responding accordingly.

This premise of three different languages in the person also contains a basic hermeneutical consideration for the text before us. It is one that I believe has not been sufficiently attended to in studies on this autograph text. Namely, not all of what he feels and

⁹ I follow the language of Barthes, in *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 53.

¹⁰ See, Juan A. Estrada, "Conocimiento interno del mundo para que más le ame y le sirva", *Manresa* 71 (1999): 63-80, 66; (article hereafter cited as "Conocimiento interno del mundo").

¹¹ "Sólo es de Dios nuestro Señor dar consolación a la ánima sin causa precedente; porque es propio del Criador entrar, salir, hacer moción en ella, trayéndola toda en amor de la su divina majestad" [*Ej* 330].

¹² Discussion of this can be found in Lamarthée Estrade, *Conocimiento interno*, 136-141. For a very interesting and intuitive reading of the place of suspicion in the *Exercices*, see, Adolfo Chércoles, "Conocimiento interno del desorden... y del amor", in "Maestros de la sospecha, críticos de la fe", *Cristianisme i Justicia* (2007): 83-104.

¹³ Chércoles, in a play on words, makes this observation on Ignatius' suspicion of spiritual movements: "la sospecha alcanza en San Ignacio unos niveles insospechados". See, Chércoles, "Conocimiento interno del desorden" 98.

then writes in these folios necessarily comes from God. The thoughts and the feelings that he records, though they seem to be of a divine origin, may not be. Thus, in addition to considering his *Diary* as an exercise in the faithful and attentive transcription of his spiritual experience, it is also an exercise in guardedness, patience, and even suspicion¹⁴. To read his personal notes as he would have read them is to exercise a degree of circumspection. He registers everything that he experiences with simplicity and exactitude, yet, following the logic of this spiritual premise of his, it is not immediately apparent to him, nor should it be apparent to the reader, that it all points back to God¹⁵. The language that he uses – devotion, tears, movements, warmth – would seem to suggest that he is interpreting his experience as coming from or corresponding to a divine origin, but the hermeneutical principle that underpins this document precludes or, minimally, cautions against such an interpretation. In brief, the pages of his before us are an impressive narrative of spiritual experiences. What is even more impressive is Ignatius’ comprehension that not all of the experiences recorded may be attributable to the Spirit.

1. Praying and writing in the *Spiritual Exercises*

In two different places in the *Spiritual Exercises* Ignatius offers an overview of the spiritual experience that will be presented. The very first number of the document indicates that the term “spiritual exercises” suggests “every method of examination of conscience, meditation, contemplation, vocal or mental prayer, and other spiritual activities, such as will be mentioned later” [*Ej* 1]. The other paragraph varies from this slightly: “spiritual exercises to overcome one’s self and to order one’s life without reaching a decision through some disordered affection” [*Ej* 21]. The language of “spiritual exercises”, “every method of examination” and the “regulation of one’s life” are immensely broad designations, and for that reason it is not wholly out of place to imagine that one or another method or exercise

¹⁴ This is not to say that he doubts these experiences. Again, following Chércoles who makes the fine distinction between doubt and suspicion in Ignatius’ thinking: “La duda no es de Dios porque nos paraliza, en cambio la sospecha no paraliza, sino que espabila”. See, Chércoles, “Conocimiento interno del desorden”, 84.

¹⁵ For a very recent example of this, in his excellent article on movements in Ignatius’ spirituality, García Domínguez appears to adopt the hermeneutical principle that everything in the *Diary* reports back to God: “la inmensa mayoría de las mociones referidas a él mismo que san Ignacio menciona en sus escritos autobiográficos vienen de fuera y tienen un origen divino”. That they come from God may be the case, but Ignatius is much more circumspect. See, Luís María García Domínguez, “El concepto ‘moción’ en los textos ignacianos”, in *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales. Sentir y conocer las varias mociones [Ej 313]*, ed. José García de Castro Valdés, María Prieto Ursúa, Ana García-Mina Freire (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2021), 219-246, 236; (book hereafter cited as *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales*).

might include writing¹⁶. A review of the practice of the examinations, the additions, and the outline for one of the times of making an election suggests that Ignatius imagined the one doing the Exercises as praying *and* writing – the very activity he did during his convalescence in Loyola [*Au* 11].

1.1. The examination of conscience and “making a mark” [*Ej* 25]

After an explanatory set of numbers [*Ej* 1-21] and following the Principle and Foundation [*Ej* 23], Ignatius presents a series of texts which expressly build upon the announced objectives. One of these, titled the “Daily particular examination of conscience” [*Ej* 24-31], offers a method to guide the person to identify a particular sin or defect “which he or she wants to correct or amend” [*Ej* 24]¹⁷. The practice outlines a simple and methodical structure: the person identifies in the morning the particular sin or defect and at two different points later in the day examines how many times he or she committed it. As a way to register those occurrences, Ignatius proposes that the person “make a mark [on the first line] for each time one fell into the particular sin or fault” [*Ej* 25]¹⁸. The second examination of the day would involve the same procedure, and this time the mark would be made on a second line. And should the retreatant need help visualizing how to do this, the text includes a series of lines for a seven-day period. Though to contemporary readers the practice of tabulating a fault may appear unusually obsessive, it does seem to embody a very simple intuition: one has to see the difficulty or defect in order to begin to make amends¹⁹. Likewise, this practice involves the whole person, drawing on his or her intellect, affectivity, and even incorporating

¹⁶ My concern is to investigate the ways the particular exercises call for some kind of writing. For this reason, I will pass over the documentary evidence of those who copied the text. That act of copying does not respond to the issue of how the text elicits writing. At the same time, it is interesting to note that early retreatants, noteworthy among them the Englishman Helyar and the Italian churchman Gasparo Contarini were intrigued enough by the text to want to take with them their own copy of it. For more on both, see, Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 45-48. Polanco, in his biography on Ignatius, reports that Ignatius gave Contarini the Exercises during which “he wrote in his own hand the spiritual exercises”. As such, the author of the text had no problem with others copying it. See, Alonso Romo, ed., *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*, 147.

¹⁷ For an excellent general overview of this spiritual exercise which highlights Ignatius’ decisive contribution to it, see Antanas Liuima and André Derville, “Examen particulier”, in *DSp* 4:1838-1849; also helpful is Adolfo Chércoles and Josep Rambla, “Examen de conciencia”, in *DEI* 1:841-850.

¹⁸ Translation mine; Ganss translates “puntos” as “dots”. I believe “mark” is more correct, as the idea is to put some kind of sign down on paper.

¹⁹ On this and the other examinations of the *Exercises*, Melloni comments: “se trata de hacerse consciente de lo que se vive en lo profundo de uno mismo, y no de una contabilidad culpabilizante o gratificante de la conciencia”. See, Melloni, *La mistagogía de los Ejercicios* (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 2001), 148; see also, Francisco José Ruiz Pérez, “Alma”, in *DEI* 1:121-130, 124.

the body²⁰. As an example, in his first recommendation, Ignatius counsels the person to “touch one’s hand to one’s breast in sorrow” in the very moment one has committed the particular sin or fault [*Ej* 27]. Such a global, even wholistic perspective that he gives to the examination has prompted commentators to suggest that Ignatius’ method, far from only being an exercise in tabulating faults committed, seeks to provoke a level of attention and awareness in its practitioner²¹.

This exercise of making a mark on lines day after day or week after week is the exteriorization that can render visible the progress of overcoming faults and help the person persevere in his or her spiritual journey²². It is important to point out too that the object under examination was most likely for him “anything that became an obstacle for spiritual progress”²³. In this way, Ignatius exploited the practice’s inherent flexibility and adaptability. But most importantly, he frames this entire spiritual exercise as a result of and as enveloped by God’s grace²⁴. The exercise begins with the invocation “one should ask God our Lord for what one desires, namely, the grace to recall how often one has fallen into the particular sin or fault” [*Ej* 25]. This concrete and practical exercise – the beseeching of God’s grace, the careful recollection of a period of time, and tabulation of the occurrences of the sin with a code or mark – occurs in the Spirit²⁵.

Though this spiritual practice – the very first in the *Exercises* – is perhaps now more difficult than ever to understand²⁶, there is documentary evidence to suggest that it comprised a very important personal practice of his. As an example, in his letter of 1547, Diego Laínez wrote that Ignatius “had such care of his conscience that each day he conferred week with week, month with month, and day with day, attempting, each day to make some kind of gain”²⁷. According to Laínez, Ignatius was something of a specialist at registering and looking for tendencies or movements in his overall spiritual experience. Similarly, the mention of this practice at the end of the *Autobiography* is striking. Gonçalves da Câmara singles out this spiritual exercise as one mentioned by Ignatius as a response to his question

²⁰ See, Carlos Domínguez Morano, “El mucho examinar: funciones y riesgos”, *Manresa* 62 (1990): 273-287, 278; see also, Luis González, “Examen de conciencia y discernimiento”, *Manresa* 62 (1990): 289-305, 293.

²¹ Liuima, Derville, “Examen particulier”, in *DSp* 4/2^a:1845.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, 1846.

²⁴ An idea eloquently highlighted and elaborated upon by Chércoles and Rambla in “Examen de conciencia”, in *DEI* 1:844.

²⁵ For an excellent analysis of the *Spiritual Exercises* as methodical, concrete and incarnated exercises that are assumed in the Lord, see, Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, “La práctica de la espiritualidad ignaciana”, in *Selección de Escritos*, 2:579-585, especially 581.

²⁶ Such is the appraisal of Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 138.

²⁷ Albuquerque, ed., *Diego Laínez, primer biógrafo*, 59.

regarding the genesis of the *Exercises*: “When he noticed some things in his soul and found them useful, he thought that they might also be useful to others also, and so he put them in writing, such as the examination of conscience with that arrangement of lines” [Au 99]. That this practice would be mentioned and not say, the Call of the King or the meditation on the Two Standards is surprising. The practice does appear important to him, and it provides a helpful hermeneutic for the *Diary*.

In part, the *Diary* appears to derive from the general structure of the particular examination of conscience. In both booklets, he is not making marks to record defects, but rather he is registering his experiences in prayer with a key set of words in brief elliptical passages. Each day he notes exactly what occurred in writing in order to make visible his experiences and then as a way to “to make possible the comparison” of one day to the other²⁸. In addition, following the logic of the particular examination, no explicit interpretation is required. The interpretation then would require time; the person could only read one day’s experiences alongside of other days. In other words, in the structure of this examination, each day’s marks form a unit of a larger narrative that emerges over time. The crucial part of the interpretive process would be that of comparing and seeing diversity, even extremes in his experience over a period of time. The comparison of diverse movements – adhering to the logic of the particular examination – would then allow him to see his progress or lack thereof in relation to some concrete aspect of his life²⁹. Comparing, verifying differences, or seeing longer movements of increase or decrease in certain signs would allow him to decode his experience. Notwithstanding the resemblance between this exercise and the *Diary*, this particular examination of conscience is less oriented to a process of discernment. The attention to one aspect of one’s life does not entail verifying the origin of spiritual movements. Rather it is a method of examination that focuses one’s attention on what one has done from one’s own freedom, and the function of the twice-daily examination renews the person’s resolution to continue and persevere in his or her spiritual journey³⁰. In conclusion, the particular examination partly reflects the structure of his recording, but it does not fully account for the nature of the first booklet. It may however, as I will argue below, offer some clarity regarding the second notebook.

²⁸ Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 136.

²⁹ Arzubialde gives pride of place to comparison as a very important spiritual exercise: “Los Ejercicios, en buena medida, son un ejercicio de comparación, por la cual el hombre objetiva su realidad y la evalúa con exactitud ante Dios o ante los demás”. See, Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 136.

³⁰ Liuima, Derville, “Examen particulier”, in *DSp* 4/2^a:1845.

1.2. The additions which are his daily spiritual practice

There is one other examination commended to the person making the Exercises that is important for a more complete consideration of the *Diary*. In a series of recommendations titled “Additional directives for making the Exercises better and finding more readily what one desires” [*Ej* 73], Ignatius outlines a list of activities – referred to in the text as “additions” – whose goal is to help the person “have his spirit centered in that which he has before him”³¹. As the heading indicates, they are meant to be aids, and as such they descend to concrete and specific details³². For instance, Ignatius encourages the retreatant “upon going to bed at night” [*Ej* 73] to call to mind the next day’s meditation. Closely related is the second addition: “Upon waking, while keeping out any other thoughts, I will immediately turn my attention to what I will contemplate in the first exercise” [*Ej* 74]. With these two additions, Ignatius structures the retreatant’s day: the first and the last thoughts of the day are to be focused on the exercises before him or her. The next two additions concern the body. Before entering prayer, the person should “stand for the length of an Our Father ... I will raise my mind and think how God our Lord is looking at me” [*Ej* 75]. Likewise, Ignatius counsels the person not to change bodily position when the grace he or she was looking for has been found [*Ej* 76]. Both of these instructions suggest his vision of how the body prepares for and participates in the experience of God³³. Finally, there is the addition that most patently concerns the *Diary*:

After finishing the exercise, for the space of a quarter of an hour, either sitting or walking, I will look at how it went for me in the meditation or contemplation. If it did not go well, I will look for the cause from which it proceeds, and having seen this, I will repent in order to amend in the future; if it went well, I will give thanks to God our Lord, and will do the same for the next prayer [*Ej* 77]³⁴.

This recommendation of a 15-minute examination of one’s meditation or contemplation corresponds to the two basic spiritual premises that undergird the spirituality of the *Exercises*. Specifically, in prayer, God communicates to the person; indeed, prayer for

³¹ Manuel Tejera, “Adiciones”, in *DEI* 1:84-89, 84.

³² Barthes offers the felicitous insight that this “methodological apparatus established by Ignatius... makes us think in its extreme attention to detail of the writer’s ceremonies”. See, Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 45.

³³ Regarding the addition of not changing one’s posture, Kolvenbach offers excellent insight: “Ignacio dice que es necesario sentir qué postura corporal ha escogido el Señor para mí, a fin de que yo halle lo que deseo en el Señor”. See, Kolvenbach, “La práctica de la espiritualidad ignaciana”, 581.

³⁴ Translation mine; curiously Ganns translates the very important phrase “cómo me ha ido” with “I will examine how well I did”.

Ignatius is not a neutral time, but something happens in it³⁵. Also, prayer is an experience in which diverse spirits act upon and communicate to and with the person. For this reason, it is necessary to examine the spiritual experience, and to become familiar with the language of both the good and the evil spirit³⁶. Moreover, this brief period of pondering one's prayer presents the possibility for writing. Keeping in mind that the Exercises involve a dialogue between the one giving them and the one receiving them, it is reasonable to imagine that the practice of sharing prayer with the aid of a journal or diary was not unforeseen by Ignatius. If the person was adhering to the outline of 5 meditations a day, it is plausible to imagine that writing the results of this examination for each prayer would be an adequate way to communicate those prayer experiences.

A global view of the *Diary* suggests that it corresponds to this addition of examining the period of prayer. Ignatius moved through distinct prayer periods and identified the specific movements in each of them. He attends to what happened in him (*cómo me ha ido*) and he pays particular attention to the way that the spiritual experience evolved or changed. At times, too, he will identify those distractions that upset him. He also indicates those more mundane factors, such as his lack of sleep that affected his prayer. In short, his *Diary* corresponds to this addition: he registers what happened and that to which his prayer was leading him. The retrospective aspect of this examination is important, but Ignatius is also employing it to discover the prospective element present in his prayer as it concerns his search to know God's will³⁷. Furthermore, this addition also helps situate the actual time of the writing of his notes. Though it is hard to pinpoint at what time of the day he wrote his prayer observations, perhaps the strongest hypothesis, keeping this number from the *Exercises* in mind, is that upon finishing his last moment of prayer, he changed his location and spent some 15 minutes reflecting on what happened. In brief, his *Diary* presents a masterful example of what he means by considering and examining one's prayer.

But perhaps this addition is only the most conspicuous one that he was employing. The *Diary*, especially the first booklet, presents him following rigorously the previous four recommendations that I have detailed. For instance, it appears that Ignatius upon retiring for the night thought of the next day's mass and decided upon it. As a result, it is possible to imagine that his last thought of the day was the following day's Eucharist. Similarly, upon

³⁵ García Hirschfeld, "Todo modo de examinar la consciencia", 259.

³⁶ See, Tejera, "Adiciones", in *DEI* 1:86; García Hirschfeld, "Todo modo de examinar la consciencia", 258.

³⁷ See, for more, Francisco José Ruiz Pérez, "Alma", in *DEI* 1:121-130, who observes that "El ejercitante no solo observa el 'cómo me ha ido', sino que también sopesa la evolución del ejercicio para, en último término, establecer un puente con el futuro" (124).

waking up, he immediately started praying or at least thinking about the liturgy that was going to celebrate. Given that his first prayer was while he was still in bed, it is conceivable to consider that his first thoughts for the day were directed to his first exercise, in this case, a liturgical exercise. Though there are no observations in his notes that explicitly reference his pausing for the period of an *Our Father* before entering into his prayer, the structure of his observations suggests his careful movement from one moment to the next. Finally, there are multiple references to his employing the fourth addition of maintaining his corporal posture when he found the grace that he was looking for³⁸. In brief, the examination of his prayer is one of several additions that he was employing³⁹.

The presence of these five additions in his spiritual practice reveal another structural component of the *Diary*. These discreet and careful practices offer an immensely clear and systematic order to the content of the *Diary*. Not only does the document correspond in a visible way to the examination of one's prayer, but the entire composition emerges from his structured and concentrated approach in which he was focusing his thoughts, his body, and his desires on his encounter with God. Certainly, the *Diary* reflects the importance he gave to these practices⁴⁰, but, even more importantly, it reveals their creative function in his spiritual experience. This is not to suggest that following the additions creates the conditions for God's communication⁴¹, but it is to propose that Ignatius understood them as important practices that guided him to the very encounter with God that he so desired⁴². The additions helped him to create "a serene tension in which it is easier to detect the movements of the diverse spirits"⁴³. That tension involves a concentrated cognitive, corporal, and volitional focus. Another way to suggest this is that the additions created for him "a field of exclusion"

³⁸ I believe these moments are very important, and as such I will detail them in chapter 7.

³⁹ García Hirschfeld is more right than he realizes when it comes to Ignatius' own practice as exhibited in the *Diary* when he suggests that "el texto del examen de la oración no se puede entender sino unido a las adiciones anteriores". See, García Hirschfeld, "Todo modo de examinar la consciencia", 259.

⁴⁰ His early companions caught how Ignatius incarnated all that he had written in the *Exercises*. For example, Gonçalves da Câmara reports: "cuántas veces he notado cómo el Padre en todo su modo de proceder, observa todas las reglas de los ejercicios exactamente de modo que parece primero los haber plantado en su ánima". See, *FN I*, 659.

⁴¹ "Son prescripciones destinadas a asegurar la seriedad y el modo como debe realizar la persona los ejercicios, pero en absoluto determinan lo que después pueda acontecer en ellos". See, Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 246.

⁴² Referring, indirectly, to the additions, Barthes offers that with them "Ignatius is trying to provide the means for capturing the sign of Divinity". See, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 45; similar idea expressed by Lamarthée Estrade: "las adiciones... propician las condiciones necesarias para que se pueda oír la comunicación de Dios, nos hacen más atentos y perceptivos de aquello que queremos conocer". See, Lamarthée Estrade, *Conocimiento interno*, 407.

⁴³ González, "Examen de conciencia y discernimiento", 304. The author makes this observation regarding the practice of the particular examen. I find it particularly illuminative of the work or the function of the additions. They create a kind of serene spiritual tension in which movements can be detected.

so that a new language could emerge, God's language⁴⁴. In brief, the additions reveal the structure of the document before us, and they also point to its content: the signs of God's language.

Perhaps the conclusion is obvious: God communicates to the person and he or she, with a focused and structured attention, can feel that communication. And Ignatius in the *Diary* shows us how to do this. He demonstrates a radical commitment to God with a series of focused practices by which he structured his prayer and the celebration of the mass. It is not too much to suggest that this is another anthropological premise of his: the person's cooperation in organizing his or her day with a certain degree of cognitive, volitive, and corporal focus allows for the action of the diverse spirits to be felt⁴⁵. It is with this basic premise in mind that he, in the context of the *Spiritual Exercises*, counsels the one giving the Exercises to inquire as to the diligent practice of the additions should the person not report any spiritual movement [*Ej 6*]⁴⁶. The idea seems to be that if the person is employing them, he or she will almost necessarily be able to detect some movement in his or her interior⁴⁷. Such was his faith in a God of radical communication. Far then from being "additional" exercises to help one concentrate on what is before him or her, they appear in this personal document of his as the essential practices by which he feels the multiple and diverse signs of God's immense and deep communication⁴⁸.

1.3. The election and the making of a list

During the spiritual itinerary of the Second Week of the *Exercises*, Ignatius outlines a method for the retreatant to make an election. After a short paragraph titled "Introduction to

⁴⁴ Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 49.

⁴⁵ This same idea seems operative in one of the rules with regard to eating. For example, Ignatius recommends abstinence in order that the person can find "más presto el medio que debe tener en su comer y beber". One of the ways the person can arrive at this mean is by the divine language that will occur in him or her: "así ayudándose y disponiéndose, muchas veces sentirá más la internas noticias, consolaciones y divinas inspiraciones para mostrársele el medio que le conviene" [*Ej 213*].

⁴⁶ "La sexta: el que da los ejercicios, cuando siente que al que se ejercita no le vienen algunas mociones espirituales en su ánima, así como consolaciones o desolaciones, ni es agitado de varios espíritus, mucho le debe interrogar cerca los ejercicios, si los hace a sus tiempos destinados, y cómo, asimismo de las adiciones, si con diligencia las hace" [*Ej 6*].

⁴⁷ I find helpful the straightforward position of Alfredo Sampaio on this annotation. He suggests that Ignatius' basic idea is that "en una persona que se dispone a hacer los ejercicios con generosidad *se espera* que se den mociones en su interior". See, Sampaio, *Los tiempos de elección en los directorios de Ejercicios* (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 2004), 185, emphasis mine; (hereafter cited as *Los tiempos de elección*).

⁴⁸ Regarding the additions, Arzubialde succinctly captures their meaning: "Cuando alguien hace algo importante, en que le va la vida, cuida de ello hasta de los más mínimos detalles". See, Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 247

making a choice of a way of life” [Ej 169] and another text in which he outlines those matters about which an election should be made [Ej 170-174], he offers three different times or situations⁴⁹ in which a good and healthy decision can be made⁵⁰. The first time involves the action of God in the person which occurs in such a way that there is no doubt as to what God desires the person to choose [Ej 175]. The second time involves the consideration of the experiences of consolation and desolation [Ej 176]. These represent spiritual languages from or permitted by God, and in the discernment of the two the person can come to elect that which is most conducive and pleasing to God⁵¹. The third time is one in which the person finds him or herself tranquil⁵² and in that disposition able to carry out a process guided by their faculties. In this third time, Ignatius outlines two different ways to realize the process⁵³. The first consists of a more rational and discursive method, whereas the second is more intuitive and affective in nature. In the first mode of this third time, the person is instructed to place before him or herself the object about which the election centers and then to consider the “many advantages or benefits [that would] accrue to myself from having the office or benefice proposed” [Ej 181]. Then, he or she should consider or weigh “the disadvantages and dangers in having it” [Ej 181]. After having weighed the pros and the cons of such a decision, the procedure is to be repeated imagining all of the advantages and disadvantages in having made a different choice. The second mode of this third time of making an election involves a series of three considerations. In the first, the person considers what he or she would advise a stranger to do [Ej 185]; in the second, the person considers, as if on their deathbed, the decision that he or she would have wanted to make [Ej 186]; in the third, he or she imagines what kind of decision he or she would like to have made “in the presence of my judge on the last day” [Ej 187].

Although consisting of two different modes, this third time represents the only election time where Ignatius indicates confirmation as a part of the process. It is in the last point for this particular time of offering an election which he prescribes it: “offer him that election, and to beg his Divine Majesty to receive and confirm it, provided it is conducive to

⁴⁹ Or for a more suggestive interpretation, see, Melloni, *La mistagogía de los Ejercicios*, 210: “Vamos a presentar estos tres tiempos de elección a partir de nuestra comprensión de que se trata de tres manifestaciones del Espíritu ligadas a tres estados de receptividad o de transparencia del ejercitante”.

⁵⁰ For commentary, analysis, and a wonderful selection of bibliography, see Peralta Núñez, *Elegir en tiempos de incertidumbre*, 60-90.

⁵¹ See, Peralta Núñez, *Elegir en tiempos de incertidumbre*, 81-82.

⁵² For an interpretation of what is meant by a tranquil time from the directories and from modern commentators, see, Sampaio, *Los tiempos de elección*, 154-157.

⁵³ The two modes are, as Melloni points out, two ways of exercising the faculties of memory, reason, and will. See, Melloni, *La mistagogía de los Ejercicios*, 211.

his greater service and praise" [*Ej* 183]⁵⁴. That confirmation is not mentioned in the previous two times for election does not preclude its presence. But in those two times, the language from God is either overwhelmingly evident or sufficiently intelligible to move forward without an explicit confirmatory movement from God. In his global commentary on these three times, it may be the case, as Cristian Peralta suggests, that the election is not a punctual moment but rather that which develops, evolves, and is forged over time. Yet it cannot be forgotten that the election has an end point⁵⁵. And Ignatius specifies that the third time, in both of its modalities, ends with the confirmation.

Nowhere in this first mode of the third time of making an election, which does appear to be one of the times he employs in the *Diary*, does Ignatius spell out that the person should compose columns with the respective advantages and disadvantages of each side of the decision at hand. Unlike the indication for the particular examination, here there is no diagram for how to go about this. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to presuppose that he imagines some kind of writing in this activity. The format he suggests seems to outline a kind of tabulation, pondering not just the number of advantages, but their weight. The whole procedure presents a kind of perspicacious registering of all aspects of a decision. As in the case of writing one's examination of conscience, the composition of lists or points of advantages and disadvantages would function as a way to objectify aspects of the decision in question. The person making the election would be able to see both the present and the future, as well as the costs and benefits of what such a decision would entail. It is also plausible to consider that the actual writing down of the benefits and the drawbacks for each particular choice would form part of going over and pondering "every aspect of the proposed matter" [*Ej* 182]. Quite possibly Ignatius has in mind the idea that in writing the pros and cons new intuitions will arise, and the choice to be made will emerge. In brief, "pondering every aspect of the question", a necessary component of this time of election, could include writing⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ See also, Peralta Núñez, *Elegir en tiempos de incertidumbre*, 85.

⁵⁵ All the while recognizing the great contribution of this view of the election, I think the author overplays the processual character of the election. Moreover, Ignatius discovers that the evil spirit was actually goading him to prolong the process with masses of thanksgiving [*De* 145]. Ending the process becomes an important act of his freedom and his faith. See, Peralta Núñez, *Elegir en tiempos de incertidumbre*, 230.

⁵⁶ Such at least was the thinking of early commentators on how to give the *Exercises*. For example, Polanco in his "Directory", offers that the person "recoja por escrito aquellas razones que le inclinan hacia una parte y otra parte". See, Polanco, *Los "Directorios" de J.A. de Polanco*, ed. José García de Castro (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2016), 230 (D. 20, n. 83); similarly, Gil González Dávila recommends the same procedure: "se deben de proponer los convenientes e inconvenientes de una parte y otra, entre lo que se delibera, y es bien escribirlos para ponderarlos más". See, *Los directorios de Ejercicios 1540-1599*, ed. Miguel Lop Sebastia (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 2000), 286, (D.31, 131); one more example suffices, that of Antonio

a. *The time of his election and the structure of that time*

Some of the verbs that Ignatius uses in the first booklet of the *Diary* suggests that he is making his election on the issue of the reception of income for the churches' sacristies in the first mode of this third time. He refers on February 8th to his "passing over (*pasando por*) the elections for an hour and a half or more" [*De* 8]⁵⁷. Two days later, he repeats the same idea, this time indicating he was "going over the elections" [*De* 12]; he reports the same activity later that day: "at night, passing over the elections, of everything, of part, of nothing" [*De* 13]. He uses strong active gerunds to indicate his procedure of going over and reviewing his options. Furthermore, his text alludes to these options as being written down. For example, on February 11th, he makes clear reference to a document that he was reviewing: "in order to go over (*discurrir*) and enter the elections, and determined, taken out the reasons that I had written, in order to go over them" [*De* 15]. Several days later, he again refers to a document that he had written of reasons for and against the reception of the income: "at night, taking out the papers to see and to make reasons (*hacer razones*) for the elections" [*De* 35]. These references which allude to his reviewing the various aspects of his election support the idea that he was employing this particular time and mode for his election. They also confirm the intuition that writing was a part of how he imagined this particular election process unfolding.

The indications in the *Diary* to papers of his in which he had written a kind of list of advantages and disadvantages appear to allude to an extant document of his that has been titled "Deliberation on Poverty"⁵⁸. This document, another extant autograph texts of his, presents three lists. In the first, he identifies eight points of various advantages in receiving some or all of the income. In the second, he indicates one point that would be detrimental to the Society should income be received. The third list, by far the longest, encompasses

Cordeses: "Sea amonestado que ponga en escrito las razones que por una parte y por otra ha tenido". See, *Los directorios de Ejercicios*, 314 (D.32, n. 137). Critical edition of the Directorios edited by Ignacio Iparraguirre, *Directoria Exercitiorum Spiritualium* (Rome, 1955) (MHSI 76). I will follow throughout the version edited by Lop Sebastià.

⁵⁷ On the same day, he writes that he wanted to present this to the Father, and that he read this and found it well written (*esto después leyendo, y juzgando estar bien escrito*) [*De* 9]. Given that both before and after this observation Ignatius reports reviewing his election, it is possible that he is referring to his reading and "finding well written" the document of his election points and not the *Diary*. However, the "esto" is so indeterminate that this can only be conjectured.

⁵⁸ Autograph text of Ignatius' edited and published with the title "Deliberatio S.P.N. Ignatii de Paupertate" in *MCo* I, 78-81. I will be utilizing the version in *Obras*, 266-268; (hereafter I will refer to the document as "Deliberation", following the title that the editors of the MHSI offer).

sixteen points which he titles “the advantages and reasons to not have any rent at all”. All three lists are impressive, allowing us, as one scholar puts it, to “penetrate into the very inspirational motives” of his thinking on poverty⁵⁹. In opportune moments of my study, I will refer to points made in this document⁶⁰. However, one consideration, hypothetical in nature, is pertinent at this moment as it bears on the nature of the *Diary* as a kind of register that derives from the *Exercises*: I would offer the hypothesis that Ignatius drew up this list during the actual process of the 40-day discernment⁶¹. In other words, it is not that he composed this list and then proceeded to pray over it during the next forty days. Rather, there are textual indications, albeit slight, that could suggest that both documents were composed concurrently⁶².

One such indication comes from one of the references he makes to this document in his diary. On February 16th, after several days in which the issue of the election had not been the primary focus of his prayer observations, he returns to the issue, indicating that he went back to his papers to see them and “to make reasons” (*hacer razones*) [*De* 35]. The language seems clear: he took out his papers to draw up more reasons. Three other textual considerations lead me to propose this hypothesis that the *Diary* and the “Deliberation” were composed simultaneously. In his first point for not accepting any income, Ignatius reasons that “The Society takes greater strength and greater devotion assimilating and seeing the Son of the Virgin, our Creator and Lord, so poor and in so many adversities”⁶³. The reference to Jesus as the Son of the Virgin coincides with the early stages of his process where he refers to Jesus in this way. Also, in this argument for not receiving any income, Ignatius signals his

⁵⁹ Manuel Ruiz Jurado, “La pobreza en el carisma fundacional ignaciano”, *Manresa* 52 (1980): 47-64, 48; (article hereafter cited as “La pobreza en el carisma”).

⁶⁰ For an analysis of the spirituality in the reasons adduced, see, Ruiz Jurado, “La pobreza en el carisma”, 50-58.

⁶¹ As part of his hypothesis that the writing of the *Diary* began on the 5th and then he went back to record the experiences of the previous days, Thió de Pol offers: “Este supuesto permite pensar que los primeros días estuvieron dedicados a buscar argumentos y a redactar el documento de la Deliberación de la Pobreza mientras recababa la ayuda de los mediadores en su oración”. See, Thió de Pol, *Intimidad del Peregrino*, 49, note 44.

⁶² In their introduction to the document, Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado open up this possibility, stating that the document “es contemporáneo o algo anterior al *Diario*”. See, Iparraguirre, Ruiz Jurado, “Introducción – Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 263-265, on 263. In the above cited article by Ruiz Jurado, the scholar alleges that “es entre los meses de enero y marzo de 1544, coincidiendo, al menos en parte, con el primer mes del Diario Espiritual del santo que se nos ha conservado, donde hemos de situar con gran probabilidad la fecha de la Deliberación sobre la pobreza”. This hypothesis is strong; yet it also depends upon his hypothesis that the *Diary* begins *in medias res*. I will argue that the texts are coextensive, equally illuminating each other and their author’s spiritual process. See, Ruiz Jurado, “La pobreza en el carisma”, 50.

⁶³ “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267. All translations mine. His language in this point also echoes that of his description of Jesus’ birth in the *Exercises*. In the third point of that contemplation, he invites the retreatant to “considerar lo que hacen, así como el caminar y trabajar, para que el Señor sea nacido en suma pobreza, y a cabo de tantos trabajos, de hambre, de sed, y de calor y de frío, de injurias y afrentas, para morir en cruz; y todo esto por mí” [*Ej* 116]. Ruiz Jurado makes this very connection as well, see, “La pobreza en el carisma”, 63, note 46.

desire that the Society of Jesus conform ever more completely to Jesus' life, and one of the fruits of such a life would be greater devotion and greater strength. Devotion is the gift abounds in the first days of his discernment. Quite possibly it was the reception of this gift and his prayer to the Son that led him to formulate this first point in the way that he did.

The other two textual clues that support the hypothesis that these two documents were composed simultaneously come from two moments of his *Diary* that offered him significant insight into his election. On February 11th, he reports that he took out his papers to review the election, and there came to him “a certain intelligence of the Son who sent the apostles to preach in poverty” [*De* 15]. This experience appears to have impacted his election process considerably since in the following lines he wrote that, accompanied by a greater devotion, he had lost all energy to look more into the matter [*De* 16]. It was as if the experience was enough for him to proceed with his process and offer his election and await God's confirmation of it. This very image of Jesus sending out his disciples to preach in poverty comprises one of the points of his list for not receiving income. Reason number 12 of this document reads: “Jesus, the Lord of us all, chose this poverty for himself, and this was what He taught them, when He sent his apostles and beloved disciples, sending them to preach”⁶⁴. All the while recognizing that the image of Jesus sending out his disciples to preach in poverty could hardly have been novel to him, it is plausible to consider that this “intelligence” struck him with a new forcefulness, and as such, he wrote it down⁶⁵.

The other example comes from the very first day of his process in which he mentions Jesus by name in the text. On February 23rd he reports that the thought of Jesus, “the head of the Society”, came to him. The thought stirred him so much so that he drew this conclusion: “it seems to be a confirmation, even if I were not to receive any consolations on this” [*De* 67]. Again, the day's prayer presents him with an image of Jesus which moves him forcefully and convincingly. And this image of Jesus is not absent from his deliberation process. Reason number 13 draws from this very language of Jesus as the head of the Society: “When with complete unanimity, all ten of us chose this (poverty) and we took for our head Jesus, our Creator and Lord, to go forward under his banner, to preach and to exhort, as is our profession”⁶⁶. The language in this affirmation evokes that of the Formula

⁶⁴ “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267.

⁶⁵ In the *Exercises*, Ignatius frames the contemplation of the Gospel passage of Jesus's missioning of the disciples with reference to poverty: “No queráis poseer oro ni plata; lo que graciosamente recibís, dadlo graciosamente” [*Ej* 281]. Similarly, the meditation of the Call of the King, in which the retreatant offers his or her oblation to bear “todas injurias y todo vituperio y toda pobreza, así actual como espiritual” [*Ej* 98], reminds us of the connection in Ignatius' mind between poverty and following Jesus.

⁶⁶ “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267.

Regimini militantis ecclesiae. In that apostolic letter that founded the order, the Society declared its desire to serve God “under the banner of the cross” and to be “designated by the name of Jesus”⁶⁷. Clearly, the language of Jesus as the head of the Society hardly occurred to him for the first time on this day in 1544⁶⁸. But there is a forcefulness to it in terms of his election process that makes it plausible to imagine that he then transferred it to the folio of his election points.

In summary, the brief consideration of the times of the election, specifically, the third time, and the way that an act of writing is presupposed in the first mode of that time, illuminates the compositional nature of the first booklet of the *Diary*. It is a document that is being composed during a specific time of election. This means that he has an outline in his mind for how it should evolve. And this outline forms another basic structure of the autograph text. He identifies the election point [*Ej* 178], finds himself indifferent and without any disordered affection [*Ej* 179], asks for the grace that God move his will [*Ej* 180], considers the advantages/disadvantages [*Ej* 181]⁶⁹, watches where his reason has inclined him [*Ej* 182], and then offers his election “so that the Divine Majesty [may] receive and confirm it” [*Ej* 183]⁷⁰. This structure, along with that of the additions and the method of examination, configures the *Diary*. It is a document composed along these lines of proceeding to find God's will.

Moreover, the *Diary* demonstrates how Ignatius lived this particular process of election in one moment of his life. His process, globally considered, points to the idea that the points of the election as schematized in the *Exercises* are not linear but rather overlap; they seem to be constantly in play. He asks for the grace, considers pros and cons, prays, examines his prayer, and on more than one occasion offers his election to God for divine confirmation. These activities happen frequently and seem coextensive with each other. His process also reveals that there is kind of constant and ever-deepening awareness of his disordered attachments. He is indifferent enough to consider the issue, but the process will reveal deeper disordered attachments of his, especially as they concern the confirmation, and,

⁶⁷ See, *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms*, 3.

⁶⁸ Polanco, in his “Sumario de las cosas más notables que a la institución y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús tocan”, reports on the origin of the name: “... visto que no tenían cabeza ninguna entre sí, ni otro prepósito sino a Jesucristo, a quien solo deseaban servir, parecióles que tomasen nombre del que tenían por cabeza, diciéndose la Compañía de Jesús”. See, Polanco, *Sumarium Hispanum de Origine et Progressu Societatis Iesu*, FNI, 204.

⁶⁹ Ignatius uses the terms “cómodos o provechos” and “incómodos y peligros”. Regarding the nouns “cómodo” and “incómodo”, García de Castro notes how Ignatius is cited by the *Diccionario Histórico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico* for his use of the term, quite possibly taken from Italian. See, García de Castro, “Cómico”, in *DEI* 1:346-347.

⁷⁰ For commentary on all of these points with references to their interpretation in the directories, see, Sampaio, *Los tiempos de elección*, 161-170.

as I will propose in my study below of the second booklet, his attachment to tears.

In addition to explicating the basic structure of the *Diary*, this reference to the first mode of the third time for making an election underscores the act of writing that it requires. Ignatius did just that, writing points for the various options of his election. And, perhaps it is more than a rational exercise of listing advantages and disadvantages. The references to the “Deliberation” in the *Diary* and the linguistic similarity between both texts make plausible the hypothesis that they were composed simultaneously. This is to suggest that the composition of a list of advantages and disadvantages need not be considered an act prior to prayer, but as a mode of prayer. For Ignatius, “every method of examination of conscience” constitutes prayer, and this also could reasonably include the examination of reasons for or against an election. The mutual imbrication of these documents can suggest how the experiences of his prayer and the Eucharist were informing his deliberation points and how those points, in turn, guided him as he prayed and said mass. In addition, reading these documents side by side as texts drawn up coextensively suggests Ignatius’ deep attention to ideas, thoughts, and intelligences received in his prayer. He was, as his *Diary* makes clear, ever attentive to the action of God in his interior. This attention was also directed towards his understanding⁷¹. He was “accomplishing this by reasoning well and faithfully with my understanding” [*Ej* 180]⁷², and finding that in this very activity God was opening his understanding to *feel* and to *know* His will⁷³.

b. A hermeneutic for this time

Notwithstanding the arguments in favor of such a time of an election, the content of the *Diary* suggests that, more than pondering pros and cons to each option before him, he was actually paying closer attention to the interior movements he was experiencing. In other words, the *Diary* would appear to offer stronger testimony to the idea that he was employing not the third time of an election but the second. Such is the position, for example of Ruiz

⁷¹ In his article on “entendimiento” in the *Diary*, it is surprising to find no mention of his use of this faculty of the soul as it corresponds to the kind of election he is making. See, Jaime Emilio González Magaña, “Entendimiento”, in *DEI* 1:765-773. García de Castro does not miss this in his article on “discurrir”. He writes: “Ignacio organiza y desarrolla un método, sobre todo en el primero de los cuadernillos conservados, donde el entendimiento juega un papel fundamental”. See, García de Castro, “Discurrir – Actividad del Ejercitante”, in *DEI* 1:637-639, 638.

⁷² Translation mine; I believe “entendimiento” is better rendered as “understanding” and not “intellect”.

⁷³ Perhaps the best expression of his regarding this spiritual activity is found in the second annotation to the Exercises: “... en cuanto el entendimiento es iluminado por la virtud divina, es de más gusto y fruto espiritual” [*Ej* 2].

Jurado. This Ignatian scholar affirms the following hypothesis: “there are motives to think that this application of the second time was done later, or during the same time that he employed the third time that we find in his papers of the *Deliberation*”⁷⁴. Albeit slightly tortured, his idea seems to be that Ignatius employed two times of his election either consecutively or simultaneously. The perplexity of scholars on this point is understandable⁷⁵: reading the *Diary* alongside of the “*Deliberation*” is a complicated venture as both texts seem to point to the employment of two different times for making an election in the *Exercises*⁷⁶. Though the particular times of the election and the possibility that Ignatius was employing the second and the third time, either simultaneously or separately, exceed the interest of my present analysis, there is documentary evidence than can clarify the relationship between the *Diary* and the folio of his “*Deliberation*”, as well as point us further along the path towards the compositional nature of the *Diary* as he understood it.

In the directory or set of instructions on how to give the *Exercises* that is considered to come from Ignatius’ own hand⁷⁷, there are a series of observations regarding the times of the election⁷⁸. In the last paragraphs of this text, he gives instructions on how to proceed in the third time of election. In one explanation, imagining that the election is between two states of life, one the evangelical living of the counsels and the other the keeping of precepts, he offers this commentary:

On one day, one could present to God our Lord one part, and another day another; for example, one day the Counsels and on the other, the precepts, and observe where God our Lord gives a greater sign (*a dónde le da más señal*) of his divine will, like one who presents diverse delicacies to a prince to see which ones please him most⁷⁹.

True to the nature of a directory or guide, this explanation is practical and concrete.

⁷⁴ Ruiz Jurado, “La pobreza en el carisma”, 51.

⁷⁵ Brian O’Leary seems to see no difficulty in the question, reasoning that “this method [the first mode of the third time] too did not produce a result that was satisfying to him. Finally, he turned for enlightenment to his experience of consolations or desolations or, in the terminology of the Exercises, to the Second Time for making a good and sound election”. The author, however, does not show how Ignatius found the third time unsatisfying. See, O’Leary, *To Love and to Serve* (Dublin: Messenger Press, 2020), 216.

⁷⁶ Also relevant is the question regarding the third time itself and if in this time interior movements occur or do not occur. For a review of the literature on this question, see, Sampaio, *Los tiempos de elección*, 180-186. The author’s conclusion on this issue is one that I will follow: “Se trata de un estado de tranquilidad, en el que el ejercitante no siente de manera notable la actuación de los diversos espíritus. Para San Ignacio se trata de una posibilidad que puede ocurrir durante los Ejercicios Espirituales. Para él, la característica de este estado consiste en poder o no usar de sus facultades naturales libre y tranquilamente. Pero hay otros motivos, no sólo consolaciones y desolaciones que pueden impedir ese uso tranquilo” (184).

⁷⁷ Sampaio, *Los tiempos de elección*, 30.

⁷⁸ According to Sampaio, “su núcleo principal es exactamente un breve tratado sobre la elección”. See, Sampaio, *Los tiempos de elección*, 31.

⁷⁹ “Directorio autógrafo de San Ignacio”, in *Los directorios de Ejercicios*, 19-22, 22, number 21 (translation mine).

In this time of making an election, the one giving the Exercises can instruct the person to offer to God each day one of the options before him or her and attend to the signs that God gives. The person then would observe and note all of the movements that he or she felt, that is, the ideas, thoughts, or more interior affective movements as indices of God's response. Important here too is the weight Ignatius gives to where God gives *more* of a sign (*más señal*) of his will. This raises the question then of the quality of the experiences – should they be greater, much or intense. Not only then is the sign important, but the way that the person experiences it, and the manner that it augments or decreases. Thus, the consideration of advantages and disadvantages on an issue for election is not carried out without a deep awareness and attention to signs from God⁸⁰. And these signs, attending to Ignatius' own language in his description of this mode of election, will be felt: "I should find myself in the middle, like the pointer of a balance, in order to be ready to follow that which I perceive (*seguir aquello que sintiere*) to be more to the glory and praise of God our Lord for the salvation of my soul" [*Ej* 179]. God's signs are felt realities in the person, and it is from their careful examination as they emerge in all of their gradation, degree, and movement that God's will can be known.

This consideration offers a hermeneutic to understand how the *Diary* works alongside of the text of the "Deliberation". Both compositions are in a way called for or necessary in an election in which he ponders reasons and attends to internal movements. One text represents the presentation of points for and against each side of the decision, and the other is comprised by the signs, the language of God's response to these election options. In this way, the *Diary* might best be understood, according to his own description, as that register of the divine language in which God is guiding him towards what is most pleasing to Him. It is, as it were, God's response to his points for and against an issue. In summary, in this election time which appears to combine elements of the second with aspects of the third time from the *Exercises*, not one text but two are generated: the pros and the cons, and the signs of God's language to the person that can be felt and known as coming from God. From the very structure and methodology of the *Exercises*, the nature of the *Diary* becomes clearer: a register of signs that he feels and seeks to know as indeed coming from God.

⁸⁰ Relevant here is the observation from Gonçalves da Câmara: "Parece que el Padre se mueve por la razón en todas las cosas y que el afecto y la devoción van siempre detrás". See, Hernández Montes, ed., *Recuerdos Ignacianos*, 300.

Excursus – the Deliberation of the First Companions

Up to this point in this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate how certain aspects of the *Spiritual Exercises* inform the structure of the *Diary*. It is, in a word, a less strange document when seen against very concrete practices from his spiritual guide-book. Yet, this analysis has only involved texts, and as such, would be incomplete if it did not take into account a lived discernment that Ignatius and his companions realized together. At least one such process is well known and well documented: the deliberation of the first companions. In the spring of 1539, Ignatius and his companions discerned their union together which would ultimately result in their formation as an apostolic order in the Church. This discernment, which comes to us by way of the document titled *Deliberatio primorum patrum*⁸¹, can offer further insight into the deliberation process that Ignatius realized five years later as superior of the order. Just as the *Exercises* reveal important structural components of the *Diary*, the deliberation of 1539 can also provide avenues for deeper reflection on his process in 1544. In this brief excursus, I will point out those spiritual processes undertaken as well as those methodological practices adopted by the companions which provide valuable insight into the process and methodology employed by Ignatius five years later.

- An intense spiritual and human exercise

In their deliberation, the companions⁸² discussed their “vocation and covenanted way of life” [L1, 1]⁸³. Their communal discussion, begun at the end of March and concluded on June 24th⁸⁴, was taken up on the eve of the departure of two of them who were being

⁸¹ Text “*Deliberatio primorum patrum*”, in *MCo* I, 1-7. For an English translation, I will refer to Jules Toner’s translation in his article “The Deliberation that started the Jesuits”, *SSJ* 6/4 (1974): 179-216, as well as to Joseph Conwell, *Impelling Spirit. Revisiting a Founding Experience* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997).

⁸² For “companions” I understand, as does the document itself, Ignatius along with Francis Xavier, Peter Faber, Simón Rodríguez, Nicolás Bobadilla, Diego Laínez, Alfonso Salmerón, Claude Jay, Paschal Broet, and Jean Codure.

⁸³ All translations, unless otherwise noted, come from Toner. To facilitate reference to the Latin text, and to avoid an excess of footnotes, I will refer to it, following the editors of the *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*, with the abbreviation *L1*. The number that follows will refer to the paragraph number in the Latin text found in *MCo* I.

⁸⁴ A day that marked the second anniversary of the Ignatius’ ordination to the priesthood. For the official document conceding him and his companions (Bobadilla, Laínez, Xavier, Codure, Rodríguez) the sacrament, see, “*Titulus pro sacris ordinibus suscipiendis*”, in *MScripta* I, 543-546.

missioned to Siena by Pope Paul III⁸⁵. Two crucial issues occupied the bulk of their reflection. First, they considered whether they should remain united even if separated by geographic distance. They resolved this issue without much difficulty, deciding that “we ought day by day to strengthen and stabilize our union, rendering ourselves one body with special concern for each other, in order to effect the greater spiritual good of our fellow men” [L1, 3]. The second issue was much more delicate:

The question now was this: would it be advantageous to pronounce a third vow, namely, of obedience to someone among us in order that we might more sincerely and with greater praise and merit be able to fulfill the will of God in all details of our lives [L1, 4].

In the question of making a vow of obedience, they were asking themselves if it was God’s will for them to form a religious order⁸⁶. On this issue, the process was arduous and complicated; however, much to their surprise, not only did they decide in favor of it, “but without a single dissenting voice” [L1, 8] they agreed. These were not the only issues debated. Without making specifications, the end of the document alludes to other questions that formed a part of their prayer and discernment.

Although the subject matter of their deliberation typically draws the most attention, I would like to focus on the spiritual practices and the methodological procedure that the companions employed. First, in terms of the spiritual practices, the document mentions that they dedicated themselves to “prayers, masses, and meditations more fervently than usual... and we would cast all our concerns on the Lord” [L1, 1]. In terms of the first topic of their discernment, they pondered and meditated “on these [questions]... to prayerfully search into them” [L1, 2]. Upon hitting an impasse in their discernment of the issue of obedience, they reconfigured their approach, yet, they remained firm, resolving again that each one “would take time for prayer, masses, and meditation” [L1, 6]. The repetition of this triad of prayer-Eucharist-meditation is significant. Upon this spiritual structure, they disposed themselves to receive God’s will.

In addition, these practices were accompanied by no small amount of effort on their part. In part, the *Deliberation* is a fascinating document as it reveals how much work this discernment involved. At several points, the text refers to the laborious nature of their process. There is mention of their expending “every human effort” [L1, 2], their facing

⁸⁵ Cardinal Juan Pedro Caraffa’s letter to Broet missioning him to reform a monastery in Siena can be found in *MBroet*, 201-203.

⁸⁶ Toner, “The Deliberation that started the Jesuits”, 194.

“another question more difficult” of obedience [L1, 4], of not advancing towards a resolution which made them “cast about for better ways of working out a resolution” [L1, 5], and of having to “work over a mass of data” [L1, 8]. The summary of their process does not hide its labor-intensive nature. It comes as little surprise that the author (or authors)⁸⁷ of the document concludes by writing that on June 24th, the feast of John the Baptist, “but not without long vigils, much prayer, and *labor of mind and body* preceding deliberation and decision, all our business was completed” [L1, 9]⁸⁸.

This brief sketch of their process is not unlike Ignatius’ discernment on the issue of the income. His *Diary* gives every indication of prayers, masses, and meditation so that he might be disposed to receive God’s will. Similarly, there is the possibility that just as he and his companions in 1539 realized “more fervently than usual” their spiritual practices, he too in 1544 went about his prayer with more fervor and intensity. Likewise, the observation about the difficult nature of the discernment and the fatigue that it involved is relevant for considering Ignatius’ own process. His document gives every indication of “a labor of mind and body”. It can hardly be accidental that upon finishing his election on the reception of income, he took the following four days “to not look at any point in the Constitutions” [*De* 154]. His forty-day process was a tremendous labor of mind and body, and he needed a break.

- The questions, their day, and their method

The other aspect of the deliberation of 1539 that deserves special attention is the methodological procedure that the companions availed themselves of to arrive at the reception of God’s will. I would suggest that three issues are extremely relevant: the object of their discernment which they frame with a very clear question, the organization of their day, and the method that they followed especially as it concerned their discernment on obedience. Striking in their process of discernment is the clarity regarding the object of their discernment. In both cases the object, which they understand as a means to carry out their desired end to serve the greater glory of God, is framed as a question that is simple and clear. Moreover, the question involves an alternative. For example, regarding the first issue, they ask themselves, “would it or would it not be more advantageous for our purpose to be so

⁸⁷ For a summary of the diverse opinions on authorship, see, Conwell, “Deliberaciones 1539”, in *DEI* 1:549-553, on 549.

⁸⁸ Emphasis mine.

joined and bound together?” [L1, 3]. The clarity of the question stands out. Furthermore, they seem to be aware of the importance of the question, as the author of the text frames their response by way of the question: “in the end we established the affirmative side of the question” [L1, 3]. Similarly, the question of obedience is cast in equally clear and simple terms: “would it be advantageous to pronounce a third vow... in order that we might fulfill the will of God” [L1, 4]. All the while recognizing the action of the Spirit in this process, the intelligibility of the questions by which they framed their discernment in part appears to have driven the process. A clear resolution or answer in their process was not necessarily inevitable, but with such directness and clarity on what they were discerning, their chances for knowing God’s will certainly increased. If Ignatius and his companions were men adept at discernment, I believe that it is in part because of their ability to identify clearly the object and frame it in terms of precise and simple questions that involved alternatives. The formation of a question with alternatives was crucial for the men in 1539, as it will be for Ignatius in his process in 1544.

Another important aspect of this communal discernment is the way the companions organized their day. They decided not to retire to a hermitage or to withdraw from their daily activities, but rather to “all stay in the city” [L1, 6]. They chose to “devote half of every day to this our one principal occupation and the rest of the day to our customary work of preaching and hearing confessions” [L1, 5]. The decision is fascinating: they would continue with their apostolic work, but they would give a significant part of their day to the issue at hand. They adjusted, with no small amount of flexibility and freedom, their day, even in the face of the immense pastoral work that pressed upon them. This organization can help us understand the very structure that Ignatius adopted in the time of his discernment, at least as it regards the reception of the income detailed in the first booklet. He appears to have restructured his day so that he could give significant time to this concern of his. He may not have dedicated half of the day to this issue, but the first book of the *Diary* discloses an expenditure of time and energy that could easily have taken up a good part of his day, if not half of it. This is to suggest that the *Diary* may mark, as the deliberation of 1539 did, a special period in his life where he restructured his day to give time to this principal concern of his. He did not cease apostolic activity, but he most definitely had a part of his day, as he and his companions did five years earlier, “less crowded with other concerns” [L1, 5].

Their methodology or procedure in their discernment process on the issue of obedience is significant. First, they decided upon several conditions: each would pray, they would not communicate with each other about the matter, and as a way to gain objectivity,

“they would consider themselves as a stranger to the group” and offer their reflections from that vantage point [L1, 6]. The thorough nature of these preparatory steps bespeaks the weight of the matter that they were considering, and it signals too the difficulty and complexity the issue posed for them. In addition to these straightforward conditions, they outlined their way of proceeding: on one day they would all “declare those disadvantages which could be brought against obedience... each in his turn was to make known” [L1, 7]. And, “on the next day, we argued for the opposite side of the question” [L1, 7]⁸⁹. Each day, they built up the case for one side of the issue, and they “weighed the more forceful and important reasons and took time as usual for prayer, meditation and reflection” [L1, 8]. In this way, they moved together “*actively* and *sympathetically*” as a group through alternatives⁹⁰, and then, with no small amount of personal prayer and meditation, they found the more important reasons.

This discernment looks like Ignatius’ process in his first booklet, and it gives possibilities for considering more concretely his way of proceeding. For instance, he very clearly expressed aspects to each side of the issue he was considering, and it is possible to imagine that he spent a day reflecting on one of the alternatives he had proposed on the issue of the reception of income. Though the text does not explicitly suggest this, the overall structure in which he is operating, which appears to be similar to the discernment of 1539, lends credence to the hypothesis that perhaps he went about each day considering one alternative on the reception of income. In addition, the process lived by the companions underscores the spiritual operation of “weighing” and “examining” the more forceful arguments. These too emerge in the *Diary*; Ignatius will indicate them, but he will not precipitate his decision even if he finds an extremely forceful and weighty argument.

Finally, I believe that a close reading of the deliberation of 1539 alongside of Ignatius’ discernment in 1544 invites one further consideration that is strictly conjectural and hypothetical in nature. The striking aspect of the discernment in 1539 is its deeply communal character. The document does not single out Ignatius, but rather records a shared process that coalesced in the formalization of their apostolic life together. The communal matrix of that discernment leads me to propose a hypothesis about his discernment in 1544. I believe that it is intriguing to consider the possibility that Ignatius was not alone in considering the issue of

⁸⁹ Conwell indicates that the method employed harkens back to a scholastic method of argumentation that they would have all found in the studies of Aquinas: “Estaba a su vez basado (el método) en el sistema escolástico tal como lo usa Sto. Tomás Aquino en su *Summa Theologia*: proponer una cuestión, presentar objeciones contra ella, argumentar en su favor y finalmente presentar las conclusiones y las razones que las sustentan”. See, Conwell, “Deliberaciones 1539”, in *DEI* 1:551-552.

⁹⁰ Toner, “The Deliberation that started the Jesuits”, 203, author’s emphasis.

the reception of income. The communal foundation of their life, erected upon their union and deeply shared apostolic desires, opens up the possibility that his discernment, personal and individual in nature, was taking place with that of others in Rome at the time. I understand that Ignatius was charged with drafting the *Constitutions*, but it is hard for me to imagine that Ignatius would have undertaken such a laborious and intensive process – so similar to the one in 1539 and one that would have affected everyone in the Order – on his own without having communicated to others that he was rethinking the issue. Unquestionably, he was discerning personally the issue, but an exclusively private or solitary process does not accord with the communal nature of their foundation and life. Perhaps the image responds more to our construction of him than it does to the circumstances of his life and the way he understood his life and his spirituality with others. Undoubtedly, the issue of poverty was important to him, but there can be little doubt that it was important to the others as well. Quite possibly, just as there were conflicting views of their life together in 1539, the issue of poverty was conflictual⁹¹. And for this reason, Ignatius dedicated time to it. He needed to write and pray, and perhaps he invited others to pray, say mass, and meditate on the issue.

I recognize that no such documents exist that would allow such a venturesome proposal regarding the involvement of others on this topic for discernment. For this reason, this idea will remain hypothetical. Yet, it is signaling a hermeneutical concern of mine: early documents of the Society's history suffer from an individual and hagiographical approach that tends to exclude the companions. The group had a priority in his life⁹², and though they are barely mentioned in this personal text of his, perhaps an explicit mention of them would have been redundant. Paradoxically I am suggesting that this document, the most personal that we have from Ignatius, and one which tends to be read as exalting and justifying the mystical heights of the saint from Loyola, could have been one part of a larger discernment.

In summary, the structure and the content of their discernment in 1539 gives insight into the structure and concrete processes of Ignatius'. It also prompts the question, which will only remain conjectural as it concerns the *Diary*, of Ignatius' place in a *communal* apostolic discernment. To only consider that this was only or exclusively his discernment might run the risk of missing the constitutive place his companions played in his life which,

⁹¹ Pedro Arrupe, in his magisterial discourse on the Trinity in the Ignatian charism, alludes to the question of poverty as one that was disputed. See, Arrupe, "The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism", reprinted and translated in English in *SSJ* 33/3 (2001), 27, number 58; to facilitate the reference, I will indicate page number and paragraph number.

⁹² A thesis eloquently expressed by García de Castro, "Ignatius of Loyola and his first companions", in *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, ed. Robert Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 66-83, on 79.

as Jules Toner notes, formed an essential part of his charism⁹³. For this reason, the consideration of the Deliberation of 1539 also offers the intriguing possibility that when Ignatius wrote “for his companions” [*De* 69], he was not just having pious thoughts about them, but that together they were involved in some way in this process. And, as Pedro Arrupe intriguingly suggests, quite possibly Ignatius kept his notes to dialogue with them about the “seriousness of his procedure”⁹⁴.

1.4. Brief conclusions on the compositional structure of the *Diary* in relation to the *Spiritual Exercises*

This present analysis, not unlike preceding studies of the *Diary*, has sought to understand his autograph text by way of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The comparison not only highlights the obvious point of contact in terms of his employing a time of election, but it reveals multiple layers of spiritual practices that conform the document. The particular examination of conscience, the practice of a series of additions, as well as the general outline of the third time of election, are spiritual exercises guiding his process as well as informing the way that he is composing his text. Considering all of these practices together, it is possible to suggest, with Roland Barthes, that Ignatius is constructing “a language of interrogation”⁹⁵. His employment of the additions and his careful following of an election process constitute a code by which he is bringing God to bear on his praxis⁹⁶. And to the language of his question, formulated by these practices, God responds. In his *Diary* he is discerning that response.

As I indicated in the previous chapter, Roland Barthes, in his perspicacious structural analysis of the *Exercises*, has called the *Diary* a “semiophany”. The designation is helpful in that it accounts for both booklets of the *Diary*: both sections, as disparate as they seem, ultimately represent those signs that emerge in his interior or bodily experience. In both booklets, he records what he feels, and what he feels is a sign that is revealing to him some kind of utterance or language from God. And in these pages, he is trying to discover those signs that come from God and how they reveal God's will. In essence, he is noting that which he *feels* and perceives so that over time he can *know* the origin of those signs that come from God and *act* upon them. This is the most basic structure of the text before us, and

⁹³ Toner, “The Deliberation that started the Jesuits”, 183.

⁹⁴ Arrupe, “The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism”, 27, number 58.

⁹⁵ Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 45.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

it lines up with his outline of discernment [*Ej* 313]. In brief, I would suggest that the discernment itinerary of feeling, knowing, and acting is the foundational structure of the text before us, and that what we see before us is the initial part of this process. The *Diary* represents the movement from feeling to knowing. First, however, a brief consideration of its status as a “diary” and as “spiritual” against the backdrop of the writers studied in the previous chapter, an overview that also will point towards this structure.

2. The genre of the *Diary*

a. *General considerations of the text as a “diary”*

In situating the *Diary* as a particular instance of Ignatius recording all that he perceives in his interior so that over time he might discern the signs that come from God, I do not want to dismiss out of hand the designation “diary”. I do not believe that the term is mistaken, and I will continue to employ it. After all, the document is personal, but perhaps not exclusively so⁹⁷, and in it, Ignatius recounts his experience to understand it and perhaps even share it⁹⁸. As in the case of many other kinds of first-person narrative expressions written for and primarily destined for the self⁹⁹, one of the objects of the document is the subject himself who is writing. Thus, not unlike other diaries or journals, to comprehend the *Diary* is to understand Ignatius and the particular perception he had of himself at this particular point in his life¹⁰⁰.

At the same time, his diary is a peculiar personal document and this is where the

⁹⁷ Codina affirms that the *Diary* is “ad usum mere privatum”. See, Codina, “De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride”, cv. I believe that in writing there is always an audience in mind. Ignatius too, I would argue, had an audience or public in mind. To have an audience in mind does not necessarily mean he would have to show others his pages. He was writing perhaps for himself, for God, for his companions, or even for a future encounter with his confessor, who at this time was Diego de Eguía. For more on him, and for a complete analysis of Ignatius’ confessors, see, García Hernán, “Confesores de Ignacio de Loyola”, in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 437-467, especially 464-466.

⁹⁸ In his doctoral thesis, José García de Castro offers the hypothesis that the text is a “texto medio” or “inter texto”, a document that would have served him in a conversation with his confessor. The Jesuit scholar invokes evidence from the text itself to maintain that “cuando escribía su *DE* [*Diario Espiritual*] lo hacía con la intención de servirse más tarde de lo escrito para comentarlo y hablarlo con un ‘tú’ que le acompañaba y le orientaba en el proceso sobre el que estaba reflexionado”. See, García de Castro, “El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola”, 55-65.

⁹⁹ The category of ego document or ego text is not misleading. For more on this designation, coined in 1958 by the Dutch historian Jacob Presser to refer to “la diversidad de las formas de expresión escrita de los sentimientos y experiencias personales”, see the multiple contributions in *Cultura Escrita & Sociedad* 1 (2005): 17-122. The quotation comes from the presentation of these dossiers, see, James Amelang, “Presentación. De la autobiografía a los ego-documentos: un forum abierto”, 17.

¹⁰⁰ García de Castro, “Semántica y mística”, 218-219.

comparison with previous writers who have written on their personal experience of God can be helpful. In a word, his document is so singularly unlike Augustine's *Confessions* or Teresa's *Life*. Where those two writers find God in the details of their life, Ignatius reveals almost nothing about this 13-month period. Indeed, it is striking to observe that the recounting of his spiritual experience contains very little reference to his daily life and occupations. In this way, his style is more similar to Angela of Foligno's *Memorial*. Angela is thin on biographical details of her life, but Ignatius is even more reticent about his life than she is. This is not to deny the presence of references to occupations or activities, but they are so minimal as to be inconsequential¹⁰¹. In his personal text, the public Ignatius or public activity of the man hardly interferes with his private sphere¹⁰². This seems intentional, as if he wants to separate these two planes of his life. This is a vastly different narrative focus than the exposition of Augustine and Teresa. Where both of these authors go at length to relate experiences and to find God in them, Ignatius focuses all of his attention on the action of God in the concrete moments of his prayer. That sharp focus makes his text seem like something other than a diary.

Another unique quality to the text is the point of view in which he recounts his experiences. He takes distance from the first-person narrative voice. His reluctance, if not avoidance of the first-person, shows him extremely careful in attributing experiences, visions, or voices directly to his own agency. This is not to suggest that Augustine, Angela, and Teresa, in employing a first-person narration, make facile identifications between God and their life experience. They do recognize God's otherness. But Ignatius' document dramatizes both the intimacy of God's action in him *and* the otherness of that action in a way that is decidedly different. For example, where Angela fills the page with her personal experiences, so much so that her passion and desire predominate, Ignatius tends to situate himself as the recipient of the action. Angela is a demonstrative presence on the page; Ignatius emerges, but his presence seems restrained, even guarded. A reader has to work hard to get a sense of who he is in his *Diary*; in the *Memorial*, it is hard not to have a clear sense of the Italian mystic's personality.

¹⁰¹ No mention is made, for example, that the community actually changes location during this period, from the house of the Astalli, where they had been since 1541, to the house connected to the church of Our Lady of the Way. For more, see, Larrañaga, "Introducción al Diario Espiritual", in *Obras completas*, 680.

¹⁰² The categories of public and private can be helpful to understand texts on the self. One such observation on these categories, very pertinent to Ignatius' *Diary*, is that offered by Mónica Bolufer Peruga: "el conocimiento de éste (el hombre privado) ilumina de forma más precisa y a la vez más compleja al hombre público". See, Bolufer Peruga, "La historia de uno mismo y la historia de los tiempos", in *Cultura Escrita & Sociedad*, 42-48, on 43.

The passive voice is another striking and notable feature of his text¹⁰³. Again, the comparison of the *Diary* with Angela's *Memorial* is illustrative. No doubt he experienced God's action as intensely as Angela did, but at the moment of recording and writing about it, he does not appropriate it in the same way she does. The way he represents his experiences suggests that he steps back, as if they were always other and not his. The passive voice allows Ignatius to recount his prayer in such a way where a space opens between the experience reported and his self. Curiously, his personal diary appears as the diary of another kind of action or experience in him of which he is not the protagonist. The register is his, but the signs point to another's action. It is as if with the passive voice he takes distance from his self so that the language of another can emerge. His *Diary* is a remarkable attempt to describe the action of the Spirit in him. It is, as it were, the Spirit's writing in him.

b. General considerations of its classification as "spiritual"

In terms of the adjective "spiritual" that is applied to the document, the ground appears very firm. The description is not misleading given that page after page is almost wholly if not exclusively reserved for the description of his experiences in prayer and at mass. As Santiago Thió de Pol points out at the end of his article on the *Diary*, the genre of spiritual diaries helps the believer find his or her way through the variations of consolation and desolation¹⁰⁴. In his spiritual diary Ignatius does just that. He writes about his prayer experiences to find his way in and through them to God's will. However, I would characterize his text as the reticent or restrained description of spiritual experiences. This description may come as a surprise to readers given the effusiveness of the document, permeated as it is with tears, devotion, and moments in prayer in which his body reacts so strongly to God. But I believe that the text is deeply guarded and reserved. A brief comparison of his text with that of Angela's can demonstrate this point more clearly.

In many ways, Angela and Ignatius are writers who share a similar spiritual experience. Both enjoy remarkable intimacy with God, and they feel deeply the action of God. They use a range of affective nouns to describe how they perceive God moving in them. Likewise, both give a special place to the body in their spirituality. For Angela, the references to the body draw from erotic language, and though a sexual register of language is not present in Ignatius' *Diary*, the emphasis and interest in delight and enjoying God would

¹⁰³ For an analysis of the passive voice, see, García de Castro, "Semántica y mística", 251-253.

¹⁰⁴ Thió de Pol, "Diario espiritual", in *DEI* 1:595.

suggest that he is not as far removed from Angela as a reader might think. In spite of these apparent similarities, both relate very differently to these emotional or corporal experiences. For Angela, feelings seem to reveal transparently and immediately God's language of love to her. She seems taken by them, aglow in the emotional depths by which God draws her into His life. She also seems to understand that her affective and corporal experiences entail revelatory content, and that content appears largely unambiguous. Her experiences may vary as they correspond to different stages of spiritual union, but they seem to always immediately reveal to her the nature of her relationship with God. There is an immediacy and a directness with which she *feels* and then *knows* God's action in her. That move from feeling to knowing does not immediately happen in the *Diary*. Though he does feel deeply God's action in him, the way he writes about the experience suggests that what God was communicating to him was not immediately nor totally transparent. Where Angela was smitten by feelings, lavishing in them and demonstrating great trust in them, Ignatius seems more interested in watching and pondering. He appears reluctant to immediately identify what he experiences in prayer as directly revelatory to him of his personal relationship with God. In essence, he cherishes the experience, and simultaneously, steps back from it. His text is deeply spiritual, but also deeply guarded. He gives the sense that there may be more to his prayer than he knows, as if the Spirit were still in the process of realizing Her work in him.

Another aspect of what I perceive to be a reserve in the text derives from Ignatius' reluctance to pull the experiences together with explanatory descriptions or annotations. This is not to say that the text is a mere accumulation of random experiences; it is followable and not so personal as to be completely undecipherable to a reader. But this document is remarkable in its restraint. The author simply does not fill in the gaps or connect experiences. His restraint is, in a word, exceptional. Rarely, if ever, does he provide interpretive or connective narrative ligature among his experiences. Where Augustine, Teresa, and especially Angela effusively expressed their experiences, even richly describing those they did not understand, linking one to the other, and in that way constructing a very followable narrative, Ignatius telegraphs his experiences in brief elliptical phrases.

This reserve and restraint present in the text are distinguishing features of it, and these characteristics make his writing unique in spiritual literature. And these characteristics – his guardedness and caution – present a fascinating window into his personal experience of God. As I attempted to suggest in the previous chapter, the structure and the style by which an author describes his or her spiritual experience discloses a particular understanding of God's manner of communicating. Content *and* narrative style are revelatory of the author's

comprehension of God. The style of Ignatius' text discloses his sense of God's immanence and transcendence. He allows all that he feels to represent possible communication from God, and he understands that communication to him as immediately present to him. Yet, he also seems to know that it is not immediately decipherable; it transcends his perception of it. He is not an author who writes anything like "God told me to reject the income". His very distance from such affirmations suggests that he is deeply attentive to God's transcendence, and for that reason he avoids formulating any such expressions that would erase distance and otherness between God and him. In this respect, characteristic are the questions "Who are you?, From where?, What did you deserve? And all of this, from where?", that he asks himself after an experience of the Trinity [*De 63*]¹⁰⁵. Another way to suggest this is that the structure of his *Diary* points to his experience that God's communication is in some ways always partial¹⁰⁶. It needs time¹⁰⁷ as it emerges bit by bit, in a processual and gradual manner¹⁰⁸. But it is not so gradual as to not have a final, confirmatory moment. But here too the final clarificatory and confirmatory word from God will come when God wants. And so he waits, letting God do the speaking. If his prayer observations appear to lack, as I believe they do, a visible narrative ligature, it is because Ignatius is engaged in an election process in which God ultimately does the electing. Thus, the adjective "spiritual" as a description of the *Diary* is radically apropos: he is awaiting the Spirit to reveal and to confirm those experiences that come from and reveal God.

¹⁰⁵ Questions resonant of those that comprise the second meditation of the First Week of the *Exercises* [*Ej 58, 59*].

¹⁰⁶ I would also propose that his reticence allows for his experience of God to remain transcendent. His employment of language to represent the signs of God's language does not, nor cannot, capture or contain that revelation. In the observation of Melloni: "hay un Fondo permanente que trasciende a las palabras y a toda forma de representación". See, Melloni, *Vislumbres de lo real*, 95.

¹⁰⁷ The aspect of time in the spiritual experience cannot be underestimated. In his analysis of the soul in Ignatian spirituality, Francisco José Ruiz Pérez suggests that "es muy propio de la espiritualidad ignaciana el valor que le concede al tiempo en la experiencia espiritual del ánima. Lo que acontece espiritualmente en el alma no es comprensible en el presente inmediato a la experiencia. Más bien, la experiencia cobra perfil y significado en el transcurso del tiempo, en el después de su acontecer". See, Ruiz Pérez, "Alma", in *DEI 1*:124.

¹⁰⁸ In his analysis of the verbs by which Ignatius describes consolation without previous cause, García de Castro suggests that the order of these verbs (*entrar, salir, hacer moción* [*Ej 330*]) points to a God who acts and then is known by the action or the effect of that action in the soul. The scholar writes: "Ignacio ha diferenciado aquí dos momentos, el de Dios-conmigo, y el de la consciencia de tal encuentro". By "processual", I refer to the experience, the consciousness of that experience, and then the writing of it. See, García de Castro, *El Dios emergente*, 141.

2.1. A hypothesis – a discernment notebook to record what he feels, so that he might know and then act

The general commentary offered above on the nature of the text as a “diary” and as “spiritual” highlight elements of its style. It is precise, detailed, elliptical, and open. The document discloses an author that immerses himself in the spiritual experience, and as one that is circumspect about that experience. He feels deeply, and he takes time to examine, ponder, and weigh. There is attention to each moment of prayer, but a certain recognition that each day is partial. He is in no rush to find out what each and every experience means. He demonstrates a remarkable trust in time, and an equal amount of confidence that in writing he will see the divine word emerge. Similarly, the way Ignatius writes suggests his reverence for the otherness of God, and, at the same time, his tremendous confidence that he will know God’s word; God will offer a full confirmatory response to his question. The *Diary* presents a kind of poetics of discernment: minute observation, detail, circumspection, reverence, and hope. Ignatius structures his diary upon his faith and love in a God whom he knows as deeply communicative. Everything that he feels interiorly, thinks, and experiences in his body could be a sign of God’s language to him.

In language that Ignatian scholars will recognize, he is writing down what he *feels* in order to *know* what God is telling him. I believe that Ignatius is enacting in both booklets the very opening line of his Rules for Discernment. In that formulation, he offers this broad and very carefully crafted opening to his guidelines for discernment: “Rules in some way to feel and to know the various motions which are caused in the soul; the good motions to receive and the bad ones to reject” [*Ej* 313]¹⁰⁹. The verbs employed offer a general outline of the process of discernment. It is one that consists in first feeling or “becoming aware of and taking seriously”¹¹⁰ all that occurs. The next moment consists in coming to know the origin of those feelings¹¹¹. Once known, the person should then act or respond accordingly: receive or reject. The itinerary is clear and simple: feel, know, and act¹¹².

Albeit simple, the movement signaled in these verbs reveals the expansiveness of

¹⁰⁹ Translation mine; I have maintained the verbs in the infinitive form, and also offer that “sentir” is best understood in English as “feel” and “conocer” as “know”.

¹¹⁰ André de Jaer, *Cristo en lo cotidiano*. “*Los Ejercicios Espirituales*” en *la vida diaria*, trans. Ramón Alfonso Díez Aragón (Santander: Sal Terrae, 2007), 220; (book hereafter cited as *Cristo en lo cotidiano*).

¹¹¹ More precisely, with Melloni, the origin and the end point of the feelings: “Sentir, pues, consiste, en el trabajo consciente, de la observación e identificación, de unas resonancias internas que, bajo una apariencia caótica, *tiene un origen y un destino*”. See, Melloni, “Sentir”, in *DEI* 2:1631-1637, on 1635, emphasis mine.

¹¹² Excellent commentary on this rule offered by Daniel Gil, *Discernimiento según San Ignacio* (Roma: CIS, 1980), 21.

spirituality as he understands it. The spiritual experience begins with the person at the level of feeling. Such a stage requires that which is not necessarily easy to do: the auscultation and perception of all that one feels. One first has to come into a deep awareness of thoughts, feelings, and corporal sensations. The capacity for this attention varies from person to person, and it changes throughout one's life¹¹³. In fact, the *Diary* demonstrates varying degrees of perception that Ignatius maintained in a 13-month period. With the verb "know", Ignatius signals a decided commitment to language, culture, and otherness. The interior and personal experience is expressed and understood. It does not remain apophatic nor uncommunicated, rather it can be decoded as a sign of and from the other¹¹⁴. Finally, his itinerary concludes with a place for action. The spiritual experience ultimately impacts human history with and for others. As such, the itinerary is personal and ecclesial; it is interior but moves the person to a commitment to and with others by way of an exercise of his or her freedom. One feels God, understands that feeling in language, culture and tradition, and then one responds to that movement with one's life in history. The *Diary* represents a process of his noting down what he feels so that he might come to know the origin of those movements in him, and that once known as from God, he will know how to implicate himself in history according to God's will. It is a journal of spiritual movements that he feels¹¹⁵, and these movements or *mociones* that "relate to his person in its entirety", are constituted by the feelings, thoughts, and all the range of bodily experiences that he undergoes in his prayer and Eucharist¹¹⁶.

The document makes visible one phase of the itinerary of discernment. It presents the initial part of the process in which Ignatius notes all that he feels so that he can come to know that which comes from God. This is the basic structure of the *Diary*. It shows us Ignatius in the process of moving from "feeling" to "knowing". This is also what makes the text difficult to read because implicit in this formulation is the idea that Ignatius himself does not know what each and every sign means. For this reason, a reader need not worry if the document appears at times unfollowable. In fact, I would suggest that it would be a mistake

¹¹³ Carlos Domínguez Morano, "En alguna manera...". Dificultades psicológicas para 'sentir y conocer' las diversas mociones", in *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales*, 303-330, on 306-307; (hereafter article cited as "Dificultades psicológicas para 'sentir y conocer'").

¹¹⁴ I follow Sylvie Robert who emphasizes that "la moción es intervención de una alteridad". See, Robert, "El discernimiento ignaciano: discernimiento de las 'mociones', discernimiento teologal", in *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales*, 371-384, 375.

¹¹⁵ The word "sentir" is found 107 times in the *Diary*. See Echarte, ed., *Concordancia Ignaciana*, 1162-1165. For commentary, see, Iparraguirre, *Vocabulario de Ejercicios Espirituales* (Rome: CIS 1972), 194.

¹¹⁶ García Domínguez, "El concepto 'moción' en los textos ignacianos", in *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales*, 240.

to read it as if it were a narrative or as if it were the story of his journey into God. In my estimation, this is the error of many studies on this autograph text as they try make readable and followable that which is not meant to be a narrative. These are not confessions, a life, nor are they meant to be read as steps. Followable moments do emerge, but the point of the document is to record feelings in their rather brute or crude manifestation so that they can come to be known.

This discernment structure of feeling and knowing accounts for what is before us. Ignatius tracked experiences to find out what they were telling him about his discernment question or, in the case of the second booklet, about what appears to be his desire for greater union or freedom with God. Considering the *Diary* as a document that presents Ignatius realizing the discernment of his spiritual movements allows the document to be what it is: an open text that is in the process of being deciphered. Unquestionably, the first booklet is much more followable, not only for its more expository style, but for the extratextual elements that at times appear on the pages. Those elements are his question for discernment, the list of his deliberation points, and his multiple petitions and desires. These three elements show up on his pages during his first 40 days, and, as if they were texts at hand for him, they guide him in his decoding of all that he feels. For a reader, these three extra-textual elements give direction and shape to all that is recorded. In addition, the first booklet concludes with a confirmation – he has come to *know* God's will. The second booklet generally adheres to this structure of noting down spiritual movements to know them. However, the latter part of the *Diary* evolves into an examination of one felt experience of his prayer. Additionally, the extra-textual elements all but disappear. No record exists of deliberation points or discernment questions for this second notebook.

In short, the *Diary* dramatizes Ignatius' discernment in which he is attempting to locate all that he feels so that he can come to know God's will in those experiences. In this process, he realizes two very important operations. One is within his control and the other – equally decisive for him – falls outside of his control. On the one hand, Ignatius is engaged in a detailed act of *separating* all of the signs that he is experiencing. Separation is a key component for the articulation of what he experiences. The other component or element that is crucial to him in his process to know God's will is time. With time, he can decode that which is before him. Separation and time, two components of his process which are helping him move from the place of feeling to knowing.

a. *Separation so that the signs can speak to him*

In both booklets, Ignatius attends to the signs that he experiences in all of their diversity and gradation. Prayer period after prayer period, and day after day, he notes all of the spiritual experiences as distinct elements of God’s communication to him. The signs of God’s language in him are immensely rich, and although they may occur in him simultaneously, Ignatius does not conflate them. To state this more clearly: many of the spiritual experiences recounted quite obviously share similar semantic terrain, yet he does not blend them together nor consider them as the same phenomenon¹¹⁷. He makes clear that devotion is not warmth, warmth is not reverence, nor is reverence the same as veneration¹¹⁸. This is the remarkable aspect of Ignatius’ diary: his acute perception of different gifts, and, by extension, the breadth of his spiritual vocabulary to express them. His language is “extraordinarily accurate” and his expressions are “irreplaceable” not only because he is a precise writer, but because, in a sense, the initial part of discernment – perceiving all that one experiences – calls for this act of separation¹¹⁹.

This point of the separation of the signs cannot be underestimated. To a certain extent, the signs have to be distinct and distinguishable so that they can speak to him. They cannot all run together as if they were indiscriminate or as if they were all saying the same thing. And this act of separation – so that the signs can be articulated and heard – occurs at all levels of the text. At the most obvious level, there is the demarcation of days. Each day receives a new number and is characterized or differentiated from the previous day by the mass celebrated. This separation continues as Ignatius details four distinct prayer periods. In the second booklet, this rigorous procedure is particularly visible. Tears are registered in their quantity, but also in the particular moment in which they occurred in relation to the mass. Again, this demarcation allows him to see the duration of the movement of the signs or to notice their discontinuous nature. Another way in which he separated experiences was by drawing lines around certain passages – separating them from others – and then transcribing them to another page. Such a visible act of distinguishing one spiritual experience from

¹¹⁷ Contemporary readings of the *Diary* tend to do this. Perhaps the most recent example is the randomness with which Victor Codina reads the text. See, Codina, *Ignacio ayer y hoy* (Bilbao: Mensajero, 2020), 24.

¹¹⁸ In their introduction, Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado admit that it is not “fácil distinguir y definir las características de cada una de estas gracias”. Yet, this is what Ignatius is doing, and this is what the reader of the text needs to attempt to do. See, Iparraguirre, Ruiz Jurado, “Introducción”, in *Obras*, 276.

¹¹⁹ The quoted descriptions come from Jesus María Granero’s description of the Ignatian text. See, Granero, *San Ignacio. Panoramas de su vida* (Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1967), 82. Granero ventures no hypothesis as to the text’s genre.

another and then joining them together suggests that that he found a narrative thread of God's voice, and these signs from God were important enough to him to record on a separate set of folios. Should the importance of this act of separation need to be underscored further, one need only call to mind the document of his deliberation that accompanies the *Diary*. The operation that he realizes is, once again, that of differentiating advantages and disadvantages. In brief, it does appear that this whole election process is structured upon a continual act of separation so that a new language, God's language, can emerge in him¹²⁰.

All of these external or formal acts of demarcation mirror the internal separation of the spiritual experiences. Thus, just as he differentiates one day from the next or one mass from another, the spiritual signs are distinct and separate. Bearing in mind that "everything linguistic is articulated", Ignatius performs the very difficult task of perceiving the distinct signs as a way to hear God's language to him¹²¹. Thus, he distinguishes devotion from warmth, reverence from veneration, and tears from sobs. And should that activity not be sufficient, he distinguishes the gradation or the degree of the signs. Examples of this, as it concerns the topic of this study, abound: devotion is "new", or "abundant", or "much". Likewise, in the second booklet Ignatius carries out the same procedure with tears. This is the impressive aspect of his discernment: the separation of all of the distinct experiences that he feels. This operation suggests that the contrast that he perceives in the signs is important to him: the distinction and the differentiation help him move towards knowing what God is inviting him to. Moreover, not only are the signs distinct but I would offer that he has a certain hierarchy in regards to them. In other words, some signs are more expressive and meaningful to him than others. I will argue that two signs are preeminently important to him: tears and devotion¹²². These two spiritual experiences comprise the signs that he most clearly and consistently identifies, and his attention to both of them suggests that in their manifestation he was hearing God's response to him. In summary, the act of separation comprises a fundamental operation that Ignatius effects at all levels of his discernment notebook so that he can come to know God's will.

The two most significant organizational features by which he separates and gives structure to all that he experiences are the votive masses and the numbering system. These two facets make his text followable; they are also the aspects of the document that are most

¹²⁰ At the risk of unduly highlighting this point, the second time of election depends upon separating consolation from desolation. An operation which may not be as easy as one would think, and for that reason, might require some note-taking or writing.

¹²¹ Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 53.

¹²² I will explore more this hypothesis in chapter 8 when I investigate the experience of devotion.

his. *He* indicates the masses, and *he* numbers his entries. The rest of the document is, to a certain extent, not up to his choosing. As he makes patently clear, the spiritual gifts come to him; they do not originate with him. However, the mass and his numbering system do, and they are two external organizational features of his discernment notebook that most clearly allow him to separate all that he feels so that he can come to know God's will.

- The Mass

In addition to being one of the two elements over which Ignatius exercises control, the mass is also the structural component that anchors the text and by which he separates day from day. If any experience is followable in it for a reader, it is the constant reference to the Eucharist. In terms of his process of discernment, the prayer of the Church is the objective ground of all of the personal experiences recounted¹²³. The antiphons, the readings, the Gospels, and the Eucharistic prayer all comprise important points of reference for the spiritual experiences felt and recorded. Perhaps all of this is obvious to readers, but it is worth remembering that liturgical and biblical texts hover in the background of the *Diary*. These texts, on occasion referenced or mentioned by the author, constitute one of the reference points for the spiritual experiences recorded. This means that the signs of God's language quite possibly connect in important ways to the prayers of the Eucharist. Devotion, warmth, tears, sobs and all of the other gifts mentioned, though perhaps not always in direct relation to liturgical texts, surface as God's signs in this liturgical milieu.

- The numbering system

Another act of separation by which he structures his document is its numbering system. By numbering each day sequentially, Ignatius can follow, day after day, God's communication to him. The numbers give the text a practical and purposeful feel. I interpret them as corresponding to a process of discernment regarding a particular issue¹²⁴. The way he began his diary suggests as much. As mentioned above, the entry numbered as "1" does

¹²³ In his letter to Jesuits on the Eucharist, the late Father General Peter-Hans Kolvenbach invokes this very point as one instance of Ignatius's incarnate spirituality. He writes: "se apoya en el mundo material de la Iglesia: los ritos y los gestos, las palabras y los objetivos litúrgicos". See, Kolvenbach, "Sobre la eucaristía", 99.

¹²⁴ Codina seems to have the same idea, and he makes his conjecture even broader than mine, arguing that the numbers refer to some particular occupation which could have involved a point for his deliberation, giving thanks, or even resting. See, Codina, "De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride", cvii.

not correspond to the first day that he wrote, but to the first day of his process. He modifies his journal seven other times with a new number “1”, and it appears that he is indicating with this change a new process in his discernment. As an example, the next number “1”, employed on March 13th, refers to an interval in his discernment [*De* 155]¹²⁵, and the following number “1” appears to correspond to a new topic for his discernment which he indicates as concerning the Society’s missions [*De* 162]. However, the other five instances of his restarting his numbers at “1” appear to follow a different logic altogether given that they correspond to the first day of the month [*De* 362, 394, 424, 453, 464]. It is possible to imagine that each month represented a new discernment issue, but it could also be that he changed his thinking on his numbering system, numbering his journal according to the day of the month and not according to a process. During these last five months, Ignatius seems interested to maintain the correspondence between the day of the month and the number of his journal. On the days he does not celebrate mass he skips over them and matches the number of his diary with the day of the month¹²⁶. As such, it does appear that the unity of a month helps him see or find what he is looking for in his prayer. Below I will propose that the latter portion of the second booklet appears to resemble a particular examination, and perhaps, a month-long period most helped him do this¹²⁷.

In addition, as indicated earlier, there are curious modifications in this system that are not easy to account for. In the first booklet he backs up the numbers once, and in the second booklet he does this on three different occasions, changing each time the interval of the modification. With regards to the first booklet, March 7th should have received the number “35” as it was the 35th day in his process. It was also the day on which he was going to offer his 12th mass to the Trinity. However, he backs that number up to number “25”. Day 25 was February 26th, a Tuesday, a day in which he celebrated his 6th mass to the Trinity. It seems unlikely that this modification was a mistake on his part. The meticulous nature of this composition militates against the hypothesis that he erred. The alteration seems deliberate, but the intentionality guiding this decision remains something of an enigma. The changes in his numbering system in the second booklet are even more difficult to decipher given that he barely discloses what he was discerning or examining. The adjustments from number 39 to 30 [*De* 208], from 59 to 40 [*De* 237], and from 79 to 40 [*De* 277] – though on the surface appear to follow some kind of logic as the interval increases from 10 to 20 and then to 40 –

¹²⁵ As he himself appears to clarify in the posterior annotation: “estos cuatro días tomé para no mirar cosa alguna de Constituciones” [*De* 154].

¹²⁶ Indicated in detail above in chapter 4, section 2.2.

¹²⁷ In section 2.3 of this chapter I develop this argument.

are intriguing. It looks to me that he is searching for an interval of time to examine his prayer or an aspect of it, and he seems to arrive at a more natural unit of time – a month.

Yet, given my understanding of the text as a discernment notebook in which Ignatius wants to discover God’s response to him on a praxis-oriented question, the general frame of reference of the numbers and their changes is, I believe, concrete and practical. He changes the numbers as a way to help him in his process to know God’s will. Another possibility is that the modifications reflect interactions with others or with his confessor. Regarding the possibility that he consulted his confessor on the days in which he modified the numbers, it is interesting to note that three of the four changes occur on a Friday, a day in which Ignatius appears to prayed some material related to the First Week of the Exercises. Quite possibly, Ignatius saw his confessor on these Fridays, reported his spiritual movements, and returned with a new numbering system.

Be that as it may, my general sense of these changes is that they reflect his attempts to organize more concretely his process. In two of these modifications, there are indications, albeit slight, that lend credence to this idea. For example, the first change that he makes, backing up the numbers from “35” to “25, is the first day in his series of masses to the Trinity when he questions how to finish the whole process: “not knowing in what to resolve myself for a good amount of time, if I would finish the masses, or when” [*De* 130]. He decides to conclude when he receives a divine visit [*De* 131]. In part, the question of when to finish appears to come to the fore because two smaller processes have been completed. One of them was his intention to say six or more masses consecutively to the Trinity. He has already said twice as many, and on March 7th, the day of this first change, he celebrated his 12th mass to the Trinity. The other process was that of his reconciliation with the Trinity. On the previous day, March 6th, he reported feeling reconciled with the Trinity. Given the closure of these two processes, quite possibly the change in the number comes about after feeling “a great security” [*De* 122] with the reconciliation process¹²⁸ and a *return* to the election process. One process closed and another reopened. Moving the numbers back gives the sense that he is returning to the question of the churches’ income, expressing in the very change of number a return to the initial issue of the discernment.

The other alteration – in which he changes the numbers by an increment of ten – that supports this hypothesis occurs in the second booklet [*De* 208]. Though his notes give very little indication into his process, the days are filled with annotations that appear to be

¹²⁸ On March 6th, day 34 of his process, he wrote: “no pudiendo ver alguna cosa repugnante a la reconciliación, aunque yo advertiese, y con una grande seguridad” [*De* 122].

posterior observations. He writes, “To prepare” [*De* 203], “To begin, because in a few days I left it” [*De* 204], and “Here it was left inclusive” [*De* 206]. These comments could suggest that he changed the number back to “30” as a way to restart or resituate himself in his discernment. I recognize that these are modest conjectures, but the practical and concrete organization that the numbers lend to the document lead me to think that they have some relationship to a topic at hand. At ¹²⁹the same time, I recognize that this backtracking creates problems in terms of the practical nature of the numbers; it is hard to see how the repetition of numbers would aid him practically.

b. Time – bit by bit note the course of the movement

The other fundamental aspect of his discernment process that helps him move from feeling to knowing is time. He needs time to see the movement of all that he is experiencing. For this reason, in a very clear way in the first booklet, but much less apparent in the second booklet, time is an essential element of his discernment. His practice of discernment made visible on these pages highlights the importance of having a “before” and an “after”¹³⁰. If he is, as I suggested in the previous chapter, a patient writer, he is more so in this particular composition. He is patient because he can only arrive at God’s will by way of seeing the sign in history.

This activity of watching over time the movement of interior motions and other experiences at prayer is suggested in the second set of rules for the discernment of spirits in the *Exercises* [*Ej* 328-336]. In the first block of rules, Ignatius laid out his definitions of consolation and desolation, providing insight into the nature of desolation and how to respond in it and to it¹³¹. In the second set of guidelines, one of the subjects that he addresses is the discernment of consolation. In accord with the spiritual tradition before him, Ignatius understands that the good *and* evil spirit can cause “good and holy thoughts according to the just soul” [*Ej* 332]. For this reason, he proposes the guiding principle of noticing the course of one’s thoughts. He adds to the matrix of discernment the element of time; the movement

¹²⁹ For this reason, I hew close to the modest and humble appraisal of Maurice Giuliani: “Cette dernière numérotation reste pour nous une énigme”. See, Giuliani, “Introduction”, in *Journal Spirituel*, 37.

¹³⁰ Even more elegant on this point is Gil: “el arte del discernimiento es el relato ordenado de los acontecimientos, según un antes y un después”. See, Gil, *Discernimiento según San Ignacio*, 325.

¹³¹ In his excellent guide to the *Exercises*, Jaer titles his commentary on the first block of rules: “cómo comportarse en tiempo de desolación”. See, Jaer, *Cristo en lo cotidiano*, 226.

can be discerned in its temporal or historical dimension¹³². His language on this point is noticeably emphatic, as he modifies his discourse from one that is descriptive to exhortatory¹³³: “we should notice a lot the course of thoughts” (*debemos mucho advertir*) [*Ej* 333].

As a help to the retreatant, Ignatius provides three progressively sophisticated guidelines for how to discern the course of the consolation. The first is with an objective or rational criteria. Should the course or the process lead to that which is bad (*alguna cosa mala*) or “less good” (*menos buena*) than the initial point [*Ej* 333], one can safely conclude that the consolation was from the evil spirit. In essence, consolation from the good spirit will not produce something that is bad or even less good. The next guideline points the retreatant to attend to his or her general affective movements. If during the course of the process there is a loss of peace or tranquility, or a general sense of disquiet or disturbance, the person can interpret such an affective resonance as an indication that the spirit causing the consolation is not from God¹³⁴. Here the focus is not on the course towards which the thoughts tend, but the affective alteration in the person¹³⁵. Finally, in an even more sensitive operation of discernment, Ignatius indicates that the origin of the experience can be detected. In a person progressing from good to better, the good spirit acts lightly and softly, just like a “drop of water enters into a sponge”. In that same person, the evil spirit “touches with noise and disturbance” [*Ej* 335]. In this last guideline, Ignatius suggests that the initial “touch” of the spirits is different, and noticing the nature of that initial contact – according to the situation of the person – can indicate the spirit that was acting.

Though he does allow for the possibility of detecting one spirit from another at the beginning of the process, the guidelines suggest that time is essential. He encourages the person to watch the “beginning, middle, and end of the course” [*Ej* 333]. He even alerts the retreatant in two different occasions to the action of the evil spirit that proceeds “bit by bit” (*poco a poco*) [*Ej* 332, 334]. Time is revelatory, and the action, either of the good spirit or the evil spirit will become known, as Ignatius suggests, bit by bit. And if it is a movement driven by the evil spirit, the contrast and distinction between the beginning and the end will

¹³² For more, see, Michael Buckley, “The Structure of the Rules for Discernment of Spirits”, *The Way Supplement* 20 (1973): 19-37, on 32.

¹³³ Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 845.

¹³⁴ Galatians 5:22 hovers just in the background of this idea: “But the fruit of the Spirit is charity, joy and peace, patience, understanding of others, kindness and fidelity”. For more on this connection, see Joseph Pegon, “Discernement des Esprits – Période Moderne”, in *DSp* 3:1266-1281, 1270-1271.

¹³⁵ Gil, *Discernimiento según San Ignacio*, 331-332.

provide the hermeneutic¹³⁶. In this way, this second block of guidelines on discernment does not propose any kind of magic formula for discerning consolation, rather it obligates one to the patient, humble, and quotidian observance of the progression of one's thoughts and feelings¹³⁷. In these rules, Ignatius also seems to imply that one learns how to do this only after having been deceived. For this reason, he exhorts the retreatant to go back immediately (*mirar luego*) [Ej 334] and review his or her experiences once it has become clear that the consolation, now felt and known, resulted from the evil spirit. As a good pedagogue, he urges the person to learn from his or her own experience¹³⁸. Going back and reviewing the process, one will be able to learn better how to follow, day by day, the progression of the spiritual idea or feeling¹³⁹.

This brief and general outline of the second series of rules of discernment offers insight into Ignatius' process in both booklets of the *Diary*. He is attending to the course of the signs as they emerge in him over time. Ever aware of deception in the spiritual experience, he seems to understand that the safest and surest way to come to know that which one feels as from God is by way of time. In the beginning of his first booklet, he tends to note, albeit very elliptically, how the movements in him tended toward no income (*no nada*). This is an example of his attention to the movement of his thoughts. It is plausible to imagine that throughout the first notebook his attention to his thoughts allows him to track over time how they were moving so that he could discover God's will in them.

Another aspect of the second set of rules is the attention to the affective movement in the person. A general sense of peace, tranquility and serenity tend to characterize consolation from the good spirit. If the signs in the *Diary* are deeply affective in nature, it is because that is what is called for in this particular moment of discernment. For example, in the first booklet, Ignatius attends with care to his affective state. His mention of feeling security, confidence, and peace are indications that he is watching his affective resonance to see if in fact the course of the discernment leads him pacifically and confidently to one alternative or to another. A similar operation seems to be present in the second booklet: he appears to be watching the course of his tears to see their general movement in him. In short, the one

¹³⁶ Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 846.

¹³⁷ In this very context, Gil proposes that these rules espouse "la suave humildad de discernimiento". See, Gil, *Discernimiento según San Ignacio*, 336.

¹³⁸ "Ignacio es maestro porque nos enseña a aprender". See, Gil, *Discernimiento según San Ignacio*, 387.

¹³⁹ On this point, Arzubialde is more explicit: "La condición humana sólo aprende determinadas lecciones para siempre, cuando se ha visto sumido en la derrota del proceso o las cosas han acabado mal. Y todo ello forma parte del aprendizaje humano y de la pedagogía divina en el largo camino hacia el bien". Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 847.

discerning has to pay attention to the way his or her affectivity moves over time in order to unmask the nature of the spirit that is operative.

In addition to the general course of the signs that he examines and contrasts, daily, weekly, and even monthly, the discernment ultimately only finishes with one final sign that confirms one alternative as God's will. The place of confirmation in his process is yet another indication of the importance of time. It is only at the end of his process, the final moment in his election, will he finally come to know how to interpret all of the signs that went before. The beginning and the middle are illuminated by the end, and to get to the end, he needs time. Thus, he prays, writes the examination of his prayer, and observes patiently the unfolding narrative of God's response to him.

Excursus - signs that redact, alter and clarify earlier ones

These two important aspects of Ignatius' discernment process can help us understand the redaction of the text. Previously, I stated, as has oft been affirmed in studies on this autograph document, that Ignatius was always looking for the precise word. That much is evident in a cursory view of the manuscript. However, the observation, as correct as it is, has tended to lead scholars of Ignatian spirituality into the realm of psychology, as if the redaction were more indicative of his personality than it was of the kind of text that he was composing. His constant alteration of his notes has yet to be integrated into a more complete understanding of the structure and process of the text itself. Considering the text as the initial part of a discernment itinerary where he is moving from feeling to knowing can offer a new way to think of his redaction.

Ignatius changes his entries because he discovers, in the ongoing revelation and accumulation of signs – which he is reading not just daily but over a period of days – new ways to read what previously happened to him. Later signs from God clarify earlier ones, even helping him discover those whose origin was not from God. For that reason, he goes back to the text to change it. His deletion of a passage or his addition of clarificatory language comes from his ongoing spiritual experience which confirms, gives dimension, or questions earlier experiences. Redaction is much less about a search for the right word, as it is the result of his constant reading of what God is communicating to him. Each day's experiences could have been correcting, adding, or changing previous days' experiences. The narrative was always open and ongoing, as was his interpretation of it. In this way, understanding the document's genre gives another perspective to comprehend the immense

editorial process which so visibly marks it. It also reminds us that like earlier compositional acts of his, his diary was an open text. But radically so. Each day's experiences could say something – and did say something – about the signs experienced on a previous day. He was allowing his continual experience of God to change, alter, and revise what went before. In short, as he separated signs of God's language each day, these signs were interacting with and clarifying earlier ones¹⁴⁰.

This perspective on the redaction of the text which suggests that Ignatius was allowing each day's experiences to complement, complete or correct earlier experiences connects with one of the central metaphors by which he understood his relationship to God. In the *Autobiography*, the author reports that during his time in Manresa, Ignatius felt that “God treated him at this time just as a schoolmaster treats a child whom he is teaching” [*Au* 27]¹⁴¹. The narrative goes on to relate that that he felt this so strongly that were he to deny it he would deeply offend God. There was, then, a pedagogical component to his experience of God¹⁴²; he always felt that God was teaching him. I mention this aspect of his spirituality in the context of this discussion on the genre of the *Diary* because this writing of his quite possibly represents the strongest textual argument for the importance of this metaphor in his spirituality. The heavy redactional features of the document, far more than showing Ignatius looking for the right word, show him being taught by God how to read and understand his experience. The manuscript even looks like the composition of someone who is learning how to write. And this is exactly what it demonstrates. It is the composition of Ignatius the student learning how to perceive that which occurred in him and to come to know it. God speaks to him and guides him in the construction of the text. Therein lies the meaning of its immense editorial work. He was learning to know what he felt, and the author of those signs, God, was helping him do this.

¹⁴⁰ I will present an example of this in the following chapter where I will argue that the experience initially indicated as a “punto” on February 12th was discovered to be a “tentación” on February 16th.

¹⁴¹ On this very point, Brian O’Leary offers wonderful insight: “It can even be argued that the primary purpose of Ignatius at this point in the *Autobiography* is not so much to convey *what* he had been taught as simply *that* he had been taught”. See, O’Leary, *To Love and to Serve*, 208, author’s emphasis.

¹⁴² “... la percepción ignaciana de lo que es la providencia esté estrechamente relacionada con la noción de una pedagogía: Dios es un pedagogo que impele a hacer pasos proporcionados al hombre”. See, Ruiz Pérez, “Alma”, in *DEI* 1:126.

2.2. The first booklet – the multiple texts that help him decode his spiritual movements

In both booklets of the *Diary*, Ignatius separates the signs and observes their course over time. However, both notebooks demonstrate this process in very different ways. At this point in my analysis, I will begin to nuance this general hypothesis by pointing to particular extra-textual aspects of the first booklet whose absence in the second suggest that his process changed in significant ways. In brief, the first notebook works alongside of other “texts”, and a brief study of these will reveal more of Ignatius’ process in moving from feeling to knowing.

The first booklet contains several elements, at times made visible on his pages, which help him know God’s will. He is aided by his discernment question, his deliberation points, and the multiple petitions that he makes during this 40-day period. His movement to knowing God’s will happens in relation to these concrete points, and what he feels is decoded *vis-à-vis* these elements. They function in a similar way for the reader as they make followable the course of these 40 days. Another way to think of these elements is to consider them as “texts” that circulate around and that illuminate this first booklet. The “text” of his discernment question, the text of his deliberation, and the “text” of his petitions all constitute for him interpretive keys for his spiritual movements. His movement then from feeling to knowing happens in the complex interplay of multiple texts. And, once he knows God’s will, he acts, an action evidenced in yet another text in which he specifies that “it should not be licit to have any fixed revenue, even for the sacristy or building or anything else, in such a manner that any administration of this revenue is in control of the Society” [*Co* 555].

a. A question with an alternative

The precision and exactitude that characterize this document point back to and underscore the kind of question that Ignatius asks God. A brief comparison with Teresa of Avila may illustrate how pointed Ignatius is. Teresa poses the rather general question to God about how to live with her religious sisters who not only do not comprehend her but also persecute her. She reports hearing God tell her “Serve me, and don’t bother about such things”¹⁴³. For his part, Ignatius is much more direct with God, framing his question with

¹⁴³ *Life*, 19.9, 168.

clear alternatives. He asks if the Society should receive income, some income, or none at all. Ignatius is looking for a yes or no response on one of the alternatives which will have immediate consequences for their life. The question, so clearly framed as a *this* or *that* question, corresponds to the specificity of the text itself¹⁴⁴. For this reason, the kind of question belongs to a consideration of the nature of the first booklet and the interpretation that he is performing of it just off the page.

The question also demonstrates Ignatius' concrete and pragmatic approach to discernment: to feel and then to know is to ultimately act on a real, historical, and viable option. It is tempting to deduce that the clarity of the question begets clarity of the response, yet God can respond as God so desires. Nevertheless, the specificity of the question drives the document's concrete nature and focuses the author's attention on the nature and the degree of the signs given. Similarly, the concrete nature of the question appears to motivate him to separate all that he experiences, and the decoding of these spiritual movements is aided by the "text" of this question.

The nature of the question posed or sought to be answered distinguishes a discernment notebook from that which might simply be a register of one's prayer. Herein lies part of the difference between the two booklets: the structural difference between the two resides in the nature of the question. The first booklet reveals his desire to know something concrete and definite. There may be a question driving the recording of his prayer and the observation of his tears in the second booklet, but that question seems broader, as if it involved his union, relationship, or freedom with God. In brief, this second booklet does not appear to be driven by a praxis-oriented question with clear alternatives. In summary, the "text" of the question helps him move from feeling to knowing. It also determines in no small way the followability of the first booklet, and its absence accounts for the difficulty of comprehending the second booklet.

b. The points for deliberation

Closely related to the "text" of his question is the elaboration of it in multiple points for each alternative. These points are made explicit in the document "Deliberation on Poverty", at times referenced in the *Diary*. The "Deliberation" represents another text at

¹⁴⁴ I follow the analysis of Barthes: "also, the language of interrogation developed by Ignatius is aimed less at the classical question of consultations: *What to do?* Than at the dramatic alternative by which finally every practice is prepared and determined: *To do this or that?*". See, Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 48, author's emphasis.

hand by which he is attempting to decode all that he feels in his prayer. The points could be considered hermeneutical keys for the multiple signs that he registers day after day. It is possible to imagine that devotion, tears, warmth, far from being free-floating or random spiritual experiences, emerge in relation to his thoughts on particular points in this document. In the early days of his *Diary*, this appears to be the case. Devotion and tears seem to augment in proportion to his growing clarity that God's will is that the Society of Jesus not accept the income for the churches. Moreover, as I have indicated above, it is possible to imagine that the *Diary* and the "Deliberation" emerged concurrently, thus the matrix of his discernment involves the complex imbrication of two texts: signs and points. The points refer him back to the signs, and the signs create new points and fill previous ones with deeper content. Seen together, the *Diary* and the "Deliberation" remind us that he was in the process of making a decision to act.

Length, in and of itself, need not indicate depth or creativity, but it is interesting to observe the extension, the detail, and the elaboration of his points for not receiving income. This list consists of eighteen reasons¹⁴⁵, running more than double the span of the list for receiving some revenue which contains eight ideas. It is as if in composing those points he was finding language to express the apostolic body's mission and way of proceeding. In this way, the "Deliberation" testifies to the creative component of his discernment. Quite possibly, day after day he was discovering what it might mean for the Society of Jesus to not receive income. Between these two texts, there is a movement from feeling to knowing; Ignatius puts in language all that he feels in prayer and in this way expresses his hopes for how he desires the Society of Jesus to act in its mission.

As the *Diary* makes visible, Ignatius worked with and reviewed carefully this document of deliberation points. It was guiding him in his movement from feeling to knowing. The absence of such a text for the second booklet is a notable feature of it. Without any deliberation points mentioned or alluded to, the document seems incomplete, lacking a point of reference that could provide the grammar or the code by which the signs could be interpreted. It is safe to suppose that Ignatius had some deliberation point in mind, but the text of that issue never appears on the page. Such an absence, rather than merely posing a hermeneutical difficulty, suggests that the second booklet no longer represents an election process with communal ramifications, but rather a more personal examination of his

¹⁴⁵ The document numbers 16, however two numbers (2 and 4) are repeated. According to their study, Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado indicate that the number "16" appears crossed out by Ignatius. See, Iparraguirre, Ruiz Jurado, ed., *Obras*, 268, note 10.

relationship with God.

c. His petition – the third preamble

Descending more deeply into his movement from feeling to knowing, one other text helps him interpret his experiences. Namely, Ignatius makes explicit what he is looking for. He reports, as it were, the petition that he brings to his prayer and the mass, and these “texts” help him decode his spiritual movements. The petitions in many ways function like the question that Ignatius poses to God: they give shape and form to his daily prayer observations. Though he does not employ the word “petition”, he does make clear at various points of his journal what he is looking for. In the architecture of the *Exercises*, this aspect of the *Diary* most resembles the third preamble that accompanies every spiritual exercise. At the beginning of each prayer period, the retreatant is encouraged to focus affectively all of his or her desires in a petition: “I will ask God our Lord for what I want and desire” [*Ej* 48]. Such a petition helps the person channel and express all of his or her desires in prayer. Likewise, it can also provide a hermeneutical key to the movements felt. This is not to suggest that the consolation or desolation experienced by a retreatant making the Exercises necessarily or exclusively responds to the petition made, but the petition can provide insight into the content of the experience itself of the prayer¹⁴⁶. Without knowing what the person is seeking in the meditation or contemplation, it would be very difficult to interpret the spiritual movement felt.

Ignatius makes explicit the specific graces that he is seeking. Though on occasion it is not clear where he is headed or what he is looking for in his prayer, it is possible to read his text and make safe conjectures as to the desires that are guiding him. The petitions or the multiple forms of the third preamble which weave their way through the text and with which he enters into his prayer and the mass provide a hermeneutical key to the signs that he reports. I would even venture that these petitions comprise strong interpretive ground to read his autograph text. Reading all that he perceives and feels alongside of that which he is seeking is to read the *Diary* as he is reading it, understanding the language of God to him as a response to what he is looking for. The multiple “mini-texts” of these petitions need not always function as interpretive keys for that which he experiences, but it seems likely that he

¹⁴⁶ Regarding the interplay of the objective and subjective of the Spiritual Exercises, the formulation by Ruiz Pérez is particularly helpful: “Lo objetivo servirá de inductor y de hermenéutica de lo subjetivo”. The objectivity of the petitions provide a hermeneutic for the subjective experience. See, Ruiz Pérez, “Alma”, in *DEI* 1:124.

understood what he experienced by way of the specific graces or desires he was petitioning. At times in this first booklet the graces he is seeking are clearly announced. Notwithstanding their clarity or ambiguity, these petitions constitute another sub-text in his discernment.

I have repeatedly and purposefully used the plural form to indicate that Ignatius expressed *multiple* petitions during these days. He begins with a desire to know God's will on the question of the income for the churches' sacristies. However, I would offer that a careful reading of the text suggests that that petition he makes to God represents the beginning of what becomes a much more involved spiritual odyssey. For example, he desired confirmation on his election from the Trinity, to be reconciled with the Trinity, to know if he had a disordered attachment to tears, to know what the new way God was teaching him, and to know when to finish his process. The material question of the reception of income frames the first booklet, but it also gives way to deeper relational questions and petitions that he makes to God. These multiple and changing desires represent one of the more fascinating elements of the first booklet: he is learning to adapt his desires to what he believes God desires for him. In brief, the first forty days of his discernment can be read as a pedagogy of desire: it reveals his process of attempting to follow those desires that come from God and to discover the intricate affective web of those that do not¹⁴⁷.

The "text" of these petitions and desires is not present in the second booklet. And this is a remarkable aspect of these last 352 days. There is not an explicit indication of that which he is looking for. No graces, desires, or petitions are made visible. Readers can point to the occasional annotation of his discerning the missions of the Society of Jesus [*De* 161, 223], his discernment of how to receive the gift of *loquela* [*De* 234], as well as the very posterior indications of his desire for "contentment" when he has no tears [*De* 383]. However, these desires are softer, more pacific, or less urgent. As "texts", these petitions provide scant interpretive help to the signs reported. It is not that Ignatius is without desire during this year-long recording of his prayer, but it is safe to suggest that his desire has simplified and quieted in such a way where he no longer needs to make it explicit.

¹⁴⁷ The language on desire comes from Antoni Blanch, "Deseo", in *DEI* 1:564-570, especially 567. However, the author does not treat the *Diary*. A stronger name for pedagogy of desire is "conversion". As Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao suggests, conversion is a re-ordering of one's desire. See, Uríbarri Bilbao, *El mensajero*, 161ff. On the same issue, see also Lamarthée Estrade, *Conocimiento interno*, 220-222.

2.3. The second booklet – from a discernment of his prayer to a particular examination of his tears

In the above analysis, I have attempted to indicate where the second notebook diverges from the first. This is the peculiar and challenging nature of the *Diary*: it is not uniform and allowance needs to be given for the way that it changes. Looked at panoramically, the document gives the sense that the concrete question of the reception of income led him on a spiritual odyssey that deepened and then ultimately simplified¹⁴⁸. But such a perspective, as I have tried to suggest, misreads the form of the text. And if that form of the first booklet has largely been passed over by scholars of Ignatian spirituality, it is no wonder that the structure of the second booklet, when it is broached, is not considered in any detail. The absence of such an argument has given free rein to a range of commentaries on it that tend towards the hagiographic and hyperbolic. As an example, one such estimation of the latter part of the *Diary* offers that the last several months of the document reveal “the consummated and permanent union of his soul with God”¹⁴⁹. When not extolling the mystical heights of Ignatius, the observations on this second booklet confound. For example: “Ignatius renounced tears; he lives now in union with God, in tears, yes, but at the same time beyond them”¹⁵⁰. The disparate nature of these interpretations attests to the way that the form of the booklet has eluded critical analysis. I will essay an interpretation of this second booklet, attempting a guarded hypothesis within the limits that the text itself imposes. To a certain extent, the register of tears ultimately only permits us to move in the terrain of conjectures. As a way to organize my interpretation of this part of his diary, I will first make a division in it and then proceed to offer a hypothesis regarding the register of tears that becomes the form in which Ignatius develops and then concludes his diary.

¹⁴⁸ Such is the appraisal of Harvey Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1991), 142.

¹⁴⁹ Larrañaga, “Introducción al Diario Espiritual”, *Obras completas*, 646; also Maurice-Marie Martin, “San Ignacio místico. Una lectura del *Diario Espiritual* a partir del don de lágrimas”, *CIS* 67 (1991): 21-78, on 22: “Los cinco últimos meses (octubre 1544 a febrero 1545) representan una cima en esta vida mística”; (hereafter article cited as “*Diario Espiritual* a partir del don de lágrimas”). Similar idea in, Melloni, *Éxodo y éxtasis*, 161.

¹⁵⁰ Martin, “*Diario Espiritual* a partir del don de lágrimas”, 60.

a. *From feeling to knowing spiritual gifts – March 13th to May 28th*

The beginning part of this second booklet, a period that I would demarcate from March 13th to May 28th, largely conforms to the structure of the first booklet¹⁵¹. Though generally thin on narrative details, he continues to register that which he feels during prayer to discern its content in relation to some aspect of the Society of Jesus' way of proceeding¹⁵². Yet, no indication is given of the content of those issues. Perhaps they were simple, less problematic, or largely already agreed upon by him and the companions. His notes reflect far less of an investment in time, and this could be because the issues that he was considering were largely straightforward. In addition, his notes betray much less description, and he appears less interested in separating different spiritual experiences. Moreover, this part of his journal opens up the possibility that he was not writing each day. As an example, his entries for the last days of April and the first 10 days of May [*De* 211-220], consisting of only the briefest of notations on tears, group several days together. The style here suggests that he was summarizing days to bring his diary up to date. He could have summarized these days on May 11th when he described a more extended experience of prayer and where he introduced for the first time the gift of *loquela*. Although it is possible to maintain that issues of the order continued to occupy his prayer, his notes convey his primary interest in the development and cultivation of the graces that emerged at the end of the first booklet. Reverence, veneration, and loving humility become focal points of his attention. He also examines his experience of *loquela*, a gift that appears to accompany him at least from May 11th to May 28th. But after May 28th, *loquela*, like so many gifts enumerated in the first booklet, is no longer mentioned. On May 29th, a week after the feast of the Ascension, he begins what will be a nine-month period of reporting only his tears in relation to the mass. This change suggests that he modified his approach in his notebook, and this behooves us to adopt a new hermeneutic.

¹⁵¹ In making this division in the second booklet, I follow García de Castro. I believe this demarcation is clear, simple, and responds to the text. See, García de Castro, "Semántica y mística", 214.

¹⁵² As I indicated in chapter 4, Codina suggests that Ignatius could have been composing during the time of this second booklet "Constitutiones circa missiones". He also proposes that the document, titled "Contra ambitum" could have been drafted during this period. I can find no textual or linguistic connection between either of these documents and his prayer observations in the second booklet. The most that can be offered is the general overlap that exists between his experience of the grace of reverence and veneration and the obedience that is desired for men in the order. For both documents, see respectively, *MCo* I, 159-164, 164-166.

b. *A particular examination of a spiritual gift – May 29th to February 27th*

From May 29th to February 27th, the *Diary* becomes an exclusive examination of one particular spiritual experience by a precise registering of when and how it occurred. In its content and style, I believe that this part of his text most resembles a particular examination [Ej 24]. He is not drawing lines and putting marks on them for offenses committed, but he is writing carefully letters, putting dots over them, and briefly enumerating the quality of his tears¹⁵³. He seems to be intrigued by this spiritual gift and, for a reason that is not altogether clear, appears to employ the structure of a particular examination to understand it further.

Following one of his indications in the *Exercises*, the particular examination is also recommended to the retreatant to examine his or her prayer “to get rid of faults and negligences pertaining to the exercises” [Ej 90]. This observation indicates that Ignatius understood this spiritual practice not only for faults committed but as a spiritual exercise that could equally be employed to monitor one’s prayer. This number from the *Exercises* allows for the hypothesis that he was employing – or had in the back of his mind – this kind of examination with respect to his tears felt at prayer and at mass.

In suggesting that this part of the *Diary* is a particular examination of a spiritual gift, I would like to offer an important clarification regarding this structure and its relationship to his work of drafting the *Constitutions*. At this point of his document, it is difficult to determine if he was or was not working on that document or drafts of it¹⁵⁴. He may very well be continuing the intensive labor of reflecting upon, composing, and editing texts, but there is no indication in this latter part of the *Diary* – both in its content and in its structure – that this work involved an election. It could be that his observation of his tears corresponded in some way to his work on the *Constitutions*. One could suggest that as his tears flowed, so did his union with God and his drafting of the legislative text of the apostolic order. But I believe such a reading forces or projects content into the *Diary* that is simply not there. Also, it misses its overlap with the particular examination. Simply put, the document before us presents a minute examination of one particular aspect of prayer that is no longer indicative of discernment¹⁵⁵. This distinction between working on the *Constitutions* – and responding to

¹⁵³ I will return to his experience of tears in my chapter on his experience of devotion. For a classic position on tears in Ignatius, see, de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, 62-66.

¹⁵⁴ Earlier, in chapter 4, I indicated the conjectures regarding the composition of texts during this time.

¹⁵⁵ Pierre Gervais, “Examens et Confession Générale”, in *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola. Un commentaire littéral et théologique*, ed. Albert Chapelle et al., (Brussels: Éditions de l’Institut d’Études Théologiques, 1990), 69-84, 73; (book hereafter cited as *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola*).

all of the other quotidian demands of his life – and discerning points in it is important as it reminds us that not every aspect of their apostolic life required the expenditure of energy and commitment of discernment. This is what makes Ignatius so adept at this spiritual practice: he knows when to use it and when not to. And in this part of his *Diary*, I do not believe he is discerning movements to know them.

If this particular examination was in the background, that structure would lead us to inquire as to the purpose of his accounting for his tears and their frequency. All the while recognizing that not all examinations need to end with such a bald pragmatic end to amend something, it is plausible to imagine that this part of his *Diary* represents something more than a simple running tabulation of tears. Moreover, his recording for the sake of recording does not accord with the way that he presents himself in this text. Everything in this document suggests finding, discovering, or moving towards God. In essence, what is at stake is conversion and a closer following of Jesus for him and his companions¹⁵⁶. Even in the second booklet, he makes very clear how important it was for him to learn from the spiritual experience. For example, he reports an experience of “the devotion growing and affection with tears in feeling that I felt or learned the divinity” [*De* 224]. In another moment, he writes that he was “always hoping for greater erudition for the future” [*De* 234]. It seems plausible to conjecture that this particular examination of tears forms part of this desire for greater erudition and growth¹⁵⁷.

One possible hypothesis is that Ignatius recorded his tears as a way to verify that he was growing or advancing in his spiritual life. If tears were, as he himself describes them in the *Exercises*, part of spiritual consolation¹⁵⁸, his experience of them would be both a sign of God’s communication to him and an indication of his receptivity to God’s will. The tabulation of this sign of his encounter with God would allow him to see if he were progressing and growing in openness to God¹⁵⁹. Recording daily, and then organizing this examen into a more “natural” period of a month October onwards, would allow him to see if in fact he was “progressing from good to better in the service of God our Lord” [*Ej* 315].

¹⁵⁶ In a section entitled “Enmienda y orden”, Lamarthée Estrade makes this very fine point: “Para Ignacio la importancia del camino espiritual no está en la experiencia cognitiva en sí, sino que quiere que esta sea un medio para la conversión”. To know the frequency of his tears is to consider the conversion or growth he was after. See, Lamarthée Estrade, *Conocimiento interno*, 261.

¹⁵⁷ In their excellent study of this examination, Liuima and Derville posit that “l’examen particulier est un exercice spirituel propre à ceux que veulent progresser”. See, Liuima, Derville, “Examen particulier”, in *DSp* 4:1839.

¹⁵⁸ “No es de nosotros traer o tener devoción crecida, amor intenso, lágrimas ni otra alguna consolación espiritual, mas que todo es don y gracia de Dios nuestro Señor” [*Ej* 322].

¹⁵⁹ Santiago Thió de Pol, “Lágrimas”, in *DEI* 2:1101-1105.

Such a view of this second booklet finds strong backing in the testimony of one of his earliest companions. Peter Ribadeneira, one of the earliest biographers of Ignatius, presents him as always striving for perfection, and one of the practices that most helped him in this was the examination:

He (Ignatius) loved God so decidedly and totally, and he aspired with such an effort to perfection, that every day he examined himself with the greatest diligence, comparing yesterday with today, and with each day's gain with the previous days in order to see how he advanced in spiritual fervor¹⁶⁰.

Though not without clear hagiographical insinuations, this description provides a helpful hermeneutic with which to consider the final part of his diary. He records his tears, looking at each day and comparing it with previous days' experiences to see how he was advancing – or not – in openness to God¹⁶¹.

This is a rather straightforward interpretation of this second notebook: the tabulation of his tears allows him to see his growth and movement towards God. However, the text itself does not entirely support this interpretation. There is reason to believe that he was recording his tears not to see how he was advancing with this spiritual gift, but because he wanted to overcome his dependence upon them. In this hypothesis, his examination of them is to free himself from his attachment to them¹⁶².

Though the references are not abundant, Ignatius does make clear that the question of his attachment to tears is a real one. I would even suggest that the issue emerges, albeit faintly, on the very first day that he records his prayer observations. On February 4th, he reports so many tears that he felt “pain in my eyes” (*dolor de ojos*) [De 4]. His concern that tears are harming his eyes and vision recurs throughout the document. And this in addition to his sense that he is, perhaps, too attached to them. This issue surfaces in the first booklet and weaves its way through the second. He seems to first realize this on February 26th, when he writes that with “less tears I was more satisfied” [De 81]. Several weeks later, on March 10th, he is even more explicit about a possible attachment to them: “without tears, nor, do I believe, nor with the inordinate desire to have them” [De 114]. This awareness continues well after his election on the reception of income. For example, on April 2nd he writes: “I

¹⁶⁰ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN IV*, 745, (book V, chapter 1).

¹⁶¹ For more on the examination in his spirituality, see de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, 66-69.

¹⁶² For example, García Hirschfeld: “Teniendo en cuenta este magisterio de Ignacio, entendemos el examen como un ejercicio que se hace delante de Dios, en actitud reverente, en oración, dentro de la dinámica de la conversión, *con los ojos puestos en una enmienda*”. See, García Hirschfeld, “Todo modo de examinar la consciencia”, 264, emphasis mine.

should be content when I am not visited by tears, and to have as better what God our Lord did or was pleased to do, to visit or not visit” [De 184]. The next day, the experience deepens: “having finished mass I found myself more content without them, and with affection, judging that God our Lord did it for my good” [De 186]. More than a month later, on May 11th, he observes that “in all the masses of the week, although not visited by tears, (I was) with greater quietude and contentment” [De 222]. Though it is hard to perceive his tone, the previous observation suggests his surprise at being content at mass without tears. It seems to have been quite a novel experience for him. And the possibility of being content without tears appears to have continued to hover in his mind. Some six months later, it comes up again. Twice in October, in what can be considered the last observations of his in this second notebook that are more than simple recordings of his tears, he wonders about his attachment to them. On October 15th, he wrote: “up to the middle of the mass with warmth and wanting tears; after, with the thought and clarity, how it was God in wanting these desires to be held; a tear, and then continually” [De 377]¹⁶³. A week later, the thought of his attachment to them comes back: “so much abundance of tears, continuous, with fear for my eyes and asking for contentment when tears do not come without thoughts to the contrary” [De 383]. Similarly, in this same month, he expresses on three consecutive days his fear that tears are affecting his sight. On October 5th and 6th, he notes his “fear to lose my vision” [De 367, 368]. And on October 7th, his fear of losing his sight appears to become more real: “feeling the danger of losing my vision” [De 369].

These observations, regarding both his being content without tears and his concern for his vision, challenge the simple assumption that in this second booklet he was merely examining his experience of this gift to see how he was, in the words of Ribadeneira, advancing in spiritual fervor. A close reading of the document invites a more nuanced interpretation. Ever attentive to growing in his relationship with God, his observations suggest that he was learning how to be content in his prayer without tears. Perhaps, then, a strong hypothesis as to the desired end of this particular examination of this spiritual gift hovers somewhere between both of these alternatives. This is to say that he was both following the grace *and* finding himself in the process of learning how to relativize it. In the language of one commentator on the *Diary*, Ignatius in the second booklet was losing himself in the abyss of tears¹⁶⁴. And perhaps *that* was exactly the problem that he was dealing with,

¹⁶³ The number is very difficult to understand, and I follow Thió de Pol’s reading of it, in “Lagrimas”, *DEI* 2:1104.

¹⁶⁴ See, Melloni, *La mistagogía de los Ejercicios*, 66.

and the very reason that he undertook this examination of them. The idea was not to lose himself in them, but to be with God freely, equally content with or without them. And so he watched them over month-long intervals to see if God would lead him away from them or not.

Notwithstanding the possibility that Ignatius was monitoring his experience of tears to gauge his freedom from them, it remains difficult to ascertain from his notes if he perceived any movement or if the comparison of week after week or month after month was visualizing for him steps towards or away from God. Reading carefully the last five months of this second booklet, I find it hard to distinguish movements or any indication of greater freedom with or without tears¹⁶⁵. They seem to come in great quantities throughout. There is the possibility, inherent to the quotidian practice of the exercise, that he fell into a routine and that the practice became so automatic that it no longer communicated meaning for him¹⁶⁶. In other words, far from reaching the mystical heights of union with God, it is possible to imagine that he actually found this recording of his tears as not altogether yielding much fruit. In addition, the abruptness with which he ends would suggest that he found the process yielding little indication of God's will on his relationship to tears. The last days of February are literally squeezed onto the page, as if he had decided to end on this folio and in this month even before the end of the month arrived. Perhaps the quest to monitor his tears to see how God was leading him to a freer relationship with them became a futile exercise. Perchance the highly stylized and codified examination had become degraded "in a purely natural technique of self-control" and for that reason he decided to finish at the end of the month and let go of the issue¹⁶⁷.

3. A discernment notebook: a literary genre at the heart of the Jesuit charism

In setting out to discern the question of an issue of income, Ignatius situates himself in a long tradition of those who have turned to writing to know God and to discover His will. There is a deep faith conviction that undergirds this choice. Like the prophets before him, Ignatius believes that God does write on the human heart and that this writing can be made

¹⁶⁵ Egan's affirmation that "the Diary reveals that Ignatius eventually grew indifferent towards tears" appears difficult to maintain. See, Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic*, 191.

¹⁶⁶ See, Liuima, Derville, "Examen particulier", in *DSp 4/2^a*:1840.

¹⁶⁷ Liuima, Derville, "Examen particulier", in *DSp 4/2^a*:1839; the authors highlight the degradation that can occur with this practice especially when it is not accompanied by a conversation with a confessor or spiritual director.

explicit¹⁶⁸. Not unlike the prophet Daniel, for example, he finds that writing everywhere, in his body and soul. Interiorly and exteriorly his whole person reacts to the divine language. And like John of Patmos, Ignatius is scrupulous, attending to the detail of what he feels, not daring to add or take away a word unless so moved.

In short, the structure of his document suggests that Ignatius was convinced of the action of the Holy Spirit in the interior of the person. His *Diary* emerges from and embodies the Pauline theological principle that the Spirit inhabits the person¹⁶⁹, “interceding with inexpressible groanings” (Rom 8:26). Yet, for Ignatius, those groanings and movements are not so ineffable, but attainable¹⁷⁰. For him, the Spirit’s language is legible and with time he will know those signs that reveal God’s will. Another Pauline expression captures the theology undergirding his document: “you show that you are a letter from Christ, delivered by us, written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God; not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts” (2 Cor 3:3)¹⁷¹. On the tablets of the human heart the Spirit writes, and though the transcription of that writing is not easy, as his document makes so plainly visible, Ignatius undertakes the Spirit filled work of discerning that writing.

The genre of the *Diary* as a discernment notebook is as sophisticated as it is bold. It is a piece of writing from the self in which the self or ego is held in check, encouraged to be passive, so that another Spirit can speak. Likewise, it is a document that unfolds in time, implicitly suggesting that God’s revelation, albeit partially or fragmentarily felt each day, can, in time, compose an intelligible and followable narrative. The once peripatetic Ignatius now confined to Rome undertakes a new kind of pilgrimage through writing. His journey continues, but now it is one in which God completely guides him. Though perhaps less attractive and compelling than the pilgrimage mapped out in his *Autobiography*, this exercise of interpreting and reading the signs from God might just show Ignatius on a far more adventurous and daring pilgrimage: he was letting himself be guided, each day, by the

¹⁶⁸ In his study on intimate or internal knowledge (*conocimiento interno*) in the *Spiritual Exercises*, Lamarthée Estrade presents interiority as “allí donde Dios hablará íntimamente y donde nos ‘escribirá’ su propia voluntad”. See, Lamarthée Estrade, *Conocimiento interno*, 322.

¹⁶⁹ In his study that compares the anthropology of Ignatius with that of St. Paul, Francisco Ramírez Fueyo, writing on this very topic, that is, the person inhabited by the Holy Spirit, offers that “la idea paulina, y evangélica, sin duda con origen en la tradición del profetismo del AT, de que el Espíritu pone en nosotros palabras o discursos”. See, Francisco Ramírez Fueyo, “San Pablo y san Ignacio. Perspectivas antropológicas compartidas”, in *El sujeto*, 65-94, on 91.

¹⁷⁰ “‘Alcanzable’ es ya un apelativo propio e irrenunciable de Dios”. See, García de Castro, “La estructura interna del discernimiento”, *Manresa* 80 (2008): 125-140, 126.

¹⁷¹ Writing on the very scriptural passage, Ulpiano Vázquez Moro affirms: “Esta frase de São Paulo deve ter marcado Inácio”. See, Vázquez Moro, “A Ciência das Coisas Espirituais”, *Itaici: Revista de Espiritualidade Inaciana* 31 (1998): 78-87, 79.

Spirit¹⁷². The geography of this pilgrimage was wholly God's, and God was tracing the lines of it in his body with signs as diverse as they were moving.

Finally, the *Diary*, understood as a discernment notebook in which he is moving from the place of feeling to knowing, is more than an interesting journal. It represents a text of preeminent importance in the Jesuit charism. This importance can be glimpsed by way of another text of his. In the "Preamble" to the *Constitutions*, Ignatius outlines the theological and spiritual principles which undergird the juridical ordering of the religious body. Echoing the Pauline principle enunciated above, he writes: "for our part, more than any exterior law or constitutions, (it is) the interior law of charity and love which the Holy Spirit writes and imprints upon hearts" [Co 134]. Anterior to the text of the *Constitutions*, and that which gives the legislative document of the religious order its *raison d'être*, is the action of the Holy Spirit pouring out its love in the hearts of its members. Without that love, written in the heart of each Jesuit, the *Constitutions* would be lifeless¹⁷³. The interior law of charity, written by the Spirit, is their life, their mission, and their communion¹⁷⁴. Jesuits are to practice a continual discernment of the signs or marks of that language¹⁷⁵. Fundamental to their charism is the itinerary of feeling and knowing the interior law of charity that the Spirit writes upon their hearts. The great legacy of the *Diary* is that Ignatius shows them how to do this.

He models for his Jesuit companions that which a formed Jesuit should be able to realize: a process to know God's will that is concretized in a discernment question, a register of spiritual movements, an interpretation of those signs that come from God, and a communal and collaborative action. For this reason, the *Diary*, albeit only showing a part of this process, represents the genre of writing central to the Jesuit vocation. I would even argue that the quintessential Jesuit composition is not the *Exercises*, the *Constitutions*, nor the letters of their founder. Nor is it the many publications that a Jesuit in his lifetime will undoubtedly produce. But it is his discernment notebook: the actualization of his experience of the *Exercises* in which he employs systematic practices to discover God's will. It is the genre of writing of the Jesuit in his full spiritual maturity before God who discerns the

¹⁷² The possible connection between his diary and journey or search comes from Arianne Baggerman who offers that "la escritura de diarios y autobiografías puede ser también entendida como escritura de viaje, donde el viajar tiene lugar a través del tiempo". Given that for Ignatius movement and journey were very likely important aspects of his self-understanding before God, this journal perhaps allowed him to live vicariously that sense of pilgrimage and exploration so much a part of his personality. See, Baggerman, "Controlar el tiempo y modelar el Yo", in *Cultura Escrita & Sociedad*, 23-27, 25.

¹⁷³ See, Jesús Corella, "Proemio de las Constituciones", in *DEI 2*:1499-1502, 1501.

¹⁷⁴ See, Corella, "Proemio de las Constituciones", in *DEI 2*:1500.

¹⁷⁵ "... la ley de la caridad y amor, que se hace operativo por medio del discernimiento, y pone a la CJ en estado de elección continúa, fiel a las mociones con las que el mismo Espíritu la impulsa por dentro", Corella, "Proemio de las Constituciones", in *DEI 2*:1501.

corporate apostolic mission of the Society of Jesus in the Eucharist. Erected upon the examination of prayer, the additions, and an election time, the diary of his discernment is *the* Jesuit composition in which the member of the order asks God a specific question about his life, trusting that the Spirit will guide him to locate and separate those signs that come from God and reveal His will¹⁷⁶.

Another way to state this is that this *Diary*, similar to great spiritual narratives both before and after, does work on and affects its reader. More than moving a reader to a certain spiritual experience or a certain comprehension of God – as was the case with Augustine’s *Confessions*, Angela’s *Memorial*, or Teresa’s *Live – the Diary* does something altogether different. It seeks to be enacted in the lives of its readers. To learn from Ignatius’ *Diary* is not to imitate him in any servile way, but it is to embark upon a search for God’s will. The reader need not write like Ignatius, and the signs may be different¹⁷⁷, but it situates the reader in a similar dynamic of asking God a question and assuming the delicate and grace-filled work of separating all of those signs that occur in one’s interior to know those that speak from God. Such a compositional act can hardly be underestimated: following that sign of God’s language over time reveals not just God’s response, but God’s very life¹⁷⁸. In this sense, the Ignatian discernment notebook is both a classic and practical text. It shows Ignatius completely centered on the exploration of his life with God in the Spirit¹⁷⁹. And as a practical text, it challenges the reader to live completely immersed in the world and to take seriously the search for God’s will in the details of quotidian life and decision-making¹⁸⁰. The stakes are high for this kind of writing for Jesuits¹⁸¹. For in it, the Jesuit discovers not

¹⁷⁶ The very points on which the *Diary* are constructed are signled out by Kolvenbach as crucial to the on-going discernment of the men of the order: “Las Anotaciones y las Adiciones, las Notas y los Exámenes llevan a que, ‘para buscar y hallar la voluntad’ tanto dentro como fuera del retiro, en toda la vida, la persona entera, cuerpo y alma, haya de entregarse aquí y ahora”. See, Kolvenbach, “La práctica de la espiritualidad ignaciana”, 584.

¹⁷⁷ Again, Kolvenbach has an excellent observation: “Ignacio siempre ha querido impedir a otros toda imitación servil o toda copia de su propia experiencia mística”. See, Kolvenbach, “La práctica de la espiritualidad ignaciana”, 584.

¹⁷⁸ A movement I will examine in chapter 9.

¹⁷⁹ In posthumous notes of his, the former late Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Adolfo Nicolás, explored the classic spiritual texts as those in which the authors “they had been caught by the Spirit, the fire, the life and the style of Christ”. He concludes with these seering words: “Beside these saints, we seem to be greatly and, if you allow me the expression, stupidly ‘distracted’”. See, Nicolás, “From Distraction to Dedication: An Invitation to the Center”, in *ARSI* 27/3 (2020): 946-952, 947.

¹⁸⁰ The *Diary* is the Ignatian text that can help the Jesuit respond to the excellent question García de Castro poses about the religious experience: “La experiencia religiosa es verdad si me vincula con el mundo: ¿amo más este mundo?”. See, García de Castro, “La estructura interna del discernimiento”, 139.

¹⁸¹ At the heart, the issue revolves around opening ourselves to God’s word. Benedict XVI, in his apostolic exhortation *Verbum Domini*, frames the importance of this issue in the following way: “We were created in the word and we live in the word; *we cannot understand ourselves unless we are open to this dialogue*”. See Benedict XVI, *Verbum domini*, *AAS* 11 (2010): 681-787, paragraph 22, emphasis mine; (citations to paragraph number of document).

only how to follow the Spirit in his life but how to discover that the Spirit, who called him to this vocation, carries on the work of configuring him, a companion of Jesus, into the very image of the Son¹⁸².

CONCLUSIONS

The study and examination of the kinds of compositions that can emerge from the practice of the *Spiritual Exercises* situates the genre of his personal document as a discernment notebook. In it he is realizing the initial part of a discernment itinerary. His document makes visible the process of feeling and the very arduous act of separating all that he feels as well as his very patient trust in time, much time, to help him know those signs that come from God and that reveal His will. Never overhasty, he gives himself over to his prayer, surrendering himself to God, allowing all that he feels to comprise a possible divine language to him. As he observes and examines his prayer, he considers his thoughts, his body, and his feelings. Every aspect of his life is engaged.

As a way to conclude this chapter and to prepare for the study of devotion in the following section, I would offer the following five considerations.

1. From interpretive problems to possibilities

Notwithstanding the suitability of this hermeneutic for the entirety of his autograph text, the striking feature of it is the change that occurs from one booklet to the other. The enormous expenditure of time and effort in the first 40 days gives way to a vast simplification, albeit not without its own sophistication. I would suggest that this change and, more specifically, the form of the second booklet are not interpretive conundrums to be resolved. Personal spiritual texts are not problems or enigmas. They are revelatory of the human person's groping attempts to understand his or her life with God. And sometimes that is not easy to do. Rather than a problem, the difference between the two booklets and the rather undecipherable nature of the second notebook present possibilities. For example, the

¹⁸² Writing on the Spirit, "the gift of the Resurrected one", Arzubialde offers this pertinent observation: "el Espíritu está llamado a universalizar, actualizar, e interiorizar la obra del Hijo encarnado a través de la humanidad gloriosa del Resucitado". The writing then of the Holy Spirit is more than just a text, it is the configuring, cristifying of the person. See, Arzubialde, *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 2014), especially 243-270, quotation on 255. On this very point, Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao: "Gracias al magno don del Espíritu, la vida de Cristo, la vida filial, continúa en nosotros y nos configura. El Espíritu es quien nos introduce en el misterio de Cristo: lo actualiza, lo transmite, lo comunica, lo presencializa". See, Uríbarri Bilbao, "Contemporaneidad de Cristo en la carne, condición del encuentro y de nuestra divinización", *Teología y Catequesis* 141 (2018): 13-35, on 28-29.

difference reminds readers that not every part of his life nor every aspect of the way of proceeding of the Society of Jesus was subject to intense election processes. This seems to comprise part of his skill in discernment: he knows when to engage in an election process and when not to. Likewise, the second booklet might just impart as important a lesson on the spiritual experience as does the first. For example, it appears to suggest that sometimes in the spiritual life the examination of one's spiritual movements does not lead to clear knowledge and actions. No matter how great or clear the sign from God may appear, there is and can be no guarantee in it. God can never substitute the person's freedom. As Carlos Domínguez Morano reminded participants in the recently held conference on Psychology and the *Spiritual Exercises* at Loyola, Spain, the spiritual experience can never elide or obviate the human person's freedom and responsibility before God¹⁸³. This is to say that for as clear as an itinerary as he follows, and for as rigorous and precise as he is, these processes are not magic formulas that lead to knowledge and a corresponding action. Ignatian spirituality, even with all of its rules and methods, can never substitute the assumption, with its inherent risk, of one's own freedom and responsibility before God. His is a spirituality, as Rahner has suggested, which reminds us that "true love is self-abandoning"¹⁸⁴. For this reason, the last entry of his on February 27th of 1545 might just offer one of the great lessons on Ignatius' spiritual experience: he undertakes the risk of living in freedom with others without knowing precisely God's will.

2. *Exercises that produce a register of signs*

It is hardly a novel conclusion to suggest that the *Diary* emerges from the *Spiritual Exercises*. Specialists of Ignatius' spirituality have studied the relationship between both documents. However, less prominent in these investigations is the consideration of the kinds of writing that the Exercises can elicit or call forth from the retreatant. A close reading of the *Exercises* suggests that it is reasonable to conclude that writing can constitute a part of the spiritual itinerary, and those compositions – be they an examination of prayer, a particular examination of conscience, or a list of advantages and disadvantages – disclose in important ways the organization of his autograph text from 1544-1545. In essence, the *Diary* before us comprehends an immense logic and order. Moreover, the description in his directory on one of the times of election as that which awaits God's signs suggests that a composition like the

¹⁸³ Domínguez Morano, "Dificultades psicológicas para 'sentir y conocer'", in *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales*, 327.

¹⁸⁴ Karl Rahner, "The Inexhaustible Transcendence of God and our Concern for the Future", in *Theological Investigations*, trans. Edward Quinn (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1981), 20:173-186.

Diary is a piece of writing not out of place in an election process. All of this is to suggest that the *Diary* is an eminently recognizable document in his spirituality. Though what is exceptional about his discernment notebook is his approach to it: he is circumspect and guarded, allowing the Spirit to reveal those signs that come from God.

3. *A text before the text*

Ignatius' *Diary* situates him in a unique place in the genre of writing on the personal experience of God. Like Augustine and Angela of Foligno before him, and similar to Teresa of Ávila slightly after him, his text reveals his complete and total commitment to God who communicates at all levels of his existence. Unquestionably, to write about the experience of God is to discover one's self, and Ignatius' personal diary reveals this same dynamic. He will struggle, for example, with God whose confirmation does not come to him as he wishes.

However, whereas Augustine and Teresa offer narrative descriptions and summaries of their experience of God, Ignatius does something different. He notes, registers, and observes. He does not summarize, but limits himself to record or catalogue discreet experiences. Nor is he in a hurry to organize his experiences as steps in his movement to God. His process is simpler: he asks God a specific question and then observes, day by day, how God responds to that question. The summary, the narrative description, or the theological observations that could have been made, if these had been composed by the author, would have come later. The *Diary* appears as the kind of text just before or previous to the narrative description or theological exposition; they are the notes from which a spiritual text could have been elaborated.

For this reason, I would suggest that his personal notes constitute the necessary but not always alluded to "manuscript" from which all narratives on the experience of God emerge. This is to say that Ignatius' diary constitutes a kind of urtext, the text that always precedes the more elaborate, pulled together narratives, be they theological or confessional. Ignatius represents – in their most crude or raw form – the signs by which narratives on the experience of God are founded. It represents a kind of background text not alluded to but always a part of narrative expositions such as Angela of Foligno's *Memorial*. His writing points to what is at the fountainhead of all writing on God: the patient daily attention to God's movement in the person. Though hardly first among personal accounts of the experience of God, it exhibits what is at the origin of that experience: the quotidian listening and deciphering of God's language to the person.

4. *A discernment notebook which situates devotion*

I have argued in these pages that the literary genre of the *Diary* is a discernment notebook whose structure is outlined in his itinerary for that spiritual practice [*Ej* 313]. Ignatius records God's signs to him day after day in order to know them. He asks God a specific question in which he poses alternatives, and he records his experiences as the signs of God's response.

This classification constitutes a crucial introduction to the text and to this present investigation. Specifically, this genre of a discernment notebook situates devotion, the object of this study, as one of the signs of God's language to him. Moreover, this chapter has also argued that the spiritual experiences recorded cannot be conflated as indiscriminate manifestations of God's presence. They are to be read as separate or distinct signs. Devotion should be read as a particular experience that he felt and whose meaning can be deciphered in relation to his petition or desire. In short, the text as a discernment notebook opens up a clear hermeneutical path by which the specific spiritual reality of devotion can be studied.

In part, this chapter hints at the content of devotion. At this point of the study, it appears as that sign that he feels which is also helping him know how to act. Perhaps the importance he gave to this sign resided in its felt presence and in the way that he knew trusted it or "knew" it as coming from God.

5. *A bundle of papers to be recovered*

The classification of the text, in addition to illuminating its structure and content, positions the *Diary* in a preeminent place, not only in the life of Ignatius, but in the life of those that seek to follow his charism. The document reveals Ignatius on a fascinating part of his lifelong pilgrimage to know and to do God's will. Similarly, for Jesuits, the *Diary* quite possibly constitutes the compositional act that most corresponds to their vocation. Jesuits are called in the multiple ways in which they live their vocation to write many different kinds of texts in many different genres. And they do. But perhaps the genre of writing that most helps them to realize their vocation, and that style of writing that most approximates them to their founder, is their discernment notebook. I would propose that the Jesuit vocation has as its quintessential genre of writing this compositional act: the diary of discernment that begins with a question, follows the signs of God, and employs other texts – the questions, the points of benefits and disadvantages, and those multiple and diverse petitions – to know God's will. In brief, it is the quintessential Jesuit text because it is how a Jesuit prays. More than that, it is how a Jesuit lives. This autograph text from the 16th century, understood and read as a

discernment notebook, takes us into the heart of the apostolic prayer of the Society of Jesus¹⁸⁵. Notwithstanding Ignatius' intention to share it or not with his companions, it can be read as his great gift to all who seek to practice his spirituality. It shows us how we might go about discerning prayerfully in our lives God's action so that we too can respond to concrete, quotidian issues according to God's will.

In summary, the *Diary* is a unique piece of literature in the broad category of spiritual texts that recount the personal experience of God. Similar to narratives before and after it, it affects its reader. It does not leave him or her indifferent to the spiritual experience recounted. I would suggest that Ignatius' recounting of his prayer observations *moves* the reader, inviting him or her to consider the *promise* to God and the way that he or she experiences God's promise. It also is a document that encourages the reader to examine his or her *experience* of God in their thoughts, interior, and in their body. In essence, the *Diary* provokes movement, a consideration of the person's commitment or promise to God, as well as the awareness of the personal experience of God in his or her life. The document before us is much more than a spiritual narrative of Ignatius' devotion; I believe it is a spiritual text that invites the reader into that same spiritual reality. It is to the study of that sign of God's language, so important to Ignatius, that I will now turn.

¹⁸⁵ Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao who, following Kolvenbach, highlights the “discernimiento orante” as the central part of the “oración apostólica” which configures the prayer of the men of the Society of Jesus. See, Uríbarri Bilbao, “Arquitectura básica de la dogmática ignaciana”, in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 512-517, quotation on 514.

CONCLUSIONS PART II

DEVOTION

The sign in an itinerary of feeling, knowing, and acting

The first section of this investigation presented the broad outlines of the ancient spiritual experience called “devotion”. Those chapters, spanning many centuries of Christian thought and practice, highlighted the essential aspect of it: Jesus. God’s son is the center of Christian reflection on devotion. He is the incarnation of God’s promise to humankind. To experience devotion is to feel His life, and it is to be moved into a new humanity, a humanity configured to His. Devotion is not some rarefied spiritual experience, reserved for a select group of Christian faithful. The spiritual and theological tradition that precedes Ignatius – “in which the word ‘devotion’ is found at almost every turn”¹ – offers a startlingly simple claim about it: it is to *feel* God’s presence and to *act* in accordance with that. Feeling and doing comprise the essence of devotion as it arrives to Ignatius.

This second set of chapters has turned to Ignatius and the context in which he felt an “abundance of devotion” [*De* 1]. In the midst of multiple apostolic endeavors, he discerned the way of proceeding of the Society of Jesus, observing his experiences at prayer and at mass. His hope was to configure the order to the life of Jesus, and with that desire, he paid close attention to his experience of devotion.

As an indispensable step towards the study of that experience, these last three chapters have sought to understand the form of the text. That form follows an itinerary of discernment, and in that process devotion appears as a sign of God’s communication. It was one sign of many. Not only did he separate it from other felt experiences, he identified new, varied, or more abundant manifestations of it. In brief, it appears as a sign that spoke to him eloquently; he seems to have been attracted to it. He watched it occur in him in multiple prayer periods and he observed how it unfolded over the course of his election process. Likewise, he noticed its presence as he discerned a new way towards God, one that he characterized by the graces of veneration, reverence, and loving humility². All of this is to suggest that his autograph text is not a vast ocean of indiscriminate, albeit remarkable,

¹ Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 218.

² A process I will explore in more detail in chapter 8.

spiritual experiences. It is a detailed register in which he separates all that he feels and perceives so that over time he can know God's will. To understand the form of the *Diary* as a notebook in which he is seeking to move from feeling to knowing is to comprehend more deeply the praxis of his discernment at this moment of his life. It is also to understand devotion as that which he felt and as that in which he sought to know God's will so that he could ultimately act in accordance with that will.

The first two units of this study present two itineraries. First, the spiritual and theological reflection on devotion suggests that it consists of a promise, an experience, and a movement. It is a spiritual experience which one feels and that which creates a readiness to do. It is somatic, and the internally felt sensation puts a body in movement. The *Diary* presents a strikingly similar pattern or movement: Ignatius is in the process of moving from feeling to knowing. He attends to all that he experiences so that he might know God's will and ultimately act upon it. The confluence between these two structures does not seem accidental. It may suggest that the sign of devotion was crucially important to him because he understood it as a feeling that would move him to do God's will. This is to propose tentatively that he looked for and examined carefully devotion because he understood that the gift itself would mobilize him to realize God's will. Such a hypothesis would offer that devotion was not just any felt sign from God, it could have been a sign that he understood as that which would help him *do* God's will.

I announce this hypothesis as a way to move into the study of this sign of devotion. In short, this inquiry will seek to understand what it was about this sign that made it so important for him. His registering of it, especially in the first notebook, suggests that he accorded it a more privileged place in his spiritual experience than consolation, warmth, or tranquility that he felt in his *ánima*³. Similarly, it seems at least as important as tears were to him. The following chapters, as they study aspects of the *Diary* by way of the categories of promise, experience, and movement will have to attend to the content of the sign which would have made it so helpful to him.

To search for the content of this sign of devotion is in many ways to uncover that which has been silenced. It is putting it mildly to state that studies in the field of Ignatian spirituality do not commonly give space to the term "devotion". That is a striking difference between "the twentieth-century construction of Ignatian spirituality" and the earliest

³ I will explore devotion and consolation in chapter 9.

narratives on his life⁴. A brief venture into the hermeneutical tradition that accompanied the *Diary* in the first part of these chapters shows that early companions of his thought about his life in terms of “devotion”. As the most famous biographical text on him puts it, he was always growing in it [Au 99]. This can hardly be considered a casual comment or mere felicitous appellation on the man. It comes from people that felt him and that knew him. Even more concretely, it is reasonable to suppose that they felt and knew his devotion. Given this felt knowledge of him, it is not surprising to see that it permeated reflection on other aspects of their life. As an example, Jerome Nadal posited that Jesuits had a “system” in their study of theology: they linked devotion with speculation⁵. That was what made them different. This present study does not intend to offer a biography on Ignatius nor a genealogy of particular aspects of Jesuit life vis-à-vis devotion⁶, but the spiritual sign of devotion would appear to draw us into the interiority of this man and provide a deeper knowledge of him.

The study of the sign of devotion also promises to draw us deeper into the charism of the Society of Jesus. As an example, in presenting this autograph text to the reader, I have alluded to the expansive apostolic growth that the Society of Jesus was experiencing at this time. This is a remarkable aspect of this historical moment in Ignatius’ life. He was in his third year as Superior General of an order whose apostolic life was growing in unpredictable ways. Ignatius and all of his companions, new and old, were finding their own particular way of proceeding. The *Diary* comprises part of this adventure to find their way of proceeding. It is a document at the foundation of the Order and it is a document that is, in a certain sense, founding the Society. Devotion appears as the sign in this this venture of erecting the way of proceeding of the Society of Jesus. It is a building-block, a starting point, or the spiritual ground by which he found their particular way of following Jesus. The felt experience of devotion pointed him to an adventure to be realized⁷. It is now time to begin the adventure of studying devotion in the *Diary*.

⁴ The designation belongs to John O’Malley and Timothy O’Brien, “The Twentieth-Century Construction of Ignatian Spirituality: A Sketch”, *SSJ* 52/3 (2020).

⁵ See, “Apología de los *Ejercicios* del P. Ignacio contra la censura de Tomás de Pedroche por Jerónimo Nadal”, in *Apologías de los “Ejercicios Espirituales”*, ed. Miguel Lop Sebastià (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2018), 111-224, on 164.

⁶ Convinced as he is of the importance of the *Diary* as perhaps the most important source on Ignatius, Enrique García Hernán suggests that “hace falta una biografía espiritual nueva... diría una especie de reconstrucción de su *Diario Espiritual*”. See, García Hernán, “Una ‘nueva’ biografía. La *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* de Juan Alfonso de Polanco”, 204.

⁷ See, Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico*, 265.

PART III

Devotion in the *Spiritual Diary*

7

“Feeling that Jesus did everything before the Father” [De 84]**Devotion as promise**

INTRODUCTION

I will begin the study of Ignatius’ spiritual experience of devotion in the *Diary* with the category of promise. This classification, evoking as it does the ancient history of the term, represents one of the core formulations on it. It reminds us that devotion is a noun that outlines a relationship, and it is a verb that expresses the offering one makes to the gods by way of liturgical or cultic acts. These offerings or sacrifices can be external, and they can involve one’s very life to the gods for others. In addition to the human side of the relationship signaled by devotion, the divine side is also present. In the Christian tradition, devotion is understood as God’s promise to the person, the mystery of which is made present in Jesus Christ. His life, death, and resurrection express God’s devotion to the human family, the mystery of which is prolonged in the Eucharist.

This chapter will examine the two relational lines of devotion as promise. To that end I have organized this present exposition according to the relational structure of the term. The first section will examine those actions by which Ignatius offers himself to God. These are multiple and they reveal much about Ignatius’ spiritual life. The second part of this chapter will point to the ways in which Ignatius perceived God’s promise to him. It does appear that in his experience with Jesus he encountered God’s radical devotion to him. Both movements ultimately reveal one grace-filled movement between Ignatius and God that is realized and made palpable in the Eucharist. At the altar, Ignatius perceives Jesus who gives Himself to him in an offering of total love, and it is at the altar where Ignatius the priest renews his promise to never abandon Him.

1. The offering of himself to God

1.1. The structure of his prayer

Both booklets of the *Diary* suggest that Ignatius concretized his offering to God with a very ordered and methodical routine of prayer. He began each day with what he calls his accustomed prayer, or, in Spanish, his *oración acostumbrada* or *sólita*¹. This appears to be a time of prayer that he realized “after having woken up” [De 21], quite possibly while still in bed². His second time of prayer continued in his room. He then proceeded to the chapel, where he prepared himself and organized the mass. Next, he celebrated the mass. With the mass, however, his more formal moments of prayer did not end. Upon completing the eucharist, he spent further time in the chapel praying³. This structure of accustomed prayer, prayer in his room, preparatory prayer in the chapel, mass, and then prayer after the mass is very clearly reflected in his notes⁴. On occasion, Ignatius comments on one further moment of prayer of his before a hearth (*fuego*)⁵ in his room [De 74, 81, 86, 110, 130]⁶.

Though more hagiographical observations tend to extol Ignatius for the amount of time he gave to prayer, I would suggest that the more significant aspect are not the hours spent, but the integral and organic movement that they represent⁷. Everything that he did, from praying prostrate in bed, to getting dressed, and in praying in the chapel before celebrating the mass comprehend a continuous contact with God. Though Ignatius will structure his observations around each of these prayer periods as if they were discrete

¹ On February 26th he calls it “la oración primera” [De 79]. For more on the adjective “sólito/a”, “characteristic of the Ignatian expression”, see, García de Castro, “Sólito/a”, in *DEI* 2:1658-1659.

² Abad offers that this refers to a period of prayer that Ignatius did “muchas veces, por falta de salud, todavía acostado”. See Abad, “Introducción”, 20.

³ According to the observations of Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, Ignatius “después de la Misa quedábase en oración mental por espacio de dos horas”. See, Hernández Montes, ed., *Recuerdos Ignacianos*, 179.

⁴ Commentators have found in this structure the outline of what a “typical” day looked like for Ignatius, see, for example, Abad, “Introducción”, in *Diario*, 17; the much longer exposition of this in García-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 583-610.

⁵ When the passage in Spanish is particularly difficult to translate, I will include the original Spanish in parenthesis in italics. My aim is to give the reader a clearer sense of his text and my argument. The parenthetical phrases in English and not italicized are my supplements to the text to give it a more fluid reading. My goal is to make all passages from the *Diary* as readable as I can while at the same maintaining their brief and telegraphic form.

⁶ García-Villoslada suggests that Ignatius would have written each day’s notes at night, see, García-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 609; also, Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 206; Miguel Fiorito, though largely concurring with this hypothesis, offers that Ignatius could have written at “diversos momentos del día”. See, Fiorito, “La lucha en el Diario Espiritual”, 5.

⁷ Pietro Schiavone’s description of these periods of prayer highlights their duration. See, Schiavone, “Misa”, in *DEI* 2:1233-1238, 1234.

moments, delving into detail when he felt significant movement, he also attends to those spiritual experiences or signs from God that accompany him from one phase or place of his prayer to the next. Illustrative of this attention is the following: “In preparing the altar, and later vested, and in the mass with great interior movements and many very intense tears” [*De* 31]. Another example is when he records: “Afterwards, in preparing (for the mass) in my room, then at the altar and vesting, with some internal spiritual motions and movements to cry, and having finished the mass, remaining in much spiritual repose” [*De* 61]. Each particular place of his prayer allows him to register the movements and follow their “beginning, middle, and end” each day [*Ej* 333].

1.2. The mass as the center of his devotion

The *Diary* gives every indication that the mass was exceptionally important to him. His reception of the body and blood of Christ, which he understood as nothing less than the reception of his Lord and Creator, occupies the center of his prayer⁸. In the Eucharist he offered himself and his questions of discernment to God. Though his observations on actual parts of the mass are infrequent, he does refer to specific moments in it that affected him profoundly. As an example, he mentions praying the *confiteor* as marking a “new devotion”, [*De* 76], and he reports on March 7th, that in beginning the mass and saying “Beata sit sancta Trinitas” he felt “a new and greater devotion and to tear up” [*De* 127]. On one occasion he mentions how he said the gospel “with considerable devotion and great assistance of warm grace” [*De* 64]⁹. Similarly, he refers to prayers to the Trinity, specifically the prayer “Placeat tibi Sancta Trinitas”, said by the priest before concluding the mass, as an invocation that produced in him devotion, tears, and “much excessive love” [*De* 94, 108]. Furthermore, he indicates his style of praying the mass, which he refers to with the verb “appropriate” or, in Spanish, *apropiar*. Though the reference to this way of praying the liturgical texts only occurs twice in the *Diary*¹⁰, it is plausible to imagine, as Ángel Suquía Goicoechea argues, that Ignatius’ internalization and personal assimilation of the prayers of the Church became a

⁸ In a letter of his to Francis Borja, he writes: “doy muchas gracias a la su divina bondad porque V.Sria (según acá he entendido) lo frequenta en recibirle, que ... de las muchas y crecidas gracias que el ánima alcanza en recibir a su Creador y Señor”. See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Francis Borja (Rome, 1545), 339-342, 341; *Letters and Instructions*, 126.

⁹ One further reference to the gospel of the day occurs on March 2nd where he relates how that gospel, the temptation of Jesus in the desert, reanimated him and helped him celebrate the mass in spite of having been upset by noise that others had been making [*De* 93].

¹⁰ On February 19th [*De* 54] and on March 5th [*De* 114].

way for him to express “his desires, his sentiments and his affections that the Church expresses in each of her prayers”¹¹. In the words of another specialist, the verb “appropriate” suggests how “he himself spoke to the persons with the words of the prayer itself”¹². These interpretations of the meaning of “appropriate” are valid. And Ignatius himself gives us insight as to what his personal assimilation of the liturgical texts meant for him. An example appears when he records an experience during the mass when “every time I mentioned God, ‘Dominus’, etc., I seemed to be penetrated so deeply” [*De* 164]. He made his own the language of the prayers by penetrating and entering into the person to whom they are addressed. And God whom he addresses enters into his life¹³. The liturgy does its work on him.

In addition to the importance of the liturgical texts of the mass, there are references to the Eucharistic rite as moving him into deeper relationship with God. He mentions several times the beginning of the Roman Canon, specifically the words “Te igitur”, as the occasion for the beginning of a new spiritual movement [*De* 120, 121]. Also, on February 23rd, he reports that “at having the Holy Sacrament in my hands, there came to me the speech (*el habla*) to never leave him (Jesus) for all of heaven or earth” [*De* 69]. This intimacy with Jesus deepens several days later when he notes that “during the mass when saying the ‘Domine Ieus Christe filii Dei vivi’ it seemed to me seeing Jesus... not only his humanity, but as Jesus being completely my God” [*De* 87]¹⁴. And this movement into the mystery of God’s life intensifies in his and in others’ eucharistic celebrations. On March 6th, he writes about attending mass at St. Peter’s where he mentions that the “same divine being” was represented to him “beginning at the ‘Corpus Domini’” [*De* 124]. Furthermore, on the same day, he reports that he attended mass of the Cardinal of Santa Cruz where the same image came to him [*De* 124]. One other very well-known reference to the Eucharist involves Mary: “in the prayers to the Father and to the Son, and at his consecration, I could not but help feel or see her (Mary) as one who is part or port of entry to so much grace” [*De* 31]¹⁵. In brief, the Eucharist appears to be a very relational moment for Ignatius, and his observations

¹¹ Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 213.

¹² Fiorito, “La vida espiritual”, 22.

¹³ Suquía’s thesis on the importance of liturgical texts in Ignatius’ life: “Hay indicios serios para afirmar que, en esta época al menos, la vida espiritual de San Ignacio se nutría principalmente de las oraciones litúrgicas de la misa”. See, Suquía, *La santa misa*, 206.

¹⁴ This was the mass he celebrated on February 27th, Ash Wednesday in 1544.

¹⁵ One of the more poetic expressions in the *Diary*: “como quien es parte o puerta de tanta gracia que en espíritu sentía”. For theological analysis of this expression, see Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 182-183.

suggest that it fortified his own commitment and promise to God¹⁶. Given its patent centrality in this autograph text, many commentators have suggested that the mysticism of Ignatius¹⁷, his immersion in the mystery of God’s life, is eucharistic¹⁸. The quotations above that demonstrate the Eucharist as the object of his prayer and as one of the principal sources of the spiritual movements in him confirm this thesis¹⁹. The mass’s pivotal place in the *Diary* does make it plausible to consider that it formed the center of his relationship to God and to others²⁰. Similarly, the observation from Nadal, that Ignatius so benefitted and profited spiritually from the mass that he “stopped giving more time to prayer” suggests a deepening of this mysticism in his life²¹. Yet, less commented upon regarding the centrality of the Eucharist in his spirituality is the language with which he conceptualized and expressed it. “Eucharistic mysticism” is not how he understood his saying the mass²². He celebrates the mass, carefully selecting the person to whom he will offer it, out of his devotion. “Devotion” is the expression by which he conceptualizes his fidelity to it.

Several examples in his folios suggest this. Surprised at how rapidly his process had advanced to discover God’s will regarding the issue of his discernment, Ignatius indicates that “if it were not for giving thanks, and for devotion to the Father and to the mass of the Trinity” the process would be finished [*De* 19]. More than illustrating one punctual moment

¹⁶ Further indication of how he considered the Eucharist as a deep relational experience comes from his letter to the Jesuit community of Coimbra in 1547: “sueldo se hizo a sí mismo, dándonos por hermano en nuestra carne, por precio de nuestra salud en la cruz, por mantenimiento y compañía de nuestra peregrinación en la eucaristía”. See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to the Fathers and Scholastics at Coimbra (Rome, 3 March, 1547), 495-510, 502; *Letters and Instructions*, 169.

¹⁷ The classic formulation on Ignatius as a mystic comes from Joseph de Guibert: “il n’en est pas moins, au même titre que le grand Docteur carme, ... un ‘mystique’ et un contemplative dans le sens le plus complet de ce mot”. See, Guibert, “Mystique Ignatienne”, *RAM* 73 (1938): 3-22, 12.

¹⁸ Iparraguirre, Ruiz Jurado, “Introducción”, in *Obras*, 275-276; Decloux, *Comentario a las cartas y Diario*, 115; Schiavone, “Misa”, in *DEI* 2:125; Larrañaga who offers this eloquent observation: “Para él, la santa Misa es el sol, que aparece cada mañana sobre el horizonte de su alma, y en torno a ese sol gira todo el sistema maravilloso de su vida mística”. See Larrañaga, “Introducción al Diario Espiritual”, in *Obras completas*, 629-681, 639; Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 144ff. Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic*, 111-114. However, in the article “mística ignaciana” in the *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*, there is only the most passing of references to the eucharistic aspect of the “misterio de la autocomunicación de Dios a Ignacio”. See, Rossano Zas Friz, “Mística ignaciana”, in *DEI* 2:1255-1265, quotation from 1257. For a perspective that maintains that his mysticism was not eucharistic, see Manuel González, *La espiritualidad ignaciana, ensayo de síntesis* (Rome: CIS, 1986), 65-66.

¹⁹ See the more extended argument by Suquía Goicoechea that “la Eucaristía y la Misa son objeto de la vida mística de San Ignacio”, in Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 162-166.

²⁰ Also suggested by the adjectives in the superlative form in his description of the contemplation on the mystery of the Last Supper in the *Spiritual Exercises*: “3º: “instituyó el *sacratísimo* sacrificio de la eucaristía en *grandísima* señal de su amor” [*Ej* 289], emphasis mine.

²¹ “En la misa procure mucho aprovecharse, porque lo puede hacer, y sumamente, como nuestro Padre entendió, y por eso dejó de dar más tiempo a la oración, viendo que cualquier que tuviese un poco de conocimiento y amor de Dios se podía ayudar mucho en la Misa”. Cited in Miguel Nicolau, *Jerónimo Nadal, SJ: sus obras y doctrinas espirituales* (Madrid, 1949), 91.

²² “Mística” is not a word that appears in Ignatius’ body of writings. For an exposition on this absence or silence, see, Fiorito, “La vida espiritual”, 3-5.

in the text, the remark suggests that he understood the mass, and the choosing of the person to whom he would say the mass, as an exercise in his devotion. He makes a similar remark at exactly another moment where he believed the process was finishing. He writes: “I left with the proposal (*propósito*) to finish tomorrow... asking for strength, and to reiterate the past offering for devotion to the Holy Trinity” [*De* 42]. In another moment in his process, again with the idea that he is nearly concluding, he reveals “if it were not for the devotion for the masses that I have yet to say”, he would be finishing [*De* 103]. These three moments, of capital importance in the text in that they show him interpreted his very process, indicate how he conceptualized his spiritual practice. For him, his prayerful preparation, focused celebration, and attentive examination of his prayer constitute his devotion to God. Ignatian scholars are not wrong to point out his liturgical or eucharistic mysticism. Perhaps, the even sharper observation is that Ignatius understood the Eucharist as an expression of his devotion to God. As such, devotion as promise appears as a legitimate category to consider his Eucharistic spirituality.

a. The Mass in his discernment itinerary of feeling and knowing

In the sacrament of the Eucharist, Ignatius’ faith was augmented, actualized, and made plainly visible²³. Day after day as a priest, he entered into the prayer of the Church, into the very heart of the Christian mystery of salvation, and he opened himself to the action of the Spirit during his worship²⁴. It is correct to aver, as Ruiz Jurado does, that “a very special role [is given] to the liturgical content of the mass each day”²⁵; perhaps it is even more correct to suggest that the liturgical content of the mass was the very ground from which emerged the multiple and diverse spiritual movements that he describes. The prayers were more than “special”; they were the expression of the mystery of God’s life and will that he sought to know. If he was a pilgrim on a long, circuitous journey to find God’s will up to

²³ See, International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments in the Sacramental Economy*, 19 December 2019, on 21; (document hereafter cited as *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments* with numbers referring to paragraph numbers of the text). Last accessed 5 May 2022, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_cti_20200303_reciprocita-fede-sacramenti_en.html

²⁴ I believe Diego Lainez’s observation on Ignatius’ experience at La Storta provides a compelling thesis as to how he experienced the Eucharist. In an exhortation of his given in 1559, the then Superior General of the Society offered this about Ignatius: “Venendo noi a Roma per la via di Siena, nostro Padre, *come quello che aveva molti sentimenti spirituali, et specialmente nella sanctissima Eucharistia... mi disse che gli pareva che Dio Padre gl’imprimesse nel cuore queste parole: – Ego ero vobis Romae propitius –*”. This affirmation highlights Ignatius was attentive to spiritual movements, especially so during the Eucharist. See, “Adhortationes in librum examinis”, in *FN* II, 127-140, on 133, emphasis mine.

²⁵ Manuel Ruiz Jurado, “La oración de San Ignacio”, 67.

his arrival in Rome, in these early years of his time as General of the Society in the 1540's, he continues that journey into God as a priest by way of the Eucharist. The pilgrim has become the pilgrim priest, continuing to ask God what he should do²⁶.

The Eucharist is the center of his prayer²⁷, and in terms of the structure of the text which I am describing as a discernment notebook, this means that the mass is the center or focal point for all that he feels and experiences²⁸. It formed the center of his encounter with God and in his examination of his prayer, it appears to have been the narrative center from which he began to discern that which he felt. Feeling and knowing were happening in and by way of the sacrament. It is fascinating to see that he chose to discern the signs of God's language in him in the Eucharist, one of those sacramental signs "to which God has linked the transmission of his grace in a sure and objective way"²⁹. Perhaps it was for this sense of the depth, the surety, and the objectivity of the sacrament that he decided to realize this discernment in and with the Eucharist.

One of the more manifest ways in which Ignatius discloses his desire to feel God's presence in the Eucharist occurs in his rather curious description of not knowing where to begin the mass. For example, on February 16th, he describes an elaborate process of identifying to whom he should entrust himself as he prepares for the Eucharist. On this particular day, he was not sure (*dubitando*), and with this doubt, he knelt (*me puse de rodillas con este dubio*) and "looked for where to begin" [*De* 32]. He found himself attracted by God's mercy, and as such, began the mass. A similar experience occurs several weeks later on March 4th. He reports that in his preparatory prayer he did not know with whom to begin (*no sabiendo por quién comenzar*) [*De* 105]. He could not sense Jesus' presence, but felt the Trinity close. It was with the Trinity that he began. This same experience recurs the following day. He indicates that upon being vested, he did not know where to begin the mass (*no sabiendo por dónde comenzar*). He then relates that he took "Jesus for his guide, appropriating the prayers" [*De* 114]. Undoubtedly, he knew how to begin the mass, but these passages reveal his desire to feel a spiritual movement towards one of the divine persons with whom he could begin his prayer. This concern of his also suggests that the beginning for him is not the sign of the cross, but the person with which the movement

²⁶ "El dicho peregrino entendió que era voluntad de Dios que no estuviese en Jerusalén, *siempre vino consigo pensando qué haría* (quid agendum)" [*Au* 50], emphasis mine.

²⁷ It is also interesting to note that the mass is a locus of temptation; more specifically, one of the tactics of the evil spirit in Ignatius is to have him desist in saying the mass. Such was the case on March 2nd [*De* 93].

²⁸ This latter affirmation is the thesis of Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 154ff.

²⁹ International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*, 56.

originates³⁰. He is, in other words, attentive to the language of the liturgy, but even more attentive to the personally felt presence of the one to whom he would direct the liturgical prayers. In brief, the felt interior sign of one of the divine persons or Mary preceded the sign of the cross.

His attention to God's signs in him in the mass appears to expand during this period of time represented in the *Diary*. As an example, much later in his second booklet, in a different place spiritually, he experienced the gift of *loquela*³¹. As exotic and sublime as the gift appears, Ignatius always seems to locate it in the Eucharist: "Tears before the mass; very many and continuous tears during mass; the internal *loquela* of the mass seemed even more divinely granted" [*De* 221]. His experience and cultivation of this new gift, the "loquela of the mass", points to Ignatius' ever-expanding attention to spiritual gifts that emerge from the sacrament.

In addition to the place of feeling, the mass constitutes for him the gravitational center from which he will examine all of his movements to come to know them. With the mass at the center, he can separate all that he feels and he can see how the signs evolved or changed. In this way, the Eucharist contains a certain functionality for him in his discernment itinerary of feeling and knowing. It becomes the center from which the interior movements are seen with a beginning, middle or end. Not surprisingly, his diary is replete with examples of this. There is his moving experience of February 13th: "at prayer, getting dressed, with sobs, sensing the Mother and the Son as intercessors... later before the mass, in it and after it, very growing devotion and much abundance of tears" [*De* 24]. In much the same way, on February 17th he relates a movement to tears as he prepared for mass. That evidently grew as during mass he found himself with an abundance of them, so much so that he could barely read that day's reading of 2nd Corinthians [*De* 40]³². Two days later, on February 19th he

³⁰ Regarding these passages, Thió de Pol offers the very insightful observation on Ignatius' extreme sensitivity to the divine persons. He writes that "es más notorio su registro de la apreciación inicial de qué Persona está 'dispuesta' a hablar con él... al comenzar la oración, dedica un tiempo a otear la corte divina para ver quién atendía o acudía a su encuentro". See, Thió de Pol, "Tenía mucha devoción a la santísima Trinidad [Au/28]", *Manresa* 72 (2000): 333-348, 340 (hereafter cited as "Tenía mucha devoción").

³¹ A term in Latin for "speech" that he never translated. This spiritual gift that may refer us back to Kempis, given that the first two chapters of Book III, the book on spiritual consolation, bear these headings: "the internal *loquela* of Christ" and "the truth within *loquela* without the noise of words". See, *Imitation* III.1-2. For more, see Thió de Pol, "Locuela", in *DEI* 2:1141-1143; for a more general overview, André Derville, "Paroles intérieures", in *DSp* 12/1^a:252-257.

³² His expression is "perder la habla", see, on this phenomenon, the thorough and synthetic analysis by García de Castro in "Semántica y mística", 229-230; in this particular moment, it appears that the intense tears rendered him incapable of reading. Ignatius' remark does confirm Gonçalves da Câmara's observation that Ignatius "celebraba al estilo de Roma, que consiste en que el sacerdote habla tan alto, que se le pueda oír bien en todo el templo". See, Hernández Montes, ed., *Recuerdos Ignatianos*, 194.

writes of “going to the mass, before it not without tears, in it with many and (these tears) coming very peacefully (*muchos reposados*)” [*De* 52]³³. And to take one more example, there is there is his comment on how he began and celebrated mass on March 6th: “Entering mass with an interior satisfaction and moving forward in the mass up to the words ‘Te igitur’ with much internal and much soft devotion” [*De* 120]. In brief, his *Diary* looks like an examination of his prayer in Eucharist as so many aspects of the mass make their way onto its pages. Indeed, the Eucharist is the center of his prayer, and during his examination, it centers his attention on God’s action.

b. Vesting for mass

More than any other text of his, the *Diary* makes manifest Ignatius as a priest. It may be too much to ask that the pages of his prayer observations provide us with his sacramental theology, but it does afford a special window into how he lived his priesthood. Globally, the document makes clear the deep care, preparation, and reflection in which he exercised his ministry. One such example is his singling out the experience of vesting for the Eucharist. As a priest celebrating the mass, he obviously vested. But what is compelling is the frequency with which this aspect of his liturgical preparation is recorded. For example, throughout the entire document, on twenty-one occasions, of which twenty occur in the first booklet, he mentions the act of donning liturgical vestments. I would suggest that these references function in two ways. First, he records the act itself because it occasions a spiritual movement. On other occasions, he mentions it because it was a concrete moment that he can recall in order to track an already in-progress spiritual movement. As such, these references connect with his discernment itinerary. At times he feels much movement in vesting, and at others, he recalls the moment in order to come to know how a movement was progressing or evolving.

In references to the act of vesting that produced a spiritual movement, he often attends to the thoughts that occur to him as he vests. For example, he indicates on February 18th that he was putting on the liturgical vestments with the thought to abstain for three days to find what he was seeking [*De* 45]³⁴. Over a four-day period at the end of the month, the act of vesting fills him with thoughts of Jesus. As an example, on February 23rd, he vested with thoughts of Jesus as coming to him from the Trinity [*De* 67]. The next day, he felt that Jesus’

³³ Translation is Munitiz’s.

³⁴ He does not indicate the object from which he would abstain.

name was represented to him [*De* 71]. Finally, on the 26th of February, he reports that in putting on the liturgical garments the representation of Jesus' help and love grew in him [*De* 81]. At other moments, the spiritual experience that accompanies this act is more affective than cognitive. As an example, on March 4th, he indicates that “at the altar and after vesting, covering me in much greater abundance of tears, sobs and the most intense love all to the love of the Blessed Trinity” [*De* 106].

The other references to vesting function slightly differently: they appear to help him track the duration of a spiritual movement. In these instances, vesting does not occasion a spiritual movement, rather it provides a concrete marker by which he can gauge and follow the extension in time of some spiritual experience. Furthermore, he develops what appears to be a kind of shorthand to summarize his liturgical preparation in order to narrate the spiritual signs that were progressing. As an example, he summarizes his preparation with “at the altar, vesting, and beginning the mass with considerable tears” [*De* 40]. This enunciation of altar, vesting, and mass comprises a kind of narrative structure for him that he will repeat³⁵. In this way, vesting is a concrete point in time by which he can express the duration of a spiritual movement. Such is the case, for example, on March 6th, when he indicates that “at preparing the altar certain sentiments or new motions to tear were growing, and forward, at vesting it seemed to me in some aspects of the past thoughts and attentions as to what the Blessed Trinity wanted” [*De* 119]. Similarly, there is the experience of March 9th, when he observes that “this devotion lasted up until I was vested” [*De* 138]. In these instances, vesting is not a transcendental spiritual occasion, rather a concrete moment in time which allows him to see the beginning, middle and the end of a spiritual movement [*Ej* 333].

Although the mention of vesting does correspond to his discernment process, they do also underscore Ignatius' profound attention to his preparation for the mass. Ignatius is a priest that vests attentive to the symbolic and spiritual meaning of the act. More than any other theological treatise, perhaps it was Kempis's *Imitation* that informed Ignatius' thinking and reflection on this liturgical act. In book IV, wholly given over to a reflection on the Eucharist and the priesthood, the author encourages the reader – who in this section of the book Kempis imagines as an ordained minister – to consider that in putting on his vestments, “he acts in Christ's place and humbly entreats God for himself and for all people”³⁶. In vesting, the priest enters into the mediatory prayer of Christ who intercedes to God for all people. Kempis also offers the idea that vestments unite the priest with Christ in his

³⁵ See *De* 48, 61, 64, 71, 100, 106, 113, 119.

³⁶ *Imitation*, IV.5.

sacrificial offering: “On his vestments he wears the sign of the Lord’s cross before him and behind him that he may continually remember Christ’s passion”³⁷. It is quite possible, that Ignatius, filled as he was with thoughts of Jesus as he vested, understood this moment of his preparation as part of his movement into the very mystery of Christ’s sacrifice and continual intercession to the Father. His meditative reading of the *Imitation* could have added to the spiritual density and importance with which he lived this moment.

The frequency with which he reports this liturgical preparation also raises the question of whether Ignatius was reading liturgical prayers that accompanied a priest’s vesting. These prayers would have varied according to the missal that he was using. Even though in many of these prayer-sequences it is hard to detect “any planned progression in the priest’s preparation”, standard liturgical texts do appear to indicate a kind of three-step ritual: the washing of one’s hands, the offering of prayers as one prepared the paten and chalice, and then finally the act of vesting³⁸. This liturgical sequence in part corresponds to the occasional shorthand that Ignatius uses to describe his preparation when he writes “at the altar and vesting”. As such, the order in which he abbreviates his liturgical preparation could suggest that he was accompanying that preparation with prayers from the missal.

Though he descends to details, mentioning his vesting, of having been vested, and then on occasion of taking off the vestments as moments of spiritual movement, he never indicates what those vestments were³⁹. For a man so attentive to detail and the particularities of his experience, this absence is noteworthy. The omission of any detail regarding the act of putting on, for example, the alb, the cincture, or the chasuble – liturgical vestments that when put on were accompanied by prayers⁴⁰ – suggests that these distinctions or intricacies were less important to him than was the general or global act itself. Though his *Diary* gives every indication that it was an act of preparation that he lived with reverence and deep attention, the particular vestments never appear as symbols of transcendental meaning for him. That he does not mention them does not mean that they were unimportant to him. Perhaps he was praying these liturgical texts as he vested for the mass, and in his examination of his prayer he attended more to the movements and less to the act of putting on, for example, his alb.

Perhaps though the issue centers less on the actual liturgical garb as it does on the

³⁷ *Imitation*, IV.5.

³⁸ Outline given and elaborated upon in Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. Francis Brunner (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1950), 1:277-288, quotation on 288.

³⁹ For a discussion on interior and exterior liturgical vestments, and their evolution in history, see, Mario Righetti, *Historia de la Liturgia. Introducción General*, rev. ed. (Madrid: BAC, 2013), 978-1005, (hereafter cited as *Historia de la Liturgia*).

⁴⁰ Examples of prayers in Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 281-287.

spirituality motivating such prayers. The idea of this liturgical rite proposes that in donning liturgical vestments, the priest “in a sense leaves this earth and enters another world the shimmer of which is mirrored in his vesture”⁴¹. As appealing as this sacramental theology may be, this does not seem correspond to what Ignatius is doing in his masses. In fact, he seems to be doing just the opposite. He is attending to the “shimmer” of God’s language in him which directly concerns this world and not another. Putting on a liturgical vestment does not occasion a departure from this world into another, but rather constitutes an act in his larger movement to be open to all that God desires to communicate to him. In summary, his reference to vesting offers us an image of Ignatius attentive to entering the space of the mass as that which is different from other spaces, and as that which directly informs and illuminates other, more “mundane” spaces⁴². Vested, he lived an encounter with God in which he sought glimmers of light for all of the other spaces in which he and his companions were living and working.

c. From “mass” to “sacrifice”

Ignatius refers to his daily encounter with God in the Eucharist with the simple designation “mass”. Though the spiritual experience each day in it is novel, his language almost never varies. However, in the second booklet, there are several occasions where he refers to the mass as “the sacrifice”. For example, on the last day of what was a four-day respite from his deliberations, Ignatius writes that all of the visions that he had that day were representing veneration (*acatamiento*)⁴³, “not only (a veneration) to the divine persons in naming them or remembering them, but even in reverencing the altar and other things pertinent to the sacrifice” [*De* 160]. Roughly three weeks later, on April 1st, he again employs the term: “it seemed to me that in order to find (loving humility) in the sacrifice it is necessary during the whole day to profit from it without distracting myself” [*De* 182]. Finally, the very next day, April 2nd, Ignatius reflects that it would “be best if I were not visited by God our Lord, because the reason for not being visited... would be having

⁴¹ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 280.

⁴² For Kempis, vesting seems to transport the priest a kind of middle or intercessory place: “he [the priest] has been placed midway between God and the entire human family”. *Imitation*, IV.5.

⁴³ For an English translation of *acatamiento* as veneration, I am following the wonderful article by Charles O’Neill, “*Acatamiento*: Ignatian experience in History and in Contemporary Culture”, *SSJ* 8/1 (1976). O’Neill offers this approximation to *acatamiento*: “In Ignatius *acatamiento* is a happy consciousness of divine presence, an awe suffused with warm attractiveness and resulting in love. In this communing presence submission flows from an awareness of the utter gratuity of creation and redemption” (3).

permitted thoughts that distracted me from the words of the sacrifice” [De 185]. He grasps that God orders all things for his good, and that “it is upon me to proceed correctly (*me convenía andar derecho*) not only in the sacrifice but during the whole day in order to be visited” [De 185]⁴⁴.

This new language recalls the sacramental theology of the Eucharist with which Ignatius would have been familiar. It would have reminded him of one of the great polemical points raised by Martin Luther⁴⁵ and which the Council of Paris, convoked in 1528, sought to respond⁴⁶. The mass, in the words of that council, is the greatest of all sacrifices as it is that of Christ; there is no oblation more sovereign⁴⁷. Though Ignatius employs the term very infrequently in his *Diary*, a cursory glance of other texts of his suggests that the designation was important to him. For example, in the *Spiritual Exercises*, the third point of the meditation on the Last Supper invites the exercitant to consider how “He instituted the most holy *sacrifice* of the Eucharist” [Ej 289]⁴⁸. Likewise, in the *Constitutions*, the word appears in various moments of the text as a synonym for “mass” [Co 313, 640, 790, 803, 812]. Noteworthy among these is the use of the term in the opening paragraph of Part X. Ignatius, conscious that the Society has been brought forth by “Christ our God and Lord”, offers that the best means to preserve and increase the apostolic body are those that place all of its hope in God “by prayers and Sacrifices” [Co 812]⁴⁹. In short, “sacrifice” is not altogether infrequent; more importantly, his use of it in important contexts of the *Exercises* and

⁴⁴ At the same time, the very infrequent use of the term “sacrifice” is noteworthy, and perhaps is due to the polemical nature of this designation. Upon arriving in Paris in 1528, Ignatius would have found a vigorous religious debate regarding the mass in the Council of Sena. It is possible, as Suquía Goicoechea suggests, that he was very aware of the ideas and “cánones eucarístico-sacrificiales del Concilio de Sena”. See, Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 96.

⁴⁵ An in-depth study of Luther’s criticism of the sacrament understood as a sacrifice far exceeds the limits of my exposition. However, his publication in 1520 *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* merits mention. According to the German theologian, the third captivity of the sacrament is that which has made it “an opus operatum and a sacrifice”. For Luther, this common belief that the mass is a sacrifice is “the most dangerous” of all stumbling blocks. At the risk of simplifying, he argues: “the mass is the promise or testament of Christ” and for that reason it is that which we receive and not offer. Therefore, for Luther, it is a contradiction in terms to call the mass a sacrifice because it is the reception in faith of Christ’s promise. See, Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, accessed on 27 February 2021, http://www.lutherdansk.dk/web-babylonian%20captivitate/martin%20luther.htm#_Toc58730606. For a summary of his Eucharistic theology, see Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristia, misterio de comunión*, 366-371.

⁴⁶ According to Dudon, “ciertamente Ignacio leyó las actas del Concilio editadas por Colines en 1529... con un prefacio al Rey, una exhortación al lector y un sumario de verdades católicas opuestas a los errores de Lutero”. See, Dudon, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 166.

⁴⁷ See, Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 97. For a more detailed study of the Council with Ignatius’ Rules for Thinking in the Church, see, Lécrivain, *Paris en tiempos de Ignacio de Loyola*, 106-112.

⁴⁸ Emphasis mine.

⁴⁹ Here I diverge from the English translation of the *Constitutions* which translates “Sacrificios” for “Masses”. Though the translation does maintain the capitalization. See, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 400.

Constitutions shows him in conformity with the thinking of the Church of his era⁵⁰.

Although the designation calls to mind theological debates of his era⁵¹, I would suggest that his use of the term at this moment at his *Diary* is better understood in the context of the graces that he is seeking. The term is theological and polemical, but for him at this moment it is existential – he is experiencing the theology that he would have read, studied, and seen debated⁵². This is to suggest that this theological frame is instructive as it comprises the broad background to the term, but more helpful is the particular spiritual experience he is undergoing. The signs around “sacrifice” provide a stronger hermeneutic for considering his use of it.

In this particular moment of his spiritual experience, he desires to receive and to live the gifts of veneration, loving humility, and reverence. These graces constitute the *Sitz im Leben* of his use of “sacrifice”. His spiritual experience in this second booklet has evolved to a point where he is developing a sensitivity to other graces, all of which disclose a new way of being with God. They are all, in a way, sacrificial in character. They disclose a desire to give space to God, empty himself, and to “sacrifice” his desire for being visited with other gifts. “Sacrifice” is not the same as “loving humility”, nor is it “veneration”, but all three outline a desire to accept what God gives and to live, as one of the passages cited above indicates, with a right intention. Thus, I believe it is this series of spiritual gifts that accounts for and illuminates his use of this term. He designates the mass as “sacrifice” to make more explicit the idea that his devotion or promise to God need not be made with hopes of some kind of spiritual compensation, but that he too is invited to offer himself as God does, that is, fully, freely, and with love. Considering that the latter uses of the term “sacrifice” [*De* 182, 185] fall within Holy Week of 1544, it is also possible to imagine that Jesus’ complete sacrifice to God and to humanity was moving him in this direction⁵³.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Jungmann, who observes that the piety of the Middle Ages, which highlighted the passion of Christ, never lost sight of the idea of sacrifice in the mass. See, Jungmann, *El sacrificio de la misa: tratado histórico-litúrgico*, trans. Teodoro Baumann (Madrid: BAC, 1951), 243-244. I would also include Kempis’ *Imitation* as a source for his thinking and language on the mass. In book IV, Kempis reflects on the importance of receiving Holy Communion. The word “sacrificium” is used 8 times in the text, 7 in book 4. The mass for Kempis is the “true sacrifice of your Body, which completes all the ancient sacrifices”. *Imitation*, IV.1. For the occurrences of “sacrificium” in the *Imitation*, see Storr, ed., *Concordance*, 465.

⁵¹ The Council of Trent, in its 22^a session in 1562, affirmed that the great mystery of the Eucharist “is the true and only sacrifice”. See, *DS* 937a.

⁵² Suquía Goicoechea presents an overview of the reflections of Groote, Gerson, Biel, as forming the theological milieu of Ignatius. The study is compelling, yet the author is aware of the limitations of making any strict connections, between Ignatius’ practice of the mass and the treatises of the three theologians. See, Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 95-126.

⁵³ In his commentary on the *Diary*, Nöelle Hausman makes the connection between the gifts of “humildad amorosa”, “reverencia amorosa”, and “acatamiento amoroso” and the liturgies of Holy Week that he was celebrating. See, Hausman, “Ignacio de Loyola y la misión del Espíritu Santo”, 49-50.

Accompanied as it with his pursuit of the graces of loving humility, veneration, and reverence, Ignatius evokes a beautiful image of what sacrifice entails, and, on an even deeper level, of how he is experiencing the sacrifice of Jesus in the Eucharist. Jesus' sacrifice, made in humility, reverence, and love calls forth in him the desire to live and offer these same gifts⁵⁴. In this way, Ignatius' desire to attend to all aspects of the sacrifice of the mass and to proceed correctly throughout his day reflects the rich experiential knowledge that he is receiving of Jesus' own sacrifice, present, prolonged, and made tangible in the Eucharist⁵⁵. "Considering Christ poor in the sacrament", Ignatius perceives the offer of God's own life in humility and reverence to the human family⁵⁶. In brief, his use of the word bespeaks how he is experiencing God's promise to him⁵⁷.

1.3. Adapting himself to God

Along with the organization of his prayer by and in the Eucharist, Ignatius' notes convey his active implication in the spiritual processes that he was experiencing⁵⁸. He may have grown into a more passive style of prayer⁵⁹, but the *Diary*, especially the first 40 days, suggests that he was working hard, very hard in fact, in his prayer⁶⁰. He leaves little doubt that the experiences come from God, but not for that reason is he less active. If his devotion motivated him to offer mass after mass to the Blessed Trinity, he also appears to have understood that devotion as involving significant exertion.

⁵⁴ The importance of the Eucharist as an experience of Jesus' sacrifice that calls forth his own also is suggested in the place in which Ignatius locates the profession of a Jesuit's vows. A Jesuit pronounces his vows before the Eucharist [Co 525]. The symbolism is potent: the offering of Jesus' body is that which calls forth, founds, and sustains the Jesuit's offering. It is important to note that the pronouncement of vows before the Host represents a departure from the more common offering of the vows with the Gospels in hand. On this latter point, see, Schiavone, "Misa", in *DEI* 2:1237.

⁵⁵ Following the International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*, 33, 183.

⁵⁶ Ignatius' second point for not receiving income reads: "Parece que con mayor afecto se une con la Iglesia, siendo uniformes en no tener cosa alguna, *considerando en el sacramento Cristo pobre*". See, "Deliberación sobre la pobreza", in *Obras*, 267, emphasis mine.

⁵⁷ As Jean Corbon reminds us, "only in the liturgy do we *experience* the theology". See, Corbon, *The Wellspring of Worship* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005), 30; author's emphasis.

⁵⁸ De Gennaro highlights the way Ignatius employed all of his human talents in his search for God's will: "sus talentos humanos de introspección, inteligencia, razonamiento y consejo para alcanzar este fin". See, de Gennaro, "La expresión literaria mística", 32.

⁵⁹ The reference is to one of the concluding paragraphs of the letter of Diego Laínez in which he writes: "me acuerdo que me decía que en las cosas ahora de Dios nuestro Señor más se había passive que active". See Albuquerque, ed., *Diego Laínez, primer biógrafo*, 59; cited also in Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN* IV, 747 (book V, chapter 1).

⁶⁰ Thió de Pol believes that "se percibe un claro avance en esta línea mística de la pasividad a lo largo del Diario". See, Thió de Pol, "Experiencia de Dios reflejada en el Diario Espiritual de San Ignacio", *Manresa* 75 (2003): 27-36, 33.

One of the ways that he signals his activity in his prayer is by his use of the verb “adapt” or, in Spanish, *adaptarse*⁶¹. The verb suggests his effort to adjust or to accommodate himself to God. Similarly, it occurs with enough frequency – nine times all of which occur in the first booklet – to suggest that the process of accommodating himself to God was a frequent, if not, standard spiritual exercise of his⁶². In addition, all of the contexts of this verb express his difficulty in not being able to adapt himself to some aspect of the spiritual experience. That he writes about it when he has a problem with it could suggest that on other days he was carrying out the same spiritual operation but without any difficulty.

The content of this spiritual activity seems straightforward. As an example, near the end of his 40-day discernment, he writes: “In the chapel, but for having seen (men of the house) come down (the stairs) and so hurriedly, I could not adapt myself for the mass... I returned to my room to adapt myself there” [*De* 144]⁶³. Upset by the noise and the lack of decorum of his companions running down the stairs, Ignatius does not find himself ready to begin the mass. He returns to his room, calms down, refocuses himself, and then proceeds back to the chapel. Given this context, synonyms such as “prepare”, “dispose”, and “focus” seem to be germane translations of the verb.

a. Adapting his mind and heart for an experience of God

However, much more than simply entering into a spiritual state of recollection or calm, this spiritual exercise appears to involve his having to “adapt” or adjust himself in the very moment of the prayer itself. For example, on February 16th, he relates that he felt a certain closeness and was attracted to God the Father, but that “I was not able to adapt myself to the mediators” [*De* 32]. That very same day, at night, apparently bothered by this, he repeated the same idea in his notes: “I felt the Father very propitious, without my being able to adapt to the mediators” [*De* 35]. Both observations give the sense that he was unable to

⁶¹ “Acomodar, igualar una cosa con otra. Por la mayor parte se usa en sentido metafórico, como adaptar, acomodar una doctrina al caso propuesto”, see, *Aut*, s.v. “adaptar”.

⁶² Enrique García Hernán singles out this verb to register his surprise that some aspects of the personal experience of Ignatius never made their way into his public texts. The Spanish historian writes: “hay palabras de Ignacio de su *Diario espiritual* que no aparecen en las demás fuentes ignacianas, y viceversa: de hecho, resulta sorprendente que, en la fuente más fidedigna, históricamente hablando, como es el *Diario espiritual*, haya términos de los que no hay concordancia en el resto de su obra, como, por ejemplo, ‘adaptar’, que Ignacio utiliza 9 veces en el *Diario espiritual*”. See, García Hernán, “Confesores de Ignacio”, 442.

⁶³ The translation of *adaptarse* challenges even the most intrepid of translators. Munitiz tends to employ the verb “adapt”, but on three occasions he deals with the verb differently. In this particular number, he translates the first use of adapt in the following way: “I was unable to *bring myself* to say mass” [*De* 144]. In number 115 he uses the same expression, “bring myself”; in number 140 he employs the verb “turn”, as in “I could not turn myself to devotion” [*De* 140].

respond to or focus his attention as he wanted on Jesus and Mary, even though God the Father was present to him. Similarly, in a reflection in which he identified the reason why part of an earlier experience ended in frustration, he wrote: “I wanted to find devotion in the Trinity, and (as a result) I did not want nor (was able to) adapt myself to look nor find it in the prayers of the Father” [*De* 63]. He appears to have discovered that he was so intent on having an experience of the Trinity that he could not conform⁶⁴ or adjust himself to see that he was receiving the gift of devotion from God the Father.

These moments convey the idea that he entered into his prayer seeking a particular person and a grace. His “adapting” would appear to suggest his capacity to shift (or not) those desires or ideas that he brought with him to his prayer. Another example seems to point in this direction. Fully immersed in a process of seeking reconciliation from the Trinity for having become indignant with the divine persons, he writes of not being able to adapt himself to see or feel any discord or unsavoriness (*sinsabor*) [*De* 115]. It appears he wanted to continue to feel remorse for his offensive attitude, but he could not. Much to his surprise, and even contrary to his own expectations for how and when he should receive forgiveness, God was already forgiving him. This experience of not finding any discord which he wanted to adapt himself to find, actually helps him begin to realize that God has reconciled him with Himself.

These instances of his not being able to adapt are important in that they suggest that on occasion distance opened up between God and him. He went looking for a certain experience, and sometimes not only did he not find what he was looking for, but he also could not adjust or accommodate his desires to what God was giving him. And this produced tension in him. For example, in this same process with the Trinity he describes the experience of “wanting but not being able to adapt myself to augment my devotion looking up” [*De* 126]. In other words, he receives a spiritual gift, but conveys a certain frustration for not being able to increase it. As if he could create the conditions in himself to augment a spiritual gift. One final example illustrates the tension that his not being able to adapt to God can occasion in him. Summarizing the spiritual movement of March 9th, he writes that “it seemed that I was adapting to the devotion that was connected to the Blessed Trinity and Jesus... For my part I was desiring to adapt myself to the Father, the Holy Spirit and Our Lady, and in this did not find any devotion nor any vision” [*De* 140]. This is a strange

⁶⁴ Fiorito, in a very passing moment of his study of the *Diary*, glosses *adaptarse* as *conformarse*. However, he later suggests that *conformarse* is one of the preeminent spiritual gifts, “de una particular importancia” that Ignatius receives in his 40-day discernment. He does not, however, connect this gift back to the verb *adaptarse*. See, Fiorito, “La lucha en el Diario Espiritual”, 14-15, 17-18.

moment: in the midst of an experience of the Trinity and Jesus, Ignatius appears to register his slight discontent at not being able to adjust or move the experience in the direction that he wanted. In brief, this verb offers a fascinating window into the relational movement of the *Diary*. God offers the gift of Himself, and Ignatius, at times, looks for other gifts or experiences from God. It is as if God and Ignatius are, at times, out of sync.

b. Adapting himself: a pedagogy of desire

Globally, these brief observations in which Ignatius refers to his difficulty of adapting himself reveal how he realized his commitment to God. He established a simple structure of prayer, and he was intensely engaged in it. And if he had to adapt himself it was because he began his prayer with very strong and perhaps very clear desires. In this way, the verb “adapt” reveals the strong affective component that precedes and configures his prayer. Similar to a retreatant in the *Exercises*, Ignatius enters his prayer “demand[ing] what I want and desire” [*Ej* 48]⁶⁵. His desires are firm and strong, and for the most part, he seems to have received what he was looking for or to have been able to conform himself to the experience given. However, that was not always the case. On occasion, he found himself unable to respond with agility and liberty to what God was giving him. It is as if, in referring to his difficulty in adapting to God’s presence, he recognizes that he missed what God was revealing to him. The signs of God’s communication to him were not what he hoped for or he missed them because he was looking for other signs from other persons. The interference was in his desires.

Another angle to consider the sophistication of this spiritual operation of adapting himself can be seen by way of a comparison with one of the more well-known “Ignatian” verbs: “to make one’s self available” or, in Spanish, *disponerse*. Readers familiar with his spirituality might have expected to see the verb “become available” utilized much more frequently. Given its prominent position in the first paragraph of the *Exercises*, *disponerse* and not *adaptarse* is considered a central spiritual practice of his⁶⁶. Notwithstanding its undeniable importance in his spirituality, *disponerse* is used only once in this personal

⁶⁵ For a brief and thoughtful reflection on this preamble for the process and the pedagogy of the *Exercises*, see, Maurice Giuliani, “Demandar a Dios nuestro Señor lo que quiero y deseo”, *Manresa* 61 (1989): 131-136.

⁶⁶ The verb “disponer” is used twelve times in the *Spiritual Exercises*, perhaps most notably in the first addition which provides a kind of outline of the spiritual program which follows: “todo modo de preparar y disponer el ánima para quitar de sí todas las afecciones desordenadas y después de quitadas para buscar y hallar la voluntad divina en la disposición de su vida para la salud del ánima se llaman ejercicios espirituales” [*Ej* 1].

document⁶⁷. This is not to gainsay that he was making himself available to God or God’s will during this period of discernment. The *Diary* as a whole testifies to his desire to be available to God’s will. As such, the relative omission of the verb *disponerse*, albeit surprising, can hardly be considered problematic. On the contrary, I would suggest that the verb “adapt” is akin to and involves a very focused spiritual operation of being available. It connotes a kind of agility to recognize the spiritual experience that is being given by God and the capacity to adjust one’s self to it. It is the capacity to recognize that one’s desires are in harmony or in tension with the present experience from God. To adapt is to adjust one’s desires, one’s expectations, and the initial focus with which one began the prayer to what is being given. It is to be radically available, aware that the experience with God is always nuanced and different. If availability is “the best oblation” with which person can pay tribute to God⁶⁸, signaling as it does a configuration of one’s self to that which is characteristic of Jesus⁶⁹, “adapting” implies the concretization of that oblation to the Other. In this way, with this verb he reveals his desire to offer himself to the particularity of each day’s experience. His mention of his difficulties to adapt himself reveals the (comprehensible) difficulty of being completely available to God. Moreover, his use of “adaptarse” reveals the processual character of being available. Ignatius enters the spiritual exercise of each day available, and then he takes one step further in this availability adapting himself to the kinds of signs with which God is communicating to him. The distinction is important as it shows that one learns how to put oneself before God⁷⁰.

All of this is a long way of stating that Ignatius is discovering how to be fully available to God in his prayer. When he cannot adapt, he can see the distance between God and him, and that distance can allow him the perspective to see and become conscious of his desires. As readers of his text, his mention of this verb clues us in to these desires, reminding us that the very groundwork of the *Diary* is his longing to know God’s will. His deep commitment to God exists at the level of his desire. It is there that his devotion to God finds its source. Everything that he does originates from the vast field of his affections, both those that are ordered and those that he will come to discover as disordered. If he has trouble in

⁶⁷ “Disponer” is used only once in the *Diary* in a passage where Ignatius reflects upon why he did not receive a divine visit or “visitación”: “porque me faltaba la visita o por no me *disponer* o ayudarme en todo el día, o en dar lugar a pensamientos algunos para divertirme de sus palabras de sacrificio” [*De* 185], emphasis mine.

⁶⁸ The expression is Arzubialde’s: “La *disponibilidad* es, por consiguiente, la mejor oblación que el hombre puede tributar a Dios, la de su ser y toda su libertad”. See, Arzubialde, *Justificación y santificación*, (Santander: Sal Terrae, 2016), 241, author’s emphasis.

⁶⁹ “La *disponibilidad* es sustancia de la vida espiritual como tal, puesto que es ‘el signo distintivo del Hijo’ (cf. *Rm* 8, 29)”. See, Jean-Yves Calvez, “Disponibilidad”, in *DEI* 1:641-645, 641.

⁷⁰ Arzubialde, *Justificación y santificación*, 254.

adapting to God it is because he is learning to seek what God seeks. Without seeking to dim the glow of the halo that often surrounds him and this text, his *Diary* points to his commitment or promise to God – his very devotion to the Lord – as one that he is continuing to learn how to realize.

1.4. Savoring, delighting in, and enjoying the divine presence

This brief analysis of this spiritual operation of adapting himself discloses his immense desires. On the most obvious level, Ignatius desires to know God's will on the issue of the reception of income. However, that desire only stands for one of many powerful affective movements expressed over these days. One of the more surprising features of this text is that it presents Ignatius as yearning for intimacy and closeness with God. On several occasions, he expresses his desire to delight in and savor God's presence. This hunger for the spiritual experience of God surfaces most clearly when he reflects about the process and how to conclude it. On one such occasion, he declares that his discernment would be nearly finished were it not for his desire to complete the masses and "with this (I found myself) with complete confidence to find an increase in grace, love and greater satiation in the divine majesty" [*De* 103]⁷¹. Another example of this occurs during his reconciliation process. He recognizes that he has been reconciled to God and that there is no longer any motive for continuing offering masses to the Trinity. However, he decides to continue: "I wanted to complete the masses hoping to delight myself (*esperando gozarme*)⁷² in the divine majesty" [*De* 110]⁷³. These are slight suggestions that he seems to have been understanding the confirmation as a more intimate or powerful experience of delighting in God. This surfaces again on March 7th, where he indicates that he was "seeing (in himself) the disposition to more and more enjoy these visitations" [*De* 131]. It appears that his enjoyment or pleasure in such an experience would become his criteria to judge the confirmation. For this reason, he deduces that he should not put an end to the election, but allow for the next visit, however it might come, to signal the end: "placing all of myself to finish and to enjoy (*gozar*) wherever I might find (this vision)" [*De* 131]. In brief, in his discernment process, his

⁷¹ According to the tabulation of Suquía Goicoechea, the expression "la su divina majestad" occurs sixteen times in the text. The author conjectures that the use of the phrase could very well come from his contact with the missal that he used. In his analysis of two missals of the era, the author demonstrates the standard use of the formula. See, Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 209-210.

⁷² The verb "gozarse" is not an infrequent one in the text: it is used seven times [*De* 41, 63, 110, 131(2), 159, 179].

⁷³ All the more striking as the phrase "esperando gozarme" is an insertion to the text.

movement from feeling to knowing becomes, at times, a movement from feeling to feel more.

a. The joy of finding God's will

Enjoying God's presence comprises a significant part of his discernment process in the first booklet⁷⁴. And this aspect needs to be understood carefully. On the one hand, it need not be read negatively, nor need it take away from his desire to serve the Lord. It is possible to imagine him interested in both the felt experience of God *and* in that experience of God that responds more pragmatically to his question or questions⁷⁵. His relationship with God, as the not infrequent use of the verb *gozar* suggests, allows for a space of savoring the divine presence which is not in opposition to his desire to serve and realize God's will⁷⁶. Moreover, as Suquía Goicoechea demonstrates in his study of the language of two missals from the era, "the knowledge of God deeply felt is asked for, a knowledge capable of transforming the life of the soul in an exuberant spiritual joy"⁷⁷. Consequently, his very celebration of the mass quite possibly was nourishing this yearning for an exhilarating intimacy with God. Liturgical language pulses behind his desire to savor or *gozar* God's presence⁷⁸.

More importantly, to pass over his keen interest in savoring the divine presence is to miss the depth of his devotion to God. As an example, there are several moments where he reports that he hesitated to move himself – physically – when experiencing interior delight at God's presence. The first indication of this is a moment in which he makes his oblation of the election to the Father [*De* 16]. In that moment, on his knees, he reports that he could not get up from so many sobs and tears of devotion, but that upon standing up, devotion continued to

⁷⁴ Even Codina, in his introduction to the critical text, picks up on this. Puzzled at why Ignatius extends his discernment for 40 days when on the 10th day it was decided, he speculates that it had to do with such abundant consolation (*divinarum consolationum copiam*). See, Codina, "De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride", ciii.

⁷⁵ Thió de Pol takes this even further: "muy a menudo, se constata que dichos Encuentros [con Dios] desbordaban el interés directo o particular de Ignacio por recibir luz, confirmación y fuerza para determinar un punto de las Constituciones de la Compañía". See, Thió de Pol, "Lágrimas", in *DEI* 2:1103.

⁷⁶ Seven uses in all [*De* 41, 63, 110, 131(2), 159, 179]. In addition, the conclusion of the first extant letter of his would suggest that the verb constituted a more integral part of his spiritual vocabulary and, by implication, his experience of God. In his letter to Inés Pascual, he concludes invoking Mary so that she would convert them into "fuertes y gozosos en su alabanza". See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Inés Pascual (Barcelona, 6 December, 1525), 71-73, 72, emphasis mine; *Letters and Instructions*, 2.

⁷⁷ Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 232.

⁷⁸ The liturgical context may in fact provide the strongest interpretive key for considering Ignatius' interest in "gozo". Praise, rejoicing, and savoring God's presence situate Ignatius' spiritual experience in the liturgy. Though it may appear remote, the language of Alexander Schmemmann is germane: "Que, a fin de cuentas, (la religion) no se trata de bienestar ni de ayuda, sino de gozo y de victoria". See, Schmemmann, *¿Dónde está, muerte, tu victoria?*, trans. José Ángel Velasco García (Salamanca: Sígueme, 2020), 52.

be with him (*aún seguirme la devoción*). Several days later, on February 16th, he writes of “not wanting to get up (*sentía en mi no querer levantar*), but to be there in what I was so excessively feeling” [De 38]. The very next day he writes of feeling devotion in such a way where he was led to remain in the spiritual moment where he found himself, enjoying (*gozando*) what he felt [De 41]. He even wonders to himself if he should get up from his kneeling position given the immense delight he was feeling. He notes “that after consulting if I would go out or not, and determining with much affirmative peace... getting up (*levantándome*) with these movements and with much satisfaction of my soul” [De 42]. He is extremely careful, even delicate, in how he moves physically when he feels so intensely God’s presence. If his practice of the 4th addition of the *Exercises* is important to him [Ej 76], it is because he understands savoring God’s presence as central to the spiritual experience.

His delighting in God’s presence represents an important image of Ignatius and an equally compelling image of the divine. Enjoyment, satisfaction, and love constitute the nucleus of the relationship⁷⁹. Perhaps in the haste to highlight Ignatius’ spiritual experience of union with God as *not* constituted by nuptial metaphors or symbols⁸⁰, commentators on this autograph text have not given due place to the clear testimony that it provides of his interest in savoring God’s presence. Be that as it may, there is no getting around passages that plainly suggest his desire to enjoy God’s presence. For instance, in one moment of his prayer he felt the Trinity close, and he was enjoying himself (*gozándose*) “in feeling consolation” from any person of the Trinity [De 63]. “Gozar” is hardly a word of taboo⁸¹, but rather, as Michael Buckley suggests, one that expresses the realization of love, that is, loving God for who God is, and not for what God gives⁸². As such, an attentive reading of the *Diary* suggests that it is not completely accurate to declare that Ignatius was not interested in experiencing God’s grace in and of itself⁸³ or that his mystical experiences were *only* directed

⁷⁹ For example, words such as “satisfecho” [De 81, 103, 145]; “satisfacerme” [De 185]; “satisfacción del ánima” [De 40, 42, 59, 65, 91, 98, 100, 114, 134]; “satisfacción” [De 38, 120, 146, 148, 176]; “saciamiento” [De 103]; “regocijar” [De 51]; “regocijo” [De 43]; “sabrosa” [De 33]; “sabor” [De 39] outline his delight in God’s presence.

⁸⁰ See, for example, de Guibert, “Mystique Ignatienne II”, *RAM* 74 (1938): 113-140, on 120; Larrañaga, “Introducción al Diario Espiritual”, in *Obras completas*, 658-660;

⁸¹ In his study of Ignatius’ relationship with women, the historian Antonio Gil Ambrona, picking up on a vague expression of Hugh Rahner’s, underscores the verb “gozar”, used in the letter to Ínes Pascual, as an “obscure point” and one which could link him to Illuminist movements. See, Gil Ambrona, *Ignacio de Loyola y las mujeres* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2017), 148-150. As I have indicated, “gozar” is best understood liturgically.

⁸² Michael Buckley, “Contemplación para alcanzar amor”, in *DEI* 1:452-456.

⁸³ See, Ruiz Jurado, “La oración de san Ignacio”, 65.

to the resolution of his discernment questions⁸⁴. His relational commitment to God includes caring as much for the experience of the presence of God as it does for the cognitive or affective confirmation of knowing what God wanted him to do. Union with and service to God are in harmony in this text⁸⁵. Both aspects form his relationship to God, a relationship of deep love⁸⁶. Furthermore, part of the divine pedagogy that he feels taking place is one where he is learning to enjoy God’s presence with freedom: “to enjoy his grace and his visitations cleanly (*limpiamente*), without self-interest” [*De* 159].

Finally, the presence of the verb “gozar” in the text reminds us of an important spiritual and theological issue that I believe has been undervalued by readers of the *Diary*. Briefly put, there is no separation between delight in God and knowing God’s will. Such a dichotomy is false. That interpretation misreads Ignatius’ experience and ignores the Biblical reflection on the human experience of the divine will⁸⁷. Scriptures posit God’s will as that which engenders joy, happiness, and delight⁸⁸. The semantic terrain in which the Scriptures speak of God’s will is deeply affective. Ignatius, firmly rooted in this tradition, understands God’s will as God’s pleasure, and, at the same time, as a source of pleasure⁸⁹. For this reason, it should not surprise readers that in a text where he is seeking God’s will Ignatius reports, with such exuberance and interest, moments of his deep enjoyment of God. Moreover, it would be unusual if Ignatius did not report any sense of delight or joy during this process of finding God’s will. In this way, his experience testifies to the theological and spiritual truth that the divine will is not a burden but rather a possibility which permits the person to participate in the joy and delight of communion with God⁹⁰. His discernment process reminds readers that to look for the divine will is to enter into a dynamic process that includes savoring, enjoying, and delighting in God’s very life. Such affective experiences

⁸⁴ I would slightly nuance Egan’s observation that Ignatius “sought mystical experiences, not for their own sake, but for what they disclosed about God’s will” so that there is not a simple, binary opposition between the experience of God and discovering God’s will. See Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic*, 120. Abad also shares this idea. See, Abad, “Introducción”, 18.

⁸⁵ See, Martin, “*Diario Espiritual a partir del don de lágrimas*”, 78.

⁸⁶ Love is significant part of Ignatius’ experience, so much so that he uses the word 40 times, and this by one whom, in the words of Thió de Pol, was known for “la sobriedad... en utilizar la palabra amor”, see Thió de Pol, “Experiencia de Dios reflejada en el Diario Espiritual de San Ignacio”, 32.

⁸⁷ I follow closely Nurya Martínez-Gayol Fernández, “‘Dios nuestro Señor quiera mover mi voluntad’ [*Ej* 180]. Voluntad general y voluntad particular en perspectiva ignaciana”, in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 97-132, 100-104; (article hereafter cited as “Voluntad general y voluntad particular”).

⁸⁸ See, Martínez-Gayol Fernández, “Voluntad general y voluntad particular”, 100-103.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

constitute signs of union with God⁹¹. Should there be any doubt about the place of joy in his spirituality, one need only look to the *Exercises* where the retreatant in the Fourth Week seeks the grace to rejoice in so much glory and delight of Christ our Lord [*Ej* 221]. Seen from this perspective, the delight that Ignatius feels is the gift of the resurrected Lord; Christ arouses in him this joy because it is who He is⁹². In summary, Ignatius' experience confirms the Christian spiritual tradition which affirms that finding God's will is ultimately the communion of wills⁹³. And the sign of such communion is joy.

b. Caught by the desire to delight in God

At the same time, Ignatius does seem caught by desires to feel satiated in God's presence⁹⁴. This is the great drama of this text. The *Diary* narrates his desires and, in dramatic fashion, his frustration when they are not met. For instance, the night before he had planned on concluding the election process, he notes that he felt "special consolation in thinking about the divine persons, hugging myself with interior exhilaration (*interior regocijo*) in my soul" [*De* 43]⁹⁵. The image of him hugging himself in his bed, euphoric at the spiritual experience which he thinks is immanent, reveals how absorbed he was by these potent desires⁹⁶. It is as if he were giddy with delight at the prospect of receiving a gift⁹⁷. However, the next day unfolds very differently than he had imagined. He found himself in his accustomed prayer "with very little liking (*gusto*)" [*De* 44]. Likewise, in the mass, tears and devotion hardly accompany him or, more precisely, they did not come in "some

⁹¹ According to the very beautiful expression in the *Exercises*, union with God is the goal of the spiritual itinerary: "viene al temor filial, que es todo acepto y grato a Dios nuestro Señor, por *estar en uno con el amor divino*" [*Ej* 370], emphasis mine.

⁹² Jacques Rouwez, "Le premier jour. L'apparition à Notre-Dame", in *Les Exercices Spirituels d'Ignace de Loyola*, 381-403, 399.

⁹³ Important for the consideration of will in Ignatius is the idea that it is "el asiento de la relación con el otro, con Dios particularmente". It is a faculty of the soul that is the relational seat of the person. See, Dominique Salin, "Voluntad", in *DEI* 2:1787-1790, 1788.

⁹⁴ In his identification of four temptations that he faced during the first 40 days, Fiorito identifies this as the temptation of "deseos desordenados de confirmaciones especiales". See, Fiorito, "La lucha en el Diario Espiritual", 26-32.

⁹⁵ There is one other instance in the *Diary* where he reports that he hugged himself with joy: "quieting and thrilling myself, even squeezing my chest with such intense love in the Trinity" [*De* 51]. I would suggest this experience differs from the previous in that it is centered in love for the Trinity. The previous experience is Ignatius hugging himself not in or out of love, but rather for the joy, self-absorbed in nature, that he anticipates on the following day.

⁹⁶ Fiorito calls this "una debilidad del temperamento de san Ignacio", see, Fiorito, "La lucha en el Diario Espiritual", 30.

⁹⁷ Thió de Pol also reads this passage as one that points to his expectation to receive the confirmation, but he does not offer critical commentary. See, Thió de Pol, "Tenía mucha devoción", 344. Larrañaga, however, reads it as one of the few instances of nuptial imagery in Ignatius. See, Larrañaga, "Introducción al Diario Espiritual", in *Obras completas*, 659.

abundance” [De 49]. In short, he was assaulted by the thought that there was no effusion or abundance of devotion, and this lack of abundance troubled him, so much so that he became indignant with the Trinity (*indignándose con la santísima Trinidad*), giving up on how he would proceed [De 50]⁹⁸. Not having his expectations met, he becomes, naturally, frustrated and upset. If the *Diary* records the sublime mystical peaks of Ignatius, it also depicts the valleys of frustration the he traversed.

I believe that this moment of his indignation actually reveals the depth of his intimacy with God. He is free in his relationship with the Trinity to become angry and frustrated. That is not something that can be passed over, nor can it simply be glossed as his lack of indifference. Anger or indignation is a powerful emotion, and as an emotion, “anger speaks the truth about ourselves and others”⁹⁹. Anger and indignation can only occur where there is trust and where one feels it is safe to be vulnerable. This is who he was before God: totally himself, vulnerable, and unafraid to feel all of his emotions. It also reveals the truth of the Triune God who creates autonomous realities that can respond with such freedom¹⁰⁰. Moreover, to pass over this episode is to misunderstand his discernment which depends upon the diversity of signs. Also, to not give weight to this moment would be to miss the entire process of reconciliation that it occasions. Precisely because of his indignation a new process will open up for him which will bring him to greater intimacy with God¹⁰¹.

His desires to be content and satiated were not easily overcome, and this is what makes this personal journal so compelling: Ignatius shows us a deep struggle to recognize and purify his desires. And his diary stands as a testament as to how hard this is. For example, even after experiencing reconciliation with the Trinity for this episode of anger, he ends up in a very similar place. He continues to harbor the desire for an experience of God that would satisfy *his* wants, and thereby conclude the discernment on *his* terms. Once again, the process is almost derailed. On March 12th, 40 days into this journey, at first disconcerted by his companions running down the stairs, he returns to the chapel but he “does not find

⁹⁸ I read “indignant” as “tomar indignación, enfado o enojo contra alguno”, *Aut*, s.v. “indignar”. I do not believe that the verb evokes Ignatius’ indignity to receive a grace. In other words, he is not alluding to the attitude which he invites the retreatant to adopt in the contemplation on the mystery of the Nativity. In that contemplation he invites the retreatant to be present in the scene as a “pobrecito y esclavito indigno” [*Ej* 114]. In the context of the *Exercises*, “indignidad” denotes “falta de mérito o congruidad, no digno ni merecedor de alguna cosa”. See, *Aut*, s.v. “indigno/a”.

⁹⁹ Luke Timothy Johnson, *Faith’s Freedom. A Classic Spirituality for Contemporary Christians* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 136; (hereafter cited as *Faith’s Freedom*).

¹⁰⁰ See, Ángel Cordovilla Pérez, “Dios para pensar”, in *Hablar hoy de Dios, los retos de la biomedicina*, ed. Modesto Romero Cid (Madrid: Edice, 2007), 9-101, on 26.

¹⁰¹ In his wonderful exposition on anger in the life of Christian faith, Johnson writes: “it is an instrument of love”. I believe this was very much the case in the experience of Ignatius in these days of February and March of 1544. See, Johnson, *Faith’s Freedom*, 136.

what he is looking for” [De 144]. He is looking for some kind of vision or intelligence. Fortunately, this time he caught how he had been proceeding: “I wanted to find too many signs... with the thing (the election) clear, and not looking for the certainty of it, but for a finishing touch that would be to my taste” [De 146]¹⁰². He discovers that he was asking God to fulfill his desires for an overwhelming or extraordinary spiritual movement. These desires kept thwarting the simple resolution of his discernment. With this realization, he concludes the process, and in a place of spiritual poverty – not receiving any of the signs that he had hoped for – he decides upon the course of the poverty for the Order¹⁰³. He has come to know God’s will, and in the process he underwent a powerful apprenticeship in his relationship with God¹⁰⁴. He has learned that his devotion, his very promise to God, which he sought so faithfully to concretize in his prayer and masses, was often done “for my satisfaction” [De 146]. As such, in his offering of the issue of poverty to God, Ignatius discovers how to offer himself more completely to God¹⁰⁵. His devotion – his very promise to God – becomes even more purified.

1.5. Brief conclusions on Ignatius’ promise to God

Though the pages of Ignatius’ *Diary* may lack the eloquence of texts before and after that tell of the personal experience of God, his notes testify to his deep commitment to God. He concretized his promise to God by organizing systematically periods of prayer, and within this more external structure he internally disposed himself, attempting to appropriate the prayers of the Church and to adapt himself to feel and receive all that God wanted to communicate with him.

The opening section of this chapter has also highlighted an important discernment choice of his: he organized his process in and around the Eucharist. To state the obvious, he could have organized his prayer in a different way. That he chose the sacrament as the place of his discernment suggests his faith in the Eucharist as that encounter where he would feel and know God’s will for him, and where he would also receive the grace to act in accordance

¹⁰² Translation is from Munitiz.

¹⁰³ “La pauvreté totale décidée par Ignace fonde la pauvreté extérieure sur une pauvreté intérieure, que fait du signe dernier de la confirmation divine l’absence de tout signe”, see Fabre, “Introduction”, in *Ignace de Loyola Écrits*, 315.

¹⁰⁴ “Acceptando su pobreza espiritual como única garantía de la voluntad de Dios concerniente a la pobreza institucional”. See, Dominique Salin, “Voluntad”, in *DEI 2*:1790.

¹⁰⁵ For more on the connection between poverty and desire, see, Melloni, who offers that “la pobreza, y más cuando es libremente elegida, es una escuela del deseo”. See, Melloni, *El deseo esencial* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 2009), 57.

with that will. In this way, it is not one place among others, rather it is the center that configures his prayer and his examination of his prayer¹⁰⁶. Though the expression may be anachronistic, his choice to situate his discernment in the Eucharist does suggest his belief that it was for him “the most intense way of Christ’s presence among us”¹⁰⁷. In essence, his discernment in the Eucharist appears as the sign of his fidelity to the Lord with whom he was placed as a companion¹⁰⁸ and of his desire to unite himself more closely with the Church. In his own language, “the most sacred sacrifice of the Eucharist” was “the greatest sign of his love” [*Ej* 289]. And in the sacrament that prolongs and actualizes the greatest sign of God’s love, he sought to feel those signs of God’s communication to him in his thoughts, feelings, and body.

In his process to feel God’s signs and to know their meaning, the *Diary* conveys that his intense search for God’s will was an eminently joyful search. His promise to God brought him delight, joy, and experiences that he sought to savor and relish. His search to feel and to know God’s will was hardly a mechanical process of following a discernment itinerary. It was to embark upon a pilgrimage of discovery, surprise, and learning. Like the experience of the sacraments themselves that call the faithful to transcend the content believed in order to enter into “the ever-greater mystery” of God’s life, Ignatius too finds himself being drawn into the mystery of the divine life¹⁰⁹.

2. An ever-deepening relationship with Jesus

Devotion, however, is more than the concretization of Ignatius’ promise to God. The Christian tradition invoked the term to express God’s action in Jesus’s life, death, and resurrection. For this reason, devotion also represents the way that the person experiences the mystery of God’s commitment to him or her in Jesus. This aspect of devotion is present in the *Diary*, and one of the ways that Ignatius appears to feel God’s promise to him is in his

¹⁰⁶ In this regard, Arturo Sosa’s call to the society to discern their living of poverty diverges from Ignatius’. The current general imagines the Eucharist as one part of the “journey”: “to make the journey requires revitalizing the prayer of each Jesuit and making the most of spiritual conversation in each community, as well as communal participation in the Eucharist and discernment in common”. See, Sosa, “Our Vow of Poverty in the Following of Jesus Poor and Humble”, (Rome, 27 September, 2021).

¹⁰⁷ International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*, 113; see also, Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 205.

¹⁰⁸ Following Kolvenbach’s excellent intuition that “el arraigo eclesial... para San Ignacio es siempre signo de la fidelidad al Señor de La Storta”. See, Kolvenbach, “San Ignacio y la visión de La Storta”, in *Selección de Escritos*, vol. 1, prepared by Luis González Hernández (Compañía de Jesús de España: España, 1992), 664-666, on 665.

¹⁰⁹ International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*, 59.

prayer of mediation. He finds himself being led into a deeper relationship with God, and it is his experience of Jesus as the Son and Mary as the Mother – the two mediators – who facilitate this. Paradoxically, this greater intimacy and knowledge of the Triune God occurs by way of the structured and ecclesial prayer of mediation. In this opening stage of his discernment in which he proceeds by way of the mediators, I will identify two phases or stages in his experience with Jesus and Mary in which he perceives God’s movement towards him. The first is where Jesus is referred to as the Son, the Son who with His Mother intercedes for him to the Father. The second moment, in which he refers to Jesus by name, is an expansive movement of reconciliation, love, and openness to the Trinity¹¹⁰. Both represent powerful experiences of God’s promise to him, a promise made real in God’s Son, the “one mediator between God and mankind, the man Christ Jesus” (1 Tm 2:5).

2.1. The Mother and the Son as favorable to help him

a. In the company of the Mother

Ignatius begins his methodical prayer with what appears to be an equally systematic approach to seek God’s will regarding the issue of receiving revenue for the churches’ sacristies. He turns to the intercessory help of Mary¹¹¹. With the exception of Sunday mass on February 3rd, the first four masses that he celebrates are votive masses to Our Lady. Even more significantly, the first spiritual movement recorded is that of growing in trust (*crecida fiducia*) in her, and on the third day, this trust evolves: he feels a growing affection towards her “with much confidence” [*De 3*]¹¹². This filial confidence in Mary represents more than a feeling; I believe it forms part of his election process in which he is attending to his affective movements to know God’s will [*Ej 333*]¹¹³. Likewise, her presence in his prayer is similar to

¹¹⁰ Here I roughly follow the outline that Thió de Pol proposes. He sees this same division in which in the first part of the text, up to February 22, Ignatius refers to Jesus with the designation “Hijo”. From the 23rd onward, save for four times in which he uses “Hijo”, Ignatius employs “Jesus”. See, Thió de Pol, “Tenía mucha devoción”, 346.

¹¹¹ The name “Mary” is mine; Ignatius never in his diary refers to her by her name.

¹¹² In her interpretation of Mary’s presence in the *Autobiography*, María Clara Lucchetti Bingemer suggests that “la confianza filial... se nota en toda la vida de Ignacio con relación a la Madre y Señora nuestra”. See, Lucchetti Bingemer, “María”, in *DEI 2*:1195-1201, 1196.

¹¹³ Judging from a letter of his in 1525, his prayer to Mary as mediator appears deeply rooted in his spirituality. In the first extant letter of his, he concludes: “Plega a nuestra Señora, que entre nosotros pecadores y su hijo y señor nos interceda, y nos alcance gracia, con nuestro labor y trabajo, nuestros espíritus flacos y tristes nos los convierte en fuertes y gozosos en su alabanza”. See, *Epp I*, Ignatius to Inés Pascual (Barcelona, 6 December, 1525), 71-73, 72, emphasis mine; *Letters and Instructions*, 2.

her role in the *Spiritual Exercises*, specifically those contemplations of the Second Week where she is a central figure in the trajectory of the retreatant towards the election and confirmation¹¹⁴. He seems to understand the presence of Mary as central to a process of discernment. It is as if the clearly perceived affective resonance of Mary as a personal, approachable, and felt mediator comprised an important sign for him in his process to know God's will¹¹⁵.

Mary, referred to as “Our Lady”, will appear in two other moments of this first stage of his election process. On February 5th, he reports a feeling or seeing Our Lady as propitious to interpellate (*interpelar*)¹¹⁶. He also turns to Our Lady in the triple colloquy prayer in which he seeks the gift of the Spirit to reason and discern (*para discurrir y para discernir*) the election [*De* 15]¹¹⁷. But the primary evocation of her is as Mother, named as such in conjunction with the Son. This designation positions her as the one who received God's Word in her humility and poverty¹¹⁸. Obedient to God's word, she was, throughout her life, the obedient mother to her Son. In addition, the epithet “mother” alludes to her as the solicitous Mother who apprehends the arrival of the hour of her Son, interceding on behalf of

¹¹⁴ “Es un personaje central [María] en toda la lógica con que Ignacio desarrolla el proceso de la segunda semana y la trayectoria del ejercitante hacia la elección y su confirmación”. See, Lucchetti Bingemer, “María”, in *DEI* 2:1197. This observation from Lucchetti Bingemer would be more complete if she also included Mary's presence in the First Week [*Ej* 63], where in the triple colloquy her presence orders the retreatant for an ordered election.

¹¹⁵ I do not believe, as Rogelio García Mateo suggests, that “la función de los mediadores no consiste sino en facilitar acceso al Padre”. The mediators do facilitate this access to the Father, but their felt presence coincides with his discernment in such a way that a relationship between the two seems probable. Furthermore, Ignatius' reverence to the mediators suggests that they are more than stepping stones to God the Father. See, García Mateo, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria”, *Miscelánea Comillas* 57 (1999): 421-468, 442.

¹¹⁶ Rossano Zas Friz offers a number of synonyms by which Ignatius understands the action of the mediators. See, Zas Friz, “Mediador”, in *DEI* 2:1201-1205. However, the author does not include the most important: *interpelar*. “Interpellate” is how he understands the action of the mediators before God. For example, in the *Exercises*, in the Contemplation to Obtain divine love, the retreatant imagines him or herself before “los santos interpelantes” [*Ej* 232]. However, in second meditation of the First Week, the saints intercede (*interceden*) for the retreatant [*Ej* 60]. Quite possibly, it is the word that he found in the Vulgate, as *interpellare* was the latin word the the Biblical text used to translate the Greek word. On this, see, Marie-Joseph Nicolas, “Intercession”, in *DSP* 7/2^a:1858-1870, on 1858. García de Castro identifies the word as a neologism: its appearance in the *Diary* represents the first documentation of the word in Spanish. See, García de Castro, “El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola”, 541.

¹¹⁷ In his study of the colloquy, Germán Arana offers the insightful observation that the colloquy, “el modo eminente de la oración” for Ignatius, is more than just a prayer to one of the persons, but contributes to the very configuration with the person who is addressed: “el coloquio para Ignacio es la maduración del diálogo con Cristo, que por una parte manifiesta el grado de nuestra configuración con él, y por otra parte tiene un efecto transformante hacia dicha configuración”. See, Arana, “Coloquio”, in *DEI* 1:341-346, 343. Thus, it is likely that Ignatius is praying to Mary to discern as she did. A similar idea, but from the angle of the linguistic creation that the colloquy involves, is offered by Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 328.

¹¹⁸ More eloquently, Corbon: “[Mary] has been fashioned by the Spirit and sees without realizing it that the most fruitful activity of the human person is to be ‘able to receive’ God”. See, Corbon, *The Wellspring of Worship*, 37; author's quotation marks.

those in need¹¹⁹. All of these aspects of Mary were, quite possibly, in play for Ignatius. In appealing to her, it is likely that he is hoping to receive from her the disposition of openness and receptivity that so characterized her life. Beginning his spiritual process with her prepares him to open himself to God's will; it also beautifully evokes the larger narrative of salvation history that begins with her receiving God's Word.

Ignatius makes explicit mention of returning to her presence on the day he offers his election, proceeding with the triple colloquy, "by means and requests" that the "Mother might help me with the Son and the Father, and that the Son might help me with the Father in the company of the Mother (*en la compañía de la Madre*)" [*De* 8]¹²⁰. Ignatius' language reveals that he imagines Mary as much more than a preliminary mediatory presence to be sought and then left behind. He seeks to be in the company of the Mother, "the first human being to give a full response to God's word"¹²¹. Indeed, Mary holds a special place in this process, one that corresponds to her role in salvation history; she is the one who helps believers to understand what it means to adhere without resistance to the salvific plan of God's design¹²². This too appears to be the help he is seeking from her person: to adhere without resistance to God's plan of salvation for the Society of Jesus. And the accent Ignatius places on this is decidedly relational: it is to be in her company.

This conception of the mediatory role of Mary as one which highlights relationship diverges in an important way from what appears to have been a more typical understanding of her mediation. In what has been referred to as a "medieval split", preaching and piety of the Middle Ages located compassion and mercy with Mary, whereas justice and retribution belonged to Jesus. In this binary way of thinking and praying, Mary was represented as the Queen of Mercy, the one to whom the person could rely upon to plead his or her case before the Son, understood as the King of Justice¹²³. In the logic of this piety, Mary as a mediator represented "graciousness over against divine severity"¹²⁴. Though this thinking is not

¹¹⁹ See John 2:1-11; one of mysteries that comprises the Second Week of the *Exercises* where in his points for the Gospel scene, Ignatius indicates: "la Madre declara al Hijo la falta del vino...mandó a los servidores" [*Ej* 276]. The mother is a central figure, declaring and sending the servants to prepare the vessels.

¹²⁰ A triple colloquy in the first moment of his election highlights what Arana suggests about this prayer: it is a form of dialogue that includes an affective component as well as a concrete commitment. See, Arana, "Coloquio", in *DEI* 1:343.

¹²¹ Elizabeth Johnson, "Mary and the Female Face of God", *Theological Studies* 50 (1989): 500-526, 519.

¹²² "Dios ha reservado para María un rol de privilegio en la historia de la salvación, pues todo creyente necesita de María para comprender, desde la humildad propia de la esclava ('*anawâh*'), lo que significa adherirse sin resistencia al plan salvífico de Dios". See, Arzubialde, *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad*, 187.

¹²³ See, Johnson, "Mary and the Female face of God", 509.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

wholly absent in other documents of Ignatius¹²⁵, the *Diary* does not reflect this sharp distinction between Mother and Son. Nor does Ignatius seem to locate in Mary more aspects of mercy or graciousness than in Jesus or the Father¹²⁶. This division of graces and qualities simply does not appear in his spirituality at this moment of his life. Rather, he approaches Mary with the same care and reverence as he does the Son and the Father. He seems to harbor the desire, even the expectation, to have a real and immediate encounter with her just as he does with the Son and the Father. Mary is the figure whose life expresses the “infinite closeness of God to human nature”, and this is what Ignatius seeks in her – closeness with God¹²⁷.

b. The Son who sends apostles to preach in poverty

Ignatius’ first experience of Jesus, named only at this point the “Son”, occurs on February 5th where he reports a vision of Mother and Son. He sees the two as propitious to interpellate the Father on his behalf. The presence of the two, to whom he will refer as the “mediators”, returns two days later as he indicates “some sign of seeing them”, with the sense that they have beseeched the Father for him [*De* 6]. The next day, February 8th, a day in which he celebrated for the first time a mass to Jesus, he will offer his election by way of a triple colloquy. The itinerary, which appears to be carefully executed, moves from Our Lady, to the Mother and the Son, and then to the Father. And in this movement, Ignatius is ever attentive to “seeing” the mediators. He does not appear content to simply name or appeal to them, but seeks some sense perception of them. This aspect of his style of mediatory prayer is present in his two references to the mediators [*De* 6, 12] where he indicates seeing and perceiving them as interceding on his behalf. Consequently, mediation appears as an *appeal to* and a *sensing of* a personal presence. More than saying prayers to them or invoking their help, his prayer is profoundly interpersonal, where he shares and receives¹²⁸. In addition, the

¹²⁵ For example, the first extant letter of Ignatius’ cited above: “Plega a nuestra Señora, *que entre nosotros pecadores y su hijo y señor nos interceda*”. See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Inés Pascual (Barcelona, 6 December 1525), 72, emphasis mine; *Letters and Instructions*, 2.

¹²⁶ In the spiritual itinerary of the First Week of the *Exercises*, the retreatant first encounters “Christ our Lord” on the cross [*Ej* 53]. The crucified Christ is the expression of God’s mercy. This would suggest that far from any distinction of graces, it is the cross that is the expression of God’s love and mercy to the person.

¹²⁷ Ángel Cordovilla Pérez, “‘Al hablar al Padre, mi amor se extendía a toda la Trinidad’ [*De* 63]. Rasgos del Dios de Ignacio”, in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 73-96, 79; (hereafter article cited as “Rasgos del Dios de Ignacio”).

¹²⁸ The observation on the nature of a colloquy offered by Arana indicates well the way Ignatius appears to relate to the mediators: “modo profundamente comunicativo donde cada uno recibe y entrega”. See, Arana, “Coloquio”, in *DEI* 1:342. A spiritual dynamic not unlike that of one of the introductory points of the contemplation to obtain love. In the second point, he writes that “el amor consiste en comunicación de las dos

felt presence of the mediators coincides with two other movements: an emerging clarity on the election and a very natural movement towards God.

In this beginning phase of his election in which he first prays to Our Lady and then to the Mother and the Son in order to arrive at and be before the Father, it is interesting to observe that he only refers to Jesus as the “Son”. Nevertheless, the designation, rich in theological content, does provide clues as to what he was seeking in these early days of his discernment. The title “Son” situates Him as the obedient son of Mary¹²⁹, as well as the Eternal Son of the Father, who in his loving obedience to the Father, offered himself for all men and women¹³⁰. And in the resurrection, God the Father exalted the Son and seated him at his right hand where He continues “to save completely those who come to God through him, because he always lives to intercede for them”¹³¹. The Son was obedient to Mary and to the will of the Father in all things¹³². Given this rich theology of mediation present in the designation, it is possible to see the two directions of mediation that Ignatius is appealing to. On the one hand, there is an ascending mediation which proceeds from Him as Son of Mary who offers His life to the Father. And, on the other hand, there exists a descending mediation which comes from Him as the Eternal word who makes present to men and women the mercy and justice of God¹³³. Uniting these two aspects or directions of mediation in the Son is obedience¹³⁴. Paraphrasing the expression of Jean Corbon who reminds us that there is not a human side and a divine side to Christ, “but a single action of the one Christ,” the Son for Ignatius incarnates the single obedience of the one Christ¹³⁵. And obedience to God’s will is what he is seeking.

Ignatius evokes this human and divine sonship in what appear to be two decisive moments in his discernment itinerary which reveal the Son’s obedience in poverty. First, he

partes, es a saber, en dar y comunicar el amante al amado lo que tiene o de lo que tiene o puede, y así, por el contrario, el amado al amante” [Ej 231].

¹²⁹ See, for example, Luke 2:51.

¹³⁰ See, Rom 3:25; further theological reflection in Arzubialde, *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad*, 150ff.

¹³¹ Heb 7:25; also Rom 8:34.

¹³² Thió de Pol appears to seek to establish neater or more precise Christological lines in Ignatius. He offers that “cuando Ignacio se dirige al Jesús, humano, le llama *indefectiblemente* el Hijo (de María). En cambio, cuando se refiere al Verbo encarnado, le llama Jesús”. The problem with this formulation lies in the adverb, since Thió de Pol walks back in the same paragraph what he has just affirmed, noting that “la palabra Hijo, también [se usa] en referencia al Padre, es decir su divinidad”. I believe “Hijo” unites his human and divine sonship by way of obedience. See, Thió de Pol, “Tenía mucha devoción”, 346.

¹³³ Here I follow closely Arzubialde, *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad*, 126.

¹³⁴ Christ’s obedience is further underscored by Jesús Solano who points out that it is to Christ whom Ignatius has Jesuits direct their obedience. See, Solano, “Jesucristo en las denominaciones divinas de S. Ignacio”, *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 30 (1956): 325-342, especially 334, 339; (article hereafter cited as “Jesucristo en las denominaciones”).

¹³⁵ Corbon, *The Wellspring of Worship*, 40.

recalls how “God our Lord (*Dios nuestro Señor*) praised (poverty) so much” [*De* 5]¹³⁶. Though there is no explicit reference to Scripture – perhaps he has in mind the Beatitudes – this thought gives him “considerable clarity” regarding God’s will [*De* 5]. The second evocation of the Son’s earthly life occurs several days later when, reviewing his points, there comes to him the image of the Son sending the apostles to preach in poverty [*De* 15]¹³⁷. Again, the earthly ministry of the Son, especially His poverty, proves decisive. He considers how the Son sent the apostles to preach in poverty, and this leads him to ponder how the Holy Spirit realized the same action and how the Son and the Father continue to do this as they both send the Spirit [*De* 15]. This remarkable intuition in which he connects the mission of the apostles sent to preach in poverty with the continual pouring forth of the Spirit by the Father and the Son for this same mission in poverty represents the first Trinitarian reference in his *Diary*¹³⁸. It is a reference caught up in the idea of mission, pouring out, and poverty¹³⁹. In the felicitous expression of Noëlle Hausman, it is a kind of new Pentecost¹⁴⁰. And in this new Pentecost, Ignatius appears to know that God is calling him to participate in the same dynamism of love¹⁴¹, a love marked by obedience and poverty¹⁴².

This insight on the action of the Trinity represents, in the deepest sense, spiritual

¹³⁶ I follow Solano: “Dios nuestro Señor” refers to Jesus Christ, see Solano, “Jesucristo en las denominaciones”, 331-332. All the while recognizing that there exist various points of view as this designation. For a summary of the positions, see, Uríbarri Bilbao, “‘Siguiéndoos, mi Señor, yo no me podré perder’ [*De* 114]. Líneas maestras de la cristología ignaciana”, in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 133-175, 142, note 19; (hereafter article cited as “Líneas maestras”).

At the same, the spiritual discoveries and visions that he experiences during the time of his recording the *Diary* are not unrelated to how he designates, God and Jesus. For example, he describes a new intelligence regarding his relationship to one person of the Trinity which leads him to love the others in that person [*De* 63]. Though a distinction can and should be made regarding to whom he is referring with the phrase “Dios, nuestro Señor”, the wider context of the spiritual journey recorded suggests that he is learning not to make such hard and fast distinctions.

¹³⁷ This importance of this is also suggested by its inclusion as one of the mysteries of Jesus’ life that Ignatius includes in the *Spiritual Exercises*: “de cómo los apóstoles fueron enviados a predicar” [*Ej* 281].

¹³⁸ It is also, as José María Lera points out, “la primera explicación clara y completa de la Trinidad ‘económica’ en los escritos de Ignacio”. See, Lera, *La pneumatología de los “Ejercicios Espirituales”, una teología de la cruz traducida a la vida* (Bilbao-Santander: M-ST, 2016), 46; (book hereafter cited as *La pneumatología de los “Ejercicios Espirituales”*).

¹³⁹ Here begins his immersion into the Trinity; the first moment is that of the divine trinitarian processions as they happen in history. The next moment will involve the internal processions. Regarding this first experience, the issue of poverty is not ancillary to his comprehension of the Trinity. Arzubialde reminds us that to have an experience of unfolding of “las procesiones divinas trinitarias”, freedom, or, in the author’s words, “la lógica de gratuidad” is a requisite. This points to the depth of the question at hand as involving the very freedom to experience God as He is. See, Arzubialde, *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad*, 115.

¹⁴⁰ Hausman, “Ignacio de Loyola y la misión del Espíritu Santo”, 45. Also, in chapter 9, I will explore in more detail this Trinitarian experience along with others from the *Diary*.

¹⁴¹ “El Dios personal trinitario se ha brindado libre y gratuitamente a la comunicación con el ser creado, haciéndole partícipe de su propio dinamismo de Amor”. See, Arzubialde, *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad*, 333.

¹⁴² The contemplation on the Incarnation most likely forms the backdrop to this insight received.

theology: it is his interiorization of the economy of God's mystery¹⁴³. He is experiencing the mystery of God's salvific action, and the experience constitutes a powerful sign for him of God's will. He apprehends this series of thoughts as the very communication of God's will: the way of the Son is the way of proceeding of the Order¹⁴⁴, and he indicates that he was so moved that he offered his oblation to God on his knees with "so much sobbing" [De 16]. In summary, his turn to the mediatory presence of the Son appears to help him dispose himself in obedience to the Father and to grow in knowledge of the Son who lived His obedience in poverty.

2.2. The mediators who are no longer seen or felt

a. *The mediators who hide from him*

On the day that he offered his oblation and sought to give thanks for graces received (February 12th) he experienced what he described as a temptation (*un punto o tentación*) [De 22]¹⁴⁵. Just at the moment when it appeared that he had found God's will so convincingly, a doubt slipped into his mind: he seems to have thought about receiving some income for the churches' use. That same day's prayer also included an external distraction; he relates that he interrupted his prayer to quiet those who were making noise¹⁴⁶. For the first time in this process, and at the very moment he appeared to have been close to concluding, he found himself agitated. The next day he recognizes having been "gravely at fault in leaving the divine persons at the time of giving thanks" [De 23]. Here, however, the elliptical nature of the document makes it difficult to see how he arrived at such a conclusion. The idea that he committed a fault seems to be based on his having interrupted his prayer to quiet a companion.

¹⁴³ "La teología espiritual consiste en la interiorización de la economía del Misterio y en el reflejo de los múltiples aspectos de la 'caritas divina' tanto en el nivel individual como en el comunitario". See, Arzubialde, *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad*, 332, author's emphasis.

¹⁴⁴ In his study in which he outlines the major Ignatian Christological outlines, Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao picks up on this aspect of Ignatius' discernment in the *Diary*, writing: "Este Jesús, Dios y hombre conjuntamente, iluminó el discernimiento de Ignacio sobre la pobreza de las casas profesas, según atestigua el *Diario Espiritual*. Por lo tanto, la pobreza propia de la Compañía posee un componente, ante todo, del modo de proceder propio de Jesús". See, Uríbarri Bilbao, "Líneas maestras", in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 140.

¹⁴⁵ The whole passage has lines drawn through it.

¹⁴⁶ There are many angles on the issue of noise and how it disturbs him. See, for example, Ribadeneira, *Vita*, in *FN IV*, 749 (book V, chapter 1): "Ningún ruido, por grande que fuese, le turbaba o le impedía en su oración, si él no había dado causa para ello". Ruiz Jurado affirms that even in external noises he could find the will of God. Fiorito offers that the exterior noise reveals the interior noise, and for that reason it agitates him so much. See, Ruiz Jurado, "La oración de san Ignacio", 69-70; Fiorito, "La vida espiritual", 9-12.

With deep sensitivity to this offense of having left rather suddenly God while in prayer, he decides upon a new process. He resolves to take the Mother and the Son as intercessors, so that “the eternal Father might restitute me to the past” (*a lo pasado*) [*De* 24]. He also decides, as an act of penance, to refrain from the divine persons and to not celebrate mass to them in order to “not arrive so immediately to the graces and first oblations” [*De* 23]. Thus, he begins a new stage in his discernment, a six-day period from February 13th to the 18th, the day in which he offers, for the second time, his election.

During the first three days of this new phase, he will briefly refer to the election, noting, in the final observation of each day, that he received no new information or ideas that would contradict his resolve to not receive any income. On February 16th he will return to the issue, reviewing and considering the points of his deliberation [*De* 35]. This spiritual process of these days suggests that Ignatius is attempting to recover the spiritual conditions or dispositions that he judges necessary to realize his election. More concretely, he appears to be following one of the steps of his election process: “to find himself indifferent without any kind of disordered affection” [*Ej* 179]. Perhaps it was consenting to the idea of receiving income as well as the fault of leaving God in prayer that led him to take these days as periods of prayer to resituate himself in his process and to seek the grace of indifference with regard to his election alternatives. Nevertheless, during these days, the mediators were less present to him. In fact, their absence seems to have led him to include what would appear to be the posterior annotation “of the persons that hid themselves” [*De* 20]¹⁴⁷. As their presence emboldened him and created in him dispositions of receptivity and obedience, here their absence may be indicative that something of his process or disposition was in some ways compromised¹⁴⁸.

b. Without feeling or seeing the mediators

On the first day of this new process (February 13th) in which he sought to find himself as indifferent or “in the middle, like the pointer of a balance” [*Ej* 179], Ignatius offered a votive mass to Our Lady, and he reported feeling the Mother and the Son as intercessors [*De*

¹⁴⁷ Written at the head of a new page in very small letter, as if it were a note written during a posterior reading of these pages. Thió de Pol offers: “todo parece indicar que es fruto amargo de una revisión posterior”. See, Thió de Pol, *La intimidad del peregrino*, 64, note 61. I do not share the idea that it is a bitter fruit. Rather, it demonstrates an explicit part of his discernment that I will make clear in the following section.

¹⁴⁸ Rossano Zas Friz alludes to this in his article on mediators in Ignatius’ spirituality, pointing out how the presence or absence of the mediators functioned as signs for him in his discernment. See, Zas Friz, “Mediador”, in *DEI* 2:1204.

24]. This movement towards them deepened to a certain “seeing and feeling the mediators” [De 25]. In both contexts, Ignatius indicates that their presence occasioned in him a feeling of an “integral security” [De 24] and a “great security” that he would receive from God what he had lost [De 25]. However, his experience of the mediators changes: over the next four days he will not find them in his prayer as before. On the 14th he will simply report that he was not seeing the mediators [De 26]; on the 15th, he will indicate that they were not discovered [De 28]; on the 16th, he offers the terse observation of “without feeling the mediators” [De 32]; finally, on the 17th, he again mentions that he was without feeling the mediators nor other divine persons [De 39]¹⁴⁹.

This absence, curiously, does not seem to provoke in him any consternation or motive for further discernment. He simply appears to note their absence, as if it were relatively inconsequential. Especially after the first ten days in which the mediators were so present, it is surprising to see him apparently unperturbed. One way to understand this is to situate the presence of the mediators as a sign of God’s language to him, but as one that was less consequential or of a lesser order than others. One example of his notes presents this possible hermeneutic of the hierarchy of signs. On February 16th, he relates: “I had no feeling of the mediators, without coldness or tepidity, with considerable devotion” [De 32]¹⁵⁰. The phrase indicates three potential signs of God’s presence. One in the form of the mediators; another in the presence or absence of warmth; another with devotion. Ignatius recognizes the absence of the mediators, but contrasts it with two other signs. The absence of tepidity *and* the presence of devotion seem to assure him he is progressing towards what he is seeking. This would seem to suggest that the mediators’ presence or absence was a sign that was important to him, but not on the scale of devotion or of another interior feeling. Another possible interpretation of this absence is that he missed this particular sign; the posterior annotation “of the persons that hid themselves” could suggest that he caught their repeated absence at a later reading of his journal.

Similar to not feeling or seeing the mediators is the repeated observation on February 16th that he could not adapt himself to them. In this context, the difficulty that he has in

¹⁴⁹ All of these observations appear in the first lines of each day. For this reason, Haas is correct to point out that “the first thing he [Ignatius] asks himself at the beginning of his prayers is always with which intercessor he should pray and meditate”. I would add that these particular days support this thesis; not every day, however, suggests that he looked for a mediator. See, Haas, “The mysticism of St. Ignatius”, 193.

¹⁵⁰ An important affirmation on his part given that one of the signs of desolation is tepidity or “tibiaza”. In his definition of desolation in the *Exercises*, he states that it involves the feeling of finding oneself as “sluggish, tepid, sad and as if separated from one’s Creator and Lord” [Ej 317]. For more on “tibiaza” in the Ignatian corpus, see, Jordi Font, “Tibiaza”, in *DEI* 2:1703-1704.

adapting himself to them represents well the spiritual climate of his relationship with them: Ignatius is not present to them in the way that he was before. Yet, there are two occasions in which he perceives Our Lady or the Son. On February 15th, he indicates a feeling or the representing to him of Our Lady, and he registers that her presence produced in him a sense of embarrassment at her having to beseech the Father on his behalf so often. Strangely though, he observed in praying to her that she hid from him [*De* 29]. However, that same day, during mass, he reports feeling and seeing her so much. The sense of her presence increased to such an extent that, at the consecration, he was unable to *not* feel or see her (*no podía que a ella no sentiese o viese*) [*De* 31]. The itinerary of this day is complex: a feeling of embarrassment, sensing that she hides from him, and then at mass an overwhelming sense of her presence. A more straightforward experience occurs with the Son. Ignatius reports during the mass on February 14th he felt the Son as very propitious to interpellate on his behalf [*De* 27]. Though Mother and Son are no longer present to him as they were before, he does experience them both. The signs of the mediators are present, but their ordering or syntax is difficult to read.

c. Learning to discern the sign of the mediators

The absence of the mediators along with their felt occasional presence is not out of place in a discernment notebook. What looks inconsistent or even random actually befits the spiritual experience that he outlines in the *Exercises*. The languages felt in one's interior are always diverse; there is consolation *and* desolation. And a certain agitation is to be expected [*Ej* 6]. The movement is not uniform, but rather uneven, and this is precisely a sign of a vital and real spiritual experience. It does seem to be the case that as he seeks to be indifferent, he is beset by all kinds of spirits that move him in various directions.

It is also intriguing to read the general absence of the mediators from the perspective of February 18th, the day in which he made his offering to the Trinity. Not only did he not receive the confirmation that he was hoping for, but he became indignant with the divine persons. The absence of the mediators, read from this day, would seem to prefigure or foreshadow a more acute moment of desolation. Quite possibly, the distance the mediators took from him and the hiding of Our Lady from his presence mirrored his own distance from being open, receptive, or obedient to God's confirmation. The indignation that he felt on the 18th, far more than a punctual moment of desolation, could have been building in him in the previous days. It could have had a beginning and middle of which the absence of the

mediators was a sign. Perhaps, Ignatius recognized this and this is what led him back to his journal to add the comment “of the mediators that hid themselves”. That annotation, which looks posterior to the actual experience of these days, suggests that he went back to find where the desolation began [Ej 334], and he found it in their absence.

d. The Son who orders all things to the Father

Similar to the earliest days of his process, there is one day in this phase in which the Son plays a decisive role. During mass on February 16th, he observed that everything in the mass connected him to the Father, and he received many intelligences of how everything of the Son was “ordered” to the Father¹⁵¹. This is a turning point in this phase of his process because it returns him to his election¹⁵². Though the reference is slight¹⁵³, it appears that seeing the Son as ordering all things to his Father, Ignatius found himself ordered and indifferent, and he returns to his election. After mass he indicates that he went back to reviewing the points of his election and he seems to have made a startling discovery: “looking at the point and looking at the income given, it seeming to me to be knots and impediments from the enemy” [De 34]. He appears to see with new eyes one of the points of his deliberation for the reception of income that he had been considering. Now, however, that point or reason for accepting some income is seen as a temptation. His association of this point as a “temptation” makes plausible the hypothesis that this insight gleaned on

¹⁵¹ The verb “ordenar”, used four times in the *Diary*, is of capital importance for Ignatius [De 33, 53, 142, 183]. It constitutes a central component of how he frames the *Spiritual Exercises*. For example, in the first annotation, he outlines the spiritual process to come: “para quitar de sí todas las afecciones *desordenadas*” [Ej 1]. As a kind of bookend to these opening instructional numbers, he offers one more gloss on the program: “Ejercicios espirituales para vencer a sí mismo y *ordenar* su vida sin determinarse por afección alguna que *desordenada* sea” [Ej 21]. For more on this verb in Ignatian texts see, Iparraguirre, *Vocabulario de Ejercicios Espirituales*, 157-163. Far be it from me to criticize this great Ignatian scholar, but he only cites those texts where Ignatius talks *about* ordering one’s life as if Ignatius was never in need of ordering his life. Iparraguirre does not cite the *Diary*, and this oversight limits his analysis since it is the text that demonstrates how Ignatius himself underwent an experience of ordering his life. Ignatius highlighted “ordering” because he lived and did it in his life.

¹⁵² In his overview of the *Diary*, Rodrigo Mejía Saldarriaga also sees this day as a turning point where Ignatius “emprende de nuevo su búsqueda”. See, Mejía Saldarriaga, *La dinámica de la integración espiritual* (Rome: CIS, 1980), 194.

¹⁵³ The passage under question is: “entrando en la misa, en todas estas partes con muchas intensas lágrimas, tirándome al Padre, al cual ordenando las cosas del Hijo, muchas inteligencias sintiendo notables, sabrosas y mucho espirituales” [De 33]. I follow Thió de Pol’s paraphrase of the passage: “he recibido inteligencias muy notables, sabrosas y muy espirituales, al ver cómo todas las cosas del Hijo se orientaban hacia Él”, see, *Intimidad del peregrino*, 71. I believe Munitiz misunderstands the passage in his translation which he places Ignatius as the subject of the phrase: “I felt drawn towards the Father to whose honour *I* directed the things of the Son: I experienced insights into many notable things, that caused delight and were very spiritual”, see Munitiz, *Iñigo Discernment Log-book*, 30, italics mine. I would also suggest that Egan misreads it as well; he places the Father as the subject of the phrase: “the Father who set in order the affairs of the Son”, see, Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic*, 78, 90.

February 16th led him to revise his notes on the 12th. Seeing now that the idea was a temptation, he adds that word to those previous prayer observations. With time and a very clear of experience of Jesus, he can see that the point that appears to have entered his mind on February 12th was not from God.

The image of the Son who orders all things to his Father illuminates him, and it occasions a significant spiritual movement for him. And this movement develops rapidly, propelling him to review his election, gain clarity on it, and offer, “with great tranquility and peace electing and offering to the Father to have no income for the church” [*De* 34]¹⁵⁴. At the same time, there is something very practical about this moment; the Son’s ordering of his life to His Father appears to compel Ignatius to do the same¹⁵⁵. The Son’s life inspires him, and he appears confident that no income is God’s will for the Society. In that ordering, he sees clearly that the idea of accepting some rent was a temptation from the evil one. Knowing the possible presence of a doubt or his consideration of receiving some income may account for the absence of the mediators during these days. Perhaps, their absence was a sign to him space was opening up distance between him and God’s will¹⁵⁶.

Finally, in this very fascinating moment of discernment as he discovers a deliberation point as a temptation, I would like to consider one further aspect of his prayer observations from February 12th. Specifically, it is very curious to see that Ignatius crossed out the entire passage about having left the divine persons in prayer rather abruptly to quiet one of his companions who was disturbing him. He seems to have felt deeply this fault at leaving his prayer, and for that reason spent several days looking to recover a place of spiritual indifference and calm. Moreover, this sensitivity befits him and his formation; in short it is not surprising to see that he would be afflicted and distressed at having not treated God reverentially in his prayer. Yet, at some point, he drew lines through this entire passage. Though it is very difficult to know what led him to rethink this and even cross it out, I would offer the idea that it was the discovery of this point as a temptation that led him to reconsider his fault of leaving God in prayer. Quite possibly the physical leaving was but the mirror of the spiritual “leaving” or doubting that he consented to in rethinking his election. He

¹⁵⁴ After slighting the divine persons on February 12th, this is the first time that Ignatius returns to the election. The previous days he had only noted, at the end of each day, a brief comment on the election.

¹⁵⁵ This moment from the *Diary* does support Victor Codina’s hypothesis that Ignatius’ Christology is very practical and existential. See, Codina, “Jesucristo”, in *DEI* 2:1071-1077, on 1074.

¹⁵⁶ For this reason, I do not agree with the observation, hagiographical in nature, by Ruiz Jurado that the doubt lightly grazed his soul. According to this specialist, “da la impresion que apenas rozó su alma aquel pensamiento”. I would suggest quite the contrary: it was upsetting his soul and the absence of the mediators was alerting him to this. See, Ruiz Jurado, “La pobreza en el carisma”, 61, note 25.

certainly still could have had misgivings about his leaving God at prayer. But perhaps he could have seen that the issue was less about his lack of reverence as it was his giving in to a doubt about his process. With the new knowledge gained on February 16th he could have gone back to the passage and crossed it out.

In summary, Ignatius prays to the mediators, and his journal shows him learning how to read their presence in his discernment process. He is discovering that God's response to him passes in some way through the sign both of their presence and absence. Given this spiritual process, his edits, deletions, and additions are much more than his seeking the precise expression. They are indices of Ignatius' growing capacity to feel and then to know God's signs – and that requires time. What was formerly a point, initially innocuous or at least unclear to him, with time, came to be known as a temptation.

Yet, the crucial sign, that illuminates all the others, is the life of the Son. His life provided the light by which Ignatius came to know what he was feeling. The ordering of the Son's life ordered the narrative that God is writing in him. Mediation, far from being simply help towards God or access to God, appears, especially given its context in the Eucharist with the daily reading of the Gospel, as a kind of "continuing contemplation" (*juntamente contemplando*) [Ej 135] of the life of the Mother and the Son which helps him feel and know God's will. And in the process, he discovers God's deep promise to him, a promise present in signs felt and in signs withheld.

2.3. Brief conclusions of the Mother and the Son as mediators

a. A personal, felt and immediate mediation

At its most basic level, his turn to the mediators indicates his desire to begin a spiritual journey and to consciously include on that journey the Mother and the Son. It is also a spiritual practice that shows Ignatius looking for help at the beginning of his discernment process. He confides himself, the Society of Jesus, and the question of poverty into the hands of the mediators, imploring that they intercede for him. And he does this deliberately and gradually, first approaching the Mother, then the Son, and finally God. It seems plausible to affirm that this processual and gradual structure helped him¹⁵⁷. As structured as it is, the

¹⁵⁷ Adolf Haas calls the opening numbers of the *Diary* an example of Ignatius' "mysticism of mediation", and the author highlights what he describes as Ignatius' "necessity of an orderly arrangement in the interior life", see Haas, "The mysticism of St. Ignatius", 193ff.

particular accent in his mediatory prayer is its highly relational and sensory nature. The mediators are real persons for him¹⁵⁸. Seeing and feeling appear to constitute the two hermeneutical categories of his mediatory prayer¹⁵⁹. These two categories suggest that in his mediatory prayer he ultimately sought (and found) [*Ej* 1] an immediate experience of them. However paradoxical this may seem, mediation is less about an instrumental or mechanical movement to arrive at God as it is about an immediate encounter with the persons themselves¹⁶⁰. Likewise, it is striking to observe in the first days of his experience the confluence of this immediate experience of the mediators with his growing clarity on God's will¹⁶¹. In summary, I see mediation as forming the initial stages of his discernment, giving his prayer a clear structure, as well giving him the felt signs by which he was able to discern God's will.

This is nowhere more evident as it is on February 18th when he offers his election. In a clearly ascendant trajectory, he first entrusts himself to the saints that they might pray to Our Lady and the Son; next, he turns to Our Lady and the Son that they might, in turn, be intercessors of his before the Blessed Trinity. The community that populates his mediatory prayer is expansive: he also refers to the angels, holy Fathers, apostles, disciples, and all of the saints [*De* 46]¹⁶². Once offered, he descends, giving thanks to all who helped him arrive at and offer his election to the Triune God. The structure of this prayer, vast in the breath of the intercessors included, demonstrates the importance of this election to him. It also points to mediation as that spiritual structure – always deeply personal, dialogical, and felt – that helps him move towards God, offer his election, and then await God's confirmatory movement towards him. Confirmation – the sign of God's promise to him – is what he hopes for in his mediatory prayer.

¹⁵⁸ “Ignacio experimenta en primer lugar las Personas”. See, García Mateo, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria”, 442.

¹⁵⁹ In chapter 9 I will study in more detail his repeated use of the verbal pair seeing/feeling.

¹⁶⁰ Here I follow the insight of Cordovilla Pérez, “Rasgos del Dios de Ignacio”, 93.

¹⁶¹ This ongoing discovery of the mediators as a sign in his prayer is suggested by his reflections on the action of the evil spirit. On March 12th, he discovers that the evil one brought him thoughts against the divine persons and mediators [*De* 152]. This observation suggests his growing awareness of the role of the mediators in his spiritual experience and his understanding of that experience.

¹⁶² The vastness of his intercessory prayer in this moment even exceeds the composition of the heavenly court that he instructs the retreatant to imagine in the *Exercises* [*Ej* 60, 98, 232].

b. *Ecclesial*

The relational and felt character of his prayer of mediation does not overshadow its ecclesial nature. Though most apparent in his invocation of the celestial court in his oblation, the invocation of Mary as the Mother also evokes her as the one who received “in faith, hope, and unblemished love” Jesus, the Creator and Redeemer¹⁶³. Her “yes” to God models how the Christian is called to receive God’s revelation in the Church. She was the beginning, the “center of the little company which was the beginning of the Church”¹⁶⁴. Mary is the mother of the Church, she is an image of the Church¹⁶⁵, and she symbolizes the Church’s mystery¹⁶⁶. As such, the designation “mother” is not without an ecclesial valence¹⁶⁷. To appeal as he does to the heart of Mary, the original upper room¹⁶⁸, in a votive mass, is to situate himself in the heart of the Church. Similarly, to seek the intercession of the Son is to appeal to the One “who died and was raised, and who is as the right hand of God interceding for us” (Rom 8:34). To seek the intercessory prayer of the Son is to enter into the mystery of the Son’s life who continues to intercede for the Church. In this way, mediation takes him into the mystery of the Church as mother who potentiates the personal experience of God¹⁶⁹. His personal discernment not only can and should be considered deeply ecclesial, but as that which is made possible in and by the Church¹⁷⁰.

Far from existing at the margin of the Church, his personal prayer positions him in the Church. This ecclesial nature of his mediatory prayer is nowhere more on display than in that

¹⁶³ The expression comes from Kempis’ *Imitation*, and it is one of the few references to Mary in the text. She is invoked as modelling the way that one should receive the Eucharist. For this reason, it does appear that for Kempis, Mary’s “yes” to God is eminently ecclesial. See, *Imitation*, IV.17.

¹⁶⁴ Hugo Rahner, *Our Lady and the Church*, trans. Sebastian Bullough (Bethesda, Maryland: Zaccheus Press, 2004), 99.

¹⁶⁵ For example, Corbon: “In the fullness of time, then, she is the Church in her own person”. See, Corbon, *The Wellspring of Worship*, 103.

¹⁶⁶ Here again I follow Rahner’s thesis that “we must learn to see the Church in Our Lady, and in Our Lady in the Church”. See, Rahner, *Our Lady and the Church*, 98, 115.

¹⁶⁷ Diego Molina argues that there are two fundamental images that most point to the experience that Ignatius had of the Church. The first is that of the bride of Christ and the second is that of “our holy mother, the hierarchical Church” or, in Spanish, “nuestra santa madre jerárquica”. See, Molina, “Iglesia”, in *DEI* 2:967-975, 968.

¹⁶⁸ Rahner, *Our Lady and the Church*, 101.

¹⁶⁹ In another essay of his, Molina writes that related to these two images is the role of the Church as that “en ser objetivadora de la experiencia de Dios y la potenciadora de la misma”. See, Molina, “...la vera sposa de Christo nuestro Señor [Ej 353]. La Iglesia en la dogmática ignaciana”, in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 411-436, 425, emphasis mine; (hereafter article cited as “La Iglesia en la dogmática ignaciana”).

¹⁷⁰ It is relevant to note that the first use of the word “Church” in the *Spiritual Exercises* occurs in the context of the election: “El primer punto: es necesario que todas cosas, de las cuales queremos hacer elección, sean indiferentes o buenas en sí, y que militen dentro de la santa madre Iglesia jerárquica, y no malas ni repugnantes a ella” [Ej 170].

which constitutes the center of his prayer each day. Ignatius the priest seeks the intercessory help of the mediators in the most ecclesial of settings: the mass¹⁷¹. The mass and the prayers of the Church provide the objective groundwork of his personal and subjective experience. In essence, his mediatory prayer unites the objectivity of the prayers of the Church and personal appropriation, the two lines of an upright feeling in the Church¹⁷². If he imagined himself as one more son before the Mother, with a growing trust in her, quite possibly his mediatory prayer was solidifying his filial identification in and with the Church¹⁷³.

Not only does his mediatory prayer locate him in the Church, but it is a mediatory prayer *for* the Church. As specialists of Ignatian spirituality have pointed out, Ignatius' ecclesiology highlights the Church as mission¹⁷⁴. As a man of the Church, faithful to the Church of his time, Ignatius focused his energies on helping souls. This desire frames his ecclesiology¹⁷⁵. And that desire to serve souls prompts him to undertake this spiritual process whose movements he so diligently records. The mission of the Society of Jesus for the mission of the Church is at the heart of this text. As such, his mediatory prayer situates him in the Church and shows him undertaking a personal discernment that would be productive for the entire ecclesial body¹⁷⁶.

c. Mediation as movement into the mystery of God's life

The Son's earthly ministry enters into Ignatius' process in important ways. On three different occasions, he calls to mind, or, as he phrases it, he receives intelligences of the Son's life and ministry. He thinks of the Son who praises poverty [*De* 5], sends his apostles to preach in poverty [*De* 15], and who orders all things to the Father [*De* 33]. These considerations of the Son lead him to discover God's will. In brief, Christ mediates his

¹⁷¹ See also, Suquía Goicoechea who writes: "Ignacio descubre la eficacia extraordinaria de la mediación y de los mediadores en el sacrificio de la misa". See, Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 187.

¹⁷² "Apropiación y objetividad trazan los límites de un recto sentir en la Iglesia". See, Santiago Madrigal Terrazas, *Estudios de ecclesiología ignaciana* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2002), 16.

¹⁷³ I use the two prepositions "in" and "with" intentionally to include the two renderings of the Rules for thinking with the Church. The Spanish employs "en" as in "thinking *in* the Church", whereas the Latin utilizes "con", as in "thinking *with* the Church".

¹⁷⁴ See, for example, Molina, "La Iglesia en la dogmática ignaciana", in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 418; Molina, "Iglesia", in *DEI* 2:967.

¹⁷⁵ "Toda la visión de Ignacio sobre la Iglesia ha de entenderse enmarcada en la meta de su propia vida, que no fue otra que el servicio a Dios y la ayuda de las almas". See, Molina, "La Iglesia en la dogmática ignaciana", in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 415.

¹⁷⁶ Again, here I follow Molina: "La experiencia personal de Dios se vuelve productiva para todo el cuerpo eclesial". See, Molina, "La Iglesia en la dogmática ignaciana", 430.

experience of God, and in this way, Christology and Theology are united¹⁷⁷. In terms of his discernment, Jesus constitutes God's most unequivocal response to Ignatius' question¹⁷⁸. He feels deeply the Son's life and seems to instinctively know what that life reveals to him. It is the word – as he himself puts it – that is in no need of other signs to interpret it. His life comprises the true content of that argument to refuse any income¹⁷⁹.

The particular content of the Son's life that moves Ignatius to consider not receiving any income for the churches' sacristies is poverty. However, I would suggest that this image of the Son connected to poverty represents far more than a helpful insight for Ignatius. The Son's poverty is not just one aspect of His life among others. In the expression of Jean Corbon, Jesus "is more than a model of poverty; he is in his person the mystery of poverty"¹⁸⁰. The significant affective movement that Ignatius feels upon recalling the Son's poverty suggests that he is discovering this mystery of the Son's life. Jesus, the poor friend of men and women, the one who receives all that He has from the Father and gives it to others, provides Ignatius with a response to his question.

His perception of the Son who praises poverty and who pours out his life for the world is Ignatius' first step towards the kenotic love of the Trinity that he will soon be invited to contemplate. Aware of my previously announced caveat to not force a narrative ark on the text, the *Diary* does reveal that the question of material poverty, an ostensibly practical question, ultimately brings Ignatius deeper into the mystery of the Son's life, a life which finds its source in the Trinity¹⁸¹. In essence, the prayer of mediation brings him to the Son, who continues to promise, as He did to his disciples, the revelation of greater things (John 1:50). Ignatius will be invited to contemplate greater things, and with them a new phase of his discernment opens, one in which, for the first time, Ignatius names the Son "Jesus".

¹⁷⁷ Cordovilla Pérez, "Rasgos del Dios de Ignacio", 78, 93.

¹⁷⁸ Evokes the cogent expression of St. John of the Cross: "Porque en darnos, como nos dio, a su Hijo, que es una Palabra suya, que no tiene otra, todo nos lo habló junto y de una vez en esta sola Palabra, y no tiene más que hablar". See, Juan de la Cruz, *Subida del Monte Carmelo*, in *Obras completas*, ed. José Vicente Rodríguez, 6th ed. (Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2009), Book II, chapter 22, number 4, page 298.

¹⁷⁹ I am borrowing here the language of Alexander Schmemmann who offers that "Christ is the only true 'content' – meaning, being, and end – of all that exists, the fullness of him who fills all things". See, Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World* (New York: St. Vladimir's Press, 2018), 90.

¹⁸⁰ Corbon, *The Wellspring of Worship*, 242; in the Ignatian context, Peter-Hans Kolvenbach offers the same idea: "La pobreza vivida... constituye el ser mismo del Señor, que engloba su ser casto y su ser obediente". See, Kolvenbach, "Sobre la pobreza", in *Selección de Escritos 2:75-80*, 75.

¹⁸¹ I am sharpening an observation of Kolvenbach's on the *Diary* where he offers that "es lo particular lo que expresa lo que es Dios". See, Kolvenbach, "La experiencia de Cristo en Ignacio de Loyola", in *Decir al Indecible*, 65-75, 70.

2.4. Jesus who does everything

Though it is hard to label one moment in the *Diary* as more important than another, the events of February 18th constitute a turning point. He became indignant with the Trinity, and as an indication of his frustration, he retired that night without deciding upon the next day's mass. The following day, February 19th, he makes no mention of his frustration or disappointment. He reports doing an examination of conscience, but judging from what he wrote, the previous day's indignation did not enter into his prayer. He resolved to say mass to the Blessed Trinity and to see what he should do to move forward (*para después ver lo que haría*) [De 51]. He felt the Trinity particularly close and decided to say six or more masses consecutively to the three divine persons. That decision appears to be confirmed – he indicated that he received many new insights and intelligences on the Trinity that far surpassed what could be understood through a whole life of study [De 52]. Moreover, in one of the few references to his activity outside of prayer, he notes “walking in the city with much interior happiness” [De 55]. In brief, everything on this day spoke to him of the Trinity. Thus, in one short day, he goes from indignation to the Trinity to a sense of its presence in “three rational creatures, three animals, and three things” [De 55]. Everywhere he looks, everything becomes a sign of God's triune life¹⁸². Though it appears to be a rather sudden movement, he will over the following days make this journey more slowly, entering each day into a greater awareness of the Triune God.

This movement into the life of the Trinity marks the second half of the first booklet. And it is Jesus, “the one mediator between God and men” (1 Tm 2:5), who comes to him, reconciles him with the Trinity, and places him with the Trinity. As a result of his experience of Jesus' mediation, his very guide and way, Ignatius offers himself more completely to God, desiring to conform himself to the divine will [De 80].

a. The head of the Society comes to its superior general

As he prepared the altar for what would be his fifth consecutive mass to the Trinity, Ignatius recounts that there came to him the thought of Jesus, and with this thought there emerged in him the desire to follow Him [De 66]. As in his previous considerations of the

¹⁸² Certainly, this is the fruit of a great grace given to him. It is also the work of the liturgy in him. As Schmemmann reminds us, Christian liturgy demands us “to live in the world seeing everything in it as a revelation of God, a sign of his presence, the joy of his coming, the call to communion with him, the hope for fulfillment in him”. See, Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*, 137.

Son [De 15, 33], this thought of Jesus “as the head (*cabeza*) of the Society,” presents him with the best argument (*mayor argumento*) to choose complete poverty. He even goes so far as to state that the thought contained such depth and force that he would not need any “consolation about this” [De 67]¹⁸³. As such, in the first occasion in the *Diary* in which he refers to Jesus by name, the superior of the order receives clarity regarding the election from the order’s head. Jesus constitutes the felt sign whose content was known immediately.

His prayer, however, continues and intensifies. As he prepares for the mass, he notes that “it seems this showing or this feeling of Jesus” is the work of the Trinity [De 67]. This perception that the Trinity is “in some way” [De 67] responsible for Jesus’s presence evokes in him an important memory. He remembers the moment “when the Father placed me with the Son” [De 67]. This recollection of the vision of La Storta moves him deeply, and he reports: “when I had finished vesting, (for the mass) with the endeavor (*intensión*) to be imprinted in me in such a great way the name of Jesus” [De 68]¹⁸⁴. The act of putting on the vestments becomes an expression for him of his desire that Jesus, the one with whom God had placed him, might completely enfold his entire life. The Pauline metaphor of “putting on the Lord Jesus Christ” (Rom 13:14) describes well the spiritual density of this moment: Ignatius seems to be vesting conscious that he is acting in the name of Jesus in the sacrament¹⁸⁵. And in the sacrament, his desires intensify, and he feels at the precise moment of holding the Eucharist, the desire “to never abandon Him for all of heaven or earth” [De 69]¹⁸⁶. Finally, there is one further movement. Ignatius relates that this experience of Jesus led him to consider “the companions that had signed” [De 69]. With this elliptical phrase, he refers to the companions who signed the draft of the *Constitutions* in 1541 and to whom he would submit his prayerful discernment of this issue for their reconsideration¹⁸⁷.

The experiences on this day represent a remarkable movement. As a way to evoke

¹⁸³ Though my investigation will not explore with more detail the topic of confirmation, this moment in the *Diary* presents Ignatius’ view that confirmation need not always arrive through affective channels. It can be cognitive: “suficiente moción es la de la razón”. See, *Epp XI*, Ignatius to Alfonso Ramírez de Vergara (Rome, 30 March, 1556), 184; *Letters and Instructions*, 647. See also Alfredo Sampaio, “Confirmación”, in *DEI* 1:389-392.

¹⁸⁴ Ignatius wrote “intensión”, not “intención”. “Intensión: Actividad, ardor, eficacia y empeño con que obra algún agente necesario, o que aplica el agente libre en sus operaciones y afectos”, *Aut*, s.v. intención. The word indicates his marshalling all of his energy that Jesus’ name might penetrate him deeply.

¹⁸⁵ Further Pauline references to the metaphor of vesting as a putting on of Christ, see, Gal 3:27, Eph 4:24, Col 3:10.

¹⁸⁶ In his text, he added the adjective “todo”, indicating his desire to not abandon Jesus for “todo el cielo” [De 69].

¹⁸⁷ This reference to his companions reminds us, as Mora affirms, that what Ignatius is looking for, “no es próximamente la fórmula definitiva de las Constituciones, sino la fórmula que él debía defender ante sus compañeros en este punto de la pobreza”. See, Mora, *La devoción en el espíritu*, 46.

their depth, I will dedicate the following four points to examine more carefully the content of his prayer. Of central importance is his evocation of La Storta, that mystical experience that seems to have configured so deeply his understanding of God’s deep promise to him and to his companions. If the *Diary* is a kind of urtext, to a certain extent raw in its formulations as I have previously suggested, it is not without the potential to offer significant reflections for spiritual theology in general and Ignatian spirituality in particular.

- A communal image of Jesus

He first experiences Jesus in a thought as he prepares the altar for mass. He imagines Jesus as the “head of the Society” [*De* 66]. This image of Jesus as the head, redolent as it is of Pauline ecclesiology¹⁸⁸, suggests the deepening ecclesial and communal nature of his relationship with Jesus. His relationship to God’s Son is now mediated by the context of his life as superior of a group of men in an apostolic order officially recognized by the Church. Jesus is now “our head”. This style of referring to Jesus reminds us that Ignatius is no longer alone setting out on foot to Jerusalem to be solely or exclusively with his beloved Savior. Rather, he is with others, and these others inform how he relates to Jesus. He relates as one of a group to their collective head. This perspective of his relationship with Jesus could be read as a strong corrective to the tendency to identify Ignatius as the pilgrim and, as such, one whose relationship with Jesus was exclusively individual and personal.

The communal nature of this image is not without an important consideration for the *Diary* itself. This document, typically read as those personal notes of his not destined for others’ eyes, actually has present his companions. He understands that his personal experience of God in this discernment is for the mission of his companions, both present and future. Far too often, the *Diary* has been read as his personal discernment on a topic that was acutely or exclusively personal. That is not a mistaken reading, but the image of Jesus that comes to him reminds us that this personal discernment of his takes place in a communal apostolic venture¹⁸⁹. It is not too venturesome to suggest that the *Diary* is less about him getting God’s answer on a topic than it is about his desire to conform all of their lives with Jesus’s. Following and observing God’s movement in his life was his way, as superior, to care for the men and for their apostolic work. The fruit of the discernment was for them.

This implicit communal aspect of the document is made explicit in his deliberation points. In all of his points he is dealing with the communal ramifications of each alternative.

¹⁸⁸ See, Eph 5:23-30.

¹⁸⁹ I will return to this point in chapter 9 where I will argue that the *Diary* represents a apostolic discernment.

He looks at all sides of the issue of receiving income (or not) from the perspective of the entire group. He sees that great spiritual advantages to the apostolic body should they not receive such income. They would be able to live “forgetful of all secular consolation”, “in greater divine hope”, as well as “give greater edification to all”¹⁹⁰. In short, the “Deliberation on poverty” reminds us that basic context for this discernment is communal, and this communal life was shaping his own relationship to Jesus. In the language of the list of his advantages and disadvantages, Jesus was “our common Lord Jesus”¹⁹¹. Paradoxically then, this personal discernment notebook of his discloses his very communal understanding and relationship with Jesus. The document also reminds us that the personal discernment of God’s will is a deeply apostolic venture undertaken for others. It is not a prelude to apostolic work, but in and of itself constitutes an act of service to others.

- The Eucharist as the place of devotion where discipleship in community emerges

Ignatius’ indication that Jesus came to him in a thought while he was preparing the altar is theologically very rich¹⁹². His encounter with Christ is an encounter with the one who is the priest and the offering; Jesus is the one who is and who realizes the one sacrifice to the Father. Though Ignatius is dressing the altar, Jesus is the priest and mediator. He is the one who is preparing Ignatius for his encounter with God¹⁹³. And Ignatius seems conscious of this as he intimates that Jesus was mediating the presence of the Trinity. There is a harmonious movement in his experience of Jesus as mediating the presence of the Trinity¹⁹⁴ and the Eucharist, the liturgical action *par excellence* of giving thanks to the Trinity for their salvific action in the death and resurrection of Jesus¹⁹⁵. In brief, at the altar the Trinity encounters Ignatius, and it is where he praises, reverences and serves them for their salvific action in Jesus.

There is also an evident Christological dimension to his encounter with Jesus at the altar, “the perennial symbol of Christ himself”¹⁹⁶. In his preparation of the altar and in his celebration of the Eucharist as a priest, he enters into the very mystery of Christ’s offering to

¹⁹⁰ Reason number 6 for not receiving, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267.

¹⁹¹ Reason number 12 for not receiving, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267.

¹⁹² “La Iglesia tributa al altar el máximo honor, como símbolo de Cristo e imagen de aquel altar celeste en el que, según las visiones del Apocalipsis (Apoc. 16:7), Jesucristo sigue ejerciendo siempre por nosotros las funciones de su eterno sacerdocio”. See, Righetti, *Historia de la Liturgia*, 855.

¹⁹³ Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 184-185.

¹⁹⁴ I follow here Kolvenbach, “La experiencia de Cristo en Ignacio de Loyola”, 69: “Jesús está, como ningún otro, en la condición única de Uno de la Trinidad”.

¹⁹⁵ Suquía Goicoechea, *La santa misa*, 189: “¿Qué es la misa sino el acto de homenaje, culto, por excelencia a la santísima Trinidad?”.

¹⁹⁶ Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 284.

the Father. And the paschal mystery that he celebrates provokes him to renew his promise to give his whole life to the Lord. The image of him holding the Eucharist and promising to never abandon Jesus is powerful; it manifests his “Eucharistic passion” in which he expressed his desire “to make of himself a living offering to the Father and to his brothers”¹⁹⁷. Yet his offering is ultimately the offering of Christ in him. Christ is accomplishing this work in him. The context too is important; the liturgy, that which establishes and develops the priestly mystery of Christ in his soul, is effecting this transformation in him¹⁹⁸.

Finally, the altar is the place of encounter with his companions. The lives of his companions, their needs, and their collective apostolic project forms a part of his offering. His encounter with Christ at the altar, “the table of his consultations with the divine persons” ultimately leads him to imagine a future encounter with his companions¹⁹⁹. This is suggested in the final movement of his prayer where he reveals his desire to offer his discernment to them for their consideration [*De* 69]. The community of his companions is never far from the divine community of the Trinity. Moreover, the spiritual movement suggests that his adoration and communion with the Trinity in the Eucharist founded his communion with his companions²⁰⁰. The Eucharist brought him into the very life of God, and that communion created his union with his companions²⁰¹. Their union is a Eucharistic union, concretized in their praise of God at the altar and in their service to Him in their service of others²⁰². In summary, his encounter with Jesus at the altar conveys deep Trinitarian, Christological and apostolic movements.

- La Storta – the outline of his spirituality

His perception that Jesus comes to him from the Trinity evokes in him the memory of a similar experience, one where “the Father placed me with the Son” [*De* 67]. With this phrase, Ignatius recalls his powerful spiritual experience at La Storta, a chapel 15 kilometers outside of Rome. In 1537, travelling from northern Italy to Rome with Peter Faber and

¹⁹⁷ Kolvenbach, “En el 450 aniversario de los votos de Montmartre”, in *Selección de Escritos* 1:33-36, 34. Similarly, his use of “altar” instead of “mesa” could suggest, following Gesteira Garza, that Ignatius was more attentive to the existential offering of Jesus than to the sacrificial expiatory accent that has coursed through Eucharistic theology. See, his fine analysis of “altar” and “mesa”, with a note on Diego Lainez’s contribution at Trent on this very point in *La Eucaristia, misterio de comunión*, 319-327, and note 59 on 327.

¹⁹⁸ Righeti, *Historia de la Liturgia*, 51.

¹⁹⁹ Pedro Arrupe, “Homilía inaugural en la Iglesia del Gesù. 2 de diciembre de 1974”, in *Congregación General XXXII de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1975), 279-284, 284.

²⁰⁰ Again, I follow Arrupe: “Nuestro Instituto se fue creando en el medio sacramental de la Eucaristía dignamente ofrecida”. See, Arrupe, “Homilía inaugural en la Iglesia del Gesù. 2 de diciembre de 1974”, 284.

²⁰¹ I follow closely here Kolvenbach, “En el 450 aniversario de los votos de Montmartre”, 34.

²⁰² “In the liturgy we find men at the place where God meets them and Christ makes himself the servant of mankind”. See, Corbon, *The Wellspring of Worship*, 253.

Diego Laínez, he entered the chapel at La Storta and in prayer saw God placing him with the Son. At that time, he was an ordained priest, yet he had decided to prepare himself for his first mass over the period of an entire year, and as a part of that preparation, he had been praying to the Virgin that she would place him with her Son [Au 96]. On that trip to Rome, during which the three companions were celebrating daily the Eucharist, his prayer was answered²⁰³. In his dictation of his life to Gonçalves da Câmara many years later, he indicated that “he saw so clearly God the Father placing [me] with Christ, his Son” [Au 96].

The experience of La Storta, which he recalls now in the very language given in the *Autobiography*²⁰⁴, was undoubtedly powerful for him. The context of that experience was his fervent petition, his priestly ordination, the inchoate coalescing of an apostolic community, and the daily Eucharist he and his two companions celebrated on the journey. According to the recollection of Diego Laínez, one of his companions on the journey, Ignatius felt that God the Father had impressed upon his heart these words²⁰⁵: “I will be propitious to you in Rome”. The vision, however, according to Laínez, involved more elements. This close companion reports that Ignatius heard God the Father say to Jesus, carrying his cross: “I want you to take this one as your servant”. To which the Son, obedient to the Father, addressed Ignatius: “I want you to serve us”²⁰⁶. In addition to Ignatius’ own description of the experience, this testimony suggests that not only was it an answer to his prayer, but it was a call to serve Jesus who continues to carry his cross in the Church²⁰⁷. Moreover, that call included the companions: God’s promise to Ignatius that He would be propitious included them. Like Ignatius, they too shared in the call to understand themselves as placed by God with the Son who carries his cross in the Church²⁰⁸. Consequently, the vision offered Ignatius and his companions a confirmation of the apostolic desires, and, even more concretely, of their desire to name their company after Jesus’ name. It was a confirmation that opened them to God’s

²⁰³ In his excellent study of the vision at La Storta, Hugo Rahner points to the spiritual context of the vision, highlighting as he does the daily eucharist, and offers that the vision emerged or was born from his intimate union with the Trinitarian God. In other words, it does not just happen, but emerges rather organically from his prayer and from the communal experience of daily mass. See, Rahner, “La visión de San Ignacio en la capilla de La Storta”, in *Ignacio de Loyola: el hombre y el teólogo*, ed. José García de Castro (Bilbao, Santander, Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2019), 41-117, 97-99; (hereafter article cited as “La visión de San Ignacio”).

²⁰⁴ “Dios Padre le ponía con Cristo, su Hijo” [Au 96].

²⁰⁵ Here I follow Hugo Rahner’s interpretation of the vision at La Storta. Rahner argues, convincingly, that the narration of the vision by Laínez represents “la protoforma, la fuente originaria”. For his argument, and a review of all the sources for this vision, see, Rahner, “La visión de San Ignacio”, 75.

²⁰⁶ Diego Laínez gave this narration of Ignatius’ experience at La Storta in 1559 in a talk to Jesuits in Rome. See, “Adhortationes in librum examinis”, in *FN II*, 133.

²⁰⁷ Rahner, “La visión de San Ignacio”, 77.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 109: “El efecto principal de la visión: él y sus compañeros han sido verdaderamente puestos con Cristo”.

promise: He would fulfill their deep desires.

The relational configuration offered in this vision is deep. It originates with God the Father, includes the identification with Jesus as companion, it connects the companions with each other, and it situates them as servants of Christ's Church as priests. Though there is no mention of the Holy Spirit in the vision, the placing of Ignatius with Jesus by God indicates the action of the Spirit²⁰⁹. To be integrated into the communion between the Father and the Son is to feel the action of the Spirit²¹⁰. In essence, the relational configuration of the vision that he received at La Storta is trinitarian; the expression of those relationships is service and love.

In 1544, as in 1537, he feels that Jesus comes to him, and he recognizes that the protagonist of the experience is the Trinity. The present context is not a roadside chapel, but it is, as it was then, Eucharistic. Previously, his prayer was a petition: to be placed with the Son. Now, as a priest, with the sacrament in his hands, he feels a new desire come from deep within (*veniéndome un hablar*) [*De* 69]; the words that welled up inside of him were to never abandon Jesus²¹¹. The Word of God, at the roadside chapel of La Storta and now in his chapel as Superior of the Jesuits in Rome, evokes in him his word of offering and promise²¹². The Eucharist, the place where he experiences God's promise and he offers his own²¹³, activates his memory, making him even more conscious of his experience of God's salvation²¹⁴.

The invocation of that experience in his journal suggests that the vision at La Storta represented, as Hugo Rahner proposes, a milestone in his mystical ascent to God²¹⁵. It was, in other words, something more than a happy memory. It was in the origin of his spirit²¹⁶,

²⁰⁹ I follow here Cordovilla Pérez, "Rasgos del Dios de Ignacio", 85. I also agree with the author's argument that in La Storta "se da más plenamente una mística trinitaria que cuando se afirma, sin más, que cada una de las oraciones va dirigida a cada una de las personas divinas" (85-86).

²¹⁰ "El Espíritu es el *ámbito* y el *medio* en el que el ser humano es integrado en la comunión del Padre y el Hijo". See, Arzubialde, *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad*, 334, author's emphasis.

²¹¹ Here I differ from Hugo Rahner's reading of this passage in the *Diary*. I believe Rahner mistakenly reads this passage of the Ignatian text. He interprets the subject of the "el hablar" as God. Citing this passage, he writes: "Dios habla con él con palabras impronunciables". This word or speech was, unquestionably, a grace, but the text suggests that Ignatius was moved to formulate his own word that was welling up within him. Understood correctly, the spiritual moment is a colloquy. Ignatius, at the end of the spiritual experience, deeply affected and moved, offers his word to God. See, Rahner, "La visión de San Ignacio", 114.

²¹² Here I follow the observation of Alberto Nuñez, "Padre", in *DEI* 2:1399-1407, 1400.

²¹³ See, Rahner, "La vision de San Ignacio", 97: "Ser puesto con Cristo... encontraba en Ignacio su expresión, sobre todo, en la santa misa".

²¹⁴ See, Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, memoria de comunión*, 444.

²¹⁵ Rahner, "La visión de San Ignacio", 105.

²¹⁶ See, Herbert Alphonso, "La Storta", in *DEI* 2:1091-1100, on 1100.

and its appearance in this moment in 1544 suggests that it was an originating experience²¹⁷. By this I mean to suggest that La Storta appears to have configured his understanding of his life with God as a companion of Jesus in the Church. This would suggest that Ignatius invokes La Storta not just to mention a past experience, but to recall a decisive moment whose relational lines continue to be operative. Those relational lines consist of a prayer of mediation, the gratuitous action of the Triune God, the experience of being called to serve God as a companion of Jesus, a clear reference to his life with his companions, and the giving thanks to God for that vocation in the Eucharist. La Storta, more than simply offering him “one of the greatest graces in his life”²¹⁸, was a grace in which God also revealed to him how He relates to him. Ignatius, so attentive to the spiritual experience as containing an implicit pedagogy, would have caught the ark of the movement.

La Storta, as indicated above, entailed one further element. It offered him and his companions confirmation on their way of life with Jesus. In its simplest interpretation, that experience functioned as a response to his prayer that confirmed him in his apostolic communal life. In a word, there is an *effect* to the experience. I would suggest that the present experience functions in the same way. The trinitarian relational lines are present, *and* it offers him confirmation of the election to receive no income as that which would most configure the order’s life to that of Jesus’s. The remarkable aspect of this, as it was in the case of La Storta, is that the confirmation comes gratuitously. Ignatius in this moment is not looking for confirmation on the election. As mentioned above, on this day, February 23rd, he is celebrating his fifth consecutive mass to the Trinity, fulfilling his promise, made on February 19th, to say six or more consecutive masses to the Trinity [*De* 51]. What is more, he had even stated that he was no longer seeking confirmation on his election [*De* 59]. Rather, he appears to be only praying to the Trinity to complete his masses.

In this spiritual climate of repetition, in which he appears to be orienting and focusing his desire on the Trinity, Jesus comes to him and he feels great clarity about his election. The presence of Jesus first in his understanding, then in his memory, and finally in his will, leads him back to his election and provides him with clear confirmation. It is striking to observe in the *Diary* that his experience of Jesus appears to almost always involve a concrete, even worldly orientation²¹⁹. Though not praying about his election, Jesus grounds him in his human decision-making process, and reveals to him the way forward: rejecting the income.

²¹⁷ I am reformulating an idea of Rahner’s. He proposes that La Storta “es también psicológicamente una síntesis del pasado y un indicador del futuro”. See, Rahner, “La visión de San Ignacio”, 105.

²¹⁸ Rahner, “La vision de San Ignacio”, 115.

²¹⁹ The thesis of Codina, “Jesucristo”, in *DEI* 2:1074.

In two places in his prayer observations for this day he indicates that confirmation was the effect of the experience [*De* 67, 70]. And as an indication that he perceived it as a great grace, he drew lines around both of these passages. Now, as in La Storta, he feels confirmed in his companionship with Jesus, and he appears to know God’s will clearly.

- Human experience of God

Finally, this day’s prayer reveals a clear anthropological outline in his spiritual experience. Jesus comes first to his understanding as a thought, reminds him of his past, and mobilizes his will. In this way, understanding, memory, and will are all engaged in this moment. His whole person comes alive and is captivated by Jesus. Nothing in his humanity remains at the margin of this experience. The references to the faculties of the soul point to the traditional outline of the soul to which Ignatius was heir and seems to have appropriated²²⁰. As such, this particular moment of the *Diary* could be invoked as a singular piece of documentary evidence to demonstrate the importance of the faculties of the soul in his spirituality²²¹. On clear display in this passage is his conviction that God enters into the interior of the human person and there, from inside, communicates His will²²². The interiority of this relational experience demonstrates the faculties not as loci of spiritual reflection or meditation, but rather as that single path by which God comes to the person and by which the person goes to God²²³. Though each of the faculties comprises the one path to God, the will figures prominently. Its importance resides not only in the fact that it comes after understanding and memory, but because it is the faculty from which a relational movement is made²²⁴. Ignatius’ will, affected by Jesus’ love, leads him to determine a future action towards Jesus with others. In short, his experience of Jesus in the faculties of his soul leads him to solidify his discipleship²²⁵.

²²⁰ For more on this, see, Dominique Salin, “Voluntad”, in *DEI* 2:1787; also helpful is Francisco José Ruiz Pérez, “Hombre”, in *DEI* 2:942-947, 943.

²²¹ According to the deposition of one María de la Flor, Ignatius, as far back as his time in Alcalá, expounded upon these faculties in his catechesis. See, “Processus Complutensis Tertius”, in *MScripta* I, 611-623, 611.

²²² See, Martínez-Gayol Fernández, “Voluntad general y voluntad particular”, 127: “Dios que se manifiesta y se revela en un movimiento de abajamiento y condescendencia, propio de su condición kenótica... y lo hace en la historia, desde dentro de nuestra naturaleza y circunstancias y desde abajo”.

²²³ Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 178.

²²⁴ See the excellent analysis by Salin who writes: “La voluntad es, pues, la facultad de estar afectado y de entrar en relación, especialmente con Dios”. See, Salin, “Voluntad”, in *DEI* 2:1788.

²²⁵ Though he does not cite the *Diary*, he could have to support his thesis that that “la cuestión antropológica queda resuelta en el seguimiento”. See, Ruiz Pérez, “Hombre”, in *DEI* 2:947.

b. *Jesus who gives him the desire for reconciliation and reconciles him*

This is the beginning of multiple encounters of his with Jesus. The next day, February 24th, the name of Jesus came to him again and occasioned in him “much love, confirmation and the growing desire to follow Him” [De 71]. Likewise, he felt in the mass that “all of the devotions and feelings had Jesus as their object” [De 72]. The Son of God becomes the center of his prayer, permeating his understanding and his will, so much so that he deduces that the confirmation that he so hoped from the Trinity was being realized by Jesus. This movement towards Jesus is also not without a corresponding deepening of self-knowledge, as it is in this relational context that Ignatius expresses the desire to be reconciled with the Trinity [De 73]. Though he does not make explicit the fault for which he seeks pardon, it seems that he has in mind his indignation at the Trinity. Six days after his episode of becoming angry with the Trinity for not providing him with the confirmation that he desired he becomes aware of the desire for reconciliation²²⁶. And this for one who is considered so scrupulous! Before these encounters with Jesus, he did not formulate any desire or need for pardon; he only expressed the intention to say six or more masses to the Trinity. Even in an examination of conscience on the day after that episode he did not consider any offense given. Though he did indicate on February 20th that it was the evil spirit that made him react with indignation, [De 57], this realization did not move him to seek reconciliation. In the company of Jesus, however, his self-awareness deepens; he perceives a fault and asks for forgiveness.

The theological truth revealed here is powerful: in following and growing closer to Jesus, one receives the grace to see the truth of one’s life²²⁷. For as attentive as Ignatius was, it was not his activity nor was it his assiduous practice of the examination of consciousness that allowed him to see faults committed. It is a grace; in relationship with the One who reconciles humanity to God Ignatius can see his fault and express the desire for pardon. Jesus is the true life, and only in that life can he become aware of his own attitudes and actions that distance him from that life²²⁸.

²²⁶ I find helpful to situate this movement the observation from Corbon: “the possessive ‘mine’ is precisely what destroys the trinitarian communion”. Ignatius wanted *his* confirmation and that compromised his communion with the Trinity. See, Corbon, *The Wellspring of Worship*, 156.

²²⁷ Haas also points out, correctly I believe, that reconciliation in the *Diary* “always appears in connection with Jesus”, see, Haas, “The mysticism of St. Ignatius”, 190.

²²⁸ “Repentance is thus the return of our love, of our life, to God, and this return is possible in Christ because he reveals to us the true Life and makes us aware of our exile and condemnation”. See, Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*, 95.

This petition for reconciliation propels him forward. Though it is hard to detect the tone of the text, the instances in which Ignatius relates his desire to obtain pardon from the Blessed Trinity convey optimism and energy. Twice on February 24th he repeats this desire [*De* 73, 74], and on the following day he uses the verb “reconcile” on two occasions [*De* 78]. He seems energized with this movement, free to engage his whole self in this process since he understands the election as resolved and in need of no further confirmation [*De* 78]. Concomitant with this petition, Ignatius continues to experience a deepening in his relationship with Jesus. He indicates that in remembering Jesus, he grew in confidence that He would be propitious to me [*De* 80]; he continues to entrust himself to Him [*De* 82]. And in this relational movement, the gift of reconciliation arrives to him almost imperceptibly, but unambiguously. He registers it by finding in himself no further contradiction with respect to the Trinity [*De* 81]²²⁹. It falls as softly in his life as did the awareness of his sin. And that feeling receives a powerful confirmation in the form of a vision in which he feels or sees that Jesus, as a mediator of the divine persons, places him next to the Blessed Trinity: “(I had) a feeling, more properly a vision... of the Blessed Trinity and of Jesus, representing me or placing me or acting as mediator to the Blessed Trinity” [*De* 83]²³⁰. This provokes in him a feeling of “respect of submission (*acatamiento*) more like reverential love (*amor reverencial*) than anything else” [*De* 84]²³¹. Jesus, “who does everything before the Father” [*De* 84], has placed him back into relationship with the Trinity. Once again, the relational lines of his experience at La Storta are operative and palpable to him²³². There it was the Father that placed him with the Son. Now it is the Son who places him with the Trinity²³³.

Over the course of the following days, his union deepens with God’s Son. In what appears to be an allusion to an earlier experience, Ignatius recalls how he had previously seen Jesus’s humanity “at another time” [*De* 87]. This reference could allude to what he

²²⁹ This observation, made on February 26th, is the first indication of his sense at having been reconciled. However, he continues observing his interiority, even stating a week later, on March 5th, “ni sentir discordia o sinsabor alguno pasado” [*De* 115]. Reconciliation, far from being a punctual moment, appears to have been for him a gradual process of return.

²³⁰ The passage is dense: “en oración, un sentir, o más propiamente ver... a la santísima Trinidad y a Jesús, asimismo representándome o poniéndome o seyendo medio junto a la santísima Trinidad” [*De* 83]. I follow the interpretation of Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado who offer that Jesus is the subject of the phrase, and Jesus is the mediator who places or represents Ignatius to or with the Trinity. See, Iparraguirre, Ruiz Jurado, ed., *Diario Espiritual*, in *Obras*, 318, footnote 152.

²³¹ All the more important as this is the first time that he feels “*acatamiento*”, a gift that he will identify as a new way that God is showing him. His experience of Jesus’ action in his life brings about this new way or “*vía*”.

²³² Egan makes this very connection. See, Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic*, 75.

²³³ Egan is eloquent on this point: “Jesus became, explicitly and mystically, Ignatius’ means of loving union with the Trinity. At La Storta, Ignatius mystically experienced Jesus from a Trinitarian perspective. Now he experienced the Trinity from Jesus’ perspective”. See, Egan, *Ignatius the Mystic*, 91.

expressed in his *Autobiography* where one of his visions at Manresa involved “the humanity of Christ” [Au 29]. Now he reports seeing “not his humanity alone” but Jesus “as being completely my God” [De 87]. He passes from a vision of his humanity to his divinity²³⁴. This is his faith journey in these days: his encounter “with the humanity of Jesus Christ... is, through faith, an encounter with the Incarnate Word”²³⁵. And the action of that Incarnate Word continues in humble acts of service. In perhaps one of the more iconographic revelations, he reports a vision of Jesus at the feet of the Trinity [De 88]. This image presents an extraordinary symbolic representation of all that Ignatius has been experiencing with Jesus. Sent by the Trinity, He is their servant, the One who exercised that same diaconal service in his earthly ministry²³⁶. As He did in Galilee, Jesus has come to serve Ignatius in his desire to return to the divine persons. He humbly serves at the feet of the Trinity, and throughout these days he has humbly placed himself at the feet of Ignatius, serving and helping him return to God.

c. Ignatius at the feet of the divine will

In addition to this experience of reconciliation, union with the Trinity, and perception of his divinity, the presence of Jesus in Ignatius’ prayer produces a new desire in him. In a remarkable passage of great spiritual liberty, he states that he was no longer seeking nor looking for confirmation, but rather “it came to me to demand and beg Jesus to conform (me) to the will of the Blessed Trinity by the way (*la vía*) that seemed best to the divine persons” [De 80]²³⁷. As such, his intimacy with the Jesus, the one whose only desire was to do the divine will, opens him to express this same desire. And it is a simple desire: that “the Trinity might do with me (whatever might be) its greater service” [De 82]²³⁸. He feels drawn to

²³⁴ A step or passage outlines in the spiritual tradition. Zerbolt, in chapter 27 of his work *The Spiritual Ascents*, indicates that the third step upward “is to rise through the humanity of Christ to a spiritual affection, and to gaze with mental eyes upon God himself”. See, Zerbolt, “The Spiritual Ascents”, in *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 275. See also, Jiménez de Cisneros in his *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiiritual* offers the same idea: “La segunda contemplación... no solamente acerca de la humanidad de Cristo, mas, según san Bernardo dice, en Cristo hombre conviene hallar a Dios”. See, Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, 330 (chapter 49).

²³⁵ International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*, 17.

²³⁶ For more on the Jesus’ diaconal service see Manuel Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 33-59.

²³⁷ In his study on the relationship between grace and the human person in Ignatius, Ruíz Pérez suggests this about “vía”: “Dios propone una *vía*, el hombre reacciona *caminando*”. See Ruíz Pérez, *Teología del camino*, 121, author’s emphasis. This also seems to be how Ignatius understood the apostolic body of the Society: “curetque primo Deum, deinde huius sui institute rationem, quae uia quaedam est ad illum”. See, “Bulla Prima Pauli III”, in *MCo* I, 24-32, 26.

²³⁸ The word “servicio” occurs twice in the text. Here and in the second booklet in number 159.

consider that the Trinity is showing him a new way to relate to the divinity. Ignatius expresses this new way or attitude before God as veneration (*acatamiento*) and reverential love [*De* 83]. Though this desire will coalesce gradually, albeit unevenly, intensifying only after the election has been made, this moment of increasing conformity with Jesus represents the inchoate beginning of what will become a constant petition of his for the grace of this new way which he will identify with the gifts of veneration, reverence, and humility. After concluding his election on March 12th, he will focus on these new graces, even calling them “the best (of all the ways)” that “forever I should follow” [*De* 162]. Jesus – the way, the truth, and the life (John 14:6) – has opened him to a new way to be with God, so that he too, like the Risen Lord, might place himself, with humility, veneration, and reverential love, at the feet of the Trinity.

2.5. Brief conclusions of Jesus as mediator

The first day in which Ignatius explicitly mentions Jesus by name occasions a powerful experience that involves his understanding, his memory, and his will. He thinks of Jesus, recalls the memory of being placed with Him by God, and, with the sacramental presence of the resurrected Lord in his hands, promises to never leave him. His entire person is captivated by Jesus’s presence, and his openness allows him to receive grace upon grace from God’s son²³⁹. He receives the grace to ask for and then receive reconciliation, the grace of the confirmation of his election, and the grace to feel himself placed next to the Trinity. This abundance of grace opens him more fully to the life of God, so much so that he begins to ask for the gift to submit, reverentially and humbly, to whatever the Blessed Trinity desires of him. His desire to relate to God with reverence and submission is confirmation of his deepening configuration in the image and the likeness of Jesus. Ignatius, after becoming indignant with the Trinity, only had resolved to complete his masses to the Trinity. Little did he know that God’s response to him would exceed, immensely, his desires²⁴⁰. God’s very promise to Ignatius surpasses anything he could have imagined.

That promise, as the pages of his autograph text make manifest, takes concrete form in the person of Jesus. Jesus draws Ignatius’ whole person, guiding him even more to the divine majesty [*De* 101]. Jesus is the Society’s head, and His life represents the clearest

²³⁹ John 1:16: “From his fulness we have all received grace upon grace”.

²⁴⁰ For more on this see, Nurya Martínez-Gayol, “El agradecimiento en la raíz de la glorificación”, *Manresa* 75 (2003): 25-50, 41.

response to Ignatius' question of poverty. The confirmation is so deep that even the experience of consolation would be superfluous. But Jesus is more than just the head; Ignatius feels him as his guide, leading him in His shadow [*De* 101]²⁴¹. In essence, as Ignatius perceives, "Jesus does everything (*él hacía todo delante del Padre*)" [*De* 84], even, as he feels in mass on February 25th, "presenting his prayers to the Father" [*De* 77]. Using Ignatius' own language, Jesus appropriates – makes his own – Ignatius' prayers and presents them to God. The mystery of God's devotion to the human person, as reflected in the experience of Ignatius, is profound. And it is concrete. Conscious of the depths of God's promise to him, Ignatius is prompted to declare, echoing Paul many centuries before him²⁴²: "nothing can come that would separate me from him nor make me doubt the graces or the confirmation received" [*De* 75]²⁴³.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has introduced the *Diary* with a simple hermeneutic: promise. With this lens, his autograph text becomes a bit more readable and followable. Furthermore, this interpretive category reveals the dynamic nature of his discernment process. It demonstrates that Ignatius commits his entire person in prayer to God, and in his examination of his prayer he considers all that he thinks, feels, and undergoes in his body as possible communication from the Lord. He is faithful in his spiritual exercises, and in his faithfulness he encounters God's promise to him. As such, devotion as promise appears not just as a relevant classification to think of the document, but as pertinent to the faith experience of Ignatius. He had encountered God deeply in his life, and he lived from that promise of salvation, salvation that he appears to have understood, amongst other categories, as companionship. In these notes, Ignatius speaks of being in the company of Mary and of never abandoning, for all of heaven and earth, Jesus. Similarly, that companionship extends to the men with whom

²⁴¹ Regarding the importance of the appellation "guía" for Ignatius, Manuel González offers: "Este creo que es el aspecto que más decididamente modeló toda la espiritualidad de S. Ignacio tanto en lo referente a su persona, como en lo relativo a la orientación y modo de proceder de la Compañía de Jesús". See, González, *La espiritualidad ignaciana*, 59.

²⁴² Rom 8:35-39.

²⁴³ His affirmation is compelling and no doubt true for him. Also true is the reality of doubt and temptation which he experiences as that which separates him from Jesus. For example, on March 12th, he is assailed, violently, by negative thoughts, one of which was "against Jesus" [*De* 145]. The mention of Jesus is especially important as it shows the force of the temptation. It is also significant to note that he had written that the temptation brought him "thoughts against one". However, he redacted the text; he deleted "one" to specify that they were against "Jesus". His initial redaction quite possibly points to the embarrassment it caused in him to turn, so quickly, on the One who had done so much for him during these days.

he had formed an apostolic body in the Church. Together they were all placed by God with the Son and, as they took their first steps as an apostolic body, they were experiencing God's promise to them. Ignatius undertakes this discernment as a way to be faithful to the promise that God was realizing in their communal apostolic life. The depth of his faithfulness can be found in its sacramental nature²⁴⁴. It is in the sacrament where he lives his promise to be faithful to the Lord who, as he realizes in a later moment of his *Diary*, "loves me more than I love myself" [*De* 185].

Yet, his promise to God is so concrete and mundane that it can be passed over easily. He expresses it in his question on receiving money. That question is as stunning as it is simple. He wanted to know God's will on an issue that, in the words of one of the great Jesuit theologians of the last century, might represent for contemporary readers of his text nothing more than "a trifle, something that the Society of Jesus today would most likely have settled in a very sensible, rational conversation lasting no more than two hours"²⁴⁵. Perhaps that observation is too acerbic, but it reminds us that Ignatius' faith in God, his very devotion to God, involved all aspects of his life. There was nothing too trivial to consider outside of his companionship with Jesus.

This category, considered in the context of his discernment in which he is seeking to move from the place of feeling to knowing, so that he might ultimately act in accordance with God's will, reminds us that God is more than the giver of feelings. Ignatius' discernment itinerary, for as practical and efficient as it appears, cannot be considered a mere formula for getting an answer or for knowing what to do. God's communication is the revelation of His life in Jesus who draws the person into the fullness of who he or she is before God. And that experience, albeit deeply felt, is always partial. In a word, it remains a promise. As such, this classification is important as it provides the necessary spiritual density to Ignatius' process. His is not some mechanical action of registering discreet feelings, rather it is the deep relational movement in which spiritual signs pull him into the mystery of God's life. Once again, the place of his discernment is revelatory. His choice to situate his process in and by way of the Eucharist appears to suggest his awareness that discernment is more than a process of getting clarity on God's will. It is about actualizing, fortifying and growing in faithfulness to the Lord in the Church.

Yet, as the word itself suggests, a promise is that which is not fully materialized.

²⁴⁴ International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*, 61: "the deeper the relationship with Christ, the more intense is the sacramentality of this faith".

²⁴⁵ Paraphrasing Karl Rahner in his *Palabras de Ignacio de Loyola a un jesuita hoy* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 1990), 22.

Promise points to the future, of that which is still to come, the experience deeply felt but as of yet incomplete. To situate devotion as a felt sign of God's promise in his discernment is to recognize that the sign is incomplete, partially veiled, always in the process of being revealed. Similar to the way that the Eucharist is not a pure epiphany of Christ's exaltation and glory but rather a promise of that glory to come²⁴⁶, the sign of devotion could have signaled to Ignatius something similar. He felt it deeply, *and* it was a motive "to live in continual divine hope"²⁴⁷.

Ignatius' experience connects to the larger Christian reflection on devotion. He seems to have comprehended that spiritual reality as one of the signs given by God to him in the sacramental sign of the Eucharist. He also seems to have understood it in very active terms. Recalling the felicitous expression of Thomas Aquinas, Ignatius' devotion does seem to signal "the will to give oneself readily to things concerning the service of God"²⁴⁸. His promise involved his *will to*. Perhaps, then, if he looked so intently for this grace, it was not only for the felt experience of ardor or fervor, but for the very disposition to do God's will.

The preeminent place of Jesus in his experience of God's promise is one further point of contact between Ignatius and the tradition that precedes him. Ignatius' experience of God's devotion to him is mediated by Jesus. Jesus's life permeates his thinking, his desires, and his memory. In the pages of his *Diary*, Jesus is Ignatius' companion, guiding him, taking him into his shadow, and mediating for him his reconciliation with the Trinity. Another expression from Thomas Aquinas conveys well his experience: Jesus is the guiding hand that leads him to God, awakening in him a love of divine things and a desire to serve God²⁴⁹. In addition, the particular accent of his encounter with Jesus testifies to the Risen Christ who continues to place himself as a servant at the feet of his friends²⁵⁰. In essence, Ignatius' experience of God's promise to him is the mystery of Jesus's life, a life whose humility and poverty continues to attract him.

In addition to situating Ignatius' experience of devotion within the larger Christian reflection on it, this chapter points to two aspects of his life that continue to merit further reflection and study. The first involves the image of Ignatius that the *Diary* presents and that the category of devotion as promise highlights: Ignatius the priest. This image may not be as popular as that of the pilgrim, and it may never respond in the same way as the pilgrim image

²⁴⁶ Following Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 209.

²⁴⁷ Point number five to not receive income in "Deliberación sobre la pobreza", in *Obras*, 267.

²⁴⁸ IIaIIae q. 82. a.1.

²⁴⁹ IIaIIae q. 82. a.3.

²⁵⁰ See also, Gabino Uribarri Bilbao, "La mente de Cristo según san Ignacio", *Manresa* 93 (2021): 129-138.

does to the cultural and religious demands of our times. Nevertheless, it reminds us of a profoundly important part of Ignatius’ spiritual trajectory. He received the sacrament of Holy Orders, and this sacrament opened a new chapter in his spiritual journey of his in which he lived his deepest desires to help others in the Church. It may be that the Society of Jesus has yet to fully comprehend his priesthood in the trajectory of his vocation – so captivating is the image of him as a pilgrim – but that priesthood is everywhere on display in this document. It is a priesthood of offering the life of the Society of Jesus in the mass. It is priesthood of appropriating the prayers of the mass, that is, saying them as if they were his own to God. Though he could have oriented his process with texts from his *Exercises*, he chose liturgical texts as the “framework of his prayer and discernment”²⁵¹. The prayer of the Church formed the objective ground of his subjective experience. Finally, his priesthood unites him with Jesus. This union is so great that Ignatius perceives the theological truth that spans the Christian tradition: in the Eucharist Jesus presents his prayers and offering to the Father²⁵² because “the Son is the very *place* of this prayer”²⁵³. In short, in his priesthood he deepens his configuration with the poor and humble Christ²⁵⁴.

The second consideration entails the fundamental place of his companions in his life. Though the hermeneutical lens by which his experience has been studied has focused on *his* devotion to God, others are not distant from his prayer, and it is not too much to propose that they form part of his devotion. Undoubtedly, the question of the Society of Jesus’ poverty touches one of the core aspects of his vocation, but not for that reason need it be considered irrelevant to them or to their vocation. He undertakes this intense spiritual process as a way to construct more evangelically their corporate project of serving God in the Church. Though he may structure his discernment notebook with a rigorous separation from external activities, that is only so that he might offer, as faithfully and as attentively as possible, his devotion to them. In brief, he expresses his promise to God through and with his companions.

Finally, this chapter proposes that Ignatius’ experience of the mystery of Christian devotion occurred in a fundamental way at La Storta. That spiritual experience appears to have been deepened in this discernment. He was placed as a companion with Jesus to serve Him, and now as a priest he holds the sacramental presence of Jesus in his hands and promises to never abandon him, not for anything on earth nor, in his audacious words, for

²⁵¹ Ángel Cordovilla Pérez, “Devoción a la Trinidad”, *Manresa* 94 (2022): 171-182, 176.

²⁵² Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 205, 415.

²⁵³ Cordovilla Pérez, “Devoción a la Trinidad”, 171; author’s emphasis.

²⁵⁴ See, Kolvenbach, “San Ignacio y la visión de La Storta”, in *Selección de Escritos* 1:664.

7. DEVOTION AS PROMISE

anything in heaven. Two relational lines are present in the pages of his discernment notebook, yet Ignatius' spiritual life testifies to one beautiful grace-filled movement between God and him. And as a grace, devotion was a corporal and felt experience. It is to that felt and bodily experience of devotion to which I will turn in the next chapter.

“Finding internal devotion” [De 176]**The experience that guides him to God’s will**

INTRODUCTION

The classification of promise reveals the concrete ways that Ignatius practiced his faith. He felt and knew God’s promise to him, and his response was to enact and realize his own devotion. He did that by opening his whole person to God in prayer and in the Eucharist. And as his discernment notebook discloses, the category of devotion as promise never remains at the level of a concept or as a mechanical enactment of ritual practices. It refers us to the mystery of his encounter with God that he felt. In brief, to consider devotion as promise is to recognize the imbrication between promise and a felt, experiential aspect. One ultimately feels, perceives, and has an experience of that promise – as did Ignatius – and for this reason, the Christian tradition has always regarded devotion as that which also refers to a tangible corporal experience. Though writers such as Gerard Zerbolt and Kempis may have indicated that the believer should go beyond the mere feeling of devotion, the sensible dimension of it has never been neglected.

The *Diary* makes abundantly clear that devotion represented for Ignatius a sensible spiritual reality. It is hard to read his personal prayer notes, especially those of the first booklet, and not deduce that this spiritual phenomenon was a deeply felt experience for him. Similarly, understanding the *Diary* as a discernment notebook in which he is moving from feeling to knowing would almost necessarily oblige us to consider its sensible and felt aspect as an important part of his itinerary given that his discernment itinerary depends upon some kind of felt perception. As a way to deepen the previous chapter’s reflection and enter into his actual discernment process in which devotion appears to have played a significant role, I will investigate this sign of God’s communication to him that appears to have been demonstrably palpable to him.

This study of devotion as a felt experience also allows me to make more explicit the

nature of the *Diary* itself. In the structure of this discernment notebook, that I read as demonstrating his movement feeling spiritual phenomena to knowing their origin, all of the signs that he registers in this 13-month period are felt experiences. Perhaps the observation is obvious, but it is important to underscore. He registers all that he feels, senses, and perceives in his body. As such, the signs are spiritual and, in their own diverse way, somatic experiences¹. For this reason, though the nomenclature of “devotion” might lead a reader to conclude that it refers to some kind of ethereal or other-worldly experience, and one that could possibly be interpreted as a kind of communication from God’s spirit to his soul that bypasses his body, I read it and all of the signs as referring to felt, perceptible, and corporal experiences. Ignatius has a decided interest in and concern for the body. For example, in the *Exercises*, prayer is prepared and done “by attending in a fundamental way to the body”². Similarly, the apostolic end of the Society of Jesus, never far from his mind during this process of discernment, depends upon their giving their bodies to the mission as they seek “to be more diligent to help others and more available to pilgrimage and to undergo all adversity”³. It may be that he is precociously modern in his valuation and understanding of the place of the body in the spiritual experience⁴. If such an argument were to be advanced, one need look no further than the *Diary* which demonstrates a straightforward registering and description of his body as affected in prayer by the Spirit. This is nowhere more evident than in his description of tears, one of the primary ways that his body responds to God’s presence. That physical reaction of his, oftentimes so intense that it caused him pain in his eyes, may be his most obviously corporal reaction to God, but it is not the only one. All of the descriptions refer to his perception of some spirit’s action in his body.

This is yet another basic premise which undergirds his spirituality and needs to be made explicit before venturing into an analysis of his experience of devotion as represented

¹ See, Asun Puche, “Las bases somáticas del discernimiento”, *Manresa* 83 (2011): 27-38, especially 27-32.

² Carlos Alemany, “Cuerpo”, in *DEI* 1:529-532, on 532.

³ Reason number 10 for not accepting income in “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267; idea also elaborated upon in José María Marín Sevilla, *Ignacio de Loyola. La enfermedad en su vida y en su espiritualidad* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2006), 121; (book hereafter cited as *La enfermedad en su vida*).

⁴ Again, the insight is from Alemany, “Cuerpo”, in *DEI* 1:531. Similarly, García de Castro offers that “El *Diario* es un clarísimo ejemplo, y en esto muy moderno y contemporáneo, de la integración del cuerpo y de todas sus posibilidades expresivas en la experiencia religiosa”. See, García de Castro, “Calor”, in *DEI* 1:255-259, 256. However, it should be added that Ignatius is hardly naïve when it comes to his valuation of the body. In one of his letters penned in 1537, he writes very salutary words about the body: “Con el cuerpo sano podréis hacer mucho, con él enfermo no sé qué podréis. El cuerpo en gran manera ayuda para hacer mucho mal y mucho bien... mucho bien a los que tienen la voluntad toda a Dios N.S. aplicada y en buenos hábitos acostumbrada”. See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Teresa Rejadell (Venice, 11 September, 1536) 107-109, on 108; *Letters and Instructions*, 23.

in this autograph text. In the brief exposition of theological and anthropological premises that I have situated at the beginning of previous chapters, I have enunciated core ideas of his that have their place in the theological and spiritual tradition. First, there was the essential postulate of God’s communication to the human person and his or her capacity to experience that communication. Next, I have highlighted Ignatius’ presupposition that three kinds of thoughts or languages inhabit the person, and for that reason he exercises caution and circumspection before attributing one such movement in his prayer to one or another spirit. This chapter has a supposition that follows upon and deepens the previous two. For Ignatius the body is the place where this communication occurs. To read the *Diary* and to propose a study of one of the spiritual realities recounted in it is to understand that Ignatius is referring to a human experience that was also a somatic experience. This is to say that devotion is a felt experience, as are the others. For instance, “warmth” is called as such because his body registers a feeling akin to it; “security of his soul” – another important description of his – is something that he really feels⁵.

The place of the body in his spiritual experience refers us to one of the essential postulates of the Christian faith that has proclaimed that God’s communication is not disembodied, but rather embodied⁶. Central to this study has been the New Testament passage that expresses devotion by way of the Paschal mystery. That same Christological hymn is also one of the more illustrative scriptural texts on God’s incarnation in Jesus. The ancient kerygmatic statement begins: “Christ has been made manifest in the flesh” (1 Tm 3:16). God’s word has become incarnate in Jesus, and in his resurrection, God offers in Jesus “the resurrection of the body, a sharing in the very life of God”⁷. Along with Christian eschatology, the mystery of the incarnation situates the body as a theological place⁸, a kind of axis point at which the lines of the human experience intertwine with those of God’s revelation⁹. In Jesus’s body, the Word that was with God has entered into communion with God and with humanity¹⁰. God’s spirit gets inside of bodies and speaks in and through

⁵ See, for example, O’Leary, who writes that “the text of the Diary is suffused with confidence in the affective, and even sensible, experience of God’s love”. See, O’Leary, *To Love and to Serve*, 217.

⁶ For a succinct overview of this topic in the context of a very novel interdisciplinary thesis about spirituality and the body, see, Luis López González and Txemi Santamaría, *Cuerpo y espiritualidad* (Bilbao: Mensajero, 2021), especially the chapter entitled “El cuerpo en el cristianismo. Aproximación desde la teología”, 135-156.

⁷ Johnson, *Faith’s Freedom*, 27.

⁸ See, for example, 1 Cor 3:16: “Do you not know that you are God’s temple and that God’s spirit dwells in you?”; see also, for commentary and bibliography, López González, Santamaría, *Cuerpo y espiritualidad*, 182-183.

⁹ López González, Santamaría, *Cuerpo y espiritualidad*, 146-147.

¹⁰ Denys Gorce, “Corps (Spiritualité et Hygiène)”, in *DSp* 2:2338-2378, on 2353.

them¹¹, and this is perhaps one of the great points of contact for contemporary readers with this 16th century document. Ignatius discerns God's will *by* and *in* an extraordinary attention to his body. In addition, the question that he is discerning – poverty – is not ancillary to the issue of the body; it is a topic that raises the complex relationship between having and being. In brief, his body is manifestly present in this text. This is because God's Spirit communicates to the person's spirit, and that communication happens in the embodied-ness of his or her spirit¹².

This premise, in accord with the larger Christian reflection on revelation, concretizes the process of his examination of his prayer and Eucharist. He attends to all that he feels, thinks, and perceives in his body. His attention to his body, however, is not only the result of his own sensibility of the body and its capacity to feel God's action. The Eucharist itself plays a constitutive role in this process. The sacrament places his body in the presence of the body of Christ, a presence that is real, corporal, and substantial¹³. It inserts him into the body of Christ, the Church, and it is the sacrament where God's love comes to him bodily¹⁴. In the Eucharist, the sacrament whose superiority and excellence supersedes that of the other sacraments since "the author himself of holiness is present"¹⁵, Ignatius attends to the action of the Spirit in his body whose redemption in Christ has been realized and whose fullness is awaited in hope¹⁶. In short, the sacrament engages his whole person¹⁷, and he discovers his body alive and present to the richness of God's communication. Though a full exposition of the sacrament exceeds the limits of my study, it is enough to bear in mind that his attention to the body makes eminent sense given that the Eucharist is caught up in and bears upon bodies. Furthermore, it is possible that the liturgical texts themselves were directing his attention to his body given that the liturgy "constantly associates in its prayers the interests of the body with those of the soul"¹⁸. His minute and careful observation of all the ways that he felt God acting upon his body point to the depth with which he celebrated the Eucharist.

Yet, the terrain of his somatic experience cannot be accounted for by referring exclusively to his body. Ignatius presents himself as moved in body and in spirit. He is one

¹¹ Again, the language that Johnson employs is helpful here as he creatively thinks about the body and its place in the experience of God. See, Johnson, *The Revelatory Body*, 77.

¹² For more on the general premise of the body's integrated place in spirituality, see, André Bernard, *Teologia espiritual*, 243-267.

¹³ International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*, 113.

¹⁴ Benedict XVI, *Deus caritas est, Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 98/3 (2006): 217-252, number 14.

¹⁵ See *DS*, 1639; for critical commentary on this affirmation in chapter three from Council of Trent's "Decree on the Sacrament of the Eucharist", see, Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 671.

¹⁶ See, Romans 8:23-24; also, Gorce, "Corps (Spiritualité et Hygiène)", in *DSp* 2:2353.

¹⁷ International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*, 41-c.

¹⁸ Gorce, "Corps (Spiritualité et Hygiène)", in *DSp* 2:2351.

person, very aware, for example, of how the faculties of his soul are engaged in his prayer. Similarly, the range of his descriptions, such as those in which he speaks of confidence, tranquility, security, and not least of all, love¹⁹, point to his body *and* spirit as fully alive to the immense communication that he is perceiving²⁰. The Spirit was speaking to his spirit, and that communication was felt in what he refers to as his *ánima*. With this term, Ignatius appears to designate the interior space of his self where he receives and feels God’s action in him²¹. According to a phrase from the *Exercises* – one considered to succinctly represent his anthropology – the person is a whole composite being, formed by body and *ánima* [*Ej* 47]²². Both are caught up in and receptive to God’s communication; both feel it, can come to know it, and serve God more²³.

1. Language, the spiritual experience, and devotion

Before entering into an analysis of the particular uses of “devotion” and the nature of the experience which he is describing, this investigation would falter without a brief exposition of the relationship between language and the spiritual experience. In this specific case, this means exploring the relationship between the written text of the *Diary* and the spiritual experience that it reports. The *Diary* stands as a written text posterior to the actual experience or moments in prayer. It represents his examination of his prayer and Eucharist in

¹⁹ See, Johnson, *Faith’s Freedom*, 33.

²⁰ For more on the experience of God, which, in the description of Martín Velasco, “como en ninguna otra [experiencia], es el hombre él mismo: unificado, concentrado, presente en su totalidad personal”. See, Juan Martín Velasco, “La experiencia de Dios. Una aproximación fenomenológica”, in *La experiencia de Dios*, ed. Juan de Dios Martín Velasco, Emilio Galindo Aguilar, Ana Schlüter Rodés (Madrid: Cátedra de Teología Contemporánea, 1985), 7-58, 38.

²¹ A word very difficult to translate into English. “Soul” would suffice; but given it is not a central object of my study, I will keep it in Spanish. Quite possibly this was a word that he picked up during his stay at Montserrat and Manresa. Cisneros’s *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual* uses it very frequently, as in “mucho aprovecha la buena compañía para la salud del ánima y ejercicios espirituales” (98). Also important to point out is the fact that Ignatius does not employ the word “alma” (soul) in the *Diary*. In fact, the *Concordance* does not report any use of that term in texts strictly his. Gonçalves da Câmara uses the word twice in his prologue to the *Autobiography* and seven times in the body of his narration of Ignatius’ life. In the *Diary*, as in his other texts, *ánima* is his word of choice which he uses 21 times, and which appears to denote his entire interior life that is receptive and open to God. For more on this term, see, Ruiz Pérez, who suggests that “ánima” though not totally a synonym for “soul”, refers to the reality of the person from their interiority. He proffers: “ánima es el hombre en tanto que sujeto, es la instancia interior que hace del hombre una realidad personal y, por lo tanto, responsable... designa aquel espacio donde acontece la experiencia de fe”. See, Ruiz Pérez, “Alma”, in *DEI* 1:121-122.

²² This integration is beautifully expressed in his letter to Francis Borja: “al cuerpo tanto debemos querer y amar, cuanto obedece y ayuda al ánima”. See, *Epp* II, Ignatius to Francis Borja (Rome, 20 September, 1548), 233-237, 235; *Letters and Instructions*, 255.

²³ Again, the letter to Borja is eloquent: “porque no solamente el ánima sea sana, mas la mente siendo sana en cuerpo sano, todo será más sano y más dispuesto para mayor servicio divino”. *Epp* II, Ignatius to Francis Borja, (Rome, 20 September, 1548), 237; *Letters and Instructions*, 256.

order to track faithfully those signs from God that he experienced. However, the language used to describe an experience cannot only be situated at the end of the experience. It is accompanying the entirety of it. This consideration is fundamental as it reminds us that the experience of God is never a *pure* experience that takes place outside of or before language. Language is not “like an ornament or tool picked up and laid down according to the needs of subjectivity or the conformities of sociality”²⁴. Rather, it is part of the “original moment of the experience”²⁵. It is the very medium, that is to say, the instrument and the place in which the person becomes aware of the extraordinary experience of God²⁶. To put this a bit more colloquially, “every experience is inevitably clothed in the symbols of the one having the experience, and therefore is a matter of interpretation, not only after but *during* the experience itself”²⁷. Perhaps this point is an obvious one, but it is a crucial one. Perceptions are made available and intelligible to us by our symbolic structures. And these symbols are at the very base of the experience, enabling it to emerge in one’s consciousness with all its force and power. For this reason, the language in the *Diary* might best be considered as more than the posterior translation or rendering in graphic signs of that which was previously experienced. The language represents the very ground of the experience, allowing him to become conscious of that which he is perceiving. Consequently, “devotion” is more than the qualification or description he gives to a discreet or punctual experience. To venture such an argument would be to misunderstand the spiritual experience and the place of language in it. Devotion – one of the very potent spiritual terms from his era and one deeply meaningful to him – is the linguistic sign in which he recognizes God’s action in him.

This consideration does not intend to reduce the transcendent God to a mere projection of language, but it is to suggest that the experience of God acquires the forms of the world that surround us²⁸. In addition, this approach allows us to see the depth of the word and glimpse its imbrication in the spiritual experience itself. Devotion, as I am maintaining, is a sign by which he feels God communicating to him. And the sign is also the symbolic expression that was shaping and enabling his perception of God’s presence. Following the analysis offered by Juan de Dios Martín Velasco regarding the genesis of language in the experience of God, “devotion” would stand for what Martín Velasco calls that radical language, the symbol, in which Ignatius becomes aware of his experience of God. In Martín

²⁴ Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 40.

²⁵ Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico*, 59.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Johnson, *Faith’s Freedom*, 47, emphasis mine.

²⁸ Melloni, *Vislumbres de lo real*, 89.

Velasco's exposition the symbol is that in which the person becomes conscious of the divine presence, and that presence not as an object but as that very possibility of and as anterior to all that exists. Without symbols, the human person would not enter into contact with that presence which constitutes and originates him or her²⁹. Understood as a sign that is symbolic in nature, "devotion" points to the original and originating place in which his experience with God is revealed to him and in which his life is constituted³⁰. I believe the strongest reading of devotion in his text is as a sign that is symbolic, and in it, he relates an experience of God in which God is not a separate object from his self. The point of departure for this chapter which seeks to describe his experience of God requires this observation: God is not an object of his "spiritual" experience³¹. In other words, in the gift of His very being, God offers and opens Ignatius to relationship. God is not simply the giver of a kind of spiritual gift that Ignatius unwraps and calls "devotion". Moreover, the sacramental context of his discernment process accentuates this: the celebration of the mass and the reception of communion is the participation *in* the very person of Jesus³². God does not give the person things in the mass, but offers His very self for relationship³³.

In this fundamental way of situating the spiritual experience, God constitutes the person and the relationship, and for this reason the experience of God is not just one more experience added on to or alongside of others, but rather it is the presence that absolutely precedes the person³⁴, and in the the acceptance and recognition of that presence in faith such an experience takes place³⁵. The very opening words of the *Spiritual Exercises* point in this direction, giving as they do a decided accent on the relational aspect of God's creation: "the human person is created by God *for*" [*Ej* 23]³⁶. The on-going creative action of God for a relationship in which the person praises, reverences, and serves God, appears at the base of the spiritual experience as he conceives it. God, the source and being of his life, whose Spirit "gives joy and ease to everyone in assenting to the truth"³⁷, is at the foundation of this experience of devotion that takes place in faith. Far more than a classification of an

²⁹ Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico*, 438.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 61-62.

³¹ To convert God into an object of the person's experience is to fall into the most dangerous, given that it is the most seductive, form of idolatry. See, Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico*, 162.

³² Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 231.

³³ *Ibid.*, 206.

³⁴ In calling God "presence", I follow Martín Velasco who writes: "una presencia pro-existente; que con su ser 'da de' ser a la realidad; y que con su presencia pro-voca, llama a la existencia, a la condición de interlocutores suyos y sujetos como él". See, Juan de Dios Martín Velasco, "Hacia una fenomenología de la experiencia de Dios", *Sinite Revista de Pedagogía Religiosa* 50 (2009): 213-249, 225.

³⁵ Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico*, 272-286.

³⁶ Emphasis mine.

³⁷ Conc. Ecum. Vat. II Const. dogm. *Dei Verbum*, AAS 58/12 (1966): 817-835, number 5.

experience, “devotion” intimates his coming into awareness of God as the one who is the very source of his life, the one “who gives me my very being” [*Ej* 235] for relationship with Him.

This analysis can be sharpened by a closer look at devotion as a sign that is symbolic. Though it may not appear as primary or immediate as other symbolic expressions such as “fire”, “night”, or “wind”, there is reason to suspect, given its deep history, that the word actually operates as a fundamental symbol. It pulls together God and the human person; it is a word that conjoins an internal affective experience with a visible sacrificial act; it also is a word that signals the giving of one’s self and the receiving of a gift or promise. In short, the word connects powerful relational pairs, expressing simultaneously, as only symbols can, that which is subjective and objective in ways that are creative and that open new possibilities for reflection and experience³⁸. “Devotion” draws together these dichotomous pairings, all of which are potent archetypal movements that refer us to the depth, complexity and even the ambiguity that colors and forms a part of the human experience before God. To speak of or relate an experience of devotion is to appeal to a profound level of the human relationship with God which involves a complex interplay of giving and receiving, of doing and of feeling³⁹. I have attempted to formulate those deep currents found in the word by way of the categories of promise, experience, and movement. As I read the Christian reflection on devotion, to say or suggest it is to enter into a spiritual experience where sacrifice, movement and a rich interiorly felt experience coalesce into one spiritual reality⁴⁰. Those classifications constitute the dynamic and relational nature of this symbol. For this reason, they bear upon this consideration of the relationship between language and the spiritual experience of devotion as it concerns Ignatius. More precisely, in the imbrication between the language and the experience of it, promise, experience, and movement are found⁴¹. In this hypothesis, devotion as a symbolic sign opens him to an experience of God who is promise and movement. Just as the word pulls together the human reality with the gift of God’s self, I would offer that Ignatius is pulled into an awareness of God who invites his movement and

³⁸ See also, María Jesús Mancho Duque, *Palabras y símbolos en San Juan de la Cruz* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1993), 22, 149. In her introduction the author offers an excellent definition of a symbol (22).

³⁹ Melloni, for example, suggests that the great religions coincide in showing three great paths towards God, one of which he identifies as “devotion”. See, Melloni, *El deseo esencial*, 183.

⁴⁰ Melloni speaks of religions as semiotic cathedrals “constituidas por doctrinas, relatos, símbolos, acciones rituales, preceptos y formas de vida”. I think the metaphor applies well to devotion as a kind of semiotic cathedral that Ignatius entered. It was where he encountered God, understood the language of God’s communication, and, as cathedrals do, found himself lifted up into God’s transcendent life. See, Melloni, *Vislumbres de lo real*, 88.

⁴¹ Here I follow the pattern of the analysis of Mancho Duque, *Palabras y símbolos*, 142.

promise⁴². In the symbolic structure of devotion comprised by promise, experience, and movement, Ignatius is found by God and finds God.

As a way to summarize this first and fundamental approach to his experience of devotion, I believe two experiential planes are operative. Fundamentally, as a symbolic expression in the *Diary*, it is the sign that reveals his experience of God as the originating presence of his very self⁴³. It does not point to God as the object, but as the one “giving to all their being, preserving them in him with his infinite being and presence”⁴⁴. This is the first and primary plane, albeit perhaps not immediately present in this text, but it is the fundamental point of reference for all of the signs that he registers. Everything is in God, the universal source of all⁴⁵. The second plane is the particular manifestation of the way in which God is constituting him. That form, in the case of devotion as I interpret the latent architecture of it, is the complex and dynamic interplay of promise, experience, and movement that comprise the nucleus of this spiritual reality. As such, the experience of devotion, as I am understanding the word in this spiritual text, is not simply a discreet inner experience that he perceived in his interior. It might be best understood as the original and originating experience of God in which Ignatius feels God’s promise, experiences it deeply, and finds himself moved to realize God’s will.

1.1. Devotion: immediately present and beyond him

Two important clarifications are necessary to round out this exposition. First, devotion as a sign, no matter how intensely felt, does not capture nor can it reductively delimit the experience of God who is always totally other to the human person. Something of this spiritual reality is anagogical, that is, it is more than he can perceive and comprehend. It always, and even necessarily, exceeds him. More succinctly put, it is an experience of God’s immanence *and* transcendence. God immediately present to him and in him [*Ej* 235], and simultaneously always above, “in the glory of such power, such knowledge, and goodness”⁴⁶.

⁴² In a slightly different context, writing on John of Cross, Mancho Duque explores the creative function of symbols: “San Juan mediante el símbolo descubre, reconoce e incluso, gracias a su preparación intelectual, interpreta su experiencia”. See, Mancho Duque, *Palabras y símbolos*, 151.

⁴³ See, Juan de Dios Martín Velasco, *Testigos de la experiencia de la fe* (Madrid: Narcea, 2001), 211.

⁴⁴ *Epp* I, Ignatius to Francis Borja (Rome, end of 1545), 339-342, 339: “dando a todas ser, y conservando en él con infinito ser y presencia”; *Letters and Instructions*, 125.

⁴⁵ *Epp* I, Ignatius to Eleanor Mascareñas (Rome, 28 June, 1545), 307-309, language cited from 308: “en el Señor nuestro hallaréis el todo como en fuente universal”; letter not translated into English.

⁴⁶ *Epp* I, Ignatius to Pedro Contarini (Venice, August, 1537), 123-125, 124; *Letters and Instructions*, 31.

For commentary on this very letter, see, Martínez-Gayol, “El agradecimiento en la raíz de la glorificación”, 28.

Again, the context of his discernment suggests that Ignatius would have been aware of the ever-present articulation of immanence and transcendence in the experience of God. The Eucharist appears to have represented for him the place of the most intense communication and experience of God. At the same time, the Eucharist, rightfully considered the source and the summit of the Christian life, is not the end point for the believer. As Manuel Gesteira reminds us, the Eucharist “is an open window to a much vaster panorama moving us towards a further landscape, clear and luminous”⁴⁷. The presence of the Risen Lord in the gifts “is an expansive presence, in tension, destined to go beyond those same gifts”⁴⁸. Furthermore, the structure of his discernment maintains a certain equilibrium between God’s immanence and transcendence. The signs are immediately felt by him, and for that reason he is boldly optimistic “that it is possible to comprehend directly the will from on high”⁴⁹. Yet, his unhurried approach and decided investment in time suggests his awareness that God’s revelation always goes beyond that which he can immediately grasp. In addition, as I have proposed regarding the end of the second booklet on February 27th, 1545, Ignatius appears to decide to end a process without knowing God’s will regarding his tears. As such, this moment could represent an example of his recognition of God’s transcendence. He has followed a process, but can only decide with his own freedom how to move forward. In short, devotion, as is the case for all of the signs felt and registered, is a fully immanent experience not without a transcendent element. It is present to him⁵⁰, but it does absolutely disclose God’s life.

The second point for consideration returns to the issue of language and what his language tells us about his spirituality. The term “devotion”, employed 159 times in the first booklet and 7 in the second, evokes his spiritual outlook, expectations, and the religious structures operative in him and with which he entered into his prayer⁵¹. His use of it indicates that it formed the very DNA of his spiritual experience, and it is hard to imagine that he was unaware of the rich history of the term. Consequently, “devotion” points to his deep

⁴⁷ Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 211.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 291.

⁴⁹ See, García de Castro, “Encarnación y gloria, la arquitectura ignaciana del cielo”, in *El Cielo, historia y espiritualidad*, ed. María del Mar Graña Cid (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018), 281-302, 300; (article hereafter cited as “La arquitectura ignaciana del cielo”).

⁵⁰ Martín Velasco: “precisamente por ser totalmente Otro, absolutamente trascendente, no puede dejar de ser radicalmente immanente”. See, *El fenómeno místico*, 229.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

structural thinking on God, the human person, and the interaction between the two⁵². It also discloses his predisposition for a particular kind of spiritual experience in which feeling and doing, the core outline of the word, were important. He understood God as deeply communicative, and he knew that in feeling God's communication, he would be moved to act accordingly⁵³. In this line of thinking, it is possible to conjecture that for him aspects of promise, experience, and movement constituted crucial elements in his experience of God and in his comprehension of how God interacted with him. In short, "devotion" comprised the ground from which he became aware of God's communication to him, and this was ground that he knew and understood⁵⁴. And which he esteemed and prized.

1.2. The sign of devotion from the inside

This present analysis of devotion as a sign that is symbolic serves to remind us that the register of signs discloses God who is their source and the source of Ignatius' comprehension of them. The deeply felt gifts that come from God are not only to be considered objects or sensations experienced, rather the place of encounter with God. Though I will proceed in the rest of this chapter to investigate devotion as manifestation of his encounter with God, devotion is closer to a subject than an object, and for this reason this analysis has been necessary.

I would also suggest that this comprehension of devotion as the symbolic sign in which Ignatius is found by and finds God provides an important hermeneutical perspective on the text. The *Diary*, more than relating the magnificent and abundant gifts that Ignatius received from God, as if he were an especially privileged human being, discloses the immensely relational and communicative nature of the human-divine relationship. The text tells us about Ignatius, but it also tells of the way God inhabits and communicates with the person. The one reading this text need not veer into awe of Ignatius or dismay at being so far from such a relational experience with God. Both interpretations miss the point I am making of God as the subject of the person's life. Perhaps, the better approach is for the reader to enter a similar awareness and attention to God in which God's signs are always present and

⁵² For Martín Velasco, "devotio" comprises one of the central terms of the way that the human person relates to God: "Bhakti, Islam, devotio, fe, obediencia religiosa son distintos términos para expresar una única actitud: la entrega confiada de sí mismo en los brazos de la divinidad". See, Martín Velasco, "La experiencia de Dios", 48.

⁵³ "Y no dudo de aquella suma Bondad suya, sumamente comunicativa de sus bienes y de aquel eterno amor con que quiere darnos *nuestra perfección*, mucho más que nosotros recibirla, que lo hará". *Epp* I, Ignatius to the Fathers and Scholastics at Coimbra (Rome, 7 May, 1547) 497, emphasis mine; *Letters and Instructions*, 166.

⁵⁴ See, Melloni, *Vislumbres de lo real*, 88.

where God is always giving him or her being [*Ej* 235]. This is to read the text from the inside, allowing it be a kind of ur-diary of all that God does and communicates to the person⁵⁵. The hermeneutic of the *Diary* from the inside sends the reader back to his or her own interior⁵⁶, “to be attentive to the ways and the approaches by which God makes Himself present in an immediate way to the culture and to each particular person”⁵⁷.

In summary, this opening section has been an attempt to begin to read devotion in the *Diary* from the inside as that sign which points to his profound experience of God. All the while maintaining present this fundamental horizon of his experience as that which is constitutive of his life before God, it is now possible to enter into the text itself and to investigate the ways in which devotion comes to him as a felt experience. First, I will present my general hermeneutic for the *Diary* with a global view of his experience of devotion. I will then detail briefly its presence in each of the two booklets.

2. A two-fold interpretive spiritual structure

Both booklets of the *Diary*, though most clearly the first, present Ignatius consistently referring to two signs to examine his prayer: tears and devotion⁵⁸. Tears represent a profound internal movement that affected and manifested itself in his body⁵⁹. And they have been the gift most singled out by scholarly studies of the text. As an example, and not an uncommon one: in his introduction to Ignatius' autograph text, Larrañaga dedicates seven pages of his introduction to tears. Not one sentence is given over to devotion⁶⁰. For their part, Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado highlight tears as well, but they do mention in passing “crecida devoción”⁶¹. It seems that this tradition of valuing tears began with Joseph de Guibert. For

⁵⁵ In a section of his introduction titled “Una manera de proceder”, Michel de Certeau elegantly renders the way to read the mystical text: “Es quedarnos en el interior de una experiencia escriturística y conservar esa especie de pudor que respeta las distancias”. See, de Certeau, *La fábula mística*, trans. Jorge López Moctezuma (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2004), 28.

⁵⁶ Again, de Certeau argues that mystical literature involves “el poder de hacernos partir”. See, de Certeau, *La fábula mística*, 28.

⁵⁷ Cordovilla Pérez, “Dios para pensar”, 14.

⁵⁸ Here, I depart from the literature on the *Diary* that tends to list the spiritual gifts as undifferentiated or only single out tears. For their part, Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado, in their introduction, highlight tears as well, but they do mention in passing “crecida devoción”. It seems that this tradition of valuing tears begins with Joseph de Guibert. For the French scholar, Ignatius is unparalleled in all of Christianity for the presence of tears: “je ne connais, pour ma part aucun exemple de saint ou de sainte qui leur aient pratiquement donné une telle place”. See, Larrañaga, “Introducción al Diario Espiritual”, in *Obras completas*, 641-647; Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado, “Introducción”, in *Obras*, 277; de Guibert, “Mystique Ignatienne”, 125-126.

⁵⁹ See, Pierre Adnès, “Larmes”, in *DSp* 9:287-303.

⁶⁰ See, Larrañaga, “Introducción al Diario Espiritual”, in *Obras completas*, 641-647.

⁶¹ Iparraguirre and Ruiz Jurado, “Introducción”, in *Obras*, 277.

the French scholar, Ignatius is unparalleled in all of Christianity for the presence of tears: “I do not know any equivalent example of a saint, man or woman, that has in practice given to tears a place equal with that of Ignatius”⁶². Unquestionably, tears hold a crucial place in his discernment, but I will advance the hypothesis that he employs a two-sign structure to discern God’s language to him: tears and devotion.

As a kind of correlative to tears, he appears to use the term “devotion” to indicate an interior sensation that God caused in his *ánima*⁶³. I would suggest that these two spiritual gifts configure a kind of spiritual structure within the *Diary*. These are the signs that he consistently turns to, and his reference to them, in many instances as if they were a pair that occurred simultaneously, suggests that they both occupied an important place in his spiritual life and, more concretely, in this particular discernment process⁶⁴. They seem to be gifts “at hand” for him⁶⁵, and at least in the first booklet, his discernment seems to be aided by them. Though different and not interchangeable, both represent a kind of divine language that affected his body, as in the case of tears, and his soul as it concerns devotion. Likewise, the text conveys the idea that Ignatius paid particularly close attention to each of them, noting their quantity, quality, and other sensory perceptions. Though his observations on the occurrence of devotion and tears suggest that they often came simultaneously, they do occur separately.

a. Tears

Tears occupy an extraordinary place in this personal document. Their abundance in this text – Joseph de Guibert calculates some 1,400 effusions of tears throughout the entire document – has placed Ignatius in a unique relationship with this gift that harmoniously unites the spiritual experience with the body. However, he is hardly the first to consider them

⁶² De Guibert, “Mystique Ignatienne”, 125-126; see also de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, 62-63.

⁶³ García Mateo hints at this when he tentatively suggests that “las lágrimas aparecen unidas a la devoción, incluso con una cierta equivalencia”. He does not advance further in this direction, nor does offer any clear interpretation of the *Diary* with respect to these two gifts. See, García Mateo, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria”, 460.

⁶⁴ Maurice-Marie Martin’s study on the *Diary* is the only one that has mentioned this association. However, the author does not explore what he calls the “cierta equivalencia” between them. Rather, in his argument he immediately subordinates devotion to tears, identifying one set of tears as “tears of devotion”. See, Martin, “*Diario Espiritual a partir del don de lágrimas*”, 30.

⁶⁵ Ribadeneira also highlights both of these spiritual gifts: “ut in promptu et quasi ad manum devotionis spiritum et fluentes lacrymas habere videretur”. See, Ribadeneira, “De actis patris nostri Ignatii”, in *FN II*, 364.

a grace⁶⁶. The spiritual tradition that precedes him understands tears as a gift, not necessarily singular or extraordinary, that one sought from God⁶⁷. Though it exceeds the scope of my study to trace his relationship and understanding of this spiritual gift, two observations are relevant⁶⁸.

First, it is possible to imagine that during his convalescence, his sojourn in Manresa, and his many years of study he came across various formulations of the place of tears in the spiritual experience. For example, it is possible to imagine that in his reading of Ludolph's *The Life of Christ*, he discovered the five categories of tears that the author proposed⁶⁹. Similarly, if he were to have practiced some kind of spiritual exercises according to García de Cisneros's *Exercises for the Spiritual Life*, he would have been encouraged "to shed tears for [his] sins" and "to implore mercy weeping"⁷⁰. Even more important than functioning as the more traditional sign of repentance and compunction, García de Cisneros imagines "that tears and sighs enlarge the *ánima*"⁷¹. Such a comprehension of them could have appealed to Ignatius and helped him to think of them as not just comprising part of the purgative way, but rather as a sign of growing capacity to experience God's presence. Finally, Kempis's *Imitation*, in addition to encouraging his reader to shed tears of contrition, places tears in direct relationship with the presence of Jesus in Eucharist⁷². He writes: "sweet is the presence of the Eucharist, provoking one to shed tears"⁷³. In the same section of Book IV, he questions how one could receive the Eucharist and not experience tears and devotion: "Where is that devotion? And where is the copious shedding of tears?"⁷⁴. He connects both spiritual gifts and indicates their natural, even necessary presence in the sacrament.

In the *Exercises*, Ignatius follows what one scholar has called a recognizable Franciscan outline with regards to tears: he invites the retreatant to seek tears of compunction in the First Week [*Ej* 55] and in the Third Week tears of compassion for the suffering Christ

⁶⁶ See, Thió, "Lágrimas", in *DEI* 1:1102.

⁶⁷ See, Adnès, "Les larmes", in *DSp* 9:297.

⁶⁸ The more complete study on tears in the *Diary* is that of Maurice-Marie Martin, "Diario Espiritual a partir del don de lágrimas"; see also De Guibert, "Mystique Ignatienne", 124-129, and his *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, 62-66.

⁶⁹ In his chapter on the Beatitudes, Ludolph presents these causes for tears: "Hay diversas causas de llanto: por los pecados propios y por los ajenos; por el destierro de la miseria presente y por el peligro del castigo eterno; y porque se retrasa la gloria del cielo". See, *La vida de Cristo* I.33.6, p. 295.

⁷⁰ Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, 144. Other mention of tears in connection with exercises of the purgative period, found on 152, 164, 166; in connection with the examination of conscience on 194, 198.

⁷¹ Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, 190.

⁷² Kempis utilizes "tears" only 15 times throughout the four books. See, Storr, ed., *Concordance*, 278-279.

⁷³ *Imitation*, IV.11.

⁷⁴ *Imitation*, IV.11.

[Ej 203]⁷⁵. Yet, his registering of them in the *Diary* does not evince any clear classification as regards to their cause or motive. Though perhaps englobing a complex array of internal movements, it does seem plausible to imagine that he understood them as the “felt emergence of God’s presence” in his interior⁷⁶. In his own words, they appear to refer to his first description of consolation as that “interior movement within the soul through which it comes to be inflamed with love of its Creator and Lord” [Ej 316]. In this way, they represent a manifestation of God’s language to him, “a veritable code whose matter is differentiated into signs according to the time of their appearance and their intensity”⁷⁷.

The second observation returns us to the context of his discernment. Frequent in missals of the era were liturgical prayers in which tears were solicited from God during mass⁷⁸. Quite possibly Ignatius was beseeching God to say the mass with tears as the missal would have stipulated. Given the sacramental context of the *Diary*, it is possible to imagine that he was praying for this gift, very likely in accordance with the liturgical text before him. In brief, it is helpful to consider the rich background that informed his thinking and understanding of tears. Yet I would maintain that the structure of the text before us provides the most helpful interpretation. They are, in the first booklet, a sign that he feels that helps him know God’s will. In the second booklet, tears seem to be an object for what appears to be a particular examination.

b. Devotion

“Devotion” comprises one of the terms that he employs to point to a particular internal experience of God. Though he will employ adjectives to describe it, Ignatius never provides a synonym for it⁷⁹. This accords with the kind of document that he is composing: a register of separate signs of God’s language to him. Moreover, he does not offer any

⁷⁵ Martin, “*Diario Espiritual a partir del don de lágrimas*”, 25-26. It should be mentioned that in a letter of his to Francis Borja he does identify three kinds of tears, those for one’s own or another’s sins, those shed on considering the life of Christ in this life or the next; those in consideration or in love of the divine persons. See, *Epp II*, Ignatius to Francis Borja (Rome, 20 September, 1548), 236; *Letters and Instructions*, 255.

⁷⁶ Jesús Corella, “Consolación”, in *DEI* 1:413-425, 416.

⁷⁷ Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, 74-75. Other authors, such as Martin, allude to tears as a sign, but in my estimation the analysis by Barthes offers the strongest interpretation of the document which allows for a sharper analysis of its spiritual and theological content. For the reference, to Martin, see his “*Diario Espiritual a partir del don de lágrimas*”, 67.

⁷⁸ See, Adnès, “Les larmes”, in *DSp* 9:302.

⁷⁹ Mora, however, does propose one such synonym: “intimamente ligado a la devoción, encontramos el amor experimental, que Ignacio a veces parece casi identificar con la devoción”. Yet experiential love is a category that is so broad to be of much help. See, Mora, *La devoción en el espíritu*, 105.

appositive phrases to help us understand what he was feeling with “devotion”⁸⁰. Though a distinct and discreet experience of his, it does appear to comprise one particularly important aspect of a fascinating constellation of experiences that could be considered interior. It may very well be commensurate with other spiritual phenomena such as warmth, interior movement, tranquility of his soul, or confidence. Yet, it seems to have been a much more full or conspicuous experience given that he locates it with such frequency and with what would appear to be such ease. It appears as easy for him to notice as tears were.

The question of what he actually felt with “devotion” is important as it is elusive. It can come in quantities, as in “much”, “abundant” and even “very intense”. And, as I will point out below, it takes on a luminous, warm, and bright quality. It is a manifold spiritual phenomenon, ranging from new, to intense, to sweet. Drawing on the study of the tradition that precedes Ignatius can be helpful to approach what he was in fact feeling when he noted in his journal “devotion”. Bernard of Clairvaux describes devotion as akin to a kind of joyful calm⁸¹ or peaceful guide⁸². This latter designation of a peaceful guide is suggestive. Perhaps the feeling brought him something akin to peace and in its own way guided him. At the same time, his notes convey the sense of an intense inner experience, something notable and dramatic that moved him. Perhaps a bit more apropos to Ignatius’ experience is the description given by Francisco de Osuna. For the observant Franciscan, the spirit of devotion has a taste and a flavor. It also involves a close, communicative familiarity, engendering warmth and intimacy⁸³. This is helpful: Ignatius seems to interiorly savor it, and he does notice its warmth and taste. Likewise, the idea of devotion as communicative familiarity is germane to Ignatius’ experience. With “devotion”, he seems to suggest his familiarity with God’s presence, as if he and God were on the same wavelength. For his part, Kempis in the *Imitation* is conspicuously silent on the feeling that devotion engenders. In part, this accords with his spirituality, so focused as he is on growing in the virtues. Nevertheless, he offers that it is a spiritual experience that fluctuates; Ignatius would agree. He also proposes that devotion is the grace of doing what is right⁸⁴. For as vague as this may be on a phenomenological level, it lines up with Ignatius’ process. In other words, Ignatius clearly felt it, and what seems to have been important to him was to feel the desire to do that which

⁸⁰ I will explore in Chapter 9 what I believe is the general category of “visitation” by which he classifies all that he experiences in prayer.

⁸¹ *Obras*. Vol. 6. “Sermones varios. Sermón 17”. 8.163.

⁸² *Obras*. Vol. 3. “En la Circuncisión del Señor. Sermón 3”. 10.269.

⁸³ Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario*, 265, 525.

⁸⁴ *Imitation*, IV.1.

was right.

In general terms, I would describe devotion as a spiritual gift from God that was always dynamic in its presence to him⁸⁵. Also, his discernment notebook gives every indication that it was clearly recognizable. He knew to what he was referring, and he does so with confidence. An example of this was alluded to above: he only crosses out “devotion” once in these two booklets. Though he had a range of internal spiritual experiences, he never confused it with those others. Similarly, in his examination he seems to have been able to detach himself from the experience and represent it with certain objectivity. Another way of stating this is that he seems to have had a rather unproblematic relationship to this gift. As I will attempt to show below, his apparent freedom with devotion distinguishes it from tears, the spiritual gift of at least equal importance, but to which he subjects a discernment to find out if God was asking him to be less dependent upon them. Likewise, it seems reasonable to imagine that he was aware of a false devotion, but his text conveys his overall confidence in this sign. As an example, Ignatius discerns many thoughts in his journal – when to end, masses he should celebrate, the idea that he is too attached to tears, the new way God is showing him – and in each of these processes, he seems to always look for its presence as if it provided him with a sure touchstone for knowing what God desired for him.

Finally, I believe that it is important to situate the feeling of devotion in the structure of his discernment notebook. Though this may not provide us with more insight as to how he felt it, the itinerary minimally confirms that it was a feeling and that its presence over time would lead him to know God’s will. Also, that he would turn to this somatic experience with such frequency in a process where he ultimately wants to act opens up the hypothesis that the sign of devotion not only figured into the feeling part of his itinerary, but that the feeling impacted his knowing and quite possibly his acting. Nevertheless, it remains to be explored to what extent then he understood devotion as a grace that would help him know *and* act.

2.1. Overview of devotion in the first booklet

The first booklet of the *Diary* suggests that tears and devotion comprise the two fundamental ways that he recognizes the divine movement in his life. During this 40-day period, Ignatius reports an experience of devotion and tears on all but three days. February

⁸⁵ Though not named, I would offer that the following observation by Ribadeneira points to how Ignatius could have formulated his experience of devotion: “A cierto propósito, estando yo presente, dijo que le parecía que no podría vivir, si no sintiese en su alma una cosa que no era suya, ni podía serlo, ni era cosa humana, sino cosa puramente de Dios”. See, Ribadeneira, “De actis patris nostri Ignatii”, in *FN* II, 338.

21st, 22nd, and 29th are the only days that do not include a reference to these two spiritual gifts occurring together. On all of the other thirty-seven days he pairs the two of them together, and, on occasion, indicates multiple occurrences of them. For example, he records five instances of devotion and tears on February 8th, three on the 9th, two on the 10th, and seven instances of the two gifts on the 11th. The experience of both continues unabated: in the first week of March, he observes their presence three times on March 6th, another three on the 7th, and twice on March 12th, the day in which he concludes his process. In addition, the very last mention of spiritual gifts on the 40th day of his process, March 12th, is a movement to “devotion and to tear (*a lacrimar*)” [De 153]. The preponderance of this pairing of devotion and tears leads me to believe that they are the principal focus of his observations as he goes about trying to track the kinds and degrees of God’s movement in him. Unquestionably, this entire process is marked by an impressive array of spiritual gifts and visions of Jesus and the Trinity, but I would suggest that it is ultimately configured by these two gifts. For the former pilgrim now general of the Society of Jesus, their presence illumines the path of his discernment. They appear as the central point of his “feeling” in his discernment notebook.

However, he does not exclusively focus on the occurrence of these two gifts together; he is attentive to how they manifest themselves individually in him. Ignatius watches for devotion in his prayer, follows it, and notices where he cannot find it. This first booklet presents a veritable narration of the spiritual experience of devotion. A journey into God’s very life which is marked by devotion. As mentioned above, there are one hundred and fifty-nine uses of the noun in this document of 40 days⁸⁶. Not one day passes where he does not record at least one experience of it, and there are others in which the experience abounds⁸⁷. As an example, on February 11th, he reports nine different experiences of it. Likewise, on February 18th, he uses the term ten times, eight of which appear to refer to a distinct experience of the spiritual phenomenon. No other internal spiritual experience or movement is recorded with such frequency and with such detail in this part of his document⁸⁸. All the while recognizing that frequency is not in and of itself a benchmark of importance, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the term, and by extension, the spiritual experience to which he

⁸⁶ Some five pages of occurrences are indicated in the *Concordancia Ignaciana*, 367-371.

⁸⁷ There are, as Thió de Pol points out, two days in which it is not named. However, his compact summary of his prayer on the 3rd and the 4th of February as “lo mismo” suggests that he continued to experience an abundance of it as he did on the 2nd. See, Thió de Pol, “Devoción”, in *DEI* 1:585.

⁸⁸ “La devoción... la realidad orante más examinada por Ignacio si se exceptúan las lágrimas”. See, Thió de Pol, “Devoción”, in *DEI* 1:585.

referred, was deeply meaningful to him.

In addition, his experience of devotion exhibits a fascinating evolution in this booklet. First, it is a quantifiable presence in him. Adjectives such as “much”, “abundant” or “intense” characterize his initial description of it. However, after his episode of indignation with the Trinity on February 18th, Ignatius introduces a new dimension of it; it becomes luminous and warm. As such, concurrent to Ignatius’ movement into the very life of the Trinity, a process in which he sees and feels the inner life of the Triune God, Ignatius describes ever more richly the experience of devotion. It is far more than just “much” or “abundant”, but becomes, as God Himself becomes to him – bright, warm and clear⁸⁹.

2.2. Overview of devotion in the second booklet

In the second booklet, which I interpret as being comprised by both a discernment notebook and a particular examination, devotion recedes, and even disappears. The last mention of it is on May 12th, nine months before he was to conclude his note-taking. Yet, it is worth mentioning that it is hardly the only spiritual reality that is silenced. As an example, there is no longer any report of the presence of the Trinity, Jesus, nor Mary in his prayer⁹⁰.

The seven instances in which he mentions an experience of devotion all fall within the part of this booklet dedicated to registering signs to know their content. Similar to the structure of the first booklet, the first three instances where he records devotion all occur with tears [*De* 156, 157, 159]. Devotion is, however, mentioned in two other moments of this second booklet. First, he refers to it in the context of his discovery of the gifts of reverence and veneration. The other context is that of the gift of *loquela*. Its presence in both of these contexts suggests that it continued to function in a similar way for him as he felt new signs and sought to discern God’s will in them.

⁸⁹ In his study of revelation, Melloni suggests that “calor” or warmth in mystical phenomenology signifies that which is purified, dilated and illumined. Devotion that is warm gives the sense of the gift as less of a quantifiable object than as expansive presence that inhabits him. See, Melloni, *Vislumbres de lo real*, 74.

⁹⁰ Recognizing the distance between the Trinity and the experience of devotion, it is significant to observe that he mentions the Trinity only three times in the second booklet [*De* 166, 171, 229]. Devotion a mere seven [*De* 156, 157, 159, 176 twice, 222, 224].

2.3. An interpretive key for his discernment

I will begin the study of Ignatius' experience of devotion with an analysis of his use of the term in the beginning of his discernment. In this part of my study, I will follow the earlier divisions that I established according to his experience of the mediators. Each of the following subsections will detail the way he reports the experience of devotion. In this part of his process, clearly focused on finding God's will, devotion appears as a sign that he looks to in order to know that will. Moreover, smaller discernments within this larger discernment appear, and they too point to it as that feeling which helped him know and trust that he was moving closer to God's will.

a. Movement towards God and God's will

In the first ten days of his journal, from February 2nd to February 11th, there is not one day in which he does not indicate the conjoined presence of tears and devotion. On the first day of his process, he indicates "an abundance of devotion with tears" [*De* 1], and with this observation he establishes both spiritual gifts as the familiar, simple, and recognizable signs in his prayer which communicate to him God's presence. On occasion he experiences "notable devotion and tears" [*De* 7] and on others "tears and the most intense devotion" [*De* 8]. He not only detects their presence, but it is important to him to indicate their degree or quantity. Also, these initial observations convey a certain simplicity and familiarity. As he begins his process of discernment, he seems to know beforehand the signs that he wants to pay attention to as he examines his prayer. Moreover, the absence of any explanation of their meaning indicates the intelligibility of both phenomena. Noting them was enough to point to how God was making Himself present as he considered the advantages and disadvantages of receiving income.

However, in this first phase of his process, devotion does not exclusively occur in conjunction with tears. There are four instances in which devotion occurs without the concomitant experience of tears [*De* 6, 11, 13, 15]. On February 7th, the sixth day of his process of seeking help from the Mother and the Son, he indicates for the first time his confidence to approach the Father. He writes: "at the time of the mass, it seemed to me that (I had) notable access and with much devotion and interior movement to beg (*para rogar*) the Father" [*De* 6]. His experience of devotion accompanies him in this first movement to be before the Father and petition His help.

In addition, devotion appears to form an important part of his discernment, as if its presence were actually illuminating for him God's will. As an example, on February 9th, he indicates that "(he) was passing the points of the election with much tranquility and devotion, and it seemed perfectly clear that no income, either partial or all, should be allowed" [*De* 11]. He mentions the same spiritual experience in the same context of reviewing his election points the next day: "at night, passing the points of the election, of receiving the whole income, only part, or none at all, and making the oblation to receive none at all, with much devotion" [*De* 13]. As he moves through the steps of his election, devotion appears as the feeling that most orients him forward: "although I spoke as if it the thing (election) were completed, feeling considerable devotion... and I began to lose the desire to continue to consider the reasons" [*De* 15]. These observations convey the idea that devotion signals to him the rightness of the path that he is on. He feels it and it gives him the confidence to address the Father and to move forward in the steps of his election process. His eyes are on God and the points of his election, and his sideways glance towards the presence of devotion appears to propel him forward.

b. The pervasive internal sensation that reliably guides him

From February 13th to the 17th, a period of five days after he feels he offended the divine persons by leaving them in his prayer, and, for that reason, a period of time in which he seeks to recover the dispositions necessary to present his election to the Father [*Ej* 179], every day includes an experience of tears and devotion. Though he does not sense the presence of the mediators as he previously did [*De* 20], his reporting of the experience of devotion and tears suggests that he is on his way back to recovering what he felt he had lost. During these days, his experience of devotion is described with the adjectives "great" [*De* 24], "much" [*De* 26], "considerable" (*asaz*) [*De* 28, 32], and "intense" [*De* 36]. As such, he continues to look for and describe devotion as if it were a quantifiable interior experience just as tears are a quantifiable exterior experience.

Similar to the previous period of days, devotion is the predominant internal spiritual gift that accompanies him in his discernment process. But it also appears to serve him in smaller discernments that emerge. For example, in a remarkable example of his discernment, Ignatius deliberates on the way to finish his process. He decides to look no further into the election, rather to offer masses over two days to give thanks to God (*rengraciar y rehacer la misma oblación*) [*De* 36]. This thought produces in him excessive tears and intense devotion

(*cubriéndome tanto de lágrimas, y con tanta intensa devoción*) [De 36]. These two signs appear to confirm the thought to proceed no further in this stage of his election process, but rather to move forward and begin to offer it and await its confirmation. However, the thought (*un pensamiento*) comes to him to spend two more days looking more closely into the election. Yet, this idea occasions a different interior experience in him: “this upset me and took me from the so intense devotion (that I was experiencing), and I wanted to reject it (*repugnar al tal pensamiento*)” [De 37]. The diminishment of devotion signals that this is not the right path⁹¹. He does not go so far as to say that this thought is not from God, but he evaluates the idea according to how it affects his devotion. He appears to discern the origin of the thought by the feeling of devotion. The diminishment of devotion (*me tocaba y me sacaba de la tanto intensa devoción*) [De 37]⁹² alerts him to back off. The passage is remarkable example of a small discernment carried out by way of his perception of the increase or decrease in devotion. This would suggest that his attention to the quantity and degree of it helps him know if such a thought is or is not from God.

Devotion functions in a similar way in a smaller decision that he makes while in prayer after mass on February 17th. He notices that he no longer has any further drive or desire to keep offering his oblation, adding that that he had always done it with devotion [De 41]. He finds himself content and satisfied, and after mass he spends time in the chapel and in his room giving thanks for so many gifts and graces received [De 41]. The experience appears to have been very moving, and he writes that it was the feeling of devotion that kept him where he was, enjoying what he felt (*gozando de lo que sentía*) [De 41]. He is faithful to the addition to not move on when he has found God's grace [Ej 76]. But revelatory in this moment is that it is the experience of devotion which he reads as the sure sign of being in the right place, even in the right posture: “the devotion that I felt pushed me there” (*la devoción que sentía me tiraba a estar allí*) [De 41].

Two further details add density to this passage. First, the indication that the entire election had proceeded “not without devotion” [De 41] is a comment that he makes in the margin of the page. Ignatius typically respects the margins and the very few occasions in which he utilizes that space often suggests a posterior redaction of some importance. Although it is difficult to determine the time of such an annotation, the fact that he wrote this

⁹¹ “Devotion” is the interpretive key that I believe Barrientos misses in his analysis of this section. See, Nelson Barrientos, “El Diario Espiritual, lenguaje y experiencia de Dios”, *Manresa* 62 (1990): 307-324, 313.

⁹² Ignatius indicates that the thought was “touching” him. This is, as García de Castro points out, one of the two occasions in the *Diary* in which he will refer to the sense of touch in his spiritual experience. The other will be detailed below in the section on movement. For more on the sense of touch, “el sentido de la inmediatez” in Ignatius, see, García de Castro, “Tacto”, in *DEI* 2:1673-1676, idea on 1675.

in the margins could suggest that in reviewing his election he wanted to underline what was important in it: it was made in devotion. Notwithstanding the possibility of this interpretation of this added phrase, it is also true that his observations for this day are so heavily redacted that he could have employed the space of the margin because of his repeated deletions. However, the content of the phrase locates devotion as a kind of spiritual experience that appears to guarantee or authenticate the election. It shows his confidence in his election which is based upon his even deeper confidence in devotion.

The second noteworthy aspect of this passage is the distinction he made, in his first formulation, between devotion and consolation. All the while recognizing the limits of structuring an argument on an excerpt of his text that he deleted, it is fascinating to read his initial redaction in which he had specified with greater detail his experience: “the devotion that I felt kept me there on my knees enjoying certain movements and interior consolations” [De 41]. This original observation in which he had noted “certain movements and interior consolations” would establish devotion as a larger, more pervasive movement within which occurred an interior consolation. The difference would seem to suggest that consolation is a more discrete, even finer spiritual experience, as if it were a particularly special gift from God regarding His presence. Notable too is his sense that consolation is to be enjoyed (*gozando de ciertos movimientos y consolaciones interiores*) [De 81]⁹³. Regarding this important verb “gozar” studied in the previous chapter, Ignatius never places devotion as the object of it⁹⁴. This is not to say that he was indifferent to its presence or that it was not pleasurable to him. Surely it had to be an enjoyable experience to him, but quite possibly it had less affective resonance in him that a reader would think. It was a distinct, sensible, and felt experience, but one that in his spiritual discernment was functioning, at least in this part of his spiritual process, more cognitively than affectively. He enjoys certain spiritual movements, such as consolation, but with devotion he seems to indicate a broader sensation that orients him. This distinction evokes what he would have found in Kempis’s *Imitation*. Kempis too seems to have understood consolation as a finer spiritual experience, whereas devotion was considered a grace that permeates and orients one towards God.

⁹³ For the deleted text, see Iparraguirre, Ruiz Jurado, ed., *Diario espiritual*, 305, footnote 81.

⁹⁴ The object of the verb “gozar” varies: it is consolation [De 63], the divine majesty [De 110], and spiritual visits [De 131, 159].

c. A personal presence that is sought

In this same period of days of February 13th to the 17th, there is another important mention of devotion in his prayer. On February 15th, Ignatius mentions an experience of not being able to find it. This is not an insignificant detail as it is the first time in thirteen days that he reports not being able to find devotion. In his reflection on his offense of having left the divine persons in prayer, he feels, in his return to the mediators for their intercessory help, that he was causing Our Lady embarrassment at having to petition so much for him (*echaba en vergüenza a nuestra Señora en rogar por mí tantas veces*) [De 29]. This thought grows in him, and he indicates in his prayer of preparation for the mass that “Our Lady hid from me and I could not find devotion in her nor above” [De 29]⁹⁵.

Though perhaps a disconcerting experience for Ignatius – and curiously the disconcerting experiences of his are those which offer the most insight into his spiritual experience – the observation allows us to understand an important aspect of this spiritual gift. First, and perhaps obviously, his language suggests, as does its prominent presence in this first booklet, that devotion was a spiritual experience that he was looking for. In addition, the expression by which he formulates the absence of devotion – not finding devotion *in* her nor above – suggests that the interior experience included a relational dimension. It is to be in her presence, and to feel her as favorable or propitious. In this way, devotion is more than a vague or impersonal feeling, rather quite possibly a sign of her presence. If it is the sign in which and by which he advances in the steps of his election, it is also the sign in which he perceives the presence of the one to whom he was praying.

This absence of devotion is notable, and what is even more remarkable is his lack of concern about its absence. I would like to offer the hypothesis that his reaction to its absence in this moment can be understood by the implicit presence of what I alluded to earlier by the “mini-texts” of his petitions. The petition or the grace that he was seeking may best account for his not feeling devotion and for his not being upset by its absence. Returning to his observations for this day, upon stating that he could not find devotion, he almost immediately mentions having access to the Father, who shows Himself to be favorable and sweet [De 30]. In other words, his not finding devotion does not alert him to change course. This is very unusual in the *Diary*, and it does not occur on other occasions. Quite possibly the reason for this can be found in considering the spiritual exercise and the particular grace that he was

⁹⁵ Important to note on this day that he celebrated the mass for the Purification of Our Lady.

seeking. This experience occurs on a Friday, and as on other Fridays in the *Diary*, there are “slight hints” that Ignatius did some version of the meditations of the First Week of the *Spiritual Exercises*⁹⁶. This appears to be the case on this day. In particular, his mention of shame recalls one of the graces to be prayed for in the first meditation [*Ej* 48]. He feels shame at his fault, and he is also aware of the embarrassment that Mary feels at having to plea for him so often⁹⁷. He sees how his faults affect her too. In addition, his language of “how much he had offended” evokes that of one of the points of the second meditation where the retreatant is invited “to look upon myself as a sore or abscess from which have issued such great sins and iniquities and such foul poison” [*Ej* 58]. Given this possible connection with the meditations of the First Week of the *Exercises*, I believe that the experience of shame was what he was praying for. Consequently, the absence of devotion, rather than upsetting him, would make sense given the grace that he is seeking. Not finding devotion in her nor above reminds him of the effect of sin; it damages relationship. On this particular day, the grace that he was praying for helps to illuminate his experiences and his interpretation of them. Nevertheless, as I have indicated, the diminishment of devotion does alarm him. Two days stand out in this respect.

d. Devotion that warns him to stop

His experiences on February 12th and on February 18th, the days in which he respectively doubts the election he is making and the day in which he becomes indignant with the Trinity, point to the crucial way that both devotion and tears helped him understand his encounter with God. On the 12th, he finds himself accompanied by devotion and tears in his preparatory prayer. Things begin auspiciously. Yet he observes that this experience of devotion diminishes; twice it had been “considerable”, but during the mass there was only

⁹⁶ The insight of these “slight hints” or “leves insinuaciones” belongs to Thió de Pol. This great reader of the *Diary* connects the language that Ignatius uses on other Fridays, specifically February 29th and March 7th with language from the First Week. I would add to his argument this Friday, February 15th, as well as February 22nd where Ignatius invokes language – although he later crosses it out – from the second meditation, specifically number 60. See, Thió de Pol, *Intimidación del peregrino*, 102, footnote 104. This could have been a practice that he acquired or perhaps consolidated at Montserrat. García Jiménez de Cisneros’s *Ejercitatorio*, does indicate more penitential prayers on Fridays of the Purgative way. Though no such penitential exercises are indicated in the Illuminative nor Unitive ways. See, for the very extensive penitential prayer on Friday of the penitential week, Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, 172-177.

⁹⁷ His expression verbatim is “pareciendo que echaba en vergüenza a nuestra Señora en rogar por mí tantas veces”. In my interpretation of “echar en” as a “placing” Mary in a similarly compromised situation, I am following one of the meanings of the verb “echar” in *Aut*, s.v. “echar”, on 356.

“some devotion, no coldness” (*alguna devoción, no frialdad*) [*De 22*]⁹⁸. Coupled with this, he experienced no tears during mass. This is the first mass that he celebrates in which he is without them⁹⁹. In short, his tears dried up and his devotion diminishes: clear signs to him of something gone awry. The following day, he offers his interpretation of what happened: he reasons that he committed a fault in having left the divine persons during prayer to quiet one of his companions who was making noise. As I discussed in the previous chapter, he also mentions having considered the idea of receiving some income [*De 22*]¹⁰⁰. The following part of his observations, although crossed out, suggest that both the way he left his prayer to quiet a companion and this thought troubled him, and they reverberated in his prayer. He puts it, unusually, in metaphorical language: “the warmth (*el calor*) from within was beset by the cold wind from outside” [*De 22*]. This “wind from outside” (*el viento de fuera*) seems to relate to the presence of this last-minute doubt about the reception of income¹⁰¹. Though he does not explicitly connect his doubt with the absence of tears or the diminishment of devotion, this connection, implicit in the text, seems reasonable. His doubt changed his prayer and he caught this. The marked difference in his experience of tears and devotion seemed to have alerted him to back off of and recommence his process.

A similar dynamic with respect to devotion occurs on February 18th. In spite of the elaborate petition by way of a triple colloquy that his offering might be confirmed – a prayer which he begins with “much devotion and intention covered in tears” [*De 46*] – this day unfolds in a way contrary to all of his expectations. In particular, he awakens with a kind of oppressive feeling (*tanto pesado*), his accustomed prayer gives him very little delight (*con ninguno o muy poco gusto*), and he perceives a lack of confidence that he will find grace in the Blessed Trinity (*desconfianza de hallar la gracia*) [*De 44*]. In a word, the tone of this day is vastly different from the others. Moreover, the mass takes place in this rather tense

⁹⁸ Regarding the reporting of “no frialdad”, the observation offered by García de Castro points to the way Ignatius associated temperature with divine presence: “Según descendemos en la temperatura, nos vamos alejando de la presencia de Dios”. See, García de Castro, “Calor”, in *DEI* 1:259.

⁹⁹ On February 9th, he reports that during the mass he “was moved to tear”, or, in Spanish, “a moverse a lacrimar” [*De 11*]. I interpret this as an instance of tears.

¹⁰⁰ Studies on the *Diary* have missed the strength of these doubts in Ignatius’ process. For example, one such reading of this particular episode of February 12th that passes over his doubt is the following: “se trata de una infidelidad a las exigencias interiores de su oración: no ha seguido centrando su oración en las personas divinas para hallar en ellas el término de su elección”. The danger of over-spiritualizing his process can produce observations such as this one, unusual and nearly impenetrable. See, Mejía Saldarriega, *La dinámica de la integración espiritual*, 193, citing Giuliani, ed., *Journal Spirituel*, 53-54, note 3.

¹⁰¹ “Viento: cualquier cosa que mueve o agita el ánimo con violencia y variedad”, see, *Aut*, s.v. “viento”. Wind, also in the context of Paul’s letter to the Ephesians signals discernment: “Then we will no longer be infants, tossed back and forth by the waves, blown here and there by every wind of teaching and by the cunning and craftiness of people in their deceitful scheming” (Eph 4:14).

spiritual atmosphere. Though he does indicate that he experienced considerable devotion, introducing for the first time the adjective “red” (*rúbea*) to describe it, this is not enough to move him forward. Thoughts (*unos pensamientos*) occur to him that devotion nor tears came with effusion or abundance. This thought assails him, and, tellingly, he reports that it was taking away his experience of devotion. His language is vivid: “(the thoughts) were pricking me and taking away devotion (*punzándome y quitando la devoción*)” [*De 49*]¹⁰². It is as if he watches his devotion leave him, and he is upset. Though he tries to quiet himself, even employing a spiritual exercise of comparing himself with the wisdom and the greatness of the divinity¹⁰³, this does not help him in the way he desires and he becomes indignant. He concludes his observations affirming that he felt devotion the whole day, and his description is revealing: it was “combated and afraid of erring in some things (*fuese combatida y timorata de errar en cosa alguna*)” [*De 50*]¹⁰⁴.

His personification of devotion as that which is combated and fearful contrasts significantly with how he began this spiritual process. On February 2nd he reported an abundance of devotion with tears in which the primary experience was the feeling of growing trust. Here, however, the experience of devotion occasions or is permeated by fear. From a place of confidence, he has ended up in a place of doubt and fear. This perception is crucial for him, and given this movement in which he has become disquieted and perturbed [*Ej 333*], he will slow down; the cycle of masses that he commences to the Trinity on the following day gives the sense that he was looking again for a state of indifference in order to restart his process [*Ej 169*]. And the interpretive key for this is devotion. It alerts him step back. Though he may say that it was his devotion that was fearful, the description suggests that *he* is afraid of getting the decision wrong. As readers, devotion then provides us with window into how he was feeling. And at this moment, he is beset by tension, doubt, and fear¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰² The verb “punzar” only occurs one other time in his corpus of writings, and it is used to describe the action of one of the spirits to move the person: for those trapped in sinful ways, the good spirit pricks (*punzándoles*) their conscience [*Ej 314*]. Here, it appears that the evil spirit is following the same tactic, jabbing him with thoughts that things are not unfolding well for him. The tactic appears to have been successful as he becomes angry.

¹⁰³ His language “midiendo mi medida con la sapiencia y grandeza divina” [*De 50*], echoes that of the 4th point of the second meditation of the First Week of the *Exercises*: “considerar quién es Dios, contra quien he pecado, según sus atributos, comparándolos a sus contrarios en mí: su sapiencia a mi ignorancia, su omnipotencia a mi flaqueza, su justicia a mi iniquidad, su bondad a mi malicia” [*Ej 59*].

¹⁰⁴ “Timorata” represents another neologism of his. See, García de Castro, “El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola”, 560.

¹⁰⁵ More hagiographical narratives of Ignatius tend to gloss over this moment. For example, Eagan, in my estimation, demonstrates the flattening effect that all hagiographical narratives have when he offers that “The eagerness for consolations and his slight impatience with the Trinity and Christ when they did not confirm his election, as related in the *Spiritual Diary*, were not symptoms of spiritual greed. Ignatius grew impatient because he so eagerly wanted to know and put into execution God’s will”. The *Diary* does not support such an

e. Brief conclusions on the experience of devotion

The pages of his discernment notebook suggest devotion's importance to him in this process, yet it is hard to ascertain the nature of it as a felt experience. Perhaps the most that can be affirmed is that he felt it in varying degrees. In addition, the document discloses his fine attention to it: he can distinguish between much and abundant devotion, as well as intense and very intense devotion. If he is, as many scholars suggest, supremely attentive to his interior movements, this is nowhere more on display than in his attention to devotion. But these descriptions reveal much more than his capacity to gauge an interior experience of his. I would suggest that he purposefully describes devotion quantitatively because it helps him apprehend God's will. More specifically, his description of it corresponds to his discernment process. Separating, measuring, and comparing his experience of it over time are ways that allow him to move from feeling to knowing God's will. He tracks the increase or decrease of devotion as a way to gauge the beginning, middle and end of this process. His logic seems to be that if, bit by bit, it remains the same or increases, it would be from the good spirit and he would be able to trust that the concomitant thought of not receiving income, which is accompanying it, is in fact from God [*Ej* 333]. In this sense, devotion appears as the sign that he feels and follows as he reviews, ponders, and weighs all of his points for or for not receiving income. The quantity of it provides, perhaps not *the* key, but *a* key to his discernment.

Two examples further advance this hypothesis. The first time that he indicates "the most intense devotion" (*devoción intensísima*) was the first time that he offered his election to God [*De* 8]. This points to the correspondence between the interior experience and the election process. In describing this moment as one in which he feels the most intense devotion, he seems to be understanding that everything about this moment was right. This same adjective (*intensa*) reappears on February 11th in the same moment of his election process in which he was offering it to God. This was also the first time that he considered that the process had come to an end (*como cosa acabada*) [*De* 18]¹⁰⁶. "Intense devotion" is

interpretation. What is more, Ignatius was jarred by temptation and doubt, and to not see that is to miss the spiritual experience that he so clearly lives in this journal and that he so clearly presents in the *Exercises*. See, Egan, *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic*, 199.

¹⁰⁶ Ignatius uses the indeterminate noun "cosa" with frequency: 45 times in his *Diary*. Its indeterminacy gives work to the reader, but in this particular context it refers to his election on the churches' income. The word is important in his lexicon, signaling, as Peter Knauer points out, "para la espiritualidad ignaciana es sobre todo típica una expresión que hace ver que no existe un sector religioso de la realidad, sino que todas las cosas

not only a powerful interior experience, but it seems to present him with a kind of internal interpretive key that he was finding what God desired, as if the intensity were indicating to him that he was right in choosing no income. Consequently, the adjectives are much more than examples of his perspicacious attention to his inner life. They serve him in what he was seeking: knowing God's will. They also suggest that the feeling of devotion was always in function of coming to know God's will. As he looked over his arguments "for" and "against", he watched for the quantity and the intensity of his devotion to guide him towards the column of reasons where God's will was to be found.

2.4. Thoughts, Jesus, and the new way, all in devotion

Within the larger discernment process of the reception of income, Ignatius makes many smaller decisions. This is one of the great advantages of a detailed study of devotion: it discloses the multiple discernments within the discernment. To read the *Diary* and to see only the election on the income is to miss the multiple determinations and decisions by which he moves forward in his relationship with God. And to gloss over these processes, unquestionably of a smaller scale, is to fail to notice a pattern that appears in his spiritual experience. As an example, Ignatius makes two decisions on the day after becoming indignant with the Trinity. A detailed analysis of the beginning of his observations of that day, February 19th, can disclose an implicit structure in his discernment in which devotion holds an important place¹⁰⁷.

Upon awakening, Ignatius began the day with a different spiritual activity: he does not mention his accustomed prayer as he typically does, but rather indicates that he did an examination of conscience. He only indicates in one other moment in both notebooks his employment of this method of prayer. The other occurs on February 16th where he reports doing an examination of conscience at the end of the day [*De* 35]. Both contexts, however, are similar: he feels a certain hesitancy or doubt about how to proceed in his prayer. It appears that in a situation in which he lacks clarity or direction he turns to the examination of conscience¹⁰⁸.

In his examination of conscience on this day (February 19th), he relates that his prayer

tienen que ver con Dios su creador". See, Knauer, "Cosa", in *DEI* 1:495-497. On this very word, see also, Mejia Saldarriega, *La dinámica de la integración espiritual*, 38, 41.

¹⁰⁷ The entire day presents a series of profound spiritual experiences, and it is the first day that he begins to draw lines around certain passages. I am limiting my analysis to the first paragraph [*De* 51].

¹⁰⁸ For more general commentary on this, see, Fiorito's, "La vida espiritual", 13-18.

brought him many intelligences and spiritual memories of the Blessed Trinity. With these thoughts and memories, tears covered his face and he was invaded by an intense devotion [De 51]. In the midst of this prayer, which seems from his description to have been very moving, he reports, paradoxically, that he was quieting himself down and delighting in love for the Trinity. This strong affective movement produced in him confidence and the determination to say that day's mass to the Trinity. Next, he reports that he stood up – apparently all of the previous prayer experiences took place while he was still in bed – continued his prayer of preparation, and decided to say six or more consecutive masses to the Blessed Trinity. In brief, he found a very clear way forward.

This prayer experience is an impressive movement of love towards the Trinity. This, in turn, produces in him confidence, and the two decisions that he makes, the first to say the mass of that day to the Trinity and the second to say six or more consecutive masses to the Triune God, flow from that experience of love. Everything appears to move naturally, as if these decisions were obvious and made without much reflection. However, his observations reveal a process: in both of these determinations, tears and devotion appear to play an important role. In the first decision, tears and devotion accompany the intelligences and the spiritual memories (*recuerdos espirituales*) of the Trinity [De 51]. Though his text does not clearly establish the sequence of whether thoughts or devotion and tears come first, it seems plausible to consider that in his examination of conscience, these thoughts and memories came to him, and they produced in him tears and devotion. With these two signs, he trusts the movement and gives himself over to it. This movement grows into one of love, and this produces in him the confidence and determination to say the mass to the Trinity on that day. In the second determination, tears and devotion come to him in his preparatory prayer, and they seem to provide him with that which he needs to trust the thought or the resolution to say a series of masses to the Trinity. The idea comes to him, perhaps motivated from the earlier determination to say the day's mass to the Trinity, and this in turn leads him to be, in his words, “not without tears and later with devotion” [De 51]. Again, the signs are there for him to trust this thought and move forward with it.

This excerpt discloses an implicit structure by which he discerns his prayer: he attends to his thoughts and the way that they provoke in him devotion and tears. On this particular day, he proceeds with ease because both of these ideas are accompanied by the two signs upon which he appears to test or to verify the origin of his thoughts. Not unlike its presence in his election, devotion – in what may be considered a new phase of his spiritual journey, one in which he embarks upon a process to say masses to the Trinity and which will be

marked by a growing intimacy with Jesus and the Trinity – appears to continue to function as an internal sign of God’s presence which allows him to discern his experiences and move forward. The difference in this phase of his spiritual journey is that now he is not reviewing the thoughts on income rather the more spiritual thoughts that come to him. In the midst of powerful experiences of the Trinity, Ignatius continues to attend carefully to his thoughts, and it appears that he interprets them by way of the feeling of devotion. The path is towards the Trinity, and it is traversed with Jesus. But undergirding this divinely inspired movement is the same discernment structure: devotion, accompanied with tears or occurring alone, appears as the feeling which seems to help him know the origin of the spiritual thoughts, memories, or desires in him.

a. Thoughts and devotion

Ignatius is operating in an election time in which he is giving special attention to his thoughts and the way they move him towards one or another option [*Ej* 182]. All the while recognizing how this particular election process structures the way he is observing and noting his prayer experiences, his heightened attention to his thoughts and ideas conveys the general impression that he was very sensitive to them. An important example of this involves his indignation with the Trinity on February 18th. Two days after the episode he recognized that it was an evil spirit that made him doubt and become angry. With this knowledge (*conocer el mal espíritu pasado*) [*De* 57], he felt a new interior movement, tears, and afterwards, “a growing, quiet and tranquil devotion” [*De* 58]. As such, the thought of the evil spirit’s action produces in him a quiet and tranquil devotion, and this interior feeling appears to serve as confirmation of the truth of this knowledge. A similar pattern recurs two days later where he finds himself repeating the idea that he is not worthy to invoke the name of the Blessed Trinity [*De* 64]. His very next observation is significant: “this thought and the repetition of it (*multiplicación*) moved me to a greater internal devotion” [*De* 64]. Similarly, the first time that he names Jesus in the text is when he reports that Jesus came to him in a thought. He considers Jesus as the head of the Society, and this for him constitutes the best argument to choose poverty [*De* 66]. He reports: “this thought moved me to devotion and tears” [*De* 66]. Jesus is the best argument, and the forceful and clear presence of devotion confirms it. His experience with Jesus continues, and now conscious of how the evil spirit moved him to act against the Trinity, he considers for the first time his desire for reconciliation. Again, the thought comes to him (*viniéndome en mente*) to ask Jesus for pardon from the Trinity. And

in this movement, initially cognitive, he reports an experience of “a growing devotion and tears” [De 73]. Thoughts constitute for him spiritual movements¹⁰⁹, and not only he is deeply aware of them, but the way he structures his examination gives the sense that his spiritual movements often have a cognitive origin. The general trajectory seems to be first the thought and then the interior feeling or resonance¹¹⁰.

In the examples given above, it could appear that devotion and tears constitute the center of his prayer. Albeit ubiquitous and clearly important to Ignatius, I would suggest that they do not comprise the content of his prayer experience. The center belongs to the Trinity, to Jesus, or, in the case of the last example given above, to his hope for the grace of reconciliation from and with the Trinity. Devotion and tears, as I see them occurring in his prayer, appear to act as the signs that the discourse¹¹¹ of his thoughts comes from God. If the thought produces, as in the examples above, devotion, he trusts it.

In this interpretation of his spiritual process, the absence of devotion would be indicative of a thought whose origin lies elsewhere. One example of a thought of his not accompanied by devotion stands out. March 7th was a day characterized by what he describes as feeling visitations (*sentía las visitaciones*) of the Blessed Trinity, the Father, the Son, and Our Lady. However important they must have been, and accompanied as they were by tears, he employs the Latin adjective *indiferenter* to describe them. The felt visions or perceptions appear to have been imprecise. Also, his observations give the sense that he was wondering how to end the entire discernment process. He seems to have been unsure of how to proceed, but he settles on the idea that with the next visitation he will conclude. He reasons that he was disposed “to enjoy the visitations”, and that when they arrive, he will end his process. His conclusions seem reasonable: “where it should be discovered to me and where I might be visited, and in that way placing everything to finish and to enjoy that which I might find” (*gozar donde le hallase*) [De 131]. It would seem that he is letting God determine the end of the process. But his reasoning is problematic¹¹². Nested inside of his thinking is the implicit

¹⁰⁹ In his own words, of a letter of his from March of 1556: “para seguir las cosas mejores y más perfectas suficiente moción es la de la razón”. See, *Epp XI*, Ignatius to Alfonso Ramírez de Vergara (Rome, 30 March, 1556), 184-185, 184; *Letters and Instructions*, 647.

¹¹⁰ This idea is suggested in Gonzalves da Câmara's observation that “El Padre parece que en toda cosa se mueve por razón, y siempre el afecto y la devoción sigue; y esta regla guarda en todas cosas y la da a otros”. See, Hernández Montes, ed., *Recuerdos ignacianos*, 300.

¹¹¹ “Discurso, para Inácio, é também um curso ou um percurso que o leva de um lugar a outro”. See, Vázquez Moro, “A Ciência das Coisas Espirituais”, 80.

¹¹² Thió de Pol's exposition on this moment is very lucid: “Nótese el falaz argumento de Ignacio: por mor de humildad no quiere determinar por sí mismo el momento de concluir y pretende dejar la iniciativa a Dios, ya sea con una visitación o cuando diga en una visitación. En los dos extremos de la alternativa exige, o da por supuesto, tener visitación”. See, Thió de Pol, “Tenía mucha devoción”, 344.

and latent desire for a vision that is more precise and clearer¹¹³. He seems to be conditioning his ending on a visitation. In the language of the *Exercises*, he is desiring that God comes to him where he wants [*Ej* 154]. Tellingly, this thought is not accompanied by devotion. This would suggest that it, minimally, requires further examination or that it is not from the good spirit. He will find out five days later that it was a thought that set him up for frustration; God did not come to him nor visit him as he wanted. The absence of devotion in this moment reinforces the hypothesis that its presence helped him verify the origin of his thoughts as coming from the good spirit.

b. Thoughts of Jesus and devotion

This pattern of thoughts and devotion is also present in his experiences with Jesus. He is deeply attentive to the presence of devotion when he thinks, recalls, or feels Jesus' presence. For example, as he prepares to celebrate mass with the intension that Jesus' name might be imprinted upon him, he reports that he experienced a new interior movement and, during mass, a feeling of "grace and devotion and with quiet tears" [*De* 68]. During that same Eucharist, with the host in his hand, he is moved to promise to never leave Jesus for all of heaven and earth. And with this, he notes a new feeling of "interior movements, devotion, and spiritual joy" [*De* 69]. In short, during the whole day of February 23rd, one in which he remembered and thought often of Jesus, he was accompanied by a "continual devotion" [*De* 70].

During these intense and vivid experiences with Jesus that continue into the last days of February and early March, all of his thoughts, memory and will seem to point him to God's son. As such, he writes, of remembering Jesus, feeling much confidence with Him, and calling him to mind, all of which brought him "a new devotion and interior movements to tear" [*De* 80]. He keeps his eyes focused on Jesus, even feeling within himself how Jesus prays for him and "does everything before the Father and before the Blessed Trinity" [*De* 84]. With this realization, he enters into mass "with many tears, and continuing throughout much devotion and tears" [*De* 85]. The deep relational movement with Jesus grows and after the mass he sees not just his humanity, but that "He is completely my God" [*De* 87], an

¹¹³ I use the participle "nested" here purposefully. Ignatius is making a nest or "en cosa ajena poniendo nido" which in this case is in the spiritual vision [*Ej* 322]. More simply put: Ignatius is putting the gift before the giver. On this very point, Arzubialde is lucid: "...debido a que el don no se identifica sin más con el Dador de los dones, el hombre no puede *hacer nido* ni en el consuelo de la devoción ni en las buenas obras ni en la autocomplacencia de la 'propia perfección' ni en cosa alguna fuera del mismo Dios". See, Arzubialde, *Justificación y santificación*, 173, author's emphasis.

experience which occasions in him “a new effusion of tears and great devotion” [*De* 87]. Similarly, the very next day, upon entering the chapel to prepare for mass he reports a vision of Jesus as at the feet of the Trinity. And this vision marks how he begins the mass, “with tears and considerable devotion” [*De* 88].

In these experiences, the presence of Jesus would hardly seem to need verification by an experience of devotion. It would seem superfluous, even extrinsic, to the depth of what he is experiencing. But the presence of devotion in these moments again appears to confirm the structure of his spiritual process. He sees, thinks, or remembers Jesus, and this in turn resonates internally with him and he notes it. This appears to be how he proceeds in his prayer. There is in him, at least during the period of the *Diary*, the constant turn to the experience of devotion and or tears. This spiritual procedure of noting the presence of devotion appears deeply ingrained in him, so much so that even a vision of Jesus at the feet of the Trinity does not stand alone as a spiritual gift in and of itself. The sign of devotion seems to confirm all of his experiences as in fact originating in God. As he examines his prayer, he looks for it, and its presence in his notes suggests that it was the sign in which he knew that this was in fact Jesus coming to him and serving him.

One final experience of his demonstrates the extent to which he relied upon devotion to verify thoughts. On March 2nd, Ignatius, vested and ostensibly ready to begin mass, relates that he was so upset by noise coming from outside of the chapel that he considered desisting from saying mass. The language that he uses is dramatic: he mentions that he was so irritated by the noise that he found himself undone (*desbaratado*)¹¹⁴. In this state, the thought came to him to not say mass (*me venía el pensamiento de no decir misa*) [*De* 93]. However, he overcomes this thought with two others. First, he considers how his companions would perceive his not celebrating the mass. He thinks it would cause them to murmur about him, and he wants to avoid this¹¹⁵. Second, he mentions that he thought of Jesus' temptation in the desert, the gospel passage of the day. With both of these thoughts, one of Christ and one focused on his companions, he overcame the thought to desist from the mass. With this, he found himself energized, and he began mass with “considerable devotion” [*De* 93]. This is not so much discernment as it is overcoming a temptation. He overcomes the temptation

¹¹⁴ This extremely graphic word carries with it a clear spiritual connotation. In his well-known missive to Teresa Rejadell of 1536, he summarizes the action of the evil spirit in this way: “a fin de que nos pueda desbaratar y afligir”. In what might be considered his spiritual vocabulary, “desbaratar” indicates the action of the evil spirit. See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Teresa Rejadell (Venice, 18 June, 1536), 99-107, on 104; *Letters and Instructions*, 20-21.

¹¹⁵ Here I follow Thió de Pol's interpretation of this episode. See, Thió de Pol, *La intimidad del peregrino*, 128-130, footnote 126.

with other thoughts, and the thoughts that come to him from God or lead him to God have a recognizable internal resonance. They produce in him devotion.

c. His discernment of a new way and devotion

In his movement towards the Trinity, Ignatius sees the Triune God and perceives their interrelation. He registers that “what I had then understood feeling and seeing I could not have learnt in a whole life of study” [De 53]. He is in awe of what he sees, and at the same time he recognizes that God is resolving his miscomprehensions, or, in his language, “untying the knots (*en soltar este nudo*)” [De 63]. His discovery of God’s nature is, no doubt, a great gift to him¹¹⁶. He sees the relational aspect of the visions as that which are theological, and he also intuits that the Trinity is communicating something personal for him. He senses that there is a new way opening up before him. He will characterize this new way of being with God as that of reverence and veneration. But this language comes later; it is the fruit of his discernment. In his earliest perception of what God is showing him, he is only able to formulate the idea that God is somehow revealing some kind of new way to him.

His reflection on a new way of being with God surfaces on February 26th. He reports that he found himself asking Jesus to conform him to the will of the Trinity “in the way (*por la vía*) that seemed best to them (the divine persons)” [De 79]. With this thought, he begins mass that day with a quiet and reposed devotion [De 81]. During the mass, he reveals that he found himself thinking that “with less I would be more satisfied and content in allowing the divine majesty to guide me” [De 81]. Though he does not specify the object of what he would be content to have less of, the context seems to suggest that he is thinking of his tears, that with less tears he would be content. On this day, he only experienced the slightest movement to tears during his prayer in his room and in the chapel (*mociones interiores a lacrimar*) [De 81]. Once vested and beginning mass, he found himself with a very attenuated manner to tear (*con algún modo tenuo a lacrimar*) [De 81]. Though not exactly absent, their clearly diminished presence appears to motivate him to consider that he can be content without them. And in the context of this inchoate discernment, it is interesting to observe how he concludes his prayer observations for this day. He indicates that “considerable devotion” continued throughout the entire mass, as if it were a constant amidst all of these thoughts [De 81].

¹¹⁶ I will study this Trinitarian insight in greater detail in chapter 9.

A little over a week later, this reflection resurfaces. Upon preparing the altar for mass on March 5th, he finds himself saying to God: “Where do you wish to take me Lord?” [De 113]. He said this over and over again, indicating that “much devotion grew in me” [De 113]. He vested for mass, and this prayer continued to emerge within him. He took Jesus as his guide in the Eucharist, and specified that he prayed the first third of the mass with “grace, warm devotion and considerable satisfaction of his soul” [De 114]. Notably, he mentions that he was without tears nor did he find himself – he believes – with the inordinate desire to have them (*sin lágrimas, ni, creo así, deseo desordenado de haberlas*) [De 114]. In this spiritual climate of devotion and tranquility, he turned to Jesus and prayed: “Lord, where am I going, or where... etc.? Following you my Lord, I cannot be lost” [De 114]. In this prayer, Ignatius recognizes that his following of Jesus is taking him on a new path, one that is not yet clear to him. However, he seems to be moving closer to the idea that Jesus is leading him into a relationship that would quite possibly no longer depend upon or even include the sign of tears. Striking, and perhaps illustrative in his notes for this day, is his use of the infinitive “lose” (*perder*); following Jesus he cannot be lost. This verb discloses how he understands tears: they are, like devotion, the sign of God’s presence to him. With such a comprehension of them, it stands to reason that he would imagine that without their presence, he would fear being lost. And perhaps for this reason, he reminds himself of his faith in Jesus who will not allow him to stray from Him. Finally, he concludes his observations for this day identifying “a new devotion and movements” [De 116]. Devotion continues to appear in his prayer, and with it, he seems to experience the confidence to continue discerning this new way that is opening up before him.

The next day he reports that in his preparation for mass he experienced “much quiet devotion” [De 119], and he returned to this reflection, observing that he found himself with thoughts and attentions (*pensamientos y atenciones*) that led him to wonder “What did the Blessed Trinity seek of me, namely, what is the way that they want to take me?” [De 119]. His thinking once again leads him to consider his attachment to tears: “perhaps the Trinity wanted to make me content without visitations of tears, without being avid nor inordinately attached to them” [De 119]. With these thoughts he began mass with much internal and soft devotion. This particular description of devotion is extremely sophisticated: “with a lot of soft devotion, at various times very tenuously, with internal softness like to tear” (*mucho suave devoción, diversas veces viniendo mucho tenuamente, con interna suavidad como a*

lacrimar) [De 120]¹¹⁷. The observation is a beautiful representation of his experience of devotion: it comes softly, as if it were a tear that were forming in his inside, gracefully invading his interior. The description is also not without some resonance of his description of the action of the good spirit in the person who is progressing in his or her life of faith: “the good angel touches the *ánima* in a manner that is sweet, light, and soft, as a drop of water enters into a sponge” [Ej 335]. This is the experience of devotion in him during these days: it falls softly and exquisitely in his interior as a drop of water falls and is absorbed peacefully in a sponge. Though this is not meant to be a poetic description of his spiritual process, it does seem to be the case that this experience of devotion represents how this new way is unfolding in him: it appears to be emerging in him softly and peacefully. In short, the experience of devotion, as that which occurs softly, depicts how he is experiencing God’s call to this new path¹¹⁸.

He continues to move through his spiritual exercises, and the question surfaces again on March 9th. On that day, he celebrated mass “with very little movement or motions to tear”, but he reasoned that “God our Lord wanted to show me some way or way of proceeding” (*me quería mostrar alguna vía o modo de proceder*) [De 139]. At mass he felt an exterior warmth that was a motive for devotion (*un calor exterior motivo a devoción*) [De 139]. He also suggests the throughout the day he felt considerably content (*con asaz contentamiento*), and in the evening, it seemed to him that he was able to adapt himself to devotion [De 140]. The next day, on March 10th, he continues to ruminate on what this new way might involve. He indicated that a thought or a judgement (*juicio*) came to him that he should proceed or be like an angel when he says mass [De 141]. And he reports that with this thought there came to him a new devotion [De 141]. Although Ignatius does not specify what he means by “proceed or be like an angel”, the general idea seems to be one of attention and focus on what God wants¹¹⁹. The angels were in constant attention, reverence, and service of God; they were in need of no outward signs of the divine presence. It may be helpful too to recall that each day at mass he was invoking the angels; they were the ones to

¹¹⁷ Soft or “suave” in Spanish is an adjective he employs eight times in the Diary, four of which modify devotion [De 56, 120, 126, 176]. He uses the noun “suavidad” five times [De 82, 109, 117, 120, 234]. For more, see, Melloni, “Suavidad”, in *DEI* 2:1661-1662, who suggests that “la suavidad es el resultado de la transfiguración de la persona en su contacto con Dios, que le hace exquisita en el trato con los demás y con las cosas como resultado de sentirse así tratada por Dios” (1662).

¹¹⁸ In his description of the call of the apostles in the *Exercises*, Ignatius invites the retreatant to consider “la dignidad a la cual fueron tan suavemente llamados” [Ej 275].

¹¹⁹ Ignatius’ language on his comprehension of the angels is in harmony with the grand tradition of the Church that has seen angels as models “à les imiter dans leur pureté, leur piété et leur dévouement total à Dieu”. See, the very complete article by Joseph Duhr, “Anges”, in *DSp* 1:580-625, quotation from 623.

whom he prayed that the gifts of bread and wine “be borne by the hands of your holy Angel to your altar on high in the sight of your divine majesty”¹²⁰. Not unlike the angels, he is very focused on this new way that God is opening up for him, and it continues to permeate his prayer during the Eucharist: “in the chapel and in mass with devotion to the same thing (*a lo mismo*) and in conforming myself to what the Lord ordained” [De 142].

After resolving the issue of the reception of income for the churches’ sacristies, he continued to discern this new way. He arrived at a clearer formulation of it in one his first entries of the second notebook. On March 14th, he reported that he was accompanied by the thought that he ought to address God with reverence and submission, “and not look for tears, rather (look for) this veneration and reverence” [De 156]¹²¹. This thought accompanied him throughout his prayer, and it evidently was powerful. He wrote that it “penetrated deep in [my] soul” [De 156]. As he pondered the place of reverence and veneration in his relationship with God, he referred, once again, to the two important signs: “(this idea of veneration) always increased my devotion and my tears” [De 157]. The signs are there that this is the way that God was showing him, and they appear to help him make such a conclusion: “this persuaded me that this was the way that the Lord wanted to show me, as in the days past I thought he wanted to show me something” [De 157]. Though he had thought that God was asking him to be content without tears, he discovered, by the forcefulness of the veneration and reverence and by the presence of devotion and tears, that this new way was comprised of new graces. He concluded his reflection by stating that this was “the grace and knowledge” that God had given him for the benefit of his soul [De 157]. In subsequent weeks, he will continue to deepen his understanding and zeal for these gifts¹²². His last mention of them will be on April 4th, when he indicates that he was looking for, but was unable to find reverence or loving veneration (*reverencia o acatamiento amoroso*) [De 187].

¹²⁰ Roman Canon. Eucharistic Prayer 1.

¹²¹ Martin calls this period the “culminación de la renuncia a las lágrimas en la plenitud del acatamiento, la humildad y la conformidad”. I think he goes too far in saying that Ignatius renounces tears. Such an appraisal reduces the very nuanced and complex process of discernment that Ignatius is engaged in. See, Martin, “*Diario Espiritual* a partir del don de lágrimas”, 45.

¹²² For an analysis of the grace of “acatamiento” and its importance for Ignatian Spirituality, see Ruiz Jurado, “En torno a la gracia de acatamiento amoroso”, *Manresa* 35 (1963): 145-154; see also the treatment of this gift by Larrañaga who highlights its liturgical context, “Introducción al Diario Espiritual”, in *Obras completas*, 652-655.

d. *Brief conclusions on devotion with Jesus, thoughts and the new way*

This section of the *Diary*, from February 19th to March 12th, comprised of his experiences with Jesus, his visions of the Trinity, and his discernment of what he considers a new way of relating to God, represents a fascinating aspect of Ignatius' spiritual process. During these days, his discernment notebook becomes a discernment of a new way to be with God in prayer. He demonstrates a remarkable attention to God and an extraordinary amount of patience to allow a new gift to emerge over time. Ignatius watches as his prayer leads him to consider his attachment to tears, and this, all the while maintaining his attention on his process of reconciliation and his awareness of concluding his election with its confirmation. If the previous part of his discernment focused on the freedom from revenue, this part of his discernment moves him to consider the internal freedom to be with God. He explores how to be poor like Jesus, and this draws him into a deeper exploration of how to be spiritually poor before God; free from receiving income and free to receive a new gift from God. In short, Ignatius allows all aspects of his life with God to be ordered according to the divine will.

Briefly, I believe this is one of the more fascinating aspects of Ignatius' *Spiritual Diary*, as it is one that allows us to reflect upon the nature of the spiritual experience itself. For example, Melloni offers that "what he learned about his way of relating to God is *more important* than the decision that he has taken"¹²³. At the same time, I am not prepared to say that one lesson is *better* than another. The seriousness of his engagement on the election allowed for this movement into greater intimacy with God. One paved the way for the other, and that is the great lesson of the *Diary*. The "mundane" leads to greater intimacy with God. We learn how to be with God by way of concrete issues in life. To describe this dynamic, Mora speaks of two parallel circles intimately united"¹²⁴. For my part, I find the image of circles, be they concentric or parallel as an image foreign to the text itself and, for that reason, something of an imposition. Adhering to the language of the *Diary* itself, one way or *vía* becomes a *vía* into greater intimacy with God. Knowing the way to do God's will can lead to knowing the way to be with God.

Less commented upon in this finer discernment of this new way is the place of devotion. At every moment, devotion appears, and its presence seems to constitute for him a sign that he is moving towards God and God's will. As he examines his prayer and wonders how and what God is communicating to him, he seems to read all of what he thinks and

¹²³ See, Melloni, *Éxodo y éxtasis*, 160; emphasis mine.

¹²⁴ See, Mora, *La devoción en el espíritu*, 76.

experiences alongside of the feeling of devotion. Unlike tears, he never questions devotion nor does he consider his dependence upon it. This is the exceptional aspect of this sign: he appears free in letting it emerge and allowing it to orient him towards knowing God's will. Though devotion will recede in the latter part of the second booklet, his observations of it in these two notebooks suggest he understood it as an extraordinarily important sign in his discernment; in it and with it he found his way to God.

2.5. Warmth, clarity and brightness

In addition to being a quantifiable inner experience and one that occurred in relationship to a thought, Ignatius has one other significant set of description of this spiritual gift. On the morning of February 20th, he describes devotion as “warm or bright and soft” [De 56]. With this series of three adjectives, he signals a new dimension of his experience of it, one that will recur with notable frequency. From February 20th to March 12th, the day in which he concludes his election, a period of twenty-two days, he will record this more detailed qualitative description of devotion on fifteen of them. This description runs parallel with his continued observations on its quantity and degree, but the spiritual gift now accrues other dimensions. It becomes a fuller, richer, and apparently a more palpable sensation. More than merely measuring its quantity or feeling its intensity, his notes convey the idea that he can see it occurring in him, feel its warmth, and taste its sweetness. If before it was only registered as a kind of brute quantity, now it is as if devotion takes on its own life: it has color, light, and warmth.

This perception of devotion almost exclusively occurs during a particular moment of his prayer. Of the fifteen experiences in which he indicates some kind of warmth, clarity, or brightness to it, fourteen of them take place in his accustomed prayer. Day after day, in this period of his spiritual process, marked by his experience of Jesus and the Trinity, his first moments of prayer are characterized by this rich internal sensation. There is only one day in this period, March 7th, in which he does not note this experience of devotion at the earliest moment of his prayer. On that day, the observation of devotion concludes his notes for the day: “the whole day through (*todo el dia en peso*) much internal and warm devotion lasted with me” [De 133].

Given that this description is that which begins his prayer observations for these fourteen days, his text takes on, not surprisingly, a much warmer, even softer feel. The

introduction of sensory adjectives conveys the impression that he is more present and aware of the nature of the gift as it is occurring in him. It could be that he is attentive in a new way to this spiritual gift. Notwithstanding this possibility, and its novelty for the one reading the document, the way he records it imparts the idea that he was familiar with it. Ignatius never, in other words, marvels at this experience as if it were new, nor does he puzzle over its appearance to him. Though his descriptions point to an extremely delicate sensitivity with regards to what he was experiencing interiorly, there is at the same time a kind of simplicity to the observation. For as nuanced as he is in his portrayal of it, the text transmits a kind of ease in his reporting. Evidence of this is the manuscript itself: none of these descriptions suffered any deletions. And on only two days does he add content¹²⁵. In short, the experience of devotion was luminous, clear, and soft, and the text transmits this luminosity and gentleness.

The novelty of these adjectives by which he describes devotion, their repetition, and their occurrence in his accustomed prayer suggest a new facet to this spiritual gift. Before venturing a hypothesis as to the significance of this new dimension to devotion, I will detail briefly his description of it as well as point to the other spiritual gifts that on occasion accompany it. This early morning gift was undoubtedly important to him in this moment of his spiritual process, and it would appear, at the outset of this analysis, that it corresponds less to a process of knowing God's will but more to a developing intimacy with Jesus and the Trinity. In brief, devotion becomes a richer presence to him in precisely the moment as do the divine persons.

a. Sensory adjectives used

The adjectives that he employs to describe it vary only slightly. He tends to indicate its warmth, its brightness and its clarity. For example, devotion comes to him on February 21st with a “warm brightness” [*De* 60] or, on the 23rd, his devotion had a sign of a “bright clarity” [*De* 65]. On other days it comes with warmth [*De* 76], or with a “certain clarity and mixed warmth” [*De* 92]. On one occasion he reports that it was “warm and very sweet”, as if he could taste its presence in his interior [*De* 71]. The most frequent series of adjectives are those that describe devotion as clear, bright, and warm [*De* 97, 134, 137, 143, 144]. With these adjectives, he portrays it as coming with its own radiance, luminosity and warmth. It

¹²⁵ His observation of devotion as “claridad calorosa” was an addition [*De* 60] as was, on March 4th, he added that devotion came with “some” warmth [*De* 104].

fills his interior, and it fills him gently. He never indicates in this context that this warmth, luminosity or brightness came intensely. Rather, he conveys its soft and tranquil presence.

In harmony with his general method of recording the beginning, the duration, and the end of the spiritual gifts, he is attentive to when this warm or bright devotion occurs in his accustomed prayer. As an example, on February 21st, it was “throughout” the period of prayer he felt “a very great devotion of warm clarity” [De 60], but on February 23rd the “lucid clarity” of the devotion only came during the second part of this moment of prayer [De 65]. Then there is the even more specific determination: “from the beginning to the end” the prayer was full of “warm devotion and very sweet” [De 71].

His description of the occurrence of this gift reveals a curious aspect of it: it never transcended the particular moment of his accustomed prayer. Its manifestation never carried over into subsequent periods of prayer and, for this reason, it appears an exceptionally circumscribed spiritual moment. And this seems unusual, especially given the nature of the document before us as the register of those signs and how they evolve or change over distinct periods of prayer. Similarly surprising, Ignatius does not inquire as to the way it does not move into other moments of prayer. He simply records it, describes the nature of it, and then typically moves on to indicate what happened in the second moment of prayer. As an example, on both March 11th and 12th, he simply records devotion as clear, lucid and warm, and then proceeds to comment on his prayer in the chapel [De 143, 144]. Such a description would seem to suggest that this particular manifestation of devotion is a feeling, richly perceived, but one that is less connected to a movement into knowing. It was as if it were a punctual feeling without any greater import, and he knew this. And for that reason, it did not raise any questions for him.

b. Other spiritual gifts that occur with this devotion

Generally speaking, this devotion, whether it is warm, bright, or clear, is the only spiritual gift that he experiences in his accustomed prayer. However, there are days in which he mentions other signs that accompany it. On one morning, it came with a “spiritual enjoyment (*gusto espiritual*)” [De 60]. Other experiences include “satisfaction of my soul” [De 65] and an “accompanying warmth (*calor asistente*)” [De 111]. By far the most prominent and important gift that occurs with it is grace. Ignatius perceives the presence of grace accompanying and helping him on several occasions. He identifies the “assistance of grace” on four mornings with this devotion [De 71, 92, 104, 134], and on one of them he

reports that the grace he felt assisting him was “internal and soft” [*De* 71].

In addition to recording other spiritual gifts that accompany this experience of devotion, Ignatius also refers to his thoughts. He remains exceptionally attentive to what he is thinking and how that cognitive content could represent communication from God. On the very first day that he reports devotion as warm and soft, he also mentions that he was without any intelligences (*sin inteligencias algunas*) [*De* 56]. On February 29th, a Friday, he indicates that the devotion was bright and very great, so much so that it prevented him from considering his sins (*no dejando pensar los pecados*) [*De* 89]. It appears that he wanted to call to mind or to consider his sinfulness, but the devotion, as he indicates, covered him (*mucho lúcida cubriendo*) in such a way that he was unable to realize the spiritual exercise of thinking of his sins as he had wanted. Finally, there is one period of his accustomed prayer in which he reports that he was distracted by thoughts. Though the devotion was clear, bright and with some warmth, it did not prevent him from, as he puts it, leaving the prayer easily (*saliendo fácilmente*)¹²⁶ with all manner of thoughts that occurred to him (*pensamientos ocurrentes*) [*De* 104]. This last observation gives the sense that this experience of devotion did not, in and of itself, present an overwhelming or transfixing spiritual experience. Ignatius could experience it in all of its richness and easily become absorbed in the thoughts that surfaced in him. Though these examples are limited, they are sufficient to suggest that Ignatius remained attentive to the connection between his thoughts and devotion. Moreover, it is helpful to recall the strong possibility that during these first moments of the day, he turned his attention to his first spiritual exercise [*Ej* 74], in this case the mass, that he was going to pray. Perhaps he thought of the mass or to the person to whom he was going to offer it. And with that person in mind, he found himself with this experience of devotion. Notwithstanding that possibility, no mention is made of divine persons or mediators in this context.

Notably absent in his reporting of this manifestation of devotion are tears. Significantly, not one episode of this devotion that manifests itself with warmth, brightness, or clarity includes them¹²⁷. Their absence, coupled with the very precise and delimited nature of this aspect of devotion, suggests to me that this experience operates in a different plane

¹²⁶ For Ignatius, a distraction is not a noun but a verb. With the verb “saliendo” or “leaving” he indicates his movement away or out of prayer. And he always specifies that he was responsible for this, affirming that he left the prayer “de mi parte”. The two occasions of this are February 22nd and February 25th [*De* 64, 76].

¹²⁷ There is only one description of tears similar to this characterization of devotion. On February 17th, he indicates that in his accustomed prayer he experienced “en mucha abundancia lágrimas llenas de calor y sabor interior” [*De* 39].

than others. He does not appear to be looking to it in order to verify the origin of a thought or to gauge his movement towards God and his election. It seems gratuitous, even unconnected to his discernment. In these mornings of his accustomed prayer, the paradigm of tears-devotion as those feelings that helped him to know does not appear to be operative.

c. A devotion that creates him anew each day

Perhaps the meaning of this kind of devotion is to be found in the adjectives themselves: they seem to signal something of a presence, a being inhabited by, and of being filled by life. It is as if he were invaded by a gift that had its own life and dynamic. He perceives the warm, bright and clear presence of devotion in him and he understands that God was close. He awakens in the morning, opens his eyes, and he turns them inward. There is a kind of concomitant movement of his awakening physically with an awakening to the rich interior presence of the divine. Though Ignatius does not reveal what was at the origin of this experience, it is possible, as mentioned above, that it was the thought of the person to whom he was going to celebrate the mass. Another possibility is that in this first period of prayer he also made something of a morning offering, promising and giving to the Lord all of his intentions, actions, and operations, that all might be ordered to serve God [*Ej* 46]. As a response to his desire to offer himself to God, he feels this devotion that is warm, bright, and clear that comes from God.

The adjectives and the time of the day that he feels this devotion evoke an image of God as the creator. God creates out of the swirling chaos a place of light, warmth, and harmony for men and women. However slight the connection may be, this experience of devotion contains aspects of newness, life, and creation, as if Ignatius during these early morning hours were conscious of God's creative presence. Each morning he finds himself alive, and his existence itself, something that early companions of his suggested he never took for granted¹²⁸, testifies to a God who continually creates him out of and from His very own light and warmth. Each day this gift arrives to him, and perhaps he recognizes in it not just a feeling, but God who sustains his very life¹²⁹. The action of God is for Ignatius, as he so compellingly formulated it in the *Exercises*, one of "infinite softness and sweetness" [*Ej*

¹²⁸ "El Padre estaba entonces muy malo, y nunca acostumbrado a prometerse un día de vida". See, "Prólogo del P. Luis Gonçalves da Câmara", in *Obras*, 25-28, 25.

¹²⁹ Though distant from Ignatius' context, see an excellent elaboration of God the creator in Johnson, *Faith's Freedom*, 18-20.

124]¹³⁰. It is intriguing to consider that this feeling of warmth, brightness, and sweetness may comprise the experiential ground of his affirmations on God as infinite softness and gentleness.

I believe that this particular description of devotion can point us back to his experience of God as creator. I would also venture a more focused observation as to the importance of this gift. In this hypothesis, I will return to the basic premise that I believe undergirds the *Diary*: the spiritual experiences recorded are not unconnected to his body. They are, in fact, somatic experiences. Consequently, as spiritual as the descriptions such as light, warmth, and brightness may appear to be, they are occurring in him at a concrete hour of the day and he feels them. Tying these descriptions to a somatic experience of his at the beginning of his day may in fact be the key to understanding this particular manifestation of devotion.

First, a brief preamble to situate this early morning experience with a simple and not insignificant detail: Ignatius was an aging man and, as is well documented¹³¹, his health was severely compromised. The *Diary* attests to his rather debilitated physical situation¹³². He indicates days of having slept poorly [*De* 11]¹³³, of having headaches [*De* 97], and, as commentators have suggested, the days in which he does not celebrate mass are considered periods of more acute weakness¹³⁴. On occasion, his notes impart the idea of his volatility¹³⁵, an aspect of his life that unsurprising for one so debilitated. Perhaps for the situation of his health, a possible reading of his more stringent reactions to the noise that his companions made is not one that interprets noise on a spiritual plane, but rather one that also considers it in light of his fragile physical condition. He was on occasion “without bodily strength” [*De* 230], and possibly for this reason noise irked him even more. All of this is to suggest that his

¹³⁰ Translation mine; Ganss translates this as “the infinite sweetness and charm of the Divinity”.

¹³¹ The most relevant and important testimony comes from a letter composed in the beginning of 1544 which opens with this observation: “por haber estado M. Ignacio de cuatro meses acá más enfermo de lo que antes solía, mostrando sus continuas enfermedades querenoslo quitar de nuestros ojos ...”. In a word, his companions saw him so unwell that they thought he could have died during one of these periods of infirmity. See, *Epp* I, Jerónimo Doménech (Ex. Comm) to the Jesuits of Spain (Rome, 1544), 285-291, 285; *Letters and Instructions*, 112. Thió de Pol references the medical prescription that he remain in bed, see, Thió de Pol, “Tenía mucha devoción”, 340.

¹³² Mention of his health in *De* 11, 79, 98, 328.

¹³³ He emphatically describes his situation as “muy mucho debilitado con mal dormir” [*De* 11], leaving little doubt as to how he felt.

¹³⁴ It is also plausible to suppose that the days in which he indicates that he did not say mass were days in which he could have been too sick to get out of bed [*De* 445, 453, 463].

¹³⁵ Especially as it concerns noise [*De* 22, 76, 93, 107, 144, 145, 227]. There is one occasion in which noise does not bother him: “disturbo de silbar, tamen no así inquieto” [*De* 227].

humanity – his body – is always present in this journal¹³⁶. The recounting of the highest spiritual gifts never overshadows his humanity, rather the signs of God's language take place in his body, which was during this period of time both aged and hurting.

Quite possibly, as is commonly the case, he was no more conscious of his compromised bodily situation than at the beginning of the day¹³⁷. This is not to gainsay that he did not find the strength to move forward¹³⁸, but that could never overshadow his debilitated physical condition. A line from Paul's second letter to the Corinthians seems germane here: "Though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed every day" (2 Cor 4:16). In fact, it is remarkable to consider his life as a day-by-day renewal. Pain never seemed to shrink Ignatius or diminish his horizons, which is precisely what long periods of pain tend to do to a person. On the contrary, it seems to have played an expansive role in his life¹³⁹. According to the testimony of Peter Ribadeneira, Ignatius' experience with sickness filled him with compassion for those who suffered¹⁴⁰. It seems he had integrated pain and bodily suffering in his life and in his relationship with God, allowing it to teach him¹⁴¹. He himself wrote in 1532 that "I believe that an illness can leave a servant of God with half a doctorate in directing and ordering his life to God our Lord's glory and service"¹⁴². In short, his body is everywhere present in his faith journey. That journey began with a bodily wound, and it was through the wound that God entered into his life¹⁴³. And in his life, which appears to have been marked by almost constant bodily suffering, he learned to care for his body¹⁴⁴, so much so that according to the commentary of Diego Laínez, he

¹³⁶ In his otherwise excellent study, Marín Sevilla appears to miss the references to Ignatius' bodily situation in the *Diary* when he affirms that "Ignacio silencia aquí su estado de salud". See, *La enfermedad en su vida*, 29.

¹³⁷ For a wonderful, even tender description on aging in his personal experience, as well as with scriptural references and theological exploration on this inevitable part of human life, see Johnson's chapter "The Aging Body" in his *The Revelatory Body*. Perhaps in a line that Ignatius would agree with, Johnson writes: "My body now seems to me less a reliable friend than an unpredictable and sometimes resentful companion" (210).

¹³⁸ The *Diary* gives content to Gonzalves da Câmara's observation that "aunque estuviese enfermo, siempre para semejantes cosas hallaba en sí fuerzas". See, Hernández Montes, ed., *Recuerdos ignacianos*, 131. There is also the saying that appeared to circulate in the house in Rome regarding Ignatius' health: "Como hay trabajos, luego el Padre está sano". (131).

¹³⁹ Another chapter of Johnson's titled "The Body in Pain" explores both of these aspects of it – how pain diminishes our spirit and presents the possibility to enlarge and expand who we are. See, Johnson, *The Revelatory Body*, 107-129, especially 121-125; see also his *Faith's Freedom* 164-167.

¹⁴⁰ See, Ribadeneira, "De actis patris nostri Ignatii", in *FN II*, 365.

¹⁴¹ See, Melloni, "La enfermedad como camino en San Ignacio", *Manresa* 92 (2020): 273-282.

¹⁴² *Epp I*, Ignatius to Isabel Roser (Paris, 10 November, 1532), 83-88, 85; *Letters and Instructions*, 9. In his study on pain in Ignatius, Juan Vélez takes this as one of the more principal understandings that Ignatius had of pain; see Vélez, "La teología del dolor en San Ignacio de Loyola", in *El Dolor*, ed. Alberto Dou (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 1992), 265-272.

¹⁴³ In his diagnostic of contemporary society as palliative, Byung-Chul Han offers extraordinary observations on on pain in human life. One that is relevant to Ignatius: "El dolor es la brecha por la que entra lo totalmente distinto". See, Han, *La sociedad paliativa*, trans. Alberto Ciria (Barcelona: Herder, 2021), 17.

¹⁴⁴ For more, see the excellent study by Marín Sevilla, *La enfermedad en su vida*, 45-145

considered the care of one's body as the sign that the person had truly given himself or herself to God¹⁴⁵. As such, the consideration of his body, and its suffering¹⁴⁶, very relevant aspects to his biography and his spiritual experience, cannot be discounted¹⁴⁷.

In light of his particular bodily situation and his attention to the body in the spiritual experience, devotion as warm, bright, and calm could have been the way that he felt God responding to his corporal situation. In his rather debilitated condition, Ignatius needed God's help to begin his day, and he perceived God offering him the interior sensation of warmth, brightness and clarity to comfort him¹⁴⁸. Quite possibly, this experience of devotion led him to understand God as the wisest physician (*sapientísimo medico*)¹⁴⁹, the greatest doctor (*el sumo medico Cristo nuestro Señor*)¹⁵⁰, and as eternal health (*salud eterna*)¹⁵¹. Ignatius' tremendous comprehension of God as the one who continually heals infirmities, both those of the body and the soul, no doubt was informed by experiences all throughout his life. Perhaps, this early morning experience of devotion, transmitted by adjectives that connote the idea of calming, healing, and soothing, constituted one of those fundamental experiential moments in which he came to know God in this way. He felt God as warmth, light, and brightness, and this allowed him to know God as physician, health, and healing. In a contemporary formulation, and one that I do not believe is anachronistic to the *Diary*, "the Father of life is mankind's physician *par excellence*, and he does not cease to bend lovingly over suffering humanity"¹⁵². This is the image of God that these observations convey: upon waking, Ignatius discovers God who bends over his ailing body and who offers him a wholly gratuitous gift, one that is not explicitly connected to his particular spiritual process. But it is

¹⁴⁵ The beautiful commentary by Laínez was given in Italian: "Finché un'huomo si rende a Dio, si diletta di patire pene et travagli per il corpo, ma poi che già si sarà dato a Dio, tratti meglio il suo corpo, non già come cosa propria, ma di Dio". See, "Adhortationes in librum examinis", in *FN* II, 138.

¹⁴⁶ Melloni offers this helpful insight about the mystical experience: "la enfermedad es otro de los vehículos que hacen propicia la apertura a la experiencia mística". See, Melloni, *Vislumbres de lo real*, 156.

¹⁴⁷ Though the article neglects the *Diary*, the thesis that "Ignacio fue un experto en el tema del dolor, tanto físico como espiritual" is relevant to understanding Ignatius during the days of the journal. See, José Antonio García Rodríguez, "Dolor", in *DEI* 1:656-663.

¹⁴⁸ I see this experience of Ignatius' as akin to and as reflected in the following passage from John of the Cross's "Llama de Amor viva": "¡oh mano blanda! ¡oh toque delicado / que a vida eterna sabe". It is the delicate touch that is of God. See, Juan de la Cruz, in *Obras completas*, 788.

¹⁴⁹ *Epp* VI, Ignatius to María Frassona del Gesso (Rome, 20 January, 1554), 223-224: "et ricordarla che sole procedere in questo modo la povidenza del nostro amatissimo Padre et sapientissimo medico con quelli che molto ama" (223); *Letters and Instructions*, 461.

¹⁵⁰ *Epp* VII, Ignatius to Vicariate of Genoa (Rome, 24 May, 1554), 51-52, on 51; letter not translated into English. *Epp* VII, Polanco (Ex. Comm) to Miguel de Nobrega (Rome, 25 August, 1554), 446-448: "Él sabe, como sapientísimo medico, y quiere, como piadísimo padre, todo lo que más conviene para sanar las enfermedades, ahora sean ocultas, ahora manifiestas" (447); *Letters and Instructions*, 511.

¹⁵¹ *Ej* 169; see also *Epp* V, Ignatius to Simón Rodríguez (Rome, 20 May, 1553), 74-75: "Y no temáis la enfermedad; que el que es salud eterna, por virtud de obediencia os dará tanta salud" (74); *Letters and Instructions*, 425.

¹⁵² Benedict XVI, *Verbum domini*, 106.

a gift connected to his larger human movement to feel and to know God. And at this moment in his day in what were most probably cold winter mornings in Rome, it may be the gift that he most needed: a presence that would fill his body with warmth, healing, and strength. For Ignatius who spent time in bed with failing health, this had to have been a great gift for him in his concrete, corporal situation.

d. Brief conclusions on devotion as warm, bright, and clear

In the clear and rigorous structure of his discernment notebook, a new aspect of devotion emerges. At a moment where he seems to have stepped back from the intensive scrutiny of his deliberation points, orienting his days with a series of masses to the Trinity, he finds himself with a perception of devotion that is similarly relaxed. In his morning prayer in bed, he perceives it as warm, soft, and clear feeling. The sign appears wholly gratuitous; he seems to catch the gratuitous nature of the gift, yet it could not have been without a deeply felt experiential knowledge. Perhaps in these early morning experiences, which do not appear to have been uncommon for him, he experienced that which he was to formulate in the *Exercises* and in countless letters to others: God as softness, sweetness, and as the physician that heals.

These images of devotion as warmth, brightness, and light take us deeper into the nature of the spiritual experience itself. His language is analogous, as all spiritual language is, and these particular descriptions remind us that the experience of God is not just one experience among others. Devotion felt as warmth, sweetness, and light evokes the felt presence of God who is the ground of one's self. I began this chapter with the fundamental affirmation that God does not communicate objects or experiences for one's reflection, but He communicates His very life. In this light and warmth, Ignatius is sustained, given his very being, and brought into life. To a certain extent, devotion as a truly credible sign, truly divine in its origin, had to include this experience of God who is "giving me my being" [*Ej* 235]. The sign of devotion is more than that which fits into a discernment process. God's life exceeds that which can be circumscribed or outlined in a discernment itinerary. This, then, is a crucially important experience for Ignatius as he intuits God as the ground of his very being. God has never not sustained and held him in the fragility of his body and soul.

CONCLUSIONS

This study of devotion in the *Diary* demonstrates that it was a powerful and important experience for Ignatius. He attends to it carefully and describes it richly. His descriptions of it also return us to the structure of the document before us. Devotion is a sign that is functioning in a critical way in the multiple spiritual exercises that comprise his process and that structure the text. Devotion as a feeling guides him in his election process, in his employment of the additions, and, even more fundamentally, in his discernment itinerary. Regarding his election, the presence of this spiritual gift appears to signal to him how and when to move forward in the steps of it [*Ej* 179-183]. With its growing presence, he seems to know the option that lines up with God's will. He also seems to read its increase as an indication of when to move forward with the offering of his election. And in the act of the offering, the intensity of devotion appears to provide him the interpretive key that gives him confidence and hope. Its presence may not provide him with a knowledge beyond doubt, nevertheless the particularity of its manifestation throughout the various steps of the process that he is following appears to give him a certain assurance. A similar dynamic occurs in his actual moments of prayer. Specifically, devotion encourages him to remain where he is in order to continue savoring God's presence [*Ej* 76]. He bases his determination to not change his bodily position on the feeling of devotion [*De* 36, 38, 41]. In brief, in his practice of the addition and of the third time of making an election, devotion is that experience that makes both of those exercises *spiritual*.

Even more importantly, the structure of this discernment notebook as that in which he is moving from a place of feeling to knowing rests upon devotion. Along with tears, this spiritual gift occupies the structural center of this text. It is a feeling, clearly sensible, which also appears to shade into or approximate a kind of knowing¹⁵³. Seen over time and separated into its discreet manifestations, it represents an internal sensation whose cognitive content was simple and clear to him. That content would signal God's presence in that which he was thinking, feeling, or desiring. In the words of one scholar, devotion represented for Ignatius "a criterium of the truth of the experience"¹⁵⁴. That is a powerful affirmation, one born out in my analysis of the *Diary*. It is the experience that guides him to know that God is present

¹⁵³ In Spanish, García de Castro calls this "conocimiento-con-sentido". See, García de Castro, "Encarnación y gloria, la arquitectura ignaciana del cielo", 298. Helpful too is Melloni. In his article on "sentir", he proposes that in the *Diary* "su campo semántico se sitúa a medio camino entre un entender y un ver interiores". See, Melloni, "Sentir", in *DEI* 2:1633.

¹⁵⁴ García de Castro, "Encarnación y gloria, la arquitectura ignaciana del cielo", 298.

and at the origin of what is occurring in him. I would even suggest that the spiritual experience is spiritual, that is, from the Holy Spirit, when he feels the interior resonance of devotion.

Devotion's place in the structural center of the text points to the spiritual gift's crucial place in his discernment, if not in his spiritual experience writ large. As a feeling that brought him close to knowing, Ignatius would have been moving towards that which he finally desired: acting. For him, knowing God's will was never far from doing or enacting it. As such, devotion, though clearly inhabiting a specific phase of his discernment outline, appears as that sign which leads him towards acting. It is a feeling from which he can act from. Perhaps for its imbrication with *doing* God's will, Ignatius gave greater importance to it than he did to other signs. Other spiritual gifts, such as *loquela*, reverence, warmth, loving humility, and tears themselves during this period of time were unquestionably very important to him. In their diversity and vividness, all of these gifts point to "the inexhaustible richness of the mystery of God and of those indescribable ways by which He searches for the human person"¹⁵⁵. But none of them line up so neatly with feeling, knowing, and doing God's will. In this respect, the place of this sign in his discernment coincides with the spiritual tradition that precedes him. He is attentive to its feeling, but the feeling is important in so much as it is allowing him to know and then act. It may have been for him, as it was for Zerbolt, a sweet affection, but his *Diary* conveys the idea that he would have been more inclined to the Modern Devotion writer's formulation that devotion, rooted deeply in the marrow of his bones, was that desire to do or to suffer for God.

Nevertheless, as I have suggested, devotion is often not a stand-alone sign; he frequently looks for it in conjunction with tears. As I read his discernment notebook, tears and devotion comprise the two fundamental signs. Carefully separated and seen over time, they appear to guide him into knowing and understanding that which he thinks, feels, and perceives as coming from God. That Ignatius would be interested in both, attentive to the manifestation of God's presence so physically in his body and so internally in his *ánima* would suggest that he understood God's communication as engaging his entire self. God is the creator of his body and soul, and both feel deeply the divine presence. It is remarkable to see his confidence and trust in his body as the place that indicates to him the signs of God's presence.

In the first chapter of this investigation, I indicated that the study of devotion places

¹⁵⁵ Cordovilla Pérez, "Dios para pensar", 97.

us in the horizon of grace. That expression, bordering on the ambiguous, sought to carefully situate the object of this study as part of God’s revelation while simultaneously bearing in mind that Ignatius reserves the word “grace” for other manifestations of God’s communication to him during his discernment. However, the argument of this chapter that has traced the multiple manifestations of devotion gives credence to that formulation. Tears and devotion appear to constitute for Ignatius signs of God’s grace. They represent God’s eminently tangible and corporal communication to him. The pages of this diary confirm the Christian tradition’s reflection that grace is not ethereal, otherworldly, nor suprasensible, rather it occurs in and effects bodies. God’s incarnation in Jesus, His salvific action on behalf of humanity in his earthly life, and the mystery of that same salvation which He continues to dispense in the sacraments imply the corporealization and tangibility of grace¹⁵⁶. That tangibility is on full display in this document.

This study of devotion helps us to see that grace, the gift of God’s self to the person and felt in his or her body, is revealed in history and it engages one’s freedom. In other words, God’s communication, immediately available and present to the person [*Ej* 15], also becomes more fully revealed in time. The *Diary* makes evident that quotidian attention and reverence to the sign in prayer over time is that which discloses it¹⁵⁷. Notwithstanding the clarificatory nature of time, it needs to be remembered that human history is also opaque, ambiguous, always in the process of being more fully assumed¹⁵⁸. For this reason, grace also involves the free response of the person to discern that which he or she feels and understands in history. We have then in the *Diary* an outline of grace: God’s communication to the person in history that mobilizes his or her freedom. This autograph text reminds us of our life before God; the human person open to God – *homo capax Dei* – experiences God’s indulgent self-communication in history, and in the same Spirit he or she discerns the way in which those impulses to love are to take concrete and particular form¹⁵⁹. In brief, the text as a discernment notebook and the two signs in it reveal a compelling vision of grace.

This investigation into the experience of devotion also has highlighted the multiple ways in which he perceived its presence. I believe all of these ways are best understood in terms of the structure of the text. Notwithstanding that argument, it is worth stepping back from the document for a moment in order to consider the contours of it. To review, Ignatius

¹⁵⁶ *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1115, citing a sermon of St. Leo the Great.

¹⁵⁷ See also Donald Gelpi, “Gracia”, in *DEI* 2:921-927, 923.

¹⁵⁸ Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 583.

¹⁵⁹ Pedro Rodríguez Panizo, “Exploradores y cartógrafos”, in *La experiencia mística*, ed. Juan de Dios Martín Velasco (Madrid: Trotta, 2004), 311-347, 345.

feels its increase and decrease; his election process is made “with devotion” as if it were a kind of companion [*De* 41]. At the time of his offering, it intensely manifests itself, and in his indignation with the Trinity he finds that it is combatted and afraid of erring [*De* 50]. Similarly, it is vulnerable to and affected by thoughts: some can take it away or diminish it [*De* 49], whereas others can move him to “greater internal devotion” [*De* 64]. It is warm, bright, soft, sweet, and it can even cover him [*De* 89], preventing him from thinking of his sinfulness. Finally, sometimes devotion lasts the whole day [*De* 70, 133].

At the risk of further personifying it, devotion appears as a gift quite at home in Ignatius. It seems so much a part of his life, dialoguing with him as if it knew him and as if it were present before he took pen to paper in February of 1544 and lasting long after his last recorded observation of it on May 12. It moves and alternates as he moves his thoughts over his various deliberation points. It seems to feed and grow with some of them, and others can frighten it. It warms and brightens him, but never intensely. In essence, the gift is manifold, bodily, linked to his thoughts and never unconnected from his visions. It dwells in him, engages him and reveals him to himself. It carries on a kind of dialogue with his needs, his thoughts, and his desires. It appears to respond to him in ways that he needs and can understand, but it is never quite conditioned by his particular state. It is not too venturesome to propose that this gift outlines ways in which the person is inhabited by grace. The mode of devotion's action points us towards God who inhabits him, “making him his temple” [*Ej* 235].

The contour of devotion, traced and evoked in the pages of his diary, found within a structured process but never contained by it, reminds us that just beyond the sign is the giver Himself. The myriad forms in which this gift occurs in Ignatius point to the way in which God, the One who is radically open to the human person – *Deus capax hominis* – donates and gives His very life to him or her. That much has been enunciated in theology. What the *Diary* does is concretize that theological proposition in a bold way: the gift of God's self occurs in a real concrete situation of human life, felt and perceived in those particular cognitive, affective and recollective human structures no matter how limited or expansive they may be. More colloquially, God's grace meets the person where he or she is. This is not to propose that God is subject to the person's whims or fancies, but it is to suggest the constant and radical gift of God to the person in his or her concrete situation. The absolutely fascinating aspect of devotion understood as a glimmer of God's life is the way that we as

readers can glimpse the extent to which God is “absolute donation of His self”¹⁶⁰. Perhaps for that reason, the most beautiful and compelling example of his experience of devotion were not the intense moments at the offering of his election, nor its warmth or sweetness in his early morning prayer in his bed, but it was the devotion that lasted the whole day. He felt the sign of God’s constant *movement* towards him in daily life and that movement lasted the whole day. It is to that final category that I will turn in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁰ Cordovilla Pérez, “Dios para pensar”, 89.

“To the giver of all graces” [De 153]**Moved by the gifts to the Giver of them all**

INTRODUCTION

Devotion was unquestionably a very rich internal experience for Ignatius. His nuanced and precise descriptions of it give the sense that he had years of practice searching for, identifying, and describing devotion. Though the *Diary* may be the only text we have of his which expresses so vividly his inner life, it no doubt points to the broader narrative of that life in which he was an adept observer of God’s action in him.

The previous chapter sought to describe the experience of devotion as he registers it in his discernment notebook. He is exact in his depictions, but that precision is more than a demonstration of his facility at being able to read well his inner experience. He registers the sign of devotion in order to come to know God’s will. To feel and to know: this is the first part of his process which will bring him to the place of a corresponding action in accord with God’s will. In this way, the feeling, a movement itself, is never far from a more concrete movement into history. At the same time, the final part of the last chapter highlighted devotion as that which was warm, bright, and clear. That manifestation, gratuitous in nature and largely circumscribed to one part of his prayer, opens the possibility that devotion occasioned other movements, some of which were not exclusively connected to his election process. This chapter will seek to explore the full spectrum of movements that devotion caused in him.

Movement, so constitutive of the structure of his discernment notebook, comprises another one of the categories of the Christian tradition’s reflection on the spirituality of devotion. This classification recovers the ancient meaning of the term in which the person offered his or her whole life to the gods. Later New Testament writers picked up on the word’s ethical and practical implications. Early Christian authors encouraged their communities to live a life full of devotion (1 Tm 2:2) and to train themselves in piety and devotion (1 Tm 4:7). Similarly, the author of the 2nd letter of Peter suggests that devotion

moves one to live a life of kindness and love (2 Pet 1:5-7). In short, devotion for early Christian communities formed a part of the way that they understood their communal following of the Risen Lord.

Later theological and spiritual reflection further developed this idea. For Bernard of Clairvaux, the mystery of Christ's life "captivates all the devotion of our heart", and moves one to the practice of justice¹. For Thomas Aquinas, devotion stimulated and moved the believer to be ready and prompt to serve God². The category of movement also emerges in the tradition of the *devotio moderna* whose spirituality so felicitously combined the inner experience of God with an emphasis on virtuous living. For Kempis, the basic idea of Christian discipleship is to make progress, and he clearly understood devotion as that which ought to include a movement from feeling to giving glory to God. In his classic text, the grace of devotion moves the believer to nothing less than the complete imitation of Jesus. In summary, the category of movement traverses the Christian reflection on it, recalling that which is essential to Christian living: conversion and doing God's will.

This aspect of devotion has been alluded to, albeit implicitly, in the previous two chapters. Both of those sections have intimated that this spiritual gift is dynamic. For example, it was Ignatius' devotion that moved him to realize, with such assiduity, his spiritual exercises. And to take only one example from the last chapter, his experience of devotion, which consistently accompanied his discernment of the new way that God was showing him, propelled him forward to find the gifts of veneration and reverence. In short, the study of devotion as promise and as experience has adverted to this aspect of it.

Finally, this category also connects to his daily celebration of the mass – that *sending forth* of the Christian on mission. The intense experience of Christ's sacramental presence in the Eucharist – the reception of "grace through which man is incorporated in Christ and is united with his members"³ – is nothing short of a movement into Christ and into his body the Church. Day after day he celebrated the Paschal mystery of Christ, and his notes, which often refer to discreet moments of the mass, convey the idea that the sacramental celebration of Christ's dying and rising was not only help for him to not fall into sin, but to preserve and increase the action of grace in him [*Ej* 44]⁴. Though no longer geographically on the move,

¹ *Obras*. Vol. 5. "Sobre el Cantar de los cantares. Sermón 20", 2.279.

² *IIaIIae* q. 82. a.1.

³ *DS* 698; for commentary on this formulation from the Council of Florence, see, Gesteira Garza, *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*, 621.

⁴ Similar idea of his echoed in a letter to Borgia in 1545: "que ultra las muchas y crecidas gracias que el ánima alcanza en recibir a su creador y señor, es una muy principal y especial... la levanta presto con mayores fuerzas,

there seems to be little doubt that in receiving the body and blood of Christ – that which was making him a participant in the divine life with Christ⁵ – he continued to imagine his life as a dynamic following of the Risen Lord.

In this chapter, I will make explicit the dynamic character of devotion reflected in his discernment notebook. On one level, and perchance the most patent, the movement refers to the apostolic question of the reception of income. Devotion is the spiritual experience he observes and examines to help him make a concrete decision on the way of proceeding of the Order. The spiritual sign speaks to him in his quest to discover how the Society of Jesus might best help others. Yet the sign of this gift also appears to move him into an expansive and gratuitous giving of praise and glory to God. In devotion, movements towards service and praise occur, and in this spiritual gift Ignatius comes to feel what God feels for him: love⁶. In short, this movement in love and to love takes us to the center of the *Diary*, to that experience of God whom he will name at the end of his election “the giver of all gifts and graces” [*De* 153].

1. Movement – a basic spiritual premise

Before carefully examining the text of the *Diary*, I would like to explore this category of movement which seems to have constituted a central premise of his conception of the spiritual life. Albeit well studied and documented, it is worth reaffirming just how integrated the idea of movement was in his conception of the spiritual experience⁷. Far from a spirituality of stillness or quietude, Ignatius assumes that the person is either progressing towards or distancing himself from God [*Ej* 314, 315]. For him, life in the Spirit is never static, nor can a person *not* be moved in some direction in it⁸. In such a comprehension, Ignatius proposes that God communicates to the person by way of two movements or, in Spanish, *mociones*. This is to suggest that for Ignatius the internal movement is the place

y con mayor propósito y firmeza de más servir a su creador y señor”. See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Francis Borgia (Rome, end of 1545), 339-342, 341. *Letters and Instructions*, 126.

⁵ Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith, *Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on some aspects of Christian meditation*, number 14.

⁶ Paraphrasing Arzubialde who offers that in the impulse of consolation, “reconoce experimentalmente el hombre lo que Dios siente por él”. See, Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 723.

⁷ See also, for example, García de Castro, “Moción”, in *DEI* 2:1265-1269, with bibliography; Melloni, *La mistagogía de los Ejercicios*, 142-148; for a more theological perspective on grace which for Ignatius was always an experience of “uninterrupted expansion”, see, Ruíz Pérez, *Teología del camino*, 228-230.

⁸ Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 706-707.

from which one searches for and dialogues with God⁹. According to the outline of the *Exercises*, he codifies, perhaps simultaneously simplifying, the place of this search and dialogue with God with two terms: “consolation” and “desolation”; these are the two terms which he offers to the retreatant to help him or her understand God’s communication. Both are detailed as the interior *mociones* that are caused in the person by one or another spirit and that will occasion different affective resonances [*Ej* 316, 317]¹⁰. Both not only appear to the retreatant in the spiritual program of the *Exercises*, but “they have to appear”¹¹. Consolation, outlined in a three-part description [*Ej* 316], can be synthetically understood as “both a joy and a movement towards some commitment or election”¹². Contrary to consolation is desolation which tends to be a general experience of “confusion, an interior disunification, and discouragement”¹³. Both are interior stirrings, be they in thoughts or sentiments [*Ej* 182], which one feels, seeks to know, and by which one then acts [*Ej* 313]. They comprise the “raw material for discernment”¹⁴, since it is in decoding them that one can come to know God’s will. In this way, they are essential to the process of making a good and healthy election [*Ej* 175].

However, their easily interpretable affective resonance becomes more complicated as one progresses in the spiritual life, and for this reason, Ignatius, following the tradition before him, details in his second set of rules false consolation, a spiritual movement that initially appears to be consolation but whose directionality and subsequent affective resonance ultimately reveals that it is not from God [*Ej* 328-336]. In addition to this caution about consolation, in this second set of guidelines Ignatius formulated a very precise assertion: God, without any previous cause, can “enter, leave, and bring about movements (*mociones*)” in the *ánima* [*Ej* 330]¹⁵. The verbs, as is the case in his discernment outline [*Ej* 313], are particularly illustrative. God can enter and leave the person, and that presence can be felt afterwards as a *moción*. In this sense, the *moción* refers what has been called the “mediated immediacy” of God’s presence, that is, the effects that the presence of God provokes in the

⁹ García de Castro, “La mística de Ignacio: cultura y costumbre”, *Manresa* 76 (2004): 333-353, 334.

¹⁰ For an excellent analysis of “spirits”, “consolation”, and “desolation” in the *Exercises*, see, Iparraguirre, *Vocabulario de Ejercicios Espirituales*, 102-112. For a modern theological reading on the idea of movement of spirits, see, Philip Endean, “La experiencia de la gracia y las mociones de espíritus. Una posible interpretación teológica”, in *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales*, 278-291.

¹¹ Antonio Guillén, “Desolación – aproximación ignaciana”, in *DEI* 1:575-580, on 576.

¹² Corella, “Consolación”, in *DEI* 1:416.

¹³ Guillén, “Desolación – aproximación ignaciana”, in *DEI* 1:576.

¹⁴ Corella, “Consolación”, in *DEI* 1:415.

¹⁵ The expression connects with the larger tradition that posits, in the words of Marín Velasco, that “pasar es la forma peculiar del estar de Dios”. Cited in Domínguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 277.

person¹⁶. The idea that God moves the person may not represent the exact conceptualization of his regarding the nature of grace, but it does suggest how he understood its most patent “manifestation in the event of its encounter with the person”¹⁷. Grace has a beginning, occasions a movement, and involves a projection towards something. Thus, to speak of *mociones* is to approach how he thought of the action of grace in the person. Although *moción* was not a common term of the era, the word appears to have been personally important to him¹⁸, revealing as it does the spiritual experience as constitutively dynamic.

1.1. Devotion and consolation: distinct spiritual languages

In the *Exercises* devotion is identified as one such spiritual movement caused in the interior of the person. This affirmation is found in one of his rules in the guidelines for discernment for the First Week where he outlines three principal causes for why one would find him or herself in desolation [*Ej* 322]. This paragraph, brilliant in its formulation, demonstrates how attentive Ignatius was – and how much he wants the retreatant to be – to desolation. In the last reason, he declares that desolation can come about

In order to give us true notice and knowledge that we might internally perceive that it does not belong to us to bring on or retain *devotion*, intense love, tears nor any other spiritual consolation, rather all are gift and grace from God our Lord [*Ej* 322]¹⁹.

According to this formulation, devotion is understood as a spiritual movement, and its absence reveals for Ignatius the deeply pedagogical character of desolation. That latter experience is the momentary hiding of God or a kind of wake-up call that reminds the person that all is a gift from God²⁰. Albeit a difficult or unsettling affective experience, it is not to be avoided or ignored, but to be mined for the deep spiritual lesson that it contains. As I will seek to demonstrate in this present chapter, this interpretation of desolation will come to bear significantly on his experience at the end of his election. The absence of the sign will help him “recognize and feel the gifting presence of God”²¹.

¹⁶ Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico*, 331.

¹⁷ Ruiz Pérez, *Teología del camino*, 228-229.

¹⁸ García de Castro, “Moción”, in *DEI* 2:1265.

¹⁹ Emphasis mine.

²⁰ Guillén, “Desolación – aproximación ignaciana”, in *DEI* 1:578.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 578.

This above passage from the *Exercises* regarding one of the principal causes of desolation allows us to observe that the two gifts that so dominate the *Diary* – tears and devotion – are postulated as aspects of or synonyms to spiritual consolation. They are movements, caused by the good spirit, and are not the result of the person’s action, fidelity, or holy desires, for as deep and authentic as those may be. Tears, devotion, intense love, and consolation all come from God, and desolation reminds the person that this is so.

This number from the *Exercises* also opens up the very fascinating question of his hermeneutic with regards to the motions or movements that he personally experienced in his spiritual life. Studies on Ignatian spirituality rightly affirm that “the motion of consolation is the hermeneutical axis of the Ignatian system of discernment”²². Such a claim is not mistaken. The rules for discernment, with such a clear and pronounced place given to consolation, “come as close as anything does to revealing the most basic assumptions Ignatius entertained about the dynamics of an individual’s relationship to God”²³. These assumptions – that God causes *consolation* in the person so that he or she can come to know God’s will and act upon it – do not surface with 20th century scholarship on Ignatian spirituality. The *Directories* themselves, even the one written by Ignatius, clearly announce both desolation and consolation as *the* hermeneutical categories: “Always, the one that gives the Exercises should inquire into the (experience of) consolation and desolation, and what has happened to him or her in the exercise or exercises done after the last time they have spoken”²⁴. As in the *Exercises*, his directory explains both of them and highlights their place in the second time of making an election²⁵.

Notwithstanding the position of consolation in the *Exercises*, contemporary studies on Ignatian spirituality have gone a long way in positioning it as God’s preeminent language in his spirituality. And the expressions on its importance border on the dogmatic, going well beyond the text of the *Exercises*. For example, Jesús Corella in his article on the topic in the *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana* offers that it is “God’s own language”²⁶. Or, in scholarship in English, Brian O’Leary affirms: “Ignatian spirituality is a spirituality of

²² García de Castro, “Moción”, in *DEI* 2:1268. In another article of his, García de Castro, in his study of the *Autobiography*, offers that “Ignacio hace de la experiencia de la consolación el criterio de verdad de su experiencia interna”. See, García de Castro, “La mística de Ignacio: cultura y costumbre”, 343. However, the Jesuit scholar appears to change his thinking on what spiritual sign provided him “el criterio de verdad”. As I will show in my argument, García de Castro will later posit that devotion is that criterium.

²³ O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 41.

²⁴ “Directorio autógrafo de San Ignacio”, in *Los directorios de Ejercicios*, 19, number 5.

²⁵ See, “Directorio autógrafo de San Ignacio”, in *Los directorios de Ejercicios*, 19, numbers 11, 12, 18.

²⁶ Corella, “Consolación”, in *DEI* 1:413.

consolation”²⁷. And even when consolation does not appear in a text from or about Ignatius, its presence is summoned. Such is the case where John O’Malley indicates that Ignatius is reported to have said that he could not live “without consolation, that is, without finding within himself something that neither was nor could be from himself but came purely from God”²⁸. A closer inspection into the source – a collection of sayings of Ignatius compiled by Ribadeneira – reveals that Ignatius did not refer to consolation. He simply stated that he could not live “if he would not be able to feel in his soul something (*una cosa*)”²⁹. The “thing” that he could not live without was left open in the text, but scholarship on Ignatian spirituality has filled that opening with “consolation”. This is not to suggest that these scholars are mistaken. The scholarship on consolation is perhaps, along with that on the topic of discernment – “which has gained unprecedented currency in the interpretation of the Exercises” – a great example of interpretation of the original charism which “draws faithfully upon the sources while creating something new”³⁰. Nevertheless, this study of the *Diary* comes to expand these insights with a focus on the language of devotion. The idea of this present chapter, and this entire study writ large, is to draw upon the richness of the *Diary* as a corrective to this exclusive emphasis on consolation, and as that which can offer a more diversified understanding of his spiritual experience and a more expansive, even nuanced approach to the many movements or languages by which God communicates to the person.

In his personal discernment, Ignatius observes many languages, and this is the fascinating aspect of it, even if this is precisely what makes the pages of it so hard to decipher and follow. His notes testify to the multiple and varied movements that he felt in his prayer. Each sign is its own language, but he does not simplify nor reduce them to a strict or simple categorization. Even if, as I have argued, there does exist a hermeneutical axis of tears and devotion in the first booklet, this guiding interpretive method does not preclude him from noticing and registering the broad and impressive panorama of spiritual gifts that he undergoes. He has an interest in registering all kinds of spiritual movements even if they may not be immediately tied to his discernment process. For example, there are tears, devotion, warmth, and grace, but there is also sweetness, motions, and peace, all of which affect him physically or internally. And if this were not sufficiently impressive, each of these movements is described with nuance and care. Each sign is its own language that he can detail with great precision. Thus, there is richness to the spiritual gifts, an equally

²⁷ O’Leary, “Consoler and consolation”, *The Way Supplement* 99 (2000): 61-69, 67.

²⁸ O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 20.

²⁹ Ribadeneira, “De actis patris nostri Ignatii”, in *FN* II, 338.

³⁰ O’Malley, O’Brien, “The Twentieth-Century Construction of Ignatian Spirituality: A Sketch”, 33, 39.

comparable richness to each manifestation of them, and a panoply of felt affective states that they created in him. Where the *Exercises* codify and organize, the *Diary* widens and expands.

Within this richness, and in light of scholarship on Ignatian spirituality, one of the more surprising aspects of the *Diary* is the relative absence in it of “consolation”³¹. Though he does register it, the word appears so infrequently that it is easy to pass over. In five different occasions he employs it, but only two refer to an actual spiritual movement. For example, on February 18th, upon retiring at night and thinking about the confirmation that he was hoping to receive the next day, he reported that he felt “special consolation in thinking of the divine persons” [*De* 43]. The other use of consolation that refers to a movement occurs in one of his experiences with the Trinity: upon seeing one or another of the divine persons, he observed how much he “was enjoying feeling consolation from any one of them” [*De* 63]. The other uses of the term advert to not feeling any consolation [*De* 63, 198], or to an observation on an experience where “any feeling of consolation” would be unnecessary for his election [*De* 67]. In summary, in his 392-day personal discernment notebook, there are only five instances of “consolation” and only two refer to an actual experience of it.

The paucity of references to “consolation” makes it hard to zero in on the nature of it as it is represented in the text itself. It does appear, however, to line up with his first description of it in the *Exercises*. There he describes it as “some interior motion... caused within the soul through which it comes to be inflamed with love of its Creator and Lord [*Ej* 316]. Both of his experiences of consolation indicated above intimate an experience of being inflamed in love of God. They also suggest that the feeling was thrilling, pleasurable, even intense. Though both contexts refer to the Trinity, it is hard to deduce by a mere two examples a particular relationship between this gift and the Trinity. It also bears mentioning that consolation is not mentioned in any context with Jesus nor does he group it with other gifts, such as, for example, tears. For this reason, the second and third descriptions of it given in the *Exercises* do not seem to come into play. It seems that the most that can be said – exclusively attending to this personal notebook of his – is that consolation was akin to an experience of feeling or thinking of the loving presence of one of the persons of the Trinity. Also, given its scant use, it would appear to be less consequential to him in his search for

³¹ It does seem to be the case that Corella’s argument on the primacy of consolation in the spiritual experience of Ignatius and in Ignatian spirituality writ large depends upon ignoring the *Diary*, which he does. In his otherwise excellent article, he only mentions in passing the autograph text to suggest that in the period of composing it, Ignatius lived in “un estado de consolación, o de experiencia mística”. See, Corella, “Consolación”, in *DEI* 1:414.

God's will. It simply does not figure in decisive election moments nor in his more intense moments with the Trinity.

All of this contrasts significantly from devotion, the sign that surfaces in multiple occasions and in the most crucial ones. At times he begins his day with it in one way as bright and warm, and those same days can have experiences of much and abundant devotion. In a word, it is versatile, nuanced, and constantly appearing. It also appears with other signs, as if it helped him expand his faculties to perceive other gifts. Paradoxically then, it appears both totalizing – englobing his whole person – and spacious, that is, allowing for or giving room to other gifts. It is never so intense that other languages from God cannot crowd in, be felt, and be perceived along with it. In essence, it seems much more pervasive, comprehensive, and exceedingly consequential to him in his relationship with God. He appears to have attached to it a high criterion of veracity³²: thoughts and feelings are evaluated by it. As I suggested in the last chapter, his discernment on his possible attachment to tears occurs with and by the sign of devotion. With it, he seems to come to know not only God's will but God's presence. In essence, God's presence to Ignatius is a devotional presence.

A brief comparison with the *Exercises* can help underscore that last point. In the contemplations of Fourth Week, Christ is presented to the retreatant as realizing the ministry of consolation [*Ej* 224]. The grace sought is one in which the retreatant rejoices in Christ's joy. It is nothing short of a "sharing in the joy of Christ in his glorified life"³³. In the words of another commentator, it is union with Christ or the grace "to find God in God"³⁴. The dynamic of devotion is similar in the *Diary*. It presents God revealing His very life as a ministry of devotion. The strong, diverse, and palpable interior stirrings of devotion bring Ignatius to this God who communicates in the warmth, abundance, intensity and brightness of devotion. In devotion, Ignatius lives as Christ did, totally devoted to and caught up in love with the Father. Nothing of the kind – at least as represented in his personal text – can be said about consolation. In short, the *Diary* makes the claim that many languages from God

³² García de Castro, "Encarnación y gloria, la arquitectura ignaciana del cielo", 298, where the author writes of a "conocer devocional.... una experiencia verificadora de la presencia de Dios". It may be too early in his scholarly career to study the ark of his thinking, but it is interesting to note that in this more recent article of his (2018), a possible fruit of his studies of the *Exercises*, the first companions, and of Peter Faber is that of the place of devotion in the charism of Ignatius and the first companions. This intuition gains greater credence when one discovers that in his introduction to the autograph manuscript of the *Exercises*, published in 2022, hints that the goal of the retreat program is to grow in devotion. I will take up this idea in my General Conclusions.

³³ O'Leary, "Consoler and consolation", 67.

³⁴ Howard Gray, "Joy and Friendship in the Fourth Week", *The Way Supplement* 99 (2000): 11-21, 14, 19.

affected his interior and among them devotion held a preeminent place in his coming to feel and to know intimately not just God's will but God.

1.2. Devotion and consolation: different spiritual visitations

On the surface, it seems strange to think that consolation, “the hermeneutical category of the Ignatian system”, does not appear in the document that represents his spiritual experience. In much the same way, it is curious to see devotion, so present in his personal discernment, figure so inconspicuously in the *Exercises*. On the surface, the texts diverge so noticeably in what is a central point in both of them: the language by which one names the perception of God's movement in him or her.

As a way to consider his use of “devotion” in the *Diary* and “consolation” in the *Exercises*, terms both of which represent learned medieval expressions³⁵, several hypotheses can be considered. One possibility is to think of them as synonyms. In the words of one scholar, devotion was the “*modus operandi* of consolation and in the text of the *Exercises* he opted for the word *consolation*”³⁶. In such a line of reasoning, both are, if not synonyms, terms of deep kinship, naming as they do a comparable interior movement by which the person can come to know God's communication. Ignatius himself seems to suggest their congruence in the previously cited number of the *Exercises* [*Ej* 322]; in listing spiritual consolation, devotion, tears, and intense love, he seems to convey the idea that they comprise a commensurate manifestation of God's presence that engenders movement. In such a hypothesis, one could deduce that they are synonyms.

Another possibility, one plausibly deducible from Garcia de Castro's line of thinking, would suggest that “consolation” was the general umbrella term that he used and by which he grouped all other movements. One of the paragraphs of Ignatius' instructions on giving the *Exercises* suggests as much. In one such observation, he insists that the one giving the retreat explain well “what is consolation”. He elaborates:

³⁵ Following García de Castro who includes them in the lexicon of “cultismos medievales” found in the *Diary* and in the epistolary body of texts. See, García de Castro, “El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola”, respectively treated on 344 and 349.

³⁶ García de Castro, “Encarnación y gloria, la arquitectura ignaciana del cielo”, 298.

(the one giving the Exercises) should proceed by all its parts (*por todos sus miembros*) as they are: interior peace, spiritual delight, hope, faith, love, tears, elevation of the mind, which are all gifts of the Holy Spirit³⁷.

This clarification suggests consolation as a general category and as consisting of a range of parts or manifestations. His use of the term “parts”, or “miembros” in Spanish, would seem to suggest that he has in mind the idea that consolation as a kind of head with members which, in all of their diversity, report back to or belong to it. Though he does not list “devotion” here – an absence which is striking – it seems plausible to assume that he would understand it as a member of consolation. If this was his thinking across his life and not only with respect to the *Exercises*, his discernment in the *Diary* would suggest that he paid attention to the parts of consolation, locating all of its varied manifestations in tears, warmth, devotion, peace, and elevation of his mind. Yet, for as much as this passage could be read to suggest that consolation functioned as a governing category, in the *Diary* “consolation” does not operate as the global term. That designation is reserved for the term “visitations”. In both notebooks, he employs the term “visitation” to designate generally all that he felt in his soul which constituted “things purely from God”³⁸.

Excursus – Spiritual visitations

The frequency with which he employs the term *visitación* across both notebooks as well as the particular contexts of its use suggests that it comprised a general organizing category for him³⁹. An assortment of key passages can demonstrate that he understood all that he experienced in prayer – be it tears, devotion, and warmth – as a visitation. For example, in offering his election, he feels “tears, warmth, and interior devotion,” and decides to stay in that very place and posture “to be with that internal visitation” [*De* 36]. In prayer with the Trinity, he indicates feeling “tears, sobs, and so much intense love”, and that “this intense visitation and love was excellent among other visitations” [*De* 105].

The function of the term as a generic category is even more clear when he employs *visitación* as a synonym for the spiritual signs. As an example, in one of the few passages that refers to a moment outside of prayer, he writes of walking in the streets feeling “an

³⁷ “Directorio autógrafo de San Ignacio”, in *Los directorios de Ejercicios*, 20, number 11.

³⁸ Ribadeneira, “De actis patris nostri Ignatii”, in *FN II*, 338.

³⁹ The word “visitación” is used thirty-three times in the *Diary*; outside of one use which refers to the feast of the Visitation, all contexts suggest that it encompasses all of the movements that he felt. See, Echarte, ed., *Concordancia Ignaciana*, 1339-1340.

intense love and movements (*mociones*) to tear, and all of these visitations ended at the name of the Trinity” [De 110]. In another he relates feeling “great movements (*mociones*), sobs and great effusions of tears” [De 130], and in the next paragraph he refers back to these spiritual gifts: “seeing a disposition in order to enjoy more and more these intense visitations” [De 131]. Consolation too is an example of a visitation: for example, he reports feeling “consolation or a visitation from the Trinity” [De 63]. Tears also fall under this rubric: “without visitations of tears” [De 119], “with regards to visitations or tears” [De 159]; “refusing tears or visitations” [De 160]. The term surfaces again as he discerns the gift of *loquela*, suspecting on one moment that it was due to the “evil spirit that the spiritual visitation of tears ceased” [De 234]⁴⁰.

The importance of the term is further evidenced by his use of it during moments when he is thinking globally about his entire process. For example, he indicates that he would finish his masses to the Trinity “when he found some divine visitation” [De 96]. That same day, March 2nd, he continues to reflect that he would finish his process when the Divine Majesty “would communicate to me such a visitation” [De 96]. Likewise, on the day he concludes his election process, he again turns to *visitación* as a comprehensive term. He decides that he will not seek “any more masses nor any other visitation, but to conclude” [De 149]. And in further reflection on that day – in a passage I will study in this chapter – he discerns that the “visitations and visions all brought [me] complete firmness” [De 152]. Similarly, as he discerns the new way of reverence and veneration, he reveals that he is learning how to receive all of God’s gifts: “to enjoy his graces and visitations cleanly, without interest” [De 159].

“Visitation” is the term that orients his understanding of what he received and felt in prayer. For readers of his discernment notebook, the word provides a crucial lens to see how he thought about his experience with God. He sought “the Lord of all in a more immediate way, that is to say, his most holy gifts”, and he understood these gifts as visiting him⁴¹. Under *visitación* fall all the signs he registers. Consolation and spiritual movements (*mociones*) are not his governing categories, but rather they are manifestations that belong to another more general classification. Within this broad category, Ignatius – as I have argued in the previous chapter – employs a hermeneutic which attends to devotion and tears. Those too are visitations, and at least during this period of time, the most important ones. The

⁴⁰ As another example of the preeminent character given to consolation in scholarship, William Meissner translates this passage as “the ceasing of the spiritual consolation of tears”. See, Meissner, *A Psychological Study*, 557.

⁴¹ *Epp* II, Ignatius to Francis Borgia (Rome, 20 September, 1548), 233-237, 235; *Letters and Instructions*, 255.

designation accords with the idea that all of the signs come from outside of him; they are gifts “not in our power to summon up when we wish”⁴². Similarly, such a term coincides harmoniously with the genre of the text: the work of his discernment notebook is to discover who is visiting him in the signs that he feels. The classification also reveals an interesting hermeneutic for the second booklet of the *Diary*. Quite possibly, the form of that booklet was more a tabulation of visitations rather than a particular examination to determine his attachment to them. In summary, the hermeneutical axis of the *Diary* is broadly conceived, and such a category opens up the possibility that not all gifts were or occasioned movements. Perhaps, some were simply gifts from the Giver.

1.3. From codification to expansiveness

Such a consideration offers another possibility in terms of the relationship between devotion and consolation, one that takes us out of the realm of spiritual theology and into rhetoric. As the assertion from García de Castro above indicates, Ignatius *opted* for “consolation”, and this choice is intriguing. I believe it is important to remember that Ignatius is a writer, and writers make choices, and those choices are at the level of their diction. My sense of Ignatius as a writer, as fluent in multiple languages, and as a very formed and learned student of theology make two other ideas apropos. First, as I have attempted to show earlier, I believe Ignatius had considerable literary skills. His skill as a writer is evident in this felicitous pairing of sophisticated, clear, like-sounding four syllable words – that did circulate in religious and spiritual texts of the era⁴³ – to describe the spiritual experience. Simply put, in a book that is “markedly learned, if not exaggeratedly so”⁴⁴, the choice of “consolation/desolation” to frame the spiritual experience is efficient and clear⁴⁵. His choice for “consolation” may be less about the preeminent place of it in his spiritual experience as it is about a term that can be paired with another in order to organize and frame the spiritual experience in its diversity. In this way, “consolation” is chosen with “desolation” because both clearly, simply, and efficaciously structure the experience. The choice for “consolation” and “desolation” is also eminently practical: the one giving and the

⁴² *Epp* II, Ignatius to Francis Borgia (Rome, 20 September, 1548), 236; *Letters and Instructions*, 255.

⁴³ For a complete list, one that highlights Kempis and Jean Gerson, see, Marcel Viller, “Consolation Chrétienne”, in *DSp* 2:1611-1617.

⁴⁴ Mancho Duque, “Rasgos caracterizadores del léxico de los *Ejercicios Espirituales*”, 691.

⁴⁵ Both words form part of what Mancho Duque identifies as “una clara predilección por morfemas cultos, de origen latino, en muchos casos de gran rentabilidad en registros técnicos, filosóficos o teológicos”. See, Mancho Duque, “Rasgos caracterizadores del léxico de los *Ejercicios Espirituales*”, 692.

one receiving the Exercises can dialogue easily with terminology that is clear, easy to remember, like-sounding, and, at the same time, refined. Moreover, it seems patently wise to not flood the retreatant nor the director with an excess of terms to designate God's communication. A binary pair suffices. As such, he opts for "consolation" not because it is necessarily "God's own language" nor because everything in his spiritual system depends upon or reports back to it, but because it effectively organizes the retreat experience. It is *the* term for the *Exercises*, but as the *Diary* demonstrates, it was *a* term, and not even the most important one, for his personal experience of and movement towards God.

Not unrelated to the above consideration is that which takes into account the genres of the two texts. One is personal whereas the other, the *Exercises*, is for the Church, and specifically for Jesuits in their apostolic ministry. One is a guidebook and a manual, and the other is his discernment notebook. Such a difference would be made visible – as it is – at the level of diction. And in his personal diary, it stands to reason that he would employ language that resonated in deep ways with his life. "Devotion" appears as just such a word. Quite possibly caught up in the term were family memories, concrete places where he heard and felt it, encounters with spiritual texts, spiritual conversations, and studies. Such speculation seems pertinent, but there can be no doubt that the document does convey an author at home in devotion. Simultaneously, his discernment notebook imparts the idea that consolation was a sign in some ways of much less resonance. He could go without it, and he did, for many days. Consequently, the text does not affirm that he lived in a state of consolation⁴⁶. A stronger affirmation is one that suggests that he lived in a state of spiritual *visitations*.

Finally, the genre of the text as a discernment notebook in which he was separating distinct signs is another argument for refraining from identifying devotion and consolation as synonyms. Undoubtedly, they shared much in common: they were spiritual languages from God, occasioning a movement, felt interiorly, and producing their respective – even if similar – concomitant somatic effects. But devotion does appear to be of a magnitude, forcefulness, and variation that surpasses consolation. It was one of the guiding languages in his life in a document that portrays many languages, and it appears to have touched on all aspects of his life with God, be they affective, cognitive, or corporal, and it led him to service, praise, love, and reverence of God.

⁴⁶ Such an affirmation, offered by Corella, does not line up with the spiritual dynamic of the *Diary* where the signs alternate. Ignatius himself seems to have suggested this very idea in his letter to Teresa Rejadell. Writing on consolation, he posits: "Esta [la consolación] no está siempre en nosotros, mas camina siempre sus tiempos ciertos según la ordenación; y todo esto según nuestro provecho". See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Teresa Rejadell (Venice, 18 June, 1536), 104, emphasis mine; *Letters and Instructions*, 21.

The difference between the *Diary* and the *Exercises* on such a crucial aspect calls attention to the *Exercises* as a text in a particular genre for others in which the whole of Ignatius is not present⁴⁷. Undoubtedly, the *Exercises* remains a critical source for thinking about his understanding of the spiritual experience and its concomitant movement. But as O'Malley and O'Brien suggest in their perspicacious study of the scholarship on Ignatian spirituality, "(the book) cannot function, as sometimes people think, as if they (the Exercises) were the only source"⁴⁸. Alongside of the *Exercises*, the *Diary* realizes this critical function: it demonstrates to what extent he continued to employ practices in it and it reveals the way that he went beyond its codification or simply had his own hermeneutic of the way God interacted with him. In short, he was, as Giuliani remarks, "in perpetual receptivity to divine motions, living with an incredible intensity the drama of the mystery of God (who) approached" him⁴⁹.

As I outline the multiple movements that accompany devotion, I will test this hypothesis that this sign was a language from God – a "visitation" in his words – that comprehended an array of spiritual movements. Some were connected to his election, and others opened him to God's Trinitarian life in gratuitous experiences of love and praise. It is possible that these latter movements, not explicitly connected to service or doing, may be more difficult for us to understand⁵⁰. To be visited by God and to feel love, a desire to praise, and joy may represent a spiritual threshold that we have as of yet to cross⁵¹. And this is why the study of this autograph text contributes so much to the reflection and the practice of Ignatian spirituality: it can help us cross a new threshold into a relationship with God where the language is diverse, the movements are multiple, and where primacy is given to a God who visits the person in love.

⁴⁷ Following Karl Rahner who offers that "the 'whole' Ignatius is not to be found in the explicit text of the Exercises". See, Rahner, "Modern Piety and the Experience of Retreats", in *Theological Investigations*, trans. David Morland (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 16:135-155, 148.

⁴⁸ O'Malley, O'Brien, "The Twentieth-Century Construction of Ignatian Spirituality: A Sketch", 40.

⁴⁹ Giuliani, "Introduction", in *Journal Spirituel*, 36.

⁵⁰ Connected to this is the wonderful article by Howard Gray on the grace of the Fourth Week where he writes that "we do not live in times that understand or easily practice spiritual joy". See, Gray, "Joy and Friendship in the Fourth Week", 19.

⁵¹ Following the intuition of Melloni who in his latest book outlines the spiritual thresholds "que estamos invitados a cruzar". See, Melloni, *De aquí a Aquí* (Barcelona: Kairos, 2021), 17.

2. Spiritual movement that guides him in his apostolic discernment

Though perhaps this point stands as one of the more easily deducible aspects of his *Diary*, it could constitute one of the most central. Briefly, and without seeking to repeat unnecessarily earlier affirmations, devotion appears as that internal feeling that moves him towards knowing God's will. For example, he seems drawn by it to consider that not receiving income lines up with God's will. He repeats in the beginning of the process the phrase "more to nothing" or, in Spanish, "más a no nada" [*De* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8]. In his repetition of this election alternative, he gives the sense that devotion led him to this option and that as he ruminated on it, it provoked in him more of it. Similarly, his process of beseeching, finding, and being in the company of the mediators occurs in and with devotion [*De* 6, 25, 27]. And as I proposed in the previous chapter, he was moved by devotion throughout his election process to the very offering of it [*De* 12, 14, 16, 40, 46, 49]. His parenthetical comment on February 17th, the day in which he thought he was all but finished with his process, reveals the dynamic place of devotion in his entire process: "I had no more drive to continue offering oblations on the offering (although I always did it and not without devotion)" [*De* 41]. In short, devotion helps him to follow that which he feels to be more for the glory and praise of God [*Ej* 179].

a. *Devotion and apostolic discernment*

Spiritual movements, be they tears, devotion, intense love or consolation, for as interior as they may be, do lead him to something in the world. This is clearly the case with the first booklet of the *Diary*. His election involves a vow, and that implies an evident apostolic dimension. Given that poverty entails for him "a privileged mode of access to the sense of reality"⁵², and his way of being in reality is that of helping others, it is not overstating the matter to propose that devotion in his discernment notebook involves an apostolic dimension. In contemporary parlance the first booklet can be understood as apostolic discernment. Though the text may not allude to this dimension of it, his deliberation points do. And this is where the document of his deliberation points is so critical for an adequate reading of the *Diary*. On its own, his discernment notebook can give the impression that the process was hermetic, disconnected from his history, or distant from his

⁵² Ruiz Pérez, "El placer en los Ejercicios espirituales ignacianos: algunas consideraciones", *Manresa* 75 (2003): 235-251, 249.

life with his companions. Yet, a close reading of his deliberation columns rectifies this interpretation. Those points convey the idea that he was not only thinking about apostolic and ecclesial issues, but he was also considering the very viability of the order as well as their shared history. In summary, his list of advantages and disadvantages gives historical depth and dimension to the spiritual signs recorded in the *Diary*. Both texts, read together, disclose his discernment as decidedly apostolic.

In his list of advantages and disadvantages, Ignatius identifies many spiritual, even theological aspects of the issue. He is also very much aware of ecclesial and pastoral consequences for the election. As an example, one reason adduced to refuse the income is that the Society of Jesus would be able to unite itself more closely to the Church⁵³. Likewise, in this same set of reasons, he considers that as an apostolic body they would live “with greater diligence” in the service of God⁵⁴. At the same time, an advantage that he sees for receiving income is that they would have “more time to preach, confess, and give themselves over to pious works”⁵⁵. He also considers that the income would make the church “more refined and ornate and it would move to greater devotion”⁵⁶. In brief, his discernment reflects his concern for their apostolic mission in the Church.

He is also aware of the impact of this question for the future of the apostolic body itself. In both sets of lists, the first point in each of them has to do with the vitality of the order. Should the Society receive income for the maintenance of the Churches, he reasons that such a revenue “would conserve better” the order⁵⁷. He also considers the effect of receiving this income on the scholastics. He reasons that it would be easier to fund their studies, and this in turn would allow them both to help others and to take care of their bodily health (*sus cuerpos*)⁵⁸. Yet, in his other list of points, he formulates an even more compelling argument: not receiving the income would allow the Society “to take greater spiritual strength and greater devotion” in their following of Jesus⁵⁹. He is concerned about the health of the men and the spiritual health of the order. Globally, his points reveal that he is thinking about the viability of the Society of Jesus to give testimony to the Gospel in the Church.

Connected to this issue of the testimony that they will give in the Church and to others by way of their concrete living of the vow of poverty, his deliberation points also show

⁵³ Reason number 2(b) for not receiving, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267

⁵⁴ Reason number 5 for not receiving, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267.

⁵⁵ Reason number 5 for accepting, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 266.

⁵⁶ Reason number 6 for accepting, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 266.

⁵⁷ Reason number 1 for accepting, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 266.

⁵⁸ Reason number 7 for accepting, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 266.

⁵⁹ Reason number 1 for not receiving, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267.

that his history with the companions formed a part of his thinking and his prayer. In other words, his apostolic discernment includes their previous apostolic discernments. For example, one of the reasons that led him to think in favor of receiving income is that “two of the Society saw the material, all the others approved it”⁶⁰. It seems likely that the “two” referred to were he and Jean Codure (1508-1541)⁶¹, both of whom drafted the “Constitutions of 1541” that allowed for the income⁶². But the larger point he seems to want to underscore in this phrase is that they were united in their approval. In another reference to his companions, he indicates that “(poverty) chosen by all ten, we took for our head the same Jesus”⁶³. Again, he identifies what they have decided together as a possible indication of where God was leading him now. Finally, in another very interesting point of his deliberation, he recalls their period of waiting for their official ecclesial approbation: “In this way, we were asking, and the papal bull was conceded to us, waiting the expedition of it for a year, and persevering in the same assent (*asenso*)”⁶⁴. This passage appears to acknowledge that the period of waiting to hear official word from the Vatican was difficult for them. Nevertheless, Ignatius recalls that time as a point of reference: they remained determined and united in their desire to follow Jesus in poverty. This leads him to consider one more reason to not accept income for the churches’ sacristies.

I highlight these aspects of his discernment because they give dimension and depth to the spiritual movement that he experiences with devotion. He is thinking about their testimony to others, their apostolic availability and effectiveness, their union with the Church, and their union as an apostolic group of men. He sees the clear apostolic dimension to the question at hand. These passages also demonstrate the importance of his and the companions’ union. The idea of themselves as “founding a religious order” may not have predominated, but the idea that they were men “united in one body” does seem to have been decisive for them⁶⁵. In his deliberation points, this union seems to have been a significant point of reference for him as he sought to know God’s will for the order.

⁶⁰ Reason number 7 for accepting, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 266.

⁶¹ For more on this Jesuit, considered in the estimation of García de Castro, “one of the first ten companions and probably the least known of the group”, see, García de Castro, “Codure, Jean”, in *DEI* 1:329-331; Cándido de Dalmases, “Coduri (Codure), Jean”, in *DHCJ* 1:833; also John Padberg, “The Three Forgotten Founders of the Society of Jesus: Paschase Broët, Jean Codure, Claude Jay”, *SSJ* 29/2 (1997).

⁶² The document itself does convey this idea as Codure, referring to himself as its author, indicates that he and Ignatius were named by the others to draft these constitutions. See, “Constitutiones anni 1541”, in *MCo* I, 34.

⁶³ Reason number 13 for not receiving, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 267.

⁶⁴ Reason number 14 for not receiving, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 268. “Asenso” is not an easy word to translate, representing as it does a neologism, “a word first documented in his writings”. See, García de Castro, “El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola”, 520.

⁶⁵ František Hylmar, “Unión de ánimos”, in *DEI* 2:1735-1743, 1735.

Finally, he is also thinking about all of those others that can be helped by the mission of the Society. Another motive to refuse the income is so that the Society can be helped and awoken (*se ayuda y se despierta*) “to help spiritually” the souls of others⁶⁶. *Ayudar a las ánimas*: this was one of Ignatius’ basic desires; the phrase seems to have been so central to his self-understanding, motivating him and his companions in all that they did⁶⁷. Not surprisingly, it too occupies a central place in this discernment. In this way, a basic desire of his connects with a basic sign of his spiritual life. The sign that awoke him to God’s presence and that helped him to know how to help others was devotion. It was ultimately for others, so that they too might be awakened to God’s movement in their lives.

3. The movement to trust

The sign of devotion forms a part of his experience of revelation which, in the estimation of Karl Rahner, “consists in the growing awareness that we are involved with the permanent mystery and that our involvement becomes ever more intense and exclusive”⁶⁸. This is the case for Ignatius. In the same way that he expressed the Society of Jesus’ mission as awakening others spiritually, this same kind of awakening is happening to him. He becomes more alive to God’s presence that is giving him his being and creating him [*Ej* 235]. In part, this movement is signaled by his awareness that he is growing in trust and confidence in God.

3.1. A movement towards confidence and trust

Before any vision or sublime mystical experience with Jesus or the Trinity, Ignatius begins his process with a simple observation: he notices that he is growing in trust (*crecida fiducia*) [*De* 1]⁶⁹. Not only does he indicate an experience of trust on the first day, but on the third day he reports “a drawing near to Our Lady,” and this “with much confidence” [*De* 3]. These first entries, albeit elliptically written, indicate his hope and faith as he begins his process. Perhaps it is the experience of the prayer itself, the composition of his deliberation

⁶⁶ Reason number 8 for not receiving, “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”, in *Obras*, 268.

⁶⁷ O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 18; see also, Mark Lewis, “Ayuda a las ánimas”, in *DEI* 1:203-206.

⁶⁸ Rahner, “The Hiddenness of God”, in *Theological Investigations*, trans. David Morland (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 16:227-243, 238.

⁶⁹ “Fiducia”, a synonym for “confidence”, is a word he uses on three occasions [*De* 1, 32, 43]. Identified by García de Castro in his doctoral thesis as an Italian word, see, García de Castro, “El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola”, 576.

points, or the liturgical texts and prayers which are informing this movement towards confidence. Though difficult to determine, perhaps in these early days this confidence and trust was a response to a petition of his to receive the grace to find God's will. A sense of confidence would have been no small answer to his prayer.

Concomitant to this, both semantically and chronologically, is his emerging sense that the two mediators, Mary and Jesus, are favorable to him. The field of trust and confidence grows; divine favor also characterizes the initial movement. Though his text does not disclose a causal connection between the spiritual gift of devotion with his experience of confidence, trust, and divine favor, it is plausible to associate it with his sense of being fortified and encouraged as he embarks upon this spiritual query. The connection between devotion and confidence is clearer on the day in which he solicits God for the first time. It was precisely the "much devotion" that led him to "beg the Father" [*De* 6]. As such, it seems likely that the repeated experience of devotion emboldened and fortified him, giving him the security and confidence to approach the Father to know His will.

In addition to consisting of a possible divine response to his petition to know God's will, these sentiments of confidence and trust can be understood by way of the process of his discernment. As I argued earlier, Ignatius is watching carefully the discourse of his thoughts and to what they are tending [*Ej* 335]. Every day for the first eight days he reports that he was inclined to "More to nothing" (*más a no nada*). With this phrase, he is signaling his thoughts so that he can follow them over time. Should they change, he will know that he needs to spend more time discerning. However, since they remain consistent and always accompanied by tears and devotion, he deduces, on the eighth day of his process, that it was finished (*teniendo por acabado*) [*De* 11]; he had arrived at his election. This discernment also depends upon an attentiveness to his interior state, and herein lies the importance of his reference to trust and confidence. Those same rules for discernment indicate that the good spirit occasions "peace, tranquility and quiet" [*Ej* 333]. Though the language is different, the affective state of confidence, trust, and hope is akin to peace and tranquility. He names his interior affective state in order to discern what spirit is acting in him as he considers his election alternative. Trust and confidence bespeak the good spirit.

His descriptions also reveal the interpersonal or dialogical nature of his confidence⁷⁰. He has growing trust *in* Mary and devotion leads him to approach confidently God the Father. This confidence in the mediators and in God points to his faith that undergirds and

⁷⁰ The more complete exposition on this is Vincent Cátala, "Confianza", in *DEI* 1:385-389.

informs this entire process. To speak of feeling confident in Mary or one of the divine persons is to see the interpersonal nature of his faith. He confides in them and believes that they will intercede on his behalf. At the same time, his faith in God is also, paradoxically, an affirmation of his trust in himself⁷¹. He was beginning an intense discernment process all the while immersed in other activities. And all of this in a rather precarious physical condition. Consequently, his mention of feeling hopeful and trusting in Mary and the divine persons also signals his hope and faith that he will be able to move through this process with God and be open to all that God wants to show him. Even more than being open, his confidence is not unconnected to his magnanimity and his drive to realize great things in the service of God⁷².

3.2. Firmness, the good spirit, and growing in the theological virtues

Given the presence of so many other spiritual gifts and visions of Jesus and the Trinity, it is tempting to pass over his mention of growing in trust and confidence. They are experiences that seem to be less consequential than that of tears, *loquela*, or the intelligences that he received on the Trinity. Yet, he suggests otherwise. In the rather convulsive spiritual movement of March 12th, he discovered by way of desolation that it was God's will to conclude and, thereby, to let go of his desire for an extraordinary confirmation. He moves forward, deciding to not accept the income and to no longer inquire into the matter nor spend time giving thanks to God in masses. Not only does he come to a decision regarding the election, but he undertakes a brief examination on the process. He considers how both spirits acted upon him during the period of these forty days, and in this discernment on the discernment process itself⁷³, he highlights the importance of confidence and trust.

In language that evokes his experience of God "awakening" him at Manresa⁷⁴, he indicates that upon deciding to no longer pursue the matter, he felt a kind of "waking up with a knowledge or a clarity (*un despertarme con conocimiento o claridad*)" [De 152]. With this knowledge he perceives the way the spirits have acted upon him. He recognizes that the "the tempter brought thoughts against the divine persons and mediators (and) made me doubt or

⁷¹ Johnson, *Faith's Freedom*, 80.

⁷² For more on the connection of magnanimity and confidence, see, Henri-Dominique Noble, "Confiance", in *DSp* 2:1405-1410.

⁷³ The idea is from García de Castro. He adds that without such a capacity to discern our very processes of discernment, "somos ignacianamente impíos, 'paja que arrebató el viento'". See, García de Castro, "La estructura interna del discernimiento", 131.

⁷⁴ "... le vinieron unos disgustos de la vida que hacía, con algunos ímpetus de dejarla; y con esto quiso el Señor que despertó como de sueño" [Au 25].

wanted to make me doubt about the thing” [De 152]. The observation is lucid: he apprehends the evil spirit in those thoughts that made him uncertain and second-guess his movement towards God’s will. Similarly, his observation about the place of doubt, as well as the forcefulness with which he seems to feel it and with which he transmits it, could suggest that there were more doubts and struggles than that which appear on his pages. In other words, this brief reflection allows us to consider that much of the process could have been rather painstaking for him, and that throughout he may have undergone multiple moments of doubt and uncertainty⁷⁵. A peripheral indication of this is the extreme nature of the doubts that he suffered on this very day. For example, he found himself “deserted by any relief whatsoever”, and he reported that he had thoughts against Jesus [De 145]. This in itself is important, given that earlier he had so movingly promised, with the host in his hand, that not for anything in heaven or on earth would he abandon Jesus. What is even more astonishing is that he entertained the doubt as to whether he had ever or would ever in the future experience a grace from God [De 145]. This is a stunning affirmation, and the rather aggressive nature of it suggests a more latent difficulty of his to accept the limitations of his process or of the confirmation itself⁷⁶. He was clearly gripped by the intensity and forcefulness of the doubt, and such an experience, coming as it does at day 40, does convey the sense that these latter days of his process were more difficult than they appear⁷⁷.

Though he indicates that this knowledge was a gift to him, it is also reasonable to imagine that he was again employing one of his guidelines for discernment. His reference to the time of “a quarter of an hour” in which this knowledge came to him suggests a period of an examination, as if he were tracing back the thoughts that led him to the desolation [Ej 334]. He does not overlook the desolation, rather he courageously examines it to learn from it⁷⁸. In this knowledge to which he was awoken, he can see with clarity how malicious and astute the evil spirit was in provoking him to doubt and to distrust.

⁷⁵ Again, following Schreiner, whose interpretation of the Diary is quite fascinating, situating it in a context “ongoing preoccupation with spiritual discernment” and trust in one’s personal spiritual experience. See, Schreiner, *Are you alone wise?*, 277.

⁷⁶ For more on his aggressive nature “which was not slight”, see, Domínguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 330. The Jesuit psychoanalyst also expounds upon what is latent in such aggressive reactions: “cuando no se parte desde la contingencia de lo real, la agresividad se desencadena, porque no se asume ni la limitación a la que es remitido el sujeto, ni la de la realidad en la que está llamado a desenvolverse” (219).

⁷⁷ Paraphrasing Schreiner, who offers that “Anyone reading the Diary knows that this was an excruciating decision”. See, Schreiner, *Are you alone wise?*, 277.

⁷⁸ Here I follow Arzubialde whose description of what might be called the pedagogy of desolation wonderfully illuminates this moment in the *Diary*: “El hombre desolado desde la distancia crítica objetivadora que le proporciona la desolación... puede empezar a valorar correctamente dos cosas: el *don* perdido de la consolación, a saber, qué suponía el gozo de la verdadera amistad; y el *error* que un día cometió cuando trató de apropiarse

In addition to his knowledge and clarity regarding the action of the evil spirit, he also detects how the good spirit operated in him: “when I felt visitations or visions from the divine persons and mediators, all was firmness (*toda firmeza*) and confirmation on the matter” [*De* 152]. He sees the effect in him of the visions and visits of the good spirit: they strengthened him in his process, consolidating his resolve, and confirmed him. Ever attentive to learning from his experience and drawing fruit from it, he draws the simple but profound conclusion that God’s visits produced in him firmness, trust, and resolve. These seem like simple conclusions, very ordinary gifts, especially for one whose spiritual experiences were so profound. But they point to the simplicity of his life before God; he was always something of a child whom God was teaching [*Au* 27]. Quite possibly these were the spiritual gifts that he most needed at this moment of his life⁷⁹. They also seem to be the gifts that most mobilize him to choose and to assume the risk of a choice made in freedom. Furthermore, the pages of his discernment notebook make this conclusion rather obvious. Throughout the pages of his journal, the words “confidence”, “security”, “firmness”, and “trust” abound⁸⁰. To a certain extent, God woke him up to what was right before him. And this realization occasioned in him, unsurprisingly, the feeling of “much assurance (*seguridad*) of my *ánima*” [*De* 152].

This knowledge – a kind of “pedagogical intervention” from God – discloses his understanding of how God acted in him⁸¹. God visits him with His life and that visit strengthens him. In his description of consolation in the *Exercises*, specifically the third part of that description which does not seem to include a specific time designation for the experience of consolation⁸², he formulates the spiritual movement as that which occasions an increase of hope, faith, and love, quieting and pacifying the person in the Creator and Lord [*Ej* 316]⁸³. This is akin to what he is describing in this last day of his discernment as he recognizes the action of the good spirit in him. God not only helps him to know His will, but pacifies him with confidence and firmness. It is the Spirit who raises quietly and confidently

indebidamente de una justicia que era patrimonio exclusivo de Dios”. See, Arzubialde, *Justificación y santificación*, 174, author’s emphasis.

⁷⁹ De Gennaro is not wrong to summarize the *Diary* in the following way: “diré que Ignacio... se mueve en una línea de búsqueda humilde y confiada acerca de la voluntad de Dios”. However, I believe a more attentive reading suggests that confidence is a gift. See, de Gennaro, “La expresión literaria mística”, 32.

⁸⁰ It is fascinating to see how many times these words appear. “Confianza” occurs 9 times [*De* 3, 51, 74, 80, 95, 98, 103, 128]; “seguridad” 11 times [*De* 13, 19, 24, 25, 27, 56, 73, 115, 122, 151, 152]; “firmeza” twice [*De* 66, 152]; “firme” four occasions [*De* 25, 38, 41, 66]; and three uses of “fiducia” [*De* 1, 32, 43].

⁸¹ See, Ruíz Pérez, *Teología del camino*, 160: “La intervención pedagógica de Dios es uno de los temas preferidos de Ignacio”.

⁸² Following Noëlle Hausman, “Les regles de premiere semaine”, in *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola*, 146-158, 150.

⁸³ This third description of consolation is that which Sylvie Robert identifies as “the prototype of consolation”. For her very interesting analysis, see, “El discernimiento ignaciano: discernimiento de las ‘mociones’, discernimiento teologal”, 380-382.

his hope, faith, and love⁸⁴. This is the nature of the visit of devotion in him. It is a spiritual gift that participates in this movement towards trust, resolve, and his greater sense of integration. He concludes this booklet with a beautiful expression that describes the movement to which all of this was taking him. He reports that he felt a kind of spiritual motion consisting of devotion and tears that moved him to an experience of God, “in general [as] the giver of all graces” [*De* 153]. The expression is a serene and profound formulation of his faith: God is the giver of all grace and gift, and God has given him the confidence to move forward in freedom. All the signs that he has felt during these days point back to and ultimately move him to God, the giver of them all. Even on this day – as he had written so perspicaciously in the *Exercises* – “desolation serves to open [him] to the totality of his life: everything is a gift and a grace from God”⁸⁵.

4. The visits from God he experiences as he awaits confirmation

The designation of God as the giver of all gifts represents a beautiful expression of his at the end of this election process. He discerns God’s will and, in his discernment, he arrives at a more profound experiential understanding of God as the one who constantly gifts him with his being⁸⁶. Most likely, this was not the first time that he comprehended God as the giver of all, but the document before us does seem to indicate that this rather difficult discernment involved a new or deeper recognition of God. Keenly bent on finishing with a confirmation that would please him, he confronts his own spiritual poverty, and in that place of poverty, he declares, perhaps with greater freedom, that God is giver of all.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will point to the multiple kinds of spiritual visitations that he experienced while waiting for confirmation. The fascinating aspect of them is that they disclose devotion as occasioning a more gratuitous and exuberant movement of giving praise and glory to God⁸⁷. This is what constitutes the *Diary* as a great spiritual text: it reveals Ignatius finding that which is for the greater service of God as a movement into the very mystery of God’s life that causes him to exuberantly praise God for who God is

⁸⁴ Following Corella who links the third description of consolation to the action of the third person of the Trinity. See, Corella, “Consolación”, in *DEI* 1:418-419.

⁸⁵ Pierre Gervais, “La grace de premiere semaine”, in *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola*, 161-181, 169.

⁸⁶ “Cuando el hombre se pregunta por Dios, en realidad se está haciendo eco de la pregunta que le ha dirigido desde siempre... cuando lo desea, está en realidad siendo atraído por la fuerza de atracción que el Bien, que la Presencia ejerce sobre él”. See, Martín Velasco, *El fenómeno místico*, 255.

⁸⁷ Pietro Schiavone, “Alabanza”, in *DEI* 1:105-113, 106.

[Ej 183]⁸⁸. Indeed, his desire to feel and to know God’s will deepens and takes him to feel and to know God’s love and God as love. As a way to outline the multiple spiritual movements that brought him to feel, be with, and praise God in love, I will structure the following sections with the verbs that he uses: “seeing and feeling”, “leading towards”, and “ending in”. These verbs describe the personal and felt nature of the sign of devotion and indicate very graphically the shape or the ark of its movement. I will begin with his first mention of the Holy Spirit – the person of the Trinity most connected to a movement of praise⁸⁹. In seeing and feeling the Spirit, he begins to glimpse the confirmation that he will seek once he has offered his election.

4.1. Feeling and seeing

In his discernment notebook, the signs are not abstract or impersonal for him⁹⁰. No sign is without some resonance of the person from whom it originates or to which it brings him. I attempted to suggest this in my analysis of his prayer of mediation. In that section I posited that the mediators did not represent for him a punctual moment in his process to offer his election to God the Father. He sought to be in their company, and as he offered his election, he imagined the whole celestial court present and accompanying him. Though it may be obvious, it bears highlighting that everything that he is doing and feeling is relational. Consequently, his discernment is not only the feeling of signs, but it is often the feeling and grasping of the persons themselves. Throughout his discernment he employs two verbs to indicate the felt presence and recognition of Mary or one of the divine persons: “to feel” (*sentir*) and “to see” (*ver*). As a pair, they occur twenty-eight times and span both booklets⁹¹.

Though both “sentir” and “ver” are verbs, Ignatius often employs them in their infinitive and gerund form, transposing them in nouns. This appears to allow him to use them in such a way as to highlight an action that happens to him⁹². The frequent aggrupation of them discloses an essential part of his prayer: God’s Spirit acts in him and he perceives it

⁸⁸ In the six points that comprise the first mode of the third time of making an election, the mode that Ignatius is employing, he reminds the retreatant in four of them that all that is done is for the praise of God [Ej 179, 180, 181, 183]. Also, commenting on the Principal and Foundation [Ej 23], Schiavone suggests that praise is what founds reverence and service. See, Schiavone, “Alabanza”, in *DEI* 1:106.

⁸⁹ Following Schiavone, “Alabanza”, in *DEI* 1:111.

⁹⁰ On this very point see, Iparraguirre, *Vocabulario de Ejercicios Espirituales*, 194.

⁹¹ *De* 4, 10, 12, 14, 18(2), 25, 30, 31(2), 32, 52, 54, 63, 70, 74, 75, 77, 83(2), 105, 110, 115, 121, 123, 132, 153, 169. His preference seems to be for the formulation “sentir y/o ver”. Only on five occasions does the expression change and begin with “ver y/o sentir” [*De* 10, 18, 25, 30, 115].

⁹² The excellent analysis of this “sustantivando el infinitivo”, as well as the multiple aggrupations that Ignatius uses, is to be found in García de Castro, “Semántica y mística”, 249-253.

in a way that is both sensory and cognitive. Specifically, I read “sentir” as a verb that refers more directly to his senses; in feeling Mary or one of the divine persons, he was perceiving her or their presence. However, the verb “ver” appears much more nuanced. At times, it does seem to indicate a kind of vision or visual perception. For example, he reports a kind of “seeing or feeling in a dense clarity or in color of a flame of fire in a very unusual way” the Holy Spirit [De 14]. The “ver” here seems to refer to an actual seeing: he saw something of a flame. Likewise, in one of his experiences of the Trinity, he wrote “a feeling, or more appropriately a seeing, beyond my natural forces, the Holy Trinity and Jesus” [De 83]. Here too some visual perception seems to have occurred to him. Nevertheless, at other moments in his prayer his use of “ver” appears to refer, as it does in colloquial use in Spanish and English, to a kind of mental grasping or recognition of an object, idea, or a person⁹³. As an example, his first use of the verb “ver” occurs on February 5th: “*ver a la Madre y al Hijo propicios para interpelar al Padre*” [De 4]. The example would seem to suggest that he was understanding or grasping cognitively that they were willing and ready to intercede for him to the Father. Similarly, there is his experience of “a kind of seeing and feeling that the heavenly Father was showing himself to me as propitious and sweet” [De 31]. As in the previous context, the “ver” here shades more into a cognitive recognition about how God was before him. For as repetitious as he is in his use of these two verbs, the meaning of the verb “ver” does not line up exclusively with one definition.

On three occasions he diverges from this more standard way of expressing something felt and seen in prayer. For example, he indicates “a feeling and a *representing* to me of Our Lady” [De 29], “the *showing* or the feeling of Jesus” [De 67], and once he uses the expression “it *seeming* to me and feeling within that Jesus did everything before the Father” [De 84]. The ambiguity in these expressions is paradoxically rich and helpful: in prayer he witnesses a kind of showing, representing, or that which seems to be the presence of the Resurrected Christ in his prayer. His use of the verbs “to feel” and “to see” also correspond to a certain extent with the very well-known verbal pair of feel and enjoy (*sentir y gustar*) from the *Exercises* [Ej 2]. In that number from his spiritual text, Ignatius proposes that it is

⁹³ Helpful to explore Ignatius’ use of “ver” has been the *Aut*. Of the seventeen entries for the verb, eight of them refer to a kind of cognitive act of recognition of a person or an object with attention. For example, “significa también reconocer con cuidado, y atención alguna cosa, leyéndola o examinándola”, “vale también atender, o ir con cuidado”, “se toma también por experimentar o reconocer por el hecho”, “metaphoricamente vale considerar, advertir, o reflexionar”, “vale también conocer, juzgar, o hallar con la razón”, “se usa también por examinar o reconocer alguna cosa”. I will employ the English verb “grasp”, defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as “getting a mental hold of”, to translate “ver” when it suggests his understanding of something. For that which appears to be a vision, I will adhere to the verb “to see”.

far more important for the person to feel and to relish on his or her own the knowledge or graces given in prayer. The one giving the Exercises need not elaborate all points for the meditation or aspects of the Gospel passage for the contemplation, but rather guard a certain silence so that God can be the one who speaks to the retreatant⁹⁴. By way of feeling and savoring, the person is not only to have their own experience but to learn the art of discernment and thereby recognize the action in his or her life of the Spirit⁹⁵. The “seeing” and “feeling” in the *Diary* enacts this same process: he is discovering God’s communication and attempting to discern it.

I highlight Ignatius’ seeing and feeling because it is an expression that emerges in his discernment notebook with sufficient frequency to suggest that it was something akin to a standard way of his examination of his prayer. He is attentive to feeling and seeing, signs and persons. In the analogous language that he uses to describe the experience of God in the *Exercises*, God entered, left, and created a movement in him. In the *Diary*, he renders that movement as more complex sign, something seen and felt. I would also suggest that the same circumspection applies to what he sees and feels as it does to tears, devotion, and other spiritual movements. Though to readers the visions may seem more remarkable and more transparently from God, they too are subject to his discernment. Furthermore, it could be the case that they need more care in his discernment given that they could so overwhelm him by their rather astonishing nature and by the powerful feelings that they provoke.

a. Seeing and feeling the Holy Spirit

On Sunday, February 10th, nine days into his process, he observes that he felt peace, tranquility, and a certain security and an assent in making a good election [*De* 13]. He decides to offer the next day’s mass to the Holy Spirit⁹⁶. This is the first of nine masses in this 13-month period that he will offer to the third person of the Trinity. The second of which occurs on the very day mentioned above, March 12th, the day he concluded his election. The choice to offer this first mass to the Spirit may reveal that he understood such masses to the Holy Spirit as those in which he could place more directly his election in relationship to the

⁹⁴ Following Albert Chapelle, “Les annotations”, in *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola*, 31-54, 36.

⁹⁵ Melloni, “Gustar”, in *DEI* 2:931-933, 933.

⁹⁶ For a recent study on the Holy Spirit in the corpus of Ignatius’ texts, with bibliography, see, Bert Daelemans, “‘Unción del Espíritu Santo’ [*Co* 414]. En el cruce de voluntades: pneumatología ignaciana”, in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 205-240; (article hereafter cited as “Pneumatología ignaciana”). The more complete study on the Holy Spirit in the *Exercises* is that of José María Lera Monreal, *La Pneumatología de los “Ejercicios Espirituales”*.

word of the Spirit, the word of confirmation that could only come from outside of him⁹⁷. This is not to suggest that he did not imagine his discernment as taking place in the Spirit, but it is to propose that he explicitly prayed to the Spirit in the part of his election in which he was looking for that external sign to guarantee the election for the mission of the Society in the Church⁹⁸. This turn to the Holy Spirit at such a point in his election would coincide with the larger Christian reflection on the Spirit as the one who “operates the transition from subjectivity to the objectivity of reality”⁹⁹. It also lines up with his own thinking on the Spirit as suggested in a letter written in 1547 which connects the Spirit with poverty. In a letter drafted by Polanco, Ignatius’ secretary indicates that poverty “enables us in every circumstance to hear the voice (that is, the inspiration) of the Holy Spirit better, because it removes the obstructions that keep it out”¹⁰⁰. He is looking to perceive that voice and inspiration in this moment. It is also reasonable to imagine that the mass to the Holy Spirit was far less about a punctual action of thanksgiving or a precise petition for confirmation; he could have been giving thanks to the Spirit in whom his participation in Christ occurs and from whom he had received the gifts of clarity, peace, and confidence as he proceeded in his election process¹⁰¹.

As he prepared for mass, he reports that he was “a bit later making a colloquy with the Holy Spirit to say His mass, with the same devotion and tears it seemed to me to see or to feel the Spirit in a dense clarity or in color of a flame of fire in a way very unusual” [*De* 14]. This passage, rich on many levels, conveys the sense of his deep familiarity with the Spirit¹⁰², as if a colloquy with the Spirit – a communication of love [*Ej* 231], a giving and a sharing between friends¹⁰³ – had been a common practice of his, something that he routinely did. It is fascinating to see here how his personal prayer notes transmit a certain ease, familiarity, and

⁹⁷ In his analysis of mysticism, Domínguez Morano underscores how “la experiencia mística necesita la referencia de esa palabra tercera ... que es la del Espíritu y la Iglesia”. See, Domínguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 172.

⁹⁸ Arzubialde deduces that for Ignatius “el Espíritu aparece como el guía y garante de la misión y es al mismo tiempo el vínculo de comunión eclesial”. See, Arzubialde, “Discernimiento – Unción del Espíritu – y Discretio”, *Manresa* 70 (1998): 231-267, 239. More related to the *Diary*, Daelemans indicates the masses to the Holy Spirit as that which “tienen su papel en el proceso evolutivo ignaciano de entregarse más libremente a Dios”. See, Daelemans, “Pneumatología ignaciana”, 219.

⁹⁹ Arzubialde, “Discernimiento – Unción del Espíritu – y Discretio”, 257.

¹⁰⁰ *Epp* I, Polanco (Ex. Comm) to the Members of the Society in Padua (Rome, 7 August, 1547), 572-577, on 575; *Letters and Instructions*, 205.

¹⁰¹ See also, Arzubialde, *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad*, 304-308

¹⁰² In May of 1499, the Diocese of Pamplona held a constitutional synod in which a calendar, a part of which is in Spanish and another in Latin, of obligatory feast days was published. Pentecost figures in May as a feast. See, “Constitutiones synodales pampilonenses, anno 1499 editae, Azpeitiae promulgantur”, in *FD*, 148-155, calendar on 153-154.

¹⁰³ Arana, “Coloquios”, in *DEI* 1:342.

even custom of praying to and with the Holy Spirit. It would appear to have been a long-standing practice of his.

b. Dialogue with and in the Spirit

This passage can be considered as breaking what it is often thought to be Ignatius' relative silence on the Holy Spirit. It is possible to imagine that this silence was self-imposed given past experiences of his in Spain in an ecclesial climate that was suspicious of those who claimed personal inspiration from the Spirit¹⁰⁴. Perhaps his reticence on the Holy Spirit can be traced back to the time when he was subject to ecclesial scrutiny for his preaching and apostolic activity with small groups of men and women. More specifically, the interrogation and subsequent imprisonment in Salamanca at the hands of the Dominican community, who sought to know whether he taught catechism from studies or "by the Holy Spirit" [Au 65] might have been particularly traumatic for him, motivating him to exercise extreme caution in how he referred to the third person of the Trinity. In short, it is possible to imagine that the paucity of references to the Spirit in the *Exercises* is due to his desire to avoid any polemic regarding the third person of the Trinity¹⁰⁵. Another possibility may be that his silence derives from the insufficiently developed pneumatology of the Latin Church at that time¹⁰⁶. Nevertheless, it continues to be, in the words of the Jesuit theologian Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, "an enigma that the Spirit is not more of a protagonist in the *Exercises*"¹⁰⁷. The *Diary* does not come to resolve that enigma, but it does reveal his intimate interior knowledge of the Spirit. He is clearly unafraid to talk frankly to the Spirit¹⁰⁸. And they dialogue, as if they were – pardon the personification – old friends.

This first mention of the Holy Spirit in his *Diary* impresses for the rather direct nature of its seeing and feeling. Similarly, it seems hardly accidental that this first reference highlights communication. The Spirit who is communication and by whom God the Father communicates to the human person is present to Ignatius in the colloquy¹⁰⁹. Theologically, it

¹⁰⁴ Or the silence is revelatory itself of the Spirit who "no se revela a sí misma, sino que se oculta detrás del don". See, Daelemans, "Pneumatología ignaciana", 239.

¹⁰⁵ For references to the Holy Spirit in the *Exercises*, see Lera, *La Pneumatología de los "Ejercicios Espirituales"*; see also the very fine study by Manuel Ruiz Jurado, "El Espíritu Santo en la espiritualidad ignaciana", *Manresa* 70 (1998): 217-230, on 219-221.

¹⁰⁶ The hypothesis is Arzubialde's. See his article "Discernimiento – Unción del Espíritu – y Discretio", 232-233.

¹⁰⁷ Uríbarri Bilbao, "A modo de conclusión", in *Dogmática Ignaciana*, 506; point also echoed by Corella, "Consolación", in *DEI* 1:418.

¹⁰⁸ Daelemans, "Pneumatología ignaciana", 218.

¹⁰⁹ See, José María Lera, "Espíritu Santo", in *DEI* 1:803-811.

seems quite germane to dialogue with the Spirit who is the very “possibility of direct self-communication [of God] to man as mystery”¹¹⁰. As he himself wrote many years earlier, “for the same divine Spirit is present” both in the Church and in the human soul¹¹¹. It is likely that he would have understood all that he was feeling and doing as occurring in and mediated by the Spirit. Moreover, the centrality of the mass and its corresponding liturgical prayers, day after day, would have spoken to him of the Spirit’s presence. Even his appropriation of the prayers indicates the presence of the Spirit that interiorizes, actualizes, and helps the person appropriate the mystery of God’s salvation¹¹². Yet, at the same time, his description of talking with Spirit appears to present an odd objectification of it. His language depicts the Spirit as if it were outside of him, as if it were an object to which he could direct himself. Previously, his language of addressing and beseeching the mediators as persons before him represented a compelling example of his direct and personal style of prayer. Here, his description of the Spirit as a kind of dialogue partner seems to objectify the Spirit, and this particular representation seems theologically less felicitous than other expressions of his on the third person of the Trinity¹¹³.

Nevertheless, the register of his language changes slightly, giving a much less objectified account of the third person of the Trinity. He reports a kind of seeing or feeling “in a dense clarity or in color of a flame of fire in a way very unusual” [*De* 14]¹¹⁴. Though still adhering to the register of describing precisely what he saw or felt, he utilizes expressions that are more symbolic in nature. The image of the Spirit as light, a “dense clarity”, and as a “flame of fire” evokes Pentecost, the descending of the Spirit upon the apostles in the form of tongues of fire¹¹⁵. They were anointed, and “they began to speak other languages as the Spirit enabled them to speak” (Acts 2:4). Informed by the biblical tradition that has designated the third person of the Trinity with images of flame, fire, and light¹¹⁶, his description discloses the Spirit as something other than an objectifiable presence before him. The Spirit as a dense clarity or fire flame points to the Spirit as God in him,

¹¹⁰ Rahner, “The Hiddenness of God”, 240.

¹¹¹ See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Teresa Rejadell (Venice, 18 June, 1536), 105; *Letters and Instructions*, 22.

¹¹² Daelemans, “Pneumatología ignaciana”, 212.

¹¹³ At the beginning of his study, Arzubialde offers his personal position on Ignatius and pneumatology. He believes that it is important to “aceptar sin reservas la evidente falta de desarrollo e incluso la carencia pneumatológica que en él se echa de ver”. See, “Discernimiento – Unción del Espíritu – y Discretio”, 234. See also, Cordovilla Pérez who reminds us that “el Espíritu no tiene un protagonismo objetual en la oración... siendo el ámbito en el que todo acontece”. See, Cordovilla Pérez, “Devoción a la Trinidad”, 181.

¹¹⁴ In his analysis of the mystical language of the *Diary*, this description falls under what García de Castro identifies as “el referente paradójico”. See, García de Castro, “Semántica y mística”, 243-245.

¹¹⁵ See also, Cordovilla Pérez, “Rasgos del Dios de Ignacio”, 94.

¹¹⁶ Lera, “Espíritu Santo”, in *DEI* 1:807.

“inhabiting the deepest part of his being without confusing His being with Ignatius”¹¹⁷. Later in the *Constitutions*, Ignatius will repeatedly single out the primacy of the unction of the Holy Spirit as that which internally guides the Jesuit. Here, in his *Diary*, we can detect a figure of that “holy unction of divine Wisdom” [Co 161] that guides him as he seeks in his election the concrete form to serve and praise God.

c. Intelligences that shape his desire for confirmation

His seeing and feeling of the Holy Spirit occasions important cognitive movements: Ignatius relates that this prayer brought him considerable intelligences. After his accustomed prayer in which he carried on this colloquy with the Spirit, he turned again to his deliberation points. In reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of each side of the election, he prayed to “Our Lady, and afterwards to the Son and to the Father so that they might give me their Spirit to reflect and to discern (*para discurrir y para discernir*)” [De 15]. The petition, one of the many mini-texts that structures his discernment notebook, beautifully expresses his desire to be guided by their Spirit. The prayer appears to have been answered almost immediately. He finds himself moved to reflect upon the

Son who first sent the apostles to preach in poverty, and how afterwards the Holy Spirit, giving them his spirit and tongues confirmed them, and in that way the Father and the Son, sending the Holy Spirit, all three persons confirmed the mission [De 15].

And to this, entering in me greater devotion [De 16].

Albeit briefly and compactly stated, these thoughts – which produce a very significant movement of devotion and later tears and sobs [De 16] – present a kind of “theology of mission” that emerges in his prayer¹¹⁸. The Spirit, in whom he is praying, discerning, and celebrating the Eucharist, and who always reveals Christ¹¹⁹, guides him to see Jesus who sent the apostles to preach in poverty. He also glimpses how it was the Spirit that gave the apostles the gift of his Spirit¹²⁰, confirming them with tongues of fire and fortifying them as

¹¹⁷ Luis Ladaria, “La teología trinitaria, fundamento de la espiritualidad ignaciana”, *Manresa* 72 (2000): 321-332, 323. See also, García Mateo, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria”, 450-452.

¹¹⁸ See, Arrupe, “The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism”, 33, number 71.

¹¹⁹ John O’Donnell, “Trinidad”, in *DEI* 2:1720-1727, 1726.

¹²⁰ Following Lera who identifies the Spirit (capitalized in the text) who gives his spirit (lower case) to the disciples. See, Lera, *La Pneumatología de los “Ejercicios Espirituales”*, 106, and made explicit on 236 note 172.

they set forth¹²¹. Present too in his understanding is the Spirit as communion between Father and Son and as the one who is ever-present and active in history for the salvation of humanity. In brief, he intuits the economic Trinity realizing their mission of salvation¹²². On a theological level, these insights are rich: the apostolic mission of the Church finds its source in the Trinity and is realized in the Spirit who continues to carry forth this salvific mission. The deepest theological meaning of Ignatius' election is found in this moment: to choose poverty is to enter more deeply into the mission of the Trinity in the world.

This realization or "intelligence" represents an important gift to him; for studies of his spirituality, it constitutes one of the more personal expressions of his that connects his thinking on the Spirit, the Trinity, and the Society's apostolic mission in the Church. It comes to confirm what appears to be his basic conception of the Trinity as "the mystery of salvation *ad extra* with special emphasis in creation and incarnation"¹²³. Elements are present to continue discovering the way that he imagined poverty, as well as the vows of obedience and chastity, as inspired by and grounded in the economic Trinity whose manifestation in history takes the form of self-emptying love¹²⁴. In essence, his sense of the Society's mission is service, a conception grounded in his experience of the Trinity whose mode is that of labor and work on behalf of men and women [*Ej* 236]. Nevertheless, I would suggest that Ignatius, though not inattentive to the theological depth of the revelation, shifts the weight and import of it to his election process. He understands these thoughts as given to him, sees that they produce in him devotion [*De* 16], and, for that reason, seems to trust his feeling to proceed no further in the process [*De* 16]. These thoughts *move* him towards the stage of confirmation, and even more importantly, they appear to prefigure the nature of that confirmation.

His diction reveals that the center in his reflection is, I believe, less on missiology and more on confirmation. The Spirit "confirmed" the apostles in their mission, which was, on a deeper level, the three divine persons who "confirmed the mission" [*De* 15]. The verb "*confirmar*", used twice, can hardly be considered accidental. I would even venture the hypothesis that these thoughts not only led him to that part of his election process, but to

¹²¹ In a letter of his to Jesuits at Gandía, Ignatius wrote that Christ left Peter in charge of the apostles who were sent on mission "llenos del santo Espíritu". See, *Epp* XII, Ignatius to the Fathers and Brothers at Gandía (Rome, 29 July, 1547), 331-338, on 332; *Letters and Instructions*, 196.

¹²² For Lera, this passage represents "la primera explicación clara y completa de la Trinidad 'económica' en los escritos de Ignacio". See, Lera, *La Pneumatología de los "Ejercicios Espirituales"*, 46.

¹²³ O'Donnell, "Trinidad", in *DEI* 2:1723.

¹²⁴ Following Arrupe who wrote that "For we can hardly doubt that the Ignatian charism, or at least our understanding and application of it, admits of development". See, Arrupe, "The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism", 38, number 82.

await a specific manifestation of confirmation. The thought that the mission of the apostles in poverty was confirmed by “all three persons” [De 15] appears to become for him the basis upon which he will judge the confirmation of his election. He too will “search for an identical confirmation of a similar poverty for the Society”¹²⁵.

d. Feeling and grasping many divine secrets

The movement comprised by spiritual thoughts constitutes a significant part of his journey. Another example of this, pivotal in the first booklet, occurs on February 21st, when he finds himself led to a new insight into the interrelationships of the three divine persons of the Trinity. His own words, audacious in their own right, convey how astonished he was by the new comprehension that he received: “feeling spiritual intelligences, so much so that it seemed to me to understand that there would be almost nothing more to know in this material of the Blessed Trinity” [De 63].

As in indication of how overwhelming this knowledge was for him, he introduces it with a series of three verbs: “I came to know, I felt or grasped” (*conocía, sentía o veía*) [De 63]. Concretely, in mass while praying to the Father, he finds himself drawn to love all three persons of the Trinity (*en hablar al Padre en ver que era una persona de la santísima Trinidad, me afectaba amar toda ella*) [De 63]. He grasps their interrelationship – discovering that each one is present in the other. He seems relieved to find that a consolation from one would be a consolation from all three: “enjoying to feel consolations from any one, attributing and making me happy in being from all three” [De 63]. This deep affective response could suggest that for quite a long time he had been perplexed by the nature of the relationship of the three persons: “it seemed so much to me that this knot be loosed or untangled” [De 63]. Quite possibly the unity of the Trinity had been a long-standing theological question of his. Many years later, in a passage that would appear to shed some light on this moment, he related to his Portuguese Jesuit biographer his great devotion to the Trinity. In his reverence to the Triune God, he indicated that during his time in Manresa “each day he prayed to the three persons separately. But as he prayed to the Most Holy Trinity, the thought came to him. Why did he have to say four prayers to the Trinity? But this thought gave him little or no difficulty” [Au 28]. From the earliest days of his conversion, Ignatius seems to have been drawn to the Trinity, praying texts from a breviary or the office

¹²⁵ Arrupe, “The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism”, 30, number 62.

which would have included prayers to each person and then a prayer to the Trinity¹²⁶. The passage from the *Autobiography* suggests that he was intrigued, if not puzzled by the separate but interrelatedness of the divine persons. Nevertheless, the theological query never became an obstacle in his love for them nor did it impede his implicit understanding that service is what most characterizes the Trinity. Now, however, he comes to know that in praying to one he is praying to all three.

This moment in his *Diary* may rightly be considered the zenith of his Trinitarian mysticism¹²⁷. Seen alongside the series of thoughts on the Trinity studied above, it portrays a movement from a grasping of the economic Trinity to the immanent Trinity¹²⁸. In his coming to know the inner life of the Trinity in a new and deep way, Ignatius “has been introduced to the most essential and profound content of the greatest mystery of the faith”¹²⁹. That mystery is what dogmatic theology has called circumincession, a term first used to “signify the relationship between divine and human nature in Christ”, and which came to express in trinitarian theology the interdependence among the three divine persons¹³⁰. More commonly referred to with the Greek term *perichoresis*, Ignatius is presented the mutual interdependence of the three divine persons who “act entirely in concert as one God”¹³¹. If it is the summit of his Trinitarian mysticism, it is also a clear example of the depth of this Eucharistic mysticism. In the Eucharist, which he began every day “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit”, he signed himself with that communion of love that he was entering¹³². In the sacrament, the prayers of the Church work on him, and they take him into the mystery of the union among Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. *Lex orandi* is the source of his *lex credendi*, and the passage from praying to believing is grounded in his knowing, feeling, and seeing. In the sacrament of the Eucharist – his very communion with God – he apprehends the communion between the three persons. In brief, his love of the Trinity, which at least dates to his time in Manresa – if not to a “popular Trinitarian faith that

¹²⁶ Examples of prayers to the divine persons from breviaries of the era can be found in García Mateo, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria”, 441.

¹²⁷ Cordovilla Pérez, “Rasgos del Dios de Ignacio”, 85.

¹²⁸ Lera, *La Pneumatología de los “Ejercicios Espirituales”*, 48.

¹²⁹ Haas, “The mysticism of St. Ignatius”, 176.

¹³⁰ *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, s.v. “circumincession”. The term derives from the Latin *circuminedere* which means to move around or *circuminsedere* which signifies to sit around.

¹³¹ *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, s.v. “circumincession”; see also, Jacques Fantino, “Circumincesión”, in *DCT*, 260-261 with bibliography.

¹³² International Theological Commission, *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*, 104.

he received in Loyola”¹³³ – and which he most likely cultivated in his many years of academic studies and pastoral experiences, deepens in the sacrament in which comes to know internally God’s Triune life. In the words of Joseph Munitiz, he was a man extremely attentive to penetrating personally and experientially into dogmatic truths¹³⁴.

However, one final perspective is needed to comprehend this moment. And this is again where the nature of the text before us contributes significantly to understanding the content of it. Without seeking to diminish the theological depth of what he understands, I would add that the precise moment of his election process also provides an important hermeneutic. Lest we forget, Ignatius is in the process of hoping for and awaiting confirmation from the Trinity. As I have attempted to show above, this desire was set in motion by the intelligence he received that all three persons of the Trinity confirmed the mission of the apostles. Consequently, he is awaiting the sign from the Trinity to confirm his election. This context bears directly upon this seeing, feeling, and knowing the interdependence and essential unity of the Trinity. Knowing that in one person of the Trinity the other two are present, and that all three share “intellect, will, and freedom”¹³⁵, would suggest that he need only await a sign from one person, since a sign from one is a sign from all three. This is perhaps why he appears to have been so content, even so relieved. The presence of one person in his prayer would constitute a Trinitarian confirmation. The knot that he refers to as being unloosed or untangled may refer to a theological query or perplexity of his¹³⁶. Such a theological reading is possible. However, I would suggest that the knot refers to what would have been his uncertainty as to how the Trinity as three persons would confirm his election. Something of his understanding of how he may have been awaiting that confirmation can be glimpsed in the very day that he considers the way the Trinity confirmed the apostles in their mission. He writes that “all three persons” confirmed the mission [*De* 15]. Such language would suggest that he was waiting for confirmation from Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as if from three distinct persons or sources. This idea is also reflected in the prayer that he makes on February 18th, the day he offered his election and awaited confirmation. He beseeched each of the three persons individually to confirm his election and then made the same petition to the Trinity [*De* 48]. That prayer, fourfold in structure,

¹³³ The expression belongs to Ruiz Jurado. See, Ruiz Jurado, “Dios ‘Padre Eternal’ en la espiritualidad de San Ignacio”, *Manresa* 72 (2000): 363-376, 375. The Jesuit scholar also reviews texts of Ignatius’ family to locate the way they expressed their faith (364-367).

¹³⁴ Following Munitiz who proffers that Ignatius “seems to have been unusually aware of the inter-connections between dogmas”. See, Munitiz, “Introduction to the *Spiritual Diary* of Ignatius Loyola”, 111.

¹³⁵ *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, s.v. “circumcession”.

¹³⁶ See, for example, Haas, “The mysticism of St. Ignatius”, 177.

suggests to me that he would have been awaiting confirmation from each of the three persons themselves and then from the Trinity. It is no wonder that with such a mindset, in which he appears to have been waiting for three or even four confirmatory signs, he would have been anxious. Now, however, seeing and feeling that they are all essentially united and present in each other, he can simplify his understanding of confirmation from the Trinity. It would appear that he could accept confirmation from the Trinity with a sign from any of the divine persons.

I believe that the above interpretation accounts well for the nature of this revelation. It moves him cognitively: he comes to understand something of God's inner life and this revelation helps him in his concrete election process as he awaits confirmation. It also moves Ignatius to a sense of amazement. He appears to be in awe that God would share with him His very life. So much so that he exclaims in wonder at the end of his observations: "it seemed to me so much, that I could not stop saying to myself, speaking within me: Who are you, where are you from, what did you do to deserve this, and where did this come from etc" [*De* 63]. This passage is a beautiful representation of how affecting and stirring this revelation was for him. It powerfully conveys his admiration at God who reveals so freely, generously, and kindly the very nature of His life. God helps him – indeed labors on his behalf – in his discernment, and this insight moves him to ponder with much affection God's goodness [*Ej* 234], an act of giving praise to God which forms a part of his discernment process. Indeed, savoring and relishing the way that God gives all that He has and all that He is constitutes as important a part of his spiritual journey during this period as does his discovering God's will.

His amazement at a gift so great simultaneously provokes in him a more sober and honest realization of his life before God. The questions that he asks himself recall his own smallness, recognizing as he does that this visit will pass [*Ej* 323]¹³⁷. Interestingly as well, the questions that he asks himself center on his origin, as if here were becoming more conscious of God at the origin of his life. Similarly, the questions about his own unworthiness for such a revelation evoke that "cry of wonder" or "exclamación admirativa" of the *Exercises* when the retreatant discovers that all of creation has collaborated to preserve his or her life [*Ej* 60]. This admiring exclamation before the Trinity is but the entrance into

¹³⁷ The more eloquent statement on this comes from his letter to Teresa Rejadell: "por donde es menester mirar quien combate: si es consolación, bajarnos y humillarnos, y pensar luego viene la prueba de la tentación". See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Teresa Rejadell (Venice, 18 June, 1536), 105; *Letters and Instructions*, 21.

the awareness that all of his life and all of creation is a gift, and the Giver is present in all of it.

4.2. Devotion that leads him

Another part of the movement that he experiences these days is signaled by the verb “being lead”. Along with the new descriptions that he registers on February 20th of devotion being “warm, bring, and soft” [*De* 56], he notes that devotion “was leading (*tirando*) to a certainty of my soul, but not ending in (*no se terminando*) any divine person” [*De* 56]. In the first part of the phrase, he perceives that it was leading him to a state of assurance and certainty. This confirms the previous intuition that devotion was not unrelated to his sense of growing in trust and confidence. In this particular context, which occurs two days after becoming indignant with the Trinity, the experience of “a certainty of my soul” would appear to have been not an insignificant grace, especially given that he previously described it as fearful and combatted [*De* 50]. Now, however, devotion is leading him to overcome his fears and to trust that God will again respond to him. Not unlike the beginning of his discernment, Ignatius looks for the grace of confidence, trust, and security as he begins anew his process.

Ignatius employed the verb “tirar” on fourteen different occasions to indicate in what way the spiritual movements were leading him or moving him forward¹³⁸. The verb, not typically included in the lexicon of terms that comprise his spirituality, appears to form quite an important part of his vocabulary. Not an easy word to translate into English, “tirar” gives the sense of being pulled along or led towards something¹³⁹. Viewed globally, his use of it suggests that spiritual visitations led him to a certain spiritual or affective state or, on occasion, to sense of God’s very presence. For example, he indicates in mass on March 4th that the “special spiritual visitations... were leading me (*tirándome*) to the love of the Trinity” [*De* 108]. That same day, he indicates that the “spiritual motions” were leading him to feel assured (*me tiraban a asegurar*) that he need not celebrate more masses to reconcile

¹³⁸ *De* 33, 41, 56, 60, 87, 94 (2), 98, 108, 110, 113, 125, 130, 190. See, Echarte, ed., *Concordancia Ignaciana*, 1264.

¹³⁹ “Palabra frecuentísima y esencial en todas las épocas... debe de ser palabra muy antigua en todos los romances, puesto que en todas partes aparece desde los primeros monumentos literarios”, see, *DCECH*, s.v. “tirar”. The multiple definitions of the verb suggest its great plasticity: the critical dictionary *Autoridades* includes 18 definitions of the Spanish verb. The definition that seems to most approximate us to what Ignatius may be indicating is that of: “significa asimismo atraer, o traer hacia sí con violencia exterior o por virtud natural, como hace el imán con el hierro; metafóricamente vale atraer, inclinando la voluntad por alguna especial razón de cariño, o aceptación, preferencia, estimación; vale persuadir o inducir con un género de violencia, que parece que arrastra: como un afecto, una pasión”. With “tirar”, Ignatius seems to connote the sense of being attracted to, as if God were pulling him towards Himself. See, *Aut*, s.v. “tirar”, emphasis mine.

himself with the Trinity [*De* 110]. In two cases, Ignatius remarks that it was the act of writing itself that produced in him notable spiritual movement. In the midst of his experience with Jesus whom he perceives as doing everything for him before the Father, he notes that “in writing this a leading (*un tirarme el entendimiento*) of my understanding to see the Blessed Trinity” [*De* 87]. Similarly, on March 6th, as he detailed his experience of perceiving “the divine being itself” [*De* 124], he observes: “Afterwards, at night, during a time of writing this the same vision appeared, in the form of a large spark, leading to itself (*tirándole a sí mismo*)” [*De* 125]. Indeed, the writing of his examination represented, as Giuliani perspicaciously notes, a new moment of prayer for him¹⁴⁰; it was an important spiritual exercise for him.

In addition to the example indicated at the beginning of this section, Ignatius attends carefully to the way in which devotion leads him. For example, on February 21st, he observes that devotion and spiritual enjoyment (*gusto espiritual*) were “leading in part to a certain elevation (*tirando en parte a un cierto elevar*)” [*De* 60]. Rather than suggesting a kind of levitation or physical “lifting up”, the idea seems to convey a kind of internal elevation: devotion was raising him to God¹⁴¹. Several days later he indicates a similar kind of movement. On March 2nd, he notes that he felt encouraged as he entered mass, finding himself with considerable devotion [*De* 93]. The sign continued in him, “leading me forward” (*tirando adelante*) with “some and much assistance of grace” [*De* 94]. He finished the mass with devotion and tears, “and a kind of love that led me (*me tiraba*) to the Trinity” [*De* 94]. On March 3rd, he details “small motions to devotion and to want to tear with satisfaction of my soul and considerable confidence in Jesus, leading me (*tirándome*) to hope in the Blessed Trinity” [*De* 98].

The verb “tirar” returns us to the basic assumption of his regarding life in the Spirit. With this verb, he conveys the idea that that the interior feeling is simultaneously a feeling of movement. To feel, so important for his discernment process, is to feel one’s self moved. For him, the signs from God are operative and effect something in him. Though devotion and other spiritual movements guide him to multiple places and persons, there is a general tendency in how he perceives his being lead. Devotion appears to lead him to hope, to trust, and to recognize the Trinity as the source of his confidence. Even more generally, it is possible to detect in his use of the verb “tirar” the way in which devotion, produced by the

¹⁴⁰ Giuliani, “Introduction”, in *Journal Spirituel*, 15.

¹⁴¹ Even more cogently, attending to the passage from his Directory cited above, elevation is one of the members of consolation. See, “Directorio autógrafa de San Ignacio”, in *Los directorios de Ejercicios*, 20, number 11.

good spirit, occasions in him a movement towards greater hope, faith and love [*Ej* 316]. In this way, “tirar” reminds us of what is always operative and essential in the spiritual life: an expansive movement towards God in faith, hope, and love.

Another way of stating this is to underline that life in the Spirit and the reception of the gifts of the Spirit is “creative and not only a receiving”¹⁴². The Spirit’s gifts create anew the person¹⁴³. Or, in the utterly simple and direct formulation that he could have read and found inspiring in Kempis’s *Imitation*, the great author of the Modern Devotion tradition has Jesus declare to the disciple: “I come to make you holy and a better person”¹⁴⁴. I believe Ignatius’ *Diary* points us in this direction. To feel devotion is simultaneously to feel moved towards a kind of certainty in his soul [*De* 56], experience a movement forward, [*De* 94], and sense hope in the Blessed Trinity [*De* 98]. These are all more than positive or enjoyable affective experiences. These movements disclose the creative work of the Spirit who is making him freer before God and others. Ever the pilgrim whose inward journey was polarized by the desire to feel, to know, and to do God’s will¹⁴⁵, the movement of devotion signaled with this verb would suggest that Ignatius is becoming more confident, hopeful, and more of who he is as he progresses (*adelante*) towards God¹⁴⁶. The sign of devotion reveals the encounter with God who quite literally leads him forward and transforms his life in the process¹⁴⁷.

4.3. Devotion that ends in praise and love of God

The other verbal expression that Ignatius used to designate the movement that he felt in this period of searching for God’s confirmation was “terminar(se)”. Although he indicated in his prayer on February 20th that devotion was not ending in any person of the Trinity (*no se terminando a alguna persona divina*) [*De* 56], he seems to suggest that the feeling or the perception of devotion directed him – or could have directed him – to a person. This too confirms the earlier intuition that devotion was a sign that moved him to a person. Though

¹⁴² Stefano Guarinelli, “Aprendizaje a lo largo de la vida para ‘sentir y conocer’ diversas mociones”, in *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales*, 292-302, 297.

¹⁴³ Arzubialde, “Discernimiento – Unción del Espíritu – y Discretio”, 237: “la consolación... rehace por completo a todo el ser humano”.

¹⁴⁴ *Imitation*, IV.12.

¹⁴⁵ Paraphrasing Domínguez Morano’s insight into Ignatius: “Pero en su itinerario interior ha dado un paso decisivo que le conduce desde un espacio externo marcado por la sacralidad, a un espacio interior marcado por el saber y el trabajo”. See, Domínguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 350, emphasis mine.

¹⁴⁶ For his excellent analysis on the adverb “adelante” as evidence of Ignatius’ belief in the expansion that happens in the person with grace, see, Ruíz Pérez, *Teología del camino*, 144-146.

¹⁴⁷ Martínez-Gayol, “El agradecimiento en la raíz de la glorificación”, 25.

the only explicit mention of this aspect of it in the first part of his discernment occurred when he intimated that he could not find devotion in Our Lady [*De* 29], from this day (February 20th) forward Ignatius will use the verb “terminarse” or “terminar” to indicate the movement to whom or to what devotion and other spiritual visitations produced in him.

Though this is not the first time that he uses this verbal phrase in his discernment notebook, I believe his use of it on this day represents the first occasion in which he employs it to describe the directionality of devotion or of another sign¹⁴⁸. In the remaining portion of the first booklet, which will cover a total of twenty-two days, he will use this verb twenty-seven times to describe to whom or to what the spiritual experience was moving him. He will continue its use into the second notebook, using it on seventeen different occasions¹⁴⁹. Not unlike his first description of devotion as warm, bright, or soft, his use of this expression conveys the idea that this reality of devotion – or of another spiritual visitation – was a familiar spiritual experience of his¹⁵⁰. In the document, the verb appears rather seamlessly; it does not surprise him nor does it seem unfamiliar. He gives the impression that the movement could have been there all along. The frequency of its use, along with that of the verb “tirar”, suggests his profound contemplative attention to the sign. The difference between the two verbs is as subtle as it sophisticated. With “tirar” he appears to attend to the very movement itself; with “terminarse”, he appears to follow it to its very end. He does not just rest or savor the grace or the gift, but he stays with it, believing that its revelational content is always greater than its initial somatic resonance.

As with so many expressions in the *Diary*, the translation of this verb presents challenges. His rather uneven use of it both in the active and passive voice makes interpreting it difficult. Nevertheless, the context of it suggests the idea of “referring to”, “directed towards”, and “ending in”. I will adhere to the translation of “ending in”. At the same time, and at the risk of simplifying, the important aspect of the verb is the place or the person to which it “ends”. Ignatius always places an object – either a person or a grace – after it. As in the example above, devotion “no se terminando *a alguna persona*” [*De* 56]¹⁵¹. Given the regular use of an object, I will interpret the verb as that which is conducive to or

¹⁴⁸ The previous two instances are *De* 39, 43; the phrasing is so elliptical in those passages that it is hard to determine if he is describing the experience simply ending or a movement towards.

¹⁴⁹ See, Echarte, ed., *Concordancia Ignaciana*, 1253-1254.

¹⁵⁰ Scholarly reflection on his use of this verb is almost nonexistent. There is the observation from Thió de Pol who, referring to the verb, opines: “Afortunadamente ya estamos avisados de la riqueza de su contenido”. However, he, curiously, leaves the affirmation undeveloped. In fact, the argument of the entire paragraph is so uneven that it gives the sense of a rather severe editing. See, Thió de Pol, “Tenía mucha devoción”, 341.

¹⁵¹ Emphasis mine.

expressive of movement towards someone or something. I would suggest that with this verb, in which thirty-five of the forty-four uses will take the form of a gerund¹⁵², it does seem that we are before another one of the more peculiar but personal expressions of his. He seems to have found the verb particularly apt to describe the active nature of the movement, his passivity in it, and the person to whom he found himself drawn. On a theological level, this verb reinforces the hypothesis that devotion is a grace; it reveals that the sign is not external to God or God's life, but it is transparent of that life. It makes manifest to Ignatius the giver, disclosing "the direct presence of God to the unique subject"¹⁵³. In relation to the spiritual and theological tradition on devotion that precedes him, this expression is one that most lines up with the the basic formulation on devotion as a feeling which moves a person. In referring to devotion as that which "directs him towards" or "ends in", Ignatius is employing the two basic coordinates of it: feeling and moving. But for him, the accent falls on the *to whom* or *to what* the sign moves him.

a. The movement that ended in love

A panoramic view of his use of the verb "terminar(se)" suggests that a range of spiritual gifts provoked in him a movement towards someone or something¹⁵⁴. For example, the "new motions, devotion, and spiritual joy" that he felt in thinking and remembering Jesus ended in or to his companions [*De* 69]. Sometimes tears and love end in Jesus [*De* 83], and at others "intense love, sobs, and tears" end in Jesus and stop (*parando*) in the Trinity [*De* 103]. Similarly, "special spiritual visitations" [*De* 108] or "greater visitations" [*De* 115] lead him or end in the Trinity. Nevertheless, in the rich constellation of spiritual signs that he experiences, devotion occupies a primordial place in producing in him movement to a divine person¹⁵⁵. Viewed chronologically, the general movement seems to be one to Jesus and then to the Trinity. From February 21st, the day of his new understanding of the interrelation of the Trinity, to the end of February – a period of nine days – devotion moves him or ends in Jesus twice [*De* 72, 86]. The movement is much more pronounced from March 3rd to March

¹⁵² In his analysis of Ignatius' use of infinitives and gerunds, García de Castro notes: "Infinitivos y gerundios urden la trama que hace del *DE* un texto vivo y dinámico, reflejo de un tipo de experiencia mística centrada en el ejercicio espiritual, en la búsqueda, en el discernimiento, en el diálogo, alejada, por tanto, de pretensiones estáticas". See, García de Castro, "Semántica y mística", 250.

¹⁵³ Rahner's formulation of grace in the context of the *Exercises*; see, Rahner, "Piety and retreats", 142.

¹⁵⁴ In this section I will sharpen the observation offered by Thió de Pol who suggests that "la devoción siempre va orientada a la facilidad de encuentro con la Santísima Trinidad". See, Thió de Pol, "Devoción", in *DEI* 1:585.

¹⁵⁵ In the first booklet, 15 of the 27 uses of "terminarse" have devotion as their subject [*De* 56, 86, 101(2), 104, 106, 113(2), 116, 117, 137, 140, 142, 143].

11th. Except for March 7th and 8th, during this nine-day period, every day involves at least one instance of devotion ending in the Trinity. On three of those days – March 4th, 5th, and 9th – devotion moves him on two different occasions to the Trinity. On March 10th and March 11th, the sign of devotion ended in Our Lady and in the essence of the Father [De 142, 143].

As a way to evoke further the richness of these movements, it may be helpful to sketch briefly the very dense three-day period from March 3rd to March 5th in which he experienced multiple movements all signaled by the verb *terminar*. On March 3rd during mass, devotion and love ended in the Blessed Trinity [De 101]. He also felt during mass the same experiences (*sentía lo mismo*) that ended in Jesus [De 101]. He completes his notes for the day suggesting that if it were not for his devotion to the masses that he wanted to say, he would have found himself satisfied. He gives the impression that he is content, but in some ways eager to experience more of God's presence. He concludes: "with this complete confidence to find increasing grace, love and greater satiation in the divine majesty" [De 103].

On March 4th, he records six different times the verb *terminar* to describe how multiple spiritual signs moved him. Two of those occasions included devotion. Dressed and looking at the Introit for the mass, he finds "everything moved to devotion and love, ending in the Blessed Trinity" [De 104]. Continuing in his prayer, now in the chapel, he finds himself "with a new devotion and tears, always ending in Trinity" [De 106]. More than ending in the Trinity, he reports that "the most Holy Trinity allowed itself to be felt or seen, more clear or lucid" and with this he was covered in tears [De 105]. In his estimation, this visitation from the Trinity seemed to him so intense and so notable and excellent among all other visitations [De 105]. This only intensified during mass in which he felt "great touches (*grandes tocamientos*) and the most intense devotion in the Blessed Trinity" [De 107]¹⁵⁶. The feelings must have been extraordinary, and he concludes his observations at the end of the day indicating that he wanted to complete his masses, "hoping to enjoy myself in the divine majesty" [De 110].

¹⁵⁶ The expression "grandes tocamientos e intensísima devoción" captures exceedingly well Ignatius' spiritual anthropology: the entire person is engaged in the spiritual experience. García de Castro invokes this very paragraph from the *Diary* to maintain that Ignatius' spirituality involves a trajectory of "ir entrando progresiva e imparablemente en la intimidad con el Señor de manera 'somáticamente espiritual', asumiendo todo el ser e integrando a toda la persona en la experiencia hasta el punto de 'tocar' o sentirse". See, García de Castro, "Tacto", in *DEI* 2:1676; for more on these touches, that he considers the "forma mística más profunda del espiritual", see, García Mateo, "Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria", 463-464.

Finally, the movement on March 5th is equally exceptional. Upon vesting for mass, he notices his devotion ending in the Blessed Trinity [*De* 113]; this appears congruent with the crescendo of intimate experiences he is having with the three divine persons. However, as he continues his prayer in the chapel before mass, the devotion changes course; more precisely, it brings him to a different person. He expresses it this way: “it seemed to me that the devotion began to be directed towards the Blessed Trinity, but then it ended in another part (*me llevaba a terminar aun a otra parte*), as to the Father” [*De* 113]. Later that evening, the experience seems to repeat itself. Before the hearth in his room, at night, he notices that the sensation of repose continued, yet he no longer found (devotion) in his prayer to the Father (*a la noche no hallando en la oración del Padre*)¹⁵⁷. But, “a new devotion and motions emerged in him, and these ended in the Blessed Trinity” [*De* 116].

These three days demonstrate his attention to the sign and to the person involved in it. In accord with his overall discernment process, he registers the “rhythm of the motion”¹⁵⁸, and the rhythm of these particular movements give the sense of his deepening familiarity with God and God’s gifts. In devotion, he was growing in intimacy, feeling, and knowledge of who God is. He was discovering the essence of God: love. As he himself writes on March 5th: “all of the spiritual visitations ended in the Trinity, taking me and leading me (*tirándome*) to love” [*De* 108]. The register of these movements is not defined by the election, but rather configured by love, a word that he uses twelve times on March 5th. He seems to be in such loving awe of God who draws him so deeply into His life. This moment constitutes another pinnacle in his Trinitarian mysticism. The affective and cognitive movement soars high, and all of the visitations and visions lead him to feel God’s love and to desire to love. Though it is true that nuptial language does not comprise his spiritual lexicon, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his movements do involve something akin to that language and to the experience to which it refers. In short, the last days of his *Diary* disclose his experience God’s love and his strong desire to love God for who God is.

It is also interesting to observe his freedom to experience God during these days; he does not seem to be hurried nor preoccupied with translating these experiences into concrete proposals or actions. It is as if he knows that God is inviting him into His life in a wholly new, gratuitous, and deeper way. Perhaps he intuits that God has taken him to a different

¹⁵⁷ The passage is very difficult to interpret because Ignatius does not make explicit the object of what he did not find. Munitiz simply puts the pronoun “it” in angled brackets. Thió de Pol is more helpful; I believe he rightly identifies the object as devotion and clarifies that the prayer was *to* the Father. I follow his reading which he renders as “no encontrando devoción en la oración al Padre”. See, Munitiz, *Iñigo: Discernment Log-book*, 43; Thió de Pol, *Intimidación del peregrino*, 149.

¹⁵⁸ Arrupe, “The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism”, 38, number 81.

place or a different relational plane, one that is deeper than that of his discernment inquiry. Possibly for that reason he does not equate these experiences with a sign of confirmation, but allows them to unfold in their expansive or wide nature. I would suggest that his attention over several days to whom devotion ended demonstrates his practice of the last rule of discernment of the Second Week. In that instruction, he encourages the retreatant to not confuse the time of the spiritual visitation with the time afterwards when one is wont to add his or her own ideas or concepts [Ej 336]. It is quite a sophisticated exercise of “much vigilance and attention” which again depends upon the act of separating the time of the visit from the time that follows. This was a precept that he followed at least as early as 1536 given that in a letter of that year he describes it clearly. In that missive to Teresa Rejadell, a letter that has come to be famous for its exposition of discernment, Ignatius refers to it with strong language: “Here more than anywhere else we need to be alert”¹⁵⁹. Noteworthy too in his language in the *Exercises* is the use of the nomenclature “spiritual person”; such a person knows how to distinguish the actual presence of God from a later time in which one’s own faculties generate ideas, concepts, or discourses¹⁶⁰. In these early days of March of 1544, one possible reading of his notes is to see this practice: he attends to the movements, allowing them to develop and progress, without coming to any hastened conclusions or proposals¹⁶¹. It is as if he understands at a deep level the importance to stay with the grace of these days without adding any ideas or thoughts which are “not immediately given by God” [Ej 336]. This is not to gainsay that he will not translate this experience of God’s love into some future action – perhaps he kept these booklets as a way to reflect on how or what to do – but it is to see a dimension of his spiritual experience in which “his soul was lifted wholly to God’s divine love”¹⁶². God, and not only God’s will, takes center stage.

b. The more complicated place of visions and confirmation

Although I have argued that the movement in love towards God occupies a different register of spiritual movement, it is fascinating and perplexing to see that not one of these visionary experiences leads him back to his process. They do seem, as Domínguez Morano

¹⁵⁹ *Epp* I, Ignatius to Teresa Rejadell (Venice, 18 June, 1536), 106; *Letters and Instructions*, 22.

¹⁶⁰ The only other reference to “persona espiritual” in the *Exercises* comes in annotation number 9: that number suggests that such a person is one who understands the tactics of the evil spirit.

¹⁶¹ See, also Giuliani, who highlights the unhurried quality of these latter days of the first booklet. See, Giuliani, “Introduction”, in *Journal Spirituel*, 24.

¹⁶² Again, borrowing the exceedingly rich language of his letter to Teresa Rejadell, see, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Teresa Rejadell (Venice, 18 June, 1536), 105; *Letters and Instructions*, 21.

has argued, to have become an obstacle to what he was searching for¹⁶³. Quite possibly, they kept him in a place of feeling, even heightening his desire to feel more.

One clear example of this occurs on March 6th when he recounts having seen “the very being (of the divine essence) in a spherical vision” [*De* 123]. In that vision, he reports seeing each of the three persons forming part of the sphere. It is, in his language, a kind of feeling and seeing, and it produces in him new motions and tears [*De* 123]. For as remarkable as that vision is, understood by Ruiz Jurado as the grace of an intellectual vision with a resulting reflection in his imagination¹⁶⁴, it is even more astonishing to see that it does not lead him back to history, to his discernment, or to any kind of process that would look like an interiorization or assimilation (*reflectir*). If he was looking for a confirmation from the Trinity, this would seem to be it. But it is not. He does, however, offer a curious comment on it. Upon first seeing it, he states: “it was not in me not to see it” [*De* 124]. With this phrase, quite possibly he wants to underscore the idea that he saw the vision everywhere; it permeated everything. At the same time, such an observation is odd; it would appear to place him as the privileged subject of the vision, as if it depended upon him. Even more revealing is the way in which this vision moved him. He was so fascinated by it that in his next period of prayer he went looking for it. Rather than causing an expansive movement outward, he appears caught by it¹⁶⁵, and much to his surprise, and perhaps to his dismay, he could no longer find it (*no era verso alguno*) [*De* 124].

It is also equally curious to note that his interpretation of the sign of devotion as that which leads him now to one person and now to another does not seem to pick up on his insight that all of the divine persons are essentially present in each other. That he would still imagine them as separate, or still relate visions of Jesus and the Trinity as separate entities [*De* 103, 137, 140] is puzzling. Their separateness is even more pronounced in his last descriptions of devotion. On two occasions in the second booklet, on March 14th and on March 16th, he indicates that the spiritual gift ended “now to one person and at other times to another (*cuanto a la devoción a ratos se terminaba cuando a uno, cuando a otro*)” [*De* 156]. Finally, the last reference to this dimension of devotion occurs on March 16th. He registers that devotion and tears “ended now in one person now in another person of the Trinity” [*De*

¹⁶³ Dominguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 356.

¹⁶⁴ Ruiz Jurado, “Dios ‘Padre Eternal’ en la espiritualidad de San Ignacio”, 373.

¹⁶⁵ This is where John of the Cross’s caveat on visions are so important. In the *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, he sternly argues that “yerra mucho el que las tales cosas estima, y en gran peligro se pone de ser engañado, y, por lo menos, tendrá en sí total impedimento para ir a lo espiritual”. See, Juan de la Cruz, in *Obras completas*, 245-246.

159]. A reader is left wondering to what extent that intuition of their essential unity and mutual relationship shaped the following days of his prayer.

Finally, there is the rather perplexing issue of his search for confirmation. If it was hard for him to determine that sign which would confirm his election, it is equally if not more inscrutable for readers to understand that which kept him from accepting one of these experiences as confirmation. In the estimation of Santiago Thió de Pol, Ignatius was hoping “to snatch from the divine persons a confirmation... by way of huge trinitarian visit”¹⁶⁶. That he did have such visits that did not lead him to his confirmation is puzzling. But this need not be read as problematic. Rather, this reminds us that as he was being moved in dramatic ways by and in God’s love, there were present in him drives to appropriate or possess the gifts that were being given. In short, I believe that the movements in the *Diary* are not lineal, nor are they circular. Rather they seem more complex, uneven, and apparently contradictory. This is the case because they take place in a complex human subject. Ignatius, for as close to God as he appears and is, is not beyond narcissistic or obsessive tendencies, fantasies, or drives. Thus, in the spiritual movements, complex psychological movements are also, always, at work. As I have argued earlier, his spiritual experience does not take place at the margin of his body; here too the same premise applies. His inclination to possess, to know with certainty, and to control – all those more shadowy aspects of the human personality that alternate with its more luminous parts – are not and could not be absent from these spiritual visitations¹⁶⁷. And what is remarkable about this is that on the day in which he concludes his election, he actually discerns “the compromising aspects of his need for divine confirmation”¹⁶⁸. In other words, he learns from the spiritual sign of desolation, and he also learns to read more carefully his own psychological processes.

c. A movement configured upon circumincession: union in difference

The context of this present analysis of his visions and desire for an overwhelmingly clear sign to confirm his election allow for a deeper understanding of the gifts of veneration and reverence. At the very moment in which he sought an extraordinary sign of confirmation, a kind of absolute security, God opened up a new way and communicated gifts

¹⁶⁶ Thió de Pol, “Tenía mucha devoción”, 343. The more complete study on this issue appears to be the doctoral thesis of George Panikulam. See, Panikulam, “The Problem of ‘Seeking Confirmation’”.

¹⁶⁷ Following Domínguez Morano who argues: “La zona oscura es constitutiva del ser humano, la luminosidad de la conciencia se alterna con la oscuridad de lo inconsciente”. See, Domínguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 281.

¹⁶⁸ Meissner, *A Psychological Study*, 554.

that contrasted in startlingly direct ways with his desire. The gifts of veneration and reverence signal that his relationship to God, for as intimate as it is, is founded upon difference and otherness. Though he wants to be absolutely certain and secure, totally confirmed in his election, the spiritual signs from God do not collaborate in this movement. Rather, the gifts of reverence and veneration point him to a God who is not the means for his confirmation, but who is Other, the One who can be loved and served more deeply in the recognition of difference. Ignatius is discovering that union with God includes the awareness of a limit¹⁶⁹.

Another way to suggest this is that the very reality of circumincession – unity and mutuality in difference – is the path of his itinerary. During these days, his unity with God is growing in proportion to his sense of God’s otherness and separateness. Far from being an intuition experienced and then forgotten, I would suggest that the intuition of the Trinity’s inner-relationships outlines the ark of the movement he is undergoing. He is being configured to the mystery of God’s trinitarian life in which “there is no contradiction between the absolute autonomy of each divine Person and their mutual relations”¹⁷⁰. Their communion is both union and difference, “where each one loves differently according to his modality”¹⁷¹. His spiritual journey takes this Trinitarian form: Ignatius is invited into this intimacy of love which includes and depends upon reverence for difference. Moreover, in discovering reverence for God he is discovering reverence for his own human life and the place of freedom in his life. These divine gifts, in his words “the best of them all” [*De* 162] turn out to be those gifts that most help him mature personally and affectively¹⁷². They encourage him to make his election based on a loving reverence. Thus, intimacy and closeness occur with his recognition of distance, respect and otherness. He is learning to love as God loves him.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of devotion as movement makes an important claim about the status of the *Diary* as source for thinking about Ignatius’ spirituality. As a key text of his corpus, the

¹⁶⁹ Dominguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 341. Again, Giuliani, captures this so well: “plus, que le respect est une voie de connaissance et d’union”. See, Giuliani, “Introduction”, in *Journal Spirituel*, 25.

¹⁷⁰ Arrupe, “The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism”, 40, number 89.

¹⁷¹ Lalaria, “La teología trinitaria, fundamento de la espiritualidad ignaciana”, 331.

¹⁷² Following, Domínguez Morano, who reminds us that the “místico es el exponente máximo de lo que es la realización personal y la maduración última de la afectividad humana”. See, Domínguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 400.

writing of his in which he is wholly present¹⁷³, it displays his openness to God as one of the essential characteristics of his life in the Spirit. In his own words, found in a letter of his to Francis Borgia, one that I have referred to frequently in this chapter, in prayer with God he “throws wide the doors of [his] soul”¹⁷⁴. The image is graphic and clear: openness, magnanimity, and total receptivity to the action of the Spirit. That expansiveness is what characterizes the *Diary*; it is also that which makes it a difficult text to read. Though organization and method undergird it, the document is, pardon the colloquial expression, messy, and that is exactly why it is such an important piece of writing to consider in studies of his spirituality. It shows him affected and moved by God’s communication that is excessive, gratuitous, and always exceeding all that he could hope for.

Though previous foundational moments continue to inform his relationship with God, it does seem to be the case that his spiritual experience evolved. It is not too much to suggest that he grew and incorporated new styles or habits in his prayer. In that same missive to Borgia, he reminds his addressee of a simple truth: “knowing also in our Lord that we require different spiritual or bodily exercises at different times, since practices good for us at one time are not continuously so at another”¹⁷⁵. The point seems obvious: spiritual exercises change as does the person’s relationship with God. Perhaps one of those changes was his openness and freedom to the gifts that God gave him. He sought immediately God, and this meant that he opened himself to many signs and languages from Him. Put differently, his continual attitude of openness and listening led him to hear and to feel more.

This idea receives a beautiful expression in the *Constitutions*:

The more one binds himself to God our Lord and shows himself more generous toward his Divine Majesty, the more he will find God more generous toward himself and the more disposed will he be to receive daily greater graces and spiritual gifts [*Co* 282].

Ignatius’ discernment notebook concretizes this truth: as he became more and more free with God, he experienced more grace¹⁷⁶. Daily, greater graces and spiritual gifts visited him, and he became more receptive to more communication from God. Thus, as a kind of first or general conclusion of this chapter, the *Diary* demonstrates that *he* was moved in his life into a deeper relationship with God. As he opened the doors of his soul and body to God, God too

¹⁷³ Slightly borrowing from Karl Rahner who offers that “the ‘whole’ Ignatius is not to be found in the explicit text of the Exercises”. See, Rahner, “Modern Piety and the Experience of Retreats”, 148.

¹⁷⁴ *Epp* II, Ignatius to Francis Borgia (Rome, 20 September, 1548), 234: “abriendo en todo las puertas de nuestra ánima”; *Letters and Instructions*, 254.

¹⁷⁵ *Epp* II, Ignatius to Francis Borgia (Rome, 20 September, 1548), 234; *Letters and Instructions*, 253-254.

¹⁷⁶ Cordovilla Pérez, “Dios para pensar”, 66.

opened wide the communication of His life and love to Ignatius. In summary, his life appears to have been a continual movement to God in which magnanimity and generosity were key elements [*Ej* 5].

That same wideness expands commonly held notions on his spirituality. It suggests that for him the umbrella term or governing nomenclature for understanding the spiritual experience was not *moción*; it was visitation. That was the word that he used to classify generally the graces and spiritual gifts by which God communicates His presence. Within this general category, his discernment notebook suggests – rather surprisingly – a limited presence and role of consolation in his spiritual experience. That idea can be pushed further: consolation was not the hermeneutical axis of his understanding of God’s communication to him. Nor was it a synonym for devotion. It was a sign that he felt, but it was also one that he went without. With it he organized the *Exercises*, but in his personal experience – at least in this crucially important discernment – it occupies an inconsequential place in both his election and in his experience with the Trinity. The consequential visitation from God was reserved for a pair of signs: tears and devotion. And among those two, devotion stands out. It was the communication from God with which he appears to have been most familiar. It is not too much to say that it constituted God’s accustomed language to him, a language itself that was wide and expansive, impacting him cognitively, affectively, and somatically. In brief, God visited him in devotion, and that visit occasioned a host of internal resonances and a range of movements. With it and in its presence, he was able to verify his thoughts and his other feelings. It was the sign – as his election process testifies – to which he most turned in his discernment. That fact, along with the many movements that it occasioned, positions it as the hermeneutical axis of his life in the Spirit.

This leads me to make a sharper observation on the discernment itinerary by which I have been reading his notebooks. It is, as his election process makes plain, an itinerary to feel and to know in order to act [*Ej* 313]. But that itinerary does not take into account the wider terrain in which the sign of devotion moves. Devotion also takes him down another path: it leads him to feel God’s love and to love God. Consequently, there is another itinerary present in this diary: to feel, to know, and to love. The sign of devotion as that which appears throughout his spiritual journey opens onto a wider itinerary. Love, praise, and service are the basic coordinates to which the sign of devotion refers.

These are central considerations for Ignatian spirituality. They are also relevant for the contemporary reader of the text who seeks to find his or her way in the Spirit in the world today. Ignatius’ experience of God’s communication in devotion reminds the reader that God

is actively communicating His life to the person by way of graces and gifts. Yet, for as important as those graces are and for as overwhelming as they can appear to him, they do not provide him with a guarantee or absolute security. They do not bring him to the place where he knows exactly what to do. Rather, they do something far more important: they strengthen him in his freedom. They help him grow in confidence and in hope; but the decision on the elections is his. The election process never elides an element of incertitude, rather it propels him forward in the Spirit to trust confidently and humbly. In this way, the actual lived experience of Ignatius as represented in the pages of his notebooks reminds us that the methodology of the *Exercises* is not a hard science or a recipe for getting a decision right. It is about finding God's will, and it also involves crossing new thresholds of ever greater freedom, love, and reverence for God.

This chapter has also turned up a series of verbs that can be considered new entries to Ignatian vocabulary. Though terms such as “seeing and feeling”, “leading”, and “ending in” may appear to have set meanings in his experience, I would suggest that even today they can provide helpful considerations for prayer, discernment, and life in the Spirit.

Seeing and feeling: Ignatius' prayer was corporal and cognitive. In many ways, the central compass of flesh and blood – his very body – guided him to God. He was aware of how his body was perceiving God's presence, and often those felt perceptions made their way into his head where he could grasp or intuit not only God's presence but God's very disposition towards him. In a religious culture that is more and more attune to the body, this verbal pair can help us discover our bodies as the location for God's communication. His mind too, a gift from the Creator, was never left behind, but it helped him grasp and discover God's presence. In brief, we have been made to be in a relationship with God where we feel and see His presence at all levels of our existence.

Leading: His use of this verb reminds us that prayer is a combination of activity and passivity. He was intensely present, engaging all of his faculties, but paradoxically this attention on his part was so that another could do the leading and guiding. Likewise, this verb very patently reveals that this passivity has a clear directionality. His prayer outlines a trajectory of being led into God's life which is concurrently a journey into the truth of who he is. This is what occurs with Ignatius: to be led to a place of trust and hope is not only to feel more confident and decisive. It is to discover more of who he is as person. Stated differently, God's action is personalizing: with God we are led into who we are as persons¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷⁷ Martín Velasco, “Hacia una fenomenología de la experiencia de Dios”, 230.

For readers of the *Diary* today, immersed as we are in a culture that overwhelms us with information and instigates us to seek and consume experiences¹⁷⁸, this verb reminds us that the Spirit seeks to lead us out of the wilderness of isolation or loneliness into true relationships both with God and others.

Ending in: Though this may seem to be quite a simple description, I believe it may be the most important. Ignatius goes to the very end of the sign to see to whom or to what it takes him. This is a remarkable practice; not one that is necessarily easy or intuitive. It requires patience and contemplative attention to go to the end of an experience to find where it comes from or from whom it emerges. And it requires time. Indeed, to discover the end of the movement is to give time to prayer and to the process of discernment. It is true, “practices that require time are in the process of disappearing”¹⁷⁹, and for this reason this practice of his is as salutary as it is challenging.

This process of going to the end of the sign also demonstrates that for Ignatius the felt experience was not considered as a mere stimulation towards an action. A sign in prayer was more than information or data for him. Feelings in prayer contain a density far superior to an epidermic sensation that elicits an action. There is more to the spiritual life than feeling, or, as is the case with a practice of mindfulness, the absence of thoughts or feelings. Feelings, thoughts, and sensations can be revelatory and set us out on a journey to the Other. They have a place of origin, an author, and they can be followed back to their giver.

Finally, I would also suggest that this expression “ending in” reminds us of the gratuitous nature of life in the Spirit. Not every spiritual experience has to be mined for its pragmatic import or concrete ramification. Efficiency, as important as it is, is not the criteria for discernment; nor is it one of the gifts of the Spirit. It is possible to imagine prayer and the Eucharist as the “consideration and the love of the divine Persons” for who they are. To go to the end of interior feeling is to cross a threshold into love and into the very life of God. This is not to gainsay that some action will proceed from prayer, but it is to remind ourselves that a free and un-possessive love of God forms the foundation of one’s life in the world.

These considerations strike me as apropos for readers of this text today. Its rather raw and direct language allow for such translation into our religious culture and spiritual sensibilities. In addition, should the reader of the *Diary* be a Jesuit, I would also offer several other considerations. A Jesuit reader could not but see the multiplicity of signs and wonder at

¹⁷⁸ Perhaps the most recent expression and analysis of this is to be found in Byung-Chul Han, *No-cosas*, trans. Joaquín Chamorro Mielke (Madrid: Taurus, 2021), 26ff.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

such human contact with God. Ignatius' life in the Spirit encourages the Jesuit today to make his own journey with that same largeness of spirit. Simultaneously, Ignatius' wideness of spirit confronts us with a stark truth: the quality of our life in the Spirit and of our insertion into reality is, in some ways, proportional to the gifts, graces, and signs we experience. Something of Paul's reflection to the Corinthians is at play here: "he who sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and he who sows bountifully will also reap bountifully" (2 Cor 9:6). The *Diary* portrays generosity at every turn; it elicits that from its readers.

The paucity of studies on devotion suggests to me that it would be more difficult for the Jesuit reader to recognize the place of devotion in Ignatius' life. Nevertheless, this chapter places, as does this entire study, devotion squarely before its Jesuit reader. It invites him to see that this sign in the life of his beloved founder is related to two basic aspects of his mission. First, he will discover that devotion was the sign that guided Ignatius in one of his basic desires: helping others. It was the gift of and from the Trinity that awoke him spiritually so that he might know how the Society might best help others. *Ayudar a las ánimas* – that basic desire of his has passed into Jesuit self-understanding in such a way where it has become, and I believe remains, a quintessential characteristic of Jesuit life¹⁸⁰. This chapter has offered that the internal sign that led him to such concrete action was devotion. And this is where this chapter can be so helpful: it affirms that service emerges not only from apostolic plans, but from deep internal spiritual terrain. It is not simply doing a good work for another, rather it is a movement, the fruit of the action of the Spirit that one has felt in his interior. This connection between helping others and devotion reminds us that familiarity with God is, in many ways, the prerequisite for familiarity with the other. The sign of devotion is an expansive sign, and the exercise of finding and attending to devotion may be the new spiritual practice for Jesuits today to help them in their desire to know how to help others.

The spiritual depth of service, connected as it is in Ignatius' life to devotion, leads to the second key aspect of his and the Jesuit's vocation. Here too is where the Jesuit reader of the *Diary* may be pleasantly surprised. The sign of devotion that moved Ignatius was not always immediately translated into doing, rather it was an experience of the Spirit "pouring into his heart the love of God" (Rm 5:11). In short, in devotion he found himself caught up in love of God and love for God. This too forms an essential part of the Jesuit vocation: to be caught up in a movement towards God where one is moved to praise and to give glory to God

¹⁸⁰ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 18.

for who He is. A Jesuit knows that his life is more than his work, yet this is a hard realization to come by and believe in. The pressure to produce in our society is more than a mere aspect of it; in the words of the philosopher Byung Chul-Han, the stress on output and performance is contributing to a society comprised of souls both exhausted and burned out¹⁸¹. In such a society, devotion helps us recover that which is most human. This gratuitous and expansive movement of devotion to love, in many ways made possible by Ignatius' profound and attentive contemplation of God, reminds the Jesuit that signs given and attended to in his soul can move him to a gratuitous place of freedom and love. There is wideness to life in the Spirit, and devotion can lead us back into this wideness of spirit.

Finally, in the spirit of his discernment notebook, I have tried in this chapter to offer an interpretation of the spiritual movement of devotion that enacts a discernment of the discernment. To read this discernment notebook requires the work of following the signs and of allowing their diversity and difference to illuminate them. In addition, it requires a constant awareness of his basic premise that there exist in the person several languages, and these languages need not immediately report back to their place of origin in obvious ways. More simply put, not every movement of devotion in this discernment notebook is necessarily from God. Such a cautious and critical posture is hardly the result of my acuity; it is the point of departure of his spirituality. It is for that reason that I have underlined the ambiguous nature of his visionary experiences. His description of them would suggest that they were powerful, real, and important to him. Nevertheless, the movement that they appear to outline is less clear. The feelings they seem to have provoked in him were strong, and perhaps they became something of an obstacle to him in his process. Nevertheless, this ambiguity reminds us that processes in and of the Spirit are never quite linear, never without some self-deception, and never without the risk of a narcissistic appropriation. Perhaps, to arrive, as Ignatius did, at the deep sense that God was the giver of all gifts, one to a certain extent has to suffer the experience of having first appropriated those gifts. Only then can one exclaim, as he did with what appears to be such freedom and exuberance, that God is the giver of all of them.

¹⁸¹ See, Byung Chul-Han, *La sociedad del cansancio* trans. Arantzazu Saratzaga Arregi, Alberto Ciria (Barcelona: Herder, 2017), 29, 39.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

DEVOTION: THE PROMISE, THE EXPERIENCE, AND THE MOVEMENT TO BE ONE IN DIVINE LOVE

As an overture that announces a theme that will be elaborated upon with nuance and depth, “an abundance of devotion” [*De* 1], the opening phrase of the *Diary*, indicates the kind of spiritual experience that will abound in the document. Devotion is a gift from God always diverse in its presence that fills Ignatius’ interior, and for that reason it fills the pages of his notebooks. Nevertheless, for as clear as it comes across in this autograph text of his, devotion has been given scant attention in studies of Ignatian spirituality. Outside of one monograph study, it has not been considered in any detail and, at times, it has been conspicuously ignored. Unlike the topics of the examen of consciousness, consolation, or discernment¹, it has not been the subject of critical attention.

To understand the reasons for such an omission on devotion in critical reflection on Ignatius’ spirituality would require a whole other investigation. Such an inquiry would involve the history of ideas and those spiritual and religious conditions that make the reception of some ideas more accessible than others. The absence of devotion in scholarly work and in more colloquial conversation on Ignatius does remind us that for as advanced and systematic as studies of Ignatian spirituality are, they are always contextually driven. That means that some ideas, concepts, and even words themselves are missed because of the particular hermeneutical horizon that we occupy. This study too is contextually driven, and as such, incurs the same risk of overlooking elements in search of others. Yet, the particular context of this study needs to be mentioned as it is not at all tangential to the topic at hand: a global pandemic has marked the period of this investigation. That is not an irrelevant observation for the research and arguments presented. For as difficult as this historical moment has been, it is the horizon that has made this turn to devotion possible. Moreover, the topic of devotion is not unknown in contexts of social duress and uncertainty. It was, to a certain extent, a similar kind of distress produced by the plague that led Groote, Zerbolt, and

¹ As an example, the first number of the journal *Manresa* in 2022 is wholly dedicated to the topic of discernment.

Kempis to forge a new language on the interior life, and in the process, situate devotion with depth in the Christian experience of discipleship². I recognize that a wide gulf of many levels separates a thesis from the spiritual writing or preaching of Groote, but our concerns and social situations may reveal more kinship than difference. That affinity involves the desire to understand the interior experience of God and how the signs of that experience are felt, known, and then acted upon. Another way of stating this is that the focus on devotion in this investigation emerged in a social context that has acutely stressed – and made more urgent – our awareness of feeling and knowing God’s grace. This is precisely the work of spiritual theology: to reflect upon grace in a way in which human existence in all of its aspects are considered³. Such is the motive and the horizon of this study. Both have focused my attention on the spiritual reality of devotion as it is before us in the pages of Ignatius’ *Diary*. It is also what propels me to venture an interpretation of his experience of this grace that is relevant for believers today.

The last three chapters offer a basic claim about devotion as it is registered in the *Diary*: it is a felt, interior, and somatic experience that he understands as a sign of God’s visit to him. It is the gift that came from above, descending to him, and it is that sign that pointed him to God’s non-objective presence in his life. His notes convey his deep familiarity with this language from God, and, along with tears, it appears to be the sign from God to which he attached a high degree of veracity as he sought to feel and to know the origin of all that occurred in him in his prayer. Even more consequentially for studies on his spirituality, this investigation has proposed that devotion was the sign in which he most relied upon in his election process. Unlike consolation, a sign of surprisingly little import in his process, it is the varied and diverse experience of devotion that most helps him. He looks for it, registers its appearance, and appears to assure himself that the election was done well precisely because it was done in devotion [*De* 41]. At the same time, it is an expansive sign, occupying more than a functional place in a practical discernment process. And this is what makes devotion a truly important element to consider in his spirituality. In its manifestation he is led to God’s will *and* brought to an experience of God’s love. To incorporate devotion in his spirituality is to consider the sign that guides him in his discernment, moves him forward in his election steps, and brings him to or “ends in” God. It is hard to come up with

² See, for example, the impressive study by Ole Benedictow who indicates the impact of the plague in the Netherlands and the successive waves that occurred, especially in Deventer, right up through the beginning of the 15th century. See, Benedictow, *La Peste Negra (1346-1353). La historia completa* (Madrid: Akal, 2011), 277-283.

³ Following Dominguez Morano, *Mística y psicoanálisis*, 307.

another sign in his autograph texts that occupies a more central place in his experience with God.

However, devotion as a sign that comes to him from God represents only one side of this spiritual reality. The last three chapters have also suggested that devotion was the term by which he conceptualized the practices or exercises of his prayer. He too sought to be faithful to his promise and steadfast in his movement to God. The expression of his care, reverence, and love for God was “devotion”. This aspect of it came into view in the study of those moments in his text when he thought about finishing his election. Those key junctures of his process provide a window into his thinking. Specifically, they suggest that he conceptualized his desire to complete his masses, follow through on his entire election process, and generously spend time giving thanks to God as devotion. The pages of his discernment notebook suggest that he was quite literally exercising his devotion during this process. In addition, the phrase “exercise of devotion” appears to capture how he conceptualized his prayer. It was his encounter in the Spirit whose gifts were multiple and varied, and it was his care, reverence, and faithfulness to his prayer periods and to the Eucharist.

This dual or relational nature of devotion illuminates an important part of his spirituality. In it, he can be an agent, expressing his desire and love for God. He can say, as he does, that he wants to offer his masses out of his devotion. Even more concretely, it is what motivates him to appropriate the prayers of the liturgy, to vest with such attention to spiritual movements, and to prepare the altar with reverence and care. Yet, the spiritual reality is not wholly his; it is also a visit from God. Similarly, it is more than the designation he gives to a felt experience in prayer, rather devotion is symbolic in structure – in it he becomes aware of God’s presence. The sign comes gratuitously and unexpectedly, and with its arrival, deeply familiar to him, he seems to know that God is present. Given this rich interplay of activity and passivity, reception of and faithfulness to, devotion would appear to be something much more than an interesting aspect of his spiritual life. Rather, it appears to be the term that captures “a basic predicate of his understanding of the spiritual life that holds in balance effort and gift, giving and receiving, asceticism and mysticism”⁴. With this consideration of devotion in his spirituality we can glimpse his vision of a kind of mutuality that can obtain in the relationship between God and the human person: both offer the gift of themselves. The *Diary* also allows us to glimpse that this balance or equilibrium was not

⁴ Following the insight of Antonio Guillén, “Contemplación”, in *DEI* 1:445-452, on 449.

easy for him. At times his text gives the sense that he was forcing his devotion, compelling God to meet him on his terms [*De* 103, 110]. Similarly, when devotion recedes, he becomes indignant. In this way devotion captures, as I believe it does, a basic premise of his spiritual life. This autograph text also reminds us that it was always an ideal for him.

It was a gift and an exercise – such a perspective confirms one of the basic intuitions guiding this study. I began with the hypothesis that devotion is eminently relational in nature. It comes from without as a kind of divine visit and it is the gift of the person to God. It involves, as the first unit of this investigation has sought to present, an offering on both sides of the divine-human relationship. Albeit the first three chapters of this investigation attempted that which borders on the impossible – summarizing more than 1500 years of reflection on devotion – they have proved indispensable in that they provided the broad outline of the mutual imbrication of the person and God that occurs in devotion. That unit also situated devotion as a kind of essential term by which the human person understood his or her relationship to the gods. To speak of devotion is to employ an ancient word understood by stories and layered with rich semantic connotations. I have identified that layering with three key terms, exploring how each of them uncovers essential aspects of Ignatius' own experience. Indeed, promise, experience, and movement illuminate the pages of his discernment notebook and present categories that actualize devotion for believers today. Nevertheless, the semantic terrain of the word remains broad, as it also includes ideas such as sacrifice, gift, a deeply felt internal experience, and the offering of one's very life for others.

Perhaps most importantly, that initial foray into devotion in the Christian tradition highlighted the ancient Christological hymn from the letter of 1st Timothy that placed devotion in the context of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Ever since, devotion has been understood as an expression of God's promise to humanity in Jesus which continues in the on-going action of the Spirit. For this reason, devotion carries with it deep Christological hues, and the shading of that aspect gained greater relief in the Modern Devotion tradition and the observant reform movement which both sought to envelope the believer in an intimate, personal, and affective experience with Jesus.

Unquestionably, Ignatius is an heir to this tradition. His understanding of devotion comes into focus with the reflection of Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, as well as with the broad outlines of the Modern Devotion tradition. Simplifying, I have suggested that for Bernard, devotion was the worship of God; for Aquinas, it was a kind of guiding hand that moved the believer to the exercise of religion and, ultimately, to God; adherents to the

Modern Devotion tradition sought to live a deeply affective and intimate relationship with God by way of methodical exercises. All of these aspects from the tradition comprise the larger backdrop of it in the *Diary*. Yet his experience signals something quite personal. It is a communicative sign from God that he experiences and that moves him to God, *and* it is his methodical prayer, examination, and the writing of his examination. However, if it were only a sign and an exercise, for as interesting as this may be for studies on his life in the Spirit, such an observation would only remain something of a novel footnote in the larger reflection on his life and the Society of Jesus' spirituality.

I would suggest that there is reason to believe that devotion occupied an even more foundational place in his spirituality. Specifically, it was what he wanted to live and what he desired his companions to live. In his discernment, he indicated that refusing the income for the churches' sacristies would lead the Society of Jesus "to take greater devotion assimilating itself to the Son of the Virgin, our Creator and Lord, so poor and who faced so many adversities"⁵. Devotion is nothing less than to be assimilated into Christ's very life. For Ignatian spirituality, this consideration is paramount, and it is what makes this spiritual reality a truly essential element in his spirituality and in Christian spirituality writ large. In more contemporary theological language, we might say that configuration to the person of Jesus is what it is all about. The gift from above and the desire and faithfulness from below coalesce in such a way where one lives like Jesus, the Son who was poor, obedient, and humble. It was for Ignatius not just an affective, internal, or deeply moving experience of Jesus' humanity, but it was to be human like Him. In this way, devotion signals how he understood his life before God as a companion of Jesus'. And it is exactly what he desired his companions to feel, practice, and live – to offer their entire selves in their mission⁶. The Society of Jesus has always understood its mission as that of following Christ. This study suggests that devotion, that beautiful and rich interplay of offering and reception, exercise and gift, faithfulness and openness, will assimilate Jesuits into the life of Christ as men who preach the Gospel in poverty and in the most adverse social conditions.

The sign from above, the faithfulness from below, and the configuration to Jesus constitute devotion in his spirituality as registered in the *Diary*. In part, the clarity of this formulation derives from my hypothesis regarding the form of the text itself. An important part of this investigation has been dedicated to comprehend carefully the structure of the text

⁵ Reason number 1 for not receiving, "Deliberación sobre la pobreza", in *Obras*, 267.

⁶ Paraphrasing a letter of Ignatius' to Nicolás Bobadilla: "nuestra profesión sea ofrecer nuestras personas para que seamos enviados a donde quiera que al vicario de Cristo N.S. pareciere". See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to Bobadilla (Rome, 1543), 277-282, on 282; *Letters and Instructions*, 98.

that is before us. I have argued that it is best understood as a discernment notebook which is erected upon basic elements from the *Exercises*. Those aspects include the additions, the election process of the third time, and, most importantly, the general discernment outline as that movement to feel in order to know and then to act [*Ej* 313]. Though the text is raw in its formulation and clearly evidences a writer in search of the precise word and phrase, it is a document, especially in the first booklet and in the beginning part of the second, with a traceable form. That form is not, as Giuliani has adverted, that of a literary work⁷. It may not be a narrative with a clear lineal movement, nor need a reader look for arcane movements of ever-tighter concentric circles, but it does have, for a reader familiar with the *Exercises*, recognizable features. Albeit not the focus of this investigation, such a hypothesis regarding the form of the text represents a modest contribution to studies of this document from his corpus. More importantly, it has allowed me to situate devotion as a sign distinct from others and as one that helps him discern all that he feels and thinks in his prayer.

1. Form of the text

This hypothesis of the *Diary* as a discernment notebook may not represent the most innovative insight, but it does overcome some of the difficulties in understanding it. More concretely, it does present a frame of reference to read the document in connection with the *Exercises*, and it also allows for a more critical, even “Ignatian approach” to the text. Specifically, as a discernment notebook, I maintain that not every experience registered may report back to a divine origin. Hence the importance of the adjective “discernment” in my designation of its genre. Full as it is of deeply moving spiritual language, I would suggest that to read it as its author did is to exercise a healthy dose of circumspection regarding the experiences related. The reader need only remember that Ignatius is operating *vis-à-vis* the rules for discernment of the Second Week, and in such a spiritual place of discernment, not every spiritual gift is as it seems. In his discernment process, I have highlighted the separation of all that he felt and his reliance upon time as crucial elements of his process. He needed time to help him discern the origin of the visions and visitations. There is little doubt that the gift of devotion has for him a high degree of veracity, but not for that reason does he immediately plunge into an offering of his election upon the first feeling of “an abundance of

⁷ Giuliani, “Introduction”, in *Journal Spirituel*, 35.

devotion” [De 1]. He waits to see how it unfolds. This is a straightforward deduction from his document; it may be the hardest one for readers of it today to put into practice.

His diary as a discernment notebook is a fascinating piece of writing. He may not be a writer like Augustine, Angela de Foligno, or Teresa of Ávila, but perchance his personal diary represents something more helpful to the reader than the rather brilliant first-person narratives studied above. His writing presents us with the text that is just before the more elaborate, interpreted, and polished narrative of the experience of God. His is a kind of ur-text, rather raw in its formulation, in which the experience of God is being discerned and which could evolve, if the writer so wished, into a more elaborate narrative exposition. His document is an incredibly sophisticated procedure of trusting each day’s experiences but also allowing the Spirit to reveal what is truly from God. And herein lies its import: he shows us, in times of a global pandemic or otherwise, a method that can help us open ourselves to feel and to know God’s grace.

This desire to know God’s grace began with a question to God on a concrete issue that involved the vow of poverty. Though pronouncements on the vow of poverty in the *Constitutions* may appear straightforward, even bordering on the dogmatic, the *Diary* suggests that the actual concretization of the vow was not simple for him. And it never has been. The vow of poverty “treats of how to incarnate the Gospels in very concrete realities”⁸ – a task that falls to each generation of Jesuits to determine – and Ignatius was trying to resolve that delicate question. His process, intense and personal, demonstrates the vitality of his spiritual life and it testifies to his concerns for the viability of the order itself. To reflect on how to live a vow is to touch central issues of the order’s life. It required him to articulate clearly the mission, establish firmly the order’s place in the Church, and ponder his and the companions’ shared history.

At the end of the second unit of chapters, I suggested that Ignatius’ discernment notebook represents a vitally important genre of writing for Jesuits and for all that seek to follow the Ignatian charism. Yet, his notebook takes place alongside another kind of writing, one of points, reasons, and desires which refer to apostolic concerns, the Church, and a shared communal past. The text and all of the spiritual signs in it need to be read alongside of the deliberation points. One depends upon the other. This is the basic hermeneutical premise that I have adopted, and I believe it is the strongest lens with which to read the *Diary*. With such a reading, his points for and against the reception of income give the sign

⁸ Pedro Arrupe, “Epistola P. Generalis de paupertate et vita communi”, *ARSI* 15/2 (1969): 276-294; translation in Spanish from *La identidad del jesuita en nuestros tiempos* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 1981), 139-159, 158.

of devotion – and all of the others – material and historical dimensions. In brief, a text of points, arguments, and ideas completes the discernment notebook.

I also believe that this hermeneutic of reading both documents together offers further avenues of reflection about the process of discernment. It reminds us that the signs he felt in prayer were generative and quite possibly moved him back to his points. Those too informed his prayer, and quite possibly led to more felt signs. Read together, the documents illustrate a movement from God to history and from history to God, pressing towards, we might say, a fuller perception of God *in* history⁹. In addition, the content of the deliberation points does not appear to be ancillary to his discernment nor to the depth of the process itself. In other words, his clarity on the Society's mission and his sense of union with his companions, elements just off the pages of his discernment notebook, appear proportional to the depth of his discernment process. The spiritual heights of one document may not rely upon the degree of his friendship with his companions, but that connection is implicit in the way that I read his discernment process. One discerns alone, it is true, but the quality of a person's insertion in reality with others allows for that discernment to soar as did Ignatius' to new places and new intimacy with God. His intimacy with God clearly increased, and it is not too much to suppose that this process strengthened his sense of the Society's mission and consolidated his ties with his companions.

Even more importantly for the object of this study, reading both documents together suggests devotion as a sign with clear apostolic import. In it and with it, he was discovering how to help others, and in that way, give glory to God. In his excellent study of the early Society of Jesus, John O'Malley has called our attention to the phrase "helping souls". In the words of the great Jesuit historian, "no other expression was more characteristic of Jesuit writing, thinking, and action"¹⁰. This study of devotion in Ignatius' *Diary* peers just beyond or beneath that expression to find how he came to know how to help others. The existential-spiritual terrain that enabled him to formulate concretely his desire to help others and to give praise to God occurs with and in devotion.

The presence of devotion in such a basic aspect of Ignatius' spiritual life opens up very interesting and promising avenues for future studies on it in other texts of his and in its circulation in the early Society of Jesus. First and foremost, though I have turned to the *Exercises* to understand the structure of the *Diary*, I have not offered a hypothesis as to how

⁹ Following the outline of what Joseph Whelan identifies as the contemplative dialectic. See, Whelan, "Jesuit Apostolic Prayer", *The Way Supplement* 19 (1973): 13-21, on 17.

¹⁰ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 372.

devotion forms a part of that spiritual program. Such an investigation – a promising one in my mind – lies ahead. As an indication of what such a study may look like, quite possibly growth in devotion represents a broad and inclusive category to think about the end or the goal of the spiritual itinerary. Recently, in his fine edition of the autograph version of the *Exercises*, García de Castro posits four principal goals or ends of the spiritual program. He defines them as anthropological, Christological, “electionist”, and Pneumatological. All of these form a part of what I believe Ignatius understood with “devotion”¹¹. In devotion, the very experience in which, according to Nadal, he composed parts of the text¹², Ignatius exercised his human faculties, felt union with Christ, came to know God’s will, and was moved into deeper union with God. As such, devotion may represent a new interpretive key for the *Exercises*, one closer to Ignatius and one which overcomes binary readings or those that make sharp distinctions in what is sought in the itinerary of the four-week spiritual program. To say that the *Exercises* increase one’s devotion is to suggest that the person becomes more of him or herself, discovers clarity on God’s will, and experiences union with God’s Son. Turning once more to García de Castro, the Jesuit scholar connects the idea of “always growing in devotion” [Au 99] with the end point of the itinerary “that is proposed in the *Spiritual Exercises*”¹³. His intuition corresponds with mine: there is a depth and wideness to the spiritual term that encompasses all that can happen in the *Exercises*.

Similarly, devotion may provide further insight as to the ways that early Jesuits conceptualized their ministry. Though diaries like Ignatius’ may not abound, there are plentiful extant texts from the earliest generation of Jesuits, all of which may help us see how the companions felt God’s grace and came to know what it meant for them in their mission. Quite possibly they took their lead from Ignatius, understanding their deep familiarity with God as devotion and then moving rather seamlessly into the service of their neighbor. Without looking too far afield, the spirituality and apostolate of Peter Faber, the writings of Francis Borja, as well as the multiple biographies penned by Peter Ribadeneira present themselves as opportune places to consider how the early Society of Jesus understood, lived, and practiced devotion. Quite possibly, they understood themselves as living a certain style

¹¹ García de Castro, “Introducción”, in “*Ejercicios espirituales*” de san Ignacio de Loyola. Edición del manuscrito autógrafa, 11-14.

¹² Nadal, “Natalis exhortationes (1554)”, in *FN I*, 302-314, 307. Commenting on the composition of the *Exercises*, Nadal offers: “Aquí le comunicó N.S. los ejercicios, guiándole de esta manera para que todo se emplease en el servicio suyo y salud de las almas, lo cual le mostró *con devoción* especialmente en dos ejercicios, scilicet, del Rey y de las Banderas”. Emphasis in original.

¹³ García de Castro, “Introducción”, in “*Ejercicios espirituales*” de san Ignacio de Loyola. Edición del manuscrito autógrafa, 15-16.

of devotion. Such a conjecture would not seem to be out of place given that the *Constitutions* themselves frame the formation of a Jesuit *vis-à-vis* devotion. As an example, in one of the oft-cited passages of that text, the very formation of the Jesuit is understood as “growth in devotion and praise of God our Lord” [Co 250]. The work to recover the sign of devotion is before us, and I believe it can teach us more about topics such as affect, the right intention, and familiarity with God – to name just three ideas expressed in recent letter directed to Jesuit scholastics in Spain¹⁴. Indeed, further studies on devotion will allow a fuller picture of Ignatian spirituality to come into view.

2. The form of the sign

a. *In the company of*

Though a personal text, his diary is rich in otherness. It is populated by the companions, Mary, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, God, and the Trinity. Persons fill, as does the whole celestial court at his offering, the pages of his notebook. His very election process begins with a turn to Mary and Jesus; he begs them to intercede for him with the Father. Their presence, along with that of the other divine persons suggests the depth of his spiritual *experience* – it truly was an encounter with the other that transformed him¹⁵. In addition, his search for the mediators appears to have been a familiar or common practice of his. It reminds us of his deep love for Mary as well as his understanding of discernment as a gradual approach to feeling and knowing God’s will. Likewise, as a 16th century *caballero*, his petition to be granted access to the Father makes eminent sense given the sophisticated cultural and hierarchical spheres he moved in as a young adult. But the essential element of the mediators seems to be less about receiving access to God as it is about being in their company [De 8]. To be in their company: such a desire suggests that he understood the election as a spiritual process inhabited, even populated by others. Surely their presence as obedient, open, and receptive to God’s will is important to him as he seeks those same dispositions. But he seems less interested in getting things from them as he is in being with them. And that company – pardon the redundancy – accompanies his entire process,

¹⁴ I cite the encouraging letter of the Spanish Provincial Antonio España, SJ, to Jesuits in formation in which he motivates the men to discover and to live a “teología de devoción”. The letter is a fine attempt to actualize this key Ignatian term. See, Antonio España, “Circular a los Jesuitas en formación”, (28 November 2020).

¹⁵ Following the formulation of Han who offers the salutary reminder that a true experience is that encounter with the other who transforms. See, Han, *Sociedad del cansancio*, 81.

reaching a kind of crescendo in the offering itself. This leads me to consider that the election process, as registered in the *Diary*, appears to be something akin to a communal venture. Yes, he wants to know God's will, but that knowing happens with others. In other words, there is a broad horizontal axis that accompanies the vertical axis of his knowing God's will. This same dynamic occurs in the *Exercises*: at key junctures Ignatius invites the retreatant to populate the place with all of the saints [*Ej* 151] or with the whole celestial court [*Ej* 232]. One prays alone, but is not alone.

I believe that his commitment to the mediators, indicative of his deeply relational nature, requires further exploration. In a society that is commonly understood by reference to the figure of Narcissus¹⁶, it seems to me to be salutary to widen the horizontal axis of the election and of other spiritual topics that – in my estimation – suffer an all too narrowly defined individualistic focus. I have in mind, for example, the tendency to overlook the seminal presence of the companions in reflection on the founding of the Society of Jesus. I am also thinking of spiritual and theological reflection on vocation to religious life, incorporation into a religious apostolic body, and perseverance in one's vocation. In brief, otherness and others helped him find God's will; it too may help us find God in ways that are much more Ignatian and (clearly) Christian.

That his prayer is deeply relational is hardly novel for *aficionados* of his spirituality, accustomed as we are to consider the way the Exercises places the entire person of the retreatant – be it in a contemplation or the colloquy – directly with the divine persons or Mary. Nevertheless, it is novel to consider that the sign that moved him to the felt presence of one or another person to whom he was praying was devotion. In devotion, he saw and felt God, was led to Him, and ended in the very presence of the Lord. Accompanied by devotion, he seems to have felt God's very promise to him, a promise that gave him confidence and that encouraged him forward in his process. And that promise took a very personal form, as it has always for Christians: Jesus.

Jesus appears in his diary as the one who praised a life of poverty, reconciled him with the Trinity, and guided him, as in His shadow. Those experiences impacted Ignatius greatly, and they no doubt impress readers of his text. For scholars, they yield important insights into his Christology and continue to confirm the fundamental place of his experience at La Storta in his spirituality. But what these chapters has uncovered is something equally

¹⁶ The literature is abundant on this topic. I would point to the fine article by José Luis Trechera Herreros in the final volume of 2021 of the journal *Sal Terrae* wholly given over to the topic; the title of the volume is “La sociedad de los espejos”. See, Trechera Herreros, “El narcisismo. Concepto: mito y mente”, *Sal Terrae* 109 (2021): 967-980.

impressive: in each of these moments Ignatius turns to a sign. This is a remarkable aspect of his spirituality – his constant attention to signs and his patience to allow them to emerge over time to verify the origin of that which he thinks, recalls, or desires. He makes, as it were, a kind of sideways glance to check devotion in order to establish the source of what occurs in his mind, heart, or memory. That he does this when the experience in prayer with Jesus would appear to need no authenticating sign suggests that devotion – the sign to which he most consistently turns – was a touchstone in his spiritual experience, providing him with the benchmark by which he understood and trusted that which he experienced. In it he found himself with the poor and humble Jesus, the one who did all things for him before the Father [De 84] and to whom he promised never to abandon for all of heaven and earth [De 69].

b. Eucharistic

The categories of promise, experience, and movement foreshadowed a central part of the *Diary*: the Eucharist. For the Christian, the sacrament of the Eucharist is the place of promise, deep experience, and of being sent or moved. This too was Ignatius' experience. His choice to center his discernment in the mass demonstrates his love of the Church, his fidelity to his priestly vocation, and his understanding that it is the place of the most intense communication from God. If he was, as Ramírez Fueyo observes, a person exceedingly sensible to questions of language¹⁷, he was never more attentive to language – both liturgical and divine – than he was during mass. The Scriptures, the canon, and the prayers of the mass were the texts that guided him in his prayer, and from that liturgical language he was moved to feel God's language welling up inside of him. And the sign that emerged again and again was devotion. In short, the mystery of devotion as Christ's pouring out his life for humanity is what Ignatius experienced in his Eucharistic discernment. The ancient hymn from the 1st letter of Timothy undergirds Christian reflection on devotion; it also discloses the very foundation of Ignatius' experience of it.

The deep imbrication of the sign of devotion with the Eucharist points to the centrality of the sacrament in his life. I also believe it evokes the presence of Kempis that pervades the *Diary* as a kind of basso continuo heard throughout it. In the *Imitation*, devotion is a significant part of the believer's experience of following Jesus. It is what he or

¹⁷ Ramírez Fueyo, *El evangelio según San Ignacio*, 193.

she does to move closer to God and it is a grace, “a heavenly visit”, from God¹⁸. Furthermore, it is a gift particularly present in the Eucharist; indeed, the reception of communion is to receive “the great grace of devotion and the love of doing what is right”¹⁹. For Kempis, the sacrament is a hugely important moment of encounter with God, and before such a gift, Kempis suggests that the response is twofold. In the form of a question the author asks: “Where is this devotion? Where is this holy flood of tears?”²⁰. The overlap between Kempis and Ignatius’ *Diary* is remarkable. Albeit such an influence is known in studies of Ignatius, it is quite another thing to see him taking the precise cues from the *Imitation* and looking for the same two gifts. The book looks like it was a primer for him on prayer.

Yet, there is a manifest difference in how they perceive the grace of devotion. For Kempis, devotion appears as a grace that arrives to the believer without form or distinction, as if it were a thing or an object. It surely impacts the person, but it arrives as a kind of formless mass. Ignatius’ reception of it could not be more different. For him it is warm, intense, abundant, new, bright, and sweet. In essence, it is eminently readable. Simplifying, where Kempis seems to suggest grace as an object, Ignatius sees a sign. The difference is much more than that of a phenomenology of grace. It bespeaks the depth of which Ignatius understood God as communicative, and the communication from God, whether new, much, or warm, could be deciphered and known.

The presence of devotion in the sacrament does suggest a strong point of contact between Ignatius and the famous author from the Modern Devotion tradition. Perhaps as priest, he read the last book of the *Imitation* to learn how to celebrate the mass with devotion. But more than indicating a possible Kempean architecture that undergirded Ignatius’ spirituality, and much more than simply affirming his faithfulness to the mass, this study on devotion affirms his Eucharistic passion and, as such, opens up the question for the extent to which the Eucharist pervaded and configured his life and his thinking. In the last unit of this study, I affirmed that the Eucharist was the center of his prayer and it centered his examination of his prayer. However, I am not convinced that such an observation goes far enough. Quite possibly the Eucharist “centered” his thinking on a range of topics, such as, for example, his way of understanding the apostolate, Jesuit life, and the mission of the Society. As an example, it can hardly be accidental that the language he uses, redolent of

¹⁸ *Imitation*, IV.15.

¹⁹ *Imitation*, IV.1.

²⁰ *Imitation*, IV.11.

Paul's letter to the Ephesians, to frame the vow of obedience, is Eucharistic: "one makes his entire being a living sacrifice pleasing to his Divine Majesty, holding back nothing of himself"²¹. The Eucharist, present in every page of his *Diary*, may be akin to the topic of devotion: both reveal more about his spirituality than we have as of yet to realize.

What seems clear is that Ignatius understood the sacrament – and all of its preparation – as an encounter with the other who communicated His presence. In his own language, it was an encounter of seeing and feeling, of thoughts and memories, as well as of being filled with desires. This leads me to consider that the Eucharist was for him the place of contemplation: it was where he made himself a kind of poor, unworthy servant not at the birth of Christ [*Ej* 114] but at the table with him. With all of his senses open and applied to all that he felt in the liturgy²², he participated in it as if he were there with his Lord, serving him in all his needs. And as the place of his contemplation, the sacrament "appropriated" him, configuring all of his senses and his whole person. In it, he was "continuing his contemplation" (*juntamente contemplando*) [*Ej* 135] of Jesus' life, and not only was that prayer aiding him in his election, he was becoming the One whom he contemplated²³. As such, there is every reason to believe he lived eucharistically, seeing in others the very image of the Trinity²⁴, and that he understood that in the Eucharist he and his companions were in the *company* of the One who journeyed with them in their pilgrimage²⁵. There is good reason to explore other aspects of his life – governance, the apostolate, friendship, the mission of the Society – for the traces of the sacrament that they may carry.

²¹ *Epp* IV, Ignatius to the Members of the Society in Portugal (Rome, 26 March, 1553), 669-681, 677; *Letters and Instructions*, 418. See also Eph 5:2.

²² Following the insight of Hugo Rahner who calls the application of senses the basic scheme or outline of the Ignatian contemplation. See, Rahner, "La aplicación de los sentidos en el método contemplativo de San Ignacio de Loyola", in *Ignacio de Loyola: el hombre y el teólogo*, ed. José García de Castro (Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: M-ST Comillas, 2019), 341-372, 349

²³ Following George Aschenbrenner, "Becoming Whom we Contemplate", *The Way Supplement* 52 (1985): 30-42.

²⁴ In his letter to the students at Coimbra: "Mirad también vuestros prójimos como una imagen de la santísima Trinidad y capaz de su gloria". See, *Epp* I, Ignatius to the Fathers and Scholastics at Coimbra (Rome, 7 May, 1547), 503; *Letters and Instructions*, 170.

²⁵ In the same letter to the men at Coimbra: "sueldo se hizo a sí mismo, dándosenos por hermano en nuestra carne, por precio de nuestra salud en la cruz, por mantenimiento y *compañía* de nuestra peregrinación en la eucaristía". *Epp* I, Ignatius to the Fathers and Scholastics at Coimbra (Rome, 7 May, 1547), 501; emphasis mine; *Letters and Instructions*, 169.

c. *Sign that moves him to ponder God with great affection*

Signs confirm him in his movement to God, and as the pages of his *Diary* reveal, they were many. Nevertheless, I have argued that not all signs have equal weight in his discernment. Though all are registered with care and attention, he has his hermeneutical axis. That axis does not belong to consolation, rather it is signaled by tears and devotion, a pair of signs that show that both body and soul are affected by God. Another way of stating this is that his discernment begins with an awareness of all that he feels in his body. Unquestionably, thoughts, ideas, and recollections are important to him in his process, but the point of departure is primarily corporal. This is where the sign of devotion occurs and it is what makes this spiritual reality a relevant topic for further studies in discernment. Though in his formulation it is the gift that descends from above [*Ej* 237], perhaps for us today, it is better understood as the sign that emerges from below, from the body.

Though these chapters have stressed the place of devotion in his discernment and in his election steps, they have also revealed that not all aspects of the sign are accounted for by a movement to service. Devotion also forms a part of his movement to ponder with great affection the gifts of God and God Himself [*Ej* 234]. In this way, this study of devotion highlights Ignatius the contemplative, the one who went to the very end of the feeling to the Giver Himself. There was a wideness and freedom in his soul in which he savored and relished the very presence of God. And in that process of allowing God's visits to fall upon him freely and liberally, he found that God was teaching him a new way to be with Him. In a remarkably patient and careful discernment, he found God calling him to a place of reverence, veneration, and humility. The Spirit guided him to see that God is not the object of his confirmation nor is the visit of God the result of his own exercise of devotion. God is the giver of his very life, and Ignatius discovers in his spiritual journey, "that the love which seeks, not itself, but the God who is loved as such, means true life and eternity"²⁶. In this way, I would suggest that the theology of circumincession that he perceives is much more than a theological insight. It discloses his movement into the Trinity, a movement of intense unitive love founded upon reverence for otherness.

The gifts of reverence, veneration, and loving humility were in his estimation remarkable graces, and they have been important topics for Ignatian spirituality. They remind readers of the Principal and Foundation from the *Exercises* [*Ej* 23]; they also indicate

²⁶ Rahner, "The Inexhaustible Transcendence of God and our Concern for the Future", 178.

the kind of person that Ignatius was – a *gentil caballero*, deeply aware of class and social position. Nevertheless, what is even more remarkable is how he arrived at these new graces. It was a process whose point of reference was devotion. The familiar sign of devotion – that experience that he felt internally and somatically – guided him to these new graces. In devotion, he was brought to newness and novelty in his relationship with God. With it, there is growth, depth, and an increase in love. This is the story that his *Diary* tells of devotion and it is precisely the reason that I have undertaken the study of it: to discover that familiar grace that opened him to *new* graces. This is the promise of the grace of devotion for readers of the document and for followers of his charism. From an abundance of devotion, an abundance of new grace can emerge. To take greater spiritual strength from the *Diary* is to read this text as a discernment notebook which leads him to know God's will and to love God, and it is to understand devotion as that ever-familiar, ever-new sign in which he and God met to become one in divine love [*Ej* 370].

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Ignatian sources

a) Texts by Ignatius of Loyola

- Ignatius of Loyola. *Constituciones circa misiones*. In *Monumenta Constitutionum praevia*, edited by Arturo Codina, vol. 1, 159-164. Rome, 1934 (MHSI 63).
- . *Contra ambitum*. In *Monumenta Constitutionum praevia*, edited by Arturo Codina, vol. 1, 164-166. Rome, 1934 (MHSI 63).
- . *Deliberatio primorum patrum*. In *Monumenta Constitutionum praevia*, edited by Arturo Codina, vol. 1, 1-7. Rome, 1934 (MHSI 63).
- . *Deliberatio S.P.N. Ignatii de Paupertate*. In *Monumenta Constitutionum praevia*, edited by Arturo Codina, vol. 1, 78-81. Rome, 1934 (MHSI 63).
- . *Ephemeris S.P.N. Ignatii*. In *Monumenta Constitutionum praevia*, edited by Arturo Codina, vol. 1, 86-158. Rome, 1934 (MHSI 63).
- . *Epistolae et instructions*. Edited by M. Lecina, V. Agustí, F. Cervós, and D. Restrepo. 12 vols. Madrid, 1903-1911 (MHSI 22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42).
- . *Exercitia Spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola*. Edited by José Calaveras, and Cándido de Dalmases. Rome, 1969 (MHSI 100).
- . *Diario Espiritual*. Edited and prepared by Camilo María Abad. Santander: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 1956.
- . *Écrits*. Edited and translated by Maurice Giuliani. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1991.
- . *“Ejercicios Espirituales” de San Ignacio de Loyola. Edición del manuscrito autógrafo*. Edited by José García de Castro. Bilbao: Mensajero-Fundación Gondra Barandiarán, 2021.
- . *Intimididad del peregrino*. Edited by Santiago Thió de Pol. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 1990.
- . *Iñigo: Discernment Log-book. “The Spiritual Diary” of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*. Edited and translated by Joseph Munitiz. London: Iñigo Enterprises, 1987.
- . *Journal Spirituel*. Edited and translated by Maurice Giuliani. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959 (Collection Christus n° 1).
- . *Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola. Vol. 1, Autobiografía – Diario Espiritual*, edited by Victoriano Larrañaga. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1947.
- . *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*. Edited by Ignacio Iparraguirre, and Manuel Ruiz Jurado. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2013.
- . *San Ignacio de Loyola: Diario Espiritual*. Photographic copy of the original manuscript. Library of the Universidad Pontificia Comillas.
- . *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms*. Edited and prepared by John Padberg. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996.

- . *Ignatius of Loyola. Letters and Instructions*. Edited and translated by Martin Palmer, John Padberg, and John McCarthy. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006.
- . *Ignatius of Loyola. "The Spiritual Exercises" and Selected Works*. Edited and translated by George Ganss. New York: Paulist Press, 1991.

b) Other primary texts on Ignatius and the Society of Jesus

- Gonçalves da Câmara, Luis. *Acta Patris Ignatii*. In *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, edited by Dionisio Fernández Zapico, and Cándido de Dalmases, vol 1, 355-507. Rome, 1943 (MHSI 66).
- . *A Pilgrim's Testament. The Memoirs of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*. Edited by Barton Geger, and translated by Parmananda Divarkar. Chestnut Hill, MA: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2020.
- . "Memoriale seu diarium patris Ludovici Gonzalez de Camara". In *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, edited by Dionysio Fernández Zapico, and Cándido de Dalmases, vol. 1, 508-752. Rome, 1943 (MHSI 66).
- . *Recuerdos Ignacianos. Memorial de Luis Gonçalves da Câmara*. Edited by Benigno Hernández Montes. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 1992.
- . *Remembering Iñigo. Glimpses of the life of St. Ignatius of Loyola. The Memoriale of Luis Gonçalves da Câmara*. Edited and translated by Alexander Eaglestone, and Joseph Munitiz. St. Louis-London: Institute of Jesuit Sources-Iñigo Enterprises, 2005.
- Iparraguirre, Ignacio, ed. *Directoria Exercitiorum Spiritualium*, Rome 1955 (MHSI 76)
- . *Los directorios de Ejercicios*. Edited by Miguel Lop Sebastià. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero-Sal Terrae, 2000.
- Laínez, Diego. "Adhortationes in librum examinis". In *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, edited by Cándido de Dalmases, vol. 2, 127-140. Rome, 1951 (MHSI 73).
- . "Epistola Patris Laynez de P. Ignatio". In *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*. edited by Dionysio Fernández Zapico, and Cándido de Dalmases, vol. 1, 54-144. Rome, 1943 (MHSI 66).
- . *Primer biógrafo de san Ignacio*. Edited by Antonio Albuquerque. Mensajero-Sal Terrae: Bilbao, Santander, 2005.
- Nadal, Jerónimo. "Chonicon Natalis". In *Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal*. Edited by F. Cervós, vol. 1, 1-25. Madrid, 1898 (MHSI 13).
- . "Apología de los Ejercicios del P. Ignacio contra la censura de Tomás de Pedroche". In *Apologías de los "Ejercicios Espirituales"*, edited and translated by Miguel Lop Sebastià, 111-224. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018.
- . "*Chronicon Natalis*": *Una lente para introducirse en el surgimiento de la espiritualidad ignaciana*. Edited and translated by Ignacio Ramos Riera. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2019.
- Mannaerts, Olivier. "Responsio P. Manarei ad quaedam". In *Scripta de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola*, vol. 1, edited by A. Ortíz, V. Agustí, and M. Lecina, 506-524. Madrid, 1904 (MHSI 25).
- Polanco, Juan Alfonso de. *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et Rerum Societatis Ieus*. In *Chronicon Societatis Iesu*, edited by P. Vélez, vol. 1, 9-74. Madrid, 1894 (MHSI 1).
- . *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*. Edited and translated by Eduardo Javier Alsonso Romo. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2021.

- . *Los “Directorios” de J.A. de Polanco*. Edited by José García de Castro. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2016.
- . *Sumarium Hispanum de Origine et Progressu Societatis Iesu*. In *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, edited by Dionysio Fernández Zapico, and Cándido de Dalmases, vol. 1, 146-256. Rome, 1943 (MHSI 66).
- Ribadeneira, Pedro. “Dicta et facta Sancti Ignatii”. In *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, edited by Cándido de Dalmases, vol. 2, 465-499. Rome, 1951 (MHSI 73).
- . “De actis patris nostri Ignatii”. In *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, edited by Cándido de Dalmases, vol. 2, 317-394. Rome, 1951 (MHSI 73).
- . *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*. In *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, edited by Cándido de Dalmases, vol. 4. Rome, 1965 (MHSI 93).
- . *The Life of Ignatius of Loyola*. Translated by Claude Pavur. Saint Louis: Institute for Jesuit Sources, 2014.

2. Other sources

a) Modern Devotion

- Grote, Gerard. *Resolutions and Intentions, but not Vows*. In *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, edited and translated by John Van Engen, 65-75. New York: Paulist Press, 1988.
- . “A Customary for Brothers”. In *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, edited and translated by John Van Engen, 155-175. New York: Paulist Press, 1988.
- . “A Way of Life for Sisters”. In *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, edited and translated by John Van Engen, 176-186. New York: Paulist Press, 1988.
- Thomas Hemerken of Kempis. *Thomae Hermken a Kempis Opera omnia*. Edited by Michael Pohl. 7 vols. Freiburg, 1910-1922.
- . *The Imitation of Christ*. Edited and translated by William Creasy. Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 2017.
- Radewijns, Florent. “*Tractatus devotus*”: *Petit manuel pour le dévot modern*. Edited and translated by Francis Joseph Lagrand. Belgium: Brepols, 1999.
- Zerbolt, Gerard. *The Spiritual Ascents*. In *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, edited and translated by John Van Engen, 243-315. New York: Paulist Press, 1988.

b) Other primary sources

- Angela of Foligno. *Libro de la experiencia. Angela de Foligno*. Edited and translated by Pablo García Acosta. Madrid: Siruela, 2014.
- . *Libro de la vida. Vivencia de Cristo*. Edited and translated by Teodoro Martín. Salamanca: Sígueme, 1991.
- . *Memorial*. In *Angela of Foligno. Complete Works*. Edited and translated by Paul Lachance. New York: Paulist Press, 1993.
- Augustine of Hippo. *Œuvres de Saint Augustin. Les confessions*. Edited by M. Skutella and notes by A. Solignac (Bibliothèque Augustinienne vols. 13 & 14). Paris: Desclée de Brouwer 1962.
- . *Confessions*. Edited and translated by John K. Ryan. New York: Doubleday, 1960.
- . *Confessions*. Edited and translated by Henry Chadwick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

- Bernard of Clairvaux. *Obras completas de San Bernardo*. Edited by los monjes cistercienses de España. 8 vols. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1983-1993.
- . *En la escuela del amor*. Edited by Mariano Ballano. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1999.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *On the Nature of the Gods*. Translated by Francis Brooks. London: Methuen, 1896. Consulted on 25 November 2019.
<https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/cicero-on-the-nature-of-the-gods>
- Compendio breve de ejercicios espirituales compuesto por un monje de Montserrat entre 1510-1555*. Edited by Javier Melloni. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2006.
- Constitutiones synodales pampilonenses, anno 1499 editae, Azpeitia promulgantur*. In *Fontes Documentales de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, edited by Cándido de Dalmases, 148-155. Rome, 1977 (MHSI 115).
- De Sales, Francisco. *Introduction to the Devout Life*. Charlotte, Tan: 2013.
- Jiménez de Cisneros, García. *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual*. In *Obras completas*, edited by Dom Cipriano Baraut, vol. 2, 77-455. Abadía de Montserrat, 1965.
- Juan de la Cruz. *Obras completas*. Edited by José Vicente Rodríguez. 6th ed. Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2009.
- Livius, Titus. *History of Rome*. Edited by Canon Roberts. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1912.
- Ludolfo de Sajonia. *La vida de Cristo*. Translated by Emilio del Río. 2 vols. Madrid-Rome: Universidad Pontificia Comillas-Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010.
- Osuna, Francisco de. *Tercer abecedario espiritual*. Edited by S. López Santidrián. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2007.
- Teresa of Ávila, *Obras completas*. Edited by Alberto Barrientos. 6th ed. Burgos: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2016.
- . *The Collected Works of Teresa of Avila*. Edited and translated by Kieran Kavanaugh, and Otilio Rodríguez. 2 vols. Washington D.C: Institute of Carmelite Studies, 1990.
- Thomas Aquinas. *The Summa Theologica*. Translated by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Accessed 25 January 2022.
http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1225-1274,_Thomas_Aquinas,_Summa_Theologiae_%5B1%5D,_EN.pdf
- . *Suma teológica*. Edited by Francisco Barbado Viejo. 13 vols. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1950-2019.
- . *Selected Writings*. Edited and translated by Ralph McInerny. London: Penguin, 1998.

SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Ignatian sources

- Abad, Camilo María. “Introducción”. In *Diario espiritual de San Ignacio de Loyola*, edited by Camilo María Abad, 9-57. Santander: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 1956.
- Aleman, Carlos. “Cuerpo”. In *DEI* 1:529-532.
- Aldama, Antonio. “La composición de las Constituciones”. *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 42 (1973): 200-245.
- Alphonso, Herbert. “La Storta”. In *DEI* 2:1091-1100.
- Arana, Germán. “Coloquio”. In *DEI* 1:341-346.
- Arranz, Iñigo. “Arévalo”. In *DEI* 1:192-196.
- Arrupe, Pedro. “Epistola P. Generalis de paupertate et vita communi”, *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu* 15/2 (1969), 276-294.
- . “Carta sobre la pobreza, trabajo y vida en común”. In *La identidad del jesuita en nuestros tiempos*, presented by Miguel Mendizábal, 139-159. Santander: Sal Terrae, 1981.
- . “Homilía inaugural en la Iglesia del Gesù. 2 de diciembre de 1974”. In *Congregación General XXXII de la Compañía de Jesús*, presented by Urbano Valero, 279-284. Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1975.
- . “The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism”. *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 33/3 2001.
- Arzubialde, Santiago. “Discernimiento – Unción del Espíritu – y Discretio”. *Manresa* 70 (1998): 231-267.
- . *Ejercicios Espirituales de S. Ignacio. Historia y Análisis*. Rev. ed. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero-Sal Terrae, 2009.
- . *Humanidad de Cristo, lógica del amor y Trinidad*. Santander: Sal Terrae, 2014.
- . *Justificación y santificación*. Santander: Sal Terrae, 2016.
- . “La limosna, reforma de la propia vida y estado”. *Manresa* 58 (1986): 3-40.
- Aschenbrenner, George. “Becoming Whom we Contemplate”. *The Way Supplement* 52 (1985): 30-42.
- Barrientos, Nelson. “El Diario Espiritual, lenguaje y experiencia de Dios”. *Manresa* 62 (1990): 307-324.
- Barthes, Roland. *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1976.
- Blanch, Antoni. “Deseo”. In *DEI* 1:564-570.
- Boado, Faustino. “¿Por qué ha perdido actualidad el ‘Kempis’?”. *Razón y fe* 185 (1972): 361-375.
- Boné, Ignacio. “Vulnerables y hospitalarios: espiritualidad ignaciana y alteridad”. *Manresa* 80 (2008): 109-123.
- Buckley, Michael. “Contemplación para alcanzar amor”. In *DEI* 1:452-456.
- . “The Structure of the Rules for Discernment of Spirits”. *The Way Supplement* 20 (1973): 19-37.
- Calvez, Jean-Yves. “Disponibilidad”. In *DEI* 1:641-645.
- Cátala, Vincent. “Confianza”. In *DEI* 1:385-389.
- Chapelle, Albert. “Les annotations”. In *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola. Un commentaire littéral et théologique*, edited by Albert Chapelle et. al., 31-54. Brussels : Éditions de l’Institut d’Études Théologiques, 1990.

- . “Le principe et fondement”. In *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola. Un commentaire littéral et théologique*, edited by Albert Chapelle et. al., 59-68. Brussels : Éditions de l’Institut d’Études Théologiques, 1990.
- Chércoles, Adolfo. “Conocimiento interno del desorden... y del amor”, in “Maestros de la sospecha, críticos de la fe”. *Cristianisme i justícia* (2007): 83-104.
- Chércoles, Adolfo, and Josep Rambla. “Examen de conciencia”. In *DEI* 1:841-850.
- Codina, Arturo. “Articulus II. De Sancti Ignatii Ephemeride, 1544-1545 (Monumentum 19)”. In *Monumenta Constitutionum Praevia*, vol. 1, xcvi-cxx. Rome, 1934 (MHSA 63).
- Codina, Víctor. *Ignacio ayer y hoy*. Bilbao: Mensajero, 2020.
- . “Jesucristo”. In *DEI* 2:1071-1077.
- Conwell, Joseph. “Deliberaciones 1539”. In *DEI* 1:549-553.
- . *Impelling Spirit. Revisiting a Founding Experience*. Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997.
- Cordovilla Pérez, Ángel. “‘Al hablar al Padre, mi amor se extendía a toda la Trinidad [De 63]’. Rasgos del Dios de Ignacio”. In *Dogmática Ignaciana*, edited by Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, 73-96. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018.
- . “Devoción a la Trinidad”. *Manresa* 94 (2022): 171-182.
- Corella, Jesús. “Consolación”. In *DEI* 1:413-425.
- . “Proemio de las Constituciones”. In *DEI* 2:1499-1502.
- Coupeau, José Carlos. “Constituciones”. In *DEI* 1:435-445.
- Daelemans, Bert. “‘Unción del Espíritu Santo’ [Co 414]. En el cruce de voluntades: pneumatología ignaciana”. In *Dogmática Ignaciana*, edited by Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, 205-240. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018.
- Dalmases, Cándido de. “Coduri (Codure), Jean”. In *DHCJ* 1:833.
- . “Polanco, Juan Alfonso de”. In *DHCJ* 4:3168-3169.
- Decloux, Simon. *Comentario a las Cartas y Diario Espiritual de S. Ignacio de Loyola*. Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1982.
- De Gennaro, Guiseppe. “La expresión literaria mística del Diario Espiritual ignaciano”. *Manresa* 35 (1963): 25-46.
- De Guibert, Joseph. *The Jesuits. Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*. Edited by George Ganss. Translated by William Young. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986.
- . “Mystique Ignatienne”. *Revue d’Ascétique et de Mystique* 73 (1938): 3-22.
- . “Mystique Ignatienne II”. *Revue d’Ascétique et de Mystique* 74 (1938): 113-140.
- Domínguez Morano, Carlos. “‘En alguna manera’... Dificultades psicológicas para ‘sentir’ y ‘conocer’ las diversas mociones”. In *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales. Sentir y conocer las varias mociones [Ej 313]*, edited by José García de Castro, María Prieto Ursúa, and Ana García-Mina Freire, 303-330. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2021.
- . “El mucho examinar: funciones y riesgos”. *Manresa* 62 (1990): 273-287.
- Dudon, Paul. *San Ignacio de Loyola*. Translated by Joaquín Cardoso. Mexico: Buena Prensa, 1945.
- Egan, Harvey. *Ignatius Loyola the Mystic*. Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1991.
- Endean, Philip. “La experiencia de la gracia y las mociones de espíritus”. In *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales. Sentir y conocer las varias mociones [Ej 313]*, edited by José García de Castro, María Prieto Ursúa, and Ana García-Mina Freire, 278-291. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2021.
- Estrada, Juan Antonio. “Conocimiento interno del mundo para que más le ame y le sirva”. *Manresa* 71 (1999): 63-80.

- Fabre, Pierre-Antoine. "Introduction". In *Ignace de Loyola: Écrits*, edited by Maurice Giuliani, 313-318. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1991.
- Farge, James. "The University of Paris in the time of Ignatius of Loyola". In *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, edited by Juan Plazaola, 221-243. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1992.
- Fernández Martín, Luis. *Los años juveniles de Iñigo de Loyola: su formación en Castilla*. Valladolid: Caja de Ahorros Popular, 1981.
- Fiorito, Miguel. "La vida espiritual de San Ignacio según su Diario Espiritual". *Boletín de Espiritualidad* 57 (1978): 1-40.
- . "La lucha en el Diario Espiritual". *Boletín de Espiritualidad* 59 (1978): 1-40.
- Font, Jordi. "Tibieza". In *DEI* 2:1703-1704.
- Ganss, George. "Introduction to the Spiritual Diary". In *Ignatius of Loyola. "Spiritual Exercises" and Selected Works*, ed. Ganss, 229-234. New York: Paulist Press, 1991.
- García de Castro, José. "Calor". In *DEI* 1:255-259.
- . "Cartas". In *DEI* 1:294-306.
- . "Codure, Jean". In *DEI* 1:329-331.
- . "Cómodo". In *DEI* 1:346-347.
- . "Diario espiritual de san Ignacio de Loyola". Lecture Aula Fabro, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 4 October 2018. Accessed 10 September 2020.
https://tv.comillas.edu/media/D.+Jos%C3%A9+Garc%C3%ADa+de+Castro%2C+SJ.++%22Diario+espiritual+de+san+Ignacio+de+Loyola.%22+Aula+de+Espiritualidad+Pedro+Fabro.++4+10+2018/1_paw20z4j/157944251
- . "El *Diario Espiritual* y el Epistolario de San Ignacio de Loyola. Aspectos lingüísticos y léxicos". PhD diss., Universidad de Salamanca, 1999.
- . *El Dios emergente*. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 2001.
- . "Discurrir – Actividad del Ejercitante". In *DEI* 1:637-639.
- . "Encarnación y gloria, la arquitectura ignaciana del cielo". In *El Cielo, historia y espiritualidad*, edited by María del Mar Graña Cid, 281-302. Madrid Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018.
- . "La estructura interna del discernimiento". *Manresa* 80 (2008): 125-140.
- . "Ignacio de Loyola y las lenguas en la Europa del siglo XVI (1491-1556)". *Revista de Filología Española* XCIX (2019): 57-88.
- . "Ignatius of Loyola and his first companions". In *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, edited by Robert Maryks, 66-83. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- . "La mística de Ignacio: cultura y costumbre". *Manresa* 76 (2004): 333-353.
- . "Moción". In *DEI* 2:1265-1269.
- . "Polanco, Juan Alfonso de". In *DEI* 2:1462-1471.
- . "Semántica y mística: el *Diario espiritual* de Ignacio de Loyola". *Miscelánea Comillas* 59 (2001): 211-254.
- . "Sólito/a". In *DEI* 2:1658-1659.
- . "Tacto". In *DEI* 2:1673-1676.
- . "La *Vita Christi* de Ludolfo de Sajonia († 1377) e Ignacio de Loyola († 1556)". *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 86 (2011): 509-546.
- . *La voz de tu saludo. Acompañar, conversar, discernir*. Santander: Sal Terrae, 2019.
- García Domínguez, Luis María. "El concepto 'moción' en los textos ignacianos". In *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales. Sentir y conocer las varias mociones [Ej 313]*, edited by José García de Castro, María Prieto Ursúa, and Ana García-Mina Freire, 219-246. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2021.
- García Hernán. Enrique. "'Exhortando a las confesiones y comuniones' [FNI, 126]. Confesores de Ignacio de Loyola". In *Dogmática Ignaciana*, edited by Gabino

- Uríbarri Bilbao, 437-467. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018.
- . *Ignacio de Loyola*. Madrid: Taurus, 2013.
- . “Una ‘nueva’ biografía. La *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* de Juan Alfonso de Polanco”. *Manresa* 93 (2021): 197-204.
- García Hirschfield, Carlos. “Todo modo de examinar la consciencia (una pieza clave en el magisterio espiritual de Ignacio)”. *Manresa* 62 (1990): 251-271.
- García Mateo, Rogelio. “Formación administrativa de Ignacio de Loyola en Castilla y su personalidad”. *Manresa* 59 (1987): 279-288.
- . “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria”. *Miscelánea Comillas* 57 (1999): 421-468.
- . *Ignacio de Loyola: su espiritualidad y su mundo*. Bilbao: Mensajero, 2000.
- . “Imitación de Cristo”. In *DEI* 2:994-1001.
- García Rodríguez, José Antonio. “Dolor”. In *DEI* 1:656-663.
- García-Villoslada, Ricardo. *San Ignacio de Loyola: nueva biografía*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1986.
- Gelpi, Donald. “Gracia”. In *DEI* 2:921-927.
- Gervais, Pierre. “Examens et Confession Générale”. In *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola. Un commentaire littéral et théologique*, edited by Albert Chapelle et. al., 69-84. Brussels : Éditions de l’Institut d’Études Théologiques, 1990.
- . “La grace de premiere semaine”. In *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola. Un commentaire littéral et théologique*, edited by Albert Chapelle et. al., 161-181. Brussels : Éditions de l’Institut d’Études Théologiques, 1990.
- Gil Ambrona, Antonio. *Ignacio de Loyola y las mujeres*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2017.
- Gil, Daniel. *Discernimiento según San Ignacio*. Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1980.
- Giuliani, Maurice. “‘Demandar a Dios nuestro Señor lo que quiero y deseo’”. *Manresa* 61 (1989): 131-136.
- González Magaña, Jaime Emilio. “Entendimiento”. In *DEI* 1:765-773.
- González, Manuel. *La espiritualidad ignaciana, ensayo de síntesis*. Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1986.
- González, Luis. “Examen de conciencia y discernimiento”. *Manresa* 62 (1990): 289-305.
- Granero, Jesús M^a. *San Ignacio. Panoramas de su vida*. Madrid: Razón y fe, 1967.
- Gray, Howard. “Joy and Friendship in the Fourth Week”. *The Way Supplement* 99 (2000): 11-21.
- . “What kind of document?”. *The Way Supplement* 61 (1998): 21-34.
- Guarinelli, Stefano. “Aprendizaje a lo largo de la vida para ‘sentir y conocer’ diversas mociones”. In *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales. Sentir y conocer las varias mociones [Ej 313]*, edited by José García de Castro, María Prieto Ursúa, and Ana García-Mina Freire, 292-302. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2021.
- Guillén, Antonio. “Contemplación”. In *DEI* 1:445-452.
- . “Desolación – aproximación ignaciana”. In *DEI* 1:575-580.
- Haas, Adolf. “The mysticism of St. Ignatius according to his *Spiritual Diary*”. In *Ignatius of Loyola: His Personality and Spiritual Heritage*, ed. Friedrich Wulf, 164-199. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977.
- Hausman, Noëlle. “Ignacio de Loyola y la misión del Espíritu Santo. Una lectura del Diario Espiritual (1544-1545)”. *Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis* 63-64 (1990): 37-57.
- . “Les regles de premiere semaine”. In *Les Exercices Spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola. Un commentaire littéral et théologique*, edited by Albert Chapelle et. al., 146-158. Brussels : Éditions de l’Institut d’Études Théologiques, 1990.

- Homza, Lu Ann. "The Religious Milieu of the young Ignatius". In *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, edited by Thomas Worcester, 13-31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Hylmar, František. "Unión de ánimos". In *DEI* 2:1735-1743.
- Iparraguirre, Ignacio. *Vocabulario de Ejercicios Espirituales*. Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1972.
- Iparraguirre, Ignacio and Manuel Ruiz Jurado. "Introducción – Deliberación sobre la pobreza". *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*, edited by Ignacio Iparraguirre, and Manuel Ruiz Jurado, 271-289. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2013.
- . "Introducción – Diario Espiritual". *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*, edited by Ignacio Iparraguirre, and Manuel Ruiz Jurado, 271-289. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2013.
- Jaer, André de. *Cristo en lo cotidiano. Los Ejercicios Espirituales en la vida diaria*. Translated by Ramón Alfonso Díez Aragón. Santander: Sal Terrae, 2007.
- Knauer, Peter. "Cosa". In *DEI* 1:495-497.
- Kolvenbach, Peter-Hans. "En el 450 aniversario de los votos de Montmartre". In *Selección de Escritos*, vol. 1, prepared by Luis González Hernández, 33-36. Compañía de Jesús de España: España, 1992.
- . "La experiencia de Cristo en Ignacio de Loyola". In *Decir... al "Indecible"*, edited by Ignacio Iglesias, 65-75. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 1999.
- . "Locos por Cristo". In *Decir... al "Indecible"*, edited by Ignacio Iglesias, 115-131. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 1999.
- . "La práctica de la espiritualidad ignaciana". In *Selección de Escritos*, vol. 2, prepared by Alfredo Verdoy, 579-585. Compañía de Jesús de España: España, 2007.
- . *The Road from La Storta*. Edited by Carl Starkloff. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2000.
- . "San Ignacio y la visión de La Storta". In *Selección de Escritos*, vol. 1, prepared by Luis González Hernández, 664-666. Compañía de Jesús de España: España, 1992.
- . "Sobre la eucaristía". In *Selección de Escritos*, vol. 2, prepared by Alfredo Verdoy, 98-103. Compañía de Jesús de España: España, 2007.
- . "Sobre la pobreza". In *Selección de Escritos*, vol. 2, prepared by Alfredo Verdoy, 75-80. Compañía de Jesús de España: España, 2007.
- Ladaria, Luis. "La teología trinitaria, fundamento de la espiritualidad ignaciana". *Manresa* 72 (2000): 321-332.
- Larrañaga, Victoriano. "Introducción al Diario Espiritual". In *Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, edited by Victoriano Larrañaga, vol. 1, 629-681. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1947.
- . "Los estudios superiores de San Ignacio de Loyola". *Razón y fe* 153 (1956): 221-242.
- Lamarthée Estrade, Pablo. *Conocimiento interno*. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2020.
- Lator, Fermín. "Los ejercicios y el 'Diario' de nuestro Santo Padre". *Manresa* 17 (1945): 97-115.
- Lécrivain, Philippe. *París en tiempos de Ignacio de Loyola (1528-1535)*. Edited and prepared by José A. García. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas: 2018.
- Lera, José María. "Espíritu Santo". In *DEI* 1:803-811.
- . *La pneumatología de los "Ejercicios Espirituales", una teología de la cruz traducida a la vida*. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 2016.
- Lewis, Mark. "Ayuda a las ánimas". In *DEI* 1:203-206.

- Lucchetti Bingemer, María Clara. “María”. In *DEI* 2:1195-1201.
- Madrigal Terrazas, Santiago. *Estudios de eclesiología ignaciana*. Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2002.
- Mancho Duque, María Jesús. “Lenguaje ignaciano”. In *DEI* 2:1115-1120.
- . “Rasgos caracterizadores del léxico de los *Ejercicios Espirituales* de Ignacio de Loyola”. In *Actas del XIX Congreso Internacional de Lingüística e Filología Románicas*, edited by Ramón Lorenzo Vázquez, 685-704. A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1992.
- Marín Sevilla, José María. *Ignacio de Loyola. La enfermedad en su vida y en su espiritualidad*. Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2006.
- Martin, Maurice-Marie. “San Ignacio místico. Una lectura del *Diario Espiritual* a partir del don de lágrimas”. *Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis* 67 (1991): 21-78.
- Martínez-Gayol Fernández, Nurya. “El agradecimiento en la raíz de la glorificación”. *Manresa* 75 (2003): 25-50.
- . “‘Dios nuestro Señor quiera mover mi voluntad’ [Ej 180]. Voluntad general y voluntad particular en perspectiva ignaciana”. In *Dogmática Ignaciana*, edited by Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, 97-132. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018.
- Maryks, Robert. “Nadal, Jerónimo”. In *DEI* 2:1315-1319.
- Meissner, William. *To the Greater Glory – A Psychological study of Ignatian Spirituality*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1999.
- Mejía Saldarriaga, Rodrigo. *La dinámica de la integración espiritual*. Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1980.
- Melloni, Javier. “Ejercicios espirituales: el texto”. In *DEI* 1:685-689.
- . “La enfermedad como camino en San Ignacio”. *Manresa* 92 (2020): 273-282.
- . *Éxodo y éxtasis en Ignacio de Loyola*. Santander: Sal Terrae, 2020.
- . “Gustar”. In *DEI* 2:931-933.
- . *La mistagogía de los Ejercicios*. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 2001.
- . “Montserrat”. In *DEI* 2:1284-1287.
- . “Sentir”. In *DEI* 2:1631-1637.
- . “Suavidad”. In *DEI* 2:1661-1662.
- Molina, Diego. “Iglesia”. In *DEI* 2:967-975.
- . “‘... la vera sposa de Christo nuestro Señor’ [Ej 353]. La Iglesia en la dogmática ignaciana”. In *Dogmática Ignaciana*, edited by Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, 411-436. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018.
- Mora, Alfonso de la. *La devoción en el espíritu de san Ignacio*. Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1982.
- Munitiz, Joseph. “Introduction”. In *Iñigo: Discernment Log-book. “The Spiritual Diary” of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, edited and translated by Joseph Munitiz, 3-25. London: Iñigo Enterprises, 1987.
- . “Introduction to the *Spiritual Diary* of Ignatius of Loyola”. *The Way Supplement* 16 (1972): 101-116.
- Nicolás, Adolfo. “From Distraction to Dedication: An Invitation to the Center”. *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu* 27/3 (2020): 946-952.
- Nicolau, Miguel. *Jerónimo Nadal, SJ: sus obras y doctrinas espirituales*. Madrid: 1949.
- Núñez, Alberto. “Padre”. In *DEI* 2:1399-1407.
- O’Donnell, John. “Trinidad”. In *DEI* 2:1720-1727.
- O’Leary, Brian. “Consoler and consolation”. *The Way Supplement* 99 (2000): 61-69.
- . *To Love and to Serve*. Dublin: Messenger Press, 2020.

- O'Malley, John. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- O'Malley, John, and Timothy O'Brien. "The Twentieth-Century Construction of Ignatian Spirituality: A Sketch". *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 52/3 (2020).
- O'Neill, Charles. "Acatamiento: Ignatian experience in History and Contemporary Culture". *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 8/1 (1976).
- O'Reilly, Terrence. "The Spiritual Exercises and the Crisis of Medieval Piety". *The Way Supplement* 70 (1991): 101-113.
- Padberg, Johh, ed. *Jesuit Life and Mission Today. The Decrees & Accompanying Documents of the 31st – 35th General Congregations of the Society of Jesus*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2009.
- . "The Three Forgotten Founders of the Society of Jesus: Paschase Broët, Jean Codure, Claude Jay". *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 29/2 (1997).
- Panikulam Kunjhu Kunjhu, George. "The Problem of 'Seeking Confirmation' in the *Spiritual Diary* of St. Ignatius of Loyola". STD diss., Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2004.
- Pego Puigbó, Armando. "Ribadeneira, Pedro de". In *DBE* 43:276-277.
- Peralta Núñez, Cristian. *Elegir en tiempos de incertidumbre*. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2020.
- Puche, Asun. "Las bases somáticas del discernimiento". *Manresa* 83 (2011): 27-38.
- Rahner, Hugo. "La aplicación de los sentidos en el método contemplativo de San Ignacio de Loyola". In *Ignacio de Loyola: el hombre y el teólogo*, edited by José García de Castro, 341-372. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2019.
- . "La visión de San Ignacio en la capilla de La Storta". In *Ignacio de Loyola: el hombre y el teólogo*, edited by José García de Castro, 41-117. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2019.
- Rahner, Karl. "Modern Piety and the Experience of Retreats". In *Theological Investigations*, translated by David Morland, vol. 16, 135-155. New York: Seabury Press, 1979.
- . *Palabras de Ignacio de Loyola a un jesuita hoy*. Santader: Sal Terrae, 1990.
- Ramírez Fueyo, Francisco. *El evangelio según san Ignacio. La vida de Cristo en los "Ejercicios Espirituales" y la tradición bíblica en la "Vita Christi" del Cartujano*. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2020.
- . "San Pablo y san Ignacio. Perspectivas antropológicas compartidas". In *El sujeto: reflexiones para una antropología ignaciana*, edited by Rufino Meana Peón, 65-94. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2019.
- Ransom, Emily A. "St. Ignatius in the Affective School of Ludolph of Saxony". *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 53/3 (2021).
- Robert, Sylvie. "El discernimiento ignaciano: discernimiento de las 'mociones', discernimiento teologal". In *Psicología y Ejercicios Espirituales. Sentir y conocer las varias mociones [Ej 313]*, edited by José García de Castro, María Prieto Ursúa, and Ana García-Mina Freire, 371-384. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2021.
- Rotsaert, Mark. *Ignace de Loyola et les nouveaux spirituels en Castille au début du XVIe siècle*. Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1982.
- Rouwez, Jacques. "Le premier jour. L'apparition à Notre-Dame". In *Les Exercices Spirituels d'Ignace de Loyola. Un commentaire littéral et théologique*, edited by Albert Chapelle et. al., 381-403. Brussels : Éditions de l'Institut d'Études Théologiques, 1990.

- Ruiz Jurado, Manuel. "Dios 'Padre Eternal' en la espiritualidad de San Ignacio". *Manresa* 72 (2000): 363-376.
- . "El Espíritu Santo en la espiritualidad ignaciana". *Manresa* 70 (1998): 217-230.
- . "En torno a la gracia de acatamiento amoroso". *Manresa* 35 (1963): 145-154.
- . "La oración de san Ignacio en su Diario Espiritual". *Manresa* 84 (2012): 63-77.
- . "La pobreza en el carisma fundacional ignaciano". *Manresa* 52 (1980): 47-64.
- . "Nadal, Jerónimo". In *DHCJ* 3:2793-2796.
- . "Ribadeneira, Pierre de". In *DSp* 13:526-532.
- Ruiz Pérez, Francisco José. "Alma". In *DEI* 1:121-130.
- . "Hombre". In *DEI* 2:942-947.
- . "'Mociones' ignacianas. Algunas reflexiones desde la antropología teológica". *Manresa* 91 (2019): 109-118.
- . "El placer en los Ejercicios espirituales ignacianos: algunas consideraciones". *Manresa* 75 (2003): 235-251.
- . *Teología del camino*. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 2000.
- Rupnik, Marko. "Pensamiento". In *DEI* 2:1440-1445.
- Salin, Dominique. "Voluntad". In *DEI* 2:1787-1790.
- Sampaio, Alfredo. "Confirmación". In *DEI* 1:389-392.
- . *Los tiempos de elección en los directorios de los Ejercicios*. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 2004.
- Schiavone, Pietro. "Alabanza". In *DEI* 1:105-113.
- . "Misa". In *DEI* 2:1233-1238.
- Shore, Paul. "Ludolfo de Sajonia". In *DEI* 2:1149-1153
- . "The *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony and its Influence on the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola". *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 30/1 (1998).
- Solano, Jesús. "Jesucristo en las denominaciones divinas de S. Ignacio". *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 30 (1956): 325-342.
- Sosa, Arturo. "Ignatian Year 2021-2022". *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu* 27/2 (2020):602-604.
- . "Our Vow of Poverty in the Following of Jesus Poor and Humble". Rome, 27 September, 2021. Circular letter not yet published in *ARSI*, accessed on 9 March 2022; <https://www.sjweb.info/adusum/documents/docslistLct2.cfm>
- Suquía Goicoechea, Ángel. *La santa misa en la espiritualidad de San Ignacio de Loyola*. 2nd ed. Vitoria, 1989.
- Tejera, Manuel. "Adiciones". In *DEI* 1:84-89.
- Thió de Pol, Santiago. "Devoción". In *DEI* 1:584-587.
- . "Diario espiritual". In *DEI* 1:592-595.
- . "La experiencia de Dios en los Ejercicios y en el diario espiritual de S. Ignacio". *Manresa* 61 (1989): 343-354.
- . "Experiencia de Dios reflejada en el Diario Espiritual de San Ignacio". *Manresa* 75 (2003): 27-36.
- . "Lágrimas". In *DEI* 2:1101-1105.
- . "Locuela". In *DEI* 2:1141-1143.
- . "Tenía mucha devoción a la santísima Trinidad [Au/28]". *Manresa* 72 (2000): 333-348.
- Toner, Jules. "The Deliberation that Started the Jesuits". *Studies in the Spirituality of the Jesuits* 6/4 (1974): 179-216.
- Uríbarri Bilbao, Gabino. "La mente de Cristo según san Ignacio". *Manresa* 93 (2021): 129-138.
- . "A modo de conclusión. 'Definir o declarar para nuestros tiempos de las cosas necesarias a la salud eterna' [Ej 363]. Arquitectura básica de la dogmática ignaciana".

- In *Dogmática Ignaciana*, edited by Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, 503-524. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018.
- . “‘Siguiéndoos, mi Señor, yo no me podré perder [De 114]’ . Líneas maestras de la cristología ignaciana”. In *Dogmática Ignaciana*, edited by Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, 133-175. Bilbao-Santander-Madrid: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2018.
- Valero, Urbano. “Pobreza”. In *DEI* 2:1452-1462.
- Vaz de Carvalho, José. “Câmara, Luis Gonçalves da”. In *DHCJ* 1:608-609.
- Vázquez Moro, Ulpiano. “A Ciência das Coisas Espirituais”. *Itaici: Revista de Espiritualidade Inaciana* 31 (1998): 78-87.
- Vélez, Juan. “La teología del dolor en San Ignacio de Loyola”. In *El Dolor*, edited by Alberto Dou, 265-272. Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 1992.
- Walsh, Milton. “‘To be always thinking somehow about Jesus’”. *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 43/1 (2011).
- Whelan, Joseph. “Jesuit Apostolic Prayer”. *The Way Supplement* 19 (1973): 13-21.
- Zanfredini, Mario. “Codacio (Codazzo), Pietro”. In *DHCJ* 1:831-832.
- Zas Friz, Rossano. “Mediador”. In *DEI* 2:1201-1205.
- . “Mística ignaciana”. In *DEI* 2:1255-1265.

2. Other sources: history, devotion, and spirituality

- Adnès, Pierre. “Larmes”. In *DSp* 9:287-303.
- . “Mariage Spirituel”. In *DSp* 10:388-408.
- Aerston, Jan. “Aquinas’s philosophy in its historical setting”. In *The Cambridge Companion to Aquinas*, edited by N. Kretzmann, and E. Stump, 12-37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo sacer, Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Alamo, Mateo. “Cisneros”. In *DSp* 2:910-921.
- Amelang, James. “Presentación. De la autobiografía a los ego-documentos: un fórum abierto”. *Cultura Escrita & Sociedad* 1 (2005): 17-18.
- Ampe, Albert. *L’Imitation de Jésus-Christ et son auteur*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1973.
- . “Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – auteur”. In *DSp* 7/2^a:2338-2354.
- Anderson, Elizabeth, Henrike Lähnemann, and Anne Simon. “Introduction: Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany”. In *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by E. Anderson, H. Lähnemann, and A. Simon, 1-19. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Andrés Martín, Melquíades. *Los recogidos: nueva visión de la mística española (1500-1700)*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1975.
- . “Osuna, François de”. In *DSp* 11:1037-1051.
- Bacht, Heinrich. “Logismos”. In *DSp* 9:955-958.
- Baier, Walter. “Ludolphe de Saxe”. In *DSp* 9:1130-1138.
- Baggerman, Arianne. “Controlar el tiempo y modelar el Yo”. *Cultura Escrita & Sociedad* 1 (2005): 23-27.
- Benedictow, Ole. *La Peste Negra (1346-1353). La historia completa*. Madrid: Akal, 2011.
- Beneviste, Émile. *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes 2: pouvoir, droit, religion*. Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1969.

- Bernard, Charles André. *Teología espiritual*. Translated by Alfonso Ortiz, and Vicente Hernández, 6th ed. Salamanca: Sígueme, 2007.
- Bertaud, Émile and André Rayez. “Dévotions”. In *DSp* 3:747-778.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *A History of Prophecy in Israel*. Rev. ed. John Knox Press: Kentucky, 1996.
- Boadt, Lawrence. *Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction*. New York: Paulist Press, 1984.
- Bodenstedt, Mary Immaculate. “The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian”. In *Ludolphus the Carthusian*, edited by J. Hogg, A. Girard, and D. Le Blévec, v-160. Salzburg: Analecta Cartusiana, 2007.
- Bollmann, Anne. “The Influence of Devotio Moderna in Northern Germany”. In *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by E. Anderson, H. Lähnemann, and A. Simon, 231-259. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. “La historia de uno mismo y la historia de los tiempos”. *Cultura escrita & sociedad* 1 (2005): 42-48.
- Boswell, James. *Life of Johnson*. Edited by Robert Chapman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Boyer, Ch. “Augustin”. In *DSp* 1:1101-1130.
- Brueggemann, Walter. *La imaginación profética*. Translated by Jesús García-Abril. 5th ed. Santander: Sal Terrae, 1983.
- Buckley, Michael. *What do you seek? The Questions of Jesus as Challenge and Promise*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Castillo Gómez, Antonio. “Introducción”. In *Escribir y leer en el siglo de Cervantes*, edited by Castillo Gómez, 19-37. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1999.
- Cessario, Romanus. “Tomás de Aquino”. In *DdM*, 1691-1694.
- Chatillon, Jean. “Devotio”. In *DSp* 3:702-716.
- Chenu, M.D. *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J.Vrin, 1950.
- . “Le plan de la *Somme théologique* de Saint Thomas”. *Revue Thomiste* 47 (1939): 93-107.
- Constable, Giles. *Three Studies in Medieval Religious Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Conway, Charles Abbott. *The “Vita Christi” of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion Centered on the Incarnation: A Descriptive Analysis*. Salzburg: Analecta Cartusiana, 1976.
- Corbon, Jean. *The Wellspring of Worship*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005.
- Cordovilla Pérez, Ángel. “Dios para pensar”. In *Hablar hoy de Dios, los retos de la biomedicina*, edited by Modesto Romero Cid, 9-101. Madrid: Edice, 2007.
- Dawson, Christopher. *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture*. New York: Doubleday, 1991.
- Debonjie, Pierre and Jacques Huijben. *L'auteur ou les auteurs de “L'Imitation”*. Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1957.
- Debonjie, Pierre. “Dévotion moderne”. In *DSp* 3:727-747.
- . “Les Thèmes de l'Imitation”. *Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 36 (1940): 289-344.
- De Certeau, Michel. *La fábula mística*. Translated by Jorge López Moctezuma. México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2004.
- De la Madre de Dios, Adolfo. “España. Age d'Or”. In *DSp* 4:1127-1146.

- Del Río, Emilio. “Introducción”. In *Vida de Cristo*, edited by Emilio del Río, vol. 1, vii-xxviii. Madrid-Rome: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010.
- Derville, André. “Paroles intérieures”. In *DSp* 12/1^a:252-257.
- Domínguez Morano, Carlos. *Mística y psicoanálisis*. Madrid: Trotta, 2020.
- Doncouer, P. “Angèle de Foligno”. In *DSp* 1:570-571.
- Duhr, Joseph. “Anges”. In *DSp* 1:580-625.
- . “Communion Fréquente”. In *DSp* 2:1234-1292.
- Epiney-Burgard, Georgette. *Gérard Grote (1340-1384) et les débuts de la dévotion moderne*. Wiesbaden, 1970.
- Estrada, Juan Antonio. *Dios en las tradiciones filosóficas*. Vol. 2, *De la muerte de Dios a la crisis del sujeto*. Madrid: Trotta, 1996.
- Evans, G. R. *Bernard of Clairvaux*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Fantino, Jacques. “Circumincisión”. In *DCT*, 260-261.
- Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. “Cardinal Cisneros as a Patron of Printing”. In *God and Man in Medieval Spain: Essays in honor of J.R.L. Highfield*, edited by D. Lomax, and D. Mackenzie, 149-168. Wiltshire: Aris & Philips, 1989.
- García Acosta, Pablo. “Introducción”. In *Libro de la experiencia. Angela de Foligno*, edited by Pablo García Acosta, 11-28. Madrid: Siruela, 2014.
- García M. Colombás. *Un reformador benedictino en tiempo de los reyes católicos. García Jiménez de Cisneros abad de Montserrat*. Abadía de Montserrat, 1955.
- García Oro, José. *El cardenal Cisneros: vida y empresas*. 2 vols. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1992-93.
- . *Cisneros y la reforma del clero español en tiempo de los reyes católicos*. Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1971.
- . “Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco”. In *DBE* 27:804-809.
- Gerrits, Gerrit. “Johannes Brinckerinck – Life, Sermons, and Thought”. In *Spirituality Renewed: Studies on Significant Representatives of the Modern Devotion*, edited by Hein Blommestijn, Charles Caspers, and Rijcklof Hofman, 57-120. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- Gesteira Garza, Manuel. *La Eucaristía, misterio de comunión*. 5th ed. Salamanca: Sígueme, 2006.
- Gilson, Etienne. *La Théologie Mystique de Saint Bernard*. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1947.
- Glorieux, Palémon. “Gerson (Jean)”. In *DSp* 6:314-331.
- Gorce, Denys. “Corps (Spiritualité et Hygiène)”. In *DSp* 2:313-314.
- Goudriaan, Koen. “Empowerment through reading, writing and example: the *Devotio moderna*”. In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Vol. 4, *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500*, edited by Miri Rubin, and Walter Simons, 407-419. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Grégoire, Réginald. “Gersen (Jean)”. In *DSp* 6:313-314.
- Gründler, Otto. “Devotio Moderna”. In *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, edited by Jill Raitt, 176-193. New York: Crossroad, 1988.
- Gy, Pierre-Marie. “Devotio Moderna”. In *DCT*, 362-364.
- Han, Byung-Chul. *No-cosas*. Translated by Joaquín Chamorro Mielke. Madrid: Taurus, 2021.
- . *La sociedad del cansancio*. Translated by Arantzazu Saratzaga Arregi, and Alberto Ciria. Barcelona: Herder, 2017.
- . *La sociedad paliativa*. Translated by Alberto Ciria. Barcelona: Herder, 2021.
- Hengel, Martin. *Studies in Early Christology*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995.

- Hernando, María Teresa. “La focalización narrativa en el Libro de la Vida de Teresa de Jesús”. In *La espiritualidad española del siglo xvi. Aspectos literarios y lingüísticos*, edited by María Jesús Mancho Duque, 199-204. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 1990.
- Homza, Lu Ann. *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Howard, Donald. *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Hyma, Albert. *The Christian Renaissance. A History of the “Devotio Moderna”*. Grand Rapids: The Reformed Press, 1924.
- Jeffery, Robert. “Note on the translation”. In *The Imitation of Christ*, edited and translated by Robert Jeffery. London: Penguin Books, 2013.
- Johnstone, Brian. “The Debate on the Structure of the *Summa theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas: from Chenu to Metz”. In *Aquinas as authority*, edited by P. Geest, H. Goris, and C. Leget, 187-200. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.
- Johnson, Elizabeth. “Mary and the Female Face of God”. *Theological Studies* 50 (1989): 500-526.
- Johnson, Luke Timothy. *Faith’s Freedom. A Classic Spirituality for Contemporary Christians*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.
- . *The Revelatory Body. Theology as Inductive Art*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2015.
- Jungmann, Joseph. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*. Translated by Francis Brunner. 2 vols. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1950.
- . *El sacrificio de la misa: tratado histórico-litúrgico*. Translated by Teodoro Baumann. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1951.
- Kieckhefer, Richard. “Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion”. In *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, edited by Jill Raitt, 75-108. New York: Crossroad, 1988.
- Lachance, Paul. “Introduction”. In *Angela of Foligno. Complete Works*, edited by Paul Lachance, 13-117. New York: Paulist Press, 1993.
- Ladaria, Luis. *Antropología teológica*. Madrid-Roma: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Pontificia Universidad Gregoriana, 1987.
- Laschenschmid, Robert. “Sailer, Johann Michael”. In *DHCJ* 4:3462-3463.
- Le Bail, Anselme. “Bernard”. In *DSp* 1:1454-1499.
- Le Brun, Jacques. “Devoción y devociones en la época moderna”. *Historia y grafía* 26 (2006): 57-75.
- Leclercq, Jean. *El amor a las letras y el deseo de Dios*. Translated by Antonio M. Aguado and Alejandro M. Masoliver. Salamanca: Sígueme, 2009.
- . *Bernardo de Claraval*. Translated by Miguel Montes. Valencia: Edicep, 1991.
- . *San Bernardo y el espíritu cisterciense*. Translated by Mariano Ballano. Burgos: Monte Carmelo, 2017.
- . *Saint Bernard Mystique*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1948.
- Liuiima, Antanas, and André Derville. “Examen particulier”. In *DSp* 4:1838-1849.
- López González, Luis, and Txemi Santamaría. *Cuerpo y espiritualidad*. Bilbao: Mensajero, 2021.
- Lourdaux, Willem. “Gérard Zerbolt de Zutphen”. In *DSp* 6:284-289.
- Luddy, Ailbe. *San Bernardo, el siglo XII de la Europa cristiana*. Madrid: Rialp, 1963.
- Luria, Keith. “‘Popular Catholicism’ and the Catholic Reformation”. In *Early Modern Catholicism*, edited by K. Comerford, and H. Pabel, 114-130. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2001.

- Mabillon, Joannis. "Praefatio Generalis". In *S. Bernardi. Opera Omnia. Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, edited by J.P. Migne, vol. 182 :14-56. Paris, 1854.
- Mancho Duque, María Jesús. *Palabras y símbolos en San Juan de la Cruz*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1993.
- Marcos, Juan Antonio. "'Concertar esta mi desbaratada vida'. (El círculo hermenéutico vida-lenguaje)". In *El "Libro de la vida" de Santa Teresa de Jesús. Actas del I Congreso Internacional Teresiano*, edited by Javier Sancho Fermín, and Rómulo Cuartas Londoño, 159-177. Burgos: Monte Carmelo, 2011.
- Martín, Teodoro. "Introducción". In *Libro de la vida. Vivencia de Cristo*, edited by Teodoro Martín, 11-24. Salamanca: Sígueme, 1991.
- Martín Velasco, Juan de Dios. "La experiencia de Dios. Una aproximación fenomenológica". In *La experiencia de Dios*, edited by Martín Velasco, Emilio Galindo Aguilar, and Ana Schlüter Rodés, 7-58. Madrid: Cátedra de Teología Contemporánea, 1985.
- . *El fenómeno místico*. Madrid: Trotta, 1999.
- . "Hacia una fenomenología de la experiencia de Dios". *Sinite Revista de Pedagogía Religiosa* 50 (2009): 213-249.
- . *Testigos de la experiencia de la fe*. Madrid: Narcea, 2001.
- Martínez Rojas, Francisco Juan. *Ciencia y recogimiento: la vía de Cisneros para la reforma del clero*. Madrid: Universidad de San Damaso, 2016.
- McGinn, Bernard, and Patricia Ferris McGinn. *Early Christian Mystics. The Divine Vision of the Spiritual Masters*. New York: Crossroad, 2003.
- McGinn, Bernard. *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*. Vol. 6, part 1, *Mysticism in the Reformation (1500-1650)*. New York: Crossroad, 2016.
- . *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*. Vol. 6, part 2, *Mysticism in the Golden Age of Spain (1500-1650)*. New York: Crossroad, 2017.
- . *Thomas Aquinas's "Summa theologiae": A biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- McInerney, Ralph. "Introduction". In *Thomas Aquinas Selected Writings*, edited by Ralph McInerney, ix-xxxiv. London: Penguin, 1998.
- Mehat, André. "Piété". In *DSp* 12/2^a:1694-1714.
- Melloni, Javier. *De aquí a Aquí*. Barcelona: Kairos, 2021.
- . *El deseo esencial*. Santander: Sal Terrae, 2009.
- . "Introducción". In *Compendio breve de ejercicios espirituales compuesto por un monje de Montserrat entre 1510-1555*, edited by Javier Melloni, xv-lxi. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2006.
- . *Vislumbres de lo real. Religiones y revelación*. Barcelona: Herder, 2007.
- Merton, Thomas. "Angela de Foligno". Conference given to the novices at the Abbey of Gethsemani, 11 April 1965. Accessed 8 April 2021. <http://www.merton.org/Research/AV/novitiate.aspx>
- Mertons, Thom. "Introduction". In *"Tractatus devotus": petit manuel pour le dévot modern*, edited by Francis Joseph Lagrand, 7-37. Belgium: Brepols, 1999.
- . "Rapiarium". In *DSp* 13:114-119.
- Montmorency, J.E.G. de. *Thomas à Kempis: His Age and Book*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.
- Moretti, Roberto. "Devoción". In *DdE* 1:567-572.
- Muñiz Rodríguez, Vincente. "Experiencia de Dios y lenguaje en Francisco de Osuna". *Laurentianum* 28 (1987): 44-105.
- Nicolas, Marie-Joseph. "Intercession". In *DSp* 7/2^a:1858-1870.
- Noble, Henri-Dominique. "Confiance". In *DSp* 2:1266-1281.
- Nock, A.D. *Conversion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933.

- Oberman, Heiko. "Shape of Late Medieval Thought". In *The Pursuit of Holiness*, edited by C. Trinkhaus, and H. Oberman, 3-25. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
- Ocker, Christopher. "The Bible in the 15th Century". In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Vol. 4, *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500*, edited by Miri Rubin, and Walter Simons, 472-493. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Palau y Dulcet, Antonio. *Manual del librero Hispanoamericano*. 7 vols. Barcelona: Librería Anticuaria, 1923-1927.
- Pegon, Joseph. "Discernement des Esprits – Période Moderne". In *DSp* 3:1266-1281.
- Pijnenborg, Godefridus. "Ginneken, Jacques van". In *DHCJ* 2:1733-1734.
- Post, R.R. *The Modern Devotion. Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism*. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Puyol, P.E. *La doctrine du livre de Imitatione Christi*. Paris: Victor Retaux, 1898.
- Rahner, Hugo. *Our Lady and the Church*. Translated by Sebastian Bullough. Maryland: Zaccheus Press, 2004.
- Rahner, Karl. "The Hiddenness of God". In *Theological Investigations*, translated by David Morland, vol. 16, 227-243. New York: Seabury Press, 1979.
- . "The Inexhaustible Transcendence of God and our Concern for the Future". In *Theological Investigations*, translated by Edward Quinn, vol. 20, 173-186. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1981.
- Righetti, Mario. *Historia de la liturgia. Introducción general*. Rev. ed. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2013.
- Rodríguez Cancho, Miguel. "Conocer a Fernando el Católico: mitos, tópicos y realidad histórica". In *Fernando el católico, rey*, edited by Antonio Miguel Bernal, 27-46. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2016.
- Rodríguez Panizo, Pedro. "Exploradores y cartógrafos". In *La experiencia mística*, edited by Juan Martín Velasco, 311-347. Madrid: Trotta, 2004.
- Roest, Bert. "Observant reform in religious orders". In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Vol. 4, *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500*, edited by Miri Rubin, and Walter Simons, 446-457. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- . "From Reconquista to Mission in the Early Modern Period". In *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, edited by James Mixson, and Bert Roest, 331-362. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Sainz Rodriguez, Pedro. *La siembra mística del cardenal Cisneros y las reformas en la Iglesia*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1979.
- Scheepisma, Wybren. "Mysticism and Modern Devotion – Alijt Bake's (1415-1455), Lessons in the Mystical Way of Living". In *Spirituality Renewed: Studies on Significant Representatives of the Modern Devotion*, edited by Hein Blommestijn, Charles Caspers, and Rijcklof Hofman, 157-167. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- Schein, Sylvia. "La 'Custodia Terrae Sanctae' franciscaine et les juifs de Jérusalem á la fin de moyen-âge". *Revue des études juives* 141 (1982): 369-377.
- Schillebeeckx, Edward. *Cristo y los cristianos: gracia y liberación*. Translated by A. Aramayona. Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1982.
- Schmemmann, Alexander. *¿Dónde está, muerte, tu victoria?* Translated by José Ángel Velasco García. Salamanca: Sígueme, 2020.
- . *For the Life of the World*. New York: St. Vladimir's Press, 2018.
- Schreiner, Susan. *Are you alone wise? The Search for Certainty in the Early Modern Period*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Serouet, Pierre. "S. François de Sales". In *DSp* 5:1057-1097.
- Sigal, Pierre André. "Pèlerinage: Moyen âge occidental". In *DSp* 12/1^a:918-929.
- Solignac, Aimé. "Pèlerinage". In *DSp* 12/1^a:888-893.

- Spaapen, Bernard. "Imitation de Jésus-Christ (livre) – doctrine spirituelle". In *DSp* 7/2^a:2355-2368.
- Standaert, Maur. "Guillaume de Digulleville". In *DSp* 6:1201-1203.
- Sullivan, Mary. "From Narrative to Proclamation: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Autobiography of Teresa of Avila". *Thought* 58 (1983): 453-471.
- Sumption, Joseph. *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion*. London: Faber and Faber, 1975.
- Swanson, R.N. *Religion and Devotion in Europe c.1215 – c.1515*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Te Velde, Rudi. *Aquinas on God*. Cornwall: Ashgate, 2006.
- Thion, Paul. "Grace – action de Dieu et activité de l'homme". In *DSp* 6:726-750.
- Tiecke, Jean. "Gérard Grote". In *DSp* 6:265-274.
- Tinsley, Lucy. *The French Expressions for Spirituality and Devotion: A Semantic Study*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1953.
- Torrell, Jean-Pierre. *Iniciación a Tomás de Aquino: su persona y su obra*. Translated by Ana Corzo Santamaría. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2002.
- . "Thomas d'Aquin". In *DSp* 15:718-773.
- Trechera Herreros, José Luis. "El narcisismo. Concepto: mito y mente". *Sal Terrae* 109 (2021): 967-980.
- Uríbarri Bilbao, Gabino. "Contemporaneidad de Cristo en la carne, condición del encuentro y de nuestra divinización". *Teología y Catequesis* 141 (2018): 13-35.
- . *El mensajero: perfiles del evangelizador*. Bilbao-Madrid: Desclée de Brouwer, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006.
- Valabek, Redento M. "Devoción". In *DdM*, 558-560.
- Van Dijk, Rudolf Th. M. "Thomas Hemerken a Kempis". In *DSp* 15:817-826.
- . "Toward Imageless Contemplation – Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen as Guide for *Lectio Divina*". In *Spirituality Renewed: Studies on Significant Representatives of the Modern Devotion*, edited by Hein Blommestijn, Charles Caspers, and Rijcklof Hofman, 3-28. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- . "Windesheim". In *DSp* 16:1457-1478.
- Van Engen, John. "Introduction". In *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, edited by John Van Engen, 5-61. New York: Paulist Press, 1988.
- . "Late Medieval Anti-Clericalism: The Case of the New Devout". In *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Peter Dykema, and Heiko Oberman, 19-52. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- . "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church". *Church History* 77 (2008): 257-284.
- . *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- . "The Virtues, The Brothers, and the Schools". *Revue Bénédictine* 98 (1988): 178-217.
- Van Woerkum, Martin. "Florent Radewijns". In *DSp* 5:427-434.
- Van Zijl, Theodore. *Gerard Groote. Ascetic and Reformer (1340-1384)*. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1963.
- Vandenbroucke, François. "Discernement des Esprits – au moyen âge". In *DSp* 3:1254-1266.
- . "Fous pour le Christ – en occident". In *DSp* 5:761-770.
- . "Nouveaux Milieux, Nouveaux Problèmes, du XII au XVI siècle". In *Histoire de la Spiritualité Chrétienne. Vol. 2, La Spiritualité du Moyen Age*, edited by L. Bouyer et al., 273-644. Aubier: Editions Montaigne, 1961.

- Vanhoye, Albert. "La identidad del sacerdote según el Nuevo Testamento". In *El ser sacerdotal: fundamentos y dimensiones constitutivas*, edited by Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, 23-36. Madrid: Comillas, 2010.
- Vanni, Ugo. *Apocalipsis. Una asamblea litúrgica interpreta la historia*. Pamplona: Verbo Divino, 1982.
- . "La espiritualidad de la apocalíptica". In *Espiritualidad del antiguo testamento*, edited by Antonio Bonora, 243-263. Salamanca: Sígueme, 1994.
- Vauchez, André. "Saints and pilgrimages: new and old". In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Vol. 4, *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500*, edited by Miri Rubin and Walter Simons, 324-339. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Vernet, F. "Autobiographies spirituelles". In *DSp* 1:1141-1159.
- Vitório, Jaldemir. "Jeremias, profeta crítico do poder imperial". *Estudios Bíblicos* 30 (2013): 389-412.
- Viller, Marcel. "Consolation Chrétienne". In *DSp* 2:1611-1617.
- Vivancos Gómez, Miguel Carlos. "Jiménez de Cisneros, García". In *DBE* 27:809-812.
- Von Habsburg, Maximilian. *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the "Imitatio Christi", 1425-1650. From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Waaijman, Kees. *Spirituality: Forms, Foundations, Methods*. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.
- Wilken, Robert. *The Christians as the Romans saw them*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Winston-Allen, Anne. *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).
- Zamora Jambrina, Hermenegildo. "Osuna, Francisco de". In *DBE* 39:293-297.
- Zarri, Gabriella. "Ecclesiastical Institutions and Religious Life in the Observant Century". In *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, edited by James Mixson and Bert Roest, 23-59. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Zemon Davis, Natalie. "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion". In *The Pursuit of Holiness*, edited by C. Trinkhaus, and H. Oberman, 307-336. Leiden: Brill, 1974.

RESEARCH TOOLS

1. Church Documents

The Bible – Revised Standard Version

Benedict XVI. *Deus caritas est. Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 98/3 (2006): 217-252.

English translation at accessed 8 April 2020.

https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20051225_deus-caritas-est.html

Benedict XVI. *Verbum domini. Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 102/11 (2010): 681-787.

English translation accessed 2 February 2021.

https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_ben-xvi_exh_20100930_verbum-domini.html

Catechism of the Catholic Church. New York: Doubleday, 1995.

Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. “Ad totius Catholicae Ecclesiae episcopos: de quibusdam rationibus christianae meditationis” (“Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on some aspects of Christian meditation”) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 82/4 (1990), 362-379.

Denzinger, H, and P. Hünermann, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*.

Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum. Online version accessed 15 February 2022.

<https://archive.org/details/DenzingerTheSourcesOfCatholicDogma/page/n3/mode/2up>

International Theological Commission. *The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments*.

English translation accessed 5 May 2022.

https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_cti_2020_0303_reciprocita-fede-sacramenti_en.html

Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. Dogmatic Constitution Dei Verbum. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 58/12 (1966): 817-835.

English translation accessed 8 March 2020.

https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651118_dei-verbum_en.html

2. Dictionaries and Encyclopedias

Diccionario de Autoridades. (Real Academia Española, 1726). Madrid: Gredos, 1990.

Diccionario del griego bíblico, edited by Amador Ángel García Santos. Barcelona: Herder, 1965.

Diccionario Histórico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico, edited by Joan Corominas, and José A. Pascual, 6 vols. Madrid: Gredos, 1991.

Encyclopedia of Catholicism, edited by Richard P. McBrien. New York: Harper Collins, 1995.

Diccionario Exegético del Nuevo Testamento, edited by Horst Balz, and Gerhard Schneider, 2 vols. Salamanca: Sígueme, 1996.

Greek English Lexicon, edited by Henry Liddell, and Robert Scott. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, edited by William Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1960.
- Diccionario teológico del nuevo testamento*, edited by Lothar Coenen, Erich Beyreuther, and Hans Bietenhard, 2nd ed., 3 vols. Salamanca: Sígueme, 1986.
- Oxford Latin Dictionary*, edited by R. C. Palmer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, edited by G.W.H. Lampe. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.
- The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David Noel Freedman, 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Vocabulario de Teología Bíblica*, edited by Xavier Léon-Dufour. Barcelona: Herder, 1965.

3. Concordances

- Echarte, Ignacio, ed. *Concordancia Ignaciana*. Bilbao-Santander-St. Louis: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996.
- Storr, Raynor, ed. *Concordance to the Latin Original of the Four Books Known as the "Imitation of Christ"*. London: Oxford University Press, 1910.