

A Pilgrim's Testament

The Memoirs of
St. Ignatius of Loyola

As transcribed by
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And

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Introduction

The text that is presented in these pages has been variously entitled: the Acts, the Testament, the Story, the Memoirs, or more commonly, the Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola; for it is a personal account of his life.

However, it covers only one period—from the time of his conversion, when he left his ancestral home of Loyola, till after many wanderings he finally settled down in Rome and became the first Superior General of the Society of Jesus.

No matter what the name, this is an untidy narrative, and seems to be just a patchwork of random memories ranging from the trivial to the profoundly significant, extracted from a reluctant Ignatius by the importunity of devoted friends. He speaks throughout in the third person, about the Pilgrim. That was his self-image: a man on a ceaseless quest, always forging ahead; and not at all inclined to look back, even as he neared journey's end.

But Jerome Nadal, his trusted lieutenant, was determined to obtain a testament—a piece of fatherly advice, as he explained, such as other Founders of Orders had left to their disciples. What he had in mind was not just any kind of pious message, but a thoroughly reliable account of the intimate relationship between God and Ignatius. For Nadal firmly believed, and strongly affirmed, that God deals with the followers of Ignatius as he dealt with Ignatius himself, and they must respond as he did. Hence the importance of having his own statement, a testimony, of what exactly happened. That would be a testament indeed. And to produce such a document was truly to found the Society of Jesus, Nadal said.

In the language of today, what he and the first Jesuits wanted was an authoritative exposition of the Ignatian charism as it should be realized in themselves and all those who came after. And in fact the charism does emerge from these Memoirs, and in such a way as to bring to light the coherence of the whole work, and even a certain structured arrangement, in spite of its haphazard composition, due to the difficult circumstances in which it came into being.

Ignatius had many good reasons for not attempting the task; and when he finally yielded to so many earnest requests, he did not actually write anything. He spoke out his story, in bits and pieces, to Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, another loyal companion and a man blessed with a very retentive memory, who first listened with great attention, then ran off to make brief notes, and eventually dictated the text—for the most part in the Spanish used by Ignatius, though this was not the mother-tongue of either of them; and towards the end having to fall back on what passes for Italian in the international community of Rome. In a preface, da Câmara describes the tremendous odds against which he had to struggle in order to get the whole job completed. Later, Nadal added a Forward, also stressing the difficulties of the enterprise.

It is not surprising that the resulting narrative is most unsatisfactory as a piece of literature. What does come as a surprise is that after it had been obtained at such cost it was never published, either in the original or in translations into modern languages, till the present century. A free Latin version was produced very early by Anibal du Coudret, and later printed, but never really circulated. So the facts that are recounted were generally known, but not the text itself—for there seems to have been some embarrassment about the way Ignatius expresses himself, and possibly some disappointment too.

Today the document is recognized as a spiritual classic, and a masterpiece of self-revelation in its very clumsiness. The remarkable renewal in the appreciation and use of the other small but powerful Ignatian composition, the Spiritual Exercises, is in large measure due to their current understanding in the light of the insights provided by the Memoirs.

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What stands out in the whole story is that Ignatius had a veritable genius for loyalty—and almost a felt need to be loyal, to find a person or cause that could claim his total devotion. As a young man he is constantly getting caught up in unrealistic ambitions, and not even the sobering experience of a shattered leg can break the spell that holds him captive. But some accidental reading reveals to him the true object of his quest: it is Christ, who alone is worthy of absolute loyalty and can satisfy the loftiest aspirations—in a way that is not self-centered but out-going.

In his encounter with Christ, Ignatius experiences loyalty as liberation. This paradox is the closest possible approach to a formulation of the Ignatian charism: loyalty is a firm attachment, something that binds; but loyalty to Christ is a liberation from all that hampers true and total growth. For through intimate union with Christ one comes to share his own experience—the experience that the man Jesus had of the Father, of God as Absolute and all else as relative. This is the truth that makes us free.

Looking more closely at the details of the Memoirs and at the sequence of eleven chapters, we see *the conversion of Ignatius* as the discovery of a deeper and hitherto unsuspected level of being, where his real self meets the real God in the person of Christ. This triggers a process of transformation, dominated by an overwhelming desire to serve the Lord. But he is now firmly rooted in reality and cannot indulge in dreams; he must come to some concrete plan, whilst remaining open to other possibilities. (Ch. 1)

As the story proceeds, each succeeding situation he faces brings to him an ever clearer realization that commitment to Christ carries with it other commitments—which may seem to tie him down again, to be a restriction, but are experienced as a further release: new opportunities, calling forth fresh generosity. Loyalty to Christ means loyalty to the Church; loyalty to the Church means loyalty to the Pope... We thus come to three distinct phases in the subsequent narrative, each introduced by a brief chapter of transition. They could be labelled and developed in this way:

In quest of the living Christ: He sallies forth from the castle of Loyola, on a spiritual adventure under the patronage of the Virgin Mary. Along the way, the Knight Errant is transformed into a true Pilgrim—a humble seeker after the fullness of truth. During his stay in the town of Manresa the Spirit leads him, through many trials and lessons, to a further profound experience of God as the one Reality embracing all reality. His journey to Jerusalem and the homeland of Christ is a practical application of his new insight, by a complete abandonment to divine providence. He gets the feel of the power of God at work in the destitute and the defenseless, and thus learns the secret of effectiveness in the cause of the Kingdom. (Chs. 2 to 4)

At the service of God's people: He is not allowed to stay in the Holy Land; without comment, he turns his back on a cherished plan and makes a fresh start: he will study in order to equip himself for a more universal apostolate in the Church, whilst already helping others to the best of his ability. He moves through several great universities and learns much more than theology: he comes to understand the various hazards that attend the evangelical enterprise, and to appreciate better than ever that zeal for the truth must be courageous, and not fearful: otherwise it does not lead to freedom but to an imprisoning of oneself and of others. (Chs. 5 to 8)

Available to the Pope for mission: Another beginning, no longer of an individual but of a group, the Friends in the Lord whom Ignatius has gathered at the University of Paris and among whom he now assumes a definite leadership role. They bid farewell to their past and set their course eastwards for Jerusalem. But there is no way to get there and they see that their destiny is in Rome, to be at the disposal of the Pope for any task he might entrust to them. As they approach the city, Ignatius has another deep experience of God in Christ, of the Father placing him with his Son. This is a peak point for the Pilgrim. There is still a long and painful way to go; but that is no longer just his story: it is the history of the Society of Jesus. (Chs. 9 and 10)

So the memoirs come rapidly to a close, with only a glimpse of *Ignatius as Founder*, writing the

Constitutions; but also bequeathing to his followers a testament: his testimony to the spiritual journey that led him into the heart of his charism—finding God in all things, which is the ultimate in loyalty and in liberation. And here he makes the solemn affirmation that is quoted on the very first page of this volume, with regard to his attitude and intention in recounting his life. (Ch. 11)

This last chapter spans as many years as the previous ten put together: the narrative begins with the wounding of Ignatius at Pamplona on May 20th, 1521; he came to Rome with his companions in November, 1537; and his concluding words were spoken on October 22, 1555, just months before his death.

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The whole account, though so compressed and involved, is replete with details that are both interesting and significant. But two events stand out as particularly important for an appreciation of the Ignatian charism: the “sublime enlightenment” on the banks of the Cardoner, in Manresa, and the experience of being “placed with Christ” at La Storta near Rome. Quite rightly, both have been regarded from the beginning as very relevant for the proper understanding of the Spiritual Exercises and of the Society of Jesus.

They cannot be adequately commented on in a brief introduction, but neither can one pass them over in silence. The first seems to be a culmination of the conversion experience, a mystical realization of God as he really is—the Absolute, embracing in himself all reality, so that all creation is seen in a new light and acquires a new meaning which is its true meaning, and a new coherence and relevance.

This is wisdom indeed and rightly called by the classical name of enlightenment. But there is still the process by which the awareness in depth must penetrate his whole being, so that everything in him, as in Christ, is response to God, and he can find God in other things.

One may well believe that this further advance was made at La Storta, where he attains to a Christ-likeness wherein not only his fundamental attitude but his entire self, with all its activity, is imbued with the Spirit and directed to the Father.

Ignatius was extremely reluctant to go into details about what happened, and used to refer to the report of Diego Lainez, to whom he had spoken at the time, and who was wont to state: “he said to me that he felt that God the Father had imprinted in his heart these words: I will be favorable to you in Rome... Then another time, he said he felt he saw Christ with the cross on his back, and the Eternal Father by his side, saying to him: I want you to take this man as your servant. And so Jesus took him, saying: I want you to serve us.”

It is surely significant that the above key-words: Jesus—servant—Rome, reflect the successive themes of the whole narrative: Christ—service—Pope. They also highlight the basic dimensions of the Ignatian charism as set down in the foundational document of the Society of Jesus: “to serve the Lord alone, and his Bride the Church, under the Roman Pontiff.”

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As has been remarked, the original text of the Memoirs was not in circulation till the present century, when it was edited and published by the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus.

It is interesting to note that the first translation into a modern language was in English. In fact, two translations appeared precisely in 1900, on either side of the Atlantic, both by Jesuits: one American, J. F. X. O’Connor; the other British, E. M. Rix. But they worked on what was itself a loose translation. Today many versions are available, each having its advantages and limitations. Whatever merit the text presented here may have is due in large measure to its having been elaborated in Rome, at the Jesuit headquarters, with a privileged access to sources and authorities. Subsequently, friendly comments from many quarters were taken into account, and this is now the fourth edition.

There is always room for improvement and for further effort because, as was pointed out at the beginning, the original is itself so rough. That seems to be the reason why it was never published till the present century, and why today there are so many editions in circulation. The fundamental problem is what should be the criterion for a good rendering of a bad composition, whose very meaning is sometimes obscure. Da Câmara himself says that on occasion he has sacrificed clarity for the sake of faithfulness to the exact words of Ignatius. Presumably the translator should emulate such fidelity even at the risk of damaging his own reputation as a writer. But is it fair to inflict on the reader a painful poverty of vocabulary and grammar, when it is possible to achieve a smoother flow of language without any loss to the sense of what is said?

The principle that has been followed here is to keep to a middle course, leaning towards accuracy rather than elegance, but within the limits of correct and intelligible expression. Idiosyncrasies of style have generally been preserved. It is hoped that the impact of the final result will retain something of the force and the flavor of the original.

Parmananda R. Divarkar, S.J.

Bombay, October 17, 1993.

Jerome Nadal's Foreword

[1] Myself and other Fathers had heard from our Father Ignatius that he had asked God to grant him three boons before he died. The first, that the Institute of the Society be confirmed by the Apostolic See. The second, likewise for the Spiritual Exercises. The third, that he might write the Constitutions.

[2] As I was mindful of this, and saw that he had obtained them all, I was afraid lest he be called away from us to a better life. Since I knew also that the holy Fathers, founders of monastic institutes, had a tradition of leaving to their posterity, by way of a testament, such advice as they trusted would be helpful towards their perfection in virtue, I awaited an opportunity when I might conveniently request the same from Father Ignatius. It came in 1551 when we were together and Father Ignatius said: "Now I was higher than heaven"—having experienced, I conjecture, some ecstasy of mind or rapture, as he was frequently wont. Full of respect I ask: "What was it, Father?" He changed the conversation. Judging this to be an appropriate occasion, I request and beg the Father to tell us how God guided him from the beginning of his conversion, so that his account might be for us a sort of testament and paternal instruction. I say: "For now that you have obtained those three things, Father, which you desired to see before your demise, we are afraid you may be called to heaven."

[3] The Father cited his engagements as an excuse: he could give neither attention nor time to it. However, he said: "Celebrate three Masses about this matter, Polanco, Ponce, and yourself, and tell me what you think after prayer." "We shall think exactly what we think now." He added very gently: "Do as I say." We did celebrate, and gave him the same reply; he promised to do it. The following year, when I again came back from Sicily to be sent to Spain, I asked the Father if he had done anything. "Nothing," he replied. On my return from Spain in 1554 I again ask. He had not got down to it. Thereupon, moved by I know not what impulse, I said with firm determination: "It is almost four years, Father, since I asked you, not in my name only but that of other Fathers, to explain to us how the Lord guided you from the beginning of your conversion. We are convinced that this would be of the greatest utility to us and the Society. But as I see you are not amenable, I dare assure you: if you do what we so much desire we shall use such a boon most diligently; if you do not, we shall not for that be disheartened, but as confident in the Lord as if you had written everything."

[4] The Father made no reply, but called Father Luis Gonzalez (that same day, I think) and began to relate to him the things that Father Gonzalez with his excellent memory later wrote down. These are the *Acta Patris Ignatii* that are in circulation. Father Luis was an elector in the first General Congregation, and was there elected Assistant to the Superior General Father Lainez. He was later tutor and mentor to King Sebastian of Portugal—a Father outstanding in doctrine and virtue.

Father Gonzalez wrote partly in Spanish, partly in Italian, as scribes were available. Father Anibal du Coudret, a learned and devout Father, made a Latin translation. Both author and translator are still alive.

Da Câmara's Preface

In the year '53, one Friday morning, the fourth of August, eve of Our Lady of Snows, while the Father was in the garden by the house or apartment known as the Duke's, I began to give him an account of some particulars concerning my soul. Among other things I spoke to him of vainglory. As a remedy the Father told me to refer everything of mine frequently to God, striving to offer him all the good I found in myself, acknowledging it as his and giving him thanks for it. He spoke to me about this in a manner that greatly consoled me, so that I could not restrain my tears. Thus the Father told me how much he had been bothered by this vice for two years, so much so that when he embarked from Barcelona for Jerusalem, he did not dare tell anyone that he was going to Jerusalem; and so in other similar instances. And he went on to say how much peace of soul he then felt in this regard.

An hour or two after this we went in to dine. While Master Polanco and I were eating with him, the Father said that Master Nadal and others of the Society had often asked something of him, and he had never made up his mind about it. But that after having spoken with me, when he had retired to his room, he had such a devout inclination to do it, and (speaking in a manner that showed that God had greatly enlightened him as to his duty to do so) that he was fully decided on this: to narrate all that occurred in his soul until now. He had also decided that I should be the one to whom he would reveal these things.

The Father was very ill at that time and never would promise himself a single day of life. Rather, if someone says, "I will do this a fortnight from now or a week from now," the Father always says with an air of amazement, "What, do you think you will live that long?" And yet this time he said that he expected to live three or four months to finish this business. The next day I spoke to him, asking when he wished us to begin; he replied that I should remind him of it each day (I do not remember how many days) until he was ready for it. But putting it off because of business, he later arranged that I remind him each Sunday. So in September (I do not remember how many days) the Father called me and began to tell me about his whole life and his youthful escapades, clearly and distinctly and with all the details. Later in the same month he called me three or four times and carried his story down to his early days in Manresa, as one may see by the writing in a different hand.

The Father's narrative style is the same that he uses in everything. He speaks with such clarity that he seems to make all that has passed present to one. Therefore, it was not necessary to ask him anything because the Father remembered to tell everything that helped to make one understand. Then, without saying anything to the Father, I went immediately to write it down, first in notes by my own hand and later at greater length, as it is written. I have striven not to put down any words except those that I heard from the Father. If at all in some things I fear I have failed, it is that in order not to depart from the Father's words, I have not been able to explain adequately the point of some of them.

Thus I wrote this, as said above, until September '53; but from then until Father Nadal came on October 18, '54, the Father was always excusing himself because of some illness or various affairs on

hand, saying to me, “When that affair is over, remind me of it”; and when it was over and I reminded him of it, he would say, “We are now with this other; when it is over, remind me of it.”

When Father Nadal came, he was very pleased that it was begun but bade me urge the Father, telling me many times that the Father could do nothing of greater benefit for the Society than this, and that this was truly to found the Society. He himself spoke to me to remind him of it when the business of endowing the College was finished, but after it was done, when the affair of Prester John was finished and the mail had gone.

We got going with the story on the ninth of March, but Pope Julius III began to be in a serious condition at that time and died on the twenty-third, so the Father postponed the matter until there was a pope. There was one, but he also fell ill immediately and died (that was Marcellus). The Father delayed until the election of Pope Paul IV; and afterwards, because of the great heat and his many engagements, postponed it continually until the twenty-first of September when my being sent to Spain began to be discussed. For this reason I strongly pressed the Father to fulfill his promise to me. So now he arranged to do it in the morning of the twenty-second, in the Red Tower. Accordingly, when I had finished saying Mass, I presented myself to him to ask if it was time.

He replied that I should wait for him in the Red Tower, so that when he arrived, I would be there. I took it that I would have to wait for him a long time in that place; and as I tarried at a porch speaking with a brother who had asked me something, the Father came along and reproved me because, failing in obedience, I had not waited for him in the Red Tower. He did not want to do anything that whole day.

Later we were again very insistent with him. So he returned to the Red Tower and dictated pacing about, as he had always done before. In order to observe his face I kept coming a little closer to him, but the Father said to me, “Keep the rule.” When, forgetting his remark, I came up to him, failing thus two or three times, the Father repeated the same remark and walked off. At length he returned to the same Tower and finished dictating to me what is written down. But as I was for some time already on the point of undertaking my journey (for the eve of my departure was the last day on which the Father spoke to me about this matter), I could not have everything fully written out in Rome. And not having a Spanish scribe in Genoa, I dictated in Italian whatever I had brought in summary from Rome. I finished the writing in December, 1555, in Genoa.

One
Pamplona and Loyola
1521-1522*

[1] ¹Up to the age of twenty-six he was a man given to the follies of the world; and what he enjoyed most was exercise with arms, having a great and foolish desire to win fame.

²And so, whilst in a fortress that the French were attacking, when all were of the view that they should surrender, with their lives safeguarded—for they saw clearly that they could not offer resistance—³he gave so many reasons to the commander that he actually persuaded him to resist, even against this view of all the officers, who drew courage from his spirit and determination.

⁴When the day came on which the bombardment was expected, he confessed to one of these companions in arms. ⁵And after the bombardment had lasted a good while, a shot struck him on one leg, shattering it completely; and as the cannon ball passed between both legs, the other also was badly injured.

[2] ¹So with his fall, those in the fortress soon surrendered to the French; who on taking possession of it, treated the wounded man very well—treated him with courtesy and kindness. ²And after he had been in Pamplona for twelve or fifteen days, they took him home in a litter.

³Here he felt quite unwell. All the doctors and surgeons who were summoned judged that the leg ought to be broken again and the bones reset, ⁴saying that because they had been badly set the other time, or it had gotten broken on the road, they were out of place, and this way he could not mend. ⁵And once again this butchery was gone through; during it, as in all the others he underwent before or after, he never said a word nor showed any sign of pain other than to clench his fists tightly.

[3] ¹Yet he kept getting worse, not being able to eat, and with the other symptoms that usually point to death. ²When St. John's day came, because the doctors were far from confident about his health, he was advised to confess; ³he received the sacraments on the eve of St. Peter and St. Paul. The doctors said that if he did not feel any improvement by midnight, he could be taken for dead. ⁴It happened that

* *In this translation, the traditional chapter divisions have been retained, with the addition of a title and a date at the beginning, and some explanatory notes at the end. These are numbered according to the paragraph or passage to which they refer.*

A standard numbering of paragraphs has been in use for some time. Now, with the computerized index of the works of Saint Ignatius, a further numbering of the sentences has been introduced, much like that of verses in the Bible. This system is adopted for the first time in the present edition. Each superscript number preceding a word corresponds to a passage that begins on the same line, at the word that follows the most important punctuation mark: usually a period (.), but sometimes a dash (—) or a comma (,).

The marginal comments of da Câmara, which are regarded as an integral part of the text, are reproduced in Roman type at the bottom of the page on the page on which they occur.

this sick man was devoted to St. Peter; so Our Lord deigned that he should begin to get better that very midnight. ⁵His improvement proceeded so well that some days later it was judged that he was out of danger of death.

[4] ¹And his bones having knit together, one bone below the knee was left riding on another, which made the leg shorter. The bone protruded so much that it was an ugly business. ²He could not bear such a thing because he was set on a worldly career and thought that this would deform him; he asked the surgeons if it could be cut away. ³They said that it could indeed be cut away, but that the pain would be greater than all that he had suffered, because it was already healed and it would take a while to cut it. ⁴And yet he chose on his own to be tortured, though his elder brother was shocked and said that he himself would not dare to suffer such pain; but the wounded man bore it with his wonted endurance.

[5] ¹After the flesh and excess bone were cut away, remedial measures were taken that the leg might not be short; ointment was often applied, and it was stretched continually with instruments that tortured him for many days. ²But Our Lord kept giving him health; and he felt so well that he was quite fit except that he could not stand easily on the leg and had perforce to stay in bed.

³And as he was much given to reading worldly books of fiction, commonly labeled chivalry, on feeling well he asked to be given some of them to pass the time. ⁴But in that house none of those that he usually read could be found, so they gave him a Life of Christ and a book of the lives of the saints in Castilian.

[6] ¹As he read them over many times, he became rather fond of what he found written there. ²But interrupting his reading, he sometimes stopped to think about the things he had read and at other times about the things of the world that he used to think of before. ³Of the many foolish ideas that occurred to him, one had taken such a hold on his heart that he was absorbed in thinking about it for two and three and four hours without realizing it: ⁴he imagined what he would do in the service of a certain lady; the means he would take so he could go to the place where she lived; the quips—the words he would address to her; the feats of arms he would perform in her service. ⁵He became so infatuated with this that he did not consider how impossible of attainment it would be, because the lady was not of ordinary nobility: not a countess nor a duchess; but her station was higher than any of these.

[7] ¹Nevertheless Our Lord assisted him, causing other thoughts, that arose from the things he read, to follow these. ²For in reading the life of Our Lord and of the saints, he stopped to think, reasoning within himself, “What if I should do this which St. Francis did, and this which St. Dominic did?” ³Thus he pondered over many things that he found good, always proposing to himself what was difficult and burdensome and as he so proposed, it seemed easy for him to accomplish it. ⁴But he did not more than argue within himself, saying, “St. Dominic did this, so I have to do it; St. Francis did this, so I have to do it.”

⁵These thoughts also lasted a good while; then, other things coming in between, the worldly ones mentioned above returned, and he also stayed long with them. ⁶This succession of such diverse thoughts lasted for quite some time, and he always dwelt at length upon the thought that turned up,

⁷either of the worldly exploits he wished to perform or of these others of God that came to his imagination, until he tired of it and put it aside and turned to other matters.

[8] ¹Yet there was this difference. When he was thinking of those things of the world, he took much delight in them, but afterwards, when he was tired and put them aside, he found himself dry and dissatisfied. ²But when he thought of going to Jerusalem barefoot, and of eating nothing but plain vegetables and of practicing all the other rigors that he saw in the saints, ³not only was he consoled when he had these thoughts but even after putting them aside he remained satisfied and joyful.

⁴He did not notice this, however; nor did he stop to ponder the distinction until the time when his eyes were opened a little, and he began to marvel at the difference and to reflect upon it, ⁵realizing from experience that some thoughts left him sad and others joyful. Little by little he came to recognize the difference between the spirits that were stirring, one from the devil, the other from God.*

[9] ¹From this lesson he derived not a little light, and he began to think more earnestly about his past life and about the great need he had to do penance for it. ²At this point the desire to imitate the saints came to him though he gave no thought to particulars, only promising with God's grace to do as they had done. ³But the one thing he wanted to do was to go to Jerusalem as soon as he recovered, as mentioned above, with as much of disciplines and fasts as a generous spirit, ablaze with God, would want to perform.

[10] ¹And so he began to forget the previous thoughts, with these holy desires he had, and they were confirmed by a spiritual experience, in this manner. ²One night while he was awake, he saw clearly an image of Our Lady with the holy Child Jesus. From this sight he received for a considerable time very great consolation, and he was left with such loathing for his whole past life, ³and especially for the things of the flesh, that it seemed to him that his spirit was rid of all the figures that had been painted on it. ⁴Thus from that hour until August '53 when this was written, he never gave the slightest consent to the things of the flesh. For this reason it may be considered the work of God, although he did not dare to claim it nor said more than to affirm the above. ⁵But his brother as well as all the rest of the household came to know from his exterior the change that had been wrought inwardly in his soul.

[11] ¹With no worry at all, he persevered in his reading and his good resolutions; and all his time of conversation with members of the household he spent on the things of God; thus he benefited their souls. ²As he very much liked those books, the idea came to him to note down briefly some of the more essential things from the life of Christ and the saints; ³so he set himself very diligently to write a book (because he was now beginning to be up and about the house a bit) with red ink for the words of Christ, blue ink for those of Our Lady ⁴—on polished and lined paper, in a good hand because he was a very fine penman.**

⁵Part of the time he spent in writing and part in prayer. ⁶The greatest consolation he experienced

* This was his first reflection on the things of God; and later, when he composed the Exercises, this was his starting point in clarifying the matter of diversity of spirits.

** This had nearly 300 pages, all written, quarto size.

was gazing at the sky and the stars, which he often did and for long, because he thus felt within himself a very great impulse to serve Our Lord. ⁷He often thought about his intention and wished he were now wholly well so he could get on his way.

[12] ¹After taking stock of what he might do after he returned from Jerusalem, so he could always live as a penitent, he thought he might enter the Carthusian house in Seville, without saying who he was, so that they would make little of him; and there never to eat anything but plain vegetables. ²But when he thought again of the penances he wished to do as he went about the world, the desire to enter the Carthusians cooled, with the fear that he would not be able to give vent to the hatred that he had conceived against himself. ³Still he instructed one of the household servants who was going to Burgos to get information about the rule of the Carthusians, and the information he obtained about it seemed good.

⁴But for the reason mentioned above and because he was wholly absorbed in the journey he was planning soon to make, and that matter did not have to be dealt with until his return, he did not much look into it. ⁵Rather, finding now that he had some strength, he thought the time to depart had come; and he said to his brother, ⁶“Sir, the Duke of Nájera, as you know, is aware that I am now well. It will be good that I go to Navarrete.” (The duke was there at that time.)*

⁷His brother took him to one room and then another, and with much feeling begged him not to throw himself away and consider what hopes had been placed in him by the people, and how much he could achieve—and other such words, all with the purpose of dissuading him from his good intention. ⁸But he answered in such a way that, without departing from the truth, for he was now very scrupulous about that, he slipped away from his brother.

* His brother and others at home suspected he was planning some drastic change.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1] *The probable year of Ignatius's birth is 1491. He would be aged twenty-six when he entered the service of the Duke of Nájera, Antonio Manrique de Lara, who was Viceroy of Navarre under the Emperor Charles V. There are several references in the text to the struggle between the Emperor and the French King Francis I. But the wounding of Ignatius in the defense of Pamplona, capital of Navarre, with which his story begins, happened on May 20, 1521, when he must have been about thirty years old. He seems to have recounted some early escapades, whose omission from the text (on whose authority, it is not known) has disturbed the chronology.*

[2] *The castle of Loyola, in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa, had been deprived of its upper storeys and warlike battlements, which were replaced by a more peaceful and artistic construction in brick; on the top floor was the room occupied by Ignatius, later made into a chapel. The whole edifice is now surrounded by a basilica and other buildings.*

[5] *The books given to Ignatius seem to have belonged to his sister-in-law Magdalena, who was something of a mother to him. The Life of Christ was by the Carthusian Ludolf of Saxony—in four volumes; the other book was the Flos Sanctorum or Golden Legend by the Dominican Bishop Jacobo de Varazze.*

[6] *It has been impossible to determine the identity of the lady of the daydreams. The best guess points to Princess Catalina, the charming younger sister of the Emperor Charles V, who was then in her early teens and later married King John III of Portugal, a generous patron of the Jesuits.*

[8] *Here comes the first of thirteen marginal notes by da Câmara, which are here given in Roman type in the footnotes. He speaks of diversity of spirits, and so does Ignatius; but it is rather a question of the difference between two spirits. It is generally understood that Ignatius says that the spirits were moving him, but the original uses the reflexive construction “se agitaban,” which means simply that they were in motion, or were stirring.*

[12] *The eldest brother, Juan Pérez, had died. The head of the family was now Martín García, referred to here, who was married to Magdalena de Araoz; he was much older than Iñigo, later known as Ignatius, who was the youngest. The brother in the next chapter was probably the priest, Pero López.*

Two
Road to Montserrat
1522

[13] ¹And so, as he mounted a mule, another brother wished to go with him as far as Oñate. On the road he persuaded him to join in a vigil at Our Lady of Aránzazu. ²That night he prayed there that he might gain fresh strength for his journey. He left his brother in Oñate at the house of a sister he was going to visit, and himself went on to Navarrete.*

³Remembering that a few ducats were owed him at the duke's household, he thought it would be well to collect them; for this he wrote out a bill for the treasurer. ⁴The treasurer said he had no money; and the duke hearing this said there might be a lack for everything but no lacking for Loyola—to whom he wanted to give a good position, if he would accept it, because of the reputation he had earned in the past. ⁵He collected the money and arranged that it be distributed among certain persons to whom he felt indebted, with a part for a statue of Our Lady that was in ill repair, so it could be repaired and handsomely adorned. ⁶Then, dismissing the two servants who had come with him, he set out alone on his mule from Navarrete for Montserrat.

[14] ¹On the way something happened to him which it would be well to record, so one may understand how Our Lord dealt with this soul, which was still blind, though greatly desirous of serving him as far as his knowledge went. ²Thus, he decided to do great penances, no longer with an eye to satisfying for his sins so much as to please and gratify God. ³So when it occurred to him to do some penance that the saints practiced, he determined to do the same and even more.**

⁴From these thoughts he derived all his consolation, not looking to any interior thing, nor knowing what humility was or charity or patience; or the discretion that regulates and measures these virtues. ⁵His whole intention was to do such great external works because the saints had done so for the glory of God, without considering any more particular prospect.

[15] ¹Well, as he was going on his way, a Moor came up to him riding on a mule. They went along chatting together and got to talking about Our Lady; and the Moor said it seemed to him that the Virgin had indeed conceived without a man, ²but he could not believe in her giving birth whilst remaining a virgin. In support of this he cited the natural arguments that suggested themselves to him. ³The pilgrim, in spite of the many reasons he gave him, could not demolish this opinion. ⁴The Moor then went ahead so quickly that he lost sight of him, and he was left pondering over what had transpired with the Moor.

⁵At this, various emotions came over him and caused discontent in his soul, as it seemed that he had not done his duty. ⁶They also aroused his indignation against the Moor, for it seemed that he had done

* From the day he left home, he always took the discipline each night.

** He had such disgust of his past sins, and such a lively desire to do great things for the love of God, that though he made no judgment that his sins were forgiven, he did not give them much attention in the penances that he undertook to perform.

wrong in allowing the Moor to say such things about Our Lady, and that he ought to sally forth in defense of her honor. ⁷He felt inclined to go in search of the Moor and stab him with his dagger for what he had said. After a long engagement in this struggle of inclinations, he remained uncertain at the end, not knowing what he ought to do. ⁸The Moor, who had moved ahead, had told him that he was going to a place a little further on the same road, very near the highway, though the highway did not pass through the place.

[16] ¹So, being tired of examining what would be best to do and not arriving at a definite conclusion, he decided as follows: to let the mule go with reins slack as far as the place where the ways parted. ²And if the mule took the village road, he would seek out the Moor and stab him; if the mule did not go toward the village but took the highway, he would let him be. ³And doing as he had thought, Our Lord deigned that although the village was little more than thirty or forty paces away, and the road to it was very broad and very good, the mule took the highway and left the village road.

⁴Coming to a large town before Montserrat, he decided to buy there the attire he had resolved to wear—and use when going to Jerusalem. ⁵He bought cloth from which sacks are usually made, loosely woven and very prickly. Then he ordered a long garment to be made from it, reaching to his feet. He bought a pilgrim's staff and a small gourd and put everything in front by the mule's saddle.*

[17] ¹He went on his way to Montserrat, thinking as he always did of the exploits he would perform for the love of God. ²And as his mind was all full of tales like Amadis de Gaul and such books, the ideas that came to him were along those lines. ³Thus he decided to keep a vigil of arms one whole night, without sitting or lying down, but standing a while and kneeling a while, before the altar of Our Lady of Montserrat, where he resolved to lay aside his garments and to don the armor of Christ. ⁴So leaving this place, he set off, thinking as usual of his resolutions.

On arrival at Montserrat, after praying and fixing an appointment with the confessor, he made a general confession in writing; ⁵it lasted three days. He arranged with the confessor to have his mule taken in charge, and his sword and dagger placed in the church at the altar of Our Lady. ⁶This was the first man to whom he revealed his decision, because until then he had not revealed it to any confessor.

[18] ¹On the eve of Our Lady in March, at night, in the year 1522, he went as secretly as he could to a beggar—and stripping off all his garments he gave them to a beggar; he dressed himself in his chosen attire and went to kneel before the altar of Our Lady. ²At times in this way, at other times standing, with his pilgrim's staff in his hand, he spent the whole night.

³He left at daybreak so as not to be recognized, and did not take the road that led straight to Barcelona, where he would come across many who would recognize and honor him, ⁴but turned off to a town called Manresa. Here he planned to stay in a hospice a few days—and also to note some things in his book; this he carried around very carefully, and he was greatly consoled by it.

* He also bought some slippers, of which he took just one; and this not for style but because he had one leg all tied up with a bandage and somewhat neglected, so much so that though he was mounted, each night he found it swollen; this foot he thought must be shod.

⁵As he was gone about a league from Montserrat, a man who had been hurrying after him, caught up and asked if he had given some clothes to a beggar, as the beggar affirmed. ⁶Answering that he had, tears flowed from his eyes in compassion for the beggar to whom he had given the clothing⁷—in compassion, for he realized they were harassing him, thinking he had stolen them.

⁸Yet as much as he avoided favorable notice, he could not remain long in Manresa before people had a big story to tell—their ideas coming from what happened at Montserrat; and soon the tale grew into saying more than the truth: that he had given up a large income, etc.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

[13] Aránzazu was only a little hermitage at the time, but a popular shrine. There is now a big basilica and a large Franciscan establishment.

[16] Ignatius may not have been as naive as he makes himself out to be, in the incident of the mule. It could well have happened that in relinquishing the reins he also let go his mental confusion and emotional turmoil, and came to rest at a deeper level of being whence he could take a more objective view of reality and even unconsciously guide the mule to the right track. There is here the basic pattern of discernment.

[17] Amadis de Gaul is a mythical Prince of Wales, whose romantic story first appeared in 1508 and in eighty years achieved an incredible thirtieth edition; its success led inevitably to a sequel on the son of Amadis, Esplandian, said to have been invested as a knight with a vigil of arms, before an image of the Virgin Mary.

The confessor of the pilgrims was the saintly Frenchman Jean Chanon; he seems to have introduced Ignatius to the so-called Devotio Moderna, one of whose masterpieces is the Imitation of Christ, which he soon came to know and love.

[18] The Black Virgin of Montserrat is one of the most famous Madonnas in the world, and the Benedictine monastery around it is a dearly loved place of pilgrimage, for nearly a thousand years.

The long break in the process of dictation by Ignatius, noted by da Câmara, seems to have taken place at the end of this chapter, where the first days in Manresa are recorded.

Three
Sojourn at Manresa
1522-1523

[19] ¹He begged alms in Manresa every day. He did not eat meat nor drink wine, even though they were offered to him. He did not fast on Sundays, and if they gave him a little wine, he drank it. Because he had been very fastidious in taking care of his hair, as was the fashion at that time (and his was handsome), ²he decided to let it go its way according to nature without combing or cutting it or covering it with anything by night or day. ³For the same reason he let the nails grow on toes and fingers because he had been fastidious in this too.

⁴While in this hospice it often happened that in broad daylight he saw something in the air near him. It gave him great consolation because it was very beautiful—remarkably so. ⁵He could not discern very well the kind of thing it was, but in a way it seemed to him to have the form of a serpent with many things that shone like eyes, though they were not. ⁶He found great pleasure and consolation in seeing this thing, and the oftener he saw it the more his consolation grew. When it disappeared, he was displeased.

[20] ¹Until this time he had remained always in nearly the same interior state of very steady joy, without having any knowledge of interior things of the spirit. ²The days while that vision lasted or somewhat before it began (for it lasted many days), a forceful thought came to trouble him by pointing out the hardships of his life, like a voice within his soul. “How will you be able to endure this life for the seventy years you have to live?” ³Sensing that it was from the enemy, he answered interiorly with great vehemence, “Wretch! Can you promise me an hour of life?” So he overcame the temptation and remained at peace. ⁴This was the first temptation that came to him after what is mentioned above. ⁵It happened when he was entering a church where he heard High Mass each day and Vespers and Compline, all sung, finding in this great comfort. Usually he read the Passion at Mass, always retaining his serenity.

[21] ¹But soon after the temptation noted above, he began to have great changes in his soul. Sometimes he felt so out of sorts that he found no relish in saying prayers nor in hearing Mass nor in any other devotion he might practice. ²At other times quite the opposite of this came over him so suddenly that he seemed to have thrown off sadness and desolation just as one snatches a cape from another’s shoulders. ³Now he started getting perturbed by the changes that he had never experienced before, and he said to himself, “What new life is this that we are now beginning?”

⁴At this time he still conversed occasionally with spiritual persons who had regard for him and wanted to talk to him, ⁵because even though he had no knowledge of spiritual matters, yet in his speech he revealed great fervor and eagerness to go forward in God’s service. ⁶At that time there was at Manresa a woman of great age, with a long record also as a servant of God, and known as such in many parts of Spain, so much so that the Catholic King had summoned her once to communicate something. ⁷One day this woman, speaking to the new soldier of Christ, said to him, “O! May my Lord Jesus

Christ deign to appear to you some day.”⁸But he was startled at this, taking the matter quite literally, “How would Jesus Christ appear to me?”⁹He persevered steadily in his usual confession and communion each Sunday.

[22] ¹But here he began to have much trouble from scruples, ²for even though the general confession he had made at Montserrat had been quite carefully done and all in writing as has been said, ³still at times it seemed to him that he had not confessed certain things. This caused him much distress, because although he confessed that, he was not satisfied. ⁴Thus he began to look for some spiritual men who could cure him of these scruples, but nothing helped him. ⁵Finally, a doctor of the cathedral, a very spiritual man who preached there, told him one day in confession to write down everything he could remember. ⁶He did so, but after confession the scruples still returned, becoming increasingly minute so that he was in great distress.

⁷Although he was practically convinced that those scruples did him much harm and that it would be good to be rid of them, he could not break himself off. ⁸Sometimes he thought it would cure him if his confessor ordered him in the name of Jesus Christ not to confess anything of the past; he wanted his confessor to order him thus, but he did not dare say this to his confessor.

[23] ¹But without his saying so, his confessor ordered him not to confess anything of the past, unless it was something quite clear. ²But since he found all those things to be very clear, this order was of no use to him, and so he continued with the difficulty. ³At this time he was staying in a small room that the Dominicans had given him in their monastery. He persevered in his seven hours of prayer on his knees, getting up regularly at midnight, and in all the other exercises mentioned earlier. ⁴But in none of them did he find any cure for his scruples; and it was many months that they were tormenting him.

⁵Once when he was very distressed by them, he began to pray, and roused to fervor he shouted out loud to God, saying, ⁶“Help me, Lord, for I find no remedy in men nor in any creature; yet if I thought I could find it, no labor would be too hard for me. ⁷Yourself, Lord, show me where I may find it; even though I should have to chase after a puppy that it may give me the remedy, I will do it.”

[24] ¹While he had these thoughts, the temptation often came over him with great force to throw himself through a large hole in his room, next to the place where he was praying. ²But realizing that it was a sin to kill oneself, he shouted again, “Lord, I will do nothing that offends you,” repeating these words many times, as well as the previous ones. ³Then there came to his mind the story of a saint who, in order to obtain from God something that he wanted very much, went without eating many days until he got it. ⁴Thinking about this for a good while, he at last decided to do it, telling himself that he would not eat nor drink until God succored him, or until he saw that death was quite close—⁵for should it happen that he found himself at the extreme limit, so that he would soon die if he did not eat, then he thought to ask for bread and to eat (as if indeed at that limit he would be able to ask or to eat).

[25] ¹This happened one Sunday after he had received communion; he persevered the whole week without putting anything into his mouth, not ceasing to do his usual exercises, even going to divine office and saying his prayers on his knees, even at midnight, etc. ²But when the next Sunday came and

he had to go to confession, since he used to tell his confessor in great detail what he had done, he also told him how he had eaten nothing during that week. ³His confessor ordered him to break that fast; and though he still felt strong, he nevertheless obeyed his confessor, and that day and the next he felt free from scruples. ⁴But on the third day, which was Tuesday, while at prayer he began to remember his sins; ⁵and so, as in a process of threading, he went on thinking of sin after sin from his past and felt he was obliged to confess them again. ⁶But after these thoughts, disgust for the life he led came over him, with impulses to give it up.

In this way the Lord deigned that he awake as from sleep. ⁷As he now had some experience of the diversity of spirits from the lessons God had given him, he began to examine the means by which that spirit had come. He thus decided with great lucidity not to confess anything from the past any more; ⁸and so from that day forward he remained free of those scruples and held it for certain that Our Lord had mercifully deigned to deliver him.

[26] ¹Besides his seven hours of prayer he busied himself helping in spiritual matters certain souls who came there looking for him. All the rest of the day he spent thinking about the things of God that he had meditated upon or read that day. ²But when he went to bed, great enlightenment, great spiritual consolations, often came to him; so that they made him lose much of the time he had allotted to sleep, which was not much. ³Examining this several times, he thought to himself that he had ample time assigned for converse with God, and all the rest of the day as well; ⁴and he began to doubt, therefore, whether that enlightenment came from a good spirit. He concluded that it would be better to ignore it and to sleep for the allotted time. And so he did.

[27] ¹He continued to abstain from eating meat and was so determined about it that he would not think of changing it for any reason; but one day, when he got up in the morning, edible meat appeared before him as if he saw it with his ordinary eyes, though no desire for it had preceded. ²At the same time he also had a strong inclination of his will to eat it from then on. Although he remembered his previous intention, he had no doubt about this, but rather a conviction that he ought to eat meat. ³Later, on reporting this to his confessor, the confessor told him to consider whether perhaps this was a temptation; but examining it carefully, never could he doubt about it.

⁴God treated him at this time just as a schoolmaster treats a child whom he is teaching. Whether this was because of his lack of education and of brains, or because he had no one to teach him, or because of the strong desire God himself had given him to serve him, ⁵he believed without doubt and has always believed that God treated him in this way. Indeed if he were to doubt this, he would think he offended his Divine Majesty. Something of this can be seen from the five following points.

[28] ¹*First:* He had great devotion to the Most Holy Trinity, and so each day he prayed to the three Persons separately. ²But as he also 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, being hardly important. ³One day while saying the Office of Our Lady on the steps of the same monastery, his understanding began to be elevated as though he saw the Most Holy Trinity in the form of three

musical keys. This brought on so many tears and so much sobbing that he could not control himself. ⁴That morning, on going in a procession that set out from there, he could not hold back his tears until dinner time; nor after eating could he stop talking about the Most Holy Trinity, ⁵using many comparisons in great variety and with much joy and consolation. As a result, the effect has remained with him throughout his life of feeling great devotion while praying to the Most Holy Trinity.

[29] ¹*Second:* Once, the manner in which God had created the world was presented to his understanding with great spiritual joy. He seemed to see something white, from which some rays were coming, and God made light from these. ²But he did not know how to explain these things, nor did he remember too well the spiritual enlightenment that God was imprinting on his soul at the time. ³*Third:* At Manresa too, where he stayed almost a year, after he began to be consoled by God, and saw the fruit which he bore in dealing with souls, he gave up those extremes he had formerly practiced, and he now cut his nails and his hair. ⁴One day in this town, while he was hearing Mass in the church of the monastery mentioned above, at the elevation of the Body of the Lord, he saw with interior eyes something like white rays coming from above. ⁵Although he cannot explain this very well after so long a time, nevertheless what he saw clearly with his understanding was how Jesus Christ our Lord was there in that Most Holy Sacrament.

⁶*Fourth:* Often and for a long time, while at prayer, he saw with interior eyes the humanity of Christ. The form that appeared to him was like a white body, neither very large nor very small, but he did not see any distinction of members. ⁷He saw it at Manresa many times. If he should say twenty or forty, he would not dare judge it a lie. He has seen this another time in Jerusalem and yet another while traveling near Padua. ⁸He has also seen Our Lady in a similar form, without distinguishing parts. ⁹These things he saw strengthened him then and always gave him such strength in his faith that he has often thought to himself: if there were no Scriptures to teach us these matters of faith, he would be resolved to die for them, solely because of what he has seen.

[30] ¹*Fifth:* Once he was going out of devotion to a church situated a little more than a mile from Manresa; I believe it is called St. Paul's and the road goes by the river. As he went along occupied with his devotions, he sat down for a little while with his face toward the river, which ran down below. ²While he was seated there, the eyes of his understanding began to be opened; not that he saw any vision, but he understood and learned many things, both spiritual matters and matters of faith and of scholarship and this with so great an enlightenment that everything seemed new to him.*

³The details that he understood then, though there were many, cannot be stated, but only that he experienced a great clarity in his understanding. ⁴This was such that in the whole course of his life, after completing sixty-two years, even if he gathered up all the various helps he may have had from God and all the various things he has known, even adding them all together, he does not think he had got as much as at that one time.

[31] ¹After this had lasted for a good while, he went to kneel before a nearby cross to give thanks to

* This left his understanding so very enlightened that he felt as if he were another man with another mind.

God. ²There, the vision that had appeared to him many times but which he had never understood, that is, the thing mentioned above which seemed very beautiful to him, with many eyes, now appeared to him. ³But while before the cross, he saw clearly that the object did not have its usual beautiful color, and he knew very clearly with a strong agreement of his will that it was the devil. ⁴Later it would often appear to him for a long time; and by way of contempt he dispelled it with a staff he used to carry in his hand.

[32] ¹Once while he was ill at Manresa, a very severe fever brought him to the point of death, and he fully believed that his soul was about to leave him. ²At this a thought came to him telling him that he was a just man, but this caused him so much trouble that he constantly rejected it and called his sins to mind. ³He had more trouble with this thought than with the fever itself, but no matter how much trouble he took to overcome the thought, he could not overcome it. ⁴Then somewhat relieved of the fever, he was no longer at the point of expiring, and he began to shout loudly to some ladies who had come there to visit him, ⁵that for the love of God, when they next saw him at the point of death, they should shout at him with loud voices, addressing him as sinner: let him remember the offenses he had committed against God.

[33] ¹Another time, while going by sea from Valencia to Italy in a violent storm, the rudder of the ship was broken, and the situation reached such a pass that in his judgment and that of many others who sailed on the ship, they could not by natural means escape death. ²At this time, examining himself carefully and preparing to die, he could not feel afraid for his sins or of being condemned, ³but he did feel embarrassment and sorrow, as he believed he had not used well the gifts and graces which God our Lord had granted him.

⁴Another time, in the year '50, he was very bad with a very severe illness which, in his opinion as well as of many others, would be the last. ⁵On this occasion, thinking about death, he felt such joy and such spiritual consolation at having to die that he dissolved entirely into tears. ⁶This became so habitual that he often stopped thinking about death so as not to feel so much of that consolation.

[34] ¹When winter came he was down with a very severe illness, and for treatment the town put him in a house of the father of one Ferrera, who was later in the service of Balthasar de Faria. ²There he was cared for with great attention; and many prominent ladies, because of the deep regard they now had for him, came to watch over him by night. ³Though he recovered from this illness, he was still very weak and with frequent stomach pains. ⁴For these reasons, therefore, and because the winter was very cold, they made him dress up and wear shoes and cover his head; so they made him use two brown jackets of very coarse cloth and a cap of the same, something like a beret. ⁵At this time there was a long period during which he was eager to converse on spiritual matters and to find persons who could deal with them. Meantime, the time was approaching when he planned to set out for Jerusalem.

[35] ¹So at the beginning of the year '23 he set out for Barcelona to take ship. Although there were some offers of company, he wanted to go quite alone, for his whole idea was to have God alone as refuge. ²One day when some were urging strongly, because he did not know either the Italian or the

Latin languages, that he have a certain companion, telling him how much this would help him and praising the person highly, ³he said that he would not go even in the company of the son or the brother of the Duke of Cardona, because he wanted to practice three virtues—charity, faith, and hope. ⁴If he took a companion, he would expect help from him when he was hungry; if he fell down, the man would help him get up; and so also he would trust him and feel attachment to him on this account; but he wanted to place that trust, attachment, and expectation in God alone.

⁵What he said in this way, he felt just so in his heart. With these thoughts, he not only had the desire to set out alone but also to go without any provisions. ⁶When he began to arrange for his passage, he got round the master of the ship to carry him free, as he had no money, but on condition that he brought to the ship some biscuit for his sustenance; otherwise, for nothing in the world would they accept him.

[36] ¹When he went to obtain the biscuit, great scruples came over him: “Is this the hope and faith you had in God who would not fail you?” etc. ²This was so powerful as to trouble him greatly; ³at last, not knowing what to do because he saw probable reasons on both sides, he decided to place himself in the hands of his confessor. ⁴So he told him how much he wanted to seek perfection and whatever would be more to the glory of God, and the reasons that caused him to doubt whether he ought to take any provisions. ⁵The confessor decided that he should beg what was necessary and take it with him. As he begged from a lady, she asked where he was planning to travel. ⁶He hesitated a bit whether he would tell her, but at last he ventured to say no more than that he was going to Italy and to Rome. ⁷And as if in amazement, she said, “You want to go to Rome? Well, I don’t know how those who go there come back.” (She meant to say that in Rome one profited little in spiritual things.) ⁸Now the reason why he did not dare say that he was going to Jerusalem was fear of vainglory. This fear haunted him so, he never dared say to what country or to what family he belonged. ⁹At last, having the biscuit, he went on board. But at the shore he found he had five or six *blancas* left from what he was given begging from door to door (for he used to live that way); he left them on a bench that he came across there by the shore.

[37] ¹So he embarked, having been in Barcelona a little more than twenty days. ²While he was still in Barcelona before embarking, he sought out, as was his practice, all spiritual persons, even though they lived in hermitages far from the city, to converse with them. ³But neither in Barcelona nor in Manresa during the whole time he was there did he find persons who could help him as much as he wished; ⁴only in Manresa that woman mentioned above, who told him she prayed God that Jesus Christ might appear to him: she alone seemed to him to enter more deeply into spiritual matters. ⁵Therefore, after leaving Barcelona, he completely lost this eagerness to seek out spiritual persons.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[19] *Manresa is a little town in the Spanish province of Catalonia, not exactly between Montserrat and Barcelona, but not far from either. It would seem that the long break in the dictation, mentioned by da Câmara, occurred at the end of the previous chapter, though some place it in the middle of this one.*

[20] *One can notice three phases in Ignatius's spiritual experience in Manresa: first he had peace, then trials, finally special graces and enlightenment. There is much in this chapter that illustrates what is said in the Spiritual Exercises, particularly about the discernment of spirits.*

[34] *Among the ladies attending on Ignatius was Inés Pascual, who became a close friend of his; she later gave him accommodation with her son during his stay in Barcelona, and the first of his many extant letters is addressed to her.*

[36] *Here and in subsequent chapters, coins are mentioned, belonging to different currencies; they have been left as in the original unless there was a recognizable English equivalent. The "etc." that occurs here and elsewhere does not mean that something is omitted, but that Ignatius broke off the discourse.*

Four
Pilgrimage to Jerusalem
1523

[38] ¹They had such a strong wind at the stern that they reached Gaeta from Barcelona in five days and nights, though they were all thoroughly frightened because of very rough weather. ²Throughout all that region there was fear of the plague; but as soon as he disembarked he began the journey to Rome. ³Of those who came on the ship, a mother and her daughter whom she had in boy's clothing, and another youth, accompanied him. They joined him because they also were begging.

⁴Having reached a lodge, they came upon a great blaze with many soldiers at it, who gave them to eat, and a good deal of wine, coaxing them as if they wanted to warm them up. ⁵Later they separated them, the mother and daughter being placed in a room above and the pilgrim and the youth in a stable. ⁶But at midnight, he heard loud cries there on top; getting up to see what it was, he found the mother and her daughter in the courtyard below, wailing and complaining that there was an attempt to violate them. ⁷At this such a strong feeling came over him that he began to shout, "Must one put up with this?" and similar protests. ⁸He uttered these words with such force that all those in the house were startled, and no one did him any harm. ⁹The youth had already fled, and though it was still night, all three got going.

[39] ¹When they arrived at a nearby city, they found it closed. Unable to enter, the three of them spent the night in a leaky church there. ²In the morning they were refused entry into the city, and they found no alms outside, even though they went to a castle which could be seen nearby. There the pilgrim felt weak because of the hardships on the sea as well as all else, etc.; ³unable to travel further, he remained there. The mother and her daughter went on to Rome.

⁴That day many people came out of the city; learning that the Lady of the place was coming there, he approached her saying that he was ill only from weakness, ⁵and asked her to let him enter the city to seek some cure; which she readily granted. ⁶And starting to beg through the city he obtained a fair amount. After two days of recovery there, he set out on his journey again and arrived in Rome on Palm Sunday.

[40] ¹Here all who spoke to him, on discovering that he did not carry any money for Jerusalem, began to dissuade him from making that trip, asserting with many arguments that it was impossible to find passage without money. ²But he had great assurance in his soul and he could not doubt but that he would in fact find a way to go to Jerusalem. ³After receiving the blessing of Pope Adrian VI, he set out for Venice eight or nine days after Easter. ⁴He did have six or seven ducats which had been given him for the passage from Venice to Jerusalem; he had accepted them, being somewhat overcome by the fears suggested to him that he would not otherwise make the passage. ⁵But two days after leaving Rome, he began to realize that this was a lack of trust on his part, and it greatly bothered him that he had accepted the ducats, so he wondered if it would be good to be rid of them. ⁶He finally decided to give them generously to those who approached him, who were beggars usually. ⁷He so managed that

when he eventually arrived in Venice, he had no more than a small amount which he required that night.

[41] ¹While on the journey to Venice, he slept in doorways because of the guards against the plague. It happened once that when he got up in the morning he ran into a man who, with one look, fled in horror, presumably because he saw him so very pale. ²Traveling in this way, he came to Chioggia, and with some companions who had joined him, he learned that they would not be allowed to enter Venice. ³His companions decided to go to Padua to obtain a certificate of health there, so he set out with them. But he could not keep up for they went very fast, leaving him at nightfall in a large field.

⁴While he was there, Christ appeared to him in the manner in which he usually appeared to him, as we have mentioned above, and this brought him much comfort. ⁵Consoled in this way, the next morning, without forging a certificate as (I believe) his companions had done, he came to the gates of Padua and entered without the guards asking anything of him. ⁶The same thing happened when he left; this greatly astonished his companions who had just got a certificate to go to Venice, about which he did not bother.

[42] ¹When they arrived at Venice, the guards came to the boat to examine them all, one by one, as many as were in it, but him alone they let be. ²He maintained himself in Venice by begging, and he slept in St. Mark's Square. But he would never go to the house of the Emperor's ambassador, nor did he take any special care to seek the means for his passage. ³He had a great assurance in his soul that God would provide a way for him to go to Jerusalem; this gave him such confidence that no arguments or fears suggested to him could make him doubt.

⁴One day he ran into a rich Spaniard who asked him what he was doing and where he wanted to go. Learning his purpose, the man took him home to dinner, and kept him for a few days till all was set for the departure. ⁵Ever since Manresa the pilgrim had the habit when he ate with anyone, never to speak at table except to answer briefly; but he listened to what was said and noted some things which he took as the occasion to speak about God, and when the meal was finished, he did so.

[43] ¹This was the reason why the worthy gentleman and all his household were so attached to him and wanted him to stay and made an effort to keep him there. This same host brought him to the Doge of Venice so he could speak to him; that is, he obtained entrance and an audience for him. ²When the Doge heard the pilgrim, he ordered that he be given passage on the ship of the government officials who were going to Cyprus.

³Although many pilgrims had come that year for Jerusalem, most of them had returned home because of the recent event which had occurred, the capture of Rhodes. ⁴Even so there were thirteen on the pilgrim ship which sailed first, and eight or nine remained for the government officials' ship. As this was about to leave, our pilgrim had a severe bout of fever ⁵but after troubling him a few days, it left him. The ship was sailing on the day he had taken a purge. ⁶The people of the house asked the doctor if he could embark for Jerusalem, and the doctor said that indeed he could embark, if he wanted to be buried there. ⁷But he did embark and sail that day; and he vomited in such a way that he felt much

relieved and began to recover completely.

⁸He severely condemned some obscenities and indecencies that were openly practiced on the ship.

[44] ¹The Spaniards who were there warned him not to do so, because the ship's crew were planning to leave him on some island. ²But Our Lord deigned that they arrive quickly at Cyprus. Leaving the ship there, they went overland to another port called Las Salinas, ten leagues away. They boarded the pilgrim ship, on which also he brought no more for his maintenance than his hope in God, as he had done on the other.

³During all this time, Our Lord appeared to him often, giving him great consolation and determination; but what he seemed to see was something round and large, as though it were of gold; and this was what presented itself to him. Having left Cyprus they arrived at Jaffa.

⁴Moving on to Jerusalem on their little donkeys, as is usually done, two miles before they reached Jerusalem, a Spaniard—a noble, it would seem, named Diego Manes—suggested with great devotion to all the pilgrims, ⁵that since in a little while they would reach the place from which they could see the Holy City, it would be well for all to prepare their consciences and go in silence.

[45] ¹This seemed good to them all, and each one began to be recollected. A little before coming to the place from where it could be seen, they dismounted, because they saw the friars with the cross, awaiting them. On seeing the city the pilgrim felt great consolation; ²and as the others testified, this was common to them all, with a joy that did not seem natural. He always felt this same devotion on his visits to the holy places.

³His firm intention was to remain in Jerusalem, continually visiting those holy places; and in addition to this devotion, he also planned to help souls. For this purpose he had brought some letters of recommendation for the Guardian and gave them to him. He told him of his intention to remain there because of his devotion; ⁴but not the second part, about wanting to help souls, because he had not told this to anyone, whilst he had frequently made public the first. ⁵The Guardian answered that he did not see how he could stay because the house was in such need that it could not support the friars; for that reason, he had decided to send some with the pilgrims, to these parts. ⁶The pilgrim replied that he wanted nothing from the house, except only that when he came sometimes to confess, they would hear his confession. ⁷With that the Guardian told him that such an arrangement might work, but he would have to wait for the coming of the Provincial (I believe he was the head of the Order in that area), who was at Bethlehem.

[46] ¹By this promise the pilgrim was reassured and began to write letters to Barcelona to spiritual persons. ²Having already written one and while writing another on the eve of the departure of the pilgrims, he received a summons from the Provincial (for he had arrived) and the Guardian. ³The Provincial spoke kindly to him, saying that he knew of his good intention to remain in those holy places, and he had given much thought to the matter; but because of the experience he had had with others, he judged that it was not expedient. ⁴For many had had that desire, but some had been captured

and others killed, and the Order had later been obliged to ransom the captives. Therefore he should prepare to leave the next day with the pilgrims.

⁵He replied to this that he was very firm in his purpose and was resolved that on no account would he fail to carry it out. He frankly gave them to understand that even though the Provincial thought otherwise, if there was nothing binding him under sin, he would not abandon his intention out of any fear. ⁶To this the Provincial replied that they had authority from the Apostolic See to have anyone leave the place, or remain there, as they judged, and to excommunicate anyone who was unwilling to obey them; and that in this case they thought that he should not remain, etc.

[47] ¹He wanted to show him the bulls giving them power to excommunicate, but he said he did not need to see them, as he believed their reverences; in as much as they had so decided with the authority they had, he would obey them. ²When this was over, returning to where he had been before, he felt a strong desire to visit Mount Olivet again before leaving, since it was not Our Lord's will that he remain in those holy places. ³On Mount Olivet there is a stone from which Our Lord rose up to heaven, and his footprints are still seen there; this was what he wanted to see again.

⁴So without saying anything or taking a guide (for those who go without a Turk as guide run a great risk), he slipped away from the others and went alone to Mount Olivet. ⁵But the guards would not let him enter. He gave them a penknife that he carried, and after praying with great consolation, he felt the desire to go to Bethphage. ⁶While there he remembered that he had not noted on Mount Olivet on what side the right foot was, or on what side the left. Returning there, I think he gave his scissors to the guards so they would let him enter.

[48] ¹When it was learned in the monastery that he had gone like that without a guide, the friars took steps to find him. So as he was coming down from Mount Olivet he ran into a "belted" Christian who served in the monastery. He had a large staff and with a great show of annoyance made as if to strike him. ²When he came up to him he grabbed him tightly by the arm, and he readily let himself be led. The good man, however, never let him go. ³As he went along this way, held thus by the "belted" Christian, he felt great consolation from Our Lord, so that it seemed to him that he saw Christ over him continually. ⁴This lasted all through in great abundance until he reached the monastery.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

[44] *According to the punctuation that is adopted, Ignatius is either saying that his experience of Christ took place after he left Cyprus from Jaffa, or (as in our translation) stressing that he did not actually see Christ; he is meticulous in his statements.*

Scholars have studied in depth, and discussed at length, the nature of Ignatius's spiritual experiences, both mystical and ordinary, as recorded in his writings and other available sources; but it is difficult to come to any definite conclusions. He himself was not concerned about technicalities, and though he tries to be precise, his language is not always clear.

[48] *Syrian Christians, who served in the convent, were known as "belted" because of the way they dressed.*

Five
Return Across Europe
1523-1524

[49] ¹The next day they set out, and after arriving at Cyprus, the pilgrims dispersed in different ships. In the port there were three or four ships bound for Venice. ²One was Turkish, another was a very small vessel, and the third was a very rich and powerful ship belonging to a wealthy Venetian. ³Some pilgrims asked the master of this ship kindly to take the pilgrim; but when he learned that he had no money, he did not want to, even though many made petition, praising him, etc. ⁴The master answered that if he was a saint, he should make his passage as St. James had done, or something like that. ⁵These same petitioners very easily succeeded with the master of the small vessel.

⁶They set out one day with a good wind in the morning; but in the afternoon a storm came upon them, and they got separated one from the other. The big one was wrecked near those same islands of Cyprus, and only the people escaped; in the same storm the Turkish ship was lost and all the people with it. ⁷The small vessel had great trouble, but in the end they reached land somewhere in Apulia. ⁸This was in the depth of winter, and it was very cold and snowing. The pilgrim had no clothing other than some breeches of coarse cloth—knee length and legs bare—with shoes and a doublet of black cloth, opened by many slashes at the shoulders, and a jacket that was short and quite thin.

[50] ¹He arrived in Venice in mid-January of the year '24, having been at sea from Cyprus the whole months of November and December and what was gone of January. ²In Venice, one of the two who had welcomed him in their homes before he set out for Jerusalem, met him and gave him as alms fifteen or sixteen *giulii* and a piece of cloth, which he folded many times and put over his stomach because of the great cold.

³After the pilgrim realized that it was God's will that he do not stay in Jerusalem, he continually pondered within himself what he ought to do; and eventually he was rather inclined to study for some time so he would be able to help souls, and he decided to go to Barcelona. ⁴So he set out from Venice for Genoa. One day, whilst going through his devotions in the principal church of Ferrara, a beggar asked him for alms and he gave him a *marchetto*, which is a coin of five or six *quatrini*. After that another came, and he gave him another small coin that he had, somewhat larger; ⁵and to a third he gave a *giulio*, having nothing but *giulii*. The beggars, seeing that he was giving alms, kept coming and so all he had was finished. ⁶Finally, many beggars came together seeking alms. His response was to ask pardon, as he had nothing left.

[51] ¹So he left Ferrara for Genoa. On the road he met some Spanish soldiers who treated him well that night; ²but they were much surprised that he traveled that road, because one had to pass practically between the two armies, the French and the Imperial. They urged him to leave the highway and to take another safe road that they showed him. ³But he did not take their advice. Instead, traveling straight on, he came upon a burned and destroyed village; and so till night he found no one to give him anything to eat.

⁴But at sunset he reached a walled place where the guards immediately seized him, thinking he was a spy. ⁵They put him in a cabin next to the gate and began to question him, as is usual when there is some suspicion, but he replied to all their questions that he knew nothing. ⁶They stripped him and searched him down to his shoes, and all over his body, to see if he was carrying any letters. ⁷Unable to learn anything by any means, they took hold of him that he might appear before the captain—he would make him talk. ⁸He asked them to take him clothed in his jacket, but they refused to give it to him and took him in the breeches and doublet mentioned above.

[52] ¹On the way the pilgrim had some sort of impression of when Christ was led away, but this was not a vision like the others. ²He was led through three main streets, and he went without any sadness, but rather with joy and satisfaction. ³It was his custom to speak to any person, no matter who it might be, using “you”—piously holding that Christ and the apostles had spoken in this way, etc. ⁴As he was going thus through the streets, it crossed his fancy that it would be wise to give up that custom in this situation and address the captain as “Sir.” This because of some fear of the tortures they might inflict, etc. ⁵But recognizing that this was a temptation, “Since it is such,” he said, “I will not address him as Sir nor do him reverence nor take off my cap to him.”

[53] ¹They reached the captain’s headquarters and left him in a lower room. A while later the captain spoke to him. ²Without using any form of courtesy, he answered him in a few words, with a noticeable interval between one and the next. ³The captain took him for a madman and said so to those who had brought him: “This man is not in his senses. Give him his things and throw him out.” ⁴Just on leaving the headquarters he met a Spaniard who lived there; he took him to his house and gave him something to break his fast and all the necessaries for that night.

⁵Setting out in the morning, he traveled until evening, when two soldiers in a tower saw him and came down to seize him. ⁶They took him to their captain, who was French; the captain asked him, among other things, from what country he came, and learning that he was from Guipuzcoa, he said to him, “I come from near there,” apparently from near Bayonne. Then he said, “Take him and give him supper and treat him well.” ⁷On this road from Ferrara to Genoa he had many other little experiences.

At last he reached Genoa where a Vizcayan named Portundo, who had spoken with him on other occasions when he served in the court of the Catholic King, recognized him. ⁸This man got him passage on a ship going to Barcelona, in which he ran great danger of being captured by Andrea Doria, who gave chase, being then on the French side.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[49] *Rather characteristically, Ignatius has much to say of his journey to and from Palestine, and little of his experience in the Holy Land and at the sacred places. But two fellow pilgrims have left detailed accounts of the program that was followed: the Swiss Peter Fussli and Philip Hagan from Strasbourg.*

The sojourn lasted three weeks in September, 1523: 4th, arrival in Jerusalem; 5th, around the city, Mount Sion, the Cenacle, the Holy Sepulchre; 6th, the Way of the Cross; 7th, Bethany, Mount Olivet; 8th and 9th, Bethlehem; 10th, Josaphat, Cedron; 11th, Holy Sepulchre; 12th and 13th, rest; 14th, excursion to Jericho and the Jordan; the remaining days in Jerusalem, till departure on the 23rd.

[53] *Ignatius was never directly in the service of the Catholic King Ferdinand, but of his chief revenue officer, Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, at Arévalo, before he went to serve under the Duke of Nájera.*

Six
Barcelona and Alcalá
1524-1527

[54] ¹When he arrived at Barcelona he made his wish to study known to Isabel Roser and to a Master Ardévol who taught grammar. ²To both this seemed a very good idea; he offered to teach him for nothing, and she to give him what he needed to support himself. ³In Manresa the pilgrim had known a friar (of the Order of St. Bernard, I think), a very spiritual man; he wanted to be with this person to learn and to be able to give himself more easily to the spirit, as also to be of help to souls. ⁴So he replied that he would accept the offer if he did not find in Manresa the facilities he was looking for. But when he went there, he found that the friar was dead.

So, returning to Barcelona, he began to study with great diligence. ⁵But one thing was very much in his way: that is, when he began to memorize, as one must in the beginnings of grammar, there came to him new insights into spiritual matters and fresh relish, ⁶to such an extent that he could not memorize, nor could he drive them away no matter how much he resisted.

[55] ¹So, thinking often about this, he said to himself, "Not even when I engage in prayer and am at Mass do such vivid insights come to me." Thus, little by little, he came to realize that it was a temptation. ²After praying he went to Our Lady of the Sea, near the master's house, having asked that he kindly listen to him just a while in that church. ³So when they were all seated, he told him exactly all that went on in his soul and what little progress he had made until then for that reason; but he promised this same master, saying, "⁴I promise you never to fail to listen to you these two years, so long as I can find bread and water in Barcelona with which I might support myself." ⁵As he made this promise with great determination, he never again had those temptations. ⁶The stomach pain that afflicted him in Manresa, for which reason he wore shoes, was gone, and he had felt well in the stomach ever since he set out for Jerusalem. ⁷For this reason, while he was studying in Barcelona, he had the desire to resume his previous penances and so he began to make a hole in the soles of his shoes, which he kept widening little by little so that when the winter cold came, he was wearing only the uppers.

[56] ¹After two years of studying during which, so they said, he had made great progress, his master informed him he could now study the liberal arts and should go to Alcalá. ²Even so, he had himself examined by a doctor of theology who gave him the same advice. So he set out alone for Alcalá: though he already had some companions, I think.

³When he arrived at Alcalá, he began to beg and to live on alms. ⁴After he had lived in this fashion for ten or twelve days, a cleric and others who were with him, seeing him beg alms one day, began to laugh at him and to utter some insults, as one usually does to those who, being healthy, go begging. ⁵At that moment the superintendent of the new hospice of Antezana passed by, and expressing regret at this, called him and took him to the hospice where he gave him a room and all he needed.

[57] ¹He studied at Alcalá almost a year and a half. Since he had arrived in Barcelona in the year '24

during Lent, and had studied there for two years, it was in the year '26 that he reached Alcalá. He studied the logic of Soto, the physics of Albert and the Master of the Sentences. ²While at Alcalá, he was engaged in giving spiritual exercises and teaching Christian doctrine, and this bore fruit for the glory of God. ³There were many persons who came to a deep understanding and relish of spiritual things; but others had various temptations—⁴there was one such who wanted to take the discipline but could not do so, as though the hand were held, and other similar cases. These gave rise to talk among the people, especially because of the great crowd that gathered whenever he was explaining doctrine.*

⁵Soon after he arrived at Alcalá, he became acquainted with Don Diego de Guía who was staying with his brother, a printer in Alcalá and quite well off. ⁶So they helped him with alms to support the poor. The pilgrim's three companions were lodged in his house. ⁷Once when they came to ask alms for some needs, Don Diego said he had no money, ⁸but he opened for him a chest in which he had various objects, and then gave him bed coverings of different colors and some candlesticks and suchlike things. Wrapping them all in a sheet, the pilgrim put them on his shoulders and went off to aid the poor.

[58] ¹As mentioned above, there was much talk throughout that region about the things happening at Alcalá; some spoke one way, some another. ²The thing reached the inquisitors at Toledo. When these came to Alcalá, the pilgrim was alerted by their host, who told him that they were calling them “ensayalados” and, I believe, “alumbrados,”** and that they would butcher them. ³So they began at once to investigate and examine their life and finally they returned to Toledo without summoning them, as they had come for that sole purpose.

They left the trial to the vicar Figueroa, who is now with the Emperor. ⁴A few days later he summoned them and told them how an investigation and examination of their life had been made by the inquisitors and that no error had been found in their teaching nor in their life, and therefore they could go on doing the same as they did without any hindrance. ⁵But since they were not religious, it did not seem right for them to go about all in the same habit. It would be well, and he so ordered, that two of them, pointing to the pilgrim and Arteaga, dyed their clothes black; and that the other two, Calixto and Cáceres, dyed theirs brown; Little John, who was a French lad, could stay as he was.

[59] ¹The pilgrim says they will do what they are ordered. “But,” he says, “I do not know what benefit these inquisitions bring; the other day a priest did not want to give the sacrament to someone because he went to communion every eight days; and they were objecting to me, too. ²We would like to know if they have found any heresy in us.” “No,” says Figueroa, “for if they did they would burn you.” “They would burn you too,” says the pilgrim, “if they found heresy in you.” ³They dye their clothing, as they are ordered, and fifteen or twenty days later, Figueroa orders the pilgrim not to go barefoot but to wear shoes; and so he does without fuss, as in all matters of this sort that he was ordered.

* I will recall the fright that he himself got one night.

** “Sayal” is the name of a coarse woollen cloth; the “ensayalados” were therefore those who were garbed in that cloth (as in a distinctive habit or uniform). The “alumbrados” were members of a mystical, spiritual movement in Spain (ed.).

⁴Four months later Figueroa himself again began an investigation of them. Besides the usual reasons, I believe this was also something of a factor, that a married woman of rank had special regard for the pilgrim; and in order not to be noticed, she came to the hospice at dawn, wearing a veil, as is the custom in Alcalá de Henares. On entering, she removed her veil and went to the pilgrim's room. ⁵But they did nothing to them this time either, nor did they say anything to them.*

[60] ¹After another four months, he now being in a cabin outside the hospice, a policeman came to his door one day and called him, saying, "Just come with me." ²He put him in jail and said to him, "You may not leave here until you are ordered otherwise." ³This was in summertime, and as he was not confined, many people came to visit him.**

He did the same things as when he was free, teaching and giving exercises. ⁴Never would he have an advocate or attorney, though many offered themselves. ⁵He especially remembers Doña Teresa de Cárdenas who sent someone to visit him and frequently offered to get him out; ⁶but he accepted nothing, always answering, "He for whose love I got in here will get me out, if he is served thereby."

[61] ¹He was in prison seventeen days without being examined or knowing the reason for it. At the end of that time Figueroa came to the jail and examined him about many things, even asking him if he enjoined observance of the sabbath; ²and whether he knew two particular women, a mother and her daughter (and to this he said yes); ³whether he had known of their departure before they had set out (and he said no, because of the oath he had accepted). ⁴The vicar then placed a hand on his shoulder, manifesting joy, and said, "This is the reason why you were brought here."

⁵Among the many persons who followed the pilgrim there were a mother and her daughter, both widowed. The daughter was very young and very attractive. They had made great spiritual progress, especially the daughter. ⁶So much so that though they were noble women, they had gone to the Veronica of Jaén on foot; possibly begging, and unaccompanied. This caused considerable gossip in Alcalá, ⁷and Doctor Ciruelo, who had some responsibility for them, thought that the prisoner had persuaded them and for this reason had him arrested.

⁸Having taken in the vicar's words, the prisoner said to him, "Would you like me to speak more at length about this affair?" He said, "Yes." ⁹"Then you should know," said the prisoner, "that these two women have often insisted with me that they wanted to go about the world serving the poor in one hospital and then in another. ¹⁰I have always dissuaded them from this plan, because the daughter is so young and so attractive, etc. And I have told them that when they wanted to visit the poor, they could do so in Alcalá, and could accompany the Blessed Sacrament." ¹¹When this conversation was finished, Figueroa left with his notary, taking a complete written statement.

[62] ¹At that time Calixto was in Segovia, and learning of his imprisonment came at once, though but

* R. what Bustamante told me.

** M^a one, and was confessor.

recently recovered from a serious illness, and got into jail with him. ²He for his part suggested it would be better to go and call on the vicar, who received him kindly and manifested the intention to send him to jail, for that is where he had to be till those women returned, to see if they confirmed what had been said. ³Calixto remained in jail a few days, but when the pilgrim saw that this harmed his bodily health, because he was not yet entirely well, he had him released with the help of a doctor, a great friend of his.

⁴From the day the pilgrim entered jail until they let him out, forty-two days passed. At the end of that time, as the two pious women returned, the notary came to the jail to read the sentence: ⁵he should go free; and they should dress like the other students, and should not speak about matters of faith until they had studied for four more years, because they had no education. ⁶For in truth, the pilgrim was the one who had the most, and that was with little foundation. This was the first thing he used to say whenever they examined him.

[63] ¹Because of this sentence he was somewhat doubtful what he should do, for seemingly they were closing the door for him to help souls, without giving him any reason except that he had not studied. ²At last he decided to go to Fonseca, the archbishop of Toledo, and put the case in his hands. ³He set out from Alcalá and found the Archbishop in Valladolid. Faithfully recounting the affair to him, he said that, even though he was not now in his jurisdiction nor obliged to abide by the sentence, still he would do whatever he commanded in this matter (he addressed him as “you” as was his custom with everyone). ⁴The Archbishop received him very well; adding he had friends and a college at Salamanca too, all of which he put at his disposal; and just as he was leaving, he had four *escudos* given to him.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

[54] Isabel Roser, great friend and benefactress of Ignatius over the years, came to Rome and actually made the solemn profession in the Society of Jesus in 1545. Later she returned to Barcelona and joined a convent.

[56] It has been said, with rhetorical exaggeration, that the most significant feature of Ignatius's history is that he readily went to school as an adult: he was always a learner, always open to reality. It has also often been noted that when he decides to dedicate himself to that apostolate, he sees the need of a solid intellectual formation. Less noted is that now he tries to gather companions, whereas earlier he had been adamant about going alone.

[57] Diego de Eguía was related to Francis Xavier; he eventually entered the Society of Jesus and was confessor of Ignatius. The marginal notes in this chapter are not too clear; in the first we can only guess at some incident; the second seems to say: I will recall what Father Bustamante narrated; the third: Miona, who was his confessor, was among the visitors.

[58] "Ensayalados" was just a nickname because Ignatius and his companions seemed to be wearing skirts. [The word sayal designates a coarse woolen cloth; ensayalados therefore refers to those who are garbed in sayal--ed.] "Alumbrados" was a more serious matter, for that referred to an anti-institutional movement of people who claimed to be illumined, or guided interiorly, without regard for established authority.

[63] Throughout, Ignatius submits to legitimate superiors and obeys their orders; but he never surrenders his freedom of spirit; rather he progresses in it by deepening his original conversion experience of loyalty as liberation.

Seven
Trouble at Salamanca
1527

[64] ¹On arrival in Salamanca, while he was praying in a church, he was recognized by a devoted friend of the group, for his four companions had been there some days already. She asked him his name and then took him to the lodgings of his companions. ²When the sentence had been given in Alcalá that they should dress like students, the pilgrim said, “When you ordered us to dye our clothes, we did so; but now we cannot do this because we do not have the means to buy them.” ³So the vicar himself provided them with clothing and caps and all the other student gear. Dressed in this fashion they had left Alcalá.

⁴At Salamanca he went to confession to a Dominican friar at St. Stephen’s. Ten or twelve days after his arrival the confessor said to him one day, “The fathers of the house would like to speak with you.” ⁵And he said, “In the name of God.” “Then,” said the confessor, “it would be well if you came here to dine on Sunday; but I warn you of one thing, that they will want to know many things from you.” ⁶So on Sunday he came with Calixto. After dinner, the subprior, in the absence of the prior, together with the confessor and, I think, with another friar, went with them to a chapel. ⁷With great cordiality the subprior began to say what good reports they had of their life and ways: that they went about preaching in apostolic fashion; and that they would be pleased to learn about these things in greater detail. ⁸So he began by asking what they had studied. The pilgrim replied, “Of all of us, I am the one who has studied the most,” and he gave a clear account of the little he had studied and with what little foundation.

[65] ¹“Well, then, what do you preach?” “We do not preach,” said the pilgrim, “but we do speak familiarly with some people about the things of God; for example, after dinner with some people who invite us.” ²“But,” said the friar, “what things of God do you speak about? That is just what we would like to know.” ³“We speak,” said the pilgrim, “sometimes of one virtue, sometimes of another; and do so, praising it; sometimes of one vice, sometimes of another, condemning it.” ⁴“You are not learned men,” said the friar, “and you speak about virtues and vices; but no one can speak about these except in one of two ways: either through learning or through the Holy Spirit. If not through learning, then through the Holy Spirit.”*

⁵At this the pilgrim was somewhat on his guard, because that kind of argument did not seem good to him. After being silent a while, he said it was not necessary to speak further of these matters. ⁶The friar insisted, “Well, now that there are so many errors of Erasmus and of so many others who have deceived the world, you do not wish to explain what you say?”

[66] ¹The pilgrim said, “Father, I will say no more than I have said, except before my superiors who can oblige me to do so.” ²Before this the friar had asked why Calixto came dressed as he was: he wore a short tunic and a large hat on his head, with a staff in his hand and boots almost halfway up the leg;

* And this, of being from the Holy Spirit, is what we would like to find out.

and being very tall, he looked the more grotesque. ³The pilgrim related how they had been imprisoned in Alcalá and had been ordered to dress like students and that his companion, because of the great heat, had given his gown to a poor cleric. ⁴At this the friar seemed to mutter to himself, indicating that he was not pleased, “Charity begins at home.” ⁵Well, getting back to the story: the subprior, unable to get any other word out of the pilgrim but that, said, “Then remain here, and we will indeed make you tell all.” ⁶So all the friars left in some haste. ⁷The pilgrim first asked if they wanted them to remain in that chapel, or where did they want them to remain. The subprior answered that they should remain in the chapel. ⁸The friars then closed all the doors and, as it appears, took the matter up with the judges. ⁹Still the two of them were in the monastery for three days, eating in the refectory with the friars, without anything being said to them in the name of the court. ¹⁰Their room was almost always full of friars who came to see them. The pilgrim always spoke on his usual topics; as a result there was already some division among them, many showing that they were sympathetic.

[67] ¹At the end of three days a notary came and took them to jail. They were not put down below with the criminals but in an upper room where, because it was old and unused, there was much dirt. ²They were both bound with the same chain, each one by his foot. ³The chain was attached to a post in the middle of the house and would be ten or thirteen palms long. Each time that one wanted to do something, the other had to accompany him. ⁴All that night they kept awake. ⁵The next day, when their imprisonment was known in the city, people sent to the jail something on which they could sleep and all that was needed, in abundance. And always there was a crowd to visit them, and the pilgrim kept up his practice of speaking about God, etc.

⁶The bachelor Frias came to examine each of them separately, and the pilgrim gave him all his papers, which were the Exercises, to be examined. ⁷Asked if they had companions, they said they did, and where they were. Straightaway some went there, on the bachelor’s orders, and brought Cáceres and Arteaga to the jail; and they left Little John, who later became a friar. ⁸However they did not put them above with the other two but down where the common prisoners were. Neither here would he have an advocate or attorney.

[68] ¹Some days later he was summoned before four judges: the three doctors, Sanctisidoro, Paravinhas, and Frias; and the fourth was the bachelor Frias. All of them had already seen the Exercises. ²Now they asked him many things not only about the Exercises, but also about theology; for example, about the Trinity and the Eucharist, and how he understood these articles. First he made his introduction; ³nevertheless, ordered by the judges, he spoke in such a manner that they had no reason to fault him. ⁴The bachelor Frias, who on these points had throughout been to the fore, also asked him about a canonical case. ⁵He was required to answer everything, but he always said first that he did not know what scholars said about those matters.

⁶Then they ordered him to explain the first commandment in the way he usually explained it. He started to do so and took so long and said so many things about the first commandment that they were not inclined to ask him more. ⁷Before this, when they were speaking about the Exercises, they insisted

a good deal on one point only in them, which was at the beginning: when a thought is a venial sin and when it is mortal. ⁸The question was why he, without studies, was deciding that. He answered, “If this is true or not: decide that; and if it is not true, condemn it.” But in the end they left without condemning anything.

[69] ¹Among the many who came to speak to him in jail, once Don Francisco de Mendoza, who now has the title of Cardinal of Burgos, came with the bachelor Frias. ²In a friendly way he asked how he was getting on in prison and if it bothered him to be imprisoned. He replied, “I will answer what I answered today to a lady who, on seeing me in prison, spoke words of compassion. ³I said to her, ‘By this you show that you do not wish to be imprisoned for the love of God. Does imprisonment seem to be such a great evil to you? Well, I will tell you that there are not so many fetters and chains in Salamanca that I do not want more for the love of God.’”

⁴At this time it happened that all the prisoners in the jail fled, but the two companions who were with them did not flee. ⁵In the morning when they were found there alone without anyone, with the doors open, all were deeply edified, and there was much talk in the city; so they gave them an entire mansion that was nearby, as a prison.

[70] ¹After twenty-two days of imprisonment, they were summoned to hear the sentence, which was that no error was found in their life or teaching. ²Therefore they could do what they had been doing, teaching doctrine and speaking about the things of God, so long as they never defined: this is a mortal sin or this is venial, until they had spent four years in further studies. ³After the sentence was read, the judges displayed great affection, apparently wishing to make it acceptable. ⁴The pilgrim said he would do everything the sentence ordered, but he did not find it acceptable, because without condemning him for anything they shut his mouth so he might not help his neighbors in what he could. ⁵Although Doctor Frias urged and showed himself very well disposed, the pilgrim said no more—only that as long as he was in the jurisdiction of Salamanca he would do what had been ordered.

⁶Then they were released from jail, and he began to commend the matter to God and to think about what he ought to do. ⁷He found great difficulty in remaining in Salamanca, for it seemed to him that the door had been closed to helping souls, by this prohibition not to define mortal and venial sin.

[71] ¹So he decided to go to Paris to study. ²When the pilgrim was considering in Barcelona whether he should study and how much, his one concern had been whether, after he had studied, he would enter a religious institute or go about the world. ³When thoughts of entering an institute came to him, then he also had the desire to enter a decadent and not quite reformed one (if he were to be a religious) so that he would suffer more in it; ⁴and thinking also that perhaps God would help them. And God gave him great confidence that he would endure easily all the insults and injuries they might inflict.

⁵Now, at the time of his imprisonment in Salamanca, he still felt the same desire that he had to help souls, and for that reason to study first and to gather some others with the same idea, and to keep those he had. ⁶Determined to go to Paris, he arranged with these that they would wait there while he went, to see if he could find some means by which they might study.

[72] ¹Many important persons urged strongly that he should not go, but they could never dissuade him. Rather, fifteen or twenty days after leaving prison, he set out alone, taking some books on a little donkey. ²When he arrived at Barcelona, all those who knew him advised him against the journey to France because of the fierce wars, recounting very specific instances, even telling him that they put Spaniards on spits; but he never had any kind of fear.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

[64] *The opening lines are usually translated as if Ignatius had been recognized by a devout lady as belonging to the group. What the Spanish says is that he was recognized by a lady devoted to the group.*

Eight
Progress in Paris
1528-1535

[73] ¹So he set out for Paris, alone and on foot. He reached Paris in the month of February, or thereabouts; and as he tells me, this was in the year 1528 or 1527. ²He lodged in a house with some Spaniards and went to study humanities at Montaigu. ³The reason was that as they had made him advance with such haste in studies, he found himself very deficient in fundamentals. He studied with children following the order and method of Paris.*

⁴When he first came to Paris, a merchant gave him twenty-five *escudos* on a draft from Barcelona; and these he gave to one of the Spaniards in those lodgings to keep; but in a short time the latter spent them and had not the means to pay him. ⁵So already after Lent the pilgrim had nothing left of them, both because of his own expenses and because of the reason mentioned above. He was compelled to beg and even to leave the house where he was staying.

[74] ¹He got admission into the hospice of St. James, beyond the Innocents. ²He was greatly inconvenienced in study because the hospice was a good distance from the college of Montaigu, and in order to find the door open one had to return at the sound of the Angelus and to leave in daylight. Thus he could not attend his lectures properly. ³Having to beg alms to support himself was another obstacle.

It was almost five years now that he felt no stomach pains, so he began to subject himself to greater penances and fasts. ⁴After some time in this life of hospice and begging, seeing that he was making little progress in studies, he began to consider what he should do. Seeing that there were several who served some of the regents in the colleges and had time to study, he decided to seek a master.

[75] ¹He found great consolation in the following reflection and resolution which he entertained, imagining that the master would be Christ, that one of the students he would call St. Peter and another St. John, and so with each one of the apostles: ²"When the master orders me, I will think that Christ orders me; when another orders me, I will think that St. Peter orders me." ³He tried hard to find a master; for one thing, he spoke to the bachelor Castro, and also to a Carthusian friar who knew many teachers, and to others; but never could they find him a master.

[76] ¹At last, as he found no solution, a Spanish friar told him one day that it would be better for him to go each year to Flanders and spend two months or even less, to secure the means to study the whole year. After commending this to God, it seemed good to him. ²Following this advice, each year he brought back from Flanders enough to carry on in some way. Once he also went over to England and fetched more alms than he usually did in other years.

[77] ¹The first time he returned from Flanders he got more involved than usual in spiritual contacts, and he gave exercises almost simultaneously to three persons, namely, Peralta, the bachelor Castro who

* When he was imprisoned in Alcalá, the Prince of Spain was born; and from this one can calculate everything, even previous events.

was at the Sorbonne, and a Vizcayan named Amador, who was at St. Barbara. ²These were quite transformed and so gave all they had to the poor, even their books, and began to beg alms through Paris. They went to lodge in the hospice of St. James, where the pilgrim had stayed before but which he had now left for the reasons mentioned above.

³This caused great commotion in the university, for the first two were distinguished persons and well known. ⁴The Spaniards then began a campaign against the two masters; but not being able to convince them with much argument and persuasion, that they return to the university, one day many went armed and dragged them out of the hospice.

[78] ¹When they were brought to the university, an agreement was arrived at, that after they had finished their studies, then they would carry out their plans. ²The bachelor Castro later came to Spain and preached at Burgos for some time, and then became a Carthusian friar in Valencia. ³Peralta set out on foot as a pilgrim to Jerusalem. In these circumstances he was captured in Italy by a captain, a relative of his, who took steps to bring him to the Pope, whom he got to order him to return to Spain. ⁴These things did not happen immediately but some years later.

⁵Great complaints arose in Paris, especially among the Spaniards, against the pilgrim. Our Master de Gouvea, saying that he had caused Amador, who was in his college, to go mad, decided and stated that the first time he came to St. Barbara he would subject him to a drubbing as a seducer of the students.

[79] ¹The Spaniard with whom he had stayed at the beginning and who had spent his money without paying it back set out for Spain by way of Rouen; and awaiting passage at Rouen, he fell sick. ²While he was thus ill, the pilgrim learned this from a letter of his and felt the desire to visit and help him. He also thought that in those circumstances he could win him over to leave the world and give himself completely to the service of God.

³In order to achieve this he felt the desire to walk the twenty-eight leagues from Paris to Rouen barefoot, without eating or drinking. As he prayed over this, he felt very afraid. ⁴At last he went to St. Dominic's and there he decided to go in the manner just mentioned, the great fear he had of tempting God having now passed.

⁵He got up early the next day, the morning that he was going to set out. As he began to dress, such a great fear came over him that he seemed almost unable to dress himself. ⁶In spite of that repugnance he left the house, and the city too, before it was quite daylight. ⁷Still the fear was with him constantly and persisted as far as Argenteuil, a walled town three leagues from Paris on the way to Rouen, where the garment of Our Lord is said to be. ⁸He passed the town with that spiritual distress, but as he came up to a rise, the thing began to go away. He felt great consolation and spiritual strength, with such joy that he began to shout through the fields and to speak to God, etc.

⁹He lodged that evening with a poor beggar in a hospice, having traveled fourteen leagues that day. The next day he sought shelter in a barn. The third day he reached Rouen: all this time without eating

or drinking and barefoot, as he had determined. ¹⁰In Rouen he consoled the sick man and helped him board a ship to go to Spain. He also gave him letters directing him to the companions who were in Salamanca, namely, Calixto, Cáceres, and Arteaga.

[80] ¹Not to have to speak further of these companions, their lot was this: ²while the pilgrim was in Paris he wrote frequently to them, as they had agreed—about the scant facilities he had to bring them to Paris to study. ³Still, he undertook to write to Dona Leonor de Mascarrenhas to assist Calixto with letters to the court of the King of Portugal, so he could obtain one of the scholarships which the King of Portugal gave in Paris. ⁴Dona Leonor gave Calixto the letters and a mule to ride and money for his expenses. ⁵Calixto went to the court of the King of Portugal, but in the end he did not come to Paris; rather, returning to Spain he went to the Imperial Indies with a certain spiritual woman. ⁶He returned to Spain later but went to the same Indies once more and this time returned to Spain a rich man, surprising all in Salamanca who had known him before.

⁷Cáceres returned to Segovia, which was his hometown, and there began to live in such a manner that he seemed to have forgotten his earlier resolution.

⁸Arteaga was made a *comendador*. Later, when the Society was already in Rome, he was offered a bishopric in the Indies. ⁹He wrote to the pilgrim that he give it to one of the Society, but the answer was in the negative, so he went to the Imperial Indies as a bishop and died there in strange circumstances: ¹⁰that is, when he happened to be ill, there were two water bottles to refresh him, one with water which the doctor had ordered for him, the other with Water of Soliman, a poison—the latter was given him by mistake and killed him.

[81] ¹The pilgrim returned to Paris from Rouen and discovered that because of the affair of Castro and Peralta there was much talk regarding him and that the inquisitor had issued a summons for him. ²But he would not wait further and went to the inquisitor, to whom he said that he understood he was looking for him, and that he was prepared for anything he might wish (the inquisitor was Our Master Ory, a Dominican friar), ³but he would request that he expedite it, because he had in mind to enroll in the Arts course the coming St. Remy's; he wanted to get this business over first so he would be better able to attend to his studies. ⁴The inquisitor did not summon him further, only telling him it was true that they had spoken of his doings, etc.

[82] ¹A short time after this came St. Remy's, that is, the first of October, and he enrolled in the Arts course under a teacher named Master Juan Peña—²enrolled with the idea of retaining those who had decided to serve the Lord, but not to go farther in search of others, so that he could study more earnestly.

³As he began attending the lectures of the course, the same temptations began to come to him that had come when he studied grammar in Barcelona. Whenever he was at a lecture, he could not pay attention because of the many spiritual thoughts that came to him. ⁴Realizing that in this way he made little progress in study, he went to his master and promised he would never fail to follow the whole course, so long as he could find bread and water for his sustenance. ⁵After making this promise, all that

devotion which came to him out of time left him, and he went on quietly with his studies.

⁶At this time he associated with Master Peter Faber and Master Francis Xavier, both of whom he later won for God's service by means of the Exercises.

⁷At that stage in his course they did not harass him as before. ⁸With reference to this, Doctor Frago once told him how he marveled that he went about so peacefully, without anyone giving him trouble; and he replied, "The reason is because I do not speak to anyone of the things of God; but once the course is over, we'll be back to business as usual."

[83] ¹While the two were speaking together, a friar came to ask Doctor Frago that he try to find him a house, because in the one where he had lodging, many people had died—of the plague, he thought; for the plague was then beginning in Paris. ²Doctor Frago and the pilgrim wished to go to see the house. They took a woman well versed in these matters, and on entering in she confirmed that it was the plague. ³The pilgrim also chose to enter. Coming upon a sick person, he comforted him and touched his sore with his hand.

After he had comforted and encouraged him a while, he went off alone. ⁴His hand began to hurt so that it seemed he had caught the plague. This fancy was so strong that he could not overcome it until he thrust his hand forcefully into his mouth and moved it about inside, saying, "If you have the plague in the hand, you will also have it in the mouth." ⁵When he had done this, he was rid of the fancy and of the pain in the hand.

[84] ¹But when he returned to the college of St. Barbara where he then had lodging and was attending the course, those in the college who knew that he had entered the plague-ridden house, fled from him and would not let him enter. So he was forced to remain out for some days.

²It is the custom in Paris for those who are studying Arts in the third year, in order to receive the baccalaureate, "to take a stone," as they say. And because one has to spend an *escudo* for that, those who are very poor cannot do so. ³The pilgrim began to wonder whether it would be good for him to take it. ⁴Finding himself in great doubt and undecided, he determined to put the matter in the hands of his master, who advised him to take it, and he did so. There were not lacking, however, some critics—at least one Spaniard who commented upon it.

⁵In Paris already by this time he was quite unwell in the stomach, so that every fifteen days he had a stomach ache which lasted over an hour and gave him a fever. Once the stomach ache lasted sixteen or seventeen hours. ⁶At this time he had already finished the Arts course and studied theology for some years, and gathered the companions. His trouble kept getting worse and worse, and he could not find a cure, though many were tried.

[85] ¹The doctors said there was nothing left that might help him except his native air—just that. Moreover, the companions gave him the same advice and pressed him hard. ²Already by this time they had all determined what they would do, sc., go to Venice and to Jerusalem, and spend their lives for the good of souls; ³and if they were not given permission to remain in Jerusalem, then return to Rome and

present themselves to the Vicar of Christ, so that he could make use of them wherever he thought it would be more for the glory of God and the good of souls. ⁴They also planned to wait a year in Venice for passage; ⁵but if there was no passage for the East that year, they would be free of their vow about Jerusalem and approach the Pope, etc.

⁶In the end, the pilgrim let himself be persuaded by the companions, and also because the Spaniards among them had some business which he could settle. ⁷It was agreed that when he felt well he should go and attend to their business, and then proceed to Venice where he would wait for the companions.

[86] ¹This was the year '35, and the companions were to set out, according to the agreement, in the year '37 on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul; though in fact, because of the outbreak of war, they eventually left in November of the year '36.

²As the pilgrim was about to set out, he learned that he had been accused before the inquisitor, with a case brought against him. ³Knowing this but seeing that they did not summon him, he went to the inquisitor and told him what he had heard and that he was about to set out for Spain and that he had companions: would he please pass sentence. ⁴The inquisitor said it was true there was an accusation, but that he did not find anything of importance in it. ⁵He only wanted to see his manuscript of the Exercises. When he saw it he praised it very much and asked the pilgrim to let him have the copy, which he did; ⁶nevertheless, he again insisted that the case be carried through to the sentence. As the inquisitor excused himself, he brought a public notary and witnesses to his house, and obtained a testimonial on this whole affair.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

[73] *Montaigne was in several ways among the strictest of the fifty and more colleges of the University of Paris. Classes began at 5 a.m. Erasmus was there for some time, and then John Calvin. Ignatius later moved to St. Barbara which was at the meeting point of the old scholasticism and the new humanism.*

[79] *In the original text, the portion in Spanish ends with the first paragraph. Up to here the actual words of Ignatius are recorded, according to da Câmara—who had to dictate the rest in such Italian as he could muster, when he stopped in Genoa on his way from Rome to Spain.*

To our modern mentality it is incredible that da Câmara, after protesting his scrupulous concern for exactitude, should make do with a poor translation, when presumably he could have written down the text himself.

[82] *Peter Faber, a Savoyard of humble origin, was the first stable companion of Ignatius and the first priest of the Society of Jesus. Francis Xavier was a young noble from Navarre and his family was on the French side in the struggle in which Ignatius was wounded at Pamplona.*

[85] *Here we find the gist of the special features in the vows made at Montmartre on August 15, 1534, by Ignatius and his first permanent companions: Xavier, Laínez, Faber, Salmerón, Bobadilla, Rodrigues. The ceremony marked the birth of the Company, later officially constituted as the Society of Jesus.*

[86] *Ignatius's unrelenting concern to clear himself of any suspicion of heterodoxy must be understood in the context of the situation in which he lived. But more in general, he did regard good reputation as a valuable asset in the apostolate.*

Nine
Farewell to Spain
1535

[87] ¹With that done, he mounted the pony the companions had bought him and set out alone homewards. Along the way he felt much better. ²When he arrived in the Province, he left the highway and took the mountain road, which was more secluded. Having moved along a bit, he saw two armed men who were approaching him (that road is somewhat notorious for assassins). ³A little after they had passed him, they turned about and came toward him in great haste, and he was a little afraid. ⁴All the same he spoke to them, and learned that they were servants of his brother, who had sent them to meet him; ⁵because, as it seems he had news of his coming from Bayonne in France, where the pilgrim was recognized. So they went ahead, and he went the same way.

⁶Just before he got to the place, he came upon the above-mentioned men, who were approaching him. They were very insistent about taking him to his brother's house, but they could not constrain him. ⁷So he went to the hospice and later at a convenient hour went to seek alms in the locality.

[88] ¹In this hospice he began to speak with many who came to visit him, of the things of God, by whose grace much fruit was derived. ²As soon as he arrived, he decided to teach Christian doctrine every day to children, but his brother strongly objected to this, saying no one would come. ³He replied that one would be enough. But after he began to do it, many came continually to hear him; and even his brother.

⁴Besides Christian doctrine, he also preached on Sundays and feasts, with profit and help to the souls who came many miles to hear him. ⁵He also made an attempt to eliminate some abuses, and with God's help some were set right. For example, he persuaded the one administering justice to have gambling banned under sanction. ⁶There was also another abuse there: namely, the girls in that region always go about with head uncovered and do not cover it until they are married. ⁷But there are many who have become concubines of priests and other men, and are faithful to them as though they were their wives. ⁸This is so common that the concubines are not at all ashamed to say that they have covered their heads for so-and-so, and are acknowledged as such.

[89] ¹Much evil results from this custom. The pilgrim persuaded the governor to make a law that all those who covered the head for anyone, and were not the wives, should be legally punished. And so this abuse began to be corrected. ²He got an order to be given that the poor should be provided for officially and regularly; ³and that bells should be rung three times at the Angelus, that is, morning, noon, and evening, so that the people might pray, as in Rome.

⁴But though he had felt well at the beginning, he later fell seriously ill. ⁵Once he had recovered, he decided to set out to attend to the affairs his companions had entrusted to them, and to set out without money. At this his brother was very upset, and ashamed that he should go on foot. ⁶By evening the pilgrim was willing to settle for this: to go on horseback with his brother and his relatives to the border of the Province.

[90] ¹But when he left the Province he got to his feet without taking anything and went towards Pamplona, and thence to Almazán, Father Laínez's home; and then to Sigüenza and Toledo and from Toledo to Valencia. ²In all these native places of his companions he would not take anything, although they offered him much with great insistence.

³In Valencia he spoke with Castro who was a Carthusian monk. He wanted to sail to Genoa but good friends in Valencia begged him not to do so, because they said Barbarossa was on the sea with many ships, etc. ⁴Although they did say many things, enough to frighten him, nevertheless nothing made him hesitate.

[91] ¹Boarding a large ship, he passed through the storm mentioned above, when it was said that he was on the point of death three times.

²When he arrived at Genoa he took the road to Bologna, on which he suffered much, especially once when he lost his way and began to walk by a river, which was down below whilst the way was up above, and became ever more narrow the farther he went along it. ³And it got so narrow that he could no longer go forward nor turn back. ⁴So he began to crawl along; and so he covered a great distance in great fear, because each time he moved he thought he would fall into the river. ⁵This was the greatest physical stress and strain that he ever experienced, but finally he got through.

⁶Making his way into Bologna and having to cross over a wooden footbridge, he fell off the bridge. Then, as he got up covered with mud and water, he made many bystanders laugh. ⁷Entering Bologna he began to beg alms, but not one small coin did he get though he sought everywhere. ⁸He was ill for some time in Bologna, but afterwards he went on to Venice, always in the same fashion.

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

[87] *The Province was Guipuzcoa, in which is the town of Azpeitia, where Loyola is situated. There is a pious tradition that Ignatius was solemnly received on arrival by the clergy. This seems based on a mistaken reading of the text: preti (priests) instead of predetti (above-mentioned).*

[89] *There is a problem of punctuation: whether Ignatius was willing to settle by evening, or his brother was ashamed that he should go in the evening. We take the first alternative, as more likely.*

[91] *A marked contrast here is noticeable between the courage and endurance stressed in the first chapter and the great fear that is admitted here. It is not that Ignatius had become timid, but he pushed himself into extreme situations of total dependence on God. And God does not let him down, but teaches him a lesson when he begins to feel safe.*

Ten
Venice and Vicenza
1535-1537

[92] ¹During that time in Venice, he busied himself giving the Exercises and in other spiritual contacts. ²The most distinguished persons to whom he gave them were Master Pietro Contarini and Master Gaspar de Doctis, and a Spaniard whose name was Rozas. ³There was also another Spaniard there called the bachelor Hoces, who was in close touch with the pilgrim and also with the bishop of Cette. ⁴Although he had some desire to make the Exercises, still he did not put it into execution.

⁵At last he decided to begin making them. And having made them for three or four days, he spoke his mind to the pilgrim, telling him that because of the things someone had told him, he had been afraid that he would be taught some evil doctrine in the Exercises. ⁶For this reason he had brought with him certain books so he could have recourse to them, if perchance he tried to deceive him. ⁷He was helped very much by the Exercises and in the end resolved to live the pilgrim's way. ⁸He was also the first one to die.

[93] ¹In Venice the pilgrim also endured another persecution, with many saying that his effigy had been burned in Spain and in Paris. ²This business went so far that a trial was held and sentence was given in favor of the pilgrim.

³The nine companions came to Venice at the beginning of '37. There they separated to serve in various hospices. ⁴After two or three months, they all went to Rome to obtain the blessing for the journey to Jerusalem. ⁵The pilgrim did not go because of Doctor Ortiz and also because of the new Theatine cardinal. ⁶The companions returned from Rome with drafts for 200 or 300 *escudos*, which had been given to them as alms for the journey to Jerusalem. ⁷They did not want to take anything except in drafts; later, not being able to go to Jerusalem, they gave them back to the donors.

⁸The companions returned to Venice in the fashion they had gone, that is, on foot and begging, but divided into three groups and in such a way that they were always of different nationalities. ⁹There in Venice, those who were not ordained were ordained priests, and the Nuncio who was then in Venice (and who was later known as Cardinal Verallo) gave them faculties. ¹⁰They were ordained *ad titulum paupertatis* and all made vows of chastity and poverty.

[94] ¹In that year no ships sailed for the East because the Venetians had broken off with the Turks. ²So, seeing that their hope of sailing was put off, they dispersed within the Venetian region, with the intention of waiting the year they had decided upon; and if it expired without possibility of travel, they would go to Rome.

³It fell to the pilgrim to go with Faber and Laínez to Vicenza. ⁴There they found a certain house outside the city, which had neither doors nor windows. They stayed in it, sleeping on a little straw that they had brought. ⁵Two of them always went out to seek alms in the city twice a day, but they got so little they could hardly maintain themselves. ⁶They usually ate a little toasted bread when they had it,

and the one who remained at home saw to its toasting. ⁷In this way they spent forty days, not engaging in anything other than prayer.

[95] ¹After the forty days, Master John Codure arrived; and the four together decided to begin to preach. The four went to different piazzas and began to preach on the same day and at the same hour, first shouting loudly and summoning people with their caps. ²Their preaching caused a great stir in the city, and many persons were moved with devotion, and they received in greater abundance the material goods they needed.

³During the time he was at Vicenza, he had many spiritual visions and many quite regular consolations; the contrary happened when he was in Paris. ⁴In all that traveling he had great supernatural experiences like those he used to have when he was in Manresa, especially when he began to prepare for the priesthood in Venice and when he was preparing to say Mass.

⁵While he was still at Vicenza, he learned that one of the companions, who was at Bassano, was ill to the point of death; at the same time he too was ill with fever. ⁶Nevertheless he set out and walked so vigorously that Faber, his companion, could not keep up with him. ⁷On that journey he had assurance from God, and he told Faber so, that the companion would not die of that illness. ⁸On their arriving at Bassano, the sick man was much comforted and soon recovered. ⁹Then they all returned to Vicenza; and all ten were there for some time, and some used to go seeking alms in the towns around Vicenza.

[96] ¹Then, the year being over and no passage available, they decided to go to Rome—even the pilgrim, because on the other occasion when the companions had gone, those two about whom he had doubts had shown themselves very kind. ²They went to Rome divided into three or four groups, the pilgrim with Faber and Laínez. On this journey he was visited very especially by God.

³He had decided to spend a year without saying Mass after he became a priest, preparing himself and praying Our Lady to deign to place him with her Son. ⁴One day, a few miles before reaching Rome, he was at prayer in a church and experienced such a change in his soul and saw so clearly that God the Father placed him with Christ his Son that he would not dare doubt it—that God the Father had placed him with his Son.*

[97] ¹Then on arriving in Rome he told the companions that he saw the windows were closed, meaning to say that they would have to meet many contradictions. ²He also said, “We must be very much on our guard, and not have contacts with women, unless they are prominent.” ³While on this subject, later in Rome Master Francis was confessor to a woman and sometimes visited her to treat of spiritual matters, and she was subsequently found to be pregnant; but the Lord deigned that the one who had done the mischief should be discovered. ⁴The same sort of thing happened to John Codure, with a spiritual daughter who was caught with a man.

* And I who am writing these things, said to the pilgrim, when he told me this, that Laínez recounted it with other details—so I understood. He told me that everything that Laínez said was true, because he did not recall it in such detail, but that at the moment when he narrated it he was certain that he had said nothing but the truth. He said the same to me about other things.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN

[92] *There is no diocese of Cette; probably Chieti is meant, whose Bishop Carafa, not too friendly with Ignatius, became the Theatine cardinal mentioned later, and then Pope Paul IV.*

[93] *To the six companions left in Paris, three others joined themselves: Le Jay, Broet, and Codure. Favre was already a priest. Ignatius was ordained on June 24, 1537, with the others; but he waited till Christmas night of the following year for his first Mass.*

Eleven
Finally in Rome
1538

[98] ¹From Rome the pilgrim went to Monte Cassino to give the Exercises to Doctor Ortiz. He was there forty days, and on one of them he saw the bachelor Hoces as he entered heaven. This brought him many tears and great spiritual consolation. He saw this so clearly that if he said the contrary he would feel he was lying. ²From Monte Cassino he brought with him Francis de Strada; ³and returning to Rome he busied himself helping souls. They were still living at the vineyard. He gave the Spiritual Exercises to various people at the same time, one of whom lived at Saint Mary Major, the other at Ponte Sesto.

⁴Then the persecutions began. Miguel began to give trouble and to speak badly of the pilgrim, who caused him to be summoned before the governor. He first showed the governor a letter of Miguel's in which he praised the pilgrim very much. ⁵The governor examined Miguel, and ended by banishing him from Rome.

⁶Mudarra and Barreda then began their persecution, saying that the pilgrim and his companions were fugitives from Spain, from Paris, and from Venice. ⁷In the end both of them confessed in the presence of the governor and the legate, who was then in Rome, that they had nothing bad to say about them, neither regarding their ways nor regarding their teaching. ⁸The legate ordered silence to be imposed on the whole affair, but the pilgrim did not accept that, saying he wanted a definite sentence. ⁹This did not please the legate nor the governor nor even those who at first favored the pilgrim; but at last, after some months, the Pope came to Rome. ¹⁰The pilgrim went to speak to him at Frascati and gave him several reasons; thus informed, the Pope ordered the sentence to be given, and it was given in his favor, etc.

¹¹With the help of the pilgrim and his companions some pious works such as the Catechumens, Saint Martha, the Orphans, etc., were begun in Rome.

Master Nadal can recount the rest.

[99] ¹After these things had been recounted, I asked the pilgrim on October 20 about the Exercises and the Constitutions, as I wanted to know how he had drawn them up. ²He told me that he had not composed the Exercises all at once, but that when he noticed some things in his soul and found them useful, he thought they might also be useful to others, and so he put them in writing; for example, the examination of conscience with that arrangement of lines, etc. ³He told me that he derived the elections in particular from that diversity of spirit and thoughts which he had at Loyola when he was still suffering in the leg. ⁴He told me he would speak to me about the Constitutions in the evening.

⁵The same day he summoned me before supper, with the air of a person who was more recollected than usual, and made a sort of protestation to me, the sum of which was to show the intention, the sincerity with which he had related these things. He said he was quite sure he had not exaggerated;

⁶and that he had committed many offenses against Our Lord after he began to serve him, but that he had never consented to mortal sin. ⁷Rather, he had always grown in devotion, that is, ease in finding God; and now more than ever in his whole life. ⁸Every time, any hour, that he wished to find God, he found him. And even now he often had visions, especially those mentioned above in which he saw Christ as the sun. ⁹This often happened while he was engaged in important matters, and that gave him confirmation.

[100] ¹He also had many visions when he said Mass; and when he was drawing up the Constitutions too, he had them very often. He can now affirm this more easily because every day he wrote down what went on in his soul and he had it now in writing. ²He showed me a rather large bundle of writings, of which he read me a good bit. ³Most were visions that he saw in confirmation of some of the Constitutions, at times seeing God the Father, at times all three Persons of the Trinity, at times Our Lady—who interceded and at times confirmed.

⁴In particular he spoke to me about precisions over which he 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 should make use of that.

[101] ¹The method which 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 Mass.

²I wished to see all those papers on the Constitutions, and asked him to let me have them a while; he would not.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN

[98] *This chapter is made up of bits and pieces and the first section ends with a sigh of relief, leaving the rest of the story to Nadal. Then da Câmara takes up the narrative, speaking in the first person and providing some very interesting and useful information.*

Jerome Nadal was a native of Majorca, who first met Ignatius in Paris, but kept him at a distance. After a long and painful process of discernment he became a Jesuit in Rome, and soon came to be appreciated for his ability to assimilate and articulate the spirit of Ignatius, being appointed by him to promulgate and explain the experimental Constitutions to the nascent Society. He is still regarded as an authority on the Ignatian charism.

[100] *The bundle of notes was destroyed by Ignatius; but a fragment has survived, and is now known and much appreciated as the Spiritual Diary; it includes the discernment of forty days on poverty, which is mentioned later.*

[101] *Ignatius did not undertake the writing of the Constitutions on his own but commissioned by the companions. They are almost entirely his work; but with the able assistance of his secretary, Juan Polanco, he researched and consulted assiduously, making improvements till his death in 1556, and leaving the final approval to the First General Congregation, which met in 1558 and adopted the text with minor changes.*