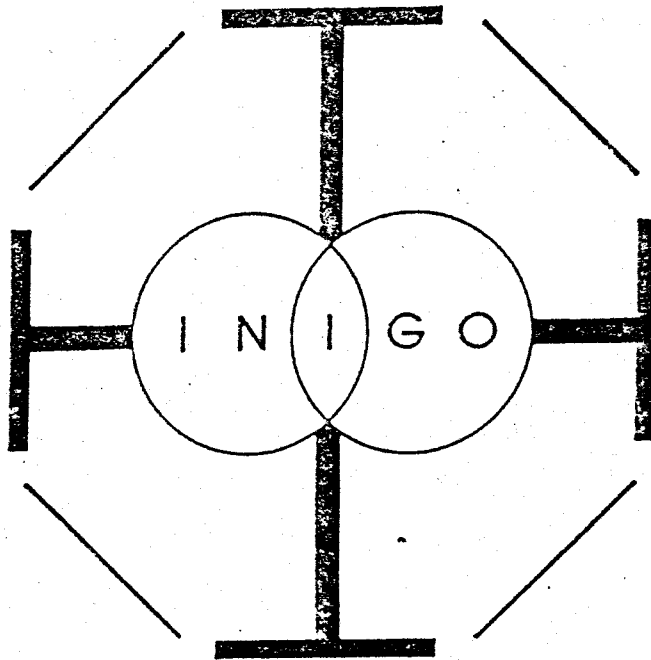


INIGO: DISCERNMENT LOG-BOOK

THE SPIRITUAL DIARY OF
SAINT IGNATIUS LOYOLA



Edited and translated by
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WITH A FOREWORD BY
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FOREWORD

The publications of Inigo Enterprises are clarifying their purpose as they proceed. They began with a cluster of slim booklets intended to support the twin audio-cassette adaptation of the autobiography, *Inigo: Story and Songs*. Feeling guilty about what I had done to the Founder's story by way of adaptation, I wanted my listeners to have the chance of reading the original text, and providence kindly supplied me with the opportunity of publishing the first *text* in this series: William Yeomans's excellent modern translation, *Inigo: Original Testament* (1985), published by the Inigo Centre. And now I am happy to welcome Joseph Munitiz's translation of the *Spiritual Diary*, with its fuller introduction and notes, as a further step in a more scholarly underpinning of my original venture: the re-discovery in our own day of the spirit of Inigo.

The text itself, as it emerges in this new edition, is clearly a *pivotal* document: pivotal in that it comes out of that turning-point in the Jesuit 'Company's' history — turning from a loose group of charismatics into an approved and recognized institution; pivotal in its matter — the election about *radical* poverty, the question underlying so much in the Gospels and reaching dramatic climaxes in history with the Franciscan radicals and in our own day with the agonizing challenge to complacent institutions posed by the third and (perhaps even more) the fourth worlds; pivotal too in its attempt to apply a newly articulated process of 'discernment' that, as in all troubled times, is again invoked as a main means of finding authentic responses to the living God.

Yet here is the paradox. As Munitiz rightly points out this is no ordinary 'diary', but rather a 'log-book' of a process of choice, more private and less literary than the *Markings* of a Dag Hammarskjöld, never even remotely meant for publication nor even for the perusal of his companions. This ultimate privacy makes it peculiarly valuable as a *public* utterance. Here if anywhere we get to the deepest layers of a living relationship between a remarkable man and a God who is always more — and always more surprising. It is thus profoundly shocking and wonderfully liberating. For here is an Inigo turned Ignatius, in his prime and in his privacy, facing fully the responsibility of a radical decision, that he knows full well will affect generations to come, and therefore longing beyond all else for a confirmation from the God he is trying to serve so faithfully during hours and days and months of intensive search and openness. Yet no such confirmation comes. He does not find the sign. Instead he discovers that to learn God's will is more radically challenging, and uncertain, and insecure a process than he had ever suspected (and that many of his followers have been prepared to admit). 'Discernment' is not a magical mystery process. God has ever higher reaches and lower depths for his servants, be they Job, or Shakespeare's *Lear*, or even his most beloved Son. But the crowning paradox is that in this impasse ordinary men and women can find an overwhelming consolation: like Ignatius one can take delight in the very breakdown of one's expectations as the opening to a much more radical 'way' of authenticity.

For many years now, the British Province of the Society of Jesus has organized annual conferences for the benefit of retreat directors. In 1986 we were fortunate at St Beuno's to have Joseph Munitiz to present his translation, an exercise in 'mutual

help', as he told me himself, which brought us closer to the well-springs of the experience of the *Exercitia*. These annual meetings in the Celtic twilight may have been of more practical significance than many of us have hitherto realized. Perhaps as a Jesuit Province we have been too easily satisfied with merely absorbing the more original work in matters Ignatian of our continental and transatlantic companions. But the province that produced in Gerard Manley Hopkins the man who refined the implications and pointed to the potential extensions of 'particularity', 'originality', 'thisness', may yet find resources within itself, if not to make original contributions as such, at least to encourage original modes of communicating them. Munitiz's carefully translated and scholarly introduced 'secret' diary of the first Jesuit is an excellent case in point and a worthy companion-piece to William Yeomans's already published *Testament*. And even if the *Diary* is less luridly sinister (and simply more obscure) than some might wish, the truly discerning will sniff out enough pivotal surprises to delight the risk-takers and to challenge the conventional. The process could lead us all into the deeper reaches of authentic Ignatian spirituality: creative conflict at many levels. Perhaps (who knows?), like Inigo's *Testament* before it, the *Diary* in its turn will inspire connected clusters of more popular Ignatian art-works and resources — further responses to the still challenging experiences of that strangely modern man, whose 500th centenary of birth will be celebrated in 1991, Inigo de Loyola.

William Hewett, S.J.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks are due to *The Way*, in which an earlier version of the Introduction was kindly published by Frs James Walsh and Michael Ivens (*The Way: Supplement 16*, 1972, pp.101-116); also to Fr William Broderick, who organized the Spiritual Exercises Conference, St Beuno's 1986, at which I was invited to present this translation, and to the many participants who helped me with their comments and support. Fr José Vives very kindly looked through a very early draft of the translation in 1956/7, and I have not forgotten his encouragement even if my text has changed considerably since then. Fr Francis Edwards, the present Archivist of the Society in Rome, generously provided the photograph published here. Fr James Colliston gave invaluable aid with the correction of the proofs, and Fr Jock Earle a moral support that surpassed what might have been expected from a Provincial. Finally, a very inadequate thank you to Fr William Hewett, the prime mover behind this publication.

INTRODUCTION

*Even if someone were to express everything that is 'within him',
we wouldn't necessarily understand him.*

L. Wittgenstein¹

The Spiritual Diary of St Ignatius Loyola is unique among his voluminous works as being one of the very few that survive in their original hand-written form, and that were written solely by the saint himself without the assistance of his secretary.² One might have expected it to provide immediate access to his mind and spirituality. Instead many readers, even those who have some acquaintance with the life and work of the saint, find that the Diary remains hidden in a strange mist of cultural remoteness and unintelligibility.

These pages are clearly the work of a man devoted to God, living an intense interior life, divinely endowed with special gifts. It is not quite so easy to believe that they were written by the man who founded the Society of Jesus, at a time when he was extraordinarily active, both in personal apostolic work in Rome and the even more taxing occupations of the government of the young society (the first papal approbation had been granted only five years previously). Further, although the impression conveyed by the Diary is that the writer is a man subject to more than the ordinary psychological tensions — a person tossed between 'great tranquillity' and the sort of experience recorded for February 8,

I felt within me that I approached, or was brought before, the Father, and with this my hair rose and I felt what seemed an intense warmth in every part of my body, followed by tears and the most intense devotion [§ 8].

it comes as something of a surprise to find that this is also the man whose disciples were instructed by him to excel in exterior and interior equilibrium.³ Finally, although it may be clear from the Diary that the writer is resorting to certain techniques in the spiritual life (such as ways of praying and of making a decision), it is not clear whose techniques these are, or indeed how far he is merely indulging in whims.

1. *Last Writings on the Philosophy of Psychology*, vol. I (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1982), No. 191.
2. Only two fascicules survive, the first written in forty days in 1544, and the second spanning a longer period, 1544-1545; the first part was published in 1892, but it was only in 1934 that the first full edition appeared: ed. A. Codina, *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, vol. 63 [= *Monumenta Ignatiana ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta, Series Tertia, Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu, Tomus primus, Monumenta Constitutionum Praevia*], Rome. The reasons for this long period of hiding, when the hand-written notes were known only by indirect reference and preserved as a precious relic within a baroque, jewel-encrusted binding, well deserve investigation.
3. 'The modesty of their countenance, the maturity of their walk, and all their movements, without giving any sign of impatience or pride', as Ignatius exhorts in the *Constitutiones* (MHSI, 64, pp. 342-343; trs. G.E. Ganss [St Louis, 1970], p. 155). Even more explicit are the Rules of Modesty, composed by Ignatius but not included in the *Constitutiones*.

In addition, the reader of the Diary may well ask himself what type of mystical experience it represents, what evidence it affords that Ignatius enjoyed the higher flights of infused contemplation, and how typical of the saint's normal spiritual life are its pages.

I. The Historical context

Although the first group of Ignatius's companions had taken vows of poverty, chastity and pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1534, their first vows as members of the Society of Jesus could be made only after the proposed pilgrimage had been definitely impeded and, as a consequence, the group had found it necessary to form an association that would meet the canonical requirements and receive papal approbation. In 1537, they offered their services to Paul III. In 1539, the first draft of the Constitutions was composed (the *Formula Instituti*); and this was formally approved by the Bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* of 1540, which canonically instituted the new order.⁴ In 1541, the amplification of the *Formula* was entrusted to Ignatius and Codure, and at once Ignatius was elected General. The first solemn profession of vows was then celebrated, on April 22, 1541.

The three years that intervened before Ignatius began his Diary were of crucial importance for the young order. They saw the rapid dispersal of nearly all Ignatius's companions: to Ireland (Broet and Salmerón), Portugal (Santacruz and others), Germany, Belgium, and parts of Italy; the writing of the first set of *Constitutiones Collegiorum*, and the founding of the college of Padua; the erection of the Roman college *pro catechumenis*; the start of the construction of Rome's first Jesuit Professed House; and the founding of the house of St Martha for the reform of prostitutes. Active teaching, especially catechizing the young, apostolic work among the Jews of Rome (the brief *Cupientes*, on behalf of the converted Jews, was granted in 1542 through Ignatius's intercession), and the instruction of new members of the Society,⁵ occupied the General's free time — a very precious commodity if we consider the vast numbers of letters which were required to inform the rapidly dispersing Jesuits of progress and organization. In December of 1542, we have St Ignatius's own testimony that he sent 250 letters, some as far afield as Goa in India where Francis Xavier had already arrived. The Pope required his assistance in delicate negotiations with John III of Portugal. And at this time serious ill-health was causing him great suffering and weakness (in May of 1542 and the early months of 1544 he entrusted the writing of his letters to secretaries).

With the opening of the year 1544 (the Diary begins in February of this year), it seems that the first great wave of activity that had been carrying Ignatius forward ever since his arrival in Rome suddenly diminished. The house of St Martha was founded in January, but then four months of extremely bad health crippled Ignatius's movements. In any case it must have been clear that a period of consolidation, and above all of intensive organization and planning, was becoming increasingly necessary. The new order was expanding rapidly in numbers and in the diverse directions of its personnel and their occupations. Attached though Ignatius was to the 'inner law

4. In the list of pros and cons used by the saint in the course of the election recorded in the Diary, there is mention of this Bull, and of the year following, in point 14: cf. p.74.

5. Cf. I. Iparraguirre, *Práctica de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio en vida de su autor*, (Bilbao 1945), pp.38-39: he establishes that Ignatius's influence on the scholastics during the years 1540-1542 was decisive for the spread of the Exercises.

of divine love⁶ as the guiding principle for himself and his subjects, mounting pressure from his companions and from the papacy, together with the evident dangers of dissipated energy, impelled him to begin the unwelcome task of composing the Constitutions. The problem became crucial with the need for a decision concerning poverty: Ignatius realized that the principles involved were of radical importance. First, there was the complex question of poverty itself: he was sufficiently aware of life's reality to appreciate that absolute poverty might spell the end of the new order by the normal calculus of human probability. Secondly, his own authority would be particularly tested: for the first time he would have to exercise on a grand scale the power so gladly entrusted to him and so reluctantly accepted; for this was only the exordium of the whole book of the Constitutions. And by a cruel twist of fate, the first point appeared to be one in which he would have to revoke a decision already approved by the early companions.⁷ Only if the Diary is seen against this background can one understand the apparently excessive hesitation over such a relatively minor matter. The Diary's interest lies in the fact that it shows the first movements of a great soul struggling to enter with determination on a hazardous journey.

- However one should not imagine that during the initial crucial period of forty days (February 2 — March 12, 1544), and even less, of course, during the longer period covered by the Diary, Ignatius retired to the isolation of some ivory tower. His administrative duties continued to occupy much of his time: funds had to be collected for the house of St Martha (as noted by Polanco in his *Chronicon* for the year 1544); arrangements made for the change of residence to the adapted professed house next to the church of Saint Andrew, which took place in September 1544; visits paid to the curial offices for the granting of a Papal brief in favour of the confraternity of the catechumens (February 15) and for the bull *Iniunctum nobis* (March 14) re-confirming the Society. In addition there was preaching to be done, the exercises to be given, and an eye kept on the new novices (among them the troublesome Postel). There are frequent references, even during the first period, to engagements outside the house (§§22,42,55,74,89,110,124), sometimes visiting Cardinals and on one occasion praying in St Peter's.

A few of the letters written during this period (probably with the help of a recently appointed secretary, Jerome Domenech) have survived, one (Letter 49) making financial arrangements and another (Letter 50) recommending someone (probably a novice) to leave the house of the Jesuits. But of greater interest is Letter 52, written shortly after the last date recorded in the Diary and addressed to the King of Portugal (March 15, 1545). The editors point out that the full version of this letter (now lost) seems to have included a strong assertion of his forthcoming resignation as Superior General: 'he said that he did not feel that he had either the strength or the capacity to bear the burden (of such responsibilities), and that they did not give him the opportunity

6. As he says in the Preamble to the *Constitutions*: 'what helps most on our part towards this end must be, more than any exterior constitution, the interior law of charity and love which the Holy Spirit writes and engraves upon hearts'.
7. In the Spring of 1541, after a commission (consisting of Ignatius himself and Codure) had examined the point, the first companions agreed that the sacristies of churches belonging to professed houses should be allowed to possess income. This decision will now be revoked by Ignatius as a result of his 40-day 'election'; in the *Constitutions* he forbids the possession of such income (cf. Ganss, pp.253-254), but already in 1548 he had taken steps to free the Society's own church (S. Maria della Strada) of any income (cf. MHSI 63, pp.192-193, with note 19) and subsequent Papal documents will take account of this alteration to the original foundation bull of 1540.

that he was to deal only with God in the quiet and peaceful contemplation of divine things.⁸

Among the worries present at least in the background of his mind must have been the coming ecumenical council, which opened at Trent early in 1545 with several Jesuit theologians represented; difficult relations between Paul III and the King of Portugal that came to a head in 1545 and were complicated by the special position of Simon Rodríguez at the Portuguese court; and closer to hand, the presence in Rome of Isabel Roser, who was demanding to be admitted along with a group of like-minded women as female members of the Society of Jesus, a demand forced through with Papal support against Ignatius's wishes in 1545.

II. The literary genre

At this point, an explanation of the role of the Diary becomes imperative. The title given to these sheets of paper⁹ is not one chosen by the saint himself: and it is in many ways singularly misleading. The famous diarists of world literature, the Pepys, the Boswells, the Evelyns, fall into a certain category of mind and character: they are remarkable for their acute observation, their constancy, fidelity, industry. Often they are witty, sometimes pedestrian. One is not surprised to find that a methodical, rational trait predominates: one thinks, perhaps unjustly, of a bank-clerk's ledger. It is surprising to find a man of violent passions keeping a diary. And yet the distinctive features of the *Spiritual Diary*, the elements that give it life and interest, are precisely the diffuse out-pourings, the breaking of the bonds of ordinary experience, and indeed of ordinary diction — the words flow regardless of sentence form, often twisted into phrases of almost unintelligible ambiguity.¹⁰ When eventually the second part of the Diary is reached, the exact contrary seems to happen: the entries are clipped into telegraphic reiterations.

If Ignatius is a diarist, then he must be one of the strangest. There is nothing in his character or circumstances which would explain at least the temporary adoption of such a literary form. Pepys is eminently autobiographical; his diary may begin with a blush and an attempt at secrecy, but very soon he is confiding himself and his doings with relative abandon to his readers. Ignatius was continually pressed by his companions to write an autobiography. He resisted strongly, but eventually

8. The letters of Ignatius were the first to be published in the *Monumenta Historica* series, and those mentioned above, with the quotation taken from Balthasar Tellez, *Crónica de la Compañía de Jesús en Portugal*, are to be found in the first volume (Madrid 1903).
9. Originally there were two small gatherings or fascicules, the first with fourteen folios (the last folio of this fascicule having been left blank), and the second with twelve folios. The first fascicule seems to have begun as a single piece of paper folded into two, but when Ignatius realized that these four pages would not be enough for his purpose he took another six large sheets placed on top of one another and folded them down the middle. The second fascicule is simply six more pieces folded in the same ways. In the first fascicule he recorded the first 40 days (February 2 to March 12, 1544), and clearly marked an end by leaving two pages blank; the second fascicule carries on chronologically (March 13, 1544 to February 27, 1545) and to that extent forms a unity with the first. But both fascicules are probably only a fragment of a larger collection, and the second fascicule breaks off only because subsequent pages and fascicules were destroyed: cf. p.16 below.
10. It was once thought that the peculiarities of the saint's style were relics of his Basque infancy (cf. P. Múgica, 'Reminiscencias de la lengua vasca en el Diario de San Ignacio' in *Revue Internationale des Études Basques*, 1936, pp.57-61). Against this view, S. Sala ('En torno al castellano de S. Ignacio', in *Razón y Fe*, 1956, pp.243-274) has argued that all the saint's peculiarities are typical of 'pre-classical' Spanish style and are to be found, for example, in the letters of Cardinal Cisneros. For a restatement of the Basque argument cf. G. de Gennaro, 'La expresión literaria mística del Diario Espiritual Ignaciano', in *Manresa* 25 (1963), pp.25-46.

submitted when the attack took advantage of his weak flank, his genuine humility. It was then that he dictated a short and incomplete account to his secretary.¹¹ It is very matter-of-fact, dour and blunt, pitiless and, one cannot help feeling, rather unjust to himself. Few people have succeeded in avoiding making fools of themselves at the start of their conversions; most are only too willing to consign such vagaries to oblivion. The story of his encounter with the Moor is a classic example; and it is rewarding to consider that St Ignatius might have been executed for murder before he reached Manresa, had it not been for a mule's whim.¹² The Diary, on the other hand, describes with a fullness and a detail rarely equalled the reception of spiritual gifts which would be the envy of many a canonized saint. What possessed Ignatius to indulge suddenly in a spate of autobiography which is belied by his other express statements? The answer is not to be found in a love for literary composition. Ignatius can reject as wildly improbable in himself the sort of motivation that Augustine perhaps would have acknowledged as part of the secret of his *Confessions*. The author of the Diary is not a lover of words: he treats them roughly, now sparingly, now in wanton excess; they are seized and hammered into place — rather like the saint's own handwriting. One graphological specialist, who has studied his writing in the Diary, notes that it reveals:

a need for clarity, for precision and for exactness; there is an exigence in the very form of expression. He constantly corrects himself, and starts anew. The rhythm remains full of life throughout these pages, where each trait has its particular value.¹³

To find the *raison d'être* of the Diary, we must turn in quite a different direction. Indeed, once the new orientation has been adopted, it will be found to lead to the solution of most of the Diary's problems. In 1522, barely one year after his being wounded at Pamplona (May 20, 1521), Ignatius was living the life of a recluse at Manresa. He then began the composition of the series of 'meditation notes' which formed the nucleus of his first and best known book, the *Spiritual Exercises*. (This received papal approbation from Paul III in 1548, at the request of Francis Borgia; in the same year the first edition, in latin, appeared.) The book consists of instructions as to the reformation of one's life by means of prayer and penance. Its style is didactic and eminently practical. Its originality consists in the exactness with which the affective and rational processes involved and required during the selection of, and the total dedication to, a life's reform, are anticipated and provided for. Such precision is the result of a man's acute and repeated reflection upon his own mental processes. And, for Ignatius, such reform is the mainstay of a vigorous life of the spirit. Consequently, the lessons learned at Manresa and imparted through the Exercises are of daily and perennial importance. This may seem exaggerated and is certainly open to misinterpretation. There are aspects of the Exercises which are necessarily transient, applicable at the most to the thirty-day period dedicated to their observance: the intensity of feeling normally produced, the emotional

11. Available in the Inigo International Centre Series: *Inigo: Original Testament. The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola*, trans. William Yeomans, 1985. An American translation with full commentary and notes was published in the same year: J.N. Tylanda, *A Pilgrim's Journey*, Wilmington: Michael Glazier.

12. Cf. *Autobiography*, c.2, nos. 14-16.

13. Carmen M. Affholder, 'Saint Ignace dans son écriture', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XXIX (1960), p.391: 'Nous y percevons un besoin de clarté, de précision, de netteté et une exigence dans la manière même de s'exprimer. Il se corrige, recommence. Le rythme reste toujours vivant en ces pages où chaque geste graphique a sa valeur singulière'. Cf. Illustration (facing p.24).

strain, would be unbearable and harmful if unduly protracted. But if evidence were lacking that many of the basic principles and techniques to be found in the Exercises were intended by Ignatius to be the inner framework of a man's whole spiritual life, then the *Spiritual Diary* is of exceptional importance as decisive proof.

III The technique of decision

The Spiritual Exercises revolve around the central axis of reform. At the heart of the second week are to be found a number of considerations that help the exercitant to reach the decisive point at which he both sees what change is required, and has the strength to accept it. From different angles, appealing to diverse mental factors, Ignatius leads the exercitant to consider the means required (in the meditation on 'Two Standards'), the readiness needed (in the consideration of the 'Three Couples'), and the motive underlying the heroism of the followers of Christ (the 'Three Modes of Humility'). The exercitant must then, in the light of these considerations, try to come to a conclusion. Many might have thought that sufficient had been done: that the exercitant could now be left to find his own way. However, Ignatius still has some important information that can be of immense help. Through the apparent jungle of possible reactions he outlines three paths which he had discovered by personal trial and error. The first is the sort of illumination which admits of no doubt; a Pauline conversion, an apostolic vocation. The second and third are much more protracted and complicated. The third, which is explained most fully, is dominated by the notion of the 'reasonable'. Here there are at least two possibilities. First, one can draw up a list of the pros and cons that concern the matter at issue; and, after prayer and particular attention to the purity of one's motivation, one can weigh up the importance of the respective sides. Secondly, a number of considerations may help one withdraw to a certain distance from the problem, and thus study it more objectively (for example, to proceed as if making the deliberation on behalf of someone else). It is quite clear from the Diary that Ignatius, for lack of a Pauline illumination, had had recourse to this third way, in its varied forms; but he had not found in it a satisfactory solution to his problem. Consequently he had tried the second way, which is described by the saint himself in the Exercises in words that might have been taken from the Diary:

The second, when one receives sufficient clarity (*asaz claridad*¹⁴) and knowledge, through experiencing consolations and desolations, and through experiencing the differentiation (*discreción*) of various spirits.¹⁵

It becomes clear at once that the *Spiritual Diary* consists of sheets on which Ignatius has noted precisely these 'consolations and desolations', the day-by-day process of diverse 'spirits'. It is essentially a log-book intended to be maintained during a relatively short period (unlike the normal diary), and it contains references only to occurrences that fall under these headings.

Some readers may have been puzzled at the terms introduced in the description of this 'second way'. They have a technical ring about them. The treatment given by the saint to these phenomena, in notes inserted between the meditations of his

14. Cf. the entry in the Diary for February 6: 'Later I realized with sufficient clarity (*en asaz claridad*)' (§5).
15. Exx 176.

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Exercises, is recognized as masterly,¹⁶ and is strikingly original in the clarity and precision which he brings to bear upon a problem as ancient as christian spiritual awareness. The problem lies in the extreme delicacy and complexity of these happenings, and the difficulty of communicating with others on topics so remote from everyday reality. The distinctive feature of each is the satisfaction or dissatisfaction which is felt and recognized in protracted reflection. This process of reflection requires sensitivity; but it must be backed by firmness and decision. The good and evil spirits utilize both periods (satisfaction and dissatisfaction); though the good tend to lead us to the former state. Within each state, the different spirits can still produce varied movements and agitations. One of the finest portraits in the world's spiritual writings of both these states and the actions of the different spirits is the *Spiritual Diary*.

Satisfaction has been mentioned as the key-note of periods of consolation: but as the saint makes clear in the Exercises,¹⁷ there are different levels of satisfaction. They range from the quiet peace of increased faith, hope and charity, through internal joy and gladness, which can unexpectedly flood the soul, through the tears of love and sympathy for Christ, up to the 'interior movement' which sets the soul ablaze with such love for God the creator that no other love can exist except as part of that conflagration. It is interesting to find the words *moción interior* in the Exercises. The Diary, too, is full of references, some very mysterious, to the 'inner life' ('internal joy', 'internal tears', etc.). When he comes to give rules concerning the remedies to be taken against desolation, he provides precisely those which are to be found used in the Diary: firmness, increased exercise of prayer and self-examination, a recognition that one may be at fault and that God may be providing a period of trial, both for increased self-knowledge and greater appreciation 'that it does not lie in our power to cause or retain great devotion, intense love, tears nor any other spiritual consolation, but that everything is gift and grace of God our Lord'.¹⁸ However, even consolations require keen self-analysis, or rather a constant sensitivity to the slightest change. We find this a preoccupation in the Diary, as explained in the Exercises:

It is characteristic of the evil angel, who presents himself under the guise of an 'angel of light' (*sub angelo lucis*), to make his entry on the side of the soul's devotion but his exit for his own profit; that is to say, he brings good and holy thoughts that are in full accord with such a virtuous soul; but later, little by little, he tries to make off with what is his own, dragging the soul towards his concealed treachery and perverse intentions.¹⁹

Two inter-related passages from the Diary may be quoted: they illustrate admirably the perception of a false consolation:

February 18: After mass I quietened down, comparing my own worth with the wisdom and greatness of God. I continued for some hours until the thought came to me that I should not trouble to say more masses — I felt angry with the Blessed Trinity; I had no desire to prolong the deliberation into the future . . . [§ 50]

16. Cf. the article on 'Consolation', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, II, cols. 1620-1622.

17. For example, Exx 316.

18. Exx 322. Cf. the entry for February 26: 'On beginning mass . . . a very slight form of weeping — I thought that with less I was more satisfied and content; in that way I felt I was being ruled by the Divine Majesty, to whom it belongs to give and withdraw his graces as and when it is most convenient' (§81).

19. Exx 332.

February 20: Later I felt strengthened about the past by the knowledge that the earlier spirit had been evil, the one that had wanted to make me have doubts and feel anger with the Blessed Trinity . . . [§ 57]

It is ironical that Ignatius, of all people, should have been accused of rigidity in his spirituality. The words of the Exercises on the differentiation of spirits (also those on the control of scruples) only begin to make sense if seen in reference to the type of inner life portrayed in the Diary. This is a life tenderly responsive to the slightest movements of grace, and completely dependent on them. Time, which most men in Ignatius's position would have considered of vital importance, becomes irrelevant as the days of quiet waiting impose themselves. The great virtue becomes that of patience.

IV. *The framework of the Exercises*

Once the Exercises have been discovered as a key to the understanding of the Diary, they continue to furnish innumerable clarifications. It is remarkable how often in these pages Ignatius seems to be thinking in terms of himself placed before the whole celestial court. This is the grandiose 'composition of place' (the prelude before meditation when the exercitant composes himself by thinking of some scene related to the topic he is about to consider) provided by the saint for two of the key meditations in the Exercises, the 'Couples' and the 'Contemplation to obtain love'. It seems to have been the way Ignatius imagined that an offering or oblation could be most fittingly made. It is perhaps a relic of his knightly training in a Spanish nobleman's household.²⁰ Also provided for solemn occasions in the Exercises is the technique of the 'triple colloquy', which also appears in the Diary. Instead of addressing himself immediately to God the Father, Ignatius intercedes first with Our Lady, and sometimes with other saints even before he approaches her; then, with her assistance, he speaks to God the Son, in whose company he finally approaches the Creator himself. A typical example is the entry for February 18:

A little later I wondered where I should begin, and it occurred to me that it might be with all the Saints, putting my cause in their hands, so that they might pray to Our Lady and her Son to be intercessors on my behalf before the Blessed Trinity . . . I set about repeating the past offerings, . . . beseeching and nominating as intercessors on my behalf the Angels, the holy Fathers, the Apostles and Disciples, and all the Saints . . . that they might plead to Our Lady and her Son [§ 46].

It is often a problem for him to decide how he should begin: again, evidence that these techniques of prayer were not mechanical rules of thumb, but general indications suggesting possible paths for the soul in its life of prayer and contact with God.

The 'petition' prelude, which also appears at the head of each meditation in the Exercises, gains full life and vigour when it is seen in action in the Diary: a dominant note of supplication, sometimes strident in its intensity, begging light on a specific problem, yet full of a strength which expands naturally without artificial pressure. In the same way, many of the brief notes scattered through the Exercises find full expression in the pages of the Diary. The curious third annotation, which recom-

20. Cf. P. Leturia, *El gentilhomme Íñigo de Loyola*, and F. González Olmedo, *Introducción a la Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola*, for the courtly ideals in Ignatius's development.

mends a different mental attitude when the 'will' is brought into play from that required when only the 'understanding' is active, is typical. Here, special reverence is required: the reason lies in the object, the holy, towards which the will is turned in all spiritual exercises. And in the Diary, whereas Ignatius is prepared to adopt a practical, business-like attitude in his considerations of pros and cons, any turning of attention to God is accompanied by that insistent repetition of the word *devoción*. In the Exercises, great care is taken in the explanation of the various 'examinations of conscience'. There is also a perplexing readiness for the 'repetition' of exercises; no sooner has a meditation been finished before one is examining one's conduct and progress in the course of that meditation, and then repeating it! Unless the director is alive to the type of self-awareness required, and unless he has some experience of the tempo at which Ignatius was accustomed to conduct his meditations, he can easily drive an exercitant to the verge of break-down. In the Diary, it is clear that the amount of intellectual cogitation involved in the saint's meditation is minimal: it is rare, and worthy of note, to be struck by a new idea. When an idea does come, as for example on February, 11

I received a new insight, viz., that the Son first sent his Apostles to preach in poverty, and later the Holy Spirit . . . confirmed them, and thus, since both Father and Son sent the Holy Spirit, all three Persons confirmed such a mission [§ 15],

the reaction is one of intense joy, and the digestion of the new thought, that *sentire ac gustare res interne* of the second annotation,²¹ fills many hours. As he remarks elsewhere:

I shall settle down at the point where I have found what I want, without any anxiety about moving on, until I am satisfied.²²

Within the Exercises it is necessary to distinguish the practical — one might say 'technical' — instructions from the indications of basic ideals and principles. The former, because of their complexity and originality, tend to attract more attention and require more protracted explanation. But the second group is the animating element within the body of the Exercises; and it is instructive to see how in the Diary they burst forth in full vigour. The ideas themselves are of marvellous simplicity and closely inter-connected: the primary importance of the glory of God, to the fulfilment of whose will all personal inclinations and preferences must be logically, but still more affectively, subordinated:

I realized that it was not I who should stipulate the time for finishing and receive a visitation then, but either then or whenever the Divine Majesty thought fit, and granted such a visitation [March 2, § 96].

This is the key idea in the 'Principle and Foundation', which opens the Exercises: it is also present, though with renewed meaning, in all the petitions of the last three weeks:

to ask grace from our Lord that I may not be deaf to his call, but ready and diligent to fulfil his most holy will.²³

21. Exx 2.

22. First Week, fourth addition: Exx 76.

23. Exx 91.

The spirituality of St Ignatius has been described as christocentric: it is not difficult to see what is meant: On February 23, for example, he writes:

While I prepared the altar <for mass>, Jesus came into my thoughts and I felt impelled to follow him, for to my mind it seemed that since He was the head of the Society, He was a greater argument for having complete poverty than all other human reasons [§ 66].

And he continues a little later:

It seemed in some way to be from the Blessed Trinity that I could see or feel Jesus, and I remembered the time when the Father placed me with the Son [§ 67].

He is referring to the great visitation of grace that occurred at La Storta (in late October or in November of 1537) as he was making his way to Rome. Ignatius later in his life seems to have described, and thought of, this experience in the words of the Diary, 'a placing with the Son by the Father': it is described thus in the autobiographical fragment dictated to Fr L. Gonçalves da Câmara.²⁴ However, at the time of the revelation, when he described the event to his two companions, Frs Faber and Lainez, he seems to have been explicit as to the details. The vision was of Christ carrying his cross, and the Father had joined Ignatius with his Son in the labour of carrying the cross.²⁵ The deep impression made by this vision is comparable in intensity with very few experiences of the saint. Perhaps the trinitarian revelations of Manresa (1522) and the Diary (1544) are the only events of equal importance.

V. Beyond the Exercises

There can be no doubt that the Exercises provide the key to the initial understanding of the Diary. However, it would be a pity if preconceptions gained from the Exercises were allowed to obscure a deeper appreciation. And indeed the Exercises themselves must not be judged prematurely: they gain in stature when seen as the path towards the Diary. The christocentric nature of Ignatian spirituality is a case in point. Vital and essential as is the rôle given to the humanity of Christ throughout the final three weeks, there are rare indications that in one sense the soul is to advance even further. There are only hints in the Exercises of the devotional importance of the Blessed Trinity. The first preamble to the contemplation of the Incarnation, for example, brings to mind a printed title-page:²⁶ the three persons are handling the orb of the earth at the top of the page, the scene of the Annunciation occupies the centre; in the course of the contemplation the exercitant thinks of their words and actions; and he makes a colloquy to them.²⁷ But who would guess from this brief mention that Ignatius's Diary would be full of devotion to the Trinity? In the Exer-

24. *Autobiography*, c.10, no 96.

25. Lainez's own account has been preserved only at second hand. However, the version is corroborated both by Ribadeneira and by Nadal: cf. MHSI 66, p.313, especially n.37, and p.499, no.23. For a full study, cf. R.Rouquette, in *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, (1957), pp.34-61, 150-170.

26. Dr. A. Suquia, *La Santa Misa en la Espiritualidad de San Ignacio de Loyola*, (Madrid 1950), has some interesting remarks on the illustrations concerning the Trinity to be found in missals of the period, cf. pp.193-194.

27. Exx 102, 106-8, 109.

cises the Holy Spirit is hardly mentioned.²⁸ In the Diary some of the most striking visions are of the Third Person:

I made a colloquy with the Holy Spirit, in preparation for saying his mass; I experienced the same devotion and tears, and seemed to see or perceive Him in a dense clarity or in the colour of burning flame — a way quite strange to me [February 11, § 14].

The portion of the Exercises which opens out onto the great future horizons of Ignatius's own spirituality is the 'Contemplation to obtain love'. It forms one of the appendices, so to speak, which he added, along with notes on technical methods of prayer, to the fourth week. Here, in a few brief paragraphs, Ignatius initiates the exercitant into the new life for which the Exercises have prepared him: the great quest into the nature of God, an investigation whose object is not knowledge but deeper love. In the Diary, an endearing phrase to refer to God is that of 'Giver of Graces': in the 'Contemplation', a rough intimation of the treasures these words enclose is imparted. The gift is the Giver himself, a Giver who is both present and dynamic in the gift, a Giver who is infinite in the number and variety of his gifts, to such an extent that no gift is not the Giver himself. Here, in this notion of 'giving', of 'communication', which for Ignatius is the quintessence of love, is to be found the seed, hidden and expectant, of the trinitarian revelations.

Ignatius seems to have been unusually aware of the inter-connections between dogmas. This appears in his Marian devotion. Our Lady is 'part or portal' (*parte o puerta*) of grace:

During the prayers to the Father and the Son, and at his consecration, I could not but perceive or see her . . . (At the consecration she showed that her own flesh was in that of her Son.) [February 15, § 31]

Nothing could be more foreign to Ignatian spirituality than the strange departmentalism that so often seems to beset christian devotions. For him the saints are united with Mary among the 'mediators' (among whom appears in turn the sacred Humanity of Christ). The mystery of the Trinity, with its circuminsession of Persons, finds its true context here, although it defies expression:

I had very many intuitions about the blessed Trinity, my mind being enlightened with them to such an extent that it seemed to me that with hard study I would not have known so much [February 19, § 52].

And later:

During the prayers to the Father, it seemed that Jesus was presenting them, or accompanied those that I was saying, before the Father: and I felt or saw in a way that cannot be explained in those terms [February 25, § 77].

Later still:

I caught sight of the home-land of heaven or the Lord of it, in so far as I understood the three Persons, and how within the Father were the second and third [February 29, § 89].

28. There are five references in the short '*Mysteria vitae Christi*' (Exx 263, 273, 304, 307, 312) and one in the '*Rules for thinking with the Church*' (Exx 365).

It would be incorrect to suppose that, at the time of composing the Exercises, Ignatius was still unaware of the rôle of the Trinity. Already in 1522 he had received at Manresa an illumination of the Trinity's intimate nature:

One day when he (Ignatius) was reciting the Little Office of our Lady on the steps of that same monastery <of the Dominicans>, his understanding began to rise, as if he saw the Blessed Trinity represented by three organ keys, and this with so many tears and sobs that he could not control himself.²⁹

On the other hand, it would be equally misleading to suppose that Ignatius had passed beyond the learning stage. He says himself, with reference to the new insight he had received concerning the essence of the Trinity:

So great an achievement did it seem to have untied this knot . . . that I could not stop repeating to myself, with reference to myself, 'Who are you? From where? . . . What did you deserve? Why this?' [February 21, § 63]

Again, in the second part of the 'Diary' there appear a number of new phenomena, principal among them being the 'reverence and submission',³⁰ which, the saint has come to feel, 'should be shown on going to mass when I had to pronounce the name of God Our Lord etc.' [March 14, § 156]. The mystery of the Trinity seems to have presented ever-new facets as the spiritual life of Ignatius progressed.

Allied to this growth, and forming an organic part with it, is the mystery of the mass. Here, too, the Diary presents us not with an isolated strand of devotion but with a reiteration of that inter-penetration of truths which was hinted at in the final point of the 'Contemplation to obtain love'. In the eucharistic liturgy, the saint finds the great prayer, the period when earth and heaven are most obviously at one, the point at which the soul's access to the divine acquires its greatest facility. There is in the Diary a very personal approach to the mass: the saint cannot tolerate distraction at that time. There is no trace of the social theology which is required if the full wealth of the mass is to be estimated. But it is essential to remember the purpose of the Diary. It is not a mere collection of thoughts; it is kept with a definite end in view:³¹ the recording of the consolations and desolations experienced in the course of reaching a decision about poverty. For a full exposition of Ignatius' theological convictions, it is necessary to study his other writings.³² Where the Diary is of particular importance is in the revelation it offers of the force that certain of the saint's ideals and modes of thought had acquired. Other aspects of his inner motivation are revealed elsewhere.

29. *Autobiography*, c.3, no 28.

30. Cf. two studies on *acatamiento*, one by Manuel Ruiz Jurado and the other by Charles E.O'Neill, mentioned in the Bibliography.

31. The study by Dr Suquia (mentioned above, no.26) labours slightly from the initial supposition that the Diary is only a *diary*, 'in which the saint during thirteen months gathered the deepest impressions that he had experienced while celebrating the holy mysteries' (*loc. cit.*). The Diary is much more: it is essentially an instrument forged to facilitate a particularly difficult election in accord with Ignatius's instructions in the Exercises. In consequence, Dr Suquia has difficulty in explaining the *lacuna* concerning the social function of the mass.

32. The gap is only partly filled by the pioneer work of Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian*, (London 1968). For a study of Ignatius's letters, cf. I. Iparraguirre, *Espíritu de San Ignacio*, (Bilbao 1958).

VI. The mystical gifts

Outstanding among the personal traits that the Diary presents is a feature which is adumbrated in the Exercises but which also escapes notice if not placed against the background of the Diary. In the second and third points of the 'Contemplation to obtain love', attention is drawn to God's indwelling in created things, and to the fact 'that he works and toils on my behalf in all created things'.³³ This attention to the presence of God is actively practised at the start of each meditation. An attitude of mind is built up which comes to maturity through the 'Contemplation' and finds in this exercise its natural, and eventually its supernatural, complement. It is remarkable how often in the Diary it is the ordinary events of the day which are suddenly illuminated and transfigured by the rush of grace. It is as the saint is having his mid-day meal that he receives the final decisive consolations, and it is in the middle of grace (surely the most routine of all spiritual duties!) that he has a vision of God the Father:

When I sat at table . . . the tempter did not succeed, but pretended to succeed in making me have doubts. Suddenly, yet calmly — like a man who has won — I said to him, 'Get to your place!' I was strengthened by tears and by a complete sense of security about all I had decided . . . When I said grace after the meal, the Being of the Father partly disclosed itself, also the Being of the Blessed Trinity, while I felt a spiritual impulse to devotion and tears, such as I had not felt nor seen all day [March 12, § 151, 153].

When he is out walking in the streets of Rome, the supernatural world breaks in upon him with the same intensity as when he is saying mass:

Today, even when walking in the city, I felt great interior joy, and on seeing three rational creatures together, or three animals, or three other things, the blessed Trinity was brought before me [February 19, § 55].

Even in the celebration of mass, it is not only at the culminating points, the canon or the communion, that his prayer receives its special graces, but at such times as the *Confiteor* (February 25, §§ 77-78), or the Epistle (February 17, § 40). The consolation of God, he notes in the Exercises,³⁴ has the characteristic that it enters the soul without previous warning, for the Creator has the right to enter and leave his house without any preliminary knocking. However, his entries in the Diary testify to the emotion this sudden onslaught of devotion can cause, leaving Ignatius gasping for breath to relieve the anguish:

After I had gone to bed, I had special consolation in thinking of Them <the three Persons>, I was on fire for the exultation in my soul . . . [The following morning] while saying mass, I was not weeping, yet not entirely without tears, feeling a certain warm devotion, ruby red as it were; also many little gasps full of considerable devotion [February 18, §§ 44, 49]. . . . during prayer I wept much, the tears streaming down my face. A very intense devotion lasted for a while, I had many intuitions or spiritual reminders of the Blessed Trinity. I was at peace and felt such great exulta-

33. Exx 236.

34. Second Week: Rules for the discernment of spirits (Exx 330).

tion that there was a pressure in my lungs for the intense love I was experiencing in the Blessed Trinity [February 19, § 51].

Constant prayer is of course a special gift of God. The Diary provides first-hand evidence that Ignatius had been given this gift, at least at certain periods of his life. In the *Autobiography*, he says quite plainly that the special gifts of contemplative prayer were not always granted him; but in his early years at Manresa, after his studies when he moved to Venice, and during these months when he was preparing himself for the composition of the Constitutions, he seems to have received unusually varied spiritual consolations. Thus, although it is likely that among the personal papers destroyed before his death there was mention of great graces, there are two pieces of evidence to prove that the graces recorded in the Diary were quite exceptional. The first is the document written by Ignatius himself, which appeared so mysteriously in the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid.³⁵ Here are written out the passages underlined in the Diary; those that refer to the most extraordinary of the visions and graces. The saint would not have gone to such trouble if he were constantly receiving graces of this kind. Secondly, there is a passage in the *Autobiography*, dictated eleven years later, which gives the Diary a special importance:

He (Ignatius) then showed me (Fr Gonçalves da Câmara) quite a large bundle of written notes and read me a good part of them. For the most part they were visions he had seen in confirmation of some parts of the Constitutions: he had sometimes seen God the Father, at other times the three Persons of the Trinity, at others Our Lady interceding or approving.

He spoke to me in particular of the deliberation in which he had been stuck for 40 days, saying mass each day, and with many tears each day: the point at issue was if the church should have an income, and if the Society could avail itself of such.

The method he used while composing the Constitutions was to celebrate mass each day, to present to God the point he was treating, and to make his prayer about it; during both his prayers and his mass he would shed tears. I wanted to see all those notes referring to the Constitutions, and I asked him to let me have them for a short while; but he did not want to.³⁶

Ignatius probably continued to preserve the Diary precisely because of the exceptional nature of its entries; they recorded an apex of his spiritual life.

Several commentators³⁷ on the Diary have attempted to chart in detail the various stages recorded in it, but although certain obvious phases appear — notably the two 'black' periods (§§ 20, 23; § 44), the long period when Trinitarian revelations abound (between February 18 and 29, when Ignatius underlined key passages), and the period when submission finally dominates (§§ 156ff.) — the spiritual 'evolution' (if the word is not too misleading) does not follow a clear temporal pattern. One is reminded of a swinging pendulum that oscillates between consolation and desolation and only

35. Cf. MHSI 63, pp.ccxli-ccxlii.

36. *Autobiography*, c.11, nos 100, 101. The original is in Italian, as this part of the *Autobiography* was not written down by Fr Gonçalves da Câmara himself, but dictated later from memory to an Italian secretary.

37. A number of these are conveniently summarized by I. Iparraguirre in his Introduction to the Diary, *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola: Edición Manual*, (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 86, 1963), pp.309-315; cf. also the Introduction by M. Giuliani to the French translation, pp.30-35.

gradually acquires the steadiness of a fixed resolve. Moreover the learning process hinted at by Ignatius has many of the characteristics of the psycho-analytic labour of self-discovery:³⁸ it is not linear, and has an internal logic of its own, proceeding through half-glimpsed practical shifts of attitude. The technique of decision (by the second way) mentioned above is revealed in its *inadequacy*, but Ignatius struggles before accepting that his own rules crack if pushed to excess (§ 145). The shifts within the Diary are best seen in terms of changes in register or tone, from a strangely narcissistic obsession with the pleasure of tears and certainty to that of vision and eventually to that of submission and acceptance.

The physical phenomena accompanying these various psychic changes vary considerably. In the first part it is the number of visions, the references to physical heat and other strange sensations that abound. But it is in the second part that the more unusual of the phenomena make their appearance: the *loquela* and its *música* (§§ 221-234). Also it is in the second part that the references to weeping become so constant that they submerge all other entries. Commenting on the role of tears in the Diary of Ignatius, Fr de Guibert wrote:

Although the catholic tradition has always had a high esteem for tears of compunction, and even more so for tears as a mystical gift, there is no saint, as far as I am aware, for whom in practice they have had such importance.³⁹

Clearly, during the period covered by the Diary Ignatius was receiving exceptional gifts of grace and of prayer; and these notes provide first-hand evidence that he is to be included among the mystics of the Church.

VII Conclusion

With regard to the external phenomena which accompanied the intense spiritual activity of this period of his life, it is interesting to note that Walter Hilton, probably the most competent theologically of the 'English Mystics' of the fourteenth century, indirectly alluding to the *dulcor*, *canor* and *calor* of Richard Rolle (phenomena which seem to have so much in common with Ignatius's tears, *loquela* and *música*), points out that such experiences bear little relationship to the depths of God's love in a soul:

Well I wot that these manner feelings and fervours of devotion . . . are gracious gifts of God sent into chosen souls, for to draw them out of wordly love . . . nevertheless, that the fervour is so much in outward showing is not only for greatness of love that they have, but it is for littleness and weakness of their souls, that may not bear a little touching of God.⁴⁰

Ignatius would have agreed. In his defence we may think it more just, rather than speak of 'littleness and weakness of soul', to bear in mind the 'occupational hazards'

38. The French Jesuit, L. Beirnaert, uses categories borrowed from Jacques Lacan for his penetrating analysis (unfortunately all too brief): 'Une lecture psychanalytique du Journal spirituel d'Ignace de Loyola', *Revue d'Histoire de la Spiritualité* 51 (1975), pp.99-112.

39. J. De Guibert, *St. Ignace Mystique*, (Toulouse 1950), p.56: this little book, the first profound study of the Diary, consists of articles first published in 1938 in *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*. They are still well worth consulting.

40. Cf. Knowles, David: *The English Mystical Tradition*, (London 1961), p.109.

of a busy active life. Ignatius felt the latter to be his vocation and was prepared to sacrifice mystical gifts and graces that are physically possible only for a contemplative. His position is that of so many of his disciples: the confessor, the spiritual guide, the director of the Spiritual Exercises. Perhaps among the hundreds of entries in which tears are recorded, the most revealing for our appreciation of the inner fabric of Ignatius's spirit is the short entry for April 3:

I had no tears before, during or after mass; at the end I felt more content without them and also affection, judging that God our Lord did this for my greater good [§ 186].

However by April 3 two months had passed since the first entry on February 2, and in that crucial period Ignatius had been brought to a clearer realization of the work process that writing the Constitutions would require. At the beginning he seems to have envisaged a series of 'elections', carried out according to the election technique described in the *Exercises*. He expected God to intervene at each step, dictating by the force of his consolations the concrete decisions to be taken. But experience had shown Ignatius that this was not the 'way' God was showing him: his decisions would have to be taken by a careful pondering of the weight of pros and cons, in the light of reason, but in the darkness of a faith which was not flooded in consolation. And so, from being a series of chapters numbered as a record of consolation and desolation, the entries become more and more a 'diary', where the days and months take on more and more significance; during all the final months Ignatius is simply noting day by day that the process is functioning normally. Writing the Constitutions has become a part of his working life. The thought that his humdrum activity could bring him as close to his God as any revelation of the essence of the Blessed Trinity seems to have never ceased to move Ignatius to tears.

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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

This chart is intended to assist in the consultation of the 'Diary'; however more in particular it shows the masses celebrated by Ignatius (and hence covers only the first five months of the 'Diary', as after this he ceases to record this detail). Square brackets indicate that Ignatius has not referred to the mass celebrated that day; round brackets indicate that he has mentioned celebrating the mass of the day, but without specification; the feasts in the liturgical calendar are printed in italics. The abbreviation (v.) indicates a votive mass. The indication 'Holy Name' (= *Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus*) conceals a questionable identification of the two entries 'Of the Holy Name' (§ 26) and 'Of Jesus' (§§ 7, 32, 141, 165, 168, 173, 227): cf. V. Larrañaga edition, p.685, note 7.

FIRST FASCICULE

§§	DATE/DAY	MASS CELEBRATED	NOTABLE ENTRY
1	Feb. 2 Sat	Our Lady: <i>Purification</i>	
2	1544 3 Sun	[
3	4 Mon	Our Lady (v.)	
4	5 Tue	Our Lady (v.)	
5	6 Wed	Our Lady (v.)	
6	7 Thu	Trinity (v.)	
7-10	8 Fri	Holy Name (v.)	approach to Father, hair-raising, burning (§8)
11	9 Sat	[
12-13	10 Sun	(<i>Septuagesima</i>)	
14-19	11 Mon	Holy Spirit (v.)	vision of Holy Spirit (§14); full offering (§16); complete rest (§19)
20-22	12 Tue	Trinity (v.)	Persons hide themselves (§20)
23-25	13 Wed	Our Lady (v.)	sense of fault (§23)
26-27	14 Thu	Holy Name (v.)	
28-31	15 Fri	Our Lady (v.)	Our Lady hid (§29); at the consecration, her flesh in that of her Son (§31)
32-38	16 Sat	Holy Name (v.)	new offering (§34,38)
39-42	17 Sun	(<i>Sexagesima</i>)	
43-50	18 Mon	Trinity (v.)	supposed 'final' offering, with exceptional corporeal sensations (§47); doubts (§49); feeling of anger with Trinity (§50)
51-55	19 Tue	Trinity: 1 (v.)	pressure in his lungs (§51); start of Trinitarian revelations recorded apart (§52); resolve to say 6 or more masses of Trinity (§51); the sight of three objects anywhere a source for Trinitarian revelations (§55)
56-59	20 Wed	Trinity: 2 (v.)	
60-63	21 Thu	Trinity: 3 (v.)	revelation of circuminsession of Persons in Trinity; untying the knot (§63)
64	22 Fri	Trinity: 4 (v.)	
65-70	23 Sat	Trinity: 5 (v.)	Confirmation of Jesus: head of the Society (§66); that the name of Jesus impress itself on me (§66)

71-75	24 Sun	(Quinquagesima)	Confirmation of Jesus (§72); He showed Himself (§73, 74, 75)
76-78	25 Mon	<i>St Matthias</i>	Jesus and the Father (§77)
79-81	26 Tue	Trinity: 6 (v.)	seeking for the way (§80)
82-87	27 Wed	<i>Ash Wednesday</i>	start of respect of submission, or reverential love (§83); new awareness of Jesus, not only the 'white' (humanity), but as completely God (§87)
88	28 Thu	Trinity: 7(v.)	Jesus at the foot of the Trinity (§88)
89-90	29 Fri	Five Wounds (v.)	vision of homeland of Heaven, and of circuminsession of Persons (§89,90)
91	Mar. 1 Sat	<i>Feria</i>	
	1544		
92-96	2 Sun	<i>1st in Lent</i>	doubts about when to finish (§96)
97-103	3 Mon	Trinity: 8 (v.)	unwell (§97)
107-110	4 Tue	Trinity: 9 (v.)	intense devotion to Trinity (§105); the essence rather than the Persons (§110)
111-116	5 Wed	Trinity: 10 (v.)	seeking for the way (§113); sense of rest (§115)
117-125	6 Thu	Trinity: 11 (v.)	vision of Trinity as sphere (§121); derivation of the Persons (§123)
126-133	7 Fri	Trinity: 12 (v.)	visitation midway between high and low (§127); seeking the conclusion (§130); pains of hell preferable to hearing of blasphemy (§132)
134-136	8 Sat	Trinity: 13 (v.)	shown a great humility (§135)
137-140	9 Sun	<i>2nd in Lent</i>	a way without visitations (§139)
141-142	10 Mon	Holy Name (v.)	need to be like an angel at mass (§141)
143	11 Tue	Our Lady (v.)	
144-153	12 Wed	Holy Spirit (v.)	despite uncertainties (§144,145), decides to conclude (§147); final offering (§149); realization of role of evil spirit (§152) and vision of being of Father and Trinity (§153)

SECOND FASCICULE

	DATE/DAY	MASS CELEBRATED	NOTABLE ENTRY
154-155	Mar. 13 Thu	<i>Feria</i>	4-day holiday from work on the Constitutions (§154)
156-157	14 Fri	Holy Spirit (v.)	key role of submission (§156,157)
158	15 Sat	Our Lady (v.)	
159-160	16 Sun	<i>3rd in Lent</i>	key role of submission (§160)
161-164	17 Mon	Our Lady (v.)	work on Constitutions once more (§161)
			key role of submission (§164)
165	18 Tue	Holy Name (v.)	
166	19 Wed	Trinity (v.)	
167	20 Thu	Our Lady (v.)	
168	21 Fri	Holy Name (v.)	
169	22 Sat	Holy Spirit (v.)	
170	23 Sun	<i>4th in Lent</i>	
171	24 Mon	Trinity (v.)	
172	25 Tue	Our Lady (v.)	
173	26 Wed	Holy Name (v.)	submission as pure gift (§173)
174	27 Thu	Holy Spirit (v.)	spherical vision of God's essence (§174)
175	28 Fri	Trinity (v.)	
176	29 Sat	Our Lady (v.)	
177-180	30 Sun	<i>5th in Lent</i>	greater perfection without tears (§176)
181	31 Mon	<i>Feria</i>	submission with love (§178)
182	April 1 Tue	<i>Feria</i>	
	1544		

183-185	2 Wed	<i>Feria</i>
186	3 Thu	<i>Feria</i>
187	4 Fri	<i>Feria</i>
188	5 Sat	<i>Feria</i>
189	6 Sun	<i>(Palm Sunday)</i>
190	7 Mon	<i>Feria</i>
191	8 Tue	<i>Feria</i>
192	9 Wed	[]
193	10 Thu	[]
194	11 Fri	[<i>Good Friday</i>]
195	12 Sat	[<i>Holy Saturday</i>]
196	13 Sun	<i>(Easter Sunday)</i>
197	14 Mon	<i>Feria</i>
198	15 Tue	<i>Feria</i>
199	16 Wed	<i>Feria</i>
200	17 Thu	<i>Feria</i>
201	18 Fri	<i>Feria</i>
202	19 Sat	<i>Feria</i>
203	20 Sun	<i>(Low Sunday)</i>
204	21 Mon	Our Lady (v.)
205	22 Tue	All Saints (v.)
206	23 Wed	[]
207	24 Thu	[]
208	25 Fri	<i>St Mark</i>
209	26 Sat	Holy Spirit (v.)
210	27 Sun	<i>(2nd after Easter)</i>
211	28 Mon	Trinity (v.)
212	29 Tue	[]
213	30 Wed	[]
214	May 1 Thu	[]
	1544	
215	2 Fri	[]
216	3 Sat	[]
217	4 Sun	[]
218	5 Mon	[]
	6 Tue	[]
	7 Wed	[]
219	8 Thu	[]
	9 Fri	[]
220	10 Sat	[]
221-222	11 Sun	[]
223-224	12 Mon	All Saints (v.)
225	13 Tue	<i>St Sebastian</i>
226	14 Wed	Our Lady's Conception (v.)
227	15 Thu	Holy Name (v.)
228	16 Fri	Holy Spirit (v.)
229	17 Sat	Trinity (v.)
230	18 Sun	<i>(5th after Easter)</i>
231	19 Mon	<i>Rogations</i>
232	20 Tue	All Saints (v.)
233	21 Wed	Our Lady (v.)
234	22 Thu	<i>Ascension</i>
235	23 Fri	<i>Ascension</i> (v.)
236	24 Sat	Holy Spirit (v.)
237	25 Sun	[]
238	26 Mon	<i>Ascension</i> (v.)
239	27 Tue	<i>Ascension</i> (v.)
240	28 Wed	<i>Ascension</i> (v.)
241	29 Thu	<i>Ascension</i> (v.)
242	30 Fri	[]
243	31 Sat	[]
244	June 1 Sun	[]
	1544	

greater perfection without visitations (§184)

first mention of *loquelas*
resumed work on Constitutions (§223);
great pleasure in *loquela* (§224)
loquela
loquela

loquela
loquela
loquela
loquela
loquela
loquela
doubts about *loquela*

loquelas
loquela
loquela
loquela

245		2 Mon	[
246		3 Tue	[
247		4 Wed	[
248		5 Thu	[
249		6 Fri	[
250		7 Sat	[
251		8 Sun	<i>Trinity Sunday</i>
252		9 Mon	Trinity (v.)
253		10 Tue	Trinity (v.)
254		11 Wed	Trinity (v.)
255		12 Thur	<i>Corpus Christi</i>
256		13 Fri	Corpus Christi (v.)
257		14 Sat	Corpus Christi (v.)
258		15 Sun	<i>(2nd after Pentecost)</i>
259		16 Mon	Corpus Christi (v.)
260		17 Tue	Corpus Christi (v.)
261		18 Wed	Corpus Christi (v.)
262		19 Thu	Corpus Christi (v.)
263		20 Fri	Holy Spirit (v.)
264		21 Sat	Trinity (v.)
265		22 Sun	<i>(3rd after Pentecost)</i>
266		23 Mon	Trinity (v.)
267		24 Tue	<i>John the Baptist</i>
268		25 Wed	John the Baptist (v.)
269		26 Thu	John the Baptist (v.)
270		27 Fri	[
271		28 Sat	[
272		29 Sun	[
273		30 Mon	Trinity (v.)
274	June 1544	1 Tue	Trinity (v.)
275		2 Wed	<i>Visitation</i>
276		3 Thu	Five Wounds (v.)
277		4 Fri	Trinity (v.)
280		5 Sat	[
281			
to			
490			

very brief entries continue until February 27, 1545 with no record of masses celebrated

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ILLUSTRATION

EXPLANATORY NOTES

- (i) the entries are numbered, but not dated; one can read in the left hand margin (line 12) the number 18 followed by the day of the week (*martes* — Tuesday) and the votive mass (*de la trinidad 1ª* — of the Trinity. No. 1)
- (ii) there are lines enclosing certain sections (lines 23-27; 34-35; 36); these parts were written out on a separate sheet, cf. note 56 to the translation.
- (iii) graphologists will note the regularity of the distinctive hand, with certain pronounced flourishes.
- (iv) the frequent crossings-out are characteristic.
- (v) line 8 reads '*misas yndignándome con la sanctissima trinidad*' — 'masses felt angry with the Blessed Trinity', but in the English translation punctuation has had to be added, and the typical gerundial form, so dear to Ignatius, has been lost.

[illegible]

<FASCICULE I: ff. 1-13>†

+ <Mass of> Our Lady

C<hapter> 1st. Saturday <Feb. 2, 1544> — Great devotion during mass, with tears, with increased trust in Our Lady, and more inclined both then and during the whole day to choose complete poverty. 1

C<hapter> 2nd. Sunday <Feb. 3> — The same, and more inclined both then and during the whole day to choose complete poverty. 2

<Mass of> Our Lady

C<hapter> 3rd. Monday <Feb. 4> — The same; also other feelings and a greater inclination to complete poverty; and at night a close drawing-near in affection to Our Lady with great confidence. 3

<Mass of> Our Lady

4th. Tuesday <Feb. 5> — Great¹ devotion before, during and after mass, with tears² so abundant that my eyes ached; I saw the Mother and Son ready and willing to intercede with the Father*; both then and during the day I was set on poverty and still more moved to it; in the afternoon it was as if I felt or saw that Our Lady was ready and willing to intercede. 4
(2)
(3)

<Mass of> Our Lady

5th. Wednesday <Feb. 6> — Devotion, not without tears, before and during mass, and more inclined to complete poverty. Later I realized with considerable clarity or in a way differing from the usual, that to have some income would raise complications, and to have a complete³ income would cause scandal and help to tarnish the poverty so praised by God Our Lord. 5
(2)

† Preliminary Remarks

The system of *punctuation* adopted by Ignatius, and indeed his division of long sentences into somewhat disjointed (and hence often ambiguous) phrases, have been adapted to conform with English usage. The words printed in *italics* were underlined or separated in some way by Ignatius (e.g. by encircling lines) and then written out on a separate sheet (cf. §52, with note 56). Double and single *asterisks* ("*" and "*") replace signs in the manuscript which 'seem to indicate that St Ignatius had some sort of vision' (MHSI, p.87, note 5). Words in *pointed brackets* are supplied to clarify the sense. The system of *numbering*, to which the saint seems to have given some importance, has been reproduced, despite its imperfections, at the head of each entry. In addition the *paragraph numbers* (in the right-hand margin), which greatly facilitate reference to the text, have been added, following the system established by Fr Giuliani in his French translation, and a sign (//) in the text indicates where he has split one paragraph from another (he frequently guided himself by changes in the hand-writing, as Ignatius did not write each of the daily entries at one sitting). The *verse divisions* (marginal numbers in brackets) are a recent proposal, kindly communicated by Fr E. Gueydan, intended to further facilitate exact references. Numerous words and phrases have been *crossed out* (but are still legible) in the autograph, and a fair sample of these are given in the Notes.

1. 'very great' (before correction).
2. 'interior and exterior tears' (before correction).
3. CF. p.72.

<Mass> of the Trinity

6th. Thursday <Feb. 7> — Very great devotion and tears before mass;⁴ I felt throughout the day⁵ a warmth and a remarkable devotion, remaining myself ever more convinced and moved to poverty. While celebrating mass, I seemed to have easy access and felt, with much devotion, an interior impulse to implore the Father; it seemed to me that the two mediators had made supplication and I received some impression of seeing them.

<Mass> of the <Holy Name of> Jesus +

7th. Friday <Feb. 8> — After experiencing remarkable devotion and tears while I prayed, from preparing for mass and during mass very great devotion, also tears; only at times could I retain the power of speech; resolution fixed on poverty. // After mass, devotion not without tears, while I considered the choices in the election⁶ for an hour and a half or more. When I came to offer what seemed to me most reasonable, and to which my will felt most impelled viz. that no fixed income should be allowed, I desired to make this offering to the Father through the mediation and prayers of the Mother and Son. Firstly I prayed her to assist me before her Son and Father. Next I implored the Son that together with the Mother He might help me before the Father. Then I felt within me that I approached, or was taken before, the Father, and with this movement my hair rose and I felt what seemed a very remarkable burning in every part of my body, followed by tears and the most intense devotion**. // Later when I read over what I had written and saw that it was well written, fresh devotion, not without water in my eyes**; and later still, when I remembered the graces received, a new experience of devotion.

In the afternoon I once more weighed up the choices for another hour and a half or more, and made the choice for complete poverty. At the same time I felt devotion and a certain elation, with great tranquillity and no opposing urge to possess anything; the desire to continue with the election, to the extent considered necessary a few days before, now seemed to be fading.

8th.⁷ Saturday <Feb. 9>⁸ — On reconsidering the choices in great tranquillity and devotion, it seemed perfectly clear that no income, either partial or adequate, should be allowed: nor did it seem worthwhile to consider further: I thought the matter was settled, I felt great tranquillity of mind, and I continued to be resolved on complete poverty.

4. 'and in it' (added, then crossed out).

5. 'until nightfall' (added, then crossed out).

6. Cf. pp.72-74.

7. 'Mass of the Annunciation' (added, then crossed out).

8. Ignatius began by writing a whole paragraph at the start of this entry, but then crossed it all out: it reads — 'Last night I was greatly weakened by bad sleep; at prayer this morning, a quiet mind and considerable devotion; I felt moved in spirit, experiencing warmth and the impulse to weep. Later, on rising [see below, §365, with note], I twice lost the feeling of weakness; later, on going to mass, devotion in prayer and the same on vesting, with an impulse to feel like weeping. During mass, continuous devotion, weakness, various impulses of spirit, a tendency to weep. The same after mass [my will ever set on poverty', added then crossed out], peaceful throughout the whole day. Contrary to the tendency which seemed formerly predominant, all desire to continue with this election left me completely: the solution seemed plain, viz. complete poverty'.

- 6 <Mass> of the day 12
- 9th. Sunday⁹ <Feb. 10> — On reconsidering the choices, and on making the offering of complete poverty, I felt great devotion, not without tears: so also
- 2 earlier during my customary prayer, before, during and after mass, considerable devotion and tears, my resolve ever fixed on complete poverty, and feeling tranquil in the offering that had been made. I had noticed great clarity in my reasonings and later with reference to the mediators, feelings,¹⁰ not without vision**.
- At night, on considering the choice of a complete, a partial or no income,
- 7 I offered up complete poverty and felt great devotion, interior peace and tranquillity of soul, and a certain security or assent that the election was well made. 13
- 2 <Mass> of the Holy Spirit 14
- 8 10th. Monday <Feb. 11> — During my customary prayer, without reconsidering the reasons for poverty, I offered it to God Our Lord or implored Him that
- 2 the offering already made might be accepted by His Divine Majesty; I felt considerable devotion and tears. A little later I made a colloquy with the Holy Spirit, in preparation for saying His mass; I experienced the same devotion and tears, and seemed to see or feel Him in a dense clarity or in the colour of burning
- 3 flame — a way quite strange to me — all of which confirmed me in my election**.
- Later, in preparation for considering and going into the various choices, now my mind was made up, I took out the written pros and cons to consider them.
- 9 I prayed to Our Lady, then to the Son, and to the Father, that ~~the~~ might give ^{they} me ~~the~~ Spirit to assist me in my reasonings and to give me clarity of mind, even
- 2 though I spoke of the matter as already settled. I felt considerable devotion and certain fairly clear-sighted intuitions. Thus I sat down considering almost in
- 10 general whether the income should be complete, partial or not at all. Then I began to lose the desire to look into pros and cons and at the same moment I received new insights, viz. that the Son first sent his Apostles to preach in
- 2 poverty, and later the Holy Spirit, by granting his spirit and his gift of tongues, confirmed them, and thus, since both Father and Son sent the Holy Spirit, all three Persons confirmed such a mission. 15
- 11 Then receiving greater devotion and losing all desire to consider the question any longer, with tears and sobs I made, on my knees, the offering of complete poverty to the Father; and so many were the tears running down my face, and such the sobs that I could hardly get up, so great was the devotion and grace that I was receiving. Finally I did rise though even then the devotion and the sobs continued. They came when I had formally ratified, endorsed, etc., the offering of complete poverty. 16
- A little later as I was walking and remembering what had happened, a new interior impulse of devotion and tears**.
- A little later, just before going out to say Mass, while I prayed for a short while, I felt intense devotion and wept on feeling or seeing in some way the Holy Spirit — the question of the election being now answered¹¹ — and I could neither see nor feel either of the other two Divine Persons in this way. 18

9. Septuagesima Sunday, 1544.

10. 'intellectual insights' (added, then crossed out).

11. Ignatius first added here 'and the Father and the Son' (as if he had perceived them also, and not just the Holy Spirit), but then crossed out these words. Fr Iparraguirre calls this correction 'the most mysterious and important' in the text: how could Ignatius have thought at one moment that he had seen the Father and Son,

Later in chapel, before and during mass, great devotion and tears. Afterwards I felt great tranquillity and security of soul, like a tired man who takes a complete rest. I no longer sought or desired to seek for anything, considering the matter finished, except for thanksgiving, also out of devotion to the Father and to the mass of the Blessed Trinity which I had already proposed to say tomorrow¹² Tuesday.

HOW THE PERSONS HID THEMSELVES¹³

<Mass> of the Trinity

11th. Tuesday¹⁴ <Feb. 12> — On awakening, I prayed and did not cease to give thanks most earnestly to God Our Lord, in the midst of intuitions and tears, for the great benefit and clarity conceded me, so great as to be inexplicable. // On rising, the interior warmth and devotion I had experienced continued. When I called to mind the great good I had received, I was moved by new and growing devotion and the impulse to weep; also on walking to Don Francisco,¹⁵ and while with him; and on returning I did not lose the warmth and intense love.¹⁶

<Mass> of Our Lady

12th. Wednesday¹⁷ <Feb. 13> — I knew that I was gravely at fault in having left the Divine Persons¹⁸ on the previous day during the thanksgiving.¹⁹ I wanted to abstain from saying the mass of the Trinity that I had thought of saying, and take as my intercessors the Mother and Son, that my fault might be forgiven me and I myself restored to my former grace; I would keep away

only to change his mind on further reflection? However the same editor points out that the passage has been altered in other ways: the reference to 'seeing in some way' was added, and originally Ignatius wrote only of 'perceiving' (feeling). Clearly he realized on reflection that a quite special contact had been momentarily established with the Holy Spirit, which was not the case with the other Persons.

12. 'Tomorrow' or perhaps 'in the morning of' as *de mañana* is ambiguous.
13. The heading, along with the entries for Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, seem to have been all written on the evening of Thursday, and describe a phase that was caused by an event on Tuesday (see notes 16, 19, 23), rather than something that had occurred the previous day.
14. 'Wednesday' (before correction: see note 23).
15. Probably Francisco Vanucci, Chief Almoner of Paul III.
16. A complete paragraph, which may be crucial for understanding the text, was added and then crossed out: 'Afterwards I disposed of a question or temptation that had occurred at dawn that morning, viz. < if income might not be allowed > for the church alone: I saw my path with great clarity and insights, and with considerable devotion. I wished most earnestly to refuse entry to such a suggestion: in great peace, understanding and thankfulness of heart towards the Divine Persons and also considerable devotion. The occasion < of the temptation > had been my rising from prayer to see if I could stop the noise or if it was inevitable, owing to < the position of > my room. Later, when I went to mass and during it, I felt that the warmth within was beset by the cold wind from outside: I could see that the clarity within was good and that the evil was without: so in the middle of mass I felt warmth and some devotion. not coldness, yet disturbances from those in the room and from whoever was hearing mass. When mass was over and I considered the matter, I remained undisturbed and with the same interior devotion'.
17. 'Thursday' (before correction: see note 23).
18. 'God Our Lord' (before correction to 'the Divine Persons').
19. The reference is not clear, but probably the events partly recorded in note 16 were the context; the words translated as 'on the previous day' (*el día pasado*) seem to mean 'yesterday' (cf. §§62, 162, 185, 224) even if they are used at least once (§29) in a less precise sense.

19 from the Divine Persons and so not apply immediately to them for the former
 (2) graces and offerings: I would not say their masses all that week, mortifying myself
 by thus absenting myself. // Then I experienced very great devotion, and many 24
 most intense²⁰ tears, not only during prayer but while I vested; I sobbed and
 as I could feel the Mother and Son to be interceding <for me>, I felt a com- 25
 plete security that the Eternal Father would restore me to my former state. //
 Later, before, during and after mass, greatly increased devotion and a great abun-
 20 dance of tears: I saw and felt the mediators: I was most sure I would regain
 what was lost. During all these periods, both on Wednesday and Thursday,²¹ (2)
 I considered the offering as fully made and could see no objection to it.

21 <Mass> of the Holy Name of Jesus 26

13.²² Thursday²³ <Feb. 14> — During the usual prayer, great devotion and
 an exaltation of mind, remarkable tranquillity; I did not see the mediators in
 22 the same way. When I prepared to leave the room, not without tears and in-
 terior impulses. // Then before, during and after mass, very copious tears, devo- 27
 tion, great sobs — so great that often I could not keep the power of speech for
 long before losing it again — many spiritual intuitions; finding easy access to (2)
 the Father when I spoke his name, as the mass requires, and a great security
 or hope that I would regain what was lost, feeling the Son very ready to intercede,
 23 and the Saints;²⁴ I cannot describe how I saw them as I cannot explain anything
 else of what happened. No doubts about the first offering that was made, etc. (3)

(2) <Mass> of Our Lady in the Temple. Simeon.²⁵ 28

(3) 14. Friday <Feb. 15> — During my first prayer, when I named the Eternal
 Father etc., there came a feeling of interior sweetness that continued, not without
 an impulse to weep: later considerable devotion, and, towards the end, much (2)
 greater still; no mediators or persons revealed themselves. // Next on preparing 29
 to leave for mass, as I began to pray, I could feel, and was shown, Our Lady,
 also how great had been my fault the previous day: I felt moved within and
 wept, for I seemed to be putting Our Lady to shame in having her intercede (2)
 for me so often, because of my many failings. So much so that Our Lady hid
 from me and I found no devotion in her or higher than her.²⁶ // A little later, 30
 when I sought to go higher, as I could not find Our Lady, a mighty impulse
 to weep and sob gripped me and I seemed to see or feel that the Heavenly Father
 showed Himself propitious and kind — to the point of making clear to me that (2)
 he would be pleased if Our Lady, whom I could not see, would intercede. // 31
 While preparing the altar, after I had vested, and during mass, I experienced

20. 'most intense' is a correction from 'intense'.

21. 'Wednesday and Thursday' are an error (not noticed by Ignatius) for 'Tuesday and Wednesday' (as is clear from the corrections he made to the headings of the entries: see note 23).

22. Instead of ordinal numbers, used up to this point, Ignatius changes to cardinal numbers (except for '15th').

23. Ignatius wrote the first letters of the word for 'Friday', realized his mistake and, having crossed them out, wrote the word for 'Thursday'. At this moment he made the corrections to the headings of the two previous entries.

24. 'united together' (added, then crossed out).

25. Literally, 'Our Lady of the Temple', but the meaning is 'Mass of Our Lady, votive mass of the Presentation in the Temple, with the gospel account of Simeon'.

26. 'in the others' (added, then crossed out).

great interior impulses and wept very copiously and intensely, sobbing violently. Often I could not speak. The same continued after mass. During much of this time, before, during and after mass, I felt and saw clearly that Our Lady was very propitious, pleading before the Father. Indeed during the prayers to the Father and the Son, and at His consecration, I could not but feel or see her, as though she were part or rather portal of the great grace that I could feel in my spirit. (At the consecration she showed that her own flesh was in that of her Son)²⁷ with so many intuitions that they could not be written. No doubts about the first offering that was made.

<Mass> of <the Holy Name of> Jesus

15th. Saturday <Feb. 16> — During the customary prayer, I had no feeling of the mediators; no coldness or tepidity; I had considerable devotion.²⁸ When I wanted to prepare for mass, I was doubtful to whom I should commend myself first and how to do so. Still in doubt, I knelt down wondering where I would begin: than I thought the Father was revealing Himself most and drawing me to his mercies.²⁹ I felt <Him> more friendly towards me and <myself> better disposed to implore what I desired (I felt unable to adapt myself to the mediators). This feeling or vision grew; I wept most copiously, the tears streaming down my face, and felt great trust in the Father, as if the exile I had been under were being lifted. // Later I went to mass, prepared the altar, vested and began the mass; all this time many intense tears. I felt drawn³⁰ towards the Father, to whose honour I directed the things of the Son: I experienced insights into many notable things, that caused delight and were very spiritual. // After mass I spent an hour considering one set of election reasons, paying attention to the point raised,³¹ and also to the income already granted:³² it seemed to me that such things were so many knots and bonds contrived by the enemy: with great tranquillity and peace I made the election and the offering to the Father of not possessing anything even for the church; I did the same in turn with the other set of election reasons — all this not without an interior impulse and tears.

At night I took out the notes to review and draw up reasons for the possible choices. I had been at fault during the day and began to hesitate if I should proceed further without delaying the election as before.³³ Finally I decided to continue as usual, though still doubtful to whom I would commend myself first. I felt a certain shame, or indefinable feeling, before the Mother. Finally, having first examined my conscience for all that day and begged pardon, etc., I

27. The brackets are those written by Ignatius, probably to underline the importance of this intuition.

28. Ignatius added here, and then crossed out: 'at times my mind wandered, but not to evil things; towards the end there was very great calm and a certain sweetness: I rose and dressed, and nothing worth mentioning occurred either one way or the other'.

29. 'to his mercies' is a correction from 'to his love'.

30. The phrase 'tirándome al Padre' is translated by Giuliani, 'Je me jetais vers le Père', but the American and German translators have kept the passive sense of being attracted.

31. Cf. §22, with note 16, where reference is made to the possibility of having funds for a limited purpose, i.e. only for the upkeep of the church.

32. Probably a reference to the annuities belonging to the Church of Our Lady of the Way; by a bull of Paul III these were transferred to the sacristy of the church when the Jesuits took it over.

33. On the Wednesday he had decided to delay before saying more masses of the Trinity (cf. §23); yet he feels his election must end with a mass in their honour.

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felt the Father was very propitious, without my being able to adapt to the mediators; and some tears came.

Later, with this same warmth, I implored grace to reason with His spirit and to be moved by that spirit. Before I rose, it seemed to me pointless to reconsider the election — and at that the tears overwhelm me and I feel intense devotion, sobs and spiritual gifts. I am moved for a while to make my offering of complete poverty in our churches and no longer wish to prolong the matter, except for two days in which to give thanks and repeat the same offering, or more formal one. I do so with an excess of tears, with warmth and interior devotion. The same state continued afterwards and I thought I could not rise: instead I wanted to stay there with that internal visitation.

A little later the thought came to me³⁴ that during those other two days I could reconsider the choices, and that I did not seem to have decided against this. It upset me and diminished the intensity of my devotion: I wanted to put it aside. At last I rose from my knees and sitting down made an election on the matter: I called to mind some spiritual considerations. I began to weep a little and judging the thought to be a temptation, I went down on my knees and offered to stop all consideration of elections on that point: but I would take the two days, viz. until Monday, saying mass in thanksgiving and repeating the offering.

While I made this offering and oblation, once more the tears were of such a kind and so copious, the sobs so violent and the spiritual gifts so great, that after I had made it — to the Father in the presence of Our Lady, the Angels, etc. — as the tears etc. continued, I felt no desire to rise but on the contrary longed to continue in that state which I was experiencing so intensely. Then at last, feeling a very great satisfaction, I rose, devotion and tears continuing all the while, with firm resolve to fulfil the oblation and all that had been offered.

16. Sunday³⁵ <Feb. 17> — During the customary prayer, I could feel no mediators or any other persons. I was coming to the end.³⁶ I felt considerable relish and warmth. From the middle onwards, the tears were very copious, accompanied by warmth and interior relish; no intuitions; I considered the matter ended and it seemed³⁷ to me to be acceptable to God Our Lord. // When I rose and turned to the preparation before Mass, I thanked His Divine Majesty and offered Him the oblation already made. Neither devotion nor the impulse to weep was lacking. On going out to mass, preparing the altar, vesting and beginning mass, considerable tears: very intense and copious during mass, and such that very often I could not speak, especially during the whole of the long epistle of St Paul, which begins, 'Libenter suffertis insipientes';³⁸ I felt no flashes of understanding or of distinctions, nor was I conscious in any way of any persons; my love was most intense and accompanied by warmth and great relish in divine things; my soul's satisfaction increased greatly. // After mass, in the

34. 'gradually growing less' (added, then crossed out).

35. Sexagesima Sunday.

36. Clearly a reference to the end of the election process, and not simply to the end of the prayer period: cf. §43.

37. 'it seemed to me to be' is a correction in place of the much more affirmative 'por' (= 'for') first written: a note of doubt has crept in.

38. 'You gladly bear with fools' (2 Cor 11:19), from the readings of the mass of Sexagesima Sunday.

chapel, and later while I knelt in my room, when I wished to give thanks for so many gifts and graces received, I lost all desire to remake offerings of the oblation made (although I was ever doing so, and not without devotion), considering the matter as settled; on the other hand, I felt drawn by the devotion³⁹ I experienced to stay there⁴⁰ enjoying the feeling.⁴¹ // Later I wondered whether to go out or not and decided with great peace in the affirmative; thereupon I felt special interior impulses and I wept. Although it seemed to me that I could have spent more time in tears, I rose, still weeping and with my soul very satisfied, and set out having decided to complete the matter tomorrow, before dinner-time at the latest — with thanksgiving, petition for strength, and a repetition of the offering already made out of devotion for the Blessed Trinity, celebrating the mass in their honour.

<Mass> of the Trinity and End⁴²

17. Monday <Feb. 18> — Last night, a little before retiring to bed, I felt some warmth, devotion and great trust that I would find the Divine Persons or grace in them now that I was coming to the end. After I had gone to bed, I had special consolation in thinking of Them, I was on fire⁴³ for the exultation in my soul.⁴⁴ Later I slept. I awoke next morning a little⁴⁵ before daybreak and then afterwards felt heavy-hearted and bereft of all spiritual things. While I made the customary prayer, I remained during the first half with little or no relish,⁴⁶ and moreover an uncertainty if I would find grace in the Blessed Trinity, until eventually I renewed once more my prayer, when I think I made it with considerable devotion, and towards the end with great pleasure and spiritual relish.

Later I decided to rise and thought of delaying the dinner hour⁴⁷ and taking measures to ensure that I should not be disturbed until I had found <the grace desired>,⁴⁸ I then felt new warmth and a devotion that made me weep. While dressing I thought of abstaining⁴⁹ for three days in order to find what I desired. When the realization dawned on me that even this thought was from God, new strength, warmth and spiritual devotion filled me impelling me ever more to

39. 'great devotion' corrected to 'devotion'.

40. 'on my knees' (added, then crossed out).

41. 'enjoying certain impulses and interior consolations' (added then crossed out).

42. Ignatius is premature in writing these words; the following morning he will change his mind, and the election process will continue until March 12th.

43. The word *abraçándose* written by Ignatius here is ambiguous as it can derive from *abrasar* ('to burn') or from *abrazar* ('to embrace'). All the interpreters seem to have opted for the latter sense, but Ignatius's frequent references to 'warmth' (cf. Appendix, pp.84-85) make the former sense more likely. The only other passage sometimes mentioned in support of 'embracing' is a non-starter: cf. §51 (with note 55).

44. Giuliani's original paragraph division has been altered here in conformity with the Iparraguirre edition.

45. The words '*un poco*' have been omitted (probably inadvertently) from the Iparraguirre edition.

46. 'less than during the previous twenty days' (added then crossed out; only seventeen days have been recorded so far in this fragment of his notes).

47. '*dilatar el comer*': some interpret this as a reference to fasting, but Ignatius seems to be thinking of his resolution to finish the election process before dinner time (§42).

48. Ignatius does not add the object to the verb '*hallar*' and he may have had in mind not simply 'the grace desired', but more specifically 'the divine Persons'.

49. '*abstenerme*': cf. §145, where however fasting is referred to with the expression '*estar sin comer*', so here some milder form of asceticism (cf. §23) may be in his mind.

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weep. // A little later I wondered where I should begin and it occurred to me that it might be with all the Saints, putting my cause in their hands, so that they might pray to Our Lady and her Son to be intercessors on my behalf before the Blessed Trinity. With great devotion and intensity of feeling, I felt my face streaming with tears; in this state I went for confirmation of the past offerings, including many things in my colloquy — beseeching and nominating as intercessors on my behalf the Angels, the holy Fathers,⁵⁰ the Apostles and Disciples and all the Saints etc., that they might plead to Our Lady and her Son: then I started once more to beseech and implore Our Lady and her Son with long reasonings that my concluded confirmation and my thanksgiving might rise before the throne of the Blessed Trinity. // During all this and from then onwards, a great flood of tears, many impulses and interior sobs: it seemed moreover as if each vein and part of my body was making itself sensibly felt. Before their entire Heavenly Court I made the concluded confirmation <of my offering> to the Blessed Trinity, giving thanks with great and intense affection, first to the Divine Persons, then to Our Lady and her Son, then passing through the Angels, the holy Fathers, the Apostles, Disciples, to all the Saints, men and women, and to all persons who had helped me to do this.

Later⁵¹ while I prepared the altar and vested, there came to me: “Eternal Father, confirm me”; “Eternal Son, con<firm me>”; “Eternal Holy Spirit, con<firm me>”; “Holy Trinity, con<firm me>”; “My One Sole God, con<firm me>”. I repeated this many times with great force, devotion and tears, and very deeply did I feel it. And when I asked once, “Eternal Father, will you not confirm me?” I knew He would: so also with Son and Holy Spirit. // While saying mass, I was not weeping, yet not entirely without tears, feeling a certain warm⁵² devotion, ruby-red as it were;⁵³ also many little gasps full of considerable devotion. At times however these things were not felt to any great extent and then the thought came to me, pricking and preventing devotion, that my tears were not so copious and abundant: moved by it I decided not to rest content seeing that confirmation had not been granted in this last mass of the Trinity. // After mass I quietened down, comparing my own worth with the wisdom and greatness of God. I continued for some hours until the thought came to me that I should not trouble to say more masses — I felt angry with the Blessed Trinity; I had no desire to prolong the deliberation into the future; I considered that the decision already reached was final, although some slight doubt still occurred. I felt devotion all day: however it was beset in some slight way, and seemed fearful of erring in anything.

18. Tuesday.⁵⁴ <Feb. 19> <Mass> of the Trinity. No.1. — Last night on going to bed I thought over what masses to celebrate or how. When I awoke

50. Probably the patriarchs of the Old Law.

51. Ignatius separated this paragraph from the preceding section with two lines: the notes now concentrate more on Trinitarian revelations, to which he appears to have attached particular importance. Cf. note 56 below.

52. ‘almost new and unaccustomed’ (added before the word ‘warm’ and then crossed out).

53. ‘exterior and unaccustomed during mass’ (added, then crossed out).

54. Exceptionally this entry begins with the day of the week and the mass is written on the same line immediately after it, instead of above it in first place.

in the morning, I began an examination of conscience; then and during prayer, I wept much, the tears streaming down my face. A very intense devotion lasted for a while, I had many intuitions or spiritual reminders of the Blessed Trinity. I was at peace and felt such great exultation that there was a pressure in my lungs⁵⁵ for the intense love I was experiencing in the Blessed Trinity. At this I gained confidence and decided to say the mass of the Blessed Trinity in order to decide later what should be done. The same thought while I dressed, and more intuitions of the Blessed Trinity. I was not without tears on rising and while I prayed for a short while. Later I felt devotion and spiritual confidence: I would say in succession six or more masses of the Blessed Trinity.

When I went to mass, I was not without tears before it; many tears, coming very peacefully, during mass. *I had very many intuitions about the Blessed Trinity, my understanding being enlightened with them to such an extent that it seemed to me that with hard study I would not have known so much. Later when I considered the matter further, I knew that what I had then understood feeling and seeing I could not have learnt in a whole life of study.*⁵⁶ // While I prayed for a short while after Mass, I found myself saying, "Eternal Father, confirm me"; Son, etc. confirm me". The tears came pouring from my eyes, and I felt ever more decided to persevere with their masses (agreeing to however many in number they might order): many violent sobs: I drew much closer, more and more secure in my increased love for their Divine Majesty. // In general the intuitions during and before mass were concerned with the appropriation⁵⁷ in the mass prayers when mention is made of God, of the Father, or of the Son, etc., *with the operations of the Divine Persons, and with the production of the Persons — in all this, I felt and saw rather than understood.* All these things confirmed what had been done and I felt encouraged for the future.

Today, even when walking in the city, I felt great interior joy, and on seeing three rational creatures together, or three animals, or three other things, the Blessed Trinity was brought before me: and so continuously.

<Mass> of the Trinity. No.2.

19. Wednesday <Feb. 20> — Before beginning my prayer I had a devout eagerness to commence. Once I had started, my devotion was very great, warm or bright and gentle. There were no intuitions but a tendency to security of soul, without reference to any of the Divine Persons. // Later I felt confirmed about the past by the knowledge that the earlier spirit had been evil, the one that had wanted to make me have doubts and feel anger with the Blessed Trinity, as is described in chapter 17.⁵⁸ // On receiving the knowledge, I felt anew an interior impulse to weep: the same happened after, before and during mass. My devotion was greatly increased, quiet and tranquil; I wept and had some intuitions.

55. The words '*asta apretarme en los pechos*' have been interpreted though a misreading of an earlier passage (§44, where see note 44) as a reference to Ignatius hugging himself for joy, but the more obvious parallels are with the frequent references to breathing difficulties experienced by Ignatius (§§7, 31, 49, 62).

56. This passage, and others in italics, was encircled by Ignatius with a line and then copied out by him on the separate sheet of paper now in Madrid (bound with other Jesuit documents. Biblioteca Nacional no. 692 *Cartas de Jesuitas*: cf. MHSI 63, pp.CCXLI-CCXLII): cf. §§54, 55, 63, 67, 70, 74, 75, 77, 83, 85, 87-90.

57. A difficult passage: '*el apropiar las oraciones*' has been interpreted 'with the appropriation for my own purposes of the mass prayers', but it probably refers to the attribution of operations in the Trinity.

58. Cf. §50.

(2) // Both before and after <mass> I had the feeling or impression that I should proceed no further — or the urge to do so left me. Later this was more marked when I experienced such great quiet and satisfaction in my soul. It seemed to me pointless to continue with masses to the Blessed Trinity, except for the sake of thanksgiving or of fulfilment.⁵⁹ I had no need for confirmation of what was past. (2)

<Mass> of the Trinity. No.3.

(4) 20. Thursday <Feb. 21> — Very great and quite continuous devotion throughout the period of prayer — warm clarity and spiritual enjoyment; also I felt drawn partly to rise in some way.⁶⁰ // Later when I prepared in my room, when at the altar and while I vested, I had more interior, spiritual impulses and felt moved to weep. After mass I remained in great spiritual repose. // During mass the tears were more copious than the previous day and lasted continuously. Occasionally my power of speech was cut off. Once, or perhaps a few times, I felt spiritual intuitions so great that I seemed to understand that almost nothing more could be known on the subject of the Blessed Trinity. // And this was due to the following: before, when I wanted to obtain devotion in the Blessed Trinity, I had not desired nor adapted myself to seek for it or find it when saying prayers to the Father, for I thought consolation and visitation in the Blessed Trinity would not occur then: *but during this mass I knew or felt or saw, 'God knows',⁶¹ that on speaking to the Father and seeing that He was One Person of the Blessed Trinity, I felt moved to love all the Trinity, especially as the other Persons were all in the Trinity by their very essence: the same feeling when I prayed to the Son and to the Holy Spirit; when I felt consolation I was delighted with any one of them, and I rejoiced in acknowledging it as coming from all three. So great an achievement did it seem to have untied this knot or accomplished something similar, that I could not stop repeating to myself, with reference to myself, "Who are you? From where? etc. What did you deserve? Why this? etc."* (2)

<Mass> of the Trinity. No.4.

(2) 21. Friday <Feb. 22> — Throughout the customary prayer I was helped by great grace — it was warm and shone in some way — and felt much devotion. For my part I sometimes felt I should have no difficulty in discontinuing;⁶² yet I continued to be helped by great grace. Later when I prepared the altar, some impulses to weep: I kept repeating, "I am not worthy to invoke the name of the Blessed Trinity". This thought, and the repetition of the phrase caused greater interior devotion. When I vested, turning over these and other considerations, my soul opened more to tears and sobs. I began mass and reached the Gospel⁶³ (4)

59. Cf. §51, where Ignatius resolves on 'six or more masses'.

60. The phrase, '*tirando en parte a un cierto elevar*', could refer to levitation, but from the context and the rest of Ignatius's life it seems more likely that he is referring to an 'elation' of mind (cf. §10, where this translation is given of the term *eleuación*).

61. 2 Cor 12:2.

62. The phrase, '*en salirme*', could be interpreted 'in going out', but he probably refers to abandoning the process of prayer: cf. §§76, 79.

63. The Gospel text for this votive mass is Mt 28: 18-20.

which I said with considerable devotion; I was being helped by a warm grace which later battled like fire with water against some thoughts.⁶⁴

<Mass> of the Trinity No.5.

22. Saturday <Feb. 23> — During the customary prayer, at first nothing; from half-way through I found considerable devotion and satisfaction of soul together with some indication of shining clarity. // While I prepared the altar, Jesus came into my thoughts and I felt impelled to follow Him, for to my mind it seemed that since He was the head⁶⁵ of the Society, He was a greater argument for having complete poverty than all other human reasons, although all the other reasons that had been used in the election seemed to me to reinforce the same conclusion. This thought impelled devotion, tears: and the firm certainty that even if no tears came during this mass, or during other masses, this conviction would suffice amid temptations and tribulations to make me stand firm. // I continued walking with these thoughts and vested: they increased ever more, appearing to be a confirmation of what I had done, even if I received no consolations on this point. *It seemed in some way to be from the Blessed Trinity that Jesus was shown or felt, and I remembered the time when the Father placed me with the Son.*⁶⁷ // When I had finished vesting, so set was my intention that the name of Jesus impress itself on me, so encouraged was I, and such a confirmation did I seem to receive for what lay ahead, that the tears and sobs came with new force. At the beginning of mass, I was helped by great grace and devotion, and wept peacefully throughout; even when I had finished, a great devotion and new impulses to weep continued until I had unvested. // During mass, there were several feelings in confirmation of what has been said: when I held the Blessed Sacrament in my hands, I was impelled to speak and felt intensely moved from within; that I would never leave Him, not for all Heaven or earth or . . . : then new impulses, devotion and spiritual joy. For my part I added the offering of what lay in my power and this last restriction referred to my companions who had signed.⁶⁸ // *Later, whenever I remembered Jesus during the day or whenever I was reminded of Him, I could in a certain way feel or see with my understanding; the devotion and confirmation continued all the while.*

<Mass> of the day.

23. Sunday ⁶⁹ <Feb. 24> — During the customary prayer, from the beginning to the end inclusive, I was helped by grace very far inside and gentle, full of devotion, warm and very sweet. While preparing the altar and vesting, the name of Jesus was shown me: I felt great love, confirmation and an increased resolve to follow Him: I wept and sobbed. // Throughout mass, very great

64. Ignatius added, then crossed out, the words: 'of salvation, and others at times wiping them out and at others preserving them', but this last phrase has been interpreted by the German translator as, 'at times <thinking that the soul would be> wiped out, at others <that it would be> preserved', and the Spanish is far from clear.
65. 'or chief' (*caudillo*), added then crossed out.
66. These words were added by Ignatius in the margin: cf. note 70.
67. 'to be from' is less emphatic than the earlier 'to be the work (*obra*) of'; the end of the italicized sentence is a reference to the vision at La Storta, cf. *Autobiography*, §96.
68. In the preliminary outline of the Constitutions it had been decided that the sacristies of churches should possess income.
69. Quinquagesima Sunday.

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devotion and many tears so that quite often I lost the power of speech; all the devotion and feelings had Jesus as their object. I could not turn myself to the other Persons, except in so far as the First Person was Father of such a Son: then I began to exclaim spiritually, "How He is Father, and how He is Son!" // During the prayer after mass I had the same feeling towards the Son. I had desired the confirmation by the Blessed Trinity, and now I felt it was communicated to me through Jesus. He showed Himself to me and gave me great interior strength and a sense of security that the confirmation was granted. I did not fear for the future. So it occurred to me, and I at once complied, to pray to Jesus to obtain pardon for me from the Blessed Trinity. I felt an increase of devotion, tears and sobs, and the hope of obtaining the grace — for I was quite resolute and strengthened for the future. // Later, when I moved nearer to the fire,⁷¹ I once more was shown Jesus and felt great devotion and the impulse to weep. Later when I walked in the street, I was shown Him and felt very great impulses with tears. After I had spoken to Carpi,⁷² on my way back, the same happened and I felt great devotion. After the mid-day meal, especially after I passed through the door of the Vicar Bishop,⁷³ *in the house of Trana,*⁷⁴ *I felt or saw Jesus, and experienced great interior impulses and wept much.*⁷⁵ I begged and implored Jesus to obtain my pardon from the Blessed Trinity: I found there remained with me great confidence for the success of my prayer. // *On these occasions my love was so great, I so felt and saw Jesus, that it seemed that nothing could happen in the future capable of separating me from Him or of making me doubt about the graces and confirmation that I had received.*

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(2)

<Mass> of St. Matthias

24. Monday <Feb. 25> — Quite great devotion during the first period of prayer: more later with warmth and abundant grace to assist me, although for my part, and owing to some impediments that I felt because of others, I found no difficulty in discontinuing:⁷⁶ I asked for and sought no confirmation, but desired to be reconciled with the three Divine Persons. Later, vested to say mass, I did not know to whom I should commend myself, or how to begin: the thought comes "While Jesus is communicating with me,⁷⁷ I want to go forward"; and then I began the Confiteor, "Confiteor Deo", just as Jesus, in the Gospel for the day, said "Confiteor tibi etc."^{77a} // At that point, and later during the Confiteor, I felt new devotion not without the impulse to weep. I began the mass <i.e. the Proper> with great devotion, warmth and tears, at times losing the power of speech. *During the prayers to the Father, it seemed that Jesus was*

70. Once again Ignatius added these words in the margin: cf. note 65.

71. He seems to mean the brazier placed in his room during the winter months.

72. Cardinal Rudolfo Pio da Carpi (1500-1564): he was the Cardinal Protector of the Society of Jesus.

73. Filippo Archinto (1495-1558).

74. Cardinal Gian Domenico de Cupis, Archbishop of Trani (d. 1553): he was the Protector of the house of catechumens founded by Ignatius.

75. 'All this time, there was great interior warmth and interior visitation' (added, then crossed out).

76. Literally, 'in turning myself away' ('*me apartar*'): cf. §§64, 79. 77a. Cf. Mt. 25:11. 11:25

77. Knauer points out that the manuscript punctuation favours the placing of quotation marks (not found in the autograph) before the word 'while' rather than only before 'I want', but this interpretation remains doubtful.

presenting them, or accompanied those that I was saying, before the Father: and I felt or saw in a way that cannot be explained in those terms.

After mass, I had the desire to be reconciled with the Blessed Trinity and I implored Jesus for this, not without tears and sobs. I felt reassured and neither asked for confirmation nor felt the need for it, nor the need to say masses for this end — but only to be reconciled.

<Mass> of the Trinity. No. 6.

25. Tuesday <Feb. 26> — During the first period of prayer I was not disturbed and did not discontinue: I had considerable devotion that became much greater half-way through. However during all this period, especially in the first part, I felt some weakness or bodily indisposition.

Once dressed, while I was in my room and made my preparation, I experienced new devotion and interior impulses to weep when I remembered Jesus: I felt great confidence in Him and He seemed ready to intercede for me. I no longer desired nor sought more or greater signs of confirmation of what was past. I felt quiet and peaceful on that score. Now I begged and implored Jesus to conform my will with that of the Blessed Trinity to follow the way that would seem to him best. // Later, when I vested, I was shown increasingly the help and love of Jesus. On beginning mass, not without a great, quiet and peaceful devotion: also a very slight form of weeping — I thought that with less I was more satisfied and content: in that way I felt I was being ruled by the Divine Majesty, to whom it belongs to give and withdraw His graces as and when it is most convenient. Later when I moved near to the fire, still with this <form of weeping>, my contentment grew and I felt a new interior impulse and love towards Jesus. I no longer had that strife⁷⁸ that had been present in me about the Blessed Trinity. So also during mass I continued to feel considerable devotion in the Trinity.

<Mass> for the first day in Lent

26. Wednesday <Feb. 27> — During the customary prayer I did quite well and all was as usual until half-way through: then a marked improvement — great devotion, quiet and spiritual gentleness — until the end inclusive. Afterwards there remained in me a continuing devotion. I made my preparation in my room and commended myself to Jesus, not asking for any further confirmation, but that, before the Blessed Trinity, He might do his best service,⁷⁹ etc., on my behalf, in the way that would be most suitable; that I might find myself in their grace. At that, I received some light and strength: // *I entered the chapel and while praying felt, or to put it more exactly, I saw, not by natural power, the Blessed Trinity and also Jesus who was representing me, or placing me <before the Trinity> or acting as mediator close to the Blessed Trinity, that I might communicate in that intellectual vision. On feeling and seeing in this way I was covered in tears and love, but with Jesus as the object,⁸⁰ and toward the Blessed*

78. Literally, 'contradiction' ('*contradición*'), viz. between his desire for a conclusive Trinitarian consolation and the apparent reluctance on the Trinity's part to work in exactly that way.

79. The text is ambiguous as it is not clear if Jesus is to do the service (the interpretation adopted here), or if Ignatius is somehow to enter into service (*sic* Giuliani); however the reflexive ('*se hiciese*') is probably one more example of Ignatius confusing his grammar.

80. Once again Knauer has correctly interpreted the distinction made by Ignatius between the affectionate love he felt for Jesus and the reverential love he now begins to discover for the Blessed Trinity.

Trinity, c
// Later
78 I thought
(2) that He v
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Trinity, a respect of submission more like a reverential love than anything else. 84
 // Later I felt in a similar way that Jesus was performing the same task when 84
 78 I thought of praying to the Father, for it seemed and I could feel within me
 (2) that He was doing everything before the Father and the Blessed Trinity. // Many 85
 tears when I began mass; and much devotion and more tears all through it.
 Similarly at one stage I saw in a remarkable way the same vision of the Blessed (2)
 Trinity as before, while my love towards the Divine Majesty grew even greater;
 79 at times there was a tendency to lose my power of speech. // After mass, dur- 86
 ing prayer, and several times later when near the fire, a great intense devotion
 directed towards Jesus: some special interior impulses to weep, or still further.
 (2) // When I write this, my understanding feels drawn to see the Blessed Trinity, 87
 and appears to see, although not distinctly as before, three Persons. During mass (2)
 80 when I said the prayer that begins, "Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi" etc.,⁸¹
 it seemed to me in spirit that whereas before I had seen Jesus, as I said, < then
 (2) what I saw was > white,⁸² that is His humanity, on this occasion my feeling in (3)
 my soul was different, i.e. I was aware not of the humanity alone, but of Jesus
 (3) as being completely my God etc. with a fresh rush of tears and great devotion etc.

81 <Mass> of the Trinity. No.7. 88
 by great grace, full of devotion during the customary prayer: helped
 with light and love. On entering the chapel, new devo- (2)
 tion was disclosed to me . . . or I saw him . . . at the foot
 of the Blessed Trinity. ~~at that~~ new impulses and tears. This vision did not last (3)
 (3) as long, nor was it as clear as that of Wednesday although it seemed of the same
 (4) type. Later during mass, tears, considerable devotion and some helpful feelings. (4)
 After mass, not without some tears.

<Mass> of the <Five> Wounds⁸³ 89
 28. Friday <Feb. 29> — Very great devotion, very full of light, from the begin-
 82 ning to the end inclusive of the customary prayer: it covered and did not allow
 me to think of sins. When out of the house, in the church,⁸⁴ before mass, I (2)
 caught sight of the homeland of Heaven or the Lord of it, in so far as I understood (3)
 (2) the three Persons and how within the Father were the second and third. During
 mass, I felt at times considerable devotion without intuitions or any impulses
 to weep. // When I had finished, another similar sight of the home-land or of 90
 the Lord of it, not in a distinct way but quite clearly, as is customary on many
 (3) other occasions, now more now less. Special devotion during the whole day.
 83

- (2) 81. One of the three prayers said by the priest before the communion in the former Latin liturgy.
 (3) 82. A difficult passage because Ignatius seems at first sight to be saying that he has already referred to a vision
 of Jesus in which the colour white was involved: but there has been no such reference, as Knauer (in a note
 to the German translation, p.280, n.107) points out. In his translation William J. Young boldly suppresses
 the colour reference. 'I saw just Jesus, that is, the humanity'. However either some phrase (like that in pointed
 brackets) should be understood, or the words 'as I said' read as an aside, as if between brackets, that applies
 only to his having seen Jesus (§83). Later, in 1555, when dictating his *Autobiography*, Ignatius once more
 speaks of the humanity of Christ 'like a white body' (§29), and says that such was a frequent vision at Manresa
 (in 1522).
 83. The liturgy of this mass was formerly used on the first Friday after Ash Wednesday.
 84. Probably Our Lady of the Way (S. Maria della Strada), the church entrusted to the early Jesuits.

<Mass> of the Feria

29. Saturday <Mar. 1> — During the customary prayer, greatly helped by grace; devotion during it. When I said mass outside, considerable quiet and devotion during mass: until midday, some impulses to weep, and great satisfaction of soul; from then onwards, pulled in both directions.⁸⁵

<Mass> of the day <1st Sunday in Lent>

30. Sunday <Mar. 2> — During the customary prayer, greatly helped by grace; great devotion in which some clarity and warmth were mingled. // Later, when I left <my room> on hearing a noise, and also when I returned, for some reason I felt put out; either I was struggling with thoughts of the noise, or impeded: so much so that, after I had vested, I thought of not celebrating mass. However, I overcame that suggestion; I had no desire to give any of the others an occasion for talking with anyone: I had some feelings of Christ tempted⁸⁶ and, taking courage, began mass with considerable devotion. // And as it proceeded, I felt much helped by a certain grace that I felt I was receiving. Several times, and nearly continuously during the second part of the mass, I could feel tears within me. I finished without any new intuitions, except that towards the end, during the prayer to the Blessed Trinity⁸⁷ I felt a certain impulse, devotion, tears and a certain feeling of love that drew me towards the Trinity: no bitterness remained over what was past, but great quiet and peace.

Later, when at prayer after mass, more interior impulses, sobs and tears, all for love of Jesus: words came and I desired to die with Him rather than live with anyone else. I felt no fear but found a certain confidence in, and love for, the Blessed Trinity. When I wanted to recommend myself to their protection, as to distinct Persons, I could not find <them> but seemed to feel something within the Father, as if the other Persons were in Him. // At this time, after mass, it seemed to me best that immediately after the masses to the Blessed Trinity,⁸⁸ or the first time that I received a divine visitation, I should finish this part. I realized that it was not I who should stipulate the time for finishing and receive a visitation then, but either then or whenever the Divine Majesty thought fit and communicated such a visitation.

<Mass> of the Trinity. No. 8.

31. Monday <Mar. 3> — During the customary prayer, at about 4.30 a.m.,⁸⁹ considerable devotion, not moved or troubled; but my head ached — so much so that I dared not rise to say mass until I had had another spell of sleep. // Later, when I rose at about 8.30 a.m.,⁹⁰ I felt quite dull-witted, feeling neither good nor bad, and not knowing to whom I should commend myself. At length, when I began the preparatory prayer in my room, I felt more moved towards

85. Ignatius uses the Latin tag, *ad utramque partem* (literally, 'to both parts'), which here seems to mean that neither consolation nor desolation was predominant.

86. The Gospel for the day's mass deals with Christ's temptations in the desert (Mt 4:1-11)

87. In the Latin liturgy this prayer (*Placeat tibi Sancta Trinitas*) was said by the priest before the final blessing: cf. §108.

88. Cf. §51 (end), where 'six or more masses' are mentioned.

89. Ignatius writes 'at the 10th hour', but one calculated then from sunset of the previous day, which in March would have been about 6.30 p.m.

90. Or 'at the 14th hour' in Ignatius's reckoning.

91 Jesus. During
urge to weep,
trust in the B
(2) a great devoti
intense tears.
92 the feeling of
to love it. // I
93 and tears con
soul. // At th
and found gre
(2) great love an
their object th
of the three P
Trinity. Also
94 I seemed to b
diminution in
(2) trary I seeme
to the Father
(3) few times tha
either media
95 When⁸⁹ me
panied by sob
Blessed Trini
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96 repletion in t

<Mass>
32. Tuesday
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thought. I ro
of the mass a
Blessed Trini
I did not kno
(2) He was not a
98 way difficult
itself to be s
a while with
I broke into
close to The
tion and low

91. 'now less
92. 'to adapt
93. 'While I
94. This con
is moved by
95. 'Blessed

91 Jesus. During prayer I experienced some slight impulses of devotion and the (2)
urge to weep, my soul satisfied and very confident in Jesus; I felt drawn to have
(2) trust in the Blessed Trinity. // Thus I entered the chapel and was covered by 99
a great devotion in the Blessed Trinity; my love was much increased and I had
intense tears. Unlike the past few days I did not see distinct Persons, but had (2)
92 the feeling of one essence, perceived in a sort of shining clarity: it drew me wholly
to love it. // Later when I prepared the altar and vested, considerable devotion 100
93 and tears continued,⁹¹ always helped by grace and with great satisfaction of (2)
soul. // At the beginning of mass, such was the devotion that I could not begin 101
and found great difficulty in saying "In nomine Patris etc.". Throughout mass, (2)
(2) great love and devotion, and very many tears: this devotion and love had for
their object the Blessed Trinity. I had no special knowledge or separate visions
of the three Persons but a simple awareness or a representation of the Blessed
94 Trinity. Also I occasionally had the same sensations with Jesus for their object: (3)
I seemed to be under His shadow as though He were my guide — but without
diminution in the grace I was receiving from the Blessed Trinity; on the con-
(2) trary I seemed to be more united with the Divine Majesty. // During the prayers 102
to the Father, I was unable,⁹² and had no desire, to find devotion, except the
(3) few times that the Persons made themselves seen in Him. In this way, everything, (2)
either mediately or immediately, transformed itself into the Blessed Trinity.

95 When⁹³ mass was over and I had unvested, my love was very intense, accom- 103
panied by sobs and tears: Jesus was its object, and then as a consequence, the
Blessed Trinity: I felt a certain reverent submission. I thought that were it not (2)
(2) for the devotion of the masses still to be said, I felt satisfied. At the same time,
I had full confidence that I would find ever increasing grace, love and greater
96 repletion in the Divine Majesty.

<Mass> of the Trinity. No. 9

32. Tuesday <Mar. 4> — During the customary prayer, much helped by grace 104
(2) and devotion: if there was clarity, there was even more light,⁹⁴ and evidence of
some warmth. For my part I found it all too easy to attend to any and every
thought. I rose still helped by that grace. When dressed, I looked at the Introit⁹⁵ (2)
97 of the mass and felt all moved by great devotion and love directed towards the
Blessed Trinity. // Later, when I began the preparatory prayer before mass, 105
(2) I did not know to whom I should turn: first I attended to Jesus, and felt that
He was not allowing Himself to be seen or felt clearly but in some sort of shadowy
98 way difficult to see. Then as I attended, I felt that the Blessed Trinity allowed (2)
itself to be seen or felt more clearly or full of light. I began, and reasoned for
a while with the Divine Majesty. Suddenly the tears streamed down my face,
I broke into sobs, and felt a love so intense that it seemed to unite me excessively (3)
close to Their own love, a thing full of light and sweetness. That intense visita-
tion and love seemed quite remarkable and to surpass other visitations. // Later 106

91. 'now lessening, now growing, *tamen*' (added, then crossed out).

92. 'to adapt myself to Him' (added, then crossed out).

93. 'While I prayed at the altar' (added at the start of this sentence, and then crossed out).

94. This curious distinction between the clarity with which he understood and the light that flooded his mind is noted by the editors of the *editio princeps* (p. 113, note 61).

95. 'Blessed be the Holy Trinity and the undivided Unity'.

when I entered the chapel, new devotion and tears, always directed to the Blessed Trinity: similarly at the altar. Once vested, a far greater flood of tears, more sobs, and the most intense love, all for love of the Blessed Trinity. // When I wanted to begin the mass, I felt very great touches and intense devotion to the Blessed Trinity. Once the mass had started, the devotion was so great and the tears so numerous that, as it proceeded, I began to wonder if with more masses I should not become blind in one eye, for it was aching badly owing to the tears: and I thought it would be better to keep my sight, or etc. The tears ceased, although greatly helped by grace; later, however, during the greater part of the mass, this help grew less, and because of the talking in the room etc. // Later, almost at the end, I turned to Jesus and recovered some of what had been lost. When I said in prayer: "Placeat tibi Sancta Trinitas" etc.,⁹⁶ directing it to the Divine Majesty, I felt an excess of love; intense tears streamed down my face. Thus whenever during this mass or before it I had special spiritual visitations, all had for their object the Blessed Trinity which took and drew me to its love. // After mass, I unvested and while at prayer before the altar, I broke into such sobs and flood of tears, all directed to love of the Blessed Trinity, that I seemed to have no wish to rise; so great was the love and spiritual gentleness I was feeling. // Later, several times while sitting near the fire, I felt within me love for the Trinity and the impulse to weep. Later at the house of Burgos,⁹⁷ and also when in the street (I was out until about 3.30 p.m.),⁹⁸ whenever I called to mind the Blessed Trinity, I felt an intense love, and sometimes the impulse to weep. All these visitations had for their object the name and essence of the Blessed Trinity: I did not feel clearly nor see distinct Persons, as I have described occasionally above. All these inspired greater security: I no longer wished to say more masses in order to be further reconciled, but I wanted to complete them — and hoped to find joy in the Divine Majesty.

<Mass> of the Trinity. No.10

33. Wednesday <Mar. 5> — Much grace assisting me throughout the customary prayer; it came without my labouring to seek for it: also great devotion, full of light and very clear, with assisting warmth. // While I dressed, I thought that the grace and help and devotion to the Blessed Trinity of the past day still continued. Later when I went to make the preparatory prayer before mass, I wanted to gain help — and humility — by first addressing Jesus: the Blessed Trinity appeared a little more clearly and I turned to the Divine Majesty to commend myself, etc. The tears streamed down my face, I broke into sobs and such was the intensity of the love that I felt towards the Trinity that I thought I neither wished nor was capable of looking at myself, or of remembering the past in order to be reconciled with the Blessed Trinity.⁹⁹ // Later, in the chapel, praying gently and quietly it seemed that at first my devotion had for its object the Trinity, then it took me elsewhere, for example to the Father: in this way I felt within me a wanting to communicate with me from different directions

96. Cf. §94, with note 37.

97. Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo, then Archbishop of Burgos, a Dominican friend of Ignatius: as Inquisitor General he examined the Spiritual Exercises.

98. 'at the 21st hour' in Ignatius's reckoning.

99. 'and this even occurred again, once or more times' (added, then crossed out).

— so that eventually, while arranging the altar, my feelings found voice in the prayer, “Where do you wish to take me, Lord?” I repeated this many times:¹⁰⁰ my devotion increased greatly, drawing me to weep. // Later, while I prayed on vesting, I offered myself, very moved and with tears, to be guided and taken etc. through all these stages, wheresoever He might take me, being over me. After I had vested, I did not know where to begin. Then I took Jesus for my guide; I also appropriated to each Person His own prayer; in this way I said a third of the mass receiving considerable grace to assist me, a warm devotion and a great satisfaction of soul. There were no tears, nor (so I believe) any disordered desire to have them: I contented myself with the Lord’s will. However I did say, turning to Jesus, “Lord, where am I going, or where . . . etc.? Following you, my Lord, I cannot be lost”. // From then on, during the mass, many tears, also good heart and spiritual vigour. The greatest of the visitations had the Blessed Trinity as their principal object, then in lesser degree, Jesus, and finally in much lesser degree, the Father. On the other hand my confidence about my reconciliation with the Blessed Trinity increased continually — to such a pitch that after mass, while I prayed with tranquillity and rest of soul, on wanting to reconsider the matter to a certain degree, I could not; I was unable to bring myself to see or feel any past disharmony or unpleasantness. I found myself in the state of a tired man¹⁰¹ who rests, his mind tranquil, devout, visited. // This repose continued later while I sat by the fire, and on other occasions when I remembered. At night as I prayed to the Father, I did not find <it>, but there was revealed to me new devotion and impulses, all directed to the Blessed Trinity.

<Mass> of the Trinity. No. 11.

34. Thursday <Mar.6> — During the customary prayer I had no trouble in finding devotion, but rather the contrary: later it increased greatly, being most gentle and clear with a clarity mixed with colour. After I had dressed I experienced new devotion and the call to even more, all directed to the Blessed Trinity. // During the preparatory prayer, I drew closer to the Blessed Trinity, in greater quiet and spiritual serenity; I felt the impulse to greater devotion and almost to weep: I wanted to, but could not, see anything of the past with reference to the reconciliation. // In chapel, great quiet devotion: on arranging the altar, the devotion grew with certain feelings or new impulses, as if to weep. Later and on vesting, and I think even before, during the other periods, certain thoughts and queries suggested themselves: “What did the Blessed Trinity wish to do with me, that is, by what way would it take me?” Then as I conjectured on the manner and way they would choose, I wondered to myself and thought that perhaps the Trinity wanted to make me content without visitations of tears, with my not being avid for them nor inordinately attached.

I began mass with an interior, humble satisfaction, and proceeding as far as the “Te igitur”,¹⁰² continued to experience a very deep and very gentle devotion which at times came most delicately: so softly in my soul as to make me

100. ‘and felt that I was being guided’ (added, then crossed out).

101. The autograph is full of corrections at this point, and Iparraguirre justly remarks: ‘Nearly always when Ignatius adds many corrections to a phrase it is because a special mystical grace is being mentioned’ (p.350, note 208).

102. The first words of the former *Canon* of the mass, now the first eucharistic prayer.

weep. // On pronouncing the words "Te igitur", I felt and saw, not obscurely 121
 but brightly, in full light, the very Being or Essence of God, appearing as a sphere,
 a little larger than the sun appears; from this Essence the Father seemed to be
 going or deriving, so that when I said, "Te", that is, "Father", the image of (2)
 the Divine Essence came to me before that of the Father. During this represen-
 tation and vision of the Being of the Blessed Trinity, I could not distinguish
 or have sight of the other Persons; my devotion to what was being disclosed
 was very intense and I experienced many impulses and a flood of tears. In the (3)
 same way, as the mass proceeded, if I considered or remembered or if I saw
 it anew, the tears flowed copiously and my love for the Being of the Blessed
 Trinity was greatly increased and very intense: I did not see nor could I distinguish
 any Persons except that, as I said, I could see the going-forth or derivation of
 the Father.

As I was finishing mass, the tears and spiritual visitations were very abun- 122
 dant; I could see no obstacle to the reconciliation, even though I paid attention.
 I felt a great security. I could not doubt about what had been shown and seen;
 rather, when I turned to investigate and reconsider it, I felt new interior im- (2)
 pulses, all taking me to love what I had been shown. Indeed I seemed to have
 more clarity of vision, reaching beyond the heavens, further than anything I
 might like to think of with my understanding on this earth; all was illuminated
 for me there, as I have said. // After I had unvested and was praying at the 123
 altar, once more the same Being and spherical vision allowed itself to be seen:
 in some way I saw all three Persons as I had seen the first, viz., the Father in (2)
 one part, the Son in another and the Holy Spirit in another, all three coming
 forth or having their derivation from the Divine Essence, without leaving the
 spherical vision. On feeling and seeing this, new impulses and tears. // Later 124
 when I visited St Peter's and began to pray before the Blessed Sacrament, the
 same Divine Being showed itself in image to me, always in the same shining col-
 our, and for my part I could not but see it. Later when I began to attend the (2)
 mass said by Cardinal Santa Cruz,¹⁰³ I experienced the same manifestation and
 vision, accompanied by new impulses of soul. Two hours later I went down to (3)
 the same chapel of the Blessed Sacrament with the desire of having the same
 experience as before but, though I sought it, I could not regain it. // Later at 125
 night, several times while I was writing this, the same manifestation occurred;
 on this occasion the understanding saw something, though by far the most part (2)
 was not so clear, nor so distinct, nor as big: it was like a fairly large spark; it
 represented something to the understanding, or was drawing it to itself, and
 showed that it was the same.

<Mass> of the Trinity. No.12. 126

25.¹⁰⁴ Friday <Mar.7> — I began the customary prayer with considerable
 devotion; despite my desire¹⁰⁵ I did not adapt myself to increase my devotion
 by looking upwards. From half-way through my prayer, the devotion was very (2)

103. Here in the autograph appear the shorthand signs 's. + .', which are usually interpreted as above; the holder
 of the title 'de Sancta Cruce' in 1544 was Cardinal Cervini, later Pope Marcellus II (cf. MHSI 63, pp. XCII-
 XCIV).

104. This number is a mistake for 35, the first of several errors made by Ignatius in the numbering of the entries.

105. 'to see once more what I saw yesterday' (added, then crossed out).

great and continuous, full of a shining clarity, warm and very gentle; it continued the same after this prayer. // Later, during the preparatory prayer, my mind was quiet and recollected: the same in chapel. Later on vesting, new impulses to weep, also to conform myself with the Divine Will that He might guide and carry me etc. "Ego sum puer, etc."¹⁰⁶ I began mass with great devotion, internal reverence and impulses to weep. So also when I said, "Beata sit sancta Trinitas",¹⁰⁷ and throughout I experienced a new sensation, a fresh and greater devotion and a desire to weep: I did not raise my understanding to the Divine Persons, in so far as they are distinct or to be distinguished, neither did I lower it to the letters <in the missal>: yet this visitation seemed to be interior, mid-way between their seat on high and the letter.¹⁰⁸ // Then, as I proceeded step by step with many tears all the time, it seemed to me that I had no permission to look upwards: and my not looking upwards, that is my looking mid-way, caused an increased intensity of devotion and intense tears. The submission and reverence I already possessed for the visions from on high increased. At the same time I gained some confidence that permission would be granted me or that a manifestation would be made to me at the right time.¹⁰⁹ // During these periods I felt the visitations in an imprecise way (*indiferenter*): they had for their object now the Blessed Trinity, now the Father or Son; at times Our Lady and at others the saints, even individual saints; tears were abundant. Later, when half or more of the mass was said, i.e. after "Hanc igitur oblationem",¹¹⁰ the visitation ceased. At times, I was troubled by the <heat of the> fire¹¹¹ with the water <thrown on it>.

Because I could not find out during the Sacrament, // as I wanted to bring the matter to a conclusion, once mass was finished I went over to the fire for a long time I did not know what to decide, whether I should stop these masses, or when. Later it occurred to me that tomorrow I would say a mass of the Blessed Trinity to find out what I should do, or to finish once and for all. At that I experienced many impulses and tears; and from time to time, during a long period, I continued to receive great impulses, sobs and many floods of tears, all drawing me to a love of the Blessed Trinity. // With many colloquies¹¹² I came to see that if only I would wait, all was ready for ever greater enjoyment of these intense visitations. I humbled myself with the thought that it was not I who should determine when the end was to be; instead I should wait until it was disclosed

106. Jer 1:6.

107. He is quoting (incorrectly) from memory the opening words of the Introit: 'Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas' (Mass of the Blessed Trinity).

108. Ignatius has found a middle region in which to keep his attention floating, avoiding both the presumption of forcing a revelation of the Trinity, and the despondency of clinging to dead letters: it is the state of true indifference, poised to respond to God's will.

109. 'without my procuring it' (added, then crossed out).

110. The prayer before the consecration in what is now the first eucharistic prayer.

111. Many have interpreted the reference to the 'fire' here as metaphorical, but Ignatius always uses the word '*fuego*' to mean the brazier except on one occasion (§64) where he makes it quite clear that a simile is being used.

112. The paragraph division suggested by Giuliani (starting with the words 'once mass was finished') and not improved by the later Iparraguirre edition, is an unhappy one, but they have been misled by the way in which the *editio princeps* incorporated into the text words added by Ignatius in the margin, viz. '*por no hallar al Sacramento; como queria dar fin*'. These are easier to interpret if taken with what follows rather than with what precedes.

113. 'and reasonings' (added, then crossed out).

to me and I had been visited. So I prepared myself resolutely to finish, and to enjoy the enjoyment I should find. // The thought struck me, "What if God should put me in Hell?" Two considerations occurred: on the one hand, the suffering I would endure there; on the other, how His name was blasphemed there. As to the first, I could neither feel nor see any suffering <in that> — and so it seemed to me that I was shown that it would cause me more pain to hear His most holy Name blasphemed. // Later, when I sat down to eat, the tears stopped but balancing¹¹⁴ that a very deep and warm devotion continued throughout the day. (3) 132

<Mass> of the Trinity. No.13. 134

26. Saturday <Mar.8> — During the customary prayer I had great satisfaction of soul from the beginning to the end, although the great grace assisting me ever increased and I experienced a devotion, clear and full of light and warmth; when I began the preparatory prayer and was in the chapel I had considerable contentment. // On vesting, new impulses that continued to the end together with still greater ones and considerable tears. I was shown a great humility not yet to look up to heaven, and the more I shrank from looking upwards, humbling and lowering myself, the more delight and spiritual visitation did I feel. // I began the mass and continued throughout with greater inner devotion and spiritual warmth, not without tears. The devotion and the readiness to weep continued with me. During these periods, even though I intended not to raise the eyes of my understanding upwards and to try to be content with everything (indeed I was imploring that if it were equally to God's glory He would not visit me with tears),¹¹⁵ nevertheless on the occasions when my understanding unintentionally mounted upwards, I seemed to see something of the Divine Being that at other times, even though I want to see it, is not in my power. (2) 135 (2) 136 (2) 137

<Mass> of the day <2nd Sunday in Lent> 137

27. Sunday <Mar.9> — The customary prayer was similar to the past. After I had dressed, during the preparatory prayer, new devotion and impulses to weep, directed principally to the Blessed Trinity and Jesus. // On entering the chapel, greater impulses, more tears, all directed to the Blessed Trinity, and also, at times, to Jesus; at times the two were united or almost united, in such a way that my having Jesus as the object of my prayer did not diminish my devotion to the Blessed Trinity, or vice versa. This devotion continued until I vested: at times there were tears. // Later, during mass, I felt an exterior warmth that was cause for devotion and light-heartedness. There were few movements or impulses to weep, yet I was more content without tears than I had been at times with many tears. I seemed to understand that although I experienced no intuitions, no visions and no tears, in some way God Our Lord wanted to show me a way or manner of proceeding. // All day my soul was quite content. At night I found I was turning in devotion to the Blessed Trinity and to Jesus so that they manifested themselves to my understanding, allowing me to catch sight of them in some way. For my part I wanted to adapt myself to the Father, to the Holy Spirit and to Our Lady, but in that direction could find no devotion and no (2) 138 (2) 139 (2) 140 (2) 141

114. The words 'en peso' here seem to be the equivalent of 'en contrapeso', but others suggest that the phrase qualifies the words 'todo el día' to mean 'the whole of all that day'.

115. Ignatius is here putting into practice the third degree of humility, as outlined in his *Spiritual Exercises* §167.

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vision. The intuition or vision of the Blessed Trinity and of Jesus continued for a while.

<Mass> of <the Holy Name of> Jesus

141

28. Monday <Mar.10> — During the customary prayer, considerable devotion especially from the middle onwards. Before the preparatory prayer, I experienced a new devotion: I thought or decided that I should live, or be, like an angel to perform the duty of celebrating mass: very gently some water came to my eyes. // Later in the chapel and during mass, devotion for the same <reason>: I conformed myself to what the Lord commanded, with the thought that His Divine Majesty would supply for my defect, turning everything to good, etc. During these periods I occasionally saw in some way now the Being of the Father, i.e. first the Being and consequently the Father, i.e. my devotion turned first to the essence and then to the Father, now it was otherwise and without such a clear distinction. (2) 142 (2)

<Mass> of Our Lady

143

29. Tuesday <Mar.11> — Throughout the customary prayer I felt great devotion — clear, shining and as though warm. I had tears in chapel, at the altar, and afterwards. My devotion had for its object Our Lady although I did not see her. Throughout mass, devotion; at times impulses to tears. Afterwards devotion once more. During these periods, I partly¹¹⁶ saw many times the Divine Being, and sometimes with the Father as object i.e. first the essence and then the Father. When in chapel before mass, I seemed to receive something like a permission to turn my glance upwards because it occurred to me that to look upwards was a remedy against my being disturbed by what was low. At that I was moved, and tears came. Later I tried to look upwards and whether I saw anything or not, I found devotion and a remedy against taking my attention too easily from what was my duty all during mass. (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)

<Mass> of the Holy Spirit

144

30. Wednesday <Mar.12> — During the customary prayer considerable devotion: from the middle onwards, the devotion was great, clear and shining, as though warm. In the chapel, as I had seen people coming down the stairs, and doing so very hurriedly, I was unable to bring myself to say mass. I returned to my room to adapt myself to say it and amid tears recovered my composure. The tears continued as I walked to the chapel and began mass: during part of it, my devotion was considerable and occasionally I felt the impulse to weep. During the other part I was very often battling about what should be done to bring the matter to an end: for I could not find what I sought. During these periods, no signs of visions or intuitions. (2) (3) (4)

After mass and later in my room, I found myself completely bereft of all help, unable to find delight in the mediators, or in the Divine Persons; I felt as remote and separated from them as if I had never felt their influence in the past, or was ever to feel any of it in the future. Instead I was beset by thoughts, now against Jesus, now against another, and quite bewildered with a variety of schemes, to leave the house and hire a room to escape the noise, to fast, to begin (2) (3) 145

116. Knauer and Iparraguirre interpret '*en parte*' in a purely temporal sense (i.e. part of the time), but the parallels cited (§§142, 153, 176) are not very convincing.

more masses, to place an altar upstairs: nothing satisfied me and yet I wanted to put an end to the affair with my soul in a state of consolation and complete satisfaction. // At last I considered if I should proceed further. On the one hand; I seemed to be wanting too many signs, and wanting them during certain periods or during masses ending¹¹⁷ in my own satisfaction; the question itself was clear; I was looking not for more certainty, but for a finishing touch that would be to my taste. On the other hand, I thought that if I were to cease entirely at this juncture, in a state of such exile, later I would not be contented etc. // At last I considered whether, as the problem did not concern the election itself, it would please God Our Lord more were I to conclude now without waiting and searching for further proofs, or whether I should say more masses for them. To settle the matter I made an election¹¹⁸ and felt that to conclude would be more pleasing to God Our Lord. I felt myself wishing that the Lord would condescend to my desire i.e. that I might finish in a time of great visitation. Then as I became aware of my own inclination and, on the other hand, of the good pleasure of God Our Lord, I began to take notice and wanted to follow the good pleasure of God Our Lord.

At that the obscurity began gradually to lighten; tears came. As they increased I lost all desire to say more masses to this end; when it occurred to me to say three masses of the Trinity in thanksgiving, it seemed to me to be a suggestion of the evil spirit. I decided to say no more masses: and then my love for God increased, the tears streamed down my face and I broke into sobs with spasms.¹¹⁹ I knelt for a long time, then I walked, and once more I knelt, arguing along many, varied and different lines of thought.¹²⁰ I felt great internal satisfaction. Although this great visitation (so great that my eyes ached painfully) lasted for about an hour, more or less, at last the tears ceased and I was uncertain if I should conclude at night with a similar flood of tears, if such occurred, or now. // Although the flood of tears was over, I thought it best to conclude at once. To seek further and wait for the evening was only to want further proof, when it was not needed. And so I made my declaration before God Our Lord and all the Heavenly Court etc., thus concluding with the matter: I would not proceed further. Even as I made this last declaration, I felt interior impulses, I sobbed and wept; although this was a period of great floods of tears, I considered everything ended, and decided to await no more masses or visitations, but to finish today.

Finished.

When I sat at table, after 1.30p.m.,¹²¹ for a long while the Tempter did not succeed, but pretended to succeed in making me have doubts. Suddenly, yet calmly — as if to a beaten enemy — I said to him, "Get to your place". I was strengthened by tears and a complete sense of security about all I had decided. // A quarter of an hour later, I awakened to a new fact; I realized or saw clearly

117. Perhaps the word '*terminadas*' here is a malapropism for '*determinadas*', in which case Ignatius is emphasizing his personal choice of the number and times for the masses.

118. 'and judged' (added, then crossed out).

119. '*fuerzas*' (literally, 'forces').

120. '*razonamientos*' (literally 'reasonings') means here the process of internal colloquy: cf. §46.

121. 'after 19 hours had struck' in Ignatius's reckoning.

that when the Tempter suggested thoughts against the **Divine Persons and Mediators**, he was putting, or trying to put, doubts into **my mind on the subject**; and on the contrary, when I experienced visitations from, **and visions of**, the Divine Persons and Mediators, all was firmness and confirmation **on the matter**. This realization was accompanied by spiritual delight, and water came to my eyes: in my soul a great sense of security. // When I said grace after the meal, the Being of the Father partly disclosed itself, also the Being of the Blessed Trinity, while I felt a spiritual impulse moving to devotion and tears, such as I had not felt or seen all day, although I had often sought for it. Today's great visitations had no particular or distinct Person for their object, but in general, the Giver of Graces.

<FASCICULE II: ff. 1-8, plus 4 unnumbered folios>

I TOOK THESE FOUR DAYS TO AVOID CONSIDERING ANY POINTS IN THE CONSTITUTIONS

<Mass> of the day

1st Thursday¹ <Mar.13> — During mass I conformed my will to the Divine, to have no tears: it would be like a setting aside of my labours and a rest for me if I stopped searching and considering about possessing or not possessing.² During the rest of the day, my soul felt content and delight.

<Mass> of the Holy Spirit

2nd a.l.d.³ Friday <Mar.14< — Many tears before, all during and after mass, sometimes out of devotion to the Father, at others out of devotion to the Son, at others etc.: so also with the Saints; no vision except in so far as my devotion had for its object at different times now the one, now the other. During all this time, before, during and after the mass, I was inspired by the thought, which penetrated to my very soul, of how much reverence and submission should be shown on going to mass when I had to pronounce the name of God Our Lord, etc. Not tears were to be sought, but this submission and reverence. // So convinced was I of this that when tears came, as I repeated acts of submission, before mass — in my room and in the chapel — and during mass, I at once restrained them in order to attend more to submission. As far as I could tell, this

1. Second Week in Lent (1544).
2. The interpretation is difficult because the verbs '*tener*' and '*no tener*' may refer to the having of tears (sic Knauer and Giuliani) rather than of income and other possessions. The present entry replaces an earlier one: '... to the Divine, and <reflected> that for me it would be something of a rest to say mass without searching for tears and not having them. During ...', where there is clearly no reference to anything but tears. On the other hand, the verbs mentioned are a sort of shorthand for the list of pros and cons used in the previous election period, and if Ignatius did decide to stop weighing up the phenomenon of tears, the entries for the following three days make very odd reading. Incidentally there are signs that he wrote up the entries for these three days all together on the Saturday.
3. The editors of the *editio princeps* have shown that these letters were used to signify: a — tears before mass; l — tears during mass; d — tears after mass.

realization of the submission due to God Our Lord was not the effect of my own initiative: it always increased my devotion and tears. At length I concluded that this was the way the Lord desired to show me — for during the past days I had thought He intended to reveal something. Indeed, as I said mass, I became more convinced that I esteemed this grace and knowledge more highly for my soul's spiritual advancement than all the other past graces. (2) (3)

<Mass> of Our Lady

158

3rd Saturday <Mar.15> — During part of the mass I felt a certain interior submission and reverence; during the greater part nothing to enable me to feel within myself either submission or reverence.

<Mass> of the day

159

4th a.l. Sunday⁴ <Mar.16> — Many tears before and throughout the mass; the devotion and tears had for their object now one <Person> now another, without clear or distinct visions. I prayed in my room before mass for the gifts of submission, reverence and humility; as for visitations and tears, I prayed they might not be given me, if it were equally to the service of His Divine Majesty, or, if they were given, that I might enjoy them with purity of intention — without self-interest. // So, later, all my spiritual visitations brought with them this feeling of submission, not only towards the Divine Persons, as I named or remembered them, but even as I bowed to the altar or treated with reverence the other things used at the sacrifice.⁵ I refused tears or visitations whenever I thought of them or felt the desire for them. In this way I paid attention to submission first — the visitations coming next — because I judged that to do the opposite, i.e. to pay more attention to the visitations than to submission, would be bad. Thus I was of the same opinion as on Friday last, and felt confirmed in it.⁶ (2) (3) 160 (2) (3) (4)

HERE I BEGAN MY PREPARATION AND FIRST CONSIDERATION CONCERNING THE MISSIONS⁷ 161

<Mass> of Our Lady

162

1.a.l. Monday <Mar.17> — Tears before mass and during it, so many that at times I lost the power of speech. All this visitation had for object now one Person, now another. in the same way as the previous day, and with the same effect. It confirmed my previous experience with regard to the submission and reverence, viz. that I had found in these the way I was intended to see. I considered it the best of all ways that I could be shown and felt that I should follow it for ever. // Occasionally before mass, as I recollected myself in my room, I felt none of this submission and reverence having any influence or producing relish within me. Indeed I felt incapable of finding it and yet I wanted to possess or find it. // Some time later, in chapel, I thought it was God's will that I should 163 (2) 164

4. Third Sunday in Lent.

5. Giuliani draws attention to the use of the word 'sacrifice' instead of 'mass' at this point: cf. §§182, 185.

6. Ignatius added, then crossed out: 'also that to follow this path was to walk surely in the service of God Our Lord: and this I valued more highly than all else'.

7. A reference to the parts of the *Constitutiones* dealing with the Papal 'missions', i.e. the readiness to be sent wheresoever the Pope desires: cf. *Constitutiones*, Exam. Gen., 1,5; V 3, 3C; VII, 1; trs. G.E. Ganss (St Louis, 1970). pp.79-80, 239, 267-271.

make an effort to search for it, and find it; I failed. And yet to have made the effort seemed a good thing: to actually find was not in my power. Later, the Giver of Graces provided me with such abundance of knowledge, visitation and spiritual relish — that mentioned above, — tears, continuing for so long, (making me lose at times the power of speech), that every time I mentioned God, “Dominus” etc., I seemed to be penetrated so deeply, with a submission and reverent humility so admirable, that they seem to defy description.

<Mass> of <the Holy Name of> Jesus 165

2. a l d⁸ Tuesday <Mar.18> — Tears during mass; before and after mass they were not lacking; all causing submission and reverence.

<Mass of> the Trinity 166

3. l.d. Wednesday <Mar.19> — Many tears throughout mass; the same after mass. During mass I often lost the power of speech: all causing submission and reverence with many interior feelings.

<Mass of> Our Lady 167

4. a l¹ Thursday <Mar.20> — Tears before mass, and some during it; also different interior impulses, causing submission.

<Mass of the Holy Name of> Jesus 168

5. a l¹ Friday <Mar.21> — Not without some tears before and during mass, causing submission, also some interior impulses.

<Mass of> the Holy Spirit 169

6. l.d. Saturday <Mar.22> — Throughout mass, a gentle flow of tears, very copious; the same after mass: before mass I felt the impulse to weep and felt or saw the Holy Spirit Himself; complete submission.⁹

<Mass of> the day 170

7. a l. Sunday¹⁰ <Mar.23> — Many intense tears before and during mass; all causing submission.

<Mass of> the Trinity 171

8. l Monday <Mar.24> — Tears several times during mass, causing submission.

<Mass of> Our Lady 172

9. a l d Tuesday <Mar.25> — Tears before and after mass; very copious during it; vision of the Divine Being, with the Father as object, in the form of a circle on several occasions,¹¹ all causing submission.

<Mass> of <the Holy Name of> Jesus 173

10. a l¹ Wednesday <Mar.26> — Tears several times during mass; before mass,

8. This sign indicates that the tears were less copious.

9. Ignatius added in the margin the sign for a vision.

10. Fourth Sunday in Lent.

11. Once more the marginal sign for a vision.

not without the impulse to tears. Until the Secret¹² of the mass, not only could I feel no interior submission, but I could not even find any aptitude that would help me. This led me to infer and recognize that I could not be of any assistance to myself in the acquisition of this submission: when I said the Secret, and after that, I experienced the spiritual visitation which caused submission. (2) (3)

<Mass of> the Holy Spirit

174

11. a.l. Thursday <Mar.27> — Tears before mass; very many during mass; all causing submission; with vision of the Divine Being in the form of a sphere as on other previous occasions.¹³

<Mass of> the Trinity

175

12. a.l. Friday <Mar.28> — Tears during mass: not without them before mass.

<Mass of> Our Lady

176

<13.>¹⁴ Saturday <Mar.29> — No tears before or during mass and no sign of them: during the customary prayer I received a special, or rather a most special grace: during the greater part of the mass, I experienced much gentle devotion, as I thought that it was more perfect to be without tears, and to find, like the angels, internal devotion and love; during another part, I felt no less satisfaction than yesterday, or even more. (2)

<Mass of> the day

177

14th a. l d Sunday¹⁵ <Mar.30> — Many tears before mass, in my room, in the chapel and as I made my preparation; they were very abundant during mass, continuing throughout; afterwards they were very intense.¹⁶ // At this period of time it occurred to me that my humility, reverence and submission should be not of a man who fears but of a man who loves. So strongly did this impress itself on my soul that with great faith¹⁷ I said: "Give me a lover's humility", and so also concerning my reverence and submission. As I said the words, I experienced new visitations. So also I tried to check the tears in order to attend solely to this loving humility, etc. // Later in the day I felt great joy when I remembered this. I resolved not to stop there but afterwards to entertain the same sentiment, viz. that of loving humility, etc., towards creatures, unless, on occasions, it were for the honour of God Our Lord to conduct myself differently; as it says in today's Gospel, "Similis ero vobis, mendax".¹⁸ // During these periods several times I had the vision of the Divine Being in the form of a circle as before.¹⁹ (2) (3) 179 180

12. The Latin term '*Secreta*' was used until the Second Vatican Council for the 'prayer over the oblation' said by the priest immediately before the beginning of the Preface.

13. In the margin the sign for a vision.

14. The manuscript has been slightly damaged here and the signs at the start of the entry have been lost.

15. Fifth Sunday in Lent.

16. The word for 'vision' in the margin.

17. The word used, '*fientadamente*', is a puzzle (MHSI 63, p.131, note 11), and may mean (or have been meant to mean) 'frequently' or 'constantly'.

18. 'I should be a liar like you', Jn 8:55 (where the context well repays examination).

19. Cf. §§121, 123, 124, 125, 172, 174.

- (2) <Mass of> the day 181
15. .1 d. Monday <Mar.31> — Tears during and after mass, causing a loving reverence, etc.; at times I realized that neither love nor reverence, etc. were in my power. (3)
- 174 <Mass of> the day 182
16. 1. Tuesday <Apr.1> — Many tears during mass, causing a loving humility, etc. It occurred to me that, in order to possess this humility during the sacrifice, it is necessary to profit from it all during the day allowing no distractions.
- 175 <Mass of> the day 183
17. a.l. Wednesday <Apr. 2> — Tears during the customary prayer, also later in my room, in the chapel and while I vested: very many during mass.²⁰ During these periods I occasionally had the vision of the Divine Being, sometimes with the Father for object by means of that representation of a circle:²¹ many intuitions and much new interior knowledge. // During periods of greater knowledge, or of greater visitations, I recognized that I ought to be equally content if not visited with tears, and to believe anything to be for the best, according to how God Our Lord acted or willed, visitation or no visitation. At times when I was not enjoying these great visitations, to act in this way seemed to require such perfection that I doubted, or feared, if I would be able to gain this grace. // Later, on another occasion, while enjoying a great visitation, I thought I was finding satisfaction in this, viz. in believing it to be best if I were not visited by God our Lord; because the reason for not being visited would be either a lack of disposition and preparation on my part some time during the day, or my having permitted thoughts that distracted me from the words of <the> sacrifice and from His Divine Majesty. In such cases, when I was at fault, I thought it would be better for me to enjoy no visitations: it is for my spiritual profit that God Our Lord (who loves me more than I love myself) arranges things in this way. Thus it was to my advantage to follow the correct course of action not only during the sacrifice, but all during the day, in order to receive visitations. All this was in accord with what had been hinted at the previous day when I had experienced these and similar intuitions, but then they had been so delicate that I have neither the memory nor the understanding to explain or expose them. (2)
- 176 184
- (2) 185
- 177 (2)
- 178 (3)
- (2) 179
- (3)
- (2) 180
- 186
- <Mass of> the day
18. Thursday <Apr.3> — I had no tears before, during or after mass: at the end I felt more content without them and also affection, judging that God Our Lord did this for my greater good. (2)
- <Mass of> the day 187
19. a.l. Friday <Apr.4> — Tears before mass; very many during mass, with many intuitions and interior feelings; the same before mass. When one does not achieve a lover's reverence and submission, one must seek for the submission of one who fears, considering one's own faults, in order to gain the submission of love. (2)

20. In the margin the word for 'vision'.

21. Cf. §180, with note 19.

<Mass of> the day 188
 20. a.l. Saturday <Apr.5> — Tears before mass: many tears during mass.

<Mass of> the day 189
 21. a.l.d. Sunday²² <Apr.6> — Tears before mass: during the mass, after the Passion, they were abundant and continuous: they led me to conform my will to the Divine; so also, tears after mass. (2)

<Mass of> the day 190
 22. l. Monday <Apr.7> — Many tears throughout mass, drawing me to conform my will to the Divine.

<Mass of> the day 191
 23. l. Tuesday <Apr.8> — Tears during mass.

24. l. Wednesday <Apr.9> — Tears during mass. 192

25. Thursday <Apr.10> — No tears. 193

26. <Apr.11>²³ 194

27. <Apr.12> 195

<Mass of> of the day 196
 28. l.d. Easter Sunday <Apr.13> — Many tears during mass; and tears after it.

<Mass of> the day 197
 29. Monday <Apr.14> — I felt a great interior and exterior warmth: it seemed to be more supernatural: no tears.

<Mass of> the day 198
 30. Tuesday <Apr.15> — No great consolation, nor desolation, no tears.

<Mass of> the day 199
 31. .l.d. Wednesday <Apr.16> — Many tears during mass; and tears after it.

<Mass of> the day 200
 32. a.l.d. Thursday <Apr.17> — Tears before and after mass; many during it.

<Mass of> the day 201
 33. l Friday <Apr.18> — Tears during mass.

<Mass of> the day 202
 34. a.l. Saturday <Apr.19> — Tears during and before mass.

22. Palm Sunday, 1544.

23. Two numbered, but blank, spaces appear here; in 1544 Good Friday and Holy Saturday, when no private masses are celebrated, fell on these days. Ignatius separated the spaces from the other entries with two lines.

35. a.l. Sunday ²⁴ <Apr.20> — Tears during and before mass. <i>I began my preparation.</i> ²⁵	203
<Mass of> Our Lady	204
36. a.l. Monday <Apr.21> — Tears during and before mass. <i>I must begin, because after a few days I left it.</i> ²⁶	
<Mass of> All Saints	205
37. a.l.d. Tuesday <Apr. 22> — Tears before and after mass: many and continuous tears during it.	
38. Wednesday <Apr. 23> — No tears. <i>From today, inclusive, I left it.</i> ²⁷	206
39. Thursday <Apr. 24> — No tears.	207
<Mass of> St. Mark	208
30. ²⁸ a.l. Friday <Apr.25> — Tears during mass and before it.	
<Mass of> the Holy Spirit	209
31. Saturday <Apr. 26> — No tears.	
<Mass of> the day	210
32. .a.l. Sunday ²⁹ <Apr.27> — Tears during and before mass.	
<Mass of> the Trinity	211
33. .a.l. Monday <Apr.28> — Tears during and before mass.	
34. 1 Tuesday <Apr.29> — Tears.	212
35. 1 Wednesday <Apr.30> — Tears.	213
36. 1 Thursday <May 1> — Tears.	214
37. Friday <May 2> — No tears.	215
38. 1 Saturday <May 3> — Tears.	216
39. 1 Sunday <May 4> — Tears.	217
40. 1 Monday <May 5>	} I think I had tears.
41. 1 Tuesday <May 6th>	
	218

24. First Sunday after Easter; the lines separating §§203-207 are in the autograph.
25. In the autograph appears, with lines drawn around it in an oblong, the solitary word, '*Preparar*'; it seems to refer back to the heading to March 17, §161.
26. Similar lines as above, see note 25.
27. See the two previous notes: in all three cases it is impossible to say precisely what Ignatius had in mind. He seems to be referring to some point of the *Constitutiones*.
28. Ignatius repeats the numbers 30-39; similarly below he writes 40 instead of 60 after 59, and then continues 41 etc. All of these seem to be simply errors.
29. Second Sunday after Easter.

42. Wednesday <May 7th> } I think I had no tears. 219
 43. Thursday <May 8th> }
 44. Friday <May 8th> }
 45. 1 Saturday <May 10th> — Many during mass. 220

46. a.l Sunday <May 11> — Tears before mass; very many and continuous tears during mass; the internal *loquela*³⁰ of the mass seemed even more divinely granted, as I had prayed for it this very day because during the week I had sometimes experienced the external *loquela*, and sometimes not, but the internal, more rarely, although on Saturday I found <it> a little more clear.³¹ // So also during all the masses of the week, although I was not so visited with tears, yet I experienced greater quiet or contentment throughout mass from the pleasure of the *loquelas*, with the devotion I could feel, than at other times when during part of the mass I had tears. Those <tears> that came today seemed completely different from all others in the past: they came so slowly, seemed so from within, and were so gentle, without clamour or great impulses. I thought they came from deep inside though I cannot explain it. During the internal and external *loquela*, I felt wholly moved to the divine love and to this gift of *loquela* divinely granted; I felt within me a great harmony accompanying the internal *loquela*, but I cannot express it. (2) 222 (3)

ON THIS SUNDAY, BEFORE MASS, I BEGAN, AND RESOLVED TO CONTINUE WITH, THE CONSTITUTIONS 223

<Mass> of All Saints 224

47. .l.d. Monday <May 12> — Many tears during mass; tears also after mass. All these were like those of the previous day. I took great pleasure in the internal *loquela*; at the same time I found it resembling, or myself remembering, the *loquela* or music of heaven. My devotion and affection increased and I wept as I felt that when I had these feelings or when I was learning in this way, it was due to God. (2)

<Mass of> St Sebastian 225

48. .a.l.d. Tuesday <May 13> — Tears before and after mass; very many during mass together with the internal *loquela* which came in a wonderful manner and was greater than at other times.

<Mass of> Our Lady's Conception 226

49. .a.l. Wednesday <May 14> — Tears before mass and many later during it, while the same internal *loquela* continued.

<Mass> of <the Holy Name of> Jesus 227

50. Thursday <May 15> — No tears; some *loquela*; I was disturbed by someone whistling, but was not so greatly disquieted.

30. The first mention in the Diary of this mysterious *loquela* (a Latin/Italian word that means 'speech', discourse', 'talking'): the commentators discuss its possible classification among the mystic gifts mentioned by St John of the Cross, and the editors of the *editio princeps* refer to the *Imitation of Christ* (III 1-3). There is a fascinating psychoanalytical comment in L. Beirnaert's article (cf. Bibliography), and another, more down-to-earth account in the Appendix (pp.85-87). References to it stop after May 28.

31. An ambiguous phrase, '*aunque el sábado hallara un poco más de consuelo*', which some interpret, 'although

- <Mass of> the Holy Spirit 228
51. a.l Friday <May 16> — Tears before mass, and many during it, together with the *loquela*.
- <Mass of> the Trinity 229
52. a.l Saturday <May 17> — Tears before mass; many and continuous during it; with the wonderful internal *loquela*.
- <Mass> of the day 230
53. Sunday³² <May 18> — No tears; some *loquela*, no bodily strength, and also no perturbation.
- <Mass of> the Litanies³³ 231
54. l. Monday <May 19> — Tears and *loquela*.
- <Mass of> All Saints 232
55. Tuesday <May 20> — No tears and no perturbation; some *loquela*.
- <Mass of> Our Lady 233
56. Wednesday <May 21> - No tears; much *loquela*.
- <Mass of> the Ascension 234
57. .a.l. Thursday <May 22> — Many tears before mass both in my room and in the chapel: no tears during the greater part of the mass: there was much *loquela*. However, I began to have doubts about the pleasure and delight caused by the *loquela* lest it were due to an evil spirit, seeing that the spiritual vibration of tears had ceased. A little later I thought I was taking excessive pleasure in the tone of the *loquela*, that is in the mere sound, without paying sufficient attention to the meaning of the words and of the *loquela*. At once the tears came, very many and very often, so that I realized that I was being instructed in the method I should follow. And I hoped for ever greater learning in the future.
- <Mass of> the Ascension 235
58. .l. Friday <May 23> — Tears.
- <Mass of> the Holy Spirit 236
59. Saturday <May 24> — No tears.
40. a.l. Sunday <May 25> — Many tears in my room, and tears in the chapel, before mass: very many and continuous tears during mass, together with the two wonderful *loquelas*. 237
- <Mass of> the Ascension 238
41. l. Monday <May 26> — Tears and the internal *loquela* during mass.

32. Fifth Sunday of Easter.

33. Rogation day before the Ascension.

<Mass of> the Ascension	239
42. a.l. Tuesday <May 27> — Tears before mass; also many tears during mass together with the internal <i>loquela</i> which gradually increased.	
<Mass of> the Ascension	240
43. .a l d. Wednesday <May 28> — Tears before and after mass; many tears and the wonderful internal <i>loquela</i> during it.	
<Mass of> the Ascension	241
44. a.l.d. Thursday <May 29> — Tears before, during and after mass.	
45. Friday <May 30> — No tears.	242
46. l Saturday <May 31> — Tears.	243
47. l Sunday ³⁴ <June 1> — Tears.	244
48. Monday <June 2> - No tears.	245
49. Tuesday <June 3> - No tears.	246
50. .l. Wednesday <June 4> — Many and continuous tears.	247
51. Thursday <June 5> — No tears.	248
52. Friday <June 6> — No tears.	249
53. Saturday <June 7> — No tears.	250
<Mass of> the Trinity	251
54. a.l. Sunday ³⁵ <June 8> — Tears, in my room and in the chapel, before mass; many and continuous tears during it.	
<Mass of> the Trinity	252
55. .l.d. Monday <June 9> - Tears continuously during mass; and also tears after mass.	
<Mass of> the Trinity	253
56. .l.d. Tuesday <June 10> — The same.	
<Mass of> the Trinity	254
57. Wednesday <June 11> — No tears.	
<Mass of> Corpus Domini ³⁶	255
58. Thursday <June 12> - No tears.	
<Mass of> Corpus Domini	256
59. Friday <June 13> — No tears.	
<Mass of> Corpus Domini	257
60. l Saturday <June 14> — Tears.	

34. Whit Sunday, 1544.

35. Trinity Sunday.

36. Feast of Corpus Christi.

- <Mass> of the day 258
61. Sunday³⁷ <June 15> — No tears.
- <Mass of> Corpus Christi 259
62. 1 Monday <June 16> — Many and continuous tears.
- <Mass of> Corpus Domini 260
63. .a.l. Tuesday <June 17> — Tears, in my room and in the chapel, before mass; many and continuous during it.
- <Mass of> Corpus Domini 261
64. 1 Wednesday <June 18> — Tears.
- <Mass of> Corpus Domini 262
65. .a. Thursday <June 19> — Tears, in my room and in the chapel, before mass; none during it.
- <Mass of> the Holy Spirit 263
66. Friday <June 20> — No tears.
- <Mass of> the Trinity 264
67. 1 Saturday <June 21> — Tears.
- <Mass> of the day 265
68. 1 Sunday³⁸ <June 22> — Tears.
- <Mass of> the Trinity 266
69. a.l. Monday <June 23> — Many and continuous tears during mass; tears also, in my room and in the chapel, before it.
- <Mass of St John the> Baptist³⁹ 267
70. a 1 Tuesday <June 24> — Many tears before mass, in my room and in the chapel; very many and continuous during mass.
- <Mass of St John the> Baptist 268
71. l.d. Wednesday <June 26> — Many and continuous tears during and after mass.
- <Mass of St John the> Baptist 269
72. 1 Thursday <June 26> — Tears.
73. .a. Friday <June 27> — Tears before mass; almost without them during it. 270
74. .a. Saturday <June 28> — Tears before mass, almost without them during it. 271
37. Second Sunday after Pentecost.
38. Third Sunday after Pentecost.
39. This is also the feastday of St John the Baptist.

75. .a. Sunday ⁴⁰ <June 29> — Tears before but not during mass.	272
<Mass of> the Trinity	273
76. a.l.d. Monday >June 30> — Many tears before, after and during mass.	
<Mass of> the Trinity	274
77. a.l. Tuesday <July 1> — Many tears before and during mass.	
<Mass of> the Visitation <of> Our Lady	275
78 a.l.d. Wednesday <July 2> — Many tears before, during and after mass.	
<Mass of the Five> Wounds ⁴¹	276
79. .a. Thursday <July 3> — Many tears before mass, in my room and in the chapel; no tears during mass.	
<Mass of> the Trinity	277
40. ⁴² a.l.d. Friday <July 4> — Very many tears before mass, in my room and in the chapel, and during mass; tears also after it.	
41. l Saturday <July 5> — Tears.	278
42. Sunday ⁴³ <July 6> — No tears.	279
43. Monday <July 7> — No tears.	280
44. .a.l Tuesday <July 8> — Many tears before and during mass.	281
45. Wednesday <July 9> — No tears.	282
46. Thursday <July 10> — I do not know.	283
47. a.l.d. Friday <July 11> — Very many tears before, during and after mass: completely <resolved> to take pleasure in Christ alone.	284
48. .a.l. Saturday <July 12> — Very many tears before and during mass: <resolved> to remain with Our Lord.	285
49. Sunday ⁴⁴ <July 13> — No tears.	286
50. .a.l Monday <July 14> — Tears during mass and before it.	287

40. Fourth Sunday after Pentecost; in 1544 it coincided with the feast of Sts Peter and Paul, and Iparraguirre notes his surprise that Ignatius, despite his great devotion to St Peter, makes no mention of it (p.375 note 342).

41. Cf. §89, with note 33.

42. Again an error in the numbering as Ignatius started a new page in the autograph; he has written 40 in place of 80 and then continued 41-79 once more.

43. Fifth Sunday after Pentecost.

44. Sixth Sunday after Pentecost.

51. I Tuesday <July 15> — Tears.	288
52. Wednesday <July 16> — No tears.	289
53. Thursday <July 17> — No tears.	290
54. I Friday <July 18> — Tears.	291
56. ⁴⁵ a.l. Saturday <July > — Many and continuous, before and during mass.	292
57. a.l. Sunday ⁴⁶ <July 20> — Many, before and during mass.	293
58. Monday <July 21> — Almost without them.	294
59. .a. Tuesday <July 22> — Tears before mass; almost without them during mass.	295
60. a.l.d Wednesday <July 23> — Very many tears before and during mass; tears also after mass.	296
61. .a. Thursday <July 24> — Many before mass; none during it.	297
62. .a. Friday <July 25> — Many before mass; none during it.	298
63. l.d. Saturday <July 26> — Many during mass; also after it.	299
64. a.l.d. Sunday ⁴⁷ <July 27> — Many tears before, during and after mass.	300
65. a.l. Monday <July 28> — Very many tears before and during mass.	301
66. a.l.d. Tuesday <July 29> — Very many tears before, during and after mass.	302
67. a. Wednesday <July 30> — Tears before mass; none during it.	303
68. a.l.d. Thursday <July 31> — Very many tears before, during and after mass.	304
69. a. Friday <Aug.1> — Tears before mass; none during it.	305
70. a.l. Saturday <Aug.2> — Many tears before and during mass.	306
71. I Sunday ⁴⁸ <Aug.3> — Many tears during mass.	307
72. a.l. Monday <Aug.4> — Tears before mass; very many and continuous during mass: many times I lost the power of speech.	308

45. This number is probably an error for 55, which has been inadvertently omitted by Ignatius.

46. Seventh Sunday after Pentecost.

47. Eighth Sunday after Pentecost.

48. Ninth Sunday after Pentecost.

73. a.l. Tuesday <Aug.5> — Many tears before mass, and occasionally during it.	309
74. Wednesday <Aug. 6> — No tears.	310
75. .a.l. Thursday <Aug. 7> — Many tears before and during mass.	311
76. .a. Friday <Aug. 8> — Tears before mass; none during it.	312
77. l Saturday <Aug.9> — Many tears during mass.	313
<78.> ⁴⁹ Sunday ⁵⁰ <Aug.10> — I do not remember.	314
79. a l d Monday <Aug.11> — Tears before and after mass; many during it.	315
80. a.l Tuesday <Aug.12> — Tears before mass and many during it.	316
81. Wednesday <Aug.13> — No tears.	317
82. Thursday <Aug.14> — No tears.	318
83. Friday <Aug.15> — No tears.	319
84. l Saturday <Aug.16> — Tears during mass.	320
85. a.l Sunday ⁵¹ <Aug.17> — Many tears before and during mass.	321
89. ⁵² Monday <Aug.18> — No tears.	322
90. l Tuesday <Aug.19> — Tears during mass.	323
91. a l Wednesday <Aug.20> — Tears before mass and many during it.	324
92 a.l. Thursday <Aug.21> — Very many tears before mass, both in my room and out of my room: the same continously during mass.	325
93 a.l. Friday <Aug.22> — Many tears before and during mass.	326
94. a. Saturday <Aug.23> — Many before mass; none during it.	327
In the intervening period, I was ill and did not say mass. ⁵³	328
100. .a.l Friday <Aug.29> — Many tears before and during mass.	329

49. The number was omitted, but a gap left for it.

50. Tenth Sunday after Pentecost.

51. Eleventh Sunday after Pentecost.

52. Ignatius seems to have misread his 85 for 88, and thus omitted 86-88.

101.	.a l d. Saturday <Aug.30> — Many tears before, during and after mass.	330
102.	.a l d. Sunday ⁵⁴ <Aug.31> — The same, continuous and very abundant.	331
103.	.a. Monday <Sep.1> — Many tears before mass; none during it.	332
104.	.a l. Tuesday <Sep.2> — Many tears before mass; some during it.	333
105.	.l d. Wednesday <Sep.3> — Tears after mass; many during it.	334
106.	.a l d. Thursday <Sep.4> — Very many tears before, during and after mass.	335
107.	Friday <Sep.5> — No tears.	336
108.	a.l. Saturday <Sep.6> — Many tears before and during mass.	337
109.	Sunday ⁵⁵ <Sep.7> — No tears.	338
110.	a.l Monday <Sep.8> — Many tears before and during mass.	339
110. ⁵⁶	l Tuesday <Sep.9> — Some tears.	340
111.	.a.l d. Wednesday <Sep.10> — Many tears before, during and after mass.	341
112.	a.l.d. Thursday <Sep.11> — Many tears before, during and after mass.	342
113.	.a l d Friday <Sep.12> — The same.	343
114.	.a l. Saturday <Sep.13> — Many tears before and during mass.	344
115.	.a l. Sunday ⁵⁷ <Sep.14> — The same.	345
116.	.a l. Monday <Sep.15> — The same.	346
117.	.a l. Tuesday <Sep.16> — The same.	347
118.	.l d. Wednesday <Sep.17> — Many tears during and after mass.	348
119.	.a l Thursday <Sep.18> — Many tears before and during mass.	349
120.	.a l d. Friday <Sep.19> — Many tears before, during and after mass.	350
121.	.a l. Saturday <Sep.20> — Many tears before and during mass	351

53. August 24-28 inclusive: Ignatius made allowance for these five days in the numbering of his entries.

54. Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost.

55. Fourteenth Sunday after Pentecost.

56. Another error in the numbering.

57. Fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost.

122 a Sunday ⁵⁸ <Sep.21> — Many before mass.	352
123 a Monday <Sep.22> — Many before mass.	353
124 .a l. Tuesday <Sep.23> — Many before mass, and occasionally during it.	354
125. .d. Wednesday <Sep.24> — Tears late after mass.	355
126. .a. Thursday <Sep.25> — Many before mass.	356
127. a l d Friday <Sep.26> — Many tears before and during mass; tears also after it.	357
128. a l Saturday <Sep.27> — Many before and during mass.	358
129. a l Sunday ⁵⁹ <Sep.28> — Many before and during mass.	359
130. a l Monday <Sep.29> — Tears during mass and many before it.	360
131. a l Tuesday <Sep.30> — Many tears before and during mass.	361

1⁶⁰ a l Today, Wednesday, the first of October, many <tears> before and during mass. 362

<Oct.> 2 a l Thursday, many before and during mass. 363

<Oct.> 3 a l Friday, many before and during mass. 364

HERE BEGIN THE DOTS AND I NO LONGER INSERT
THOSE USED BEFORE⁶¹ 365

<Oct.> 4 ä l.d. Saturday before .o.c.y., and very many during mass; also after mass. 366

<Oct.> 5 ä l.d. Sunday⁶² before o.c.y., and very, very many during mass; often I lost the power of speech; continuous, so that I feared to lose my sight; after mass more tears. 367

58. Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost.

59. Seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost.

60. From this point onwards, Ignatius numbers his entries according to the date.

61. It is clear that the new dots are those over the letter a, and that they correspond to the letters o, c, y, which now appear in the Diary: they are shorthand for the following: o — the first period of prayer, which at this period of his life was usually made by Ignatius before rising, owing to his bad health; c — the prayer made in his room preparatory to saying mass; y — the prayer made in the church or chapel also in preparation for mass. The three dots over the letter a signify that there were tears during all three periods, whereas two refer to only two periods. However it is not clear what is meant by the reference to dots which will no longer be inserted (MHSI 63. p.CIX); probably the signs first used on March 18 (§165) are here called 'dots' ('puntos').

62. Eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost.

- 2 <Oct.> 6^{...} l Monday, before o.c.y., and very many during mass, making me 368
 3 fear a loss of sight; continuous.
- 4 <Oct.> 7^{...} l Tuesday, before o.c.y., and very many during mass continuous; 369
 5 I knew my sight was in danger.
- 6 <Oct.> 8 a l d. Wednesday, before .o., and during mass; very many after mass. 370
 7 and continuous; throughout.⁶³
- 8 <Oct.> 9^{...} a. Thursday, very many before o.c.y. 371
- 9 <Oct.> 10 a.l. Friday, many tears before .o. and some during mass. 372
- 10 <Oct.> 11 .a l d. Saturday, before, .o. and many during and after mass. 373
- 11 <Oct.> 12 ä l d.t⁶⁴ Sunday⁶⁵, before .c.y.; many during mass; and many later 374
 12 after mass.
- 13 <Oct.> 13 l Monday, many during mass. 375
- 14 <Oct.> 14 ä Tuesday, many during .c.y. 376
- 15 <Oct.> 15 l Wednesday: until the middle of the mass I felt a warmth and the 377
 16 desire to weep; later, due to the consideration and clear realization that, in the
 17 midst of my desires, God was on guard,⁶⁶ I wept and the tears continued dur-
 18 ing the mass.
- 19 <Oct.> 16 a l d Thursday, before .y. and many during and after mass. 378
- 20 <Oct.> 17 .ä l d. Friday, before .c. and many during and after mass. 379
- 21 <Oct.> 18 a.l. Saturday, before c., and some during mass. 380
- 22 <Oct.> 19 ä l d. Sunday,⁶⁷ before .c.y. and many during mass. 381
- 23 <Oct.> 20 ä l d Monday, before c.y. and very many during and after it. 382
- 24 <Oct.> 21 ä l d Tuesday, c.y; and very many continuously during and after 383
 25 mass: I feared for my eyes. I begged that when no tears came, I might have
 26 contentment without conflicting thoughts, etc.
- 27 <Oct.> 22^{...} ä l d Wednesday, o.c.y; and very many continuously during mass; 384
 28 tears also after mass.

63. The words 'the day' are probably implied.

64. The letter t (used only here) seems to mean *tarde* (= later in the day).

65. Nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost.

66. This seems to be the meaning of the cryptic '*en guarda*': cf. MHSI 63, p.150 note 30.

67. Twentieth Sunday after Pentecost.

<Oct.> 23⁶⁸ a l d Thursday, tears before .o.c.y., and very many continuously 385
during mass; tears also after mass.

<Oct.> 24 .a.l. Friday, before o; and many during mass. 386

<Oct.> 25⁶⁹ a l Saturday, before .o.c.y; some during mass. 387

<Oct.> 26⁶⁸ a l d Sunday, before .o.c.y; and many during mass. 388

<Oct.> 27 a l Monday, before .c.y; and many during it. 389

<Oct.> 28 .a l d Tuesday, before y; and many tears during; some also after mass. 390

<Oct.> 29⁷⁰ a l d. Wednesday, before o.c.y; many continuously during mass 391
and after it.

<Oct.> 30⁷⁰ a l Thursday, before o.c.y.; very many tears continuously during 392
mass.

<Oct.> 31⁷⁰ a.l.d. Friday, before o.c.y; very many continuously during mass; 393
also after mass.

l⁷⁰ a l Saturday, the first of November; — before .o.c.y; very, very many con- 394
tinuously during mass.

<Nov.> 2⁶⁹ a l Sunday, before .o.c.y; very many continuously during mass. 395

<Nov.> 3⁶⁹ a.l.d. Monday, before .o.c.y; very many continuously during mass; 396
tears also after mass.

<Nov.> 4 a l Tuesday, before .o.c; many during mass. 397

<Nov.> 5 a l Wednesday, before .c.y; and during mass. 398

<Nov.> 6 a l d Thursday, before .o; and during mass; many after it. 399

<Nov.> 7 a l Friday, before .o.y; many continuously during mass. 400

<Nov.> 8⁷⁰ a l d. Saturday, before .o.c.y; many continuously during mass; tears 401
also after mass.

<Nov.> 9 a l Sunday,⁷⁰ before .c.y; many during mass. 402

<Nov.> 10 a l d Monday, before .o.c.y; very many during mass; also after it. 403

68. Twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost.

69. Twenty-second Sunday after Pentecost.

70. Twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost.

<Nov.> 11 ä l Tuesday, [redacted] during mass.	404
<Nov.> 12 ä l Wednesday, .c.y; some during mass.	405
<Nov.> 13 ä Thursday, before o.c.	406
<Nov.> 14 ä l d Friday, before .o.c; many during mass; also after it.	407
<Nov.> 15 ä.l.d. Saturday, before .c.y; very many continuously during mass; also after it.	408
<Nov.> 16 ä l d. Sunday, ⁷¹ before o.c.y; very many during mass; so also after it.	409
<Nov.> 17 ä.l. Monday, before .o.y; very many continuously during mass.	410
<Nov.> 18 .a. Tuesday, before .o.	411
<Nov.> 19 a.l. Wednesday, before o. and many during mass.	412
<Nov.> 20 a l d Thursday, before .c. and many during and after mass.	413
<Nov.> 21 ä l Friday, before o.c.y., and during mass; at times I could not speak.	414
<Nov.> 22 ä l d Saturday, before .o.c.y; many during and after mass.	415
<Nov.> 23 ä l d Sunday, ⁷² before .o.c.y., and very, very many during mass; very often I was deprived of the power of speech: tears also after mass.	416
<Nov.> 24 ä l Monday, before o.c.y., and many during mass.	417
<Nov.> 25 l d Tuesday, many during mass; tears also after mass.	418
<Nov.> 26 I did not say mass.	419
<Nov.> 27 ä l d Thursday, before .c.y; many during mass; tears also after it.	420
<Nov.> 28 ä l d Friday, before .o.c.y; very many during mass, and so also after it.	421
<Nov.> 29 ä l d Saturday, before .o.c.y; very many during mass, and so also after it.	422
<Nov.> 30 ä l d Sunday, ⁷³ before .o.c, and during mass; also later after it.	423

71. Twenty-fourth Sunday after Pentecost.

72. Last Sunday after Pentecost.

73. First Sunday in Advent, 1544.

- 1st Monday, the first of December; before .o.c.y.; many during mass; also later after it. 424
- <Dec.> 2nd Tuesday, before o.y; very many during mass, and so also after it. 425
- <Dec.> 3rd Wednesday, before .o. 426
- <Dec.> 4th Thursday, before .o.y; many during mass; tears also after it. 427
- <Dec.> 5th Friday, before .o.y; some during mass; also after it. 428
- <Dec.> 6th Saturday, before .o.c.y; tears also during mass, and many after it. 429
- <Dec.> 7th Sunday,⁷⁴ before .c, and many during mass. 430
- <Dec.> 8th Monday, o.c; very many during mass; and after it. 431
- <Dec.> 9th Tuesday, .c.y; many during mass; and after it. 432
- <Dec.> 10th Wednesday, .o.c.y; very many during mass. 433
- <Dec.> 11th Thursday, .o.c.y; very many during mass; also later after it. 434
- <Dec.> 12th Friday, .o.c.y; very many during mass; and after it. 435
- <Dec.> 13th Saturday, .o.c.y; very many during mass; and after it. 436
- <Dec.> 14th Sunday,⁷⁵ .o.c.y; very many during mass; and after it. 437
- <Dec.> 15th Monday, c.y; many during mass. 438
- <Dec.> 16th Tuesday, .c.y; also during mass. 439
- <Dec.> 17th Wednesday, o.c.y; also during mass. 440
- <Dec.> 18th Thursday, .c.y; many during mass; tears also after it. 441
- <Dec.> 19th Friday, .c; very many during mass. 442
- <Dec.> 20th Saturday, .c.y; very many during mass; also after it. 443
- <Dec.> 21st Sunday,⁷⁶ c y; many during mass; also after it. 444

74. Second Sunday in Advent.

75. Third Sunday in Advent.

76. Fourth Sunday in Advent.

<Dec. 22> a c. }
 <Dec. 23> a c } I did not say mass. 445
 <Dec. 24> a c }

<Dec.> 25 ä ll.d⁷⁷ Thursday, c.y. and during mass; c.y. and very many during mass; some during the third; also afterwards in my room. 446

<Dec.> 26 ä Friday, .c.y. 447

<Dec.> 27 ä l d Saturday, .o.c.y; very many continuously during mass; also after it. 448

<Dec.> 28 ä l d Sunday,⁷⁸ c.y; many during mass; also after it. 449

<Dec.> 29 ä l d Monday, .o.c.y; very many continuously during mass; also after it. 450

<Dec.> 30 ä l d Tuesday, .o.c.y; very many continuously during mass; also after it. 451

<Dec.> 31 ä l d Wednesday, .o.c.y; very many continuously during mass; also after it. 452

l ä l the first of January <1545>, Thursday, o.c; and during mass. 453

During this period <i.e. January 2-10, incl.> I did not say mass; tears every day with one exception.

<Jan.> 11 ä⁷⁹ l d Sunday,⁸⁰ before o c y., and very many during mass; also after it. 454

<Jan.> 12 ä.l.d. Monday, before o c y and very many during mass; also after it. 455

I did not say mass <i.e. January 13 — 19, inc.>. 456

<Jan.> 20 ä l Tuesday, before o.c.y., and very many during mass. 457

<Jan.> 21 ä l Wednesday, before .c.y., and during mass. 458

<Jan.> 22 ä l d Thursday, before c.y; very many continuously during mass; also after it. 459

77. The four dots and two l refer to the extra masses, with their respective periods of preparatory prayer, celebrated on this Christmas Day.

78. Feast of the Holy Innocents.

79. Exceptionally Ignatius seems to have written four dots here, but the meaning of the extra dot is not clear.

80. Sunday within the Octave of the Epiphany, 1545.

<Jan.> 23 l. Friday, very many during mass.	460
<Jan.> 24 ä l d Saturday, before o.c.y; very many during; also after it.	461
<Jan.> 25 ä l Sunday, ⁸¹ before .c.y., and very many during mass.	462
I did not say mass during this period <i.e. January 26 — 31, incl.>.	463
<hr/>	
l. ä l d the first of February, Sunday, before o c y; very many continuously during mass; also after it.	464
<Feb.> 2 ä l d Monday, before o c y; very many continuously during mass; also after it.	465
<Feb.> 3 a l d Tuesday, before .o; very many during mass; also after it.	466
<Feb.> 4 ä l d Wednesday, before o c y; very many continuously during mass; also after it.	467
<Feb.> 5 ä l d Thursday, before o c y; very many continuously during mass; also after it.	468
<Feb.> 6 ä l d Friday, before .o c y; many during mass; also after it.	469
<Feb.> 7 ä l d Saturday, before o c y; very many during mass; also after it.	470
<Feb.> 8 ä l d Sunday, ⁸² before c y; many during mass; also after it.	471
<Feb.> 9 a l d Monday, before .y; many during mass; also after it.	472
<Feb.> 10 ä l d Tuesday, before o c; many during mass; also after it.	473
<Feb.> 11 a l d Wednesday, before .o c y and very many during mass; also after it.	474
<Feb.> 12 ä l d Wednesday, before o c y; very many during mass; also later after it.	475
<Feb.> 13 ä d Friday, before o c y; and later after it.	476
<Feb.> 14 a l Saturday, .c y; many during mass.	477
<Feb.> 15 ä l d Sunday, ⁸³ .c y; during mass; and after it.	478

81. Third Sunday after the Epiphany.

82. Sexagesima Sunday, 1545.

83. Quinquagesima Sunday.

- 460 <Feb.> 16^{...} ä l d Monday, o c y; very many continuously during mass and after it. 479
- 461 <Feb.> 17⁸⁴ ä l d Tuesday, c y; very many continuously during mass; also 480
after it.
-
- 463 <Feb.> 18^{...} ä l d Ash Wednesday: .o.c.y; very many continuously during mass; 481
also after it.
- 464 <Feb.> 19^{...} ä l d Thursday, o c y; very many continuously during mass; also 482
after it.
- 465 <Feb.> 20^{...} ä l d Friday, o c y; very many continuously during mass; also after it. 483
- 466 <Feb.> 21^{...} ä l d Saturday, o c y; very many during mass; also after it. 484
- 467 <Feb.> ä l d Sunday,⁸⁵ o c y; very many continuously during mass; also after 485
it.
- 468 <Feb.> 23^{...} ä l d Monday, o c y; during mass; also after it. 486
- 469 <Feb.> 24^{...} ä l d Tuesday, o c y; many during mass; also after it. 487
- 470 <Feb.> 25^{...} ä l d Wednesday, o c y; during mass; also after it. 488
- 471 <Feb.> 26^{...} ä l d Thursday, o c y; very many continuously during mass; also 489
after it.
- 472 <Feb.> 27^{...} ä l d Friday, o c y; very many continuously during mass; also after it. 490

84. The line drawn across the page after this entry in the autograph indicates not the start of a new month (as for October-February), but the beginning of Lent.

85. First Sunday in Lent.

PROS AND CONS IN AN ELECTION

INTRODUCTION

The following lists of considerations were written by Ignatius and used by him in the process of the election recorded in the first fascicule of the *Diary*: cf. §§8,10,11,12,13,15,34,35. Strictly the point in question concerns only the sacristies of churches belonging to professed houses. However Ignatius widens the issue considerably: the election becomes one of complete as opposed to partial poverty. The term 'partial income' is used in this translation to convey the phrase '*en parte*', in opposition to 'complete income' ('*en todo*'); a partial income is one that is stable, but is only to be used for certain limited purposes, e.g. the upkeep of the church.

A critical edition of the autograph is included in MHSI 63, pp.78-83; the editors point out that the sheet of paper has been bound wrongly folded into the codex (A) now preserved in the Society's archives. Ignatius wrote out the Cons and then the Pros for poverty in two parallel columns, left and right, on the sheet in front of him, then turned the sheet over and continued to list the arguments Pro on the left side, with one (which he crossed out) at the top of the right-hand side; the sheet was eventually folded down the middle, but inside out, so that it looked as if Ignatius had begun with the Pros.

* * * * *

THE DISADVANTAGES ARISING FROM A LACK OF ANY INCOME ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF HAVING EITHER A COMPLETE OR A PARTIAL INCOME

- 1st If the Society were to possess a partial or a complete income, it could probably maintain itself better.
- 2nd If such is possessed, < members of the Society > will not cause trouble and disedification by begging, especially as it would be clerics who would have to go begging.
- 3rd If such is possessed, they will be less troubled and bothered by a disordered solicitude in searching for alms.
- 4th They will be able to give themselves with greater order and peace to the duties and set prayers.
- 5th The time spent in asking and seeking for alms could be used for preaching, hearing confessions, and other pious works.
- 6th The church will probably be kept cleaner and finer, more suited to rouse devotion; also it will be possible to rebuild it.
- 7th Similarly, < members of the Society > will be able to devote more time to study, and so give more spiritual help to other people and take more care of their own health.¹

1. The phrase '*gubernando mejor a sus cuerpos*' literally means 'keeping better control of their bodies', but the sense seems to be that given above.

- 8th On a former occasion, after two members of the Society had examined the point, the others gave their unanimous approbation.²

THE DISADVANTAGES ARISING FROM THE POSSESSION
<OF INCOME> ARE THE ADVANTAGES
OF NOT HAVING ANYTHING, i.e.

- 1st If <members of the Society> could possess <such an income>, they would be less diligent in helping people, and less ready to travel and suffer hardships. Also it is not then so easy to win others to true poverty and self-abnegation in all things, as is explained in the advantages of not possessing anything explained below.

ADVANTAGES ARISING FROM, AND REASONS IN FAVOUR OF,
HAVING NO INCOME WHATSOEVER

- 1st The Society gains greater spiritual strength, and increased devotion, the more it contemplates and imitates the Son of the Blessed Virgin, our Creator and Lord, so poor and so afflicted.
- 2nd The world's avarice is put to shame when one seeks no security.
- 2nd⁴ Union with the Church seems to be more affectionate, if all are at one in possessing nothing; thinking of Christ poor in the Blessed Sacrament.
- 3rd It is easier to put all one's trust in God Our Lord, if one is cut off from everything of the world.
- 4th This causes humiliation and aids union with the One who humbled himself more than any other.
- 4th⁵ <The Society> lives more oblivious of worldly consolations.
- 5th Its hope in God is more continuous; and its work in His service, more diligent.
- 6th In general, greater edification is given if men see that nothing of this world is being sought.
- 7th One can speak with greater freedom of spirit, and with more efficacy, of all spiritual things that are for the greater profit of souls.
- 8th The daily reception of alms helps and urges one on to give more spiritual assistance to souls.
- 9th Others are more strongly persuaded to true poverty, if that poverty is

2. He refers to the first draft of the *Constitutiones*, drawn up in the Spring of 1541 by Ignatius and Codure, and submitted for approval to all ten of the first companions; it was agreed there that sagisties of churches belonging to professed houses should be allowed to possess income: cf. MHSI 63, p.35.
3. Ignatius began to add here a new section, but then crossed it out (so that the text is somewhat uncertain): 'The disadvantages arising from the possession of a partial income (quite apart from being the advantages of not having anything) are the following: 1st One Superior would have charge over those who are allowed this income, for he would superintend the distribution of it, and he would also have charge over those who are not allowed it; also he would have to take from the same house what is necessary for himself or for those of the Society; this does not seem right'.
4. The number is repeated in the autograph, probably an error characteristic of Ignatius's handling of numbers (as appears in the Diary).
5. Another repeat; see note 4.

- practised to which Christ Our Lord urges, when he says, "Everyone who has forsaken father, etc."⁶
- 10th <Members of the Society> will probably be more diligent in helping others, and more ready to travel and suffer hardships.
- 11th Poverty that excludes the possession of any income is more perfect than one that admits either a partial or a complete income.
- 12th Jesus, the Lord of us all, chose this poverty for himself, and this was what He taught them, when He sent his apostles and beloved disciples to preach.
- 13th When, with complete unanimity,⁷ all ten of us chose this <poverty>, we took as our head Jesus himself, our Creator and Lord, to go forward under his banner, to preach and exhort, as is our profession.
- 14th It was on this understanding that we asked for, and obtained, the Papal Bull; similarly after waiting one year for it to be expedited, we kept to our decision and it was confirmed by His Holiness.⁸
- 15th Immutability is a characteristic of God; mutability and change are those of the enemy.⁹

6. Mt 19: 29; Mk 10:29.

7. Ignatius uses the Latin phrase, *nemine discrepante*.

8. The editors of the *editio princeps* are the first to point out that none of the early companions, Ignatius included, ever voiced the opinion that the bull of Paul III raised any objection to the sacristies of the churches of professed houses possessing a fixed income.

9. Ignatius added one more argument, but then crossed it out: '16 There are three ways of maintaining the Society: 1st all members, or nearly all, should be men of letters; 2nd some means could probably be found to house and clothe the scholastics, and to pay their travelling expenses; 3rd for the equipment and other things the Society needs, even some of those who will probably enter could help'.

APPENDIX

THE VOCABULARY OF 'THE SPIRITUAL DIARY'

Ignatius was a great saint who was granted extraordinary gifts of high prayer. In analysing the vocabulary he employed in the effort to describe his mystical experiences, one can better grasp what he hoped to derive from prayer in seeking the concrete will of God. Here an attempt will be made to analyse the various terms Ignatius used to express his experiences during prayer, especially as these bore upon making an Election. The various terms Ignatius used to describe his prayer very frequently are intermingled in the same sentence. In order to grasp the different nuances of these terms, however, it is useful to analyse them separately.

II. TO FEEL (*sentir*)

A special use of the term 'feel' in the Diary is the employment of the double 'feel or see' (*sentir o veer*) to signify a mystical vision or a particularly clear infusion of felt-understanding of the divine mysteries. Ignatius records having 'felt or seen' Our Lady (§§4,31), the Father (§§30,32), the Holy Spirit (§§18bis,169), the Holy Trinity (§54), Jesus (§§70,74,75), and the Mediators (§25).

On several occasions he is quite explicit about the extraordinary nature of these graces and the difference between this infused felt-understanding and ordinary knowledge. The tremendous light concerning the operations of the Holy Trinity granted to him on February 19, 1544, was made as he 'felt and saw rather than understood' (§54).

On another occasion it seemed to him that Jesus as intercessor presented his prayers to the Father, 'and I felt or saw in a way that cannot be explained in those terms' (§77). One morning he received great light and strength in his room; and, upon entering the chapel, he 'felt', 'or to put it more exactly, I saw, not by natural power, the Blessed Trinity and also Jesus' (§83). Sometimes he would not know to whom to turn in his prayer. He speaks of first turning to Jesus, who seemed not to permit himself 'to be seen or felt clearly' (§105), but only obscurely; and then to have turned to the Holy Trinity, which allowed 'itself to be felt more clearly or full of light' (*ibid.*). Later on, he tended more often to have insight into the divine essence of the Trinity: 'I did not feel clearly nor see distinct Persons' (§110).

On Thursday, March 6, 1544, he had a wonderful visitation at the *Te igitur* of the mass: 'I felt and saw, not obscurely but brightly, in full light, the very Being and

1. With the kind permission of John Futrell, S.J., this appendix is largely the text of 'The Mystical Vocabulary of Ignatius in the Diario', written by him as an Appendix to his thesis; part of the thesis was subsequently published, *Making an Apostolic Community of Love: The Role of the Superior according to St Ignatius of Loyola*, St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970, and the whole appendix was published separately, *Dossier "Constitutiones" A*, Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1971, pp.143-178. That text has now been adapted so that it can be read with the English translation, and it is hoped that it will assist readers in the invaluable process of cross-reading: very frequently it is this second-level approach to the text that is most difficult, but also most rewarding.

essence of God, appearing as a sphere, a little larger than the sun appears' (§121). During the rest of this day the spherical vision continued; and 'on feeling and seeing this' (§123), he experienced new spiritual impulses and tears. One time he tried to imagine how he would feel if God placed him in Hell. He imagined both the pains he would suffer there and the blasphemies against God's name which would be spoken. He found that he could 'neither feel nor see any suffering <in that>' (§132), but that he would suffer from hearing the name of God blasphemed.

When he definitively finished his election concerning poverty on March 12, 1544, he found himself arid during the earlier part of the day. Gradually, consolations were granted to him. During the grace at table he received a manifestation of the being of the Father and the being of the Holy Trinity, 'such as I had not felt or seen all day' (§153).

Slightly different formulae are used several times to express this significance of an extraordinary mystical vision. On one occasion Ignatius 'could feel, and was shown, Our Lady' (§29 *representarse*). On another, the Blessed Trinity granted him 'that Jesus was shown or felt' (§67 *mostrarse*). When making his oblation of total poverty, he had 'noticed [felt] great clarity' (§12). He received a visitation of the Trinity without seeing the distinct Persons, but '<I> had the feeling of one essence, perceived in a sort of shining clarity' (§99).

At times Ignatius distinguishes feeling from intellectual awareness or makes understanding the object of his 'feeling': 'with reference to the mediators, feelings, not without vision' (§12); 'I felt considerable devotion and certain fairly clear-sighted intuitions' (§15); 'I experienced [felt] insights into many notable things, that caused delight and were very spiritual' (§33); 'I felt no flashes of understanding' (§40): 'I felt spiritual intuitions' (§62); 'I felt the visitations' (§129); 'I experienced [felt] visitations from, and visions of, the Divine Persons and Mediators' (§152).

The term 'feel' is very often used of spiritual states of soul, such as devotion, love, confidence, peace and reverence. It is used most frequently to signify the spiritual feeling of the presence of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, or of the Mediators, but without reference to seeing them (§§24,25,27,29,30,31,35,39,73,84,94,95). Once Ignatius uses the word to express a feeling of loving wonder breaking out into a spoken question: 'eventually . . . my feelings found voice in the prayer, 'Where do you wish to take me, Lord?' (§113). Particularly intense feeling of the infusion of grace is apparent in several instances. When the prayers came to him: 'Eternal Father, confirm me; Eternal Son, confirm me; Eternal Holy Spirit, confirm me; Holy Trinity, confirm me; My One Sole God, confirm me' (§48), he experienced a tremendous impetus of devotion and tears, 'and very deeply did I feel it' (ibid.) And yet, a little later, 'at times, however, these things were not felt' (§49). On another occasion, the Father granted him such a wonderful visitation that, like Saint Paul, he did not know how to express it: 'I knew or felt or saw, 'God knows' [2Cor 12:2:]' (§63).

Ignatius also speaks of 'the same feeling' (§63) of the Son; and later, of great interior strength and security of confirmation, 'and now I felt it was communicated to me through Jesus' (§73); again of a mystical gift of reverential love, 'for it seemed [*pareciéndome*] and I could feel within me' (§84) that Jesus did all for him as his intercessor before the Trinity. Later still he speaks of feeling 'helped by a certain grace that I felt I was receiving' (§94), and then of his tears of joy at the mystical grace of the *loquela*: 'I felt that when I had these feelings or when I was learning in this way, it was due to God' (§224).

In the mystical vocabulary of Ignatius, then, 'to feel' signifies a state of intensely heightened spiritual feeling, often the result of an extraordinary infusion of grace. It is a felt-understanding of the divine mysteries or of the presence of one of the divine Persons or Our Lady or a profound awareness of interior devotion. It bears testimony to the spiritual liberty of desiring only God's glory in making an election; however, it does not provide a revelation of the content of this election.

II. MOTIONS/IMPULSES (*mociones*)

Apart from the word 'devotion' (*devoción*), which appears several times on nearly every page of the Diary, the term most frequently used by Ignatius is the Spanish term *mociones*, which has been translated here partly with the verb 'to move' but very frequently by the term 'impulses', as the Spanish term or its equivalents always carry the sense of passivity in the mystical vocabulary of Ignatius — of being impelled to devotion, to tears, to an insight into spiritual reality, or to a particular choice, whether the cause of the impulse is God or his own thoughts, or (in the case of evil) the Enemy. Even in his life of prayer, the dynamic mental structure of Ignatius is evident. He was always 'on the way', moving ever onward toward God. But in the Ignatian anthropology there is a basic distinction between the profound *ego*, which is impelled and moved, and which commits itself to free choices, and on the other hand those external forces, even within a man's own composite being, which act upon this *ego*.

This distinction is particularly clear in Ignatius's employment of the word 'motions' in the *Spiritual Exercises*. The director of the Exercises is advised to pay particular attention to the manner in which the exercitant is following them, if he experiences no 'spiritual motions, as consolations or desolations, in the soul' (Exx 6) originating from different spirits. The First Time of Election is when God Himself 'so moves and attracts the will' (Exx 175) that one cannot doubt the way shown to one, as was the case of St Paul. During the Third Time of Election one is to reflect upon the inclination of reason, 'and thus following the weightier motions of reason, and not any sensual ones' (Exx 182), he should deliberate upon the choice to be made. The rule which guides this deliberation, as well as that about giving alms, is to make certain that 'the love, which urges [moves] and causes me to choose such or such a thing' (Exx 184, 338) descends from above from the love of God. The 'Rules for the Discernment of Spirits' are precisely directed towards the discovery of the sources of the 'motions' the exercitant experiences in his own soul (Exx 313): desolation is described as an 'attraction [motion] toward low and earthly objects' (Exx 317), while it is proper to God and his angels 'to give in their motions true joy and spiritual gladness' (Exx 329). God alone gives consolation without any preceding cause, 'because it belongs to the Creator alone to go in and out of the soul, to excite motions in it, attracting it entirely to the love of his divine majesty' (Exx 330). Finally, if a soul is already progressing in perfection, 'the good angel touches the soul gently, lightly, and sweetly' (Exx 335).

The 'impulses' or 'motions' recorded in the Diary at times cause Ignatius to turn to the Father (§6), or Our Lady (§29); or Jesus (§§74, 81, 86, 88). Sometimes the impulse is the result of a memory of divine visitations. Ignatius speaks of remembering during the day the consolations of his morning prayer, and of feeling 'moved by new and growing devotion and the impulse to weep' (§22); again, 'I experienced new devotion and interior impulses to weep when I remembered Jesus' (§80).

During a great vision of the being of the Blessed Trinity on March 6, 1554, Ignatius experienced 'many impulses' (§121), drawing him to the love of the Trinity, and as he recalled the vision, he felt 'new interior impulses' (§122). He often records impulses to tears (§§91,110,139,143), and at times he qualifies this impulse to tears as an 'interior impulse' (§58), or 'spiritual impulses' (§§61,153). It may be 'a mighty impulse to weep and sob' (§30), or 'some slight impulses of devotion and the urge to weep' (§98); again, 'the devotion grew with certain feelings or new impulses, as if to weep' (§119). The impulses may lead to devotion or to a state of soul or may result from them. Ignatius experiences impulses thanks to which he is 'shown a great humility' (§135), and others which terminate in 'submission' (*acatamiento*) (§167). He speaks of tears causing 'submission, also some interior impulses' (§168).

On the other hand, he records feeling devotion without any impulses or movements (§§89,97), and he makes a distinction between experiencing 'clamour and great impulses' and being 'wholly moved to the divine love' (§222), a mystical state of profound interior harmony.

In his spiritual pilgrimage towards God, Ignatius wished only to be led by the Holy Spirit. Thus, when he began to experience a new orientation in his prayer, he found that in turning to Jesus, the Blessed Trinity was presented to him more clearly; and later on in turning to the Trinity it seemed that the devotion was 'taking' him (*lleuava*) (§113) to direct his prayer 'elsewhere, for example to the Father'. The petition rose to his lips, 'Where do you wish to take me, Lord?', and he offered himself to be 'guided and taken etc. through all these stages, wheresoever He might take me, being over me' (§§113-114).

The next day he reflected upon what the Holy Trinity might wish to do with him, and 'by what way would it take me' (*lleuarme*) (§119), thinking that perhaps this was to leave him without visitations and tears. This term, 'take' (*lleuar*), and also 'draw' (*tirar*) often indicate in the vocabulary of Ignatius a particularly powerful divine impulse (*moción*). He records especially intense devotion and tears on February 8, 1544, as the result of feeling 'that I approached, or was taken before, the Father' (§8) and with this movement (*andar*) he experienced notable bodily reactions. He speaks of devotion so sweet that 'I felt drawn (*me tirava*) by the devotion I experienced to stay there enjoying the feeling' (§41). While writing in the Diary about a great vision of the Trinity on February 27, 1544, he notes: 'my understanding feels drawn to see the Blessed Trinity' (§87). He speaks of his confidence in Jesus: 'I felt drawn to have trust in the Blessed Trinity' (§98). On March 4, at the beginning of mass, he felt 'very great touches (*tocamientos*) and intense devotion to the Blessed Trinity' (§107), and he noted that all of the divine visitations before and during this mass were ordered to the Trinity, 'which took and drew me to its love' (§108). During the great 'spherical' vision of the Trinity on March 6, Ignatius felt many interior impulses, 'all taking me to love what I had been shown' (§122), and during all the rest of the day, the vision and consolations continued, 'like a fairly large spark; it represented something to the undertaking, or was drawing it, and showed that it was the same' (§125). The following day he again experienced great 'impulses, sobs and many floods of tears, all drawing me to a love of the Blessed Trinity' (§130).

The role of such movements and impulses in making an Election is especially clear in contexts having to do specifically with the efforts of Ignatius to form his decision or to find confirmation of it. On February 5, 1544, after a vision of the Mother and the Son kindly interceding with the Father, Ignatius remained in his decision to accept no rents and even felt that he was 'still more moved' (§4) to poverty. Again;

on February 7, intense devotion, 'remaining myself ever more convinced and moved to poverty' (§6). In examining the evidence for his Election, he considered all of the reasons which seemed to indicate not to accept income, but also considered 'to which my will felt most impelled' (§8). Thus Ignatius was employing the methods of the Second and Third Times of Election (Exx 176,177) at the same time, and they acted as a control of each other. What he sought was an accord between the indications of prudence and the motions he felt within his soul. When he made an election and oblation to the Father to accept no income for the sacristies of churches, he felt 'an interior impulse and tears' (§34). In making his reflections on the matter of the Election, he turned to the Father and 'implored grace to reason with His spirit and to be moved by that spirit' (§36). His decision to finish the Election resulted in much peace and he 'felt special interior impulses' and wept (§42). On February 18, 1544, he made his 'final' confirmation of his decision to the Blessed Trinity before the whole heavenly court, with a great flood of tears, 'many impulses and interior sobs' (§47), and intense bodily reactions.

Ignatius found, therefore, in these interior movements both an indication of the choice to be made and a confirmation of the decision taken. Nevertheless, in spite of this apparent confirmation through interior impulses, he was not actually to complete the Election until March 12. Immediately after the apparent confirmation on February 18, he felt that 'there came to me' (*vernirme*) a series of prayers to the persons of the Trinity, asking for confirmation (§48). The impulses alone, therefore, were not enough for absolute certainty in his decision. Celebrating the mass after this experience, Ignatius was disturbed that he did not enjoy his usual abundance of tears, and these thoughts made him lose his devotion, so that 'moved by it I decided not to rest content' (§49) with this last mass of the Trinity, because it had not given him sufficient confirmation. A few days later, a thought of Jesus came to Ignatius. 'and I felt impelled to follow Him' (§66), because it seemed to him interiorly that since Jesus was the Head of the Society, this was an argument greater than any human reason to embrace total poverty, even though all of the considerations during the Election had pointed toward the same decision. This thought 'impelled devotion, tears' (§66), so that Ignatius felt that nothing in the future could shake the firmness of this Election. When he held the Blessed Sacrament in his hands during the mass following this experience, 'I was impelled to speak and felt intensely moved from within' (§69) never to change this decision for all of heaven or earth, then felt 'new impulses, devotion and spiritual joy' (§69). This 'confirmation of Jesus' occurred on February 23; nevertheless, Ignatius did not rest in it, but continued seeking final confirmation. After his mass on March 7, Ignatius thought of offering his mass the next day in order to decide what he should do, or whether he should finish the entire process of Election. There then came to him 'many impulses and tears' (§130), becoming gradually 'great impulses, sobs and many floods of tears', all drawing him to the love of the Blessed Trinity. He decided not to finish but to leave the time to God, which he expected to know through an intense visitation (§131). As a matter of fact, Ignatius at last made his final decision in a state of darkness and dryness on March 12. As soon as he had taken this decision, however, consolation returned; and when he solemnly attested before God and His entire court that he would cease his Election here, there came 'interior impulses' and he 'sobbed and wept' (§149). Here the interior movements acted as a rewarding confirmation of the decision taken in dryness.

Impulses alone, therefore, are not a final source of discernment. They do not convey a 'revelation' of the content of the decision to be made. In accord with the

indications of prudent reasoning, they may point toward one choice or away from another, or they may follow upon a decision as an indication of its confirmation. Even though they may be so intense as to give the impression that the judgement which occasioned them must be final, it can later appear that this is not actually the case. One is reminded here of Ignatius's warning in the 'Rules for the Discernment of Spirits' that the 'afterglow' of a divine visitation may be caused by one's own temperament, or the good or bad spirit, rather than immediately from God, and therefore should be carefully examined before being followed (Exx 333).

III. VISITATION (*visataciones*)

Another important word in the mystical vocabulary of Ignatius is *visitación*. Whereas *moción* indicates a dynamic process of being impelled towards a certain spiritual experience or a particular choice, 'visitation' signifies rather a certain temporary state of devotion or of the felt-presence of Our Lady or Jesus or the Persons of the Trinity. In a few instances, it refers to the actual gift of tears, as distinguished from impulses to tears (thus, 'visitations of tears' §§119,136,184,222).

The 'object' of the visitation is sometimes expressed: it terminates in 'the Blessed Trinity' (§§63,101,104,106,108,109,110), but once 'The greatest of the visitations had the Blessed Trinity as their principal object, then in lesser degree, Jesus, and finally in much lesser degree, the Father' (§115); and on a later occasion, 'I felt the visitations in an imprecise way (*indiferenter*): they had for their object now the Blessed Trinity, now the Father or Son; at times Our Lady and at others the saints, even individual saints; tears were abundant' (§129), and similarly on March 17, 'this visitation had for object now one Person, now another' (§162).

Generally, however, the object of the visitation is not expressed, and it signifies an unspecified gift of consolation in the divine presence (§§159,184,185), 'in the state of a tired man who rests, his mind tranquil, devout, visited' (§115). On occasion the visitation is qualified as 'internal' (§36), or as 'spiritual' (§§122,135). Once Ignatius speaks of the visitation as 'interior, mid-way between the seat on high < of the Divine Persons > and the letter' (§127), referring to a divine visitation occasioned by reading the prayers in the missal.

When the mystical gift of 'submission' (*acatamiento*) was given to Ignatius, he found that afterwards; 'all my spiritual visitations brought with them this feeling of submission' (§160), and he discovered that he should repulse tears or visitations, in order first of all to attend to the submission, 'the visitations coming next' (*ibid.*). He judged, therefore, that the contrary was not good, i.e. 'to pay more attention to the visitations than to submission' (*ibid.*). It is evident that the quality of the spiritual visitations of Ignatius after this new experience of the gift of 'submission' was different, and that at first he sensed a certain conflict between them. Nevertheless, he speaks of 'the spiritual visitation which caused submission' (§173), and of his praying, 'Give me a lover's humility' . . . As I said the words, I experienced new visitations' (§178).

When the soul is 'visited', therefore, the profound *ego* is at rest in the possession of a divine gift, whether it be the mystical infusion of a disposition such as 'loving humility' or 'submission', or the felt-presence of Our Lady or Jesus or the Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Ignatius looked to the experience of such visitations for confirmation of his Election. On March 2, after his mass, it seemed to him that he should finish his Election immediately or 'the first time that I received a divine visitation' (§96), since he felt that it was not up to him to fix the moment of ending his con-

sideration, 'and receive a visitation then' (ibid.), but that he should do so 'whenever the Divine Majesty thought fit and communicated such a visitation' (ibid.). Ignatius supposed, therefore, that he would receive the final confirmation from God through a visitation. Thus (March 7), after being powerfully drawn to the love of the Blessed Trinity, he made many colloquies to dispose himself 'for ever greater enjoyment of these intense visitations' (§131), and it seemed to him that he should not fix a moment for ending his Election, but wait until 'it was disclosed to me and I had been visited' (ibid.). Finally, however (March 12), he saw that he had wished God to condescend to his own desire, 'that I might finish in a time of great visitations' (§147), while what was necessary was rather simply to please God. Therefore, although in darkness and aridity, he determined to finish forthwith and not to seek 'more masses or visitations' (§149). Later in the day, the Tempter tried to make Ignatius doubt his judgement, but 'all was firmness and confirmation on the matter' (§152) when he 'experienced [felt] visitations from, and visions of, the Divine Persons and Mediators' (ibid.). During the rest of the day, he enjoyed many graces, and 'today's great visitations' (§153) did not have any distinct Person for their object, 'but in general, the Giver of Graces' (ibid.).

Visitations, then, are the direct gift of God, which must be distinguished from the 'afterglow' and impulses which may follow upon them. Ignatius looked upon them as a confirmation that his decision was pleasing to God, but the visitations in themselves in no way constituted a 'revelation' of the content of his judgement of the concrete will of God for him, as would have been the case in the First Time of Election.

IV. REVERENCE (*reverencia*) AND SUBMISSION (*acatamiento*)

One of the visitations most significant in the mystical life of Ignatius was that of 'reverence' or 'submission'.² He first speaks in the Diary of the mystical state of profound reverence on Wednesday, February 27, 1544, when he writes of a 'feeling and seeing' which caused tears and great love 'with Jesus as the object' (§83), but 'toward the Blessed Trinity, a respect of submission (*respecto de acatamiento*) more like a reverential love (*amor reverencial*) than anything else' (ibid.). On the following days (until April 4), this mystical experience recurred frequently ('reverent submission' §103, 'internal reverence' §127, 'submission and reverence' §§128, 156-157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166). On March 26, 'I could feel no interior submission' (§173), and he inferred that it was not in his own power to find it, but later he 'experienced the spiritual visitations which caused submission' (ibid.), and similarly on the next day 'with vision of the Divine Being' (§174). On March 30, 'it occurred to me that my humility, reverence and submission should be not of a man who fears (*temeroso*) but of a man who loves (*amoroso*)' (§178), and on the next day 'I realized that neither love nor reverence, etc. were in my power' (§181); his entry for April 4 notes, 'When one does not achieve a lover's reverence and submission, one must seek for the submission of one who fears, considering one's own faults, in order to gain the submission of love' (§187).

It is clear that this mystical state of profound reverence accompanied an intense awareness of the divine presence. It was one of the greatest spiritual gifts accorded by God to Ignatius. It could give interior testimony of the total orientation of all his desire to the service of God, and thus furnish confirmation that his Election was

2. For a discussion of the rich content of these words in the context of obedience, cf. John Futrell, *Making an Apostolic Community of Love* [note 1 above], c.7, pp.159-160.

not reached through any subtle motives of self-seeking. But it did not bring with it a revelation of the content of his decision.

V. INTUITIONS (*inteligencias*)

A term in the mystical vocabulary of Ignatius which signifies a divine gift having conceptual content is 'intuitions' (*inteligencias*), or the equivalent. At times he notes the presence of devotion or tears and 'intuitions' at the same time (§§21,58,187). On other occasions he specifically records the absence of intuitions, even though devotion or tears might be enjoyed (§§39,56,89,94,139,144). In certain instances Ignatius states the 'object' of these intuitions: he speaks of an 'intellectual vision' (§83) of the Blessed Trinity, or says, 'my understanding (*entendimiento*) feels drawn to see the Blessed Trinity' (§87); on another occasion he 'caught sight of the homeland of Heaven or the Lord of it' and explains, 'in so far as I understood the three Persons (*in modo de inteligencia de tres personas*)' (§89). The evening after the great 'spherical' vision of the Trinity, Ignatius had a representation of the same, and 'on this occasion the understanding (*entendimiento*) saw something' (§125), although much less clearly than in the morning, but like a spark, 'it represented something to the understanding, or was drawing it to itself' (*ibid.*). On March 9, in the evening, he experienced devotion terminating in the Blessed Trinity, 'so that they manifested themselves to my understanding, allowing me to catch sight of them in some way' (§140); but although he tried to adapt himself to the Father, to the Holy Spirit and to Our Lady, he found no devotion even if 'the intuition or vision of the Blessed Trinity and of Jesus continued for a while' (§140). On April 2, he was given a vision of the Divine Being, sometimes with the Father for object, 'by means of that representation of a circle' (§183), along with 'many intuitions and much new interior knowledge (*inteligencias y conocimientos interiores*)' (*ibid.*).

The awareness of Ignatius of the extraordinary character of these intuitions is expressed in several passages. He had a great visitation of the Trinity on February 19, with 'many intuitions about the Blessed Trinity, my understanding being enlightened with them' (§52), to the extent that he felt that with much study he could never know so much, and later, reflecting on what he had 'understood feeling and seeing' (*ibid.*), it seemed that this would be the case even if he studied during all his life. Two days later Ignatius had another visitation of the Blessed Trinity and 'felt spiritual intuitions so great I seemed to understand that almost nothing more could be known on the subject of the Blessed Trinity' (§62). These expressions recall his statement in the *Autobiography* referring to the great illumination at the Cardoner, wherein he said that he had received 'a great enlightening of his understanding' (c.3, §30) so that during the rest of his life, even to the age of 62, if he combined all the help he had received from God, it would not amount to what he had received on that single occasion.

When Ignatius had the great 'spherical' vision of the Trinity (March 6), he felt that he had a clarity of vision, 'reaching beyond the heavens' (§122), and that this went 'further than anything I might like to think of with my understanding on this earth' (*ibid.*). On another occasion he writes of having received intuitions 'so delicate that I have neither the memory nor the understanding to explain or expose them' (§185). The content of these intuitions therefore was properly mystical: truly understanding, truly light, but at a pitch of interiority beyond conceptual expression. Furthermore, the object of these intuitions was divine mysteries, and not the content of the Election of Ignatius.

VI. VISIONS (*visiones*), CLARITY AND LIGHT (*claridad lúcida*)

Closely related to the term 'intuitions' (*inteligencias*) in the mystical vocabulary of Ignatius are the words related to 'seeing' (*veer*, *visiones*), and the important references to clarity and light (sometimes combined as 'shining clarity', *claridad lúcida*).

Ignatius frequently specified the object of his visions: Mother and Son (§4), the mediators (§6), the Holy Spirit (§14), Jesus (§§87,140), the homeland of Heaven or its Lord (§89), 'visions from on high' (§128), the Blessed Trinity (§§54,83,85,87,105,112,140), the divine essence (§§99,121,123,136,143,172,180,183). At times he notes the absence of a vision of distinct Persons (§§28,101,105,110), or of any sort of vision (§§144,156,159).

In a few instances Ignatius explains what he understood in the divine light. On February 21, during the mass, 'I knew or felt or saw, "God knows", that on speaking to the Father and seeing that He was One Person of the Blessed Trinity, I felt moved to love all the Trinity' (§63), and all the more since the other Persons were in the Trinity essentially. In the future on turning to one Person he would tend to take for the object of his devotion the whole Trinity, the Divine Being (*seer diuino*). On February 27, Ignatius records, 'that whereas before I had seen Jesus . . . white' (§87), now he felt aware 'not of the humanity alone, but of Jesus as being completely my God' (*ibid.*). On March 10, he notes, 'I occasionally saw in some way now the Being of the Father, i.e. first the Being and consequently the Father . . . , now it was otherwise and without such a clear distinction' (§142). On a much later occasion he speaks of the 'clear realization' (*pensamiento y claridad*) that God was on guard in the midst of his desires (§377). The terms 'clarity' (*claridad*) and 'shining/full of light' (*lúcida*), often combined with 'warm' (*calorosa*), are frequently used by Ignatius, sometimes to describe the qualities of certain states of devotion (§§60,64,65,82,88,89,92,104,105,111,114,126,134,143,144).

These terms appear also in contexts specifically concerning the Election of Ignatius. As early as February 6, after devotion and tears he realizes 'with considerable clarity' (§6) that to accept some income would cause confusion, and to have a complete income would result in scandal and in lowering the poverty which God our Lord praises. On February 10, when resolved on complete poverty, he notices 'great clarity in my reasonings' (§12). On February 11, he makes his offering of complete poverty (§16) in the midst of great visitations, and he rises on the morning of February 12 giving thanks 'for the great benefit and clarity conceded me' (§21). However, as already mentioned, the clarity of this Election became obscured, and Ignatius did not finally finish until March 12. On that day, despite darkness and aridity, he determined to stop, 'the question itself was clear' (§146), even though he had not received the confirmatory great visitation he desires. Later in the day, he experienced being 'awakened to a new fact' (§152), for he 'realized and saw clearly' that the Tempter had made him doubt of the Election when he gave him thoughts against the Divine Persons or the Mediators, while he had found firmness and confirmation in their visitations.

It is notable that the clarity experienced by Ignatius in making his Election was not that of a divine 'revelation' of its content.

VII. UPWARDS ON HIGH (*arriba*)

The first reference in the Diary to what may be called the 'celestial topography' of Ignatius occurs on February 15: Ignatius can find no devotion in Our Lady 'or

higher than her' (§29), but a little later he attempts 'to go higher' (§30) and has a certain vision of the heavenly Father, showing himself kind to him. Here the term indicates looking higher than the place of Our Lady toward God Himself. On February 21, Ignatius experienced a great, clear, fervent devotion and spiritual joy, 'also I felt drawn partly to rise in some way' (§60); it is as if his own soul were being lifted upwards. During the great visitation of the Trinity on March 6, he seemed to see with great clarity, 'reaching beyond the heavens' (§122). The following day there began a series of spiritual experiences concerned with 'looking upwards' (§126). During the mass he had great devotion and tears and an interior visitation that seemed to be 'mid-way between the seat of the Divine Persons on high and the letter' (§127). The topography here is explicit: the throne of the Trinity is above; the missal, wherein he reads the words, *Beata sit sancta Trinitas*, was below; and the visitation was in the middle. As a result it seemed to Ignatius that he 'had no permission to look upwards' (§128), and his not looking upwards, 'that is my looking mid-way' (ibid.) caused an increased intensity of devotion so that 'the submission and reverence I already possessed for the visions from on high increased' (ibid.). He felt confident too that in God's good time he would be given permission. The following day he continued in this state of great humility 'not to look up to heaven' (§135), and this humility and lowliness increased his devotion: 'the more I shrank from looking upwards . . . the more delight and spiritual visitation did I feel' (ibid.). During the mass, even though he continued to be disposed 'not to raise the eyes of my understanding upwards' (§136), and to be content with all, nevertheless there were times 'when my understanding unintentionally mounted upwards' (ibid.), and on those occasions he seemed to have a vision of something of the divine essence, beyond that which he was capable of seeing if he wished it. On March 11, before mass, Ignatius felt 'something like a permission to turn my glance upwards' (§143), because he saw that 'to look upwards was a remedy against my being disturbed by what was low' (ibid.). After this, he would deliberately 'look upwards' (ibid.), and whether he saw the divine essence or not, he found in this looking above a remedy for distractions from devotions during the rest of the mass.

For the 'topography' of his mystical life, the 'upwards' played an important part in the discernment process of Ignatius, since it provided the background for the motions and visitations he experienced in his soul. It did not, however, provide any direct 'revelation' of the choice to be made.

VIII. INTERIOR WARMTH (*calor interior*)

In common with all the mystics who have made words such as 'fervour' and 'ardour' habitual terms for describing states of devotion, Ignatius often uses the term 'warmth' (*calor*) to qualify his interior feelings during prayer. Sometimes he speaks simply of 'warmth and devotion' or of 'warm devotion' (*deuocion calorosa*) (§§6,22,43,45 (*bis*), 76,133,134). Frequently, however, Ignatius found it necessary to add other terms in order to try to express the fullness of his spiritual experience. He records 'warmth and relish (*sabor*)' (§39), a 'devotion, warm and very sweet (*mucho dulce*)' (§71), a love that was a 'most intense and accompanied by warmth and great relish in divine things' (§40), 'warmth and intense love' (§22).

The feeling of warmth was often accompanied by clarity or light, as well as sweetness (§§56,60,104,105,111,126,134, 136,139,143,144). On three occasions Ignatius qualifies the grace helping him to devotion as 'warm': 'I was helped by a great grace . . .

it was warm and shone in some way . . . ' (§64); 'I was being helped by a warm grace . . . ' (ibid.); 'helped by great grace, full of warmth, light and love (*gracia . . . calorosa, luçida y amorosa*)' (§88). Once he speaks of feeling 'great interior and exterior warmth: it seemed to be more supernatural (*sobrenatural*)' (§197), and also once of feeling 'a warmth and the desire to weep' (§377).

'Warmth' occurs three times in contexts specifically treating of the Election of Ignatius. On February 16, he spent the evening reflecting on the reasons for his choice. He felt the Father very propitious to him and 'with this same warmth (*así caliente*)' (§36) he asked the grace to reason with His spirit and to be moved by that spirit. Ignatius decided there was no reason to consider the elections further, and with great devotion and many tears he is moved to make his oblation of complete poverty and not to prolong the matter, 'except for two days to give thanks and repeat the same offering or a more formal one' (ibid.). As a result of this decision, he had 'an excess of tears, with warmth and interior devotion' (ibid.). Two days later in offering the 'final' mass of thanksgiving, which was definitively to terminate this Election, Ignatius was disturbed that he had very few tears, although he did experience 'a certain warm devotion, ruby-red as it were; also many little gasps full of considerable devotion' (§49). Because of this lack of an abundance of tears, he decided not to be content in his Election with this last mass, since it had not provided the desired confirmation.

IX. COLOUR (*color*)

On a few occasions Ignatius refers to colour, either in the 'object' of a vision, or as a way to characterize a certain state of devotion. He records a colloquy with the Holy Spirit, when he 'seemed to see or feel Him in a dense clarity or in the colour of burning flame . . . in a way quite strange to me' (§14). He had a vision of Jesus, 'white' (§87), i.e. His humanity. The 'final' mass of Election of February 18 has just been mentioned, where Ignatius had few tears, but 'a certain warm devotion, ruby-red as it were' (§49). Another day he felt a notable increase of devotion, 'being most gentle and clear with a clarity mixed with colour' (§117). Finally, during a visit to St Peter's Basilica after the great 'spherical' vision of the Trinity, Ignatius experienced that 'the same Divine Being showed itself in image to me, always in the same shining colour, and for my part I could not but see it' (§124).

While the colour of the 'objects' of the visions of Ignatius have given no great difficulty to commentators, there is a tendency to explain away his 'coloured devotion' as being merely a metaphor for intensity. Certainly the colour does indicate intensity, but Ignatius had other means of communicating this notion: heat, clarity, brightness, direct adjectives of intensity, etc. It would seem more probable that the colour added a special nuance to the description of the devotion. A study of the intermingling of human senses and interior sensations, and an analysis of the success that certain poets and painters have had in combining feelings with colours and sounds, would be a fruitful method to employ in trying to understand better this item in Ignatius's mystical vocabulary.

X. SPEECH (*hablar*) AND LOQUELA

There are two references to Ignatius being moved by grace to 'speech' (*hablar*): at the confirmation experience (February 23), when Ignatius held the Blessed Sacrament

in his hands, 'I was impelled to speak and felt intensely moved from within' (§69); again on March 5, during the period when Ignatius felt that God was teaching him a new spiritual way, he sensed that the Trinity and the Father wished to communicate with him from different directions, 'so that eventually . . . my feelings found voice in the prayer, 'Where do you wish to take me, Lord?' (§113).

During some eighteen days in May (11-28), 1545, Ignatius records a special mystical experience, which he expresses by the word *loquela*. Although commentators have underlined the problematic nature of this gift,³ it will be helpful to analyse the various characteristics found in this *loquela*, as it is described by Ignatius. In brief, there are, for Ignatius, two essential kinds of *loquela*: the external and the internal. The word *loquela* is occasionally used without either qualification (§§222, 224, 228, 231, 233, 234) and, in addition, it is referred to three times as simply 'some *loquela*' (§§227, 230, 232). Twice, in apparent reference to particular awareness of the extraordinary, supernatural quality of the *loquela*, he refers to its divine origin. He characterizes the 'internal *loquela*' as 'wonderful (*admirable*)' three times (§§225, 229, 240), and once refers to 'the two wonderful (*admirables*) *loquelas*' (§237). He notes at one time that the internal *loquela* 'gradually increased' (§239). Other indications of the aural characteristics of the *loquela* are that it can remind Ignatius of the 'music of heaven (*música celeste*)' and that he took pleasure in the 'tone (*tono*)' (§234), that is, in the mere sound. Perhaps also that it is accompanied on one occasion by 'a great harmony (*armonía*)' (§222). In the references the *loquela* always occurs during the mass, and indeed Ignatius once calls it the 'internal *loquela* of the mass' (§221). He also suggests that it is a source of divine teaching (§224), and that it contains a 'meaning' (§234), although he seems to distinguish the meaning of the *loquela* from that of the words (*ibid.*).⁴

This analysis would indicate that the word *loquela* in the mystical vocabulary of Ignatius signified a particular mystical experience which was characterized by qualities of sonority, sometimes more external, at other times descending into the depths of the soul. On occasion it seemed more wonderful than usual, and he was aware also of a progress, a crescendo, within it. The *loquela* brought about a state of soul of great peace and joy — 'quiet (*quietud*) or contentment (*contentamiento*) . . . pleasure (*gusto*)' (§222) — a state of profound, passive tranquillity which tended to reduce tears and 'great impulses' (§222), and which finally was ineffable, 'I cannot explain it' (*ibid.*). What the *loquela* taught Ignatius was not a conceptual truth, but the way in which he should seek and find God in his prayer — 'the method (*modo*) I should follow' (§234). The characteristics of this particular mystical experience were different enough from those of other such experiences which Ignatius enjoyed, that he felt constrained to add the word *loquela* to his mystical vocabulary in order to identify it.

Much of the difficulty commentators have confessed finding in attempting to interpret the *loquela* may arise from a failure to pay attention to natural psychological states, especially those connected with poetry and art, which are characterized by forms of *synesthesia*. The same principle will help in the understanding of the 'col-

3. 'Nous ne saurons sans doute jamais de quelle expérience mystique il s'agissait', M. Giuliani in the Introduction (p.29) to his French translation (cf. Bibliography); the same author refers to various explanations in his note to the first reference to *loquela*, May 11 (p.113, no.1). Cf. also the note given above to the same passage (p.52, no.30).

4. One omission in the above summary, as compared with John Futrell's text, concerns a passage in the entry on the first day when *loquela* is mentioned (May 11): he has taken the description of the tears — 'they came so slowly, seemed so from within, and were so gentle, without clamour or great impulses' (§222) — to be a description of the *loquelas*. But the present translation takes the entry for May 12 (§224) to be a confirmation that it is the tears that now take on a special character.

our' phenomenon mentioned above. If poets record experiences 'annihilating all that's made to a green thought in a green shade', and if poetry, painting and music succeed in calling up sensations proper to other senses than those to which they directly appeal, then there does not seem to be any great difficulty in admitting that in certain states of passive prayer the person praying may seem to himself to be immersed in an atmosphere which is 'red', or all in 'gold', or may feel himself to be enveloped in certain sounds (whether these be musical or not) which are related to particular states of emotion in his own psychology. Some form of *synesthesia* may underlie such common expressions as 'seeing red' and 'feeling blue'. Perhaps commentators have approached Ignatius's use of colour and his experience of *loquela* from a too exclusively intellectualist or supernatural point of view.

XI. BODILY REACTIONS

Ignatius on several occasions records bodily reactions to particularly great impulses or visitations. Most often this reaction was that of a 'loss of the power of speech (*perdiendo la abla*)' at the violence of the emotions he was experiencing: §§62,72,77,85,101,162,164,166,308,367,416.

At times he speaks of bodily warmth (*calor*): 'an exterior warmth that was cause for devotion and light-heartedness' (§139); 'I felt great interior and exterior warmth' (§197).

On one occasion he records that he felt that he was taken before the Father, 'and with this movement (*andar*) my hair rose (*un lebantárseme los cabellos*) and I felt what seemed a very remarkable burning (*como ardor notabilísimo*) in every part of my body' (§8).

When he made what he thought was his final confirmation of the Election (February 18), he experienced tears, impulses and interior sobs: 'it seemed moreover as if each vein and part of my body was making itself sensibly felt (*sensiblemente sentiéndose*)' (§47).

The following morning Ignatius enjoyed many intellectual intuitions or spiritual reminders of the Blessed Trinity, bringing him great peace and 'such great exultation that there was a pressure in my lungs (*apretarme en los pechos*) for the intense love I was experiencing in the Blessed Trinity' (§51, on which see Note 55 in which reference is made to other breathing difficulties mentioned by Ignatius, which link up with the speech problems mentioned above).

XII. CONTENTMENT (*contentamiento*) AND SATISFACTION (*satisfacción*)

The importance of the notion conveyed by terms like 'satisfaction' and 'contentment' is evident from the number of synonyms that appear in the Diary, and their frequency.

Thus terms that imply contentment are 'tranquillity (*tranquilidad*)' (§§26,115), 'quiet' (*quieta/quietud*) 'peaceful (*reposada*)' and gentle (*suave*)' applied to devotion (§§81,91,113,119), along with 'rest of soul (*descanso del ánimo*)' (§115), 'repose (*reposo*)' (§116), 'serenity (*serenidad*)' (§118), and of course 'contentment' (§§81,140). Frequently the state of contentment serves as a norm for judging the proper way of seeking and finding God. When God was teaching the interior poverty and detachment of not seeking consolation and tears, he discovered that he was 'satisfied and content' (§81) and that his contentment 'grew' (*ibid.*). Later this experience was

repeated (§114), and when Ignatius reflected upon what way God might wish to lead him, he decided that if it were equally to God's glory not to visit him with tears, he would 'try to be content' (§136). Indeed he finds that without tears he was 'more content . . . than I had been at times with many tears' (§139). He came to see that he should be 'equally content if not visited with tears' (§184) and to consider best whatever was pleasing to God; he then found that he was 'more content' without tears (§186). Again, although he had few tears when he was given the *loquela*, he experienced 'greater quiet or contentment' (§222) than at other times with an abundance of tears. Much later Ignatius had such a flow of tears that he feared for his eyes and begged 'that when no tears came, I might have contentment without conflicting thoughts' (§384).

The use of the term 'satisfaction' is parallel to that of 'contentment'. In describing the characteristics of states of devotion Ignatius frequently notes that they included 'satisfaction' (§§38, 91, 98, 100, 114, 134, 176). Once he expresses this as 'an interior, humble satisfaction' (§120); and in learning not to demand consolations and tears, but to surrender himself to the pedagogy of God, he notes that, 'I thought I was finding satisfaction in this, viz. in believing it to be best if I were not visited' (§185).

References to contentment and satisfaction often occur in passages specifically concerning the Election of Ignatius. As early as February 8, he felt great tranquillity 'and no opposing urge to possess anything' (§10). On the following day, reconsidering the choices 'in great tranquillity and devotion' (§11), he felt sure that he should not accept anything, and he felt 'great tranquillity of mind' (ibid.). On the evening of February 10, he repeated this consideration and again made the offering of complete poverty, with 'great devotion, interior peace and tranquillity of soul' (§14), feeling sure that he had made a good Election. On February 16, he made the offering again, 'with great tranquillity and peace' (§34), and after much consolation he rose at the end of his prayer with the firm resolve to fulfil the oblation, 'feeling a very great satisfaction' (§38). The next day he experienced so much consolation after his mass with the thought that the Election was finished, that he was moved to remain there enjoying it. Considering whether to go out or not, he decided 'with great peace' (§42) in the affirmative and 'with my soul very satisfied' (ibid.) he set out having decided that he would finish definitively the following day. As has been noted, however, on February 18 Ignatius decided that his Election should be prolonged: 'I decided not to rest content (*no me contentar*) seeing that confirmation had not been granted' (§49). Nevertheless on February 20 he experienced that, 'My devotion was greatly increased, quiet and tranquil' (§58) and he felt no desire to continue seeking confirmation: 'later this was more marked when I experienced such great quiet and satisfaction in my soul' (§59).

February 23, the day when he was to receive the 'confirmation of Jesus', began with 'considerable devotion and satisfaction of soul together with some indication of shining clarity' (§65). Remembering this gift of Jesus three days later, Ignatius felt no need to seek greater confirmation: 'I felt quiet and peaceful on that score' (§80). On the morning of February 27, he enjoyed 'great devotion, quiet and spiritual gentleness' (§82), praying to Jesus not for further confirmation, but that 'He <Jesus>

5. The Spanish text here (*sin contradicción alguna a tener alguna cosa*) suggests at first sight that Ignatius is having no difficulty in entertaining the thought of accepting income, and thus that he was not drawn directly to the decision in favour of complete poverty. But the first editors have correctly interpreted Ignatius's thought in their Latin note (p. 89, note 12) — *sine contradictione ulla, quae me impelleret ad habendam aliquam rem*. John Furell's original text has been emended here.

might do his best service . . . before the Blessed Trinity⁶ (§82). After his mass on March 3, it seemed to Ignatius that if it were not out of devotion for the masses still to be said concerning the Election, he felt 'satisfied' — 'At the same time, I had full confidence that I would find ever increasing grace, love and greater repletion (*saciamiento*) in the Divine Majesty' (§103). When Ignatius finally did terminate his Election on March 12, he began in a state of darkness and aridity: 'nothing satisfied me and yet I wanted to put an end to the affair with my soul in a state of consolation and complete satisfaction' (§145). Since the decision was clear in itself, it seemed to him that he was asking for too many signs, 'and wanting them during certain periods or during masses ending in my own satisfaction' (§146), but he feared that if he finished in dryness, 'later I would not be contented' (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, after he concluded that he should finish his Election immediately in any case, he began to be consoled with 'great internal satisfaction' (§148). During the whole day following, Ignatius notes that his soul 'felt content and delight' (§155).

The analysis of the terms 'contentment' and 'satisfaction' in the mystical vocabulary of Ignatius shows the 'relativity' of interior peace as a norm for discernment. At times the state of interior peace can be so intense as to give the impression that final confirmation of a judgement has certainly been given, but thereafter one may be impelled to seek further confirmation. There are many indications too that contentment and satisfaction are much more intimately connected with subjective feelings of devotion in prayer, than with confirmation of the content of an Election.

XIII. SECURITY (*seguridad*) AND CONFIRMATION (*confirmación*)

Ignatius uses the terms 'security' and 'confirmation' a few times to express his personal relation to God. After having committed the fault of leaving the divine Persons during his thanksgiving, he felt himself convinced that he would be restored to his 'former grace' or 'former state' (§§23-24). During the mass he felt and saw the mediators, and was 'most sure' (§25) that he would regain what was lost. The following day, he again felt 'a great security or hope that I would regain what was lost' (§27). Deeply disturbed by his failure to find the confirmation he sought for his Election on February 18, Ignatius had become 'angry' (§50) with the Blessed Trinity. Later he recognized that the source of this indignation had been 'the evil spirit' (§57), and during the following days he asked for pardon from the Trinity (e.g. §73) and speaks often of his reconciliation (§§78, 81, 82, 110, 118). Great visitations from the Blessed Trinity 'inspired great security (*me tirauan a asegurar*)' (§110) and not to desire to say more masses for reconciliation, but to fulfil his promise, hoping for divine joy (§110). When he had the great 'spherical' vision of the Trinity (March 6), he could see nothing repugnant to the reconciliation and felt 'a great security' (§122), but much earlier (February 19) he speaks of drawing closer to the Trinity (*allegándome*) and feeling 'more and more secure in my increased love for their Divine Majesty' (§53) and then (February 20) of feeling a devotion that was 'very great, warm or bright and gentle' (§56) adding: 'there were no intuitions but a tendency to security of soul' (*ibid.*). Eventually the long search of Ignatius to find the way by which God was teaching him to advance (' "Where do you wish to take me, Lord?" ' §113) finally ended in the gift of 'submission' (*acatamiento*) (§157). Thereafter he saw that he should attend first to the submission and afterwards to the visitations, and so 'felt confirmed'

6. A difficult passage in the Spanish (cf. §82 with note 79) where the translation adopted has necessitated an emendation of Futrell's text.

(§169) about the way along which God wanted to lead him. On March 17, 1545, he had a visitation which again was 'with regard to the submission and reverence' (§162), when he felt 'confirmed' about his previous experience: 'I had found . . . the way I was intended to see. I considered it the best of all ways that I could be shown and felt that I should follow it for ever' (§162).

Evidently these two terms appear most frequently in passages specifically concerning the Election of Ignatius and his search for confirmation of it. Already on February 10, reviewing the pros and cons for his choice, he decides for complete poverty and 'felt great devotion, interior peace and tranquillity of soul and a certain security or assent that the election was well made' (§13). The following day he considered the Election accomplished with 'great tranquillity and security of soul' (§19). On February 18, he made his 'final' offering, praying to the Mediators and asking for 'confirmation of the past offering' (§46); then before the Blessed Trinity and the whole heavenly court he made his 'concluded confirmation' (*confirmación ultimada*) (§47). Immediately after this, however, he experienced that 'there came to me: "Eternal Father, confirm me"' (§48), repeated to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, which turned into the more anxious "Eternal Father, will you not confirm me?" (ibid.). The result, as has already been noted, was that he was moved not to be content, 'seeing that confirmation had not been granted in this last mass of the Trinity' (§49). After mass the following day, Ignatius again felt moved to pray: 'I found myself saying, "Eternal Father, confirm me, Son, etc. confirm me"' (§53). On February 20, he enjoyed such great devotion and peace of soul that it seemed to him that he should not continue the masses of the Blessed Trinity, except for giving thanks and fulfilling his promise: 'I had no need for confirmation of what was past' (§59).

When the 'confirmation of Jesus' was granted to him on February 23, the thought that Jesus was the 'Head of the Society' (§66) and that this was the strongest reason for choosing total poverty moved Ignatius to devotion and tears 'and the firm certainty that even if no tears came during this mass or other masses, this conviction would suffice amid temptations and tribulations to make me stand firm' (ibid.). These thoughts grew in power, 'appearing to be a confirmation of what I had done, even if I received no consolations on this point' (§67). He did receive consolation immediately after this. Such a strong desire came to him to have the name of Jesus printed within him, and 'so encouraged was I, and such a confirmation did I seem to receive for what lay ahead' (§68) that he had many tears and sobs. During the mass, Ignatius felt 'several feelings in confirmation of what has been said' (§69). During the rest of the day, each time that he remembered Jesus, 'I could feel or see with my understanding' and 'the devotion and confirmation continued all the while' (§70). The following morning, while preparing the altar, Ignatius experienced that 'the name of Jesus was shown me' and he felt 'great love and confirmation and an increased resolve to follow Him' (§71). After mass Ignatius realized that although he had desired 'the confirmation by the Blessed Trinity' now he felt it was communicated to him 'through Jesus' (§73): 'He showed himself to me and gave me great interior strength and a sense of security that the confirmation was granted' (ibid.). This feeling continued throughout the day, so that Ignatius felt that in the future nothing would be capable of 'making me doubt about the graces and confirmation that I had received' (§75). The next morning Ignatius began his prayer with much devotion, but 'asked for and sought no confirmation, but desired to be reconciled with the three Divine Persons' (§76); then after mass he prayed to Jesus to be reconciled with the Blessed Trinity and 'felt reassured and neither asked for confirmation nor felt the need for

it' (§78). The following day this interior peace continued, with no wish to seek 'more or greater signs of confirmation of what was past' (§80). And again, the next morning, Ignatius prayed to Jesus 'not asking for any further confirmation' (§82). Finally, on March 12, Ignatius concluded that his continuation of masses was the result of wanting too many signs; the matter was clear in itself, and he was continuing it 'looking not for more certainty, but for a finishing touch (*el dexo*) that would be to my taste' (§146). After terminating his Election in dryness, he received great consolation. He came to understand that the Tempter had given him the previous doubts, and that when he had received visitations of the divine Persons or Mediators, 'all was firmness and confirmation on the matter' (§152); this understanding brought spiritual delight, tears to his eyes, and 'in my soul a great sense of security' (*ibid.*).

This analysis of the employment of the word 'confirmation' in the mystical vocabulary of Ignatius shows that he found feeling of confirmation chiefly in peace and contentment of soul, visitations and tears. It is all the more striking, therefore, that the 'confirmation of Jesus', which was so powerful that for days afterwards he felt no desire to seek further confirmation, was the result of 'thoughts': 'they increased ever more, appearing to be a confirmation of what I had done, even if I received no consolations on this point' (§67). The key thought which gave him this great confirmation was that Jesus was head of the Society; this was the strongest argument for total poverty. Similarly the final confirmation was the recognition, in a state of darkness and aridity, that the matter was perfectly clear in itself, and that his desire of confirmation through consolations was self-centred (§147). The consolations which followed upon this termination of his Election appear to have been more a reward for this total surrender to God, than a direct indication of divine confirmation of the content of his Election. Throughout the 'Diary' then it is evident that confirmation is 'relative'; it may seem to be final on one occasion, and afterwards be called into question.

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The purpose of this analysis of the mystical vocabulary of Ignatius in the Diary has been to try to understand more fully the function of the first step in the discernment process: prayer for light. Since discernment of the concrete will of God is such an important part of any Election process,⁷ it is crucial to know what one can hope for through the prayer to discover this divine will. It will be useful, therefore, to attempt to synthesize Ignatius's manner of prayerful discernment as reflected in the vocabulary of the Diary.

In his brilliant introduction to the French translation of the Diary, Maurice Giuliani has presented such a synthesis. He characterizes the method of discerning-prayer practised by Ignatius as a prayer wherein man situates himself before God in 'fixing' the movements of grace in his soul, in order to guard their memory spiritually and to discern the direction that God impresses upon them.⁸ He notes that Ignatius paid close attention to the states of devotion he experienced and the obstacles thrown up by the Tempter, as well as to reflection on the reasons which seemed to incline to

7. John Futrell's text concentrates on elections and discernment by Jesuit superiors; it has been altered here to cover Elections in general.

8. Giuliani, Maurice, *Saint Ignace. Journal spirituel*, Paris 1959 (mentioned above in the Bibliography among the translations), p.15: 'la priere par laquelle l'homme se situe devant Dieu en fixant les mouvements de la grâce en son âme, afin d'en garder spirituellement le souvenir et de juger de la direction qu'il lui imprime'.

one choice or the other.⁹ The Second and Third Times of Election operate together in a harmonious rhythm. For Fr Giuliani the final certitude arises from the Second Time — from the Holy Spirit — but in accord with the labour of the natural powers.¹⁰ He explains the long continuation of Ignatius's search for certainty, even after the decision seemed clear, by the fact that Ignatius is convinced that confirmation can only come as the gift of a Trinitarian communication, and thus he is constrained to pursue his prayers in order to render himself capable of receiving such a gift.¹¹ As to the nature of this divine confirmation, Fr Giuliani defines it as the 'seal' granted by God to a decision already formulated in the soul, which awaits the 'final sign' to pass into act.¹² He adds that it seemed that this sign must be a 'devotion': an interior sentiment, or tears, or some exceptionally wonderful gift.

But Fr Giuliani points out that, rather than being granted this sign, Ignatius was led by the pedagogy of God to a new understanding of his relationship to Him. He follows the growth of the great gift of *acatamiento* ('submission') in the soul of Ignatius, noting that the feeling of confirmation increased less as a response to a question than as a new discovery of the mystery of God. Ignatius had sought signs which would reassure him; but God led him in an interior way much more decisive to purify him and transform him. It is in function of this lesson of disinterested love which God had taught Ignatius, that Fr Giuliani speaks of the final sign of divine confirmation being the 'absence of any sign'.¹³ Through the grace of 'submission', the Election was finally brought to its end: in his search for light concerning God's will about material poverty, Ignatius had discovered much more: 'the secret of interior poverty',¹⁴ and Fr Giuliani goes on to ask how Ignatius, in view of this spiritual discovery, could have chosen other than the way of material poverty as the visible sign of the poverty of man in the face of God and the participation in the poverty of God Himself.¹⁵

However one may ask if this penetrating insight into the mystical experience of Ignatius, as he was instructed in his personal way of finding God, has not beguiled Fr Giuliani into a misinterpretation of the process of discernment as such, viz. the search for the concrete will of God concerning a specific decision. There are grounds for suggesting that perhaps Ignatius confused an aspect of his *personal* vocation (absolute interior poverty, total surrender to the way God would choose to give Himself to him) with the election of the régime of poverty for the Society in accepting no income for the sacristies of churches. And Fr Giuliani may have been misled into the same confusion. Divine confirmation of the spiritual way in which Ignatius should go in his life of prayer and of seeking and finding God is one thing; divine confirmation of the content of a particular decision affecting the external life of the Society, quite

9. Loc. cit., p.19.

10. Loc. cit., p.20.

11. Loc. cit., p.21.

12. Loc. cit., p.22: 'La "confirmation" qu'il implore, c'est le sceau accordé par Dieu à la décision déjà longuement portée dans son âme et qui n'attend plus qu'un dernier signe pour devenir un acte, son acte, qui sera en réalité l'acte de Dieu en lui'.

13. Loc. cit., p.25: 'le signe dernier de la "confirmation" divine sera l'absence de tout signe'.

14. Loc. cit., p.25: 'Cherchant sur ce point la volonté de Dieu, Ignace a trouvé beaucoup plus encore: le secret de la pauvreté intérieure'.

15. Loc. cit., p.26: 'Comment Ignace, ainsi instruit intérieurement, pouvait-il dès lors choisir autre chose que cette voie de la pauvreté matérielle, signe visible de la pauvreté de l'homme en face de Dieu et participation à la pauvreté de Dieu même?'

another. The fact that in terms of the economic and social structures of his own epoch, this régime of poverty seemed to Ignatius the best way to signify interior poverty and to follow Christ, the Head of the Society, is quite understandable, in spite of the fact that it is possible that the decision would have been different had it been specifically submitted to the mutual discernment of the companions.

In view of the analysis of the vocabulary of discernment of Ignatius, it does not seem possible to assert that he received a divine and definitive confirmation of the content of this Election. Reverence for the sanctity of Ignatius and the profound union with God manifested in the Diary, together with an exaggerated notion of confirmation of this Election by divine 'revelation' have caused the Society considerable difficulty over the centuries. Yet in this Election, as in all others concerning the way of life in the Society, the essential norm of discernment is the *scopus vocationis nostrae*, and all else — even the régime of complete poverty — must be judged in terms of concrete circumstances as means to the end of the service of Christ through the aid of souls in companionship here and now. In carrying out the making of an election, nobody — not even one endowed with the extraordinary mystical gifts of Ignatius — should rely simply upon the first step of the discernment process: prayer for light. At the same time all the other means available for the gathering of evidence should be used, and confirmation should be sought not merely in subjective contentment and peace of soul in prayer (which will follow upon a divine lesson for his personal manner of seeking and finding God, rather than as divine approval of the content of a decision), but also in the contentment of other persons involved, and, above all, in the signs of the will of God revealed through living experience.

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A full word-index to the Diary would be of great interest, but clearly would have to be based on the Spanish text. In the meanwhile the following lemmas have been chosen for their thematic interest, and to assist students of the Diary to locate key passages in the text itself (§ references) and points mentioned in the Introduction, Notes and Appendix (p. references).

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