

STUDIES

IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

THE PRIMITIVE CONSTITUTIONS OF 1541
AND OTHER PREPARATORY
DOCUMENTS FOR THE
JESUIT CONSTITUTIONS

TRANSLATED BY JOSEPH A. MUNITIZ, SJ

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY BRIAN O'LEARY, SJ

53/4 WINTER 2021

THE SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

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The Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality is composed of Jesuits appointed from their provinces. The seminar identifies and studies topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially US and Canadian Jesuits, and gathers current scholarly studies pertaining to the history and ministries of Jesuits throughout the world. It then disseminates the results through this journal.

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**THE PRIMITIVE CONSTITUTIONS
OF 1541 AND OTHER PREPARATORY
DOCUMENTS FOR THE JESUIT
*CONSTITUTIONS***

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a word from Fr. Brian O'Leary. . .

When the history of the current revival of interest in the *Constitutions* comes to be written, particular gratitude will have to be shown to a small group of people: the translators. In the Anglophone world, this revival can be traced to the publication of Fr. George Ganss's (1905–2000) translation in 1970. Other vernacular editions were appearing around the same time. The translators, exercising their self-effacing skills, were opening doors that had hitherto remained shut for most Jesuits. Of course, the considerable difficulties in understanding the *Constitutions* did not disappear, but a conversation around them became more possible and ultimately more fruitful. Over fifty years since it first appeared, I am more likely to be asked if I have a copy of "Ganss" than if I have a copy of the *Constitutions*!

Now we need to express gratitude to another translator, Fr. Joseph Munitiz, a member of the British Province. He is probably best known for his collaboration with Fr. Philip Endean (BRI) on the Penguin Classics volume, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, first published in 1996. However, this is only one of his many contributions to Ignatian studies over the years. Here, he has taken on the translation of a number of preparatory documents for the *Constitutions*—from those that immediately followed the Deliberation of the First Fathers (1539) to the *Constitutiones circa missiones* (1544–1545). The appearance of this work is indicative of another step in the revival of interest in the *Constitutions*. Taking for granted that readers of *STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS* will already have some familiarity with the *Constitutions* themselves, we are now invited to look at their origins—at the early efforts of the First Fathers to articulate ideas that would form a basis for something more definitive and permanent.

Perhaps this further study will not appeal to every Jesuit. But for those who commit to it, significant new insights into Jesuit origins will appear. Take the question of the authorship of the *Constitutions*. This

has been a contentious issue for some time, with differing views being expressed about the meaning of the word *authorship*. However, the debate has usually been framed in terms of the relative contributions of Ignatius and Polanco, whom Ignatius appointed as his secretary in 1547. Polanco had studied carefully all the preparatory documents, including those translated here, as well as the relevant papal decrees. But he also drew up his own “preparatory documents,” the best known being the *Dubia* and the *Industriae*. By any standards he was much more than an office assistant. Fr. Antonio María de Aldama (1908–2005) attempted to sum up the relationship between the contributions of the two men as follows: “In general, the actual words and phrases are the means used by Polanco to express the mind of the founder.”¹

This statement is helpful, yet problematic—not least the reference to Ignatius as founder. The early preparatory documents show the First Fathers reaching decisions as a *collegium* comprising the original *founding group*. This process begins with the Deliberation of 1539 and continues with the documents that follow—even if the number of Fathers participating varies according to who was in Rome at the time. This foundational work on the structures of the Society—hence on the *Constitutions*—was done by the First Fathers together and certainly not by Ignatius alone. Their original determination in 1539 that all major decisions should be made unanimously is a further confirmation of this. Their later resolution in 1540 that allowed for majority voting was a compromise triggered by Bobadilla’s tendency towards dissent. But the decision making was still to be done by the *founding group*. Can we not attribute to them a share in the authorship of the *Constitutions*?

All this is not to deny Ignatius a special place among the First Fathers. He might be described as *primus inter pares*. For obvious reasons, he was the main “carrier” of the charism of the evolving Society. Besides, it was through his influence that most of the early companions had committed themselves to the group. In a way he held it together. However, at this point he saw himself as *within* the group, not *above* it. He wanted decisions, including that about becoming a religious order,

¹ Antonio M. de Aldama, *An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, trans. Aloysius J. Owen, SJ (Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1989), 11.

to come from the group as a whole. It is significant that none of the ideas recorded in the Deliberation is attributed to any named person. The same is true of subsequent documents. We cannot be sure what position Ignatius took on any particular issue except that he formed part of the ultimate consensus or accepted the decision of the majority.

Two important changes occurred in 1541. The first was the result of the companions' increasingly frequent absences from Rome and the consequent impossibility of their all engaging in face-to-face deliberations. In light of this development, further work on the composition of the *Constitutions* was entrusted to Ignatius and Jean Codure, a native of Provence. Since Codure soon died and was not replaced, responsibility for the *Constitutions* now fell on Ignatius alone. However, he seems to have continued to consult the other companions whenever possible.

The second development was the election of Ignatius as superior general. The *founding group*, implementing structures of governance already approved by Pope Paul III in *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* (1540), conferred on him a wide-ranging juridical authority. This election almost guaranteed that work on the *Constitutions* would slow down. Nevertheless, new documents continued to appear, such as the Primitive Constitutions of 1541, those on founding colleges and houses, and the *Constitutions circa missiones*. A surprising amount of work—however incomplete—had been done before Polanco came on the scene.

An obvious difference between the Preparatory Documents and the *Constitutions* is that the former are written thematically while the latter embody a developmental approach. In other words, the former are mainly discrete documents dealing with specific issues while the *Constitutions*, for all their length and complexity, form a unified, even organic whole. It is this evolution of the text and not just its expansion that shows most clearly the mind of Ignatius at work. He took the documents written in 1539 and the early 1540s and molded them and others into a dynamic that was highly original and effective. His teasing out and reliance on the key metaphor of the body was central to this creative thinking. Polanco, apart from his erudition and organizational skills, seems to have grasped Ignatius's mindset and methodology better than anyone else. Hence his extraordinary usefulness to Ignatius and the closeness of their collaboration.

Any study of the *Constitutions* will lead to greater understanding of our Jesuit identity. This includes study of the Preparatory Documents presented here. Are we willing to accept the challenge and, in this Ignatian Year, make time to ponder these early articulations of our life and charism?

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and a word from the editor. . .

I am grateful to Fr. Munitiz for agreeing to do this translation, a new and vital resource for all who wish to study the *Constitutions* in depth. With his permission, I added some commentary of my own in the footnotes and a brief introduction to each text in italics. All these are marked with the abbreviation [Ed.] while those not marked are by the translator.

The boldfaced numbers at the beginning of each text and in the table of contents are the same numbers that appear in the critical edition of the original Spanish and Latin in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*.² The editor, Fr. Arturo Codina (1867–1941), included in that volume forty-eight texts that contributed in one way or another to the composition of the *Constitutions*, including the Deliberation of the First Fathers, various papal documents, and Ignatius's spiritual diary.

² *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola: Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1934–8), I:1–166.

Since translations for many of these forty-eight texts are available elsewhere, this edition of *STUDIES* provides translations only for the earliest, heretofore untranslated texts: nos. 2–3, 6, 9–10, and 20–21. However, in order to clarify the historical development of these documents, nos. 1 and 4 below provide brief summaries of the Deliberations of the First Fathers and the First Sketch of the Society along with references to English language translations. It is my hope that *STUDIES* will provide in a future issue translations for more of the untranslated forty-eight texts.

Barton T. Geger, SJ
General Editor

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Joseph A. Munitiz (BRI) was born in Wales in 1931 of immigrant Basque Spanish parents. He was educated in Liverpool and Spain before joining the Society of Jesus and moving through various universities, gaining an MA at Oxford and licentiates in philosophy and theology in Heythrop, Comillas (ordination in 1965), and the Oriental Institute in Rome. His doctoral work took him to Paris and then to a post in Leuven. With the Corpus Christianorum Greek Series he published three volumes and developed an important side-line in Ignatian studies, translating several texts, some appearing in a handy Penguin Classics volume in 1996 while he was Master of Campion Hall, Oxford. Now retired, he continues to translate Jesuit texts, one being the 1580 Tratado in defense of the Society written by Pedro Ribadeneira.

1. The Deliberations of the First Fathers

[*Deliberatio Primorum Patrum*].¹

When the Companions formally offered their services to the Pope in November 1538, they seem to have expected that he would send them on missions as a group, probably to the Indies. Instead, he missioned them individually and in pairs throughout Italy. This development accelerated the need to hold a meeting about their future as a group.² The ten Companions plus Diego de Cáceres³ entered into a formal discernment from March 4 to June 24, 1539. During that time, the pope continued to send them on missions so that some of the men missed weeks of the deliberations.

Not commonly known is that the Deliberations were attended by other priests and laymen who wished to join the Companions and who formed an outer circle of sorts: Ignatius's nephew Antonio Araoz, Bartholomew Ferrão, Antonio and Francisco Estrada, Esteban and Diego Eguía, and others.⁴ They participated in the deliberations but were not given a vote because they were not Parisian masters and

¹ Original in Latin, probably written by Antonio Estrada. Critically edited in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* [hereafter MHSI], *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola: Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1934–8), I:1–7, hereafter abbreviated *Const.* For English translations, see Dominic Maruca, “The Deliberation of our First Fathers,” *Woodstock Letters* 95, no. 3 (1966), 325–33; Jules J. Toner, “The Deliberation that Started the Jesuits: A Commentario on the *Deliberatio Primorum Patrum*,” *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 6, no. 4 (1974).

² MHSI. *Monumenta Ignatiana. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Societatis Jesu fundatoris epistolae et instructiones*, 12 vols. (Madrid, 1903–1911), I: 143; tr. Martin E. Palmer, John W. Padberg, and John L. McCarthy, *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions* (Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources [IJS], 2006), 39.

³ Diego de Cáceres had joined the Companions at the University of Paris and made a special trip to Rome to be with them in their Deliberations of 1539. He was expected to graduate soon which is why he was given a vote. In 1541 he left the Society and became a spy for the French crown. Had he persevered, he would have been one of the founding fathers of the Society. [Ed.]

⁴ On the outer circle, see Joseph F. Conwell, *Impelling Spirit: Revisiting a Founding Experience* (1539); *Ignatius of Loyola and His Companions* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997), 251–54; George Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, 4 vols., tr. M. Joseph Costelloe (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973–1982), I: 447–52. [Ed.]

*because the Companions did not want to give the appearance of recruiting before the pope had approved their congregation.*⁵ [Ed.]

2. On Making a Vow of Obedience

[*De Obedientiae Voto Faciendo*]⁶

15 April 1539

In the sixteenth century, pious persons often made private vows of poverty and chastity. Ignatius made a vow of chastity shortly after leaving Castle Loyola. But here, the Companions' agreement to a vow of obedience to one of their own was in essence an agreement to create a canonical religious order. [Ed.]

I, N, the undersigned, confess, in the presence of Almighty God and the most blessed Virgin Mary and the whole heavenly court, that, prayer to God having been said beforehand and the matter maturely considered, of my own accord I have decided⁷ as being in my judgment more conducive to the praise of God and the lasting continuance of the Society,⁸ that there should be in that Society a vow of obedience, and I have with decision offered myself, being quite free from any [other] vow and any obligation, to enter that same Society, if the Pope with concession from the Lord should confirm it. In memory of this decision (which by the gift

⁵ Fledgling congregations were often criticized for presumption in this regard. The Companions plus Cáceres were a known quantity at the papal curia due to their earlier petition for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. See *Epist.* I: 143 and *MHSI, Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Jesus initiis*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1943–1965), I: 8. [Ed.]

⁶ *Const.* I: 8. Text in Latin. The heading was provided by the *MHSI* editor.

⁷ The Latin *delibero* means literally to deliberate, but the meaning here is clearly “to decide after due (*deliberate*) thought.” The word “decision” later in the text is a translation of the same Latin.

⁸ The phrase “more conducive . . . lasting continuance” foreshadows two motifs in the *Constitutions*—viz., a commitment to the greater glory of God and the preservation and increase of the Society. [Ed.]

of God I acknowledge to have made) I now approach most holy communion, although most unworthy, along with that same decision.

On Tuesday, the 15th day of the month of April, 1539.

[Signed]

*Cáceres, Jean Codure, Laínez, Salmerón, Bobadilla, Paschase Broët, Peter Faber, Francis, Ignatius, Simão Rodrigues, Claude Jay*⁹

3. Conclusions of the Seven Members

[*Conclusiones Septem Sociorum*]¹⁰

Seven Companions including Cáceres made more decisions in May and June with the outer circle still participating in the talks. During part of that period, Broët, Rodrigues, Xavier, and Francisco Estrada were away on mission. The decisions fall into three groups: seven points made between May 3–5, two made on April 6, and four on June 11. Bobadilla famously disagreed with the others that the professed fathers should solemnly vow to teach children annually. Short-lived was the original plan of the Companions that all major decisions would be made unanimously. [Ed.]

⁹ In his signatures on these documents, Ignatius alternates between *Ignatius* and *Iñigo*. [Ed.]

¹⁰ *Const.* I: 9–14, in Latin and written by Faber.

May–June 1539

Decisions Concerning the Society

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On the 4th of May,¹¹ which was the feast of the Holy Cross, the following conclusions were reached by all the eight, no one being in disagreement,¹² and they were confirmed on the following day, which was a Sunday.

FIRST

[1] Anyone who will enter the said congregation or Society is obliged to make an explicit vow of obedience to the Supreme Pontiff himself. With this indeed he offers himself to go to any province or region, whether among believers or non-believers; but this applies to those who have the capacity by which they can do good to those to whom they are sent. This vow should be made to the Supreme Pontiff via the hands of the superior of the Society or via the whole Society, and not in the presence of the Pontiff himself, unless someone happens to be of such condition that the superior of the Society or the Society itself judges that it would be expedient that the person should pronounce the vow itself directly to the Supreme Pontiff.

SECOND

[2] In addition, those who have less capacity are not to be admitted unless they are led by the same Spirit so that they also make a vow that they will obey the Supreme Pontiff if they are sent among non-believers, even if they are incapable of doing anything else among them than say

¹¹ Faber erred about the date, as the Feast of the Holy Cross in 1539 fell on May 3 (Saturday), not May 4. See *Const.* I: xlvii–xlvi.

¹² Bobadilla did agree to these first seven conclusions. He was not opposed to the professed fathers teaching children but only that it be the matter of a solemn vow. [Ed.]

that Christ is a savior; and if they are sent among believers, that at least they can teach the *Pater noster* [Our Father], the commandments of God etc., in public and in private, in accordance with the express order of their superior or of the Supreme Pontiff himself.

THIRD

[3] CO.¹³ Children or anyone else are to be taught those same commandments.

FOURTH

[4] CO. A set time should be set aside in which it is possible for those same commandments and rudimentary teaching to be handed on in a definite and appropriate order.

FIFTH

[5] CO. Forty days should be set aside in the year during which such rudimentary teaching is given. During those forty days, on the Sundays and feasts that occur, there is no need to teach the commandments, and similarly the forty days are to be understood roughly, to avoid any scruples, so that if two or three days or even a few more happen to go missing, that does not go against the present ruling.

SIXTH

[6] If there is a doubt, when someone comes to a place, whether he should teach the commandments or preach or do something else or not, this should be left to the judgment of the superior himself of that Society.

¹³ The letters CO stand for "Constitutions." Ignatius added those letters in the margin prior to various points to indicate that he wanted them included in any future Constitutions. It gives the lie to a stubborn myth that the Companions originally had desired a Society without any written constitutions. The myth is contrary not only to the historical evidence but also to basic principles of Ignatius's spirituality. He insisted explicitly and repeatedly on the propriety of using every legitimate human means in the greater service of God. [Ed.]

SEVENTH

[7] If someone from this congregation should have some wish to go to one province rather than another, whether it be among believers or unbelievers, he should certainly not have recourse directly or indirectly, by himself or through another, to the Supreme Pontiff so that he be sent by him, but should abide by the judgment of the congregation or of its superior, to whom he should indicate such a desire or decision, ready to do whatever is ordered.

ihs

On the Saturday before the 4th Sunday after Easter and on the following Sunday, the following two decisions were reached, all being in agreement.

[FIRST]

[8] Q.¹⁴ Children are to be taught for the space of an hour, that hour being understood not in a scrupulous way but according to the probable judgment of the person teaching.

SECOND

[9] Those who are to be admitted should, before they are tested with one year of probation,¹⁵ spend three months in spiritual exercises, pilgrimage and service of the poor in hospices or in something else; however the distribution of the three months should be done according to the judgment of the superior of the congregation or of the whole Society, for example, whether they should occupy the whole of two months in

¹⁴ Ignatius added the letter Q [Latin, *quaestio*] in the margin. It seems to indicate that this point was being called into question.

¹⁵ In the Middle Ages, probation (novitiate) lasted one year after which the novices made solemn vows. Here, the Companions want candidates to pass through various requirements before being admitted to probation. Over time, the Society began to consider these requirements part of the canonical probation period itself, which is why the Jesuit novitiate today is two years long. [Ed.]

pilgrimage, or all in hospice service, or each single month in one of those ministries, etc. And also, that whoever enters should have been a pauper in reality before the admission to probation.¹⁶

[10] In these matters, all agreed without any exception, that it should be left possible with regard to those three months that if someone happens to be of great importance, e.g. noble rank, with powerful parents or friends, such that it would be dangerous if he were to go on pilgrimage or spend time in hospice service, in such a case the superior would be able to dispense him from going on pilgrimage or doing service in a hospice.¹⁷

[11] It was also decided with no one disagreeing that if somebody has indicated to the superior himself or to the Society in general that he has some desire to go to the lands of non-believers, and the Supreme Pontiff has left this to their judgment, such a person should be employed for ten days in spiritual things [i.e., exercises], so that he may know if he is being led by the spirit, in accordance with that text, *Test the spirits to see whether they are from God, etc.* [1 John 4:1], and after that let him be sent, if it seems right to the superior himself or the Society.

[12] Q. On Friday before Pentecost of that same year,¹⁸ it was decided and approved by all, except for Bobadilla, that the article which deals with the teaching of children during forty days, as mentioned above, and about it lasting for one hour, should fall under a formal vow, obliging under pain of mortal sin, similar to the other vows about obeying the superior and the Supreme Pontiff, and about not applying directly to him, when someone wants to be sent somewhere.

[13] At the same time, it was decided and confirmed that in dealing with these matters, of whatever importance they may be, that is to be followed which concurs with the judgment of the majority, however in such a way, as has been done up to now, that with regard to matters

¹⁶ That is, they should have had a real experience of begging.

¹⁷ Early sources are rather consistent that the Companions did not intend pilgrimages primarily for edification of the men but to enable the Society to evaluate their stamina and commitment. [Ed.]

¹⁸ May 23, 1539.

of greater moment three days should be set aside, and on the third, a final conclusion be made in accordance with the majority. In agreement with this opinion, those below put their signatures, while they were of the opinion that that if someone disagreed with the others in this initial stage, it would be unjust for him to be excluded later from among those making the decisions.

[Signed]

Peter Faber, Claude Jay, Jean Codure, Salmerón, Iñigo, Cáceres, Laínez

Eve of the Octave of Corpus Christi:¹⁹ the following three points were decided but not confirmed.

[14] CO. 1 c. There will be one superior for the whole Society, who will be elected in perpetuity, that is, for life [*in perpetuum, id est ad vitam*], in accordance with the exceptions that will be decided upon later.²⁰

[15] CO. 2 c. A house or a church may be accepted in order to live there. However, this is to be done in such a way that no right of property for them is undertaken, but it should be free for those who donate their use, to take them back whenever they might wish, without any contradiction. Moreover, there should be no right recurring to us to bring the matter to court in their regard, no matter how they may have been left to us, even if the person may have claimed them quite unjustly.

[16] CO. 3 c. With regard to receiving or dismissing novices, the superior will have to listen to the judgment of some others or of the congregation, according to how he will see that he can be better informed by them about what is best regarding such admission or dismissal. After that, he himself, having recourse to God, will decide

¹⁹ June 11, 1539.

²⁰ The lifetime term of the superior general would later become the most thoroughly defended point in the entire Jesuit *Constitutions*. [Ed.]

and determine, as he will think best for the praise of God and for the good of his community, making his judgment freely and on his own, as to whether someone ought to be admitted, and similarly about someone's dismissal.

[17] CO. However, in three cases the superior will not himself have the right to make a decision nor have a vote. Firstly, when the person entering is a relative by blood or a family connection. Secondly, when he comes from the same region, or close by, and there may be some likely suspicion that the superior may be moved by local affection. Thirdly, when the one entering is a spiritual son of the superior, either this is because he has given him the Spiritual Exercises, or because he is his confessor. In these three cases, the judgment about admitting or dismissing someone will belong to a majority of the rest of his congregation and group.

4. First Sketch of the Institute of the Society of Jesus

*[Prima Societatis Jesu Instituti Summa]*²¹

August 1539

The Companions composed a first draft of their religious rule between April 15 and June 24, 1539. Today, this first draft is known as the "Five Chapters." (Its later, revised form, approved by Paul III, is called the Formula of the Institute.) It was probably Ignatius who wrote it in Spanish, with Codure or Salmerón translating it into stylistic Latin.²² They inserted the Five Chapters into the middle of a cover letter, also in Latin. The content of the letter was not addressed to Paul III, but rather to the Companions. In other words, the Companions were providing the pope with the same words that

²¹ *Const.* I: 14–21. Text in Latin.

²² For an English translation of the Five Chapters and its 1540 and 1550 redactions, see Fr. Antonio M. de Aldama, *The Formula of the Institute*, tr. Ignacio Echániz (Saint Louis: IJS, 1990). [Ed.]

they wished him to address to them, should he approve their order. Thus, the cover letter opens a privileged window into the Companions' self-understanding at this early date. MHSI editor Fr. Arturo Codina (1867–1941) named the entire text—that is, the Five Chapters and its cover letter—“The First Sketch of the Institute of the Society of Jesus.”²³ [Ed.]

5. Letter of Cardinal Gaspar Contarini to Ignatius²⁴

Sept. 3, 1539

In canon law, then as now, papal approvals given orally and witnessed by competent authorities carry force of law. Thus, canonically speaking, the Society was officially founded on Sept. 3, 1539, when Cardinal Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542) read the Five Chapters to Paul III and heard his approval. Later that day, Contarini communicated the good news to Ignatius in this short letter. He mentions Cardinal Girolamo Ghinucci (1480–1541), the secretary in charge of drafting papal bulls. Ghinucci and others strongly objected to several points in the Five Chapters, including no sung office, no fixed penances, and the fourth vow to the Pope, so much so that they delayed the formal promulgation of Regimini by one year.²⁵ [Ed.]

²³ For an English translation of the cover letter, see Conwell, *Impelling Spirit*, 2–9. The cover letter begins with *Dilectis filiis* [Beloved Sons], which would have been the official title of the Society's founding bull had Paul III chosen to re-issue the cover letter under his own name. But the eventual bull *Regimini* includes only snippets of the letter. Fr. Conwell gave the cover letter the alternative title *Cum ex plurimum*. [Ed.]

²⁴ *Const.* I: 21–22. Text in Italian.

²⁵ See Fr. Joseph F. Conwell, “Cardinals Guidiccioni and Ghinucci Faced with the Solemn Approbation of the Society of Jesus,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 66 (1997), 3–50.

Reverend Don Ignacio,

Yesterday, thanks to Fr. Antonio [Araoz], I received the expanded version of the chapters²⁶ along with a memo from the Reverend Master of the Sacred Palace [Tomás Badía, O.P.]. Today I have been with our Lord [Pope Paul III], and in addition to making a verbal recommendation, I have read to His Holiness all five chapters. These have given great pleasure to His Beatitude and he has approved and confirmed them most benignly. On Friday we will come to Rome with His Beatitude and he will give an order to Very Reverend Ghinucci to draw up a Brief or a Bull.

Commending myself to your prayers! With greetings to our Lactancio.²⁷ Best wishes in the Lord.

From Tivoli, 3 September 1539
Gaspar Card. Contarini

6. A Conclusion of the Six Members

[*Conclusio Sex Sociorum*]²⁸

4 March 1540

Bobadilla's earlier dissent required the Companions to quit their ideal of the professed fathers making all major decisions unanimously. Bobadilla did not sign it, either because he disagreed or because he was away on mission. Cáceres already had returned to Paris to continue his studies.

²⁶ The expression "expanded version" here refers to the Five Chapters plus the cover letter *Dilectis filiis*. [Ed.]

²⁷ Lactancio Tolomei was a relative of Cardinal Contarini. At the time, he was making the Spiritual Exercises under Ignatius.

²⁸ *Const.* I: 23–4.

A Decision Concerning the Society

Jesus & Mary

Since we piously believe that (with the Almighty and Supreme God so disposing) it will be our lot to be separated in different and very distant regions of the world (by order indeed of the Supreme Pontiff, Head of the whole Church), and as we have taken thought that many things may happen to us (we who are united in one body)²⁹ which may affect the good of the whole Society, namely in the making of our Constitutions and other things also, it has seemed good to all of us, who were then in Rome when we made this decision, and who as proof of this truth have signed our names below, that all things of this sort should be left to the judgment and decision of the majority of those (belonging to our body) who are living in Italy (those who can be convoked to Rome by those who are then residing here, or their votes can be requested by letter). And thus, account being had of their opinion as we have said, those who will be in Italy will be able (with regard to those matters mentioned above that belong to our whole Society) to make decisions as if the whole Society were present. That was what all agreed and approved upon in the Lord. March 4th, 1540.

[Signed]

Iñigo, Jean Codure, Simão Rodrigues, Alfonso Salmerón, Claude Jay, Francis

²⁹ Writers sometimes assert that the Constitutions' description of the Society as a "body" with "members" is owed to Fr. Juan Polanco (1517–1576) who arrived at the Jesuit curia in 1546 to serve as Ignatius's secretary. But the Companions use the Pauline metaphor here and even earlier in the Deliberations of the First Fathers. Ignatius and Polanco later developed it extensively in the *Constitutions*, effectively describing the Society as a Mystical Body of Christ. It was an ecclesiology with which Ignatius was enamored. [Ed.]

9. Primitive Constitutions of 1541

[*Constitutiones Anni 1541*]³⁰

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IHS

1. On March 4, 1541, we all gathered together, namely Master Ignatius, Master Claude Jay, Master Diego Laínez, Master Paschase Broët, Master Alfonso Salmerón, and myself, Jean Codure, those of the Society who were then in Rome, and on behalf also of those who were absent who had given us their right to vote. We took these decisions: that two of us should deliberate about the affairs of the Society, those past, to wit, how one should interpret the bull of confirmation, those present, and those in the future; and then later they should refer to the Society what they thought; so that, if they were happy with them, they might approve; or if they felt something better was needed, they might indicate it. This was done so that our own affairs might be carried out more quickly, and so that the others apart from those two might be able to dedicate themselves to preaching, to hearing confessions, etc., and to other spiritual exercises. And so two were appointed, Master Ignatius and I, Jean Codure. In accordance with the desire of the Society we began today, 10 March. And we began first to consider about poverty to which we have vowed and to which those who are to enter the Society should vow.

2. In the first place, thought must be given to poverty: how it is to be understood, given the fact mentioned in the Bull of confirmation of the Society that the Society cannot hold a civil right to anything, either in common or in particular.

For now the question is raised if it will be good not to have any sort of income.

Second, if it will be good to have income for everything.

³⁰ *Const.* I: 33–48. The first paragraph is in Latin and the rest is in rough Castilian that is frequently difficult to understand.

Third, if it will be good to have income for some things and not for others.

Those who are at present professed members cannot own anything as income, either personally or in common.

The sacristy may own income for all that is needed, for those things not needed for the professed.³¹

3. The founder [of the Church of Madonna de la Strada] should grant income for the sacristy of the house of Jesus to someone who is not professed,³² in so far as he is responsible for the said sacristy.³³ The Society holds charge over all, so that it may remove him or at his death appoint another. If there is a law case between him and the Society, the Society will present its case without advocacy.

³¹ In the Middle Ages, individual monks could not possess income or property, but the monastery as a whole could possess both, typically in the form of endowments and revenues from the annual harvest of crops. Mendicant orders went further by renouncing fixed income even for their communities; all was to come from begging or spontaneous gifts from externs. In later centuries, popes granted mendicant orders exemptions for their churches and sacristies: fixed income could cover liturgical supplies needed for divine cult provided that it was not used for other purposes. Here in the Primitive Constitutions, the Companions elected the same policy. But later, when Ignatius was superior general, he anguished over that decision believing it inconsistent with the even more radical form of poverty that he desired for the Society. He was mindful that, in practice, mendicants often used sacristy revenues for much more than liturgical supplies; and indeed, the Companions already had expected to do similarly as §4 below expresses. Whether to overturn the Companions' decision was the focus of Ignatius's prayer and discernment in the surviving remnants of his Spiritual Diary (see Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean, eds., *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings* [London: Penguin Books, 1996], 67–109). [Ed.]

³² In the founding bull *Regimini* (1540), the Companions had refused all fixed income for the professed fathers, even for sacristies. But when Paul III gifted the Church of Madonna della Strada to the Society as its mother church, it came with fixed revenues. To Ignatius's chagrin, it obliged the Companions to reconsider the absolute poverty described in *Regimini* (see Aldama, *Jesuit Religious Life*, 43–50). [Ed.]

³³ Mendicants sometimes assigned externs to hold and manage their finances, thereby technically honoring the requirements of communal poverty while still receiving the benefits of stable resources. The Companions here anticipate using a similar policy, possibly a lay extern or a non-professed member of the Society. [Ed.]

4. Regarding members of the Society who will come after the present members: the prelate³⁴ will be able to give dispensation, in accord with what is necessary and more edifying in relation to certain necessities (provided they do not affect daily eating and drinking and normal dress), namely the furniture of the house, heating, books, and all that is necessary or appropriate for study; medication or all that is necessary or appropriate for the sick, until they have convalesced and are well enough to work for the Lord. The same regarding postage for letters, travelling costs, food, clothing, normally not giving enough to go on horseback, except in the case of illness or need; the provision of books, clothes, and other necessary things, similarly for dress on returning [from a journey]. The sacristy can provide for all these things with license and permission from the Superior, as has been mentioned above.

5. Professed fathers are to eat separately, and so also for the cupboard, so that different things do not get mixed up.³⁵

6. To avoid scruples, the professed fathers may avail themselves of one thing or another belonging to the sacristy up to the value of five or ten *escudos*, which they are obliged to return later.

³⁴ The term “prelate” [*prelado*] derives from the Latin *prelatus*, a term common in the papal curia for religious superiors in general (*Regimini* §4, *Exposcit* §3). In the Deliberations of the First Fathers, the Companions used *prelatus* to refer to their future superior general. However, this term carried courtly overtones, which perhaps explains why Ignatius later gravitated toward the Spanish *prepósito* (Latin, *praepositus*), meaning “one placed in command” either in a civil or military sense. Many ancient Rules used *praepositus* to denote their superiors—for example, the Rule of Augustine, Rule of Pachomius (St. Jerome’s Latin translation), and Cassian’s *Institutes*. But Benedict used *abba*, Francis used *minister*, and Dominic used *magister*. [Ed.]

³⁵ Polanco later noted that he did not understand the reference to the cupboard. The *MHSI* editor speculated that it meant a private cupboard where the professed could segregate their food and drink. The practice of professed fathers dining apart from other Jesuits continued until the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). Though rightly offensive to modern sensibilities, one must remember that the great majority of Europeans were illiterate, including many of the early Society’s temporal and spiritual coadjutors. It would have been extraordinarily difficult, humanly speaking, for men of vastly different social and intellectual backgrounds to share conversations around a dinner table much less work side-by-side in the presence of society’s elites. [Ed.]

7. The income [*renta*]³⁶ of the sacristy should be under the supervision of someone who is not a professed father, but he should be someone belonging to the house or from outside capable of defending it legally, while the Society should keep complete over-all control of all these things.

8. The Society should not take on the obligation of celebrating a set number of masses when a foundation is made. However, it should be made clear to all benefactors that the Society makes all benefactors participators in all the sacrifices, prayers, pilgrimages, sermons, confessions and other pious undertakings that are being done or will be done by the whole of the Society.

9. With regard to individual masses, confessions, sermons, lectures, and the administration of other sacraments, visitations, legations and other pious works, they should never in any way be legally binding nor such that they, or any other such activity, can be enforced.

10. Regarding all the activities mentioned above, they may not accept, either before or after, what it is customary to give varying with diverse countries; but with reference to visitations or legations it should be understood that they may accept journey money but not a set stipend.

11. On no account should there be a money-box either for the professed fathers or for the sacristy. However, should some confraternity be linked to the church of the Society, permission may be given them to put a money-box in the church of the Society, provided some person from outside keeps the key. Any such alms should be distributed outside the house—however, the Society should have authority to ensure that alms are distributed always more in conformity with charity. Apart from confraternities, the Society may set up a money-box for some pious purpose, but the key should always be kept by some person outside the house.

³⁶ Usually *renta* means monies paid out, but in this case the opposite seems to be true.

12. With reference to some individual chapters, the professed fathers should promise now or later not to change them, as regards poverty and masses, etc.

13. Visits to important people should be for a definite purpose, either mediate or immediate for some outcome. In special circumstances, they may be made to maintain good relations with those to whom the Society in general is obliged or one of its individual members, and has to visit occasionally during the year or less often. Admonition.³⁷

14. The prelate, while no different from anyone else, should be for life.

15. It is up to the prelate to dismiss or accept until the very end of the probationary year. This is done in such a way that the professed fathers or one of them may give information when asked or when not asked, and it is up to the prelate to discern in the Lord.

16. After profession has been made, if new causes arise, dismissal from the Society should be by majority vote, with the prelate having two votes, one from his office and the other as being a professed father like the others.

17. If the person who is to join is seen to be a relative or special friend or from the same land or place as the prelate, then the prelate may give information and say what he thinks, however he will not have a vote, and indeed the discernment and decision will belong to the Society whether that person joins or not.

To discern whether he is a relative or friend etc. of the prelate should belong to the Society.

18. Those who have once entered into obedience to a religious order should not join [the Society].³⁸

³⁷ Presumably this means that an admonition is given when there are faults in this regard.

³⁸ In the Middle Ages, religious frequently transferred from one institute to another on the pretext of seeking a holier form of life. Institutes that received men in this manner often incurred the resentment of those that suffered the defections. Ignatius's refusal to accept other religious was intended partly to avoid such tensions. But he also

Anyone who has been tried and condemned by law for heresy should not be admitted.

Unless exceptionally gifted, someone who is notably defective, i.e. lame or one-eyed etc., should not be admitted.

19. Regarding the three experiments,³⁹ the first consists of making the [Spiritual] Exercises for the full month, or each day taking an hour or several hours.⁴⁰

The second is to serve in a hospice for a month, night and day, sleeping in the hospice, or if the Prelate so decides, he should serve in the hospice for two hours, or longer, each day.

The third, to go on pilgrimage for a month without money. Or two months in a hospice or on pilgrimage.

20. If the prelate were throughout all his life to take as much as one *escudo* or the equivalent either for himself or for another from the Sacristy, and appropriate it for himself or for the Society, it should be qualified as theft and he should be deposed from his office and expelled from the Society.

21. If it is discovered and sufficiently proven that someone has committed carnal copulation or robbery or wounding another, he is to be expelled from the Society. Item, if someone were to fall into other serious

suspected their commitment to persevere in the Society given that they had already left one commitment; and he was concerned that their previous training in a different spirituality would introduce confusion into the Society about its own distinctive charism. [Ed.]

³⁹ The word “experiments” here translates *esperiencias*. In sixteenth-century Spanish, the word “experience” [*experiencia*] had a single definition: “the knowledge and understanding of something that is acquired through use, testing, and experiencing, without being taught by another” (*Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* [1611], 555, tr. Ed.; cf. *Diccionario de Autoridades* [1726–39], II: 687). While Polanco correctly translated it as *experimentum* in the Latin edition of the *Constitutions*, English-speaking Jesuits today as a result typically refer to novitiate *experiments* instead of *experiences*. [Ed.]

⁴⁰ Ignatius and Codure seem to mean something like a Nineteenth Annotation retreat whereby candidates make one hour of exercises a day for a period lasting longer than a month. [Ed.]

offences which are more difficult to know about, or likely to cause great or less scandal, it is up to the Society to decide [if he stays or not], the prelate keeping two votes.

Regarding Clothing

22. By precept, the prelate is to wear dyed cloth such that the cloth is not top class, but rather lower class, poor, not even medium quality, with an eye to its general advantage, whether the cloth is thick or thin. But it can be of lesser quality provided it is not dishonorable. This dyed cloth is understood to be for the top dress, the cassock and cloak. Item, it is permitted to wear low quality cloth as mentioned, not dyed, when it is not the habit for formal dress, or when one is in a hurry on a journey, or in some other special case, when there is a reasonable need.

Item, by precept, the prelate should not allow the professed fathers to dress themselves in a more expensive way than has been mentioned, unless one is in a hurry on a journey or for some other reason as mentioned, however this should not be the customary.

23. Item, the clothes worn are to be a long inner garment, French style, reaching to four inches more or less from the floor; the cassock reaching half way down the leg, more or less; the cloak, which is to be about a hand's breadth shorter than the long inner garment. Under admonishment. Item, it is up to the Prelate to decide whether the professed fathers are to wear dyed or non-dyed cloth, without reaching or exceeding the price mentioned.

Let it be for the Prelate to decide, either on his own or with the judgment of each of the professed, whether they wear a cloak or not, according to the needs of the weather or their preference, etc.

24. Item, when a cloak is worn, the long inner garment should be girded so as not to appear extravagant, with a belt of black leather, an inch in height, or with one of wool, etc.

25. Item, the sort of clothes worn should be similar, or little different, from what is customary in each country. Under admonishment. Unless it may appear for private reasons that the apparel should be very

different, provided the Prelate agrees; and on the contrary, if the Prelate's agreement to be different goes against the common opinion of the professed fathers, he cannot [impose it]. Under precept.⁴¹

26. Item, the color of the clothes is to be the usual black. However, when travelling or in some countries or for special reasons it can be of some other color, provided it is not incorrect, like dark brownish etc.

27. A waist-coat or *paletoque*⁴² should be black or white, and not any other color nor one that might be thought incorrect.

28. Item, trousers should habitually be black rather than white or brown, and should be wide so that they can be put on or taken off with ease.

29. Item, the Prelate should not wear silk next to the skin, nor taffeta, nor serge, under precept, except it happens to be on loan of for some very particular case or in very foreign parts, such as the Indies, following local custom regarding the color and the lack of other cloths, always with an eye to be in conformity with poverty, not on time or costs.

Item, any exceptions that affect the prelate, regarding silk etc., are at the discretion of the Prelate; however, the [opinion of] professed fathers should not be neglected.

30. Item, professed fathers should not wear silk next to the skin, nor taffeta, nor serge, under admonition, except for the same cases that were mentioned for the prelate. However, the prelate is obliged to order them under obedience, if they do not keep to the rule, by admonition.

31. The exercise of discretion with regard to exceptions for the professed belongs to the prelate.

32. Under precept, the prelate should not wear slippers out of the house in public streets, the professed fathers being admonished about this likewise; if they do not keep the rule, the prelate is obliged

⁴¹ This sentence is far from clear. Polanco admitted that he did not understand it.

⁴² Defined as "a jerkin with short skirts" in John Minsheu, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599). I thank my good friend Eric Southworth for the reference. This article of clothing was popular in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

to order them to do so. Item, if the prelate or one of the professed fathers has to use slippers in the house, it should be because of some need. Under admonition.

33. Clarification regarding the Constitutions should be under the control of the prelate.

On Showing [the Truths of Religion] to Children⁴³

34. All are to take vows about children, the superior to command and all to obey.

The superior is to do the instruction every year, should the others not do it.

This is understood to apply to the Prelate and professed fathers for forty days, counting feast days and another three or four days.

The vow of the prelate is conditional, so that dispensation can be given in the following cases.

35. If instruction is publicly given in that place.

If once some diligence has been shown, no set-up is apparent.

If one is among non-believers, and there is no obvious set-up.

If he happens to be unwell or a long journey is needed.

Item, if a professed father is helping him and standing in his place, partly in teaching and partly making someone else or several others do the teaching, partly listening in, the prelate may dispense as he prefers.

36. Item, not as a prolonged custom, nor on many occasions but for some reason that seems appropriate to the Prelate, he may put in place⁴⁴ of the

⁴³ The term "showing" translates *mostrar*. It is significant, as the *MHSI* editor notes, that Ignatius and Codure did not use *enseñar* [to teach]. The word "catechetics," or perhaps "instruction," would seem to be the obvious choice in this context.

⁴⁴ The *MHSI* editor notes that it was not unusual at that time to have someone

professed father someone who has passed through two or three of the experiments and intends, or has taken vow, to join the Society, or who has spent a year in probation.

The instruction should be about the powers of the soul, the commandments, mortal sins, etc., and how to go to confession, how to bless the table, prayers, etc., *ut a maiori fiat denominatio* [according to how a superior may stipulate].⁴⁵

Item, the instruction may be given only to be learned by heart, or with understanding, making exhortation about just one of the commandments, etc., and teaching things to be learned by heart just to some.

Item, the instruction to be given in public in church or in a public hall in order to edify.

Item, if there is no room in a church or a public hall, then in such a case, if the Prelate thinks it appropriate, considering the circumstances, they can give the instruction in a private house, leaving admission open to all, to a few people, or otherwise.

Item, as for the length of time (every four days as has been mentioned) it should be more than half-an-hour, one day or another,⁴⁶ so as to avoid scruples.

37. Item, our desire is that the Constitutions should not come into force to be observed until one whole year has passed, after we will have taken vows of obedience, poverty and chastity, and a vow to the Pope, and a vow about showing the truths of the faith to children.

Item, for a year after our having taken the vows mentioned, we will be under obligation to instruct little children the first rudiments for forty days, as has been or will be declared, however our desire is that, in addition to the vows of obedience, poverty, chastity, to the

“stand in” for another in fulfilling some religious obligation.

⁴⁵ The words in Latin are ambiguous: they could refer to the giving of right titles.

⁴⁶ The phrase *un día con otro* can be interpreted as “occasionally” or as an equivalent to *un día y otro*, meaning “daily.”

Pope, and the one about children, no particular Constitution nor the Constitutions in general will come into force to be observed until one year has passed after we have taken the said vows.

38. Item, our desire is that the Papal Bull should be reformed, that is items mentioned in it should be removed or inserted or confirmed or altered according to what we think best, and under those conditions we want and intend to take a vow to observe the Bull.⁴⁷

[Signed]

*Iñigo, Paschase Broët, Salmerón, Laínez, Claude Jay, Jean Codure*⁴⁸

About the Prelate

39. He should not have a mule nor a horse, except on account of illness. Nor will illness alone suffice: the decision will depend on the judgment of the community if he should keep one for some time or not.

About Mass

40. High mass, to be said on feasts with one or two vested in white. All the offices are to be said, and the time to depend on the devotion of [members of] the Society, alone or with a companion. They are to get up early in the morning.

41. Those who have a major role in pastoral duties should indicate when they go out, either to the porter or to someone else, unless the prelate

⁴⁷ The words “to take a vow to observe the Bull” do not seem to mean anything different from those found in the 1541 formula of profession: *iuxta formam vivendi in bulla Societatis* [according to the way of life mentioned in the bull of the Society]. The Companions expected the bull *Regimini* (1540) to be obeyed, but they also perceived the need to revise it almost before its ink was dry, as §38 clearly indicates.

⁴⁸ At the time of the signing, Xavier and Rodrigues were in Portugal, Faber in Germany, Bobadilla in Bisignano in Calabria, and Cáceres at the University of Paris where he was giving the Exercises to various people (*EpistMix*. I: 59, 72–3). He left the Society later that year. [Ed.]

has given a rule to the contrary. Those who have a lesser role should not go out without permission. And the judgment about whether they have a major role or not should belong to the prelate.

Society of Jesus⁴⁹

42. Regarding colleges in universities, read the document about foundations.⁵⁰

There should not be lessons or lectures in the Society.

When the prelate thinks right, they should beg door-to-door; and even if they do not need it, all should beg once a year, including the prelate, carrying haversacks or boxes, for some pious cause which should not be their own.

43. On some days the prelate and the professed fathers should do the jobs of those who are not professed and of those who serve.

44. When some question is more the concern of the community, the decision will be made by the community. When it concerns some individual, it will be made by the prelate.

45. Leaving to one side matters that are essential, all, in agreement with one another, may explain, limit, remove or add, but not if there is one who disagrees.

46. Members of the Society should rather be men of letters [i.e. with university education] than men without them, so that the former should be two out of three, etc. so that they can preach and hear confessions.

⁴⁹ "Society of Jesus" [*Compañía de Jesús*]. This appears to be the earliest appearance of the full, formal name of the institute in any Jesuit document and it is in Ignatius's hand. [Ed.]

⁵⁰ Ignatius and Codure refer to a document called "For the Foundation of a College" that they were drafting at this same time. See §49 and the translation of "Foundation" below. [Ed.]

For the examination of candidates to see if they are educated, the duty will belong to the prelate and to those with university degrees in the arts [philosophy] and theology. If the prelate happens to have a degree in both philosophy and theology, he should have two votes, but if not, only one.

47. If a country happens to be in the Indies⁵¹ or is mountainous, non-university men can be equal in number or in the majority, although in general in the same proportion.

48. A person who applies who is not a university man should be attractive by his virtues and looks, or a spiritual person, or a nobleman, or wealthy. And the more common sense and natural talent he has, the easier should it be for him to be accepted; and on the contrary, more difficult.

49. Shirts should be without pleats, and thick; similarly sheets.

Item, where it says, "Look in the foundation [of colleges] text," we indicate that one may take over part, or omit part, and add or curtail, and decide if they apply to some matters concerning the regimen of the prelate or the community, as there is mention in the said foundation text of these things.

[Signed]

Claude Jay, Paschase Broët, Laínez, Iñigo, Salmerón, Jean Codure

⁵¹ In the sixteenth century, the word *Indies* could denote the Americas as well as the Far East. [Ed.]

10. For the Foundation of a College

[*Para fundar Collegio*]⁵²

1541, 1544

*In English, the word college normally denotes a school. In Spanish, however, both then and now, colegio can also mean a residence hall for students. Colegios were typically located off-campus, and students from different schools might live in the same colegio. The early Society's colegios often had their own lecture rooms where scholastics could take classes accredited at the local university. Some colegios were for scholastics only while others accepted lay students. The multivalent use of the word in early Jesuit texts often leaves unclear what precisely the writers had in mind.*⁵³

There are two versions of this text, dated 1541 and 1544, respectively. Ignatius and Codure refer to the first in the Primitive Constitutions of 1541. The MHSI editor printed them in parallel columns, but here Fr. Munitiz has placed them one after the other. The 1541 version, if different, is in italics. Some of the content here made its way later into Part IV of the Constitutions. [Ed.]

[1541] *The Foundation of a College
To Found a College*

[1544] **For the Founding of Colleges
The Way to Found Colleges Where Those
Who Would Want to be Members of the Society of Jesus
our Creator and Lord May Study**

⁵² *Const.* I: 49–65.

⁵³ For an excellent review of the many meanings of *colegio* in the early Society, see Fr. George Ganss, "The Origins of Jesuit Colleges for Externs and the Controversies about Their Poverty, 1539–1608," *Woodstock Letters* 91 (1962), 123–61. [Ed.]

[1541 and 1544]

1. Given that the purpose and aim of the Society is, while travelling to all parts of the world at the order of the Vicar of Christ our Redeemer and Lord, to preach, hear confessions, and show to children and other simple people the commandments, mortal sins, and the other foundations of our holy catholic faith, we have thought it advisable and even necessary that those who are to become members of the Society should be persons of good life and with sufficient university education. And as those persons who are good and educated are few in comparison to other people, and as of those few, most only want to retire from their previous labors, some endowed with benefices at home, some occupying important posts and with other means of support, according to how God our Lord distributes to each the personal talent by which he can best serve and praise the Lord, we are convinced that it will be very difficult that that Society can be enlarged with such educated men, even though they are good and learned, both on account of the great labors that are needed in the Society, and also the great abnegation of themselves, being disposed to travel and work even in the furthest part of the world, either among believers or among unbelievers. Therefore, it has seemed best to us all, as we want the preservation and increase of the Society, that it will be for the greater glory and service of God our Lord were we to follow a different route, namely that of colleges,⁵⁴ as will be explained in what follows.

[1541] 2. *Firstly, if God our Lord, for his own honor, service and praise, were to give us some benefactors who would found one or more colleges, any founder of such a college should provide, by order, that the said college have control over its income and possessions in order to maintain students, in such a way that it would be for the college to receive grants of*

⁵⁴ According to Fr. Luís Gonçalves da Câmara (ca. 1519–1575), it was Fr. Diego Lainez (1512–1565) who conceived the idea of establishing colleges for the education of men who wished to enter the Society and that, unlike the houses for professed Jesuits, could benefit from fixed revenues. See Alexander Eaglestone and Joseph A. Munitiz, eds., *Remembering Iñigo: Glimpses of the Life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola; The Memorials of Luís Gonçalves da Câmara* (Leominster and Saint Louis: Gracewing Publishing and IJS, 2004), 84 (§138). [Ed.]

money, possessions and income, and bring matters to court when necessary for the conservation of what belongs to it.

[1544] <1.> Firstly, should God our Lord in His infinite and supreme Goodness arrange and choose for His own service, praise and glory, some good persons to be faithful and worthy instruments of His divine majesty in founding one or more colleges or houses for poor scholars, the founder of such a college, either one or several, should give instruction and provide that someone should be the principal or rector; this person should have control over its income and possessions to feed the scholars in such a way that that the college will be able to receive grants of money, possessions and income, and be able to defend and ensure its rights under law, should that be necessary for the preservation and defense of what belongs to it.

[1541 3, and 1544 <2>] The founder should stipulate that the Society may not *in aeternum* [absolutely never] be able to give away or receive any of the income or other possession of the said college, nor to alter them for the Society's use or for that of anyone else, in any way whatsoever.

[1541 4 and 1544 <4>] The founder should appoint the Society to superintend such a college, with power to remove and appoint all officials and governors and other employees of that college, according to how the Society may think fit for its advantage and good, and for the best conduct⁵⁵ and good example of the students.⁵⁶

[1541 5. *The founder should stipulate that all the students who belong to such a college should have been proposed and indicated for the Society, according to how they have been judged more suitable later to bear the Society's way of proceeding and mode of life.*

[1544 <4>] The founder should stipulate that all the students who belong to such a college should be poor, well tested, and determined

⁵⁵ For "conduct" [*conversación*], the meaning of the Spanish word is ambiguous. Both "conduct" and "contact [with someone]" are possible, and the use of the Latin *conversatio* in the Rule of St. Benedict inclines to the former. My thanks to Eric Southworth for this insight.

⁵⁶ The 1544 draft adds at the end: "as much in spiritual as in temporal matters."

to be united to and incorporated in the said Society once they have finished their studies. These students should have been proposed and chosen by the Society, according to how they have been judged more suitable later to support the Society's way of proceeding and way of life in common, following the same statutes and rules that the Society has.

[1541] *Some Experiments that Those Going to Studies Should Undergo, Either in the College or Outside It.*

[1544] Rules for the Scholastics in the Colleges

[1541] 6. *Firstly, anyone who is to go and study in such a college should undergo three experiments: the first is that someone of the Society, or a person appointed by the Society, should be in contact with the one going into the college for a period of one month, more or less, making the exercises or in spiritual conversation, in order to be acquainted to some extent with his character or resolve, his intelligence, tendency and vocation.*

For a period of another month he should work in a hospice of the poor, doing any of the lowest duties that he may be ordered to do, because by lowering himself he gains humility, and similarly by overcoming worldly shame he frees himself of it and it has no more force.

For a period of another month, he has to go on pilgrimage, on foot and without any money, so that he puts all his hope on his Creator and Lord, and he becomes accustomed to some extent to having little sleep and food; because someone who does not know how to go for a day's walking, while eating and sleeping badly, is unlikely to persevere in our Society.

[1544] <5> Before any of the scholars enter the colleges, they should have completed the three experiments: exercises for a month, more or less; service in a hospice for a similar period; pilgrimage without money for another month; and many other tests, with the giving up and distribution of all their temporal possessions in pious works chosen as their devotion suggests; all according to what is

contained more at length in the Constitutions drawn up concerning the reception of those who wish to be in the Society.⁵⁷

[1541] 7. *With regard to these three experiments, our intention is that one should spend one month in a hospice, and another on pilgrimage; or that one spends the two months in a hospice or the two months on pilgrimage, or longer in one and shorter in the other, according to what might seem best to the Society given the variety of persons and places; finally, that at least three full months be spent on these three experiments.*

[1541] 8. *Item, these three experiments are to be carried out by those who have come of age and have the complete and appropriate disposition; with those who have not come of age, it will be enough during three months to have conversation and spiritual communication with them, instructing them about the commandments, mortal sins, and the other first foundations of our holy Catholic faith, as befits those of tender age who are intending and have the desire to join our Society; when these come of age and reach full adulthood they will undergo those same experiments before finishing their studies or when these are finished, according to how the Society thinks best, in accordance with the variety of studies, personalities and places.*

[1541] 9. *Item, in the case of such a student, if he has completed the first experiment and seems to the Society to have appeared sufficiently edifying, should the Society have confidence in him, it can send him to studies with just the first experiment, even if he has the other experiments to experience once he has finished his study, before he enters on the year of probation.*

[1541] *In Addition to the Experiments the Following Conditions Have to be Met in the Case of Those Who are to Go to Studies.*

[1541] 10. *The first is that if someone is to go to a college, having the intention and decision to be a member of our Society once he has finished the studies, he*

⁵⁷ Ignatius and Codure refer to the Examen, a pamphlet intended for candidates for the Society and the Jesuits who interview them. The earliest existing draft of the Examen is the so-called Text alpha (α) critically edited in *Const. II*: 2–125. Presumably, Text α represents a stage of development far beyond whatever Ignatius and Codure would have possessed in 1541, given that Ignatius continued to work on it after Codure's sudden death on August 29, 1541. Text α provides a unique window into Ignatius's thought prior to the influence of Polanco, who arrived at the Society's curia in 1546. [Ed.]

should also have the decision and firm intention for actual poverty and chastity for as long as he lives, for the greater service of God our Lord.

[1544] <6> Further on, it follows that within a year, beginning from their first experiments, they are to make a promise or simple vow to be incorporated into the Society once their studies are finished, should they wish to be received having been judged suitable for the Society; again these scholars, once their studies are finished, should spend another three months of experiments, occupying lowly and humble posts, and preaching in one place and another having no money with them, before they make profession. And although they might be happy, should the Society have doubts, it may extend the probation period for more years until the Society is completely happy.

[1541] 11. *As St. Thomas says that one and the same work undertaken under vow has more merit than when undertaken without vow,⁵⁸ and as a vow strengthens more a good decision and permits the gaining of more grace, if the person who is to enter a college has reached his full grown-up age, then following the law and custom of holy mother Church he should take a vow of perpetual poverty and chastity before he enters, and if he is not of full grown-up age, he will take it on reaching full grown-up age.*

[1541] 12. *Item, someone entering a college, who is of age and has undergone the experiments and conditions, has to promise that on finishing the studies he will enter the Society and become a member (if the Society is willing to accept him), but with the condition that the said promise or vow will not come into force before he has completed one year of studies, so that for the promise or vow to be binding it will be necessary for him to have completed the three experiments with the conditions mentioned above, and to have spent a year of probation in study; but should he not be happy, he can leave the college and follow another path, as he thinks best.*

⁵⁸ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II.II., Q. 88, art. 6.

[1541] 13 and [1544] <7>

In general, the studies of the students will include, after they are well grounded in grammar,⁵⁹ the study of the *sumulas*,⁶⁰ logic, and philosophy, and once they have graduated in the liberal arts, later four years studying speculative and positive [patristic] theology, unless the Society decides—given the variety of studies, errors [= heresies], or other needs of our holy mother Church—that some parts should be removed or added. However, all study should be for the good and health of souls.

[1541] 14 and [1544] <8>

During the studies, all the students are obliged to go to confession once a week and to receive communion once a fortnight or once a week according to what seems best to the Society and to the confessor, given the variety of characters, habits and local customs, for the greater edification of all.

[1541] 15. *Item, each student who goes to confession should always go to confession with his confessor when available; because if someone confesses once a week with the same confessor, and then falls into a shameful error or some mortal sin, usually such a person will be tempted and inclined to confess that sin to another priest because of the shame he feels with regard to his own confessor, and thus afterwards his own confessor will be deceived, not knowing the condition of his spiritual son, and not knowing will be unable to heal him.*

[1544] <9> Each student who goes to confession should always go to confession with his confessor when available, and not with another confessor except with permission of the first.

[1541] 16 *Regarding other particular points, such as attendance at mass, sermons, reading at meals, general confessions, eating, dress, appointment of staff⁶¹ to the college, and other similar matters, it does not seem necessary to*

⁵⁹ “Grammar” was the technical term for a stage in the course of studies.

⁶⁰ These were famous compendia, mainly of logic, popular at the time.

⁶¹ The expression “appointment of staff” translates *invocar collegio* where the verb *invocar* means to call someone for assistance. The *MHSI* editor was puzzled by the meaning here, suggesting “giving a name to the college” in addition to the translation provided here; Eric Southworth also suggested “calling the college together.” Since the imme-

discuss them until God our Lord, through some good instrument of his, starts to get things going for His greater honor, service and praise.

[1544] <9> cont. Regarding other particular points, such as the times of ordinary prayer, at mass and outside mass, going to mass, sermons and readings, appointment of teachers, students and officials, rules for meals and form of dress and hours for sleeping, and similar things, according to the variety of countries, and differences of persons, and the devotions of the founders and other benefactors, so that we may please and serve in the Lord all those whom we can, all those points will be regulated for later in each college, in accordance with where they are founded, always preserving the essential points as has been explained and decided above or will be in what follows.

[1541] 17. *The difference there is among those who are to enter the Society, namely someone who has sufficient university education and does not need more, and someone else who does not have sufficient and has to undertake study, is as follows. He who has sufficient is obliged in three months to undergo all three experiments, and having taken a vow of poverty and chastity he is obliged to begin one year on probation, then in the course of that year if he is happy and the Society is happy, he will stay in the Society; but if either of the two sides is not happy, he will not stay in the Society. Someone who does not have sufficient education will undergo during three months the same three experiments along with the other conditions, as has been explained, then later he will spend a year in probation, which is his first year of study, and if he still wants to join the Society, and if the Society is willing, then the Society will have the choice whether to receive him or not receive him, proof having been had of his sufficiency, life and customs during one more year after his studies.*

[1541] 18. *Thus, anyone who wants to be a member in our Society, whether in one way or another, has to spend a year and three months in the experiments and probation of life. The reason why we have established greater experiments and prolonged the time more than other congregations are accustomed to do is that if someone enters a monastery that is well ordered and well regulated, he will be further away from occasion of sin because of the greater enclosure, quiet*

diat context is the behavior of students, it might refer to “beadles” — that is, students assigned to assist with the care and management of their peers, which often included calling students to prayer and lectures and announcing feast days and celebrations.

and order there than is the case in the Society, which does not have enclosure, peace and quiet, but moves around from one place to another. Item, supposing someone has bad habits and some imperfection, he can improve himself in a monastery which is well ordered and regulated, but in our Society it is necessary for someone to be already well tried and tested before being admitted as later, moving around, he has to be in touch with good men and women, and with bad men and women, and for such contact greater strength is needed, and greater experience and graces and gifts from our Creator and Lord.

[1541] *The Foundation of a House*

[1544] Memorial Acts with Regard to Founders and Benefactors both of the Colleges and of the Churches with Their Residences

[1541] [26] *We for our part, taking into account and seeing how other religious orders have been set up and are now established in a saintly way; some with possession in common of income and possessions to supply for the needs of houses, for food, clothes and footwear of the religious, although nothing is owned individually; others owning income and possessions neither in common nor anything individually; we have considered and decided, in so far as God our Lord has with His customary mercy helped and inspired our minds for this, that we should take advantage both of the first and of the second, seeking a way of living in common such that the Society may best look after itself, with least effort and trouble for the general public and their greater help and edification, and we may, with single heart and soul, assist one another for our eternal salvation, each one using the talent that God our Lord has given him for His greater service, praise and glory.*

27. *We take from the first sort of religious orders that, if God our Lord by means of some special instrument of His were to grant us some house, our intention is that such a house would be able to possess income for itself, namely for the sacristy, equipping of the house, medicines, books, heating and furnishing, just as a properly established hospice would have all that is needed for those coming there.*⁶²

⁶² The MHSI editor notes that this paragraph, omitted in the 1544 version, illuminates how the Companions then understood both the bull *Regimini* and the Primitive Constitutions of 1541.

28. *We take from the second sort of religious orders that, as far as daily food, clothes and footwear are concerned, we do not want to possess income nor any possessions, trusting in God our Lord that He, by means of His good instruments, will provide what we need, as best for His greater service, praise and glory, if we do not fail to do what we should.*

We do not take everything from the second sort of religious orders, but in part, because for the greater service of God our Lord and for greater peace and health of our consciences we have seen, that were we to beg each day (seeing that we receive nothing for saying mass, hearing confession, preaching, giving lectures, nor for any other spiritual work) to keep up what was needed for the house we would spend a lot of time on temporal matters, not having as much time for the spiritual, and perhaps we would be to some extent importunate and troublesome for some people.

29. *We take in part from the second sort of religious orders, namely that in what concerns our food, dress and footwear, we have no security, for fear that an abundance of all that is needed might make us become lazy in working in agro Dominico [“in the field of the Lord”], while poverty keeps us awake on the lookout for the greater good and salvation of souls, especially as we are aware that if the first sort of religious orders gain more for themselves in the contemplative life, the second sort are of greater help to people who live a mixed life.*

<If someone were to found a house provided with income as explained above, he should place both the house and its income under the hand and protection of the city or of some important person in it, in such a way that it is for the city or that important person to be the one who receives the income and uses it to pay for the things mentioned, namely all that is needed for the house and its equipment, as also for the food, clothes and footwear of the Society. If someone were to claim the house or its income and take the matter to law, then the city or the important person would reply and, if the right is on their side would take up the defense, should they think proper. If the city or some persons were to want to expel the Society from the house and its income, the Society will endure this patiently, as it would not have any rights to them.>⁶³

⁶³ The MHSI editor noted that the text between pointed brackets has been crossed out in the main manuscript but probably by a later hand.

Such is the substance of what has been decided up to now by the Society, leaving other particular points for more examination later.

[1544] 19 Keeping in mind the good and holy intentions of the founders and benefactors of such colleges and churches in founding them out of love and service of God our Lord and for the eternal salvation of souls; and also keeping in mind the devotion which for the sake of His divine majesty they bear to the Society: it seemed to us that, out of that same love and reverence for our Creator and Lord, we should be diligent in doing something which would reply and correspond to so much devotion and charity on the part of such founders and benefactors toward us, unworthy servants that we are, who try to serve in all our Creator and Lord, as follows.

[1544] 20 Firstly, each week, in perpetuity, a mass should be celebrated in such a college or church for its founder and benefactor, whether they are still in this life or in the next; a requiem mass for those dead, and for those living that God our Lord, holding them in His hand, may grant them increase for His greater service, praise and glory; otherwise celebrating masses, adapting them for all the founders and benefactors alive and dead.

[1544] 21 Similarly and for the same purpose, at the start of each month, in perpetuity, all the priests who happen to be resident in such a college or church are required and obliged to celebrate mass for such a founder and benefactor of the college or church.

[1544] 22 Likewise, every year on the precise day of the foundation of such a college or church, they are to arrange the celebration of a solemn mass for the founder and benefactors in the college or church itself, while similarly all the other priests who live there are to celebrate mass for this intention.

[1544] 23 In such a college or church there should be an obligation that each year, in perpetuity, on the very day of the foundation and the solemn mass, a wax candle bearing his arms or special devotion should be presented to the founder if he is alive, or to his successor, and so on to whoever is related by descent or closest affinity to the

house or family of such a founder, as a sign to acknowledge and reverence such a founder in Our Lord.

[1544] 24 When some college or church is founded and the founder or founders have entrusted it to the Society in accordance with the authority and conditions that the Apostolic See has or will concede to that same Society, the superior general of the Society should instruct each one of all the members of the universal Society to celebrate three masses for such a founder and benefactors, requiem masses if they are dead, or if they are alive so that God our Lord may hold them in His hand, grant them increase for His greater service, praise and glory, as has been explained above.

[1544] 25 Similarly, should the divine will be accomplished in the death of such a founder, at the order of the superior general each of all those in the universal Society should celebrate three requiem masses for his soul.

[1544] 26 For the greater glory of God our Lord, and out of our greater gratitude and knowledge in His divine majesty, our desire from the depths of our hearts is that in the Lord we want to make participants of all the actions, undertakings and good works of such a college or of such colleges or churches and of all our universal Society, the founder or founders and all the other benefactors of such colleges or churches, whether they are alive or dead.

20. Constitutions Regarding Missions

[*Constitutiones de Missionibus*]⁶⁴

1544–1545

Much of the content of this text was incorporated into Part VII of the Constitutions. But notably absent here are Part VII's references to Aristotelian-Thomistic principles, such as the more universal as the more divine, and Part VII's inclusion of specific ministries to be preferred all else being equal. [Ed].

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Constitutions with Regard to Missions

Chapter 1: On the Promise and Vow that the Society has Made to the Universal Vicar to Travel to Any Part of the World

By the mediation of supreme and divine grace, the promise and explicit vow that all the Society, with complete desire and satisfaction of their souls, has made to God our Creator and Lord to obey His universal and supreme Vicar, without any excuse whatsoever, for the greater divine glory in order to labor more and better *in agro dominico* [in the Lord's field] for the greater spiritual good of souls, with the mediation of divine favor and help, is that we should be sent wherever His Holiness should feel and judge to be most appropriate and necessary to send us, among believers or among unbelievers, not on the understanding that it should be for a particular bishopric or city, or to be attached to a house or group or under the direction of some person, or for some other spiritual profit of a monastery or any other

⁶⁴ *Const.* I: 159–64. Written by Ignatius. When the pages were bound in a codex they were put in the wrong order. Only the numbering of the chapters is kept here, as the paragraph numbering in the critical edition is complicated.

individual cause, but in accordance with our wish and desire to be scattered in diverse and various regions. Because, as we happen to come from diverse kingdoms and provinces, not knowing in which regions we should move or settle, whether among believers or unbelievers, in order not to go astray *in via Domini* ["in the path of the Lord"] and as we were not sure where we could best serve and praise God our Lord through his divine grace, we made that promise and vow so that His Holiness might arrange our separation and mission for the greater glory of God our Lord, in accord with our promise and intention to move around in the world; and where we did not happen to find the spiritual fruit that we hoped for in one city or another, we might move on to one and then to another, and consequently move around through individual towns and places, for the great glory of God our Lord and for the greater spiritual profit of souls.

Chapter 2: How No One Can Choose for Himself to Be Sent

Bearing in mind that with regard to such a promise understood in this way we have placed all our desire and will, thanks to the supreme divine grace, at the disposal of Christ our Creator and Lord and of His universal Vicar, it is our intention, desire and firm determination in Our Lord that the whole Society, its superior⁶⁵ and any particular member of it should not be able to obtain, acting on their own nor attempting to do so *mediate vel inmediate* [directly or indirectly] in relation with the Supreme Vicar or one of his ministers, that he should reside or be sent to one region or to another, nor to one part or any other, each leaving all authority and control to the Supreme Pontiff and to the superior of the Society, and the superior with regard to himself to His Holiness.

⁶⁵ Ignatius and Codure are moving away from the Companions' earlier term *prelado* for the general superior. Here and throughout this text, they use simply *superior*. [Ed.]

Chapter 3: How Whoever is Appointed to Be Sent [on Mission] is to Present Himself

Whenever⁶⁶ one of our Society has been appointed to be sent, in accordance with our promise, by His Holiness to one region or province or another, the one who has to go either in time or immediately should present himself before the Supreme Vicar, without himself asking for any temporal support, or arranging that it be asked, rather that he be sent off as the Vicar might judge for the greater service of God our Lord and of the Apostolic See, without seeking for anything for ourselves.

Chapter 4: How the Person Appointed Should Have a Written Order

It is very appropriate or even necessary that the person appointed to be sent should be given a full account of his mission, and its purpose, in writing so that he may be able better to understand, fulfill and carry out his mission in accordance with his vocation for the greater glory of God our Lord.

Chapter 5: How Anyone Sent to a Particular Place Should Settle There for Three Months.

When someone of the Society is sent by order of His Holiness or by the superior to some places in particular, given that it is the aim and vocation of the Society to move around from one city to another, not stopping in any one place or another for the sake of any temporal rest in this life, it seems to us to be far better for the greater service of God our Lord that the stay or residence of one of ours in a bishopric or in a city or in any other particular place should be for just three months (unless some definite period or the contrary has been specified by His Holiness), and should it be for a longer or shorter period, that should be with a view to the greater or lesser spiritual fruit that one thinks may be made there, or whether more is to be hoped for elsewhere, or there is greater likelihood for the general good and for the greater glory of God our Lord.

⁶⁶ “Whenever” [*Quando*]. While the *MHSI* editor suggested that it was a scribal error for *Quanto*, meaning “in so far as,” the translator finds this unlikely.

Chapter 6: How the Superior Should Inform Within a Year Any Newly Created Supreme Vicar of Our Promise.

It seems to be right and very appropriate for the greater service of God our Lord and for the achievement of the aim of our profession and promise, that the superior of the Society, who happens to be in place when a new Supreme Vicar takes office, should within a year of his creation, either personally or through someone else, inform His Holiness of the profession, obedience and explicit promise made by the Society, for the service of Christ our Lord and of His Holiness, with regard to such missions especially on his behalf for the greater spiritual good of souls.⁶⁷

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Declarations About the Missions

In addition to the Jesuit Constitutions, Ignatius composed his own commentary called Declarations on the Constitutions. The idea was that the declarations, published separately, would contain added details and clarifications that were solely for the eyes of superiors, who alone would have authority to dispense Jesuits from the requirements of the Constitutions. In practice, however, the Society has long published the Constitutions and Declarations as a single volume. In most modern editions, Declarations are distinguished from the Constitutions proper by means of italics. It is notable that here, at this early date of 1544, Ignatius is already writing declarations for the above "Constitutions Regarding Missions." Each chapter below corresponds with the chapter above. [Ed.]

Chapter 1. About the Constitutions and Also Declarations about the First Constitutions⁶⁸ Regarding the Promise or Vow that the Society Made to

⁶⁷ This practice continues to the present day. On March 17, 2013, superior general Fr. Adolfo Nicolás (1936–2020) met with Pope Francis at the Casa Santa Marta. Francis had been elected only four days earlier. [Ed.]

⁶⁸ Not a reference to the Primitive Constitutions of 1541 but rather to the "Consti-

God our Lord and Universal Vicar to Travel Around in One Part and Another of the World, and First How the Superior May Send Members of the Society under Certain Conditions and Not Always.

Given that at our first joining together into one body we all made a vow and promise to God our Lord to obey and go wherever the Supreme Vicar of Christ our Lord should happen to send us, as is explained in the first chapter of the Constitutions about missions, and that such a promise is our first principle and main foundation, later with the passing of some years, with an eye on, and the desire for, the greater spiritual fruit of souls and greater glory of God our Lord, in order to help them more and with greater ease in many areas and for the greater security and clarity of our members, as it seemed to us very appropriate, we obtained and requested permission from His Holiness⁶⁹ that the superior of the Society would be able to send to work among Christians with faith, wherever he thought most expedient and for the greater service of God our Lord, any member of the Society, *tamen* [however] while they are there or wherever they happened to be, they would always remain at the disposal, instructions and orders of His Holiness, in accordance with our promise.

Chapter 2. How and in What Circumstances the Superior Should not Always Send [On Mission] Members of the Society.

Given that the superior has complete authority and permission to send individual members of the Society, as has been made clear in the previous chapter, *tamen* [however] when some cities or places or some persons, with an eye more on their individual spiritual good than one more in general, insist in their demands to the superior of the Society to let them have one or several members of the Society, the superior should use the said power and grace granting the request *parce* [infrequently], and not every time, always seeking the greater and more universal good of souls; and on those occasions when the business or request is worthy of greater consideration and

tutions Regarding Missions” immediately above. [Ed.]

⁶⁹ In 1542, Paul III gave this permission to the Society at the request of Cardinal Guidiccione.

examination, the superior should communicate with those [members of the Society] who happen to be present; so that when he has heard and felt many or different opinions that are based on arguments, he may better decide, bringing the matter before God our Lord, what is most appropriate and for greater edification and humility, all for greater divine glory and praise.

Chapter 3. Each Member of the Society Can Manifest his Intention to the Superior.

Given that no individual member of the Society may insist⁷⁰ that he go to, or remain in, one place or in another, *tamen* [however] each of these individuals in the Society may declare and manifest to the superior his intention or interior inclination to reside in, or to go away from, one place rather than another, so that the superior can better consider or arrange about his remaining or going, as he may judge best for the greater service and praise of God our Lord.

Chapter 4. How One Who is Going on Mission Should Be Instructed and Sent.

It seems that it would be very appropriate that whoever is sent by His Holiness should carry with him in writing all that it would be best for him to know and do with regard to that mission; should that expedient not take place at least His Holiness should explain and talk face to face with our Cardinal Protector or with the superior of the Society or with the person himself who is to go, so that he may understand better what His Holiness has in mind and what it is for which he is being sent; *tamen* [however] should it seem best to the superior for some just reason or another, he may send off the said person without further informing His Holiness or consulting him further about it, once the plan and desire of His Holiness has been explained and made clear by some other prelate or person of authority.

⁷⁰ The word *ingerir* which occurs here in the Spanish text is a Latinism from *ingero* and means “to mention repeatedly” or “to insist.” This information kindly supplied by Eric Southworth.

Chapter 5. How the One Sent Should Arrange the Arrival of All his Letters to Those Who Are of the Same Society.

Should anyone of the Society, who is sent to, or is dwelling in, some place on the orders of the Supreme Vicar or of the superior of the Society, happen to write to a city or place or to some person or persons who are not of the Society, if the letter happen to be to a person of high rank,⁷¹ he should always make the letter arrive to a member of the Society who happens to be in that city or place, so that through him such letters are delivered to whomever it may be, and it does not seem so proper [if it came] through other hands, except for some particular cases, with the knowledge and consent of the superior of the same Society.

21. "Against Ambition"

[*Contra Ambitum*]⁷²

1544–1545

Because professed Jesuits were so highly trained and had forsworn all avarice, the Society was the natural place for popes to go looking whenever they needed worthy men to serve as bishops. Ignatius recognized quickly that if popes continually cherry-picked the Society's members for that purpose, word would spread that the Society was the right place for men with ambitions. Candidates would no longer enter the Society with pure intention, a term that Ignatius used frequently to denote a commitment to serve God's greater glory in whatever form it might take, in lowly as well as prestigious offices. The content of this document was later added to the Examen and Constitutions proper. [Ed.]

⁷¹ The Spanish phrase here *como sea mucho onesto* is far from clear. It might indicate that the letter is about a matter of high importance rather than to a person of high rank, or it might simply be saying that it is more courteous for letters to be delivered by hand.

⁷² *Const. I*: 164–6. In Spanish, written by Bartholomew Ferrão (ca. 1516–1548) who served as Ignatius's secretary before Polanco's arrival. Corrections by Ignatius.

Regarding Other Constitutions⁷³

1. As covetousness is the head and principle of all evils, to prevent its entry and to protect us in all things and by all means, with the aid of divine grace, from such a pest, which kills for ever and devours souls, and for the greater security and spiritual consolation of our souls, and in order with greater freedom to serve and praise our Creator and Lord, we have decided in the Lord that no one from this Society may procure nor insist for himself, either through others or directly, to have a position, a benefice, or any other dignity whatsoever which the Supreme Pontiff or any other person have in their power to provide.

2. Should someone from the Society, due to his illness or unworthiness, seek or instigate, either through others or directly, to have such an office or benefice, etc., *ipso facto* rendering himself incapable and unworthy, he may not be granted it.

3. In exactly the same way and manner that has been explained in the previous two chapters, it should be understood that should someone of the Society procure or attempt to have some office of government or any dignity which happens to exist in the Society, he makes himself utterly unworthy on account of such a covetousness and deadly pest.

4. No matter what sort of office or benefice, etc. it may be, as has been explained more in detail in the three preceding chapters, [our wish is] that no one of the Society may accept it without explicit agreement and order of the Society.

5. When the Supreme Pontiff gives explicit command that a member of the Society should accept such an office or benefice, etc., in such a case, while it has to be admitted, it should be simply for the upkeep and administration of the benefice, etc., as he cannot take more gain than what the Society should order him, distributing whatever is left to the poor and to other pious works, provided that neither the Society nor any individual [member of the Society] receive any part of the said gain for their own advantage or that of others, for better progress and the greater divine glory, keeping away from all avarice and all suspicion of avarice.

⁷³ This second heading was added by Polanco.

Clarification of This Chapter

6. With regard to any case that may arise concerning such offices, benefices, etc., explained in the five preceding chapters and any others, in addition to obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, [a member of the Society] should always keep before his eyes obedience to the [general] superior, provided this does not conflict with obedience to His Holiness. And when, by right and out of the highest obedience, such subjection and obedience to the superior does not apply, he ought to continue to keep the superior informed and offer him voluntary obedience in Our Lord, for His greater service, praise and glory.

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