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STUDIES

in the Spirituality of Jesuits



St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews

by

James W. Reites, S.J.

Published by the American Assistency Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality,
especially for American Jesuits working out their *aggiornamento*
in the spirit of Vatican Council II

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THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

consists of a group of Jesuits from various provinces who are listed below. The members were appointed by the Fathers Provincial of the United States.

The Purpose of the Seminar is to study topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially American Jesuits, and to communicate the results to the members of the Assistancy. The hope is that this will lead to further discussion among all American Jesuits--in private, or in small groups, or in community meetings. All this is done in the spirit of Vatican Council II's recommendation to religious institutes to recapture the original charismatic inspiration of their founders and to adapt it to the changed circumstances of modern times. The members of the Seminar welcome reactions or comments in regard to the topics they publish.

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Editor's Foreword

Many Jesuits have on occasion found that their knowledge about St. Ignatius' attitude and practice with regard to the Jews is obscure and fragmentary, something less than a comprehensive whole. They know in a general way, for example, that there was an impediment against admitting converted Jews into the Society, even as late as 1924 when the *Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu* was published in Rome. But did that impediment spring, to any noteworthy extent, from St. Ignatius' own attitude or from later enactments? and under what circumstances? When questions such as these arose, these Jesuits have found themselves uncomfortably unable to answer with the precision and confidence they would like.

One reason for this situation is that the lives of St. Ignatius available in English are silent on the topic or almost so. Even the 500-page life by Dudon devotes only three pages (386-388) to Ignatius' work among the Jews; and these pages deal, in rather sketchy fashion, with merely one of his projects, the house of catechumens for converted Jews and Muslims in Rome. That brief account is manifestly insufficient to convey a view of his attitude as a whole.

A few years ago Father James W. Reites, S.J., presently the chairman of the Department of Religious Studies in the University of Santa Clara, was prodded by a derogatory remark about Ignatius' attitude toward the Jews, and then surprised at the difficulty of finding any comprehensive treatment reasonably available for appraising that remark from a Jesuit point of view. For a rather long while nothing seemed available except scattered fragments without adequate background. Becoming more and more interested, he chose this area as the topic for his doctoral dissertation in the Gregorian University, Rome. He pursued his extensive research on it under the veteran director of dissertations on Ignatian topics, Father Gervais Dumeige, S.J., Dean of the Faculty of Spiritual Theology. The dissertation was submitted and approved in 1979, with the title: *St. Ignatius of Loyola and the People of the Book: An Historical-Theological Study of St. Ignatius of Loyola's Spiritual Motivation in His Dealings with the Jews and Muslims*.

In the present issue of these *Studies*, Father Reites has compressed

of his sixteenth-century Guipuzcoan soul. In particular, it will demonstrate both his courage and his prudence in dealing with a serious social problem. The study indicates in his case the concrete working out of the virtue of prudence informed by a high spirituality. Finally, Jesuits have not always been faithful to the spiritual insight of their founder; the fact that legislation prohibiting Christians of Jewish origins from becoming Jesuits remained in effect for nearly 350 years until 1946 should be seen for what it is, a departure from that high spirituality and the principles that inform it.

We will treat the subject in two major stages. First of all, in Part I, we will examine the evolution of Ignatius' personal stance toward the Jews and Jewish Christians. Then, in Part II, we will study how Ignatius formed the Society's attitude toward Christians of Jewish origins. Part III presents a brief word on the subsequent failure of this attitude in the Society; and finally, Part IV consists of some concluding reflections on Ignatian spirituality which this study evokes.

PART I. IGNATIUS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THE JEWS

The approach we have chosen for this study is the historical one, one that attempts to find out from the letters and writings of Ignatius as well as from the writings of his contemporaries what happened and, if possible, to see some of the reasons why it happened. In this way we can trace how Ignatius acted toward the Jews, and, to a degree at least, determine what his motivation was. Since Ignatius frequently expresses his motivation in theological terms, we will see his spirituality in action.

A. The Historical Context in Spain

The Jews of Spain endured a long history of oppression and subjugation, beginning with the Council of Elvira in 306 which forbade close relations of Christians and Jews.³ In their meeting in southern Spain the council fathers decreed: "If any cleric or one of the faithful takes a meal with Jews, they are ordered to abstain from communion." This restriction was mild, however, compared with those enacted in Visigothic Spain under King Sisebut in 613, who presented Jews with the ultimatum of baptism or exile.

Many fled the country, but many more were converted before Sisebut died. A general discriminatory policy against Jews continued for many years, with the fifth through seventeenth Councils of Toledo containing some sort of legislation against them. Jews were gradually stripped of rights, and humiliating and painful punishments like flogging or pulling out of hair were inflicted for misdemeanors. Under King Recceswinth (653), all Jews were forced to sign a *placitum*, a lengthy oath which made the practice of Judaism impossible. Violations of the oath would result in death by fire or stone.⁴

King Egica (687-702) and the Sixteenth Council of Toledo (693) forced Jews to sell their property and slaves at a fixed price, which were then given to the nobles and clergy. The Seventeenth Council (694), in conjunction with the king, accused the Jews of conspiring with their brethren in North Africa to surrender Spain to the Moors. Its decrees reduced Jews to perpetual slavery, confiscated their goods, and scattered them to various provinces. Moreover, all Jewish children above the age of seven were taken from their parents and raised as Christians. It is not surprising, then, that when Muslim forces under Tarik invaded Spain in 711 to overturn the Visigothic rule, the Jews viewed them as saviors and welcomed them with open arms. It is not certain that the Jews actually helped the Muslims, but neither is it improbable.⁵

There seem to have been a number of reasons for the Visigothic persecution of the Jews. The Jews were powerful and aggressive, and were seen as a threat to the Church. The state, united with the Church, had both religious and political reasons to legislate against the Jews. The crown even went beyond the Church in its effort to preserve the faith, but the Visigothic kings also used the Jewish issue as a means to unify the country and gain the support of the bishops.⁶

Under 400 years of Muslim rule, the Jews flourished more than ever before. They enjoyed a time of prosperity and creativity and achieved great strides in poetry, rabbinic literature, medicine, and philosophy. So successful was this period that the latter half became known as the Golden Era of the Jews in Spain. But with the ascendancy of the fanatical Almohades and their ultimatum, "Islam or death," many Jews fled north to Christian Spain where the *Reconquista* was making its slow progress.⁷

A succession of humanist kings in Christian Spain from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries showered the Jews with honors and favors because of their economic and creative abilities. Ferdinand I of Castile (1027-1065) granted Jews equal rights with Christians and even gave them important positions in his court. Under these conditions the Jews flourished. They also fought side by side with Christians against the Almohades in defense of Toledo. Jewish prestige and power were especially evident in the court of Toledo, the capital of Castile, and among the nobles; no king was without a Jewish minister, counselor, or physician. Assuming control of court finances, Jews also lent money and collected taxes. Envy of their success mounted over the years, however, to such a fever pitch that in 1391, 4,000 Jews were killed in Seville. Carnage spread throughout Spain, sweeping through seventy Jewish communities until, in the end, some 50,000 Jews were dead and many more had been baptized. In some districts (*Juderías*), not a single Jew was left.⁸

The presence of this large number of newly baptized Jews, or *conversos* as they were called, would to a large extent determine the future of the Jews in Spain. The Church saw the Jews as a threat to the *conversos* and the state saw them as a hindrance to the unification of Christendom. Moreover, not all of the *conversos* had truly become Christians. Many adhered outwardly to Christianity but, in varying degrees, continued secretly to practice Judaism. Making the most of the situation by both maintaining relations with the Jews and by intermarrying with Christian nobility, they became wealthy and influential. Further, the children of these people, neither true Christians nor true Jews, followed in the footsteps of their parents and continued their practice of duplicity. This new generation of *crístianos nuevos* or *nuevos conversos*, new converts, was both envied and hated by the older Christians who referred to them as *marranos*, "swine" or "pigs." Further, the *marranos* were viewed as heretical Christians who needed correction and guidance.⁹

As attacks against the *marranos* increased, there came a call from the people and from the Dominican and Franciscan orders to introduce the Inquisition in Spain. After a short delay and disputes about its control, Sixtus IV in 1480 gave permission for its introduction and placed two Dominicans in charge. The Inquisition was soon to spread to all major

Spanish cities, and *marranos* were arrested, tried, and condemned to imprisonment, public humiliation, and even death at the stake.¹⁰

When, on January 2, 1492, Granada surrendered to Ferdinand and Isabella, the *reconquista* was complete. This gave the Catholic Kings a new determination to unite Spain religiously as well as politically. Thus, while still in Granada, in one of the halls of the Alhambra, on March 31, Ferdinand and Isabella signed the decree expelling the Jews from the newly united Spain. Any Jew who chose to remain was to be baptized, all others were to leave. By July 30, 1492, not one Jew remained in Spain. As before, those who were baptized, perhaps 50,000, were known as *nuevos cristianos* or *conversos*, new Christians or converts. Those Jews who left the country, some 150,000--known as Sephardic Jews--migrated to North Africa, Turkey, Italy, or Holland.¹¹

The edict enumerates the measures taken by the crown in the previous twelve years to prevent Jews from influencing the New Christians (*conversos*) and to preserve the Christian faith. It cites the establishment of the Inquisition, segregation of Jews into separate quarters, and expulsion of the Jews from Andalusia as steps that were taken; but still the *conversos* problem remained. The decree therefore states:

We have been informed by the inquisitors, and by other persons, that the mingling of Jews with Christians leads to the worst evils. The Jews try their best to seduce [New] Christians and their children, bringing them books of Jewish prayers, telling them of the days of Jewish holidays, procuring unleavened bread for them at Passover, instructing them to follow the Law of Moses. In consequence, our holy Catholic faith is debased and humbled. We have thus arrived at the conclusion that the only efficacious means to put an end to these evils consists in the definitive breaking of all relations between Jews and Christians, and this can only be obtained by their expulsion from our kingdom.¹²

While it does seem true that Jews did some proselytizing among the *conversos*, it is also true that many of the *conversos* were reluctant converts to begin with. In any case most historians agree that the edict of expulsion was motivated by the two interrelated goals of political and religious unity.¹³

Of course all of this developed into a tragic problem of enormous proportions. There were now in Spain old Christians who were gentiles; old *conversos* of the distant past, many of whom were sincerely dedicated to their faith; the *marranos*, who continued to practice Judaism in varying degrees; and

the New Christians, some faithful, some baptized only under duress to avoid expulsion from Spain. Over the years as sentiment against the Jews grew, the distinction between these groups became blurred; and that between converted and non-converted Jews seemed to disappear. Their "bad blood" (*mala sangre*), many thought, made all Jews, whether converted or not, evil and perverse. Eventually, *limpieza de sangre*, purity of blood, was a major concern. Judaism had become not only a religious problem, but an ethnic one as well.¹⁴

It was in this context that Ignatius of Loyola, the seventh son of an old Basque family, was born, hardly one year before the edict of expulsion was signed. He probably met no Jews during his childhood in Spain. The first mention of any kind of connection that he might have had with Jews or Jewish Christians does not occur until he was interrogated by the Inquisition soon after his conversion. Here, perhaps, is his early attitude toward Jewish Christians revealed.

B. Ignatius at Alcalá

While at Alcalá studying and giving the Spiritual Exercises, Ignatius was investigated three times by the Inquisition. He and his companions attracted much attention by their youth, their apostolic activity, and their manner of dress. The first two incidents were minor compared with the third which resulted in a jail sentence of forty-two days for Ignatius, seventeen of which passed without his even knowing why he was there.¹⁵ The complaint against him concerned the disappearance of three women, a widow, her daughter, and their servant. Ignatius was arrested because people believed he had encouraged them to make a pilgrimage to a distant shrine, a dangerous undertaking for three unaccompanied women, one of whom was young and pretty.¹⁶ Submitted at the investigation were depositions of several women followers of Ignatius telling of his spiritual direction, his exhortations to weekly confession and communion, his encouraging the practice of examination of conscience twice daily, and his instructions in prayer. Some of the women attested to experiencing fainting spells and melancholy, symptoms which, according to the women's testimony, Ignatius said were due to the devil's resistance to their abandonment of sin and reform in their lives.¹⁷

After Ignatius had been in jail for seventeen days, the Vicar Figueroa

finally questioned him. Polanco, in his *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, records the interrogation as follows:

When, after the time described, the Vicar Figueroa came to question him, and among other things asked him if he recommended observance of the Sabbath [Saturday], he replied, "For Saturdays I recommend special devotion to our Lady, and I know of no other observances for Saturday. Moreover, in my country there are no Jews."¹⁸

Doubtful of Ignatius' origins, Figueroa had dared to ask in veiled terms if his suspect were not indeed a *converso* who remained faithful to the Jewish devotions. Although it is difficult to say precisely what Ignatius intended by his response, it would not be entirely unlikely that his answer to Vicar Figueroa indicates that the Basque from Loyola in the Province of Guipuzcoa found the suggestion offensive. This would certainly be in keeping with the attitude of most Guipuzcoans who boasted that no Jew was even allowed to remain overnight in their province.¹⁹ Perhaps Ignatius too shared the sentiments of his fellow Guipuzcoans who assumed a superior stance to even Old Christians from other Spanish provinces.

C. At Paris

Not until his years of study at the University of Paris did Ignatius' more mature attitude become gradually recognizable. There he met Diego Laynez, a young man who had heard so much about Ignatius that after finishing his studies at Alcalá in 1532, he went to meet him in Paris.²⁰ Born in 1512 in the old Castilian town of Almazán, Diego, whose father was a New Christian, came from a well-to-do family. Though his Christian faith descended from three generations, Diego, because of his great-grandfather's Jewish origin, was still considered a Jew.²¹ Certainly Diego must have confided this information to his friend during their acquaintance, for the two were the closest of companions,²² but it evidently made no difference to Ignatius. If he did share the common Guipuzcoan attitude toward the *conversos* before meeting Laynez, Ignatius was never to leave his attitude in doubt after meeting him, because subsequently there is no hint that racial origin is of any importance to him.

Besides the influence of Laynez in Ignatius' life, his study of St. Thomas Aquinas also made an impression on him and modified his attitudes. Though little is known of Ignatius' precise theological course at the

Dominican College of Saint Jacques where he studied for about fourteen months, it is probable that he studied the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, which he would later prescribe in his *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* as the basis for Jesuit theological education.²³

In the *Summa* is an interesting reference to the Jews which mirrors an attitude stemming from earlier centuries and prevalent among many Christians and theologians of Thomas' day. They believed that the Jews were a subjugated race, the sons of slaves who could be treated as their master willed; if the master willed that they be baptized, then it was morally legitimate.

Thomas expresses this attitude, in his customary way, in the form of an objection which he intends to qualify or largely refute:

Objection 3. . . . The Jews are bondsmen of kings and princes; therefore their children are also. Consequently kings and princes have the power to do what they will with Jewish children. Therefore, no injustice is committed if they baptize them against their parents' wishes. . . .

On the contrary: Injustice should be done to no man. . . .

I answer that: the custom of the Church has very great authority and ought to be jealously observed in all things, . . . We ought to abide by the authority of the Church rather than by that of an Augustine or a Jerome or of any doctor whatever. Now it was never the custom [*usus*] of the Church to baptize the children of Jews against the will of their parents, although. . . .

One reason is on account of the danger to faith. For

The other reason is that it is against natural justice. . . .

Reply to Objection 3. Jews are bondsmen of princes by civil bondage, which does not exclude the order of natural or divine law.²⁵

In Thomas' view, therefore, although the Jews are in a state of servitude, that does not mean that the authorities can treat them without regard for the gospel precepts or the right dictates of reason.

The attitudes on the Jews which Aquinas mirrored and opposed were still prevalent in Ignatius' day and stimulated many discriminatory practices and laws. Somehow, however, Ignatius was also exposed, probably through Aquinas, to the deeper viewpoint of the Church herself as distinct from that of individual theologians or kings or princes, and this did contribute to his changing attitude toward the Jews. He emerged from this period in his life with a zealous apostolic interest in the conversion of the Jews, a project he soon took up in Rome.

D. The Historical Context in Rome

In comparison with other places, the Jews of Rome and most of Italy fared well under the popes. From Gregory the Great (590-604) through Paul III (1534-1549), the popes insisted that the Jews be treated humanely, and in general tried to secure them rights by legislation.²⁶ From the tenth to the sixteenth centuries only two anti-Jewish popular occurrences are recorded, and in one of these the pope, Alexander IV (1254-1261), sided with the Jews.²⁷ By and large the popes were the protectors of the Jews. As Emmanuel Rodocanachi writes:

Whereas everywhere else--in Spain, in France, in Germany, and even Arabia and the remotest regions--Jews were severely persecuted, in Rome, the capital of the Christian world, they were shown tolerance. This tranquility, this security of body and soul, which they enjoyed nowhere else, they found, relatively at least, in the shadow of St. Peter.²⁸

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries a series of popes showed great favor to the Jews. Jewish physicians and scholars were in the papal entourage, and were generally exempt from wearing distinctive Jewish garb. Martin V (1417-31) issued a number of edicts protecting the Jews from various abuses, including that of overzealous priests who baptized Jewish infants against their parents' will. Alexander VI (1498-1500) assisted the acceptance of Jewish and *marrano* refugees from Spain into the city of Rome. Julius II (1503-1513), Leo X (1513-1521), and Paul III (1534-1549), who approved the founding of the Society of Jesus, were all very favorable to the Jews. Clement VII (1523-1534) even suspended the Spanish Inquisition against the *conversos*.²⁹

While Italian Jews were tolerated, however, they were in no way considered the equal of Christians. There were frequent warnings from the popes against Jewish unbelief, and some popes, among them Innocent III (1198-1216), Gregory X (1271-1276), and Eugenius IV (1431-1447), enacted burdensome and harsh regulations against the Jews.³⁰ But as Cecil Roth points out:

Nowhere in Europe was the network of anti-Jewish regulations, elaborated by the Lateran Councils and enunciated in successive papal Bulls, less carefully studied or more systematically neglected: nowhere was the Jewish community more free in body and in mind.³¹

With the arrival of the Counter-Reformation and the election of

79-year-old Gian Pietro Carafa on May 23, 1555, as Pope Paul IV, however, there was a radical change in papal policy toward the Jews. Just seven weeks after assuming the Chair of Peter, Paul IV issued the bull *Cum nimis absurdum*, which Jewish historians consider the most infamous and discriminatory legislation ever to issue from the Papal States.³² Henceforward, the Jews of Rome were caught up in the hard reform-minded stance of the Church. What was viewed as tolerance by some was now seen as laxness by others. Thus, toleration gave way to severe restrictions that were to last almost to the demise of the Papal States.³³

Ignatius was to enter Rome at the end of one papal attitude toward the Jews and to die there at the beginning of another. There are two things that tell us how Ignatius viewed the Jews during the last twelve years of his life spent at Rome: his work for their conversion, and his reaction to Paul IV's *Cum nimis absurdum*.

E. Ignatius and the Jews of Rome

When Ignatius arrived in Rome in 1537 he began to occupy himself, as he says, "to help souls." The way he went about this, of course, was first of all by preaching in the churches and teaching in the streets. He also spent his days begging money and food for the poor, and visiting and assisting the sick in the hospitals of Rome. But Ignatius, the great organizer, also started orphanages, one for girls and another for boys, and arranged an "orphan society" for their support; set up a refuge of St. Martha, a house established to reform prostitutes; and worked for the conversion of Jews. It is this last apostolate that is of interest for our study.³⁴

Throughout Ignatius' residence in Rome, he lived very close to the Jewish quarters of the city and could not have helped meeting and speaking with many Jews.³⁵ Perhaps it was his close involvement in their daily lives and problems that encouraged many to accept Christianity. His first letter to Pierre Favre describing this apostolate is most extraordinary. In it Ignatius tells of a young Jew whom he had led to want to become Christian. Before he could be baptized, however, the youth had fallen in love and begun to live with a harlot (*publicana meretrix*). Since there were laws against a Jew and Christian living together, the authorities arrested the woman; the young man hid and eluded the same fate. When

Ignatius heard about this he acted immediately. As he later wrote to Favre:

. . . We, having received notice of the situation, by the grace of God our Lord, who governs all and does all things, within five hours that we knew of it, with his divine help and that of other good persons, his instruments, we got her released from jail, and took the Jew into our house, while she stayed in a respectable house. . . .³⁶

After instruction of the young couple, the Jew was baptized and the two were married on the same day. An event of great solemnity, the wedding was attended by many dignitaries of the emperor, Charles V; Diego Laynez preached the sermon.³⁷

Ignatius concerned himself with the very personal and practical needs of the Jews, their pain, suffering, and happiness. In one letter from this period, Ignatius begs for money for Vincenzo, a Jew who needed clothes for his baptism.³⁸ He sent another letter to all Jesuits in Italy telling the happy news that dowries had been found for three Jewish women who had converted.³⁹ During this first period of his apostolate, too, Ignatius ordinarily had the Jewish catechumens stay in the Jesuit house. Ribadeneyra, a young boy at the time living at the Jesuit house on Via degli Astalli, tells that despite the poverty and austerity of the house, Ignatius continued this practice for several years. He would teach them, support them by begging, and later help them find jobs. Ribadeneyra writes:

Many Jews, moved by the love of our fellow Jesuits or the good example of some of their own who were already baptized, were converted to our faith. Among them were some of the most respected Jews who were highly important for converting others because they could clearly and forcefully persuade the other Jews, showing them from Scripture that Jesus Christ our Lord is the real promised Messiah.⁴⁰

Thus another aspect of Ignatius' personal apostolate was his interest in teaching newly baptized Jews to act as apostles to their own people.

Not only did the converts help attract other Jews to the faith, but the solemn baptisms, such as that of the young Jew mentioned earlier, were also instruments for the conversion of other Jews perhaps drawn to Christianity. They in themselves were an apostolic means as they attracted attention and served as a witness to others. Multiplying his own work in this way by making use of practical means at hand, Ignatius saw this project in Rome as a tremendous success.

Ignatius' practicality is shown, too, by his work against the custom

of forcing converts to turn over all of their material goods to the state. This practice was a relic of the Middle Ages, and the thinking behind it was that the Jewish converts should show a complete break with the past, giving up everything they had gained while they were Jews. Obviously this proved a considerable obstacle to conversion.⁴¹ To bring more Jews to the faith, Ignatius asked the pope to abolish the practice. In response, Paul III in 1542 issued the bull *Cupientes iudaeos*, which allowed Jewish and other converts to retain their property, even that obtained by usury if impossible to return.⁴² They were also extended full rights of citizenship and were able to retain their legitimate inheritance, even if they had converted against the will of their parents who might then want to disinherit them.

Ignatius' work in Rome attracted so many Jews to the faith that there were soon too many catechumens to be conveniently housed and fed in the small Jesuit house near their church of Santa Maria della Strada. In Ignatius' mind, a house for catechumens (*casa dei catechumeni*) was direly needed. After several appeals from Ignatius, Paul III issued the bull *Illis qui*, which designated the church of San Giovanni del Mercato as the seat of the new *casa*.⁴³ In a letter to Francis Xavier in 1543, Ignatius writes of his pleasure with the house:

Now that this work has been so well established through our sending to Father Juan for the use of the neophytes all the bedsteads and household furniture which we had, and likewise the alms that we had put in deposit for the same purpose, we hope in our Lord that this work, so well ordered and confirmed by apostolic authority, will expand into other works that will serve His Divine Majesty; for he is the one who bestows both the will and the accomplishment of all good things.⁴⁴

Typically, Ignatius mixes "bedsteads" and works that "serve His Divine Majesty" in his down-to-earth spirituality. Of course this is an old conviction which Ignatius brought from Manresa, a worldview that sees God acting in the ordinary, everyday events of life. In his usual contorted syntax Ignatius informed Xavier that:

God our Lord has moved the matter forward so much already, as happens where His Divine Majesty in any way plants and waters for us so lowly and un-useful men, that out of his infinite and supreme goodness, he has willed to advance this same project even further ahead through a good man and friend of mine, Juan del Mercado.⁴⁵

After the *casa* was established in 1543, Ignatius gradually retreated from his work in Rome, becoming more involved with the organization of the Society. His interest in the project endured for years to come, however, for he continued to accept Jews into his home as late as 1544 and was eventually made an official part of the *casa*'s governing board.⁴⁶ In 1545, Bartolomé Ferrão wrote to Simão Rodrigues, the provincial of Portugal, that the conversion of Jews had progressed so well that there was only one Jewish family left in Albano who had not yet converted.⁴⁷ As more and more such *casas* spread to other towns, Ignatius, as founder of the original, was often called upon for advice in their organization.⁴⁸

F. The Bull *Cum Nimis Absurdum*

Until 1555, Ignatius had dealt only with Jews who wished to convert. The issue of the bull *Cum nimis absurdum*, with its unparalleled restrictions on the Jews of Rome, provides us with the opportunity to see Ignatius' attitude toward Jews who had no intention of converting. Issued in 1555 by Pope Paul IV, Gian Pietro Carafa, the papal document mirrors what many sixteenth-century theologians had to say about the Jews. Thus, it is worth citing the preamble to the bull at length.

It is extremely absurd and altogether inappropriate that Jews, whom their own guilt has consigned to perpetual servitude, should--under the pretext that Christian piety accepts them and allows them to live among Christians--be so ungrateful to Christians that they pay back favor with insults and, in place of the servitude that they owe to the Christians, manage to assume dominion. We have recently received information that their insolence has gone so far in our dear city of Rome and in several other cities, villages, and localities of the Holy Roman Church that they not only venture to live intermingled with Christians, even near their churches, without any distinction in their attire, but also dare to rent houses in the choicest streets and squares of those cities, villages, and localities. They also acquire and own real estate, employ wet nurses, maids, and other hired Christian servants, and commit various other acts to the shame and contempt of the Christian name.

The bull continues that, bearing in mind all these things, the Roman Church nevertheless tolerates the Jews in witness of the true Christian faith; but that as long as they persist in their errors, they will remain servants and the Christians will be the only free people. To overcome the

"evil" power the Jews were gaining, the Holy See instituted measures of unprecedented harshness. The first of these was the establishment, for the first time in Rome and other papal cities, of obligatory Jewish quarters. After more than 1500 years of continuous residence in Rome, the Jews were to live in a ghetto with only one gate to enter by. All property outside the gate would be sold to Christians. All synagogues except one in each city were to be destroyed, and all Jews were to wear badges to indicate their Jewishness. They were not allowed to employ Christians as servants, nor were they to work on Christian feast days. Social gatherings with Christians would be kept to a minimum and a Jew was not to be addressed as *Signore*, Sir, by a Christian. Jewish physicians were not to treat Christians even if they were requested to do so. In addition, Jews could not own real estate, nor could they engage in ordinary business except to sell old rags and secondhand goods. Restrictions were also placed on their money-lending.⁵⁰ Though these measures were not new to the history of the Jews, never before had they been joined together and enforced with such vigor. The Roman ghetto was erected within the astonishing time of two weeks and soon surrounded by a wall which the Jews themselves had to pay for.⁵¹

Not only were these restrictions extremely severe, but their orientation marks a dramatic shift in the papal attitude toward the conversion of the Jews. For the first time papal policy was aimed primarily at converting the Jews to Christianity. Whereas in the past there was only a vague expectation that the Jews would eventually be converted, now there were legal restrictions whose purpose was not to protect Christians from being influenced by Jews, but to convert the Jews, and this policy seems to have been followed by the majority of Paul IV's successors.⁵² As the decree states:

The Roman Church tolerates the Jews in witness of the true Christian faith and to the end [*ad hoc, ut*] that they, led by the piety and kindness of the Apostolic See, should at length recognize their errors and make all haste to arrive at the true light of the Catholic faith.⁵³

The bull goes on to say that this is why the restrictions are being put into effect. Kenneth Stow shows that while all former papal legislation says that the Jews are tolerated although (*licet*) they do not believe, from *Cum nimis absurdum* on, Jews are tolerated to the end that they may be converted (*ad hoc, ut*).⁵⁴

Father Giacomo Martina has traced the thinking behind the bull to a long line of Catholic theologians who, beginning with Augustine, developed a theological foundation for anti-Jewish sentiment. Using St. Paul's example of the Old Testament figures of Jacob, Esau, Sarah, and Agar (Romans 9:13; Galatians 4:22-31) to show Christianity's superiority over Judaism, Augustine added a more temporal interpretation to Paul's doctrine: the Jews, like Esau, have lost their birthright and must now serve their young brother, Jacob.⁵⁵ In the High Middle Ages, Innocent III (1198-1216) spoke of the "perpetual servitude" of the Jews.⁵⁶ Later St. Thomas Aquinas adapted this attitude to a juridical context. He wrote:

. . . although, as the laws state, the Jews because of their guilt are consigned to perpetual servitude, and sovereigns consequently may take their property for themselves, it must be under this limitation, that the supports necessary for life are not taken away.⁵⁷

Though the measures of the bull are purported to be disciplinary, its motivation is strictly religious, aimed at moving the Jews closer to conversion. The Jews, condemned by God, were to be subjugated by men because of their unwillingness to accept Christianity and their fidelity to the Law of Moses. Tertullian, Jerome, Ambrose, and John Chrysostom all speak harshly of the Jews in the name of religion, frequently using the most common epithets of the bigot.⁵⁸ By Ignatius' time, this religious sentiment against Jews had become the official position of the hierarchical Church, typified in Paul IV's bull.

Any person today would criticize this position, which was officially repudiated by the Fathers of the Second Vatican Council. The Declaration on Religious Freedom stated that "government is to see to it that the equality of citizens before the law, which is itself an element of the common welfare, is never violated for religious reasons whether openly or covertly."⁵⁹ In 1555, and for many years afterward, the pope, as head of the government of the Papal States, quite openly violated the equality and human dignity of the Jews, and precisely for religious reasons.

When the bull was published, Ignatius sent copies of it far and wide with instructions to pass them around to other Jesuit houses after they had been read.⁶⁰ In this way, he not only helped promulgate the bull, but seems to have agreed with it. In the letter to the rectors of Jesuit colleges,

he comments that the bull *contra los judíos*, "against the Jews," is "very necessary in those lands where they are permitted to live," which also suggests that he thought the Jews were somehow foreigners in a country they had occupied longer than the Christians.⁶¹ This understanding of the civil status of the Jews was, as we have seen, the position of Thomas and the position of most Christian princes.⁶² It seems, then, that both his actions and what little he said about the bull indicate that he did approve of it.

In his apparent agreement with this unjust bull, Ignatius was guilty of the blindness of his time, but guilty only to a degree. According to his mind, Ignatius was acting in a just manner by fighting to protect the rights of Christians and preserve the one true faith. It was as unjust for Jews, a subjugated people by definition, to assume power over their lords as it was for slaves. The pope, by issuing the bull, was acting to restore right order. For a man who was so devotedly willing to "obey" and "praise" the official teachings and precepts of the hierarchical Church (as he himself advocates in his "Rules for Being One with the Church"⁶³), it should come as no surprise that Ignatius did indeed approve of the bull.

He was not, however, a hopeless victim of the blindness of his peers. While he seems to have agreed with the bull and the establishment of the ghetto, showing a religious anti-Judaism, he in no way shared what he called the "temperament" (*humor*) of his fellow Spaniards: a phobia and dislike for all Jews, converted or not. If we distinguish between race and religion, we find that although Ignatius shared the strong feelings against the Jewish religion and all who practiced it, he clearly transcended his age in his open-mindedness toward the Jews as a race of people. Objecting only to their denial of Christ, he hoped that harsh measures against them would encourage them to reconsider and accept the Lord. Ignatius successfully fought to reinstate the decretal of Innocent III denying medical treatment to those seriously ill until they first went to confession, and this for their spiritual benefit, which he viewed as more important than their physical welfare. In similar manner it was natural for him, also for the spiritual benefit of the Jews, to approve of the measures of *Cum nimis absurdum*.⁶⁴

It would be many years before even this religious anti-Judaism with its very harsh practical consequences would be put officially aside by the

Church. The genuine Christian opposition to all forms of anti-Semitism had to wait until Pope Pius XI. In a public audience on September 6, 1938, Pius XI said: "Through Christ and in Christ, we are all spiritual descendants of Abraham. Anti-Semitism is inadmissible. Spiritually, we are all Semites."⁶⁵

G. Concrete Statements Showing Ignatius' Open-Mindedness

Nowhere is Ignatius' open-mindedness towards the Jews as a race more clearly evident than in the extraordinary statements he made toward the end of his life. Pedro Ribadeneyra, in his notes on the *Dicta et Facta* of Ignatius, records his response on one occasion when the question of "purity of blood" was raised:

One day when many of us were dining together, [Ignatius], speaking of himself about a certain topic, said that he would take it as a special grace from our Lord to come from Jewish lineage; and adding the reason, he said: "Why imagine! That a man could be a kinsman by blood [*secundum carnem*] of Christ our Lord and of our Lady the glorious Virgin Mary!" He spoke these words with such a facial expression and with so much emotion that tears welled into his eyes. This was something that deeply impressed everyone.⁶⁶

Ignatius' deep devotion to the person of Jesus is expressed in his desire to be related to him even by race (*secundum carnem*), a desire he felt so deeply that he could not help being emotionally overwhelmed. Ribadeneyra later mentioned how rare it was that Ignatius showed this kind of emotion, which makes this incident all the more noteworthy.⁶⁷

Ribadeneyra continues with a story told him by Pedro de Z̄arate, who was so astounded by Ignatius' empathy for Jews that:

On hearing our Father make the same statement which I recounted above, he crossed himself and exclaimed: "A Jew?" And he spat on the ground at this name. Our Father said to him: "Now, Señor Pedro de Z̄arate, let us be reasonable; listen to what I have to say." And then he gave him so many reasons for this that he really persuaded him to wish to be of Jewish lineage.⁶⁸

Ribadeneyra remarks at how strange it was that Z̄arate, a proud Basque, could be persuaded to change his opinion, for "it is so contrary to what is natural for the Basques, and previously he had abhorred them so much."⁶⁹ Arguing from personal history, Ignatius shared his own experience of transformation from the Basque Iñigo de Loyola, proud of his pure Guipuzcoan blood before the Inquisitor at Alcalá, to the apostle to the Jews of Rome and founder of the Society, proud to have New Christians within the ranks.⁷⁰

Ignatius apparently expressed deep respect for Jewish Christians several times, for Ribadeneyra records another story told by Alessandro de Foligni, a New Christian and the father of Francesco Alessandro, a Dominican priest. Foligni, when confronted by others who spoke of the "infamy" of a Jewish background, responded to them by saying, "I would be of this opinion, if it had not been prevented by the authority of Father Ignatius who told me that he would count it as a favor of God to have been born of this lineage."⁷¹

Ignatius was able to change the opinion of Alessandro, who, as a *converso*, considered it a mark against him to have been born a Jew. This story, even stronger than the others, presents Ignatius as wishing to have the background of a *cristiano nuevo*; he would have been delighted to be a *converso*--a remarkable desire for a Guipuzcoan. His deeper motivation is a profound identification with the person of Christ, which enabled him to transcend the blind, thoughtless prejudice of his day and avoid succumbing to the characteristic attitude (*humor*) of his countrymen.

Henry Kamen, the English historian, himself a Jew, was so impressed with these statements of Ignatius that he was moved to write, echoing the words of Pius XI: "These incidents show that Ignatius had so far escaped the influence of the atmosphere in Spain as to become a deep and sincere spiritual Semite."⁷² It was this open-minded attitude that the founder of the Society of Jesus incorporated into the legislation of the Society.

PART II. FORMATION OF THE SOCIETY'S LATER ATTITUDE TOWARD THE JEWS

When Ignatius was writing his *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, one of the most important matters that he had to face was the development of criteria for choosing truly fit persons who would make up the order. In Part I of the *Constitutions* he carefully listed the qualities requisite for Jesuits, stating that though the Society should have "all kinds of persons" in its ranks, its members must have certain intellectual and spiritual gifts, as well as good health and adequate maturity, if the order is to achieve its apostolic goal.⁷³ Consequently, Ignatius also listed the impediments to admission to the Society in this First Part of the *Constitutions*.⁷⁴

From the point of view of this study, there is one impediment conspicuously absent, one which most persons zealous for reform in sixteenth-century Spain would most certainly have included: that of being of Jewish lineage. Yet this impediment is nowhere to be found in Ignatius' *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. Consequently there were many *conversos* or New Christians who were members of the Society, and some of them were among the most illustrious, such as Diego Laynez.

By writing this "non-discrimination" into his *Constitutions*, Ignatius was incorporating his own attitude toward Christians of Jewish lineage into the Society's stance towards them. In doing so, he was forming an attitude towards the New Christians in the Society of Jesus that was then shared by no major religious order in Spain.

To understand just how bold a position Ignatius took on this question of admitting New Christians into the Society of Jesus, it is helpful to review the question of purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain.

A. The Historical Context: *Limpieza de Sangre*

Paradoxically enough, as more and more Jews in Spain were baptized, frequently under pressure, discrimination against them and their descendants mounted. Restriction of Jewish Christians from certain occupations and from membership in various organizations originated in a concern for this "purity of blood." Statutes with restrictive clauses to maintain this *limpieza de sangre* within an organization were soon enacted. *Conversos*, considered by society as somehow blemished, were treated as second-class citizens simply because of their Jewish heritage. Though they were indistinguishable from other Spaniards, when their origins were known they were easy targets for discrimination.⁷⁵

The first of these *estatutos de limpieza de sangre* was enacted in 1449, but they quickly spread throughout Spain and Portugal, where they endured until the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ The concern for purity of blood culminated in 1547 when the Archdiocese of Toledo, the Primatial See of Spain, enforced its own statutes barring Jewish and Moorish descendants from any positions within the Church.⁷⁷ Eventually ratified by both the king and pope, they set the tone for both the Church

and state toward those of Jewish and Moorish racial origins.⁷⁸ Though the statutes speak of both Jewish and Moorish Christians, they had their greatest impact on those of Jewish lineage, since these were much more likely to aspire to positions of authority. The Moorish Christians for the most part lived in rural districts, and engaged in agriculture and manual labor, while the Jewish Christians lived in cities, were merchants, and were more educated.⁷⁹ Thus, the statutes had to do almost entirely with Jewish Christians.

The first religious order at the time to enforce statutes against the *conversos* was the influential Order of St. Jerome, the Hieronymites. They considered the question in 1461, but it took thirty years for the order to accept the statutes and the pope to ratify them.⁸⁰ In 1496, the Dominican Priory of St. Thomas Aquinas in Avila enacted and received papal approval for its discriminating regulation.⁸¹ Overy thirty years later, in 1531, the Dominican houses of Santa Maria Nieba and San Pedro Mártir of Toledo were authorized to exclude New Christians.⁸² In 1525, the Franciscan Observants requested and obtained from Pope Clement VII permission to refuse applicants of Jewish descent as well as those who had been examined by the Inquisition.⁸³ Other orders, monasteries, churches, dioceses, military orders, and confraternities followed suit so that by the time Ignatius was writing the *Constitutions of the Society* (chiefly from 1547 to 1556), all of the major and most influential religious orders of Spain enforced clauses in their rules for admission excluding those of Jewish origin.⁸⁴

The statutes, of course, were not always universally well received, nor were they always strictly enforced. The general sentiment, however, leaned in favor of them, and opposition was confined mostly to New Christians.⁸⁵ The acceptance of the statutes by the Church of Toledo in 1547 and their ratification by Pope Paul III in 1548, by Pope Paul IV in 1555, and finally by King Philip II in 1556 represented the official position of both the Church and state in Spain.⁸⁶

B. The Society's Policy

One feature which distinguished the Jesuits from other orders was precisely their refusal to exclude Jewish Christians from their ranks. This unique and controversial policy evolved from much thought and consideration

by Ignatius during the time he was writing the *General Examen*, which was completed in 1546. A means of investigation and a conspectus intended to give an accurate account of the Society to possible candidates, the *Examen* also lists the prerequisites for acceptance and reasons for exclusion.⁸⁷ Because the fever of *limpieza de sangre* ran so high, Ignatius could not omit consideration of the question while he was writing the *Examen*. In fact, at that very time he was being badgered by Antonio Araoz to exclude New Christians from the Society.⁸⁸ Yet nowhere in the *Examen* is there any mention of racial origin as a reason for exclusion. While it is true that candidates for the Society were to be asked if they were "New" or "Old" Christians, this question is listed among those whose purpose was "to gain a better knowledge of the candidate"⁸⁹ (*para más conocer la persona . . .*). The question ranks with ones that ask for the candidate's name, age, place of birth, and so forth.

Alonso Salmerón, one of the early companions of Ignatius, felt that the question should be deleted, and in fact it was deleted in text B of 1556, but added again in Ignatius' own hand.⁹⁰ The many problems that New Christian Jesuits faced made it important that the Society know of their origins from the beginning so that they could be trained to meet them. There were also some places where New Christian Jesuits could not be sent. It was imperative, therefore, to know who they were from the beginning. But in no way was the question meant to be discriminatory.

C. Problems within the Society: Antonio Araoz

Besides resisting the prevalent discriminatory trends of the Church and state, Ignatius also had to contend with dissension within the Society concerning his acceptance of Jewish Christians. The most persistent of critics was Antonio Araoz, a Basque like Ignatius and the Jesuit provincial in Spain. Born in the Guipuzcoan town of Vergara in 1515, Araoz graduated from the University of Salamanca with a doctorate in theology. He was related to Ignatius as the nephew of his sister-in-law. Having heard the stories of Ignatius' sojourn in Azpeitia in 1535, Araoz was so impressed that he set out for Rome to find him. He had his heart set on an ecclesiastical career, but after meeting Ignatius and making the Spiritual Exercises, he decided to enter the Society. Araoz was not only the first

Jesuit to go to Spain in 1539, but was later named by Ignatius, who admired his ability, as Spain's first provincial.⁹¹

An elegant preacher, Araoz soon became popular in court circles where he spent much of his time.⁹² There he met many influential people, firm believers in *limpieza de sangre* and interested in prohibiting Jewish Christians from any positions in the Church or state.⁹³ Araoz frequently wrote to Ignatius of the *batería*, the racket, these people made in protest against the Society's acceptance of New Christians.⁹⁴

On December 11, 1545, just six months after Araoz and his companion, Pierre Favre, arrived in the court of Prince Philip II where they were to spend a year promoting the establishment and growth of the Society, Araoz wrote to Ignatius expressing his concern about the acceptance of New Christians:

Father, until the Society is somewhat better known and established in Castile, it would seem very appropriate to think over [*mirar*] the matter of receiving New Christians [*gente verriac*], for, in the opinion of many, this alone is poison.⁹⁵

He goes on to excuse himself if he has improperly brought up the question and asserts that he does not believe there should be a rule against the *gente verriac*, "new people." Throughout his carefully worded letter, Araoz tries to be as discreet as possible in broaching the subject with Ignatius, as if he already knows what Ignatius' reaction will be. His sense of delicacy about the problem is revealed in his use of the Basque word *verriac*, meaning new or young. Ignatius, on the other hand, preferred to use the more direct *cristianos nuevos* to refer to Christians of Jewish origin.

Araoz never fully accepted Ignatius' stand on the issue and repeatedly wrote to him about it over a span of ten years. He still felt that the general sentiment in Spain was reason enough to change the Society's policy. Ignatius, however, remained firm. Adhering to the apostolic orientation of the Society, he decided that a man's effectiveness in spreading the gospel and working for the Kingdom of God surpassed his ethnic or religious origins as criteria for acceptance. A man of Jewish origin, he stressed, could even give greater glory to God than an Old Christian because he had had to overcome the handicap of being Jewish.⁹⁶

In his early attitude toward Jewish Christians, however, Ignatius,

perhaps using the convention of his day, did consider a man's Jewish heritage an imperfection or defect (*la falta, la nota*).⁹⁷ In a later letter to Araoz, Ignatius says that New Christians should have other greater qualities (*más otras partes*) to be admitted, and that qualified candidates should be sent to Rome to avoid possible trouble in Spain or Portugal.⁹⁸ Ignatius had his secretary, Juan de Polanco, write in one of his many letters on the subject to Araoz:

About not accepting New Christians, our Father is not persuaded that God would be served this way. But it seems good to him that one ought to be more circumspect with them. If over there [in Spain] the attitudes (*humores*) of the court or of the king are against admitting them, send them here if they are worthy candidates, as we have written other times. Here one does not look at the matter so closely in the light of what is the race of one who is seen to be a good person, just as nobility does not suffice for admission if the other qualifications are lacking.⁹⁹

New Christians must have, he here indicates, compensating qualities to offset the difficulties for them caused by the general cultural milieu. The underlying criterion, however, for acceptance always remained a man's ability, regardless of his racial or ethnic origin, to work for the goal of the Society, "the spiritual progress of souls" (*ayudar a las ánimas*), which in his thought is coupled, often explicitly as here, with "greater service to His Divine Majesty" (*mayor servicio de su divina Majestad*).¹⁰⁰

D. Problems from the Spanish Church: Archbishop Silíceo

Ignatius' greatest challenge in defending the Society's position came from Archbishop Juan Martínez Guíjarro, a name he latinized to Silíceo, "the flinty." Born in 1486 of a humble family in Villagarcía, a small village in the Extramadura region of Spain, Silíceo eventually studied and taught at the University of Paris. Returning later to Spain, he went to the University of Salamanca to help reorganize the Faculty of Theology there. At Salamanca he visited the Colegio Viejo de San Bartolomé, where he had spent seven years as a student and where he would eventually teach natural philosophy for twelve years.¹⁰¹ This College of San Bartolomé, which boasted of being the first in Spain to enact *estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, must have influenced Silíceo while he was there, for he always proudly claimed to be an Old Christian.¹⁰²

Silíceo later became tutor, confessor, and chaplain to Prince Philip II, who rewarded him in 1546 by asking his father, Emperor Charles V, to raise Silíceo to the Primatial See of Spain.¹⁰³ As Archbishop of Toledo a year and a half later, Silíceo convoked the cathedral chapter, instructing it to issue discriminatory statutes against Jewish Christians. Henceforward, no one of Jewish or Moorish origin could hold any office within the Church of Toledo, not even in the choir.¹⁰⁴

Initially friendly toward the Jesuits while he was Prince Philip II's tutor, Silíceo, soon after he became the primate of Spain, began to distrust them. He had completely changed his opinion. He now considered them heretics and forbade them to administer the sacraments without first being examined by his deputy.¹⁰⁵ This situation continued for two years until Araoz asked Miguel Torres, who knew Silíceo, to talk to him. Torres showed the Archbishop the papal bulls confirming the order and explained the purpose and procedures of the Society. Though he welcomed Torres, Silíceo objected to the extensive privileges of the Society, especially its exemptions. Ignatius had instructed Francisco de Villanueva, rector at the college at Alcalá, the only Jesuit residence in the archbishop's diocese, to appease Silíceo, even to the point of sending all Jesuit candidates to him for examination.¹⁰⁶

A little over a year later, however, the archbishop restricted the Society even further. He revoked the faculties of all priests in his diocese who had made the Spiritual Exercises and forbade Jesuits to preach, hear confessions, administer the Eucharist, or even say Mass in any churches in his archdiocese.¹⁰⁷ The actions of a few uneducated men, mistakenly thought to be Jesuits, had caused the archbishop's harsh reaction. In their fervor to promote piety, several priests from Toledo who had made the Exercises had apparently counseled some of their disciples to receive communion twice daily. At a time when even weekly communion was rare, this extreme practice was seen as all the more alarming.¹⁰⁸

Villanueva protested in person the edict against the Jesuits, answering Silíceo's questions as best he could and explaining the privileges of the Society as stated in the papal bulls. The archbishop, infuriated at the mention of the pope, declared that in Toledo there was no need for a pope.¹⁰⁹ In the face of such defiance, any appeal by Villanueva to papal privileges

was useless. He felt that he had no choice now but to invoke the papal authority of the Apostolic Letters which established and granted special privileges to the Society and ordered serious sanctions against those who violated them.¹¹⁰ Thus armed with the papal bulls and letters from the apostolic nuncio, Giovanni Poggio, as well as from higher-placed friends, Villanueva, accompanied by Miguel de Torres, went to see the archbishop for a second time.

It was during this second meeting that the real reasons behind Silíceo's truculence emerged. Villanueva asked Silíceo if they could notify him of the authority of the bulls, to which he responded that if they did, he would burn them. Then, refusing to address Villanueva because he believed him racially impure, Silíceo drew Torres aside to tell him that the main reason he had treated the Society so badly was because of its acceptance of New Christians.¹¹¹ If the Society agreed to his *limpieza* statute imposed on the Church of Toledo, Silíceo claimed, "he would treat it well, and it would have no greater friend than he, or one who would favor it more."¹¹²

In his letter of November 15, 1551, to Ignatius regarding the meeting, Villanueva aired his own opinion of discrimination against New Christians. An Old Christian himself, he believed that:

If we make a distinction such as the archbishop wants, more will be lost in other regions than gained in his. . . . People will stay away from us, notwithstanding the fact that at the present time there are few grandees in Castile who are not of mixed blood [*que no estēn mezclados*]. It is a great pity that the authorities do not wish to give these poor people a place on this land. I wish that I had the strength to become their protector, especially since we see that today they have in them more virtue than the Old Christians or the hidalgos.¹¹³

Torres also wrote to Ignatius on the same day, giving his harsh judgment of the archbishop. He expressed his frustration at Silíceo's lack of respect for the Holy See, which the archbishop believed to be rife with nepotism and engaged in numerous questionable activities. When Torres asked what more approbation other religious orders had, the archbishop replied, "Miracles," to which Torres retorted, "As if miracles did not have the same apostolic authority." Torres was thinking, of course, that miracles, to be recognized as authentic, should be declared

so by apostolic authority. Ultimately, in Torres' opinion, to deal with Silíceo, it would be better to go to the Inquisition, which in Spain was feared more than the pope.¹¹⁴

When Ignatius first heard of the difficulties with Silíceo, he was by no means dejected or upset. On the contrary, he seemed almost happy about it. He believed that under this persecution, a sign that the Lord wished to use the Society in Toledo, the Society could indeed produce the greatest results. He was of the opinion that the archbishop would gain little by his obstinacy because "not only in heaven but even on this earth there is someone who is his superior, and who will not allow the work of God to be impeded by him."¹¹⁵ In this serene, confident frame of mind, Ignatius, absolutely certain that it was God's will to accept New Christians, formulated his response to the problem.

He went to the pope, Julius III, and to certain cardinals, especially those who had done favors for the archbishop. As a result, the pope wrote two letters, one to Silíceo expressing disbelief at his treatment of the Society and ordering him to suspend any action he had taken against it, and another to the nuncio, Cardinal Poggio, asserting that the archbishop was in no way to hinder the Society's work.¹¹⁶ Ignatius also sent off a brace of letters to members and friends of the Society explaining the whole problem. He had Polanco write:

As for coming to terms with the archbishop and accepting his statutes [*deseñas*], thus adapting our Constitutions to his, it is not to be thought of. It will be enough for him to mind his own business [*Bástele á él entender en lo que está á su cargo*].¹¹⁷

In these succinct, firm sentences, Ignatius reaffirms his policy that the *Constitutions* would not be altered even at the risk of angering one of the most powerful men in Spain. Ignatius' prayer for Silíceo was that God would give him the grace to reform himself first before he tried to reform the Church!¹¹⁸

Ignatius wrote to Cardinal Poggio to thank him for his help and ask him to continue to do whatever he could to solve the problem. His letter illustrates again the total confidence he had in the justice of his position:

. . . I hold for certain that we will completely succeed, and that neither the protection of Your Most Reverend Lordship in Spain, nor that of His Holiness and of the

important persons in his court will fail to defend justice and the work of God our Lord, who is the one who disposes his servants this way and that for the defense of it.¹¹⁹

The plan succeeded. Outside pressure against Silíceo had mounted to such an extent that he had no choice but to withdraw. Too many people were opposed to him: the royal council, the pope's nuncio, many influential people, and even Prince Philip himself.¹²⁰ It was ultimately the personal intervention of the apostolic nuncio that delivered the final blow to the archbishop's defiance. In a personal visit to Silíceo, Poggio asked him to stop his campaign against the Jesuits, to which Silíceo responded that he wished to be left to govern his own sheep. The Jesuits, Poggio replied, were not his sheep, and if the archbishop did not desist, he would be brought to Rome as a prisoner.¹²¹ With this warning, Silíceo retreated.

Soon, however, there arose another problem. Poggio, to appease Silíceo, had granted a special condition in his previous letter to the archbishop. Villanueva reports that Poggio assured Silíceo that the house at Alcalá would not accept anyone who *twiese rraça*, literally "had race," and that the Society would submit to his authority in this matter as other orders had. Villanueva writes:

He [Poggio] gave his word without our knowing or authorizing it. We cannot deny that we owe much to the cardinal, because certainly he has taken the matter to himself. But as he knew the hardness of this prelate, he took what he could get, not what he wanted.¹²²

In a letter to the frustrated Villanueva, Ignatius outlined his carefully planned solution to this new problem.¹²³ Realizing that any significant apostolic work must be done in union with the local bishop, Ignatius advised Villanueva that *for the present* no New Christians could be accepted into the Society in Spain and that no special privileges could be granted without the archbishop's permission. For the "aid of souls" and the "service" and "glory of God," Ignatius gave in to Silíceo's demands. He did not see it, however, as a permanent submission; it was simply the course of action *por el presente*. Ignatius was looking to the long run, possibly thinking that the provision could be changed when there was a new archbishop. Ribadeneyra wrote that Ignatius told him that the archbishop was old and the Society was young and would outlive the archbishop.¹²⁴ He also did not intend his instructions for anyone but Villanueva, for no

similar orders were issued to others in Spain.¹²⁵ Thus there was never any universal discrimination against the New Christians while Ignatius lived, but for the time being and under the special circumstances, Ignatius compromised with the myth of *limpieza*.

E. Concrete Practice: Eliano

Where concern for *limpieza* did not exist, however, there was no need for any concessions to time or place. In 1551 and 1552, at the height of the difficulties with the archbishop of Toledo, Ignatius approved of the entrance of the newly baptized Jew, Giovanni Battista Eliano, also called Romano, who was the grandson and student of the famous rabbi, Elijah Levita (ben Asher ha-levi Askinazi), and a rabbinical student himself.¹²⁶ The twenty-one-year-old Eliano, who was well traveled and spoke six languages, was baptized by André des Freux in Venice, and shortly afterwards was accepted into the Society.¹²⁷ After being called to Rome by Ignatius and assigned to teach in the Roman College, which he did until 1560, he was later sent to the Middle East where he worked as a missionary among the Copts and Orthodox.¹²⁸ Eliano's conversion and reception into the Jesuits is especially noteworthy, for he is frequently referred to by present-day Jewish historians as an example of Ignatius' open-mindedness toward the Jews.¹²⁹

F. Ignatius' Final Word: The Universal Good

Ignatius' final statement on the admission of New Christians appears in a letter to his long-time Basque friend, Pedro de Zárate, written on October 29, 1555, just nine months before his death. Zárate had written Ignatius that the Count of Eboli, Rui Gómez de Silva, was unhappy that the Society accepted New Christians. Ignatius responds with the strongest statement of support and respect for the New Christian Jesuits:

And I would also say this: that there are some of this kind of people who are in the Society who yield in no respect whatsoever to Old Christians, or to hidalgos, or to caballeros as good religious and as useful for the universal good.¹³⁰

Until the end of his life, Ignatius remained firm in the face of both religious authority and political power in Spain. Perhaps his ultimate reason for opposing the *limpieza* prejudice stems from his own practical

experience with New Christians, men who could not be surpassed in their religious dedication to work for the universal good. The Society could not exclude them and remain true to its apostolic orientation.

Perhaps Ignatius had thought the same as Juan de Avila, a New Christian known as the Apostle of Andalusía. Avila, the leader of a community of men that worked especially to reform the clergy, had established several colleges to better prepare men for the pastoral ministry. Similar to Ignatius in his apostolic spirituality, Avila, after hearing of Ignatius' work and his refusal to exclude New Christians, was very much impressed and even recommended some of his own disciples to the Society. Opposed to discrimination on the basis of race, Avila warned the Society that it could destroy itself in two ways: the first, by accepting too many candidates, and the second, by making distinctions based on lineage and blood. These were the reasons that Ribadeneyra would raise many years later when the Society was about to abolish Ignatius' enlightened practice of accepting New Christians. Ignatius and Avila, mutual admirers and similar in many ways, agreed most strongly on this principle.¹³¹

PART III. THE SOCIETY LATER EXCLUDES NEW CHRISTIANS

That concludes the present historical account of Ignatius' own attitude toward the Jews. Perhaps he is to be most commended in this matter for resisting all attempts to enact statutes of *limpieza de sangre* for the Society. As we have seen, he resisted tremendous pressures from all sides to change the *Constitutions* to prohibit anyone of Jewish background from being admitted to the Society. Though kings, prelates, nobles, and even some of the Spanish Jesuits repeatedly sought the enactment of such legislation, Ignatius was adamant: There was to be no such impediment in the Society of Jesus.

As Cecil Roth pointed out, however, this attitude of Ignatius did not prevail, and we cannot leave off our study without a brief word about the subsequent change in the Society's legislation concerning those of Jewish origin.

A. The Steps toward the Exclusion

The press for restrictive legislation did not stop at the death of the

first general. Even in the time of Laynez, the second superior general of the Jesuits, who was himself of Jewish blood, there were renewed attempts to restrict admission of New Christians to the Society.¹³² The third general, Francis Borgia, also endured and resisted the same harangue as Ignatius from advocates in Spain of *limpieza de sangre*.¹³³ But it was not until the time of the fifth general, Claudio Aquaviva, that those who sought to exclude anyone from Jewish lineage finally won out. In 1592, Aquaviva wrote to the provincials of Spain ordering them not to receive New Christians into the Society.¹³⁴

The final blow to the Ignatian attitude of openness came in 1593 at the Fifth General Congregation. With the passage of its Decree 52, no one of Jewish or Muslim backgrounds could ever enter the Society. Further, not even the general could dispense from this impediment.¹³⁵ The characteristic outlook (*humor*) of the Spanish elite had finally won out.

The matter was again raised in the Sixth General Congregation in 1608, and the decree was mitigated to exclude only those whose Christianity could not be traced to five generations.¹³⁶ This impediment was commonly called the "impediment of origin."

During some four centuries after the Council of Trent, a growing body of laws and insistence on them was one of the means by which the Church pulled herself together after the disorganization preceding the Reformation. This spirit was in full momentum in Aquaviva's day and naturally had its parallel movement in the Society. Many rules and ordinances enacted during or near his generalate as good means to their ends in the circumstances of the time received a growing reverence as the decades and centuries passed; and they remained in force long after these circumstances had passed away. Examples in point are many of the "Common Rules" in the text of 1616,¹³⁷ such as Common Rule 14 which with Rule 10 of the Rules of the Temporal Coadjutors (1609) obstructed the Jesuit brothers from acquiring more learning than they had when they entered.¹³⁸ These rules stood unchanged until General Congregation XXVII in 1928¹³⁹--a time in which we can now see the first effective beginnings of the desire for adaptation to modern circumstances which produced Vatican Council II and with it has become so strong. In similar fashion, the "impediment of origin" remained unchanged from 1593 until well into our twentieth century.

B. Abrogation of the Exclusion

In 1923 General Congregation XXVII made it possible for the general to dispense a candidate of Jewish origin from this impediment.¹⁴⁰ Then General Congregation XXIX, convened in 1946 as soon as possible after the close of World War II, abrogated the impediment of origin.¹⁴¹ As a result, the Society's law and official attitude in this matter are once again those of Ignatius himself. It is unfortunate that it was not until after the Nazi Holocaust that the Society moved to return completely to the spirit and practice of Ignatius.

The historian of the Society in Spain, Antonio Astráin, S.J., attempts to give some reasons why this legislation, which seems contrary to the spirit of the *Constitutions* and definitely against the mind of Ignatius, was enacted. He cites the many letters from Spain asking for statutes of *limpieza*. The letters contend that the Society has fallen into "great infamy" because it accepted people of Jewish lineage.¹⁴² Astráin states, however, that the *main* reason why Decree 52 was passed by General Congregation V was that almost all of those who were lobbying for a change in the *Constitutions* of the Society to allow the Spanish provinces greater autonomy were New Christians. Called "the agitators" (*perturbatores*), they were the ones who wrote "memorials" to the pope and the king.¹⁴³ Unfortunately for his view, Astráin gives no strong evidence of this. He cites the diary of one of the fathers at the general congregation who wrote that Miguel Marcos, a delegate to the congregation from Castile, said that of the twenty-seven who had given memorials against the Institute to the king and the pope, twenty-five were of Jewish lineage. This contention, however, is just the opposite of that of Pedro de Ribadeneyra, who states that there were more of the *pertubatores* who did not have this "characteristic" (*nota*) than did, and that there were more New Christians who opposed changing the *Constitutions* than favored it.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, the decree itself makes no connection between the two issues and repeatedly explains why it was enacted: New Christians were to be excluded because their origin (*generis*) was offensive to people.¹⁴⁵ Astráin made no attempt to investigate further. Instead he spoke of *el carácter maligno de los confesos* and the need for this legislation.¹⁴⁶

If Astráin had investigated further, he would have found that the

accusation of Marcos was false. Six or seven of the "memorials" were anonymous or falsely attributed; at least three of the "memorialists" who were not New Christians, Fathers Zarauz, Portocarrero, and Medina, also favored the idea of "purity of blood"; finally, in most cases, it was impossible to prove one way or the other if any of the twenty-seven were New Christians or not.¹⁴⁷

The full story of why the Society enacted a statute of *limpieza* and why it perdured has yet to be written. When it is, it seems certain that Ignatius will stand out even more as someone who saw through to the heart of the question of *limpieza* as totally contrary to the gospel, and as one who was much more progressive than those who came after him.

PART IV. SOME CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

There are two things that have become clear in the course of our study of Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews. First of all, he was oriented towards their conversion to Christianity. He personally worked for the conversion of the Jews of Rome, and he took practical steps to foster an organized apostolate to them. It should not be surprising, then, that he would support the papal bull *Cum nimis absurdum*, whose harsh measures were aimed at the conversion of the Jews. But it is equally true that Ignatius was in no way an anti-Semite. Indeed, it was his desire to be of Jewish blood so that he might more closely be like Christ. For Ignatius, unlike many of his contemporaries, race was not an issue. As he wrote to Antonio Araoz, one should look "not in the light of what is the race of someone," but at whether he is a good person.¹⁴⁸

This personal attitude of Ignatius, blind to race but sensitive to Christian goodness, was incorporated into his *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. Consequently, in Ignatius' time men of Jewish lineage were admitted to the Jesuit order. Though this might seem nothing extraordinary to us today, for a religious order so deeply rooted in sixteenth-century Spain it was revolutionary, and it was certainly courageous. This attitude meant a constant opposition from all levels of Spanish society who were very sensitive to "purity of blood."

A. Spirituality

Why is it that on this point Ignatius should have stood against so many of his contemporaries? Is there anything in Ignatius' spiritual outlook that both motivated and gave support to this stance against his culture? Several Ignatian documents indicate that there is. In them, Ignatius gives religious reasons why there was to be no racial discrimination in the Society of Jesus.

We suggested an important role for Diego Laynez in the formation of Ignatius' attitude toward Jewish Christians. This seems to be borne out not only by Ignatius' close association with Laynez, but also by a letter that Laynez wrote to Araoz over this same issue--whether New Christians should be excluded from the Society. Laynez, superior general of the Jesuits at this time, told Araoz why this is unacceptable:

The reason why we cannot exclude them is that, if you remember, Your Reverence wrote about this to our Father [Ignatius], and then our Father, after carefully considering the matter and recommending it to our Lord [*mirando mucho la cosa y encomendada a N.S.*], decided against it [the exclusion], and this [attitude] is what he put into the Constitutions [*y assi lo puso en las Constituciones*], . . .¹⁴⁹

According to Laynez, then, Araoz' first letter on the subject, written in December, 1545, was the occasion of Ignatius' seriously considering the issue with regard to inclusion in the *Constitutions*.¹⁵⁰ Since Laynez was in Rome with Ignatius when Araoz' letter was received and when Ignatius was considering how to respond, it is likely that Ignatius would have discussed the question with Laynez.¹⁵¹ Even the nearness of Laynez, the New Christian, must have had some influence on his considerations. Ignatius knew that he could not categorically exclude people of the quality of Laynez just because they were from Jewish ancestry.¹⁵²

Whatever Laynez' role was in the formation of Ignatius' position, Laynez' letter tells us that the decision was not lightly made, and that it was a decision made for religious reasons. The language, "after carefully considering the matter and recommending it to our Lord," is the language Ignatius uses in the *Spiritual Exercises* for discernment of God's will.¹⁵³ Ignatius' ultimate motivation is not to be found in his friendship with Laynez, but in his prayerful discernment of God's will for the Society.

Another letter, this one from Araoz to Ignatius, gives some insight into the process of discernment itself, or at least it tells us something of the language Ignatius uses to articulate the religious motivation behind his attitude. Written at the end of 1546, the letter is obviously answering the letter Ignatius wrote in response to Araoz' original question about accepting New Christians into the Society. It is that original question and Ignatius' response that Laynez referred to many years later. Unfortunately, Ignatius' letter has been lost, but we can reconstruct at least part of it from Araoz' letter. From his home town, Vergara, Araoz wrote Ignatius:

With regard to receiving New Christians [*gente verriac*], it is a holy thing, without doubt, to show no partiality [see Acts, 10:34] in regard to persons, nor will the Lord permit it among Ours [Jesuits], (besides which we eat the food that was shown St. Peter without exception). Nevertheless, while this is so, yet for the common and greater good, in accordance with the characteristic attitude [*humor*] in the regions where we go, it is good to look very carefully at this, at least in order to examine these persons with more vigilance and rigor. Although the Constitutions do not exclude them, to give no appearance of partiality [*por no parecer acepçion*], if it seems right to Your Reverence, it seems that it would be appropriate that each of our members take very seriously, wherever they are, that they should look very much into this; at least if there are other places where the feelings are as in Spain, it is necessary to look and look again at this matter. In the end, it will be done as Your Reverence orders and commands, as has been done up to now.¹⁵⁴

Since it is unlikely that Araoz, who all his life sought statutes to exclude New Christians from the Society, would produce scripture passages against such legislation, the references most likely come from Ignatius. Moreover, the first sentence cited has the character of a point being granted to Ignatius by Araoz, as if Ignatius had used these scriptural reasons for his decision when he responded to Araoz' question. Further, the reference to Peter is repeated in other Ignatian letters on this subject.¹⁵⁵

The scriptural allusion comes from the Acts of the Apostles where Luke recounts Peter's vision at Joppa. It is ironic that the question that Peter is dealing with is one of Jewish revulsion from Gentiles and their customs. Araoz' problem is just the opposite, Gentile revulsion

from Jews. In Acts, after his vision, Peter realized both that the Old Law's food proscriptions were abrogated in the New Covenant, and that he should call "no man common or unclean."¹⁵⁶ Thus, it was no longer unlawful to associate with Gentiles. Consequently, Peter accepted the Gentile Cornelius as a Christian and visited him in his house. When Peter next preaches the gospel, Acts says:

"The truth I have now come to realize," he said, "is that God is not an acceptor of men, but in every nation, anyone who fears him and does right is acceptable to him."¹⁵⁷

The tables are now turned for Araoz. The Old Christian of Gentile stock is to accept the New Christian of Jewish stock. There would, therefore, be no distinctions in the Society on the basis of race, and there would not be the restrictive clauses that Araoz requested. What Peter realized, God's universal love of all people, Ignatius also realized. Biblical insight was at the core of Ignatius' attitude towards Jewish Christians.

In another letter, to Pierre Favre who was with Araoz in Spain, Ignatius applied this more general principle of non-partiality to the practical situation of the Society.

As far as accepting New Christians, what we do here is as follows: We take well into account that the Society's aim is to be able and to know how to edify all persons in all things. This requires people free from any characteristic mark [*nota*] which could hinder the spiritual fruit. And this especially in those places where they are expected to bear spiritual fruit. However, they might do this with much more glory, talent, mortification, and good example of life. All of this would make up for and even clear up the mark [*suppliría y esclarearía la nota*], and in some ways would give even greater glory to God our Lord.¹⁵⁸

Starting from the aim and purpose of the Society, Ignatius has no other presuppositions. The formula here, "*la Compañía es para en todo poder y saber edificar a todos*," as Iparraguirre has pointed out, means the same thing as "*ajuda del projimo*," "to help our neighbor."¹⁵⁹ The phrase is used several times in the *Constitutions* (*Cons*, [438], [645], [766]); and in [766] it is coupled with "*el servicio de Dios N.S.*," "the service of God our Lord." This, of course, is the principal aim of the Society, the service of God and the aid of our neighbor. Thus the apostolic orientation of the Society is to be the norm for choosing its members. Those who will

be most effective and useful towards spreading the gospel are to be chosen, no matter what ethnic or former religious background they may have.

But the letter also intimates that concessions may have to be made. Being a New Christian is considered by some to be a "defect," "characteristic mark" (*nota*) in a depreciatory sense. Ignatius frequently allows for this when he recommends sending New Christian candidates for the Society to places where this is not a problem. Thus the principle of impartiality gives way to apostolic effectiveness, but only to the degree of sending the person elsewhere.¹⁶⁰ How, then, did Ignatius come to his position on New Christian Jesuits? It was by prayerful discernment based on his personal experience in the light of biblical faith. Or, as we suggested in the Introduction, the story of Ignatius and the Jews illustrates the concrete working out of the virtue of prudence informed by a high spirituality. This is the spirituality of the *Spiritual Exercises* which has to do with prudent decisions in the light of commitment to Christ. This, too, is what enabled Ignatius to take such a critical stance towards his culture, towards the "attitudes" (*humores*) of the Spanish court and of the king.¹⁶¹

B. Significance for Today

In the recent publication of the Jesuit Conference, *The Context of Our Ministries: Working Papers*, Joseph Fitzpatrick describes how the faith of Jesus is not to be identified with a particular culture. Christian faith is catholic, and can express itself in any culture. In support of this, Fitzpatrick refers to the passage from Acts used by Ignatius, the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10:1-48). The problem is that we tend to universalize one particular expression of the faith, as did those who rejected the New Christians. Hence we see the need to judge our culture in the light of our faith, and this calls for discernment. As Fitzpatrick notes:

In the process of discernment, problems and contradictions will begin to appear which would raise questions in the minds and hearts of all citizens. Prayerful reflection on Christian values should begin to reveal the flaws and failures, the deviations from the spirit of the Gospels.¹⁶²

We might add that what is also needed is the courage to stand against our culture when we see those flaws and failures. Ignatius was a man who could do just that. The Society has not always done so. Both inspiration

and failure to live according to it are a part of the history of the Jesuits. The Society fell away from that Ignatian inspiration when it gave in to the demands of Iberian culture and showed "partiality" (Acts 10:34) in regard to persons. But the Society realized this, too, and returned to the inspiration of its founder. Perhaps this is the lesson of the story of Ignatius and the Jews, to remain faithful to the spirituality of the *Exercises*, and to be courageous in following its insights.

C. The Judgment of History

We have already referred to Cecil Roth's evaluation of Ignatius, but many other prominent Jewish historians share his generous appraisal of Ignatius. The French Jewish historian Albert Sicroff is even more laudatory of Ignatius:

There was no important community of sixteenth-century Spain who suffered the painful consequences of worries over "purity of blood" more than the Society of Jesus, born as it was with the energetic collaboration of several New Christians with its founder, Ignatius of Loyola. Ignatius, as often happens among those who are noble born, seems not to have shared the loathing of his compatriots in the matter of "purity of blood."¹⁶³

The noted American historian Salo Baron also praises Ignatius for his openness to Jewish converts to Christianity. He quotes with approval what the French historian, Léon Cristiani, says of Ignatius:

"Perhaps no founder of an order," admirably observes L. Cristiani, "carries on himself a greater imprint of his century, his race, his family origins; yet he had placed himself better than anyone else on the plane of universality, as well as eternity."¹⁶⁴

Certainly the plane of history has judged well of Ignatius.¹⁶⁵

Tracing the attitude of Ignatius of Loyola toward the Jews throughout his life, then, we have seen him move from the proud Basque at Alcalá who boasted that there were no Jews in his province of Guipuzcoa, to the friend and companion of the New Christian Diego Laynez at Paris, to the humble apostle to the Jews of Rome, to the firm and shrewd leader of the new Society of Jesus, refusing to enact statutes of *limpieza*, and finally to the Basque who wished he had been born of Jewish blood. What allowed Ignatius the flexibility in his attitudes were the spiritual principles found in his writings, especially his *Exercises* and *Constitutions*, an

openness to God's will which proved his capacity to overcome the narrow-mindedness of his day. In his daily existence and confrontation with problems, Ignatius enacted and epitomized the ideals of the *Exercises*, keeping Christ the King his paradigm, His mission to win the whole world his goal, discernment as the means to this goal, and everything else secondary to seeking God's greater honor and glory.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

<i>Autobiog</i>	<i>Autobiography of St. Ignatius</i>
<i>AHSJ</i>	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i>
<i>Coll'd</i>	<i>Collectio decretorum Congregationum Generalium Societatis Iesu XXVII-XXX</i>
<i>Cons</i>	<i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus</i>
<i>ConsMHSJ</i>	<i>Constitutiones Societatis Iesu</i> , the four volumes in the series of the <i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu</i>
<i>ConsSJComm</i>	<i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Translated, with an Introduction and a Commentary</i> , by George E. Ganss, S.J.
<i>EppIgn</i>	<i>S. Ignatii Epistolae et Instructiones</i> , 12 volumes in MHSJ
<i>EppMixt</i>	<i>Epistolae Mixtae</i> , in MHSJ
<i>FN</i>	<i>Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio</i> , 4 volumes in MHSJ
<i>InstSJ</i>	<i>Institutum Societatis Iesu</i> . 3 volumes, Florence, 1892-1893
<i>LitQuad</i>	<i>Litterae Quadrimestres</i> , in MHSJ
<i>MHSJ</i>	<i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu</i> , 124 volumes
<i>MonRib</i>	<i>Ribadeneyra</i> , in MHSJ
<i>PolChron</i>	<i>Polanco's Chronicon Societatis Iesu</i> , in MHSJ
<i>SdeSI</i>	<i>Scripta de Sancto Ignatio</i> , in MHSJ
<i>SpEx</i>	<i>The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola</i>

FOOTNOTES

- 1 C. Roth, "Jesuits," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), X, cols. 8-9.
- 2 Roth is not alone among Jewish scholars in his assessment of Ignatius. We will refer to others below.
- 3 This sketch relies heavily on Father Edward H. Flannery's work, *The Anguish of the Jews: Twenty-Three Centuries of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1965). Also helpful was Yitzhak Baer's *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I-II (Philadelphia, 1962), and Solomon Katz' *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937).
- 4 C. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles* (Paris, 1907), I, 271-272; Flannery, pp. 73-75.
- 5 Katz, pp. 21-22, 116; Flannery, pp. 75-76.
- 6 Flannery, p. 76.
- 7 S. Sasson, "The Spiritual Heritage of the Sephardim," *The Sephardi Heritage* (London, 1971), p. 3.
- 8 Flannery, pp. 130, 133; Baer, I, 95-138. The number 50,000 is considered an exaggeration by Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition* (New York, 1906-1907), I, 107.
- 9 Flannery, pp. 133-138.
- 10 Flannery, pp. 137-138.
- 11 Flannery, pp. 135-136. See also A. Dominguez Ortiz, *Los Judeoconversos en España y América* (Madrid, 1971), pp. 13-27; L. Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1973), II, 198-199.
- 12 See Baer, II, 433. Text of the decree is in E. Lindo, *The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, pp. 277-280.
- 13 Flannery, pp. 136-138.
- 14 Flannery, pp. 136-137; see also J. Brodrick, "St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews," *The Bridge* (Newark, 1961-1962), pp. 298-299.
- 15 *Autobiography*, no. 61, in *FN*, I, 488.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 *SdeSI*, I, 611-619. This is the Inquisition's record of the trial.
- 18 *FN*, II, 548; see also *PolChron*, I, 37.
- 19 See F. Elías de Tejada, and G. Percopo, *La Provincia de Guipúzcoa* (Madrid, 1965), pp. 52 ff.
- 20 Mario Scaduto, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, III, *L'Epoca di Giacomo Lainez* (Rome, 1974), p. 126.
- 21 There is no doubt about Laynez' Jewish origins. He himself speaks of it (*MonLai*, V, 7, 22). See also Scaduto, p. 124, notes 3 and 4, and

- F. Cereceda, *Diego Laynez en la Europa religiosa de su tiempo* (Madrid, 1945), I, 18-22.
- 22 Ignatius led Laynez through the Spiritual Exercises, and afterwards Laynez resolved to dedicate his life to Christ and to live in poverty as Ignatius' disciple. See G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times*, trans. M. J. Costelloe, I, *Europe: 1506-1541* (Rome, 1973), p. 205.
- 23 See P. Dudon, *St. Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. W. J. Young (Milwaukee, 1949), pp. 144-145, 424-425; *Cons*, [464], in *St. Ignatius of Loyola, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Translated, with an Introduction and a Commentary*, by G. E. Ganss (St. Louis, 1970), p. 219 with fn. 1; and Schurhammer, I, 248-250.
- 24 Flannery, pp. 85-90.
- 25 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II-II, Q. 10, a. 12. See also Flannery, p. 95. Scotus rejected the teaching of St. Thomas and maintained that a prince could order the baptism of any of his subjects' children. See also G. Martina, *La Chiesa nell'età dell'assolutismo, del liberalismo, del totalitarismo*, 2a ed. (Brescia, 1974), pp. 264-281. Martina shows how the main current of Catholic theology was anti-Semitic from Tertullian on. He also states that the reason for much of the discrimination was religious rather than racial.
- 26 C. Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 42 f.
- 27 Flannery, pp. 122 f.
- 28 E. Rodocanachi, *Les Juifs et le Saint Siège* (Paris, 1891), p. 2 (quoted from Flannery, p. 122).
- 29 Flannery, pp. 113, 127.
- 30 Flannery, p. 126. See also Poliakov, pp. 303-327.
- 31 Roth, p. 177. Perhaps this is indicative of a general Italian attitude towards law!
- 32 Roth, p. 295; S. Waagenaar, *The Popes' Jews*, (London, 1974), pp. 169 f. We will discuss the bull and the theology behind it in section F below.
- 33 Roth, pp. 289 f., 421 f.
- 34 P. Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, II, 2 (Rome, 1951), pp. 145 f.
- 35 P. Tacchi Venturi, "Le case abitate in Roma da Ignazio de Loiola secondo un inedito documento del tempo," *Studi di Storia e Diritte* (Rome, 1899), XX, 318-319.
- 36 *EppIgn*, I, 182 (September 20, 1541). Since the time of the Theodosian and Justinian Codes (5th and 6th centuries), the gravest offense a Jew could commit against Christianity was insult, and sexual relations between a Jew and a Christian were considered a serious insult to baptism. See K. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy 1555-1593* (New York, 1977), pp. xxv, 89-90.
- 37 *EppIgn*, I, 183.

- 38 Ibid., 185.
- 39 Ibid., 202 (June 1, 1542).
- 40 Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, III, 9, in *FN*, IV, 404.
- 41 Tacchi Venturi, II, 2, 152-153.
- 42 *Bullarium Romanum* (Taurinensis Editio, 1890), VI, 366-377. The language of papal documents of this period is not known for its subtlety or sensitivity.
- 43 *Bullarium Romanum*, VI, 353-358; see also *PolChron*, I, 109.
- 44 *EppIgn*, I, 268-269 (July 24, 1543-January 30, 1544).
- 45 Ibid., 268 (July 24, 1543).
- 46 See Tacchi Venturi, I, 2, 270-273. For the subsequent history, much of it tragic, of the *casa*, see A. Milano, "Impari lotta della comunità di Roma contro la casa dei catechumeni," *Rassegna mensile di Israel*, XVI (1950), 355-368, 408-419. The *casa* was deeply resented by the Jewish community. See Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 290.
- 47 *EppIgn*, I, 326-327 (November 21, 1545).
- 48 Ibid., 299-300 (March-July, 1545).
- 49 *Bullarium Romanum*, VI, 498. The one Latin sentence is over 200 words long! For the Jewish historians' judgment on this bull see Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1969), XIV, 34-35, 41, and A. Milan, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia* (Turin, 1963), pp. 247-253.
- What Dudon (*St. Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 386) says of the bull is quite reprehensible: "While showing themselves more merciful to the Jews than did many other sovereigns, the popes, throughout the course of the centuries, had taken precautions that the faith of the inhabitants of Rome should not suffer from the proximity of a race singularly active and tenacious." Besides the bigotry of the statement, Dudon misinterprets the motivation of the Church's anti-Semitic legislation. It was rarely out of fear of the danger of "Jewish contamination" that the restriction was made against the Jews, and in the case of *Cum nimis absurdum* this "danger" is not even mentioned (see Martina, p. 264-281). Dudon also says that Ignatius thought the closing of the Jews into the ghetto insufficient and therefore worked to establish the *casa dei catechumeni*. This is a flagrant anachronism, since Ignatius worked for the *casa* ten years before the ghetto was set up. Furthermore, there is not the slightest bit of evidence that Ignatius thought the ghetto "insufficient."
- 50 *Bullarium Romanum*, VI, 498-499. A full text and translation of the bull is available in K. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy 1555-1593* (New York, 1977), pp. 291-298.
- 51 See Milano, pp. 248-249; Baron, XIV, 35.
- 52 See Stow, pp. xxiv, 5-27.
- 53 *Bullarium Romanum*, VI, 498.

- 54 Stow, pp. 6-13.
- 55 See Martina, pp. 267-274.
- 56 Migne, J. P., *Patrologia Latina*, (Paris, 1855), CCXV, 694.
- 57 Thomas Aquinas, *De Regimine Principum et de regimine Judaeorum* (Turin, 1924), p. 117; see also Flannery, p. 95, and *Summa theologiae*, II-II, Q. 10, a. 12 (quoted above on p. 8), and III, Q. 68, a. 10, for Thomas' attitude toward the Jews.
- 58 Martina, pp. 265-267. Martina lists a few of these: evil, blasphemers, eternally blind, avaricious, gluttons, damned, obdurate, perfidious, ingrates, etc.
- 59 The Declaration on Religious Freedom (*Dignitatis humanae*) in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter Abbott (New York, 1966), p. 685. The Declaration on Non-Christians (*Nostra aetate*) likewise repudiates the kind of anti-Semitism implied in *Cum nimis absurdum*, *Documents of Vatican II*, pp. 666-667.
- 60 *EppIgn*, IX, 351, 362-363, 374, 385, 388, 455, 463, 544.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 362-363. Jews have lived continuously in Rome and other Italian cities since before the time of Christ. See H. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia, 1960), vii. Leon says that the Jewish community of Rome has the longest continuous existence of any Jewish community of Europe, more than 2000 years.
- 62 C. Journet, *The Church of the Word Incarnate* (New York, 1962), I, 235 f.
- 63 See, e.g., *SpEx*, [352-365]. We have used L. Orsy's compressed paraphrase of Ignatius' lengthy Spanish title, in "On Being One with the Church Today," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, VII, 1 (Jan., 1975), 21-22. A more literal version of the Spanish is: "Directives for acquiring the genuine attitude which we ought to maintain in the Church militant" (*ibid.*, 12).
- 64 See Tacchi Venturi, II, 2, 190-195.
- 65 Martina, p. 280.
- 66 Ribadeneyra, in *Dicta et facta S. Ignatii*, I, 24, in *FN*, II, 476.
- 67 *MonRib*, II, 375: "desde aquel tiempo lo tengo notado como cosa rara, y que nos causó admiración."
- 68 Ribadeneyra, in *FN*, II, 476.
- 69 *MonRib*, II, 375.
- 70 Eusebio Rey, S.J., notes that between Z̄arate the anti-Semite and Z̄arate desiring to be of Jewish blood lies "the irresistible dialectic and supernatural tone of St. Ignatius." E. Rey, "San Ignacio de Loyola y el problema de los 'cristianos nuevos,'" *Razón y fe*, CLIII (1956), 179.
- 71 *MonRib*, II, 375.
- 72 H. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (New York, 1965), p. 128.
- 73 *Cons*, [163]; see also [147-162], in *ConsSJComm*, pp. 127-131.

- 74 *Cons*, [163-189], in *ConsSJComm*, pp. 131-135.
- 75 See A. Sicroff, *Les controverses de Statuts de "Pureté de Sang" en Espagne du XV^e au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1960), pp. 60 ff; also H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York, 1906-1907), II, 289 ff.
- 76 Sicroff, p. 32.
- 77 Sicroff, pp. 95-139.
- 78 See A. Dominguez Ortiz, *Los Judeoconvertos en España y América* (Madrid, 1971), pp. 257 f.
- 79 L. Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1973), II, 222; see also Dominguez Ortiz, p. 260.
- 80 Sicroff, pp. 67-85; also T. Azcona, "Dictamen en defensa de los judíos conversos de la Orden de San Jerónimo a principios de Siglo XVI," *Studia Hieronymiana*, II (Madrid, 1973), pp. 348-380.
- 81 Sicroff, p. 90; Lea, II, 287.
- 82 Sicroff, p. 90.
- 83 Lea, II, 287-288.
- 84 Lea, II, 290.
- 85 Sicroff, pp. 140 f; Lea, II, 292-296.
- 86 Sicroff, pp. 135-137.
- 87 *ConsSJComm*, pp. 36-37, and *Exam*, [22-49], on pp. 85-91.
- 88 *EppMixt*, I, 241 (December 11, 1545); also *EppIgn*, I, 644.
- 89 *ConsMHSJ*, II, pp. 30-31; *Exam*, [36]; *ConsSJComm*, p. 88.
- 90 See *ConsMHSJ*, I, p. 301, no. 5.
- 91 A. Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (Madrid, 1902), I, 204-205.
- 92 Astráin, I, 231-232.
- 93 For example, Count Rui Gómez de Silva (*EppIgn*, X, 61).
- 94 *EppIgn*, I, 241; II, 314, 623; V, 644, 741.
- 95 *EppMixt*, I, 241 (December 11, 1545).
- 96 *EppIgn*, I, 336 (end of 1545).
- 97 *Ibid.*
- 98 *Ibid.*, II, 623, with which compare *Cons*, [164]; *EppIgn*, V, 335; VIII, 446.
- 99 *Ibid.*, V, 335 (August 14, 1553); compare, for the same criterion, *Cons*, [147 and 161].
- 100 *Cons*, [308], and passim; see also I. Iparraguirre, *Vocabulario de Ejercicios Espirituales: Ensayo de hermenéutica ignaciana* (Rome: CIS, 1972), pp. 29; 32-33.

- 101 Sicroff, p. 97. Silíceo's name is also given as "Guijeño." See Astráin, I, 349.
- 102 Sicroff, pp. 89-90; Astráin, I, 349.
- 103 Astráin, I, 349; Sicroff, p. 96.
- 104 Sicroff, p. 102.
- 105 *EppMixt*, II, 302 (October 31, 1549).
- 106 Astráin, I, 350-351; *EppIgn*, III, 163 (September 2 or 3, 1550, to Villanueva); *PolChron*, II, 106.
- 107 *EppMixt*, II, 608 (October 30, 1551). See also *EppMixt*, II, 621-624 (November 15, 1551).
- 108 Astráin, I, 352.
- 109 *EppMixt*, II, 608 (October 30, 1551).
- 110 The papal bulls in question are: *Cum inter cunctas*, June 3, 1545; *Licet debitum*, November 15, 1549; *Exposcit debitum*, August 12, 1550. *Exposcit debitum*, commonly called the Formula of the Institute, is Julius III's confirmation of the Institute of the Society. The sanctions are in *Exposcit debitum*, [7-10], pp. 72-73 in *ConsSJComm*.
- 111 *EppMixt*, II, 625-626 (November 15, 1551).
- 112 *Ibid.*, 626.
- 113 *Ibid.*
- 114 *Ibid.*
- 115 *Ibid.*, IV, 63 (January 2, 1552); see also *FN*, IV, 624-625.
- 116 These letters are published in *Cartas de San Ignacio* (Madrid, 1874-1879), III, 460-461.
- 117 *EppIgn*, IV, 64 (January 2, 1552).
- 118 *Ibid.*, IV, 64.
- 119 *Ibid.*, IV, 55 (January 1, 1552).
- 120 Astráin, I, 362.
- 121 Astráin, I, 362.
- 122 *EppMixt*, II, 688 (March 16, 1552).
- 123 *Ibid.*, IV, 261-262 (June 1, 1552).
- 124 *FN*, IV, 624-625.
- 125 *EppIgn*, IV, 260 ff. (June 1, 1552).
- 126 The sources for Eliano's conversion, acceptance in the Society, and subsequent life as a Jesuit are: *EppIgn*, II, 137; III, 365; IV, 427, 498; *LitQuad*, I, 391, 441, 696; *PolChron*, II, 215, 216, 484, 488; III, 22; VI, 221; *MonRib*, II, 249.
- 127 *LitQuad*, I, 442, and J. Sola, "El P. Juan Bautista Eliano. Un documento autobiográfica inédito," *AHSJ*, IV (1935), 302-305.

- 128 *EppIgn*, IV, 427 (September 10, 1552); Sola, *AHSJ*, IV, 305-321.
- 129 See Cecil Roth in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, X, col. 79; A. Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia* (Turin, 1963), p. 246; Baron, XIV, 10.
- 130 *EppIgn*, X, 61 (October 29, 1555).
- 131 See L. Balust, *Obras Completas del Santo Maestro Juan de Avila*, nueva edición por F. M. Hernandez (Madrid, 1970), I, 13-184; also *MonRib*, II, 381.
- 132 See *MonLai*, VIII, 311-312 (November 23, 1564); also *MonRib*, II, 376, 250.
- 133 *Astráin*, III, 591; *MonRib*, II, 252, 376.
- 134 *Astráin*, III, 592. See also Eusebio Rey's more recent study "San Ignacio de Loyola y el problema de los 'Cristianos Nuevos,'" *Razón y Fe*, CLIII (1956), 187-204.
- 135 *InstSJ*, II, 278, 279, 545; see also *Astráin*, III, 592-593.
- 136 *InstSJ*, III, 302 (decree 28).
- 137 *Ibid.*, 10-13.
- 138 For some historial details about these Rules and their history, relevant also here, see G. E. Ganss, "Toward Understanding the Jesuit Brothers Vocation. . .," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, XII, no. 3 (May, 1981), 35-42.
- 139 See *ibid.*, 42-46.
- 140 *CollD*, [199], on p. 235. See also A. Arregui, *Annotationes ad Epitomen Instituti* (Rome, 1934), pp. 76-77; H. Ramière and J. Besson, *Compendium Instituti Societatis Iesu*, 3rd ed. (Toulouse, 1896), no. 31, pp. 46-48; A. Oswald, *Commentarius in Decem Partes Constitutionum Societatis Iesu*, 3rd ed. (Ruremond, 1902). These commentators give the development of the move toward the possibility of dispensation.
- 141 The text is in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XI (1946); *CollD*, [199] on p. 235.
- 142 *Astráin*, III, 591.
- 143 *Ibid.*, 592.
- 144 *MonRib*, II, 191, 376. *Astráin*, writing in 1909, makes no mention of Ribadeneyra's letters to General Congregations V and VI.
- 145 The decree states: "Even more, for the greater glory of God and the better achievement of its proposed end, it is fitting for the Society to have as its ministers (*operarios*) those who are more pleasing to all the other nations on the whole earth" (*InstSJ*, II, 278-279). The decree also expressly states that those from Jewish origins are for that very reason offensive, and that this is why the decree was requested.
- 146 *Astráin*, III, 593. Unfortunately, William Bangert in his *History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1972), p. 101, follows *Astráin*, and even connects the two questions of the *perturbatores* and New Christians so that he states that "the congregation decided to lay the ax to the root of the trouble," and that it acted "in sheer self-defense" when it

- passed Decree 52 barring New Christians from the Society.
- 147 Rey, pp. 188-199, writing in 1956.
- 148 *EppIgn*, V, 335 (August 14, 1553). See the citation above on p. 23.
- 149 Ribadeneyra wrote to Father General Aquaviva and the members of General Congregation VI in 1608 a strong letter (published in 1923 in *MonRib*, II, 247-254) against the impediment of origin enacted in the preceding Congregation V of 1593. Giving reasons why he knew well the mind of Ignatius (and also of Laynez) on the matter, among other arguments he wrote (*ibid.*, 249): "In my opinion, there is no matter in the whole Institute, nothing whatever, more characteristic of Ignatius and more according to his mind, than what he enjoined in the *Constitutions* about the essential impediments and about the persons who are to be accepted into the Society; and if we depart from them, we depart seriously (in my opinion) from his spirit and meaning." For further ideas of Ribadeneyra on the topic, see *ibid.*, p. 526, s.v. *Hebraei* in the index.
- 150 *EppMixt*, I, 241 (December 11, 1545).
- 151 See *EppIgn*, I, 332; *PolChron*, I, 150, 171, 181.
- 152 See *EppIgn*, X, 61. "In the Society there are some of this kind of people [New Christians] who yield in no respect whatsoever either to Old Christians, or to hidalgos, or to caballeros as good religious and as useful for the universal good."
- 153 See *SpEx*, [183, 188]. See also I. Iparraguirre, *Vocabulario de Ejercicios espirituales* (Rome, 1972), pp. 98-99.
- 154 *EppMixt*, V, 643-644.
- 155 See *EppIgn*, VI, 569.
- 156 Acts 10:14; see also 9-16; 23-48.
- 157 Acts 10:34. See also Rom 2:11; Eph 6:9; Deut 10:17. In another letter, to the provincial of Portugal, Diego Mirón, who had discriminated against New Christians despite Ignatius' orders, Ignatius alludes to Paul's letter to the Romans (Rom 10:12; also Gal 3:26) when he writes: "There is no distinction between Jews and Greeks in the Society, etc., when they are united with others in the same spirit of divine service." What stirred Ignatius was the certainty of the universality of the Lordship of Christ.
- 158 *EppIgn*, I, 336 (date uncertain, end of 1545 or beginning of 1546). See also *ibid.*, 334-336, note 1.
- 159 Iparraguirre, *Vocabulario*, p. 203-204. See also above on p. 23 and fn. 100.
- 160 See *EppIgn*, II, 314; V, 644, 747.
- 161 *EppIgn*, V, 335, cited above on p. 23.
- 162 J. Fitzpatrick, "Faith and Culture," *The Context of Our Ministries: Working Papers* (Washington, 1981), p. 12.
- 163 Sicroff, p. 270.

- 164 S. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1969), XIV, 10. See also XIII, 9-11; L. Cristiani, *L'Eglise à l'époque du Concile de Trente*, vol. 17 of *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. A. Flicke, V. Martin, et al. (Paris, 1934-), XVII (1948), 296.
- 165 To these we might add the assessment of the Russian-born Léon Poliakov: "The only man who was able in his lifetime to ignore the taboo of *limpieza* with impunity was Ignacio de Loyola. High birth as well as missionary genius made this founder of the Jesuit order immune to the racist contagion" (Poliakov, II, 226).

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