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STUDIES

in the Spirituality of Jesuits



The Jesuits, St. Ignatius, and the Counter Reformation
Some Recent Studies and Their Implications for Today

by

John W. O'Malley, S.J.

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

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.

To achieve these purposes, especially amid today's pluralistic cultures, the Seminar must focus its direct attention sharply, frankly, and specifically on the problems, interests, and opportunities of the Jesuits of the United States. However, many of these interests are common also to Jesuits of other regions, or to other priests, religious men or women, or lay men or women. Hence the studies of the Seminar, while meant especially for American Jesuits, are not exclusively for them. Others who may find them helpful are cordially welcome to read them.

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SOME RECENT STUDIES
AND
THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR TODAY

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The Society of Jesus came into being in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Its origins coincide, therefore, with the years that historians conventionally designate the beginnings of the Counter Reformation. Although these same historians now differ considerably about when the Counter Reformation ended, they would all agree that it extended at least well into the seventeenth century. The history of the "early Society" is inseparable, therefore, from the history of the Counter Reformation.

After centuries of neglect, the Counter Reformation has finally become in recent decades a subject of lively interest to historians of several European countries, and there are signs that that interest is spreading to North America. These historians are raising new issues, investigating new sources, and even applying new methodologies. Their conclusions sometimes challenge, sometimes contradict, interpretations that have been standard in various circles for generations.

It occurred to me that the readership of the Seminar might find a review of this new literature helpful. We have heard a great deal lately about "the context of our ministries," and we have been made aware that the design of our apostolic works depends to a considerable extent on factors beyond our immediate control. These factors constitute "the context"--economic, social, cultural, political, ecclesiastical--of our vocation and our ministries. The same was true for the early Jesuits. Recent studies of the Counter Reformation tend to focus on factors like these and to take them into account in a way that earlier studies did not.

For that reason, especially, they might be helpful to us.

What I intend to do in this *Study*, therefore, is three things. First, I will review recent literature on the Counter Reformation, and indicate some major trends. In so doing I will try to relate this literature to the ministries and spirituality of the early Society and even to St. Ignatius himself. The review is sketchy, but will provide an introduction to the topic. Please note that I am not reviewing literature on the Society during the Counter Reformation, but literature on the Counter Reformation that has some bearing on how we look at the history of the Society.

Secondly, I shall briefly indicate how this literature might help us assess better some of the opportunities and problems that we face as Jesuits today. By reflection upon the results of recent historical studies, light is thrown on questions like: What are the advantages and disadvantages of "inculturation" in ministry, and, especially, what are the dangers of neglecting it? What should be our attitude to human culture, and what place does it have in our tradition and in our style of ministry and spirituality? How does the reform or renewal of the Church come about, and why does it assume at any given time one direction rather than another? More specifically, how attuned was Ignatius to the Counter Reformation?

I will, finally, make some suggestions for further reading, with special attention to works in English, for those who have the time and inclination to pursue them. Besides providing a preliminary bibliography, this last section will stand as a warning that I have in the body of the text only touched upon issues of immense complexity and delicacy. If this *Study* at least serves to caution against easy generalizations about our origins, it will have accomplished some good.

(I use "Counter Reformation" throughout simply as a term of convenience, for it manages to survive despite all efforts to displace it. Some of the problems associated with the term will be briefly indicated in the pages that follow.)

PART I. A SURVEY OF THE RECENT LITERATURE

After the year 1530 seven Spanish devils entered Italy. These were the devil of the Inquisition, with stake and torture-room, and war was declared against the will and soul and heart and

intellect of many; [then came] the devil of Jesuitry, with its sham learning, shameless lying, and casuistical economy of sins. . . . The papacy at this period committed itself to a policy of immoral, retrograde, and cowardly repression of the most generous human impulses under the pressure of selfish terror. . . . Art and learning languished; there was not a man who ventured to speak out his thought or write the truth; and over the Dead Sea of social putrefaction floated the sickening oil of Jesuitical hypocrisy.

John Addington Symonds
The Catholic Reaction, 1886

A. The Term "Counter Reformation"

The term "Counter Reformation" (*Gegenreformation*) was invented by German Lutheran historians in the late eighteenth century to designate the political, diplomatic, and military attempts of Catholics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to suppress the Reformation in Germany. According to these historians, the attempts in effect ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In its origins, therefore, the term had both a precise and a negative meaning. It was popularized and used more broadly by Leopold von Ranke some years later, and eventually it came into common use, even among some Catholic historians, to describe a whole era--roughly, the century between the beginning of the Council of Trent in 1545 and the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648.

The subsequent history of the term and the efforts to find a substitute for it are complicated and enlightening, but need not concern us here. There are, nonetheless, several features connected with the emergence of the term that throw light on larger issues. First of all, the term was German in origin, related to events of German history, and concerned religion only insofar as Catholicism in Germany had a political and military manifestation. Like most history that was written in the nineteenth century, even the history of Christianity was written from a political and military point of view.

Secondly, as Catholics began to accept the term or some equivalent of it, they departed from an earlier Catholic tradition of historiography. That earlier historiography, typified in the extreme by Caesar Baronius in the early seventeenth century, saw the history of the Church as an even and

unbroken *continuum* of holiness and doctrine from the time of the Apostles until the present. That is, it perceived no distinct "periods" in the history of the Church and was unaware of any radical shifts in culture or religion through the centuries that affected the Church in any important way. All this changed in the nineteenth century as scholars gradually accepted as valid constructs like "ancient," "medieval," and "modern" to divide history, and soon devised refinements of these three constructs like "the Renaissance," "the late Middle Ages," and "the Counter Reformation" for further specification.

Of all the "periods" to emerge from this process of differentiation, none experienced the pressures of traditional Protestant, liberal, and Catholic prejudice as severely as did "the Counter Reformation." For Protestants it was an unequivocally bad thing--by definition opposed to the Reformation and characterized as well by armies, Inquisitions, and papal double-dealing in diplomacy. Liberal historians and persons of culture, influenced by the tradition of the Enlightenment, attributed to it the obliteration of the humane values of the Renaissance and saw it as a gigantic roadblock to progress, freedom, and liberal politics. For both of these groups the period held, for obvious reasons, little interest except as a whipping boy. When it was studied at all, it was studied as a fundamentally political, military, and inquisitorial phenomenon. The quotation from John Addington Symonds with which I began, though extreme in its articulation, clearly manifests how the period was interpreted in these circles.

For Catholics the problem was more complicated. On the one hand, the idea that the Church had remained essentially continuous with itself through the ages had to be affirmed. As Catholics in the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the Neo-Thomist movement and the "gothic revival," began to identify ever more specifically with medieval Christianity than any other period, unbroken continuity with the Middle Ages was promoted as a mark of the true Church. For many Catholic intellectuals, the thirteenth century now assumed an importance and radiated with a splendor that it had not previously enjoyed. It was, quite simply, "the greatest of the centuries," and it stood as the proof of medieval accomplishment. On the other hand, the powerful religious orders like the Jesuits and Capuchins that originated

in the Counter Reformation wanted to affirm that a significant revival had occurred in the Church during their early years, and they thereby suggested that all was not well in the Middle Ages.

The solution to this dilemma assumed its classic form about the turn of the century. The "late Middle Ages," and with it the "Renaissance," was seen as a period of decline from the glories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This decline was moral, disciplinary, and perhaps philosophical, but in no way doctrinal or structural. Thus "essential" continuity was sustained. The effect of the Counter Reformation (or of the "Catholic Revival" or "Catholic Reformation," as some Catholics now preferred to call it) was a revitalization of the moral and spiritual vitality of the Church, accomplished to a large extent by reaffirming the doctrines, structures, and discipline of earlier and better times. The only real change was moral improvement in the lives of individual Catholics and more faithful adherence to ecclesiastical discipline on the part of the clergy.

It is not surprising, therefore, that until recently Catholic historiography of the period, inspired to a large extent by the religious orders that originated in it, consisted for the most part in some form of hagiography. The biographies of St. Ignatius, St. Peter Canisius, and St. Robert Bellarmine written between the 1920's and the 1950's by Father James Brodrick illustrate this phenomenon at its best. The more recent, four-volume biography of St. Francis Xavier by Father Georg Schurhammer is another case in point. Though these works may not on all counts satisfy contemporary historians, I would still maintain that the Catholic instinct to see the history of the Church in terms of holiness is closer to the mark than the historiography that would conceive Church history in more political terms. I agree, consequently, with the words of the Protestant historian A. G. Dickens when he said: "In its saints many of us have found the permanent significance of the Catholic Reformation."

These biographical works on Counter-Reformation saints were intent upon depicting the zeal, the fidelity to tradition, and the interior devotion of their heroes. They were much less intent upon depicting the context in which these splendid, and presumably timeless, qualities came to fruition and even less intent upon suggesting how radically that

context might be changing and having an impact upon both saint and Church. Moreover, even works of Catholic historiography that did not fall in the genre of hagiography tended to be guided by inspirational and apologetic concerns. A hard look at the facts, particularly the fact of change in the Church, was thereby almost precluded.

Alongside this denial of change was an underlying assumption in almost all Catholic historical work that the Protestants had adopted the unhealthy elements of "the late medieval Church" and that Catholics had rejected them. This is the reverse image of what most Protestant and liberal historians were saying. All parties were convinced, in any case, that the Reformation and Counter Reformation were two utterly divergent phenomena, with nothing in common except their hatred for each other. Moreover, the term "Counter Reformation" itself and the insistence of both Catholic and Protestant historians on how antithetical the Counter Reformation was to the Reformation had the effect of making the Counter Reformation seem to be essentially a reaction to the Reformation. It seemed to define itself not on its own merits, but in relationship to the Protestants.

By the eve of Vatican Council II, therefore, Catholics tended to view the Counter Reformation as a kind of miracle of grace that saved the Church from the decadence of "the late Middle Ages" and the Renaissance and from the aberrations of the Reformation. Of a sudden, however, under the impact of the Council, the "Counter Reformation" was turned by some Catholic leaders into a smear-term with which to label all that they saw as bad in the Church. Vatican II came to be hailed, indeed, as the long-awaited, badly needed "end of the era of the Counter Reformation." When the story went out that Cardinal Ottaviani asked his taxi to drive him to the Council and he was taken to Trent, the whole world caught the joke.

Thus, as late as fifteen years ago, the era had come to be damned by almost everybody, even Catholics. The era was more roundly scorned, however, than it was studied, for even then there were only a few scholars who took it seriously. Those few, however, had already been at work for some time and were beginning to have their impact.

B. Hubert Jedin (1900-1980)

On July 16, 1980, Msgr. Hubert Jedin died at Bonn, where he had been

professor of Church History for many years. No single historian is more responsible than Jedin for the new interest in the Counter Reformation and for the rejection of many of the stereotypes I have just sketched. His monumental, four-volume history of the Council of Trent, finally completed in 1975, deserves much credit for this increased interest. But just as important are his other works on almost all aspects of "the Tridentine era" and his labors during his long career in training or inspiring other scholars.

Perhaps the most important statement enabling historians to approach the Counter Reformation with fresh eyes was Jedin's little book, *Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation*, first published in German in 1946. Unfortunately, it has never been translated into English. Much of it is a review of the historiography about the period. That does not concern us here. But when Jedin stated his own views, he made a useful, and now classic, distinction between Catholic Reformation and Counter Reformation.

Jedin defined the Catholic Reformation as the quest for internal renewal of the Church. It began, according to Jedin, before 1517, the year Luther published his Ninety-Five Theses. It began with the efforts of individuals to rekindle spiritual fervor in themselves and their neighbors. The Catholic Reformation thus began independently of the Protestant Reformation and before it. In fact, Luther's Reformation was in some ways originally part of the same reform movement. Luther's reform aided the Catholic reform by emphasizing the danger of continuing in the old, unreformed ways. In the years between 1534 and 1555, the Catholic Reformation spread until it won over a majority of the Church's leaders. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) affirmed its principles in its disciplinary decrees, especially during the concluding period, 1562-1563. After the Council, the attempt to implement its decrees and the program of sacred scholarship it inspired marked the last phase of the Catholic Reformation.

In Jedin's opinion, the Counter Reformation, on the other hand, was the battle against the Reformation. As efforts at conciliation failed, the Church took up temporal as well as spiritual arms to defend the souls under its care. The papacy and the Catholic princes eventually brought to bear the coercive weapons of Index and Inquisition. A bellicose spirit animated the major figures of the Counter Reformation--crusaders against Protestantism like Popes Paul IV and Pius V. Papal nuncios prodded

government into taking punitive measures against heretics. Catholic Reformation and Counter Reformation met in the Council of Trent and in the interaction of many of the great figures of the era.

Jedin's distinction between Catholic Reformation and Counter Reformation proved important. It suggested how complex the period might prove to be if it were fully investigated. That distinction indicated that activity within sixteenth-century Catholicism was not simply a reaction to the Protestant threat. It at least suggested that the healthy elements in the Catholic Reform were straightforward continuations of what was healthy in the Middle Ages. The attention of even non-Catholic scholars was thus directed to individuals, institutions, and movements of reform that antedated the Reformation and that seemed vigorously to continue in Catholicism during the so-called Counter Reformation. Research into "the late Middle Ages" received a new impulse and direction. Above all, Jedin, more than any other single individual, began the process of making the study of Catholic Church History during these periods, a respectable endeavor, a by-no-means small accomplishment in the middle years of the century.

C. The French School

For all his achievement, Jedin continued to explore data that related rather directly to politics and to the highest level of civil and ecclesiastical leadership. The same was true of his followers in Germany and Italy. Princes, courts, bishops, synods, and famous theologians--these remain the framework within which the era is studied by scholars influenced by Jedin. Consonant with this tradition is the recent and important study of the influence of the Jesuit confessor to the Duke of Bavaria during the Thirty Years War by Robert Bireley of Loyola University, Chicago. An excellent work of broader scope along these same lines, though not directly influenced by Jedin, is the two-volume study by the Sicilian Jesuit Mario Scaduto, *L'epoca di Giacomo Laínez*. Scaduto's work was actually conceived as a continuation of the history of the early Society in Italy begun many decades ago by Father Tacchi-Venturi of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome. This approach is sometimes described as traditional "event-centered," "person-centered," and "idea-centered" history.

The greatest challenge to this approach has come from France. It comes

from the "*Annales* school," named after the impressive journal published by these scholars from the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*. The "school" dates back to the 1930's but is resoundingly vigorous and influential today. It is a "school" because it proposes a distinctive approach that emphasizes sociological and quantifying methods. In general, it tends to be more interested in history "from below" than is its German counterpart. Put simply, it is more interested in "the common people" than are the Germans. It is interested in their "sentiments," their routines, the framework of their lives and deaths.

For reasons too complicated to explain here, the school, from its very beginning, had an interest in religious history. The seventeenth century, the century par excellence of the "Counter Reformation," has particularly attracted its attention. The reasons are not difficult to discover. After the Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century, French culture experienced a new *élan* as it moved towards the Century of Lights. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marked the apex of French cultural and political hegemony in Europe. More important for our purposes, the seventeenth century was a century of great religious figures in France--Vincent de Paul, Isaac Jogues, Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal, Louise de Marillac, Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, and many others. If the leading figures were so outstanding, their achievement posed obvious questions to the scholars of the *Annales*: What were "the people" like? How did the Church minister to them? French scholars are currently devoting immense attention to these questions.

For the first time, therefore, a systematic study is being made of "ministry" in the Counter-Reformation period. At the same time, attention is being devoted to the "religious sentiment" of ordinary people. It must be noted that the study of the piety or religious sentiment of ordinary people, as done by these French scholars, is something quite different from the usual studies in spirituality. I think, for instance, of the impressive work by Father Joseph de Guibert on *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*. The merits of de Guibert are considerable, but his book is concerned for the most part with the religion of a cultural and religious elite. Moreover, de Guibert takes practically no account of the contexts in which this spirituality was lived. Contemporary French scholars, however, try to locate ministry, sentiment, and pious practices within

a network of social, political, and economic factors.

Some Italian and British scholars are now following for their own countries the lead given by the French. There is for some localities an immense amount of material that can be utilized in studies like these-- for instance, sermons, folk art, and records of episcopal visitations. Nonetheless, the material is difficult to interpret and is less easily controlled by "facts" than is the older "event-centered" history. If it is sometimes difficult to know the "sentiments" of somebody today with whom one is engaged in an actual conversation, it is all the more difficult to discover the sentiments of people of an earlier era who speak to us only in the dead letters of a document.

D. The Relationship between Reformation and Catholic Reform

As you might expect, a number of new hypotheses, perspectives, issues, and questions have emerged as a result of the new studies. Most of them still need further testing and verification, but enough has been established to require that they be taken seriously. Among these none is more sweeping than the perspective that, in contrast to a four-century tradition, sees more similarity than difference between Reformation and Counter Reformation. At the dispassionate distance of four hundred years, the pattern of similarity between the two phenomena appears more striking than the differences. Some of the similarities are obvious and have long been recognized: throne-altar politics, a tendency to moral rigorism, a more centralized church polity, an enthusiasm for religious schooling.

But at least one of the theses to result from this comparison is today more forcefully expressed than ever before and has some important ramifications. The thesis is that the Catholic reformers were similar to their Protestant counterparts in that they launched just as vigorous a campaign against the "old religion." These reformers were as much characterized by their opposition to "medieval superstition, ignorance, and abuses" as by their opposition to Protestantism.

Insofar as this thesis emphasizes the war on medieval abuses, it is gratifying to hear, and it seems to confirm the interpretation that earlier Catholic historiography gave the era. Of all the Catholic initiatives for the "war on ignorance," none has attracted more attention than the

"missions" to rural populations. Jean Delumeau, a leading Catholic scholar of the *Annales* school, would go so far as to state that the greatest failure of the medieval Church was its failure to instruct and "evangelize" the people of the countryside, whereas this instruction and evangelization was the greatest religious achievement of the Counter Reformation.

What is clear is that these missions to the rural poor were excellently organized pastoral strategies, in which especially the new religious orders played the major role. The Jesuits, along with the Oratorians, the Capuchins, and the Vincentians, took the lead. These missions were a first experiment in "collaborative ministry"; the missionaries would arrive at a parish in groups of four to eight. They generally stayed for at least six weeks, or until they were satisfied that everybody had received the sacrament of penance. Instruction for these missionaries constantly insisted on how gentle they must be in the sacrament of penance, where they finally met their charges on a one-to-one basis.

The missionaries, perfectly capable of dramatic gestures like the public burning of superstitious charms, were men of method. The schedule of instruction, the sermons, the catechism lessons were adapted to the rhythm of peasant life, with the first exercise offered well before sunrise. Hymns were composed in the vernacular and set to the melodies of well-known popular songs. The missionaries, as men of method in an age fascinated by method, had limited but definite aims: to teach basic prayers, to teach the examination of conscience, to catechize as far as time permitted, to bring everybody to confession, and to conclude with a general communion. They did not abandon a parish once they had been there, but made sure to be invited to return after about four years.

As you can see, these "missions" were made up of a lot of traditional elements. Yet nothing like them was known in the Middle Ages, at least not on an organized and methodical basis. Put in broad terms, these missionaries wanted to change a traditional pattern of piety and substitute for it one that was considered healthier, better instructed, and more sacramental. In a generic way the pattern thereby reflected the focus of interest of the Council of Trent and took seriously some of the criticisms of traditional piety by Protestants and the early humanists. It also labored to center piety more effectively in the parish and to

emphasize the authority of the pastor more strongly than had been true earlier. Evaluations of this shift to parish and pastor have been particularly controverted in the past decade. The controversy has revolved around the issue of "kinships," as we shall see.

Religious instruction of the rural population was, then, a new ministry of the Counter Reformation, and in it Jesuits played an important role. One of our canonized saints, John Francis Regis, took part in it.

Even more characteristic of the Society, in this new enthusiasm for religious instruction, was the network of schools that the Jesuits established for urban youths. In the year 1534, St. Ignatius had five companions; by the year of his death, 1556, there were a thousand members in his order, and by 1626 about 15,000. By that last date, the Society operated and staffed about 440 colleges.

We do the inventiveness of those early Jesuits an injustice if we say that they seized upon the medieval tradition of Church-related schools and translated it into something else for their own times. No, the Middle Ages knew no education like what the Jesuits created. The immediate models for the Jesuit school were the educational institutions invented in the fifteenth century by Humanists like Vittorino da Feltre. Though the Jesuits were much influenced by these models, they adapted them in significant ways.

Within their schools, for instance, the Jesuits incorporated the Sodality of Our Lady. The Sodality was an updated and reformed version of the confraternity, that multifarious institution that played such an important part in late-medieval life. After 1563, when the first Sodality came into existence at the Roman College, others quickly sprang up in the Jesuit schools, where they became an integral part of the education offered there. Thus, instruction and pious practices were joined in the single institution of the school in a way that was completely new, even different from what Vittorino and other early Humanists had envisioned.

The importance the Counter Reformation attached to academic institutions and to religious instruction is generally thought to be exemplified in the establishment of seminaries for the education of the clergy. Recent studies have shown that little or no theology was taught in these early seminaries. Candidates for the priesthood were trained in some practical skills needed for ministry, like how to preach, how to sing and chant, how to say Mass--

little more. These candidates found in the seminaries, however, the pious environment that seems to have been in the minds of the Fathers at Trent the uppermost reason for creating them. The rigorous course of studies the Jesuits prescribed for their own scholastics takes on new significance in this context.

Catechetical instruction became widespread in France, Italy, and Germany during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partly inspired by Luther's success. Catechism classes in parishes, often taught at first by lay people, including Sodalists from Jesuit schools, became a common feature of Church life in Italy. These classes met on Sundays and feast days, so that there might be as many as eighty days of instruction per year. At Anvers in France, by 1610, some 4000 children, ages 9-16, attended these religious classes under sixty male and female teachers. The enterprise was, by this time, obviously immense. Such widespread instruction in Christian doctrine at all levels of society--among the urban aristocracy and the urban poor as well as in the countryside--was unknown in the Middle Ages. It was able to be implemented in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because, even at a time when priestly authority was beginning to receive a new emphasis, the better-instructed laity flocked to fill the ranks of this new ministry.

E. Kinships

Here we have two important ministries that originated in the Counter Reformation and that generally have been applauded by religious historians. Both the rural "missions" and the new schooling were part of the war on medieval ignorance and superstition. The increased authority of the pastor and the shift of focus to the parish have also been seen as a badly needed tightening of discipline and strengthening of "traditional" ecclesiastical structures.

One result of recent scholarship, however, has been to highlight how *untraditional* was this strengthening of parochial authority. The Middle Ages had never had a strong system of parishes, not even in "the greatest of the centuries." The prescriptive location of religious practice within the parish was not a return to an earlier custom that had fallen into desuetude in "the late Middle Ages," but the establishment of a new system. In the medieval

period the parish church, especially in rural areas, was only one element in a vast and lumbering array of other institutions like monasteries, shrines, manor chapels, itinerant preachers, popular confraternities, and similar things. Within this array, the pious Christian satisfied his religious needs pretty much as his devotion led him. The same was true to some extent for urban areas, with the city of Rome itself being a clear example of ministry almost without any parochial structure. But the phenomenon was more striking in the countryside.

It must also come as a surprise to learn that some historians now attack the missions, the new schools and network of catechism classes, and related institutions like confraternities and the Jesuits' Sodalities, as ultimately deleterious to religion. John Bossy, a British historian influenced by the *Annales* tradition, now leads the attack. Bossy, as well as a few other historians, tries to place these instruments in full social context. "Kinship" is the key word in the discussion of the issue. It is Bossy's viewpoint that Counter-Reformation discipline and instruments of ministry were insensitive to family and local culture. The new emphasis on the parish broke old and more "natural" relationships. The schools and the formalized catechism classes took religious instruction out of the family. Although the instruction may have been formally better in these new instruments, the change from family signified a detachment of religion from life. Bossy sees the older medieval confraternities as building on family and local culture, whereas the "reformed" confraternities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made piety more formalized and remote from the context in which people actually lived their lives. Bossy seems to believe that the Lutherans, with their emphasis on family life and on the duties of parents to give religious instruction to their children, more genuinely continued the medieval tradition than did the Catholics.

I have simplified Bossy's position in trying to convey it in a few words. Though his position has not won universal acceptance, I adduce it because Bossy and others like him are influential today and must be taken into account. Bossy tries to explain the collapse of religious observance in many Catholic countries during the eighteenth century as the ultimate effect of steps taken in the previous century. His broadside is worth quoting: "[A study of the evidence has led to] the common but elusive sense that,

all things considered, the medieval Church made for life and the Counter Reformation against it. I have tried to suggest that what made the medieval church on the popular plane a real, if ignorant and misguided community, was its admission of the kin-group, natural and artificial, as a constituent element in its life."

Thus, by a rather roundabout route, we return to a characteristic of modern Catholic historiography--a positive evaluation of the Middle Ages. If we return with Bossy, however, we return with praise for precisely those elements that have traditionally been deplored and with reproach for those elements in the Counter Reformation that traditionally have evoked praise.

Lest I end this discussion of Counter-Reformation ministry on a negative note, I will call your attention to another phenomenon of the era in which the Jesuits played a heroic role that surely was not insensitive to family life and local culture. I refer to the attempts of missionaries like Matteo Ricci in China and Roberto de Nobili in India to divest Christianity of Western traits and to assimilate into it the best of oriental cultures. The desire of Ricci to incorporate veneration of ancestors into Christian ritual indicates his sensitivity to the familial dimensions of Chinese piety. The efforts of Ricci, Nobili, and others were bold and creative "inculturations." If there is any truth to Bossy's criticisms, it means that the Jesuits in Europe should have learned a lesson from their brethren in the foreign missions.

F. St. Ignatius and Humanism

I would now like to move on to the second issue I promised to discuss, St. Ignatius himself. Although the past several decades have witnessed a lot of research into Ignatian spirituality and the Constitutions of the order, there have been no major studies of Ignatius as a historical figure or in the context of his times. I think the time is ripe for some new studies along these lines. This is not because more information has come to light about St. Ignatius himself, but because so much research has been done on other figures that in some way relate to Ignatius and raise questions about him.

No phenomenon preceding the reforms of the sixteenth century has undergone a more radical revision in assessment by historians than the Italian Renaissance. Especially in the nineteenth century, the Renaissance was both

praised and damned as pagan. It is treated that way even today in films, novels, and some textbooks, but it is now clear that Renaissance Humanism, so central to the very definition of the Renaissance itself, was inspired by a concern for traditionally Christian moral and religious values. Much of the rebirth that Humanists sought was a rebirth of good moral standards in public life and the rebirth of an education that would promote genuine piety. Contrary to public opinion, the Renaissance was, in many ways, a religious and moral Renaissance. Humanist spirituality had an activist character and was appropriate for lay people and even clerics whose lives were spent in the service of family, Church, or country. It was perhaps the first time that on a large scale Christian spirituality was articulated by and for people who did not live in a cloister.

This spirituality tended to be optimistic, world-affirming, and to focus on the Incarnation rather than on the Crucifixion as its central meditation. It was a notable alternative to the more somber and moralistic piety of a contemporary movement in northern Europe, the *Devotio Moderna*. Somewhat paradoxically, given Humanism's supposed antipathy to Scholasticism and to medieval culture in general, it in some ways related more easily to the reconciliatory dynamics of the great masters of the thirteenth century like Aquinas than to the more cautious systems of later scholastics like Ockham. This reconciliation of nature and grace, of humanity and divinity, is reflected in the Italian art of the period, which preferred Incarnation-related scenes--the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, the Madonna and Child--over the Scourging and Crucifixion. It is noteworthy that in the great Christ-cycle of the Sistine Chapel, there is not a single scene portraying the Lord's suffering and death.

Humanistic spirituality had already had palpable and beneficial effects among the upper classes in Italian cities like Venice, Padua, Florence, and even Rome by the time St. Ignatius and his companions arrived in Italy in the late 1530's. This is not to affirm that all was unequivocally well in urban piety in Italy, but it is to deny that the early Fathers of the Society went to work in a religious fabric utterly decayed. The denial does not lessen the positive achievements of the early Jesuits and other reformed priests in Italy, but it does put those achievements into a context that makes them more easily understood. The early Fathers worked in a context that

would be largely receptive to their religious message and sensitive to the holiness that seemed to contemporaries to radiate from their lives.

A further question arises: If their contemporaries, products for the most part of a humanistic education, were sensitive to the Jesuits, were the Jesuits sensitive to them and their culture? The early Jesuits were, after all, products of the University of Paris, an institution at that time practically untouched by the humanistic movement. The "scholastic" education of the universities was seen by some Humanists as an outmoded rival to their own program, and some scholastics viewed the Humanists as subversive to their system and especially to their style of theology. Moreover, it is well known that Ignatius was influenced by the *Devotio Moderna* and had a special fondness for its greatest monument, *The Imitation of Christ*.

In this context the familiar story of St. Ignatius' antipathy to Erasmus takes on new significance. According to that story, published for the first time by Ribadeneyra in 1572, Ignatius at one point stated that the reading of Erasmus' *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* (or *Enchiridion*) chilled his devotion, and he later forbade the reading of the works of Erasmus in the schools of the Society. During Ignatius' lifetime, Erasmus (1469-1536) was already recognized as "the prince of the Humanists," even though he was not an Italian, and as the most effective spokesman for the Humanists' educational and religious ideals.

Several recent studies, especially by John Olin and Terence O'Reilly, have challenged the authenticity of Ribadeneyra's report about the chilled devotion, and have even shown conclusively that there is no record that Ignatius issued to the Society a general prohibition on the reading of Erasmus' works. The very least that can be said at present is that judgment about the chilled devotion must be suspended until the arguments are further weighed. A somewhat separate question, independent of the authenticity of Ribadeneyra's report, is whether or not Ignatius' devotion *should* have been chilled by Erasmus' book and by the general tenor of Erasmian piety.

It is not at all clear how much Ignatius knew of Erasmus firsthand--probably little. I myself have no difficulty imagining that Ignatius would have been deeply unsympathetic to the negative side of that piety--Erasmus' caustic and sarcastic criticism of the abuses, venality, and superstition that he saw in much of the religious life of the day. I have even less

difficulty, however, in imagining that Ignatius would have responded favorably to the positive alternatives that Erasmus proposed and would have found in them an ideal closely akin to his own. It is these positive alternatives that recent studies on Erasmus have illuminated, showing him to be, in the first place, a religious thinker of great depth and importance. In my mind there is no doubt that these recent studies, so numerous and by so many scholars coming from different traditions, give us a more accurate and authentic portrait of Erasmus than we have ever had before.

This "renaissance" in Erasmus studies indirectly throws light on Ignatius. Erasmus' problematic personality and abrasive ways would have made him an uncongenial dinner companion for Ignatius, but the kind of *genuina religio* that he insisted upon as an ideal for his age was perfectly compatible with what Ignatius sought. Erasmian piety aimed at promoting a deeply interiorized religious devotion; it advocated a return to meditation on the Scriptures and to the reading of the Fathers, and it believed that good education, especially of the clergy, was the solid basis on which the reform of the Church had to be built. We must never forget that Erasmus was a warm friend of Thomas More, shared with him many religious ideals, and coined the phrase by which we best identify the saint, "a man for all seasons." He was at one point offered the red hat by Pope Paul III.

This compatibility between Ignatian and Erasmian piety helps explain, in fact, the large humanistic component in early Jesuit education. Humanistic texts were studied not only for their stylistic qualities. There was also a spirituality implicit in them. For Erasmus and other Humanists, the classics of Greece and Rome possessed a religious dimension and should be studied for their inspirational value as well as their style. Style and content were, in their opinion, inextricably intertwined. Erasmus expressed well in his "Godly Feast" the persuasion that other Humanists shared when they studied these texts: "Of course, Sacred Scripture is the basic authority in everything; yet I sometimes run across ancient sayings or pagan writings--even the poets'--so purely and reverently expressed, and so inspired, that I cannot help believing their authors were moved by some divine power. And perhaps the spirit of Christ is more widespread than we understand, and the company of saints includes many not in our own calendar."

This religious dimension of the humanistic movement has not yet

received the attention it deserves in the history of the early Society. It throws the educational program of the Jesuit *Ratio* into a new light. As a first, oblique expression of the idea of "the anonymous Christian," it might also help explain the reverence some early Jesuit missionaries from Italy felt for the cultures of China and India.

G. St. Ignatius, the Evangelicals, and Carafa

An intrinsic compatibility between humanistic and Ignatian piety would help explain another phenomenon about early Jesuit presence in Italy--and it then raises some further questions. An interesting fact about the first four or five years that Ignatius and his companions spent in Italy is that they received their warmest welcome from certain devout and highly placed persons, influenced by the humanistic movement, who are sometimes referred to as "the Catholic evangelicals" or the *spirituali*. This was the circle of people associated with Cardinal Gasparo Contarini that included in its members Vittoria Colonna, Cardinal Reginald Pole, and others. Even Michelangelo was somewhat loosely associated with it. This circle, almost completely neglected by earlier historians, has been the object of a number of first-rate studies by historians in the last twenty-five years.

It was to people of this circle in Italy, among others, that the early Jesuits effectively ministered. Vittoria Colonna helped Rodrigues and Jay on their first visit to Ferrara in 1539 and provided them with lodging. In Rome, Contarini, the Venetian nobleman, was straightaway attracted to these "reformed priests" and soon made the Spiritual Exercises under the direction of Ignatius himself. Contarini was the leader of the most impressive group of reformers in the papal court between about 1535 and 1540. Despite intense opposition in the Curia, Contarini pressed upon Pope Paul III the necessity of approving the hardly nascent Society of Jesus, and he is in part responsible for the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* of 1540, the first and most important papal document establishing the Society. Moreover, the most outspoken critic of the *spirituali* came to be Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa, at whose election to the papacy as Paul IV in 1555 Ignatius was said to have shaken in every bone in his body.

The antipathy between Ignatius and Carafa is as well known and well documented as explanations of it are obscure. Carafa's rabid anti-Spanish

sentiments surely had something to do with it. Perhaps more important were two fundamentally different visions of how "the reform of the Church" was to take place, as a recent study by Peter Quinn has argued. Carafa was a rigorist, moralist, autocrat, ecclesiastical disciplinarian, a man utterly opposed to any change in practice, doctrine, or discipline that might be interpreted as a concession to "the Lutherans." Though a pious man himself, he seems never to have entertained the thought that the gentle, scriptural, self-critical, and sophisticated piety of the Contarini circle might have a Christian basis. His opposition to that circle stemmed in large part from his conviction that its efforts to heal the religious division through discussion and through a reform of some practices of the papal Curia were a betrayal. The *spirituali* were, in Carafa's analysis, "soft" on heresy.

In 1542, with Contarini's death, Carafa and others began to mount almost a vendetta against leaders in the circle. This was the year that Carafa persuaded Paul III to establish, for the first time, the Holy Office under his own chairmanship, and this was the year in which the repressive elements in the Counter Reformation were launched and given official sanction. By the time Carafa was elected pope in 1555, he had become a fanatic. The "evangelicals" were now a scattered and dispirited group, but that did not deter Carafa from throwing one of their leaders, Giovanni Morone--bishop of Modena, early friend of the Jesuits, and later the "savior" of the last phase of the Council of Trent--into prison for heresy. He would have brought Reginald Pole, then papal legate to Mary Tudor's England, back to Rome to stand trial for heresy if he could have accomplished it. Furthermore, he refused to continue the Council of Trent that recently had been suspended. He created the Index of Forbidden Books and promptly put all the works of Erasmus on it.

What was Ignatius' real relationship to the *spirituali*? Did his own piety have a more authentic affinity with theirs than it did with the "Counter-Reformation" piety of Carafa and his followers? If Carafa epitomizes the "Counter" element in the Counter Reformation, how much of that element did Ignatius subscribe to and want to see incorporated into his order? These questions have never been answered simply because it is only in the last few years that the importance and significance of the *spirituali* have emerged. In Rome in the late 1530's, at least two groups were struggling for ascendancy

in guiding the Catholic reform--the conciliatory and humanistic *spirituali* and the intransigent circle of Carafa. It is the latter that took a strong hold on policy in 1542.

Many historians now assign a symptomatic character to the events of 1542. They would, therefore, challenge Jedin's postulate that "Catholic Reform" in the era of the Counter Reformation was a simple continuation of the healthy elements in the Middle Ages. During the Counter Reformation there was, according to them, an across-the-board change in the temper of Catholicism, and even its old institutions operated in significantly different ways and were animated by a different spirit. By the late sixteenth century, Catholicism was not a side-by-side mix of unimpaired old traditions and some new "anti-heretical" machinery. It was a reality that, though still sprawling and immensely diversified, had received an impress from reformers cast more or less in the mold of Carafa.

When I was a scholastic in the Society, we used to describe in jest our course of training as a long "rite de passage" through various epochs of Western religious culture: the novitiate was the late Middle Ages; the juniorate was the Renaissance; philosophy, the Enlightenment; regency, the French Revolution(!); and theology, the era of the conflict between the anti-Modernists and "la nouvelle théologie." With more seriousness I propose a similar cultural scheme for the spiritual journey of our founder. This scheme might be called "the four religious cultures of Ignatius of Loyola."

The first phase consists in his early years up to and including his conversion. This phase was characterized by the feudal culture of the early Middle Ages. The first years of the saint's life were spent in a backwater, where the traditions of a superseded culture still flourished. He was nourished on the chivalric literature first fully developed in the twelfth century. Unlike Luther's "scriptural conversion" and Calvin's "ecclesial" one, Ignatius' was definitely a "feudal conversion," sparked by his reading of medieval works. He would be a knight of Christ, and then a pilgrim. His piety during this early period was soon marked by a rigorous asceticism, a desire for eremitical seclusion, and a distaste for anything that might ingratiate him with his fellows, even cleanliness and a neat appearance.

Led by the Spirit, he soon began to change his style of life and seek

an education. As H. O. Evannett hints in his *Spirit of the Counter Reformation*, this change was confirmed and found its theological justification in Ignatius' education at the University of Paris. His study there helped him develop a more rational and positive piety, in accord with the reconciliatory dynamism of the great scholastics of the thirteenth century. This would mark the second, or "scholastic," phase of his religious career.

His early years in Italy and his friendship with the *spirituali* seem to indicate a third stage--the stage of "evangelical" and more humanistic piety, as he and members of the Contarini circle discovered their attraction for each other. This is not to say that Ignatius now in any way, even informally, underwent a humanistic education or that he fully understood the program and vision of the *spirituali*. Yet distinguished members of that group felt a sympathy with Ignatius and his companions and were ready to support them to the full as agents for the betterment of the Church.

Was there a fourth and final stage after 1542, in which Ignatius moved to a more "Counter-Reformation" style? What took place in his outlook as the founder became the first superior general? Were the Rules for Thinking with the Church, composed between 1539 and 1541, a measure to defend the infant Society against suspicions of heresy at a time when its approval at Rome was in jeopardy, or must they be interpreted in a more hard-line sense? What vision did Ignatius have of a "reformed Church" and how it should function? Was he a neutral in the portentous turn of events, or did he have allegiances that he either kept or modified? These are some of the deep questions that recent scholarship suggests and for which we have at the present, to my knowledge, no satisfying answer. All these questions can be subsumed under a single, comprehensive one: Was "the great saint of the Counter Reformation" really a Counter-Reformation saint at all? That is the basic question about Ignatius, it seems to me, that historians must now address.

Earlier historians, who had an undifferentiated idea of Catholic reform in the sixteenth century, answered that question clearly and affirmatively. The answer is not clear now. The *Exercises* were in final form and the Society was approved before the policy of Carafa began to prevail in Rome, and we know that Ignatius and Carafa had not settled their long-standing differences even by the saint's death in 1556. The question recurs: Were their differences simply the result of some personal

incompatibilities, or were two visions, howsoever unclearly formulated even in the minds of their creators, in conflict? At the moment I, personally, incline to the latter view.

PART II. IMPLICATIONS FOR TODAY

A. Reflections: the "Context" of Our Origins

I believe that study of our history is important for us as a source of inspiration and as a touchstone for an authentic renewal of our ministries, our spirituality, our very lives. To be fruitful, however, this study of our history must be accomplished by critical reflection upon it, so that we learn from both the achievements and the failures of the past. Historians today are providing us with a picture of the "context" of our origins--a picture we have never had before in such detail and complexity. This picture should help us understand ourselves better. The past will never supply us with pat answers to the live questions requiring decision today, but it will broaden our horizons so that those decisions can be taken with a better grasp of their long-range implications.

I can make only a faint attempt at pointing out some of the implications for us today of recent historical scholarship on the Counter Reformation. For one thing, that scholarship illuminates more clearly than ever before how creative the early Society was in the ministries it undertook. I have spoken only of "missions" and schools, but in both instances the Society helped create institutions practically unknown in the Middle Ages. I have not even mentioned preaching, retreats, spiritual direction, and similarly "traditional" ministries that we know received new vigor in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and in which the Jesuits were leaders. My own research on the history of preaching demonstrates, I believe, that never before had preaching assumed such variety and undergone such significant transformations in content, form, and purpose.

Moreover, the Jesuits went about their work with plan and method. This was part of the genius of their age, and they seem to have utilized that genius to the full. They were sensitive to the needs and opportunities of their times and tried to build something positive to replace what they saw as deficient. In so doing, they built *systems*--of schools, of missions, of preaching,

of retreats, of spiritual direction, of evangelization in foreign cultures.

The Jesuits' vices were perhaps just the other side of their virtues. They may in some instances have moved too quickly against old institutions and been too eager to replace the old with the new. (They may not even have been aware that what they were doing was, in fact, new.) It seems clear to me that, even apart from Bossy's criticisms, there was a decided anti-family bias in much of the spirituality of the era. If so gentle a saint as Vincent de Paul could thank God that "he relieved me of my affection for my parents," he gives us an insight into a religious mentality that was bound to have institutional counterparts. By a subtle new centering of all ministry and spirituality in formalized situations, considerable damage may have been done. On the other hand, in the Society detachment from family was an essential component of the apostolic mobility central to our spirit.

Certainly, part of the limitation of Counter-Reformation ministries was due to the intrinsic limitation of all human endeavors. This is perhaps a more fruitful response to criticism of our early ministries than throwing up our hands and emitting the familiar sigh--damned-if-you-do, damned-if-you-don't. Ministry, like everything else human, is conditioned by exigencies of certain times and places, and constantly needs to be re-evaluated and re-fashioned as situations change. A reform of one abuse can soon degenerate into an abuse itself. Our age has a greater sensitivity to this problem than the Jesuits of the Counter Reformation could ever have had, precisely because of our more sophisticated understanding of the way social conditions change and thus require institutions immersed in them to change. We can excuse rigidification in Jesuits of the Counter Reformation more easily than we can excuse it in ourselves.

I also suggest that the new information we have about Renaissance Humanism and the relationship of the early Jesuits to it may be important for helping to understand our own spirituality a little better. Ignatius was trained as a scholastic, and Scholasticism has an abstract and meta-cultural cast to it. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* can be read in a decidedly "spiritual" sense--churchy, other-worldly, divorced from human culture. Many of the lived traditions of the Society, on the other hand, do not seem to tally with such an interpretation.

Neither Ignatius nor his first companions were Renaissance Humanists.

Yet we know today that many of the religious values they stood for coincided with those of the Humanists. Moreover, the first generations of Italian Jesuits certainly would have been trained by Humanist teachers. It was inevitable, it seems to me, that the *Ratio studiorum* would have a humanistic component. That component, as I pointed out, would not have been simply stylistic, but would have implied a very definite spirituality--a spirituality of public service, a spirituality that drew inspiration even from "profane" sources, a spirituality that had a decidedly culture-affirming presupposition. We are perhaps in a better position today to understand this fact, and to draw appropriate conclusions from it, than were the early Jesuits themselves.

Finally, we have today a much better idea than ever before how the character of the Counter Reformation was formed, at least insofar as it affected high policy in Rome. Sometime around the year 1542, the group led by Carafa and other like-minded individuals seized the direction of "Catholic Reform." In the vast complexity of Catholicism, their policies were not consistently implemented, sometimes received setbacks, and could not altogether prevail. Nonetheless, they were among the factors setting the Church in a direction that lasted for centuries. Ignatius shook in every bone in his body when Carafa was elected pope. We should not treat this incident as a comforting anecdote, but as a sober reminder of the high stakes that were in play.

From the historian's point of view, there was nothing predetermined in the turn of events in 1542. We now know that in Rome at the same time as Carafa there was another influential group that seems to have envisioned "Catholic Reform" in a different way. There is reason to believe that Ignatius and his early companions identified more closely with that group than they did with Carafa. Further research will be necessary to confirm this hunch, but, at the moment, the evidence supports it.

B. Toward Fashioning the Future

Today, as in the sixteenth century, there are conflicting designs of how the Church should try to fashion itself for the future, of how "Vatican Council II should be authentically implemented." The eventual impact of any one of these designs on our lives and apostolates is obvious. We work in a "context"--perhaps an ecclesiastical context above all. It is important,

then, that we exert ourselves, with the modest means at our disposal, in trying to move the Church in the direction that we consider best. Once again, the future is not predetermined. It awaits the vision and energy of those who are able to give it shape.

PART III. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The most up-to-date review of literature on the Counter Reformation is my own contribution to *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven Ozment (St. Louis, 1982), which will be published in a few months by the Center for Reformation Research. In the few pages of that chapter, entitled "Catholic Reform," I try to isolate trends, indicate further bibliographical reviews, and suggest areas that need further research. Concise and technical though the chapter is, it is the most comprehensive such review of which I am aware, and should be of assistance to anybody who wants to pursue in detail the issues raised in the body of my text here. An important study, somewhat different in scope from my own review, is Eric Cochrane's "New Light on Post-Tridentine Italy: A Note on Recent Counter-Reformation Scholarship," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 56 (1970-1971), 291-319. Indispensable for works in English specifically on the Society is, of course, William V. Bangert's *A Bibliographical Essay on the History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1976). The first five chapters of Bangert's *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1972) provide a fine narrative of Jesuit history for the era of the Counter Reformation.

The two most provocative general studies of the Counter Reformation are H. Outram Evennett's *The Spirit of the Counter Reformation* (Notre Dame, 1968) and Jean Delumeau's *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire* (Philadelphia, 1977). The former concentrates on "spirituality" and will be of special interest to Jesuits because of the central role Evennett attributes to the Society of Jesus in developing "the mature spirituality" that he sees as characteristic of the age. Though substantially consisting of the Birkbeck lectures of 1951, the book has stood the test of time and seems destined to become a minor classic.

Delumeau's book, first published in French in 1971, is the only lengthy treatment in English that presents the methods and questions of

"the French school." It contains a great deal of information about popular missions in rural areas. Delumeau can be supplemented with more recent studies, mostly in French, that I indicate in *Reformation Europe*. An invaluable source for information about the period that contrasts in content, viewpoint, and methodology with Delumeau is, of course, Hubert Jedin's *History of the Council of Trent*. Two volumes of this work have been translated into English (London, 1957-1961).

John Bossy has written some of the more controversial interpretations of the era, especially in his essay "The Counter Reformation and the Peoples of Catholic Europe," *Past and Present*, no. 47 (May, 1970), 51-70. In a similar vein are his "Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," in *Sanctity and Secularity*, ed. Derek Baker (New York, 1973), 129-143, and "The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 25 (1975), 21-38. A recent article in English that places confraternities in a political context is Robert Harding's "The Mobilization of Confraternities against the Reformation in France," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11 (no. 2, 1980), 85-107. (This whole number of the journal, by the way, is dedicated to the Counter Reformation.) An excellent review of scholarship on de Nobili and his inculturating methods of evangelization is by N. Tornese and M. Colpo, "Un decennio fecondo per la bibliografia sul de Nobili," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 43 (1974), 353-363.

The state of religion in "the late Middle Ages" has recently been addressed and re-evaluated by Lawrence Duggan in "The Unresponsiveness of the Late Medieval Church: A Reconsideration," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9 (no. 1, 1978), 3-26. This article can be supplemented and confirmed by Étienne Delaruelle, et al., *L'Église au temps du grand schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1378-1449)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962-1964).

The best introduction in English to Renaissance Humanism and its relationship to other elements in the culture of the period is still Paul Oskar Kristeller's *Renaissance Thought* (New York, 1961). A recent survey of scholarship is by Charles Trinkaus, "Humanism, Religion, Society: Concepts and Motivations of Some Recent Studies," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39 (1976), 676-713. My own *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome* (Durham, 1979)

is a reassessment of humanistic theology and spirituality. On this same topic are Trinkaus' two volumes, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* (Chicago, 1970). See also my *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden, 1968), and "The Feast of Aquinas in Renaissance Rome: A Neglected Document and Its Import," *Revista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 35 (1981), 1-27. I survey the transformations in preaching that the era produced in my "Content and Rhetorical Forms in Sixteenth-Century Treatises on Preaching," to appear in *Renaissance Eloquence*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1982).

John Olin's important article on the relationship between Ignatius and Erasmus has been reprinted, with an updated bibliography, in his *Six Essays on Erasmus* (New York, 1979), 75-92. Substantially in agreement with Olin's position is Terence O'Reilly's "Erasmus, Ignatius Loyola, and Orthodoxy," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 30 (1979), 115-127. Olin's *Essays* can serve as an introduction to current studies on Erasmus, and my own "Erasmus and Luther: Continuity and Discontinuity as Key to Their Conflict," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 5 (no. 2, 1974), 47-65, is an attempt at a comprehensive statement on his religious views.

Literature on Contarini and his circle is ably summarized and analyzed by Elisabeth Gleason, "On the Nature of Sixteenth-Century Italian Evangelism: Scholarship, 1953-1978," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9 (no. 3, 1978), 3-25. The differences between Ignatius and Carafa are presented by Peter A. Quinn, "Ignatius Loyola and Gian Pietro Carafa: Catholic Reformers at Odds," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 67 (1981), 386-400.

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