

"THAT NOTE AT THE END OF THE SECOND WEEK": SPIRITUAL EXERCISES 189 AND THE LIFE REFORM

One of the directories refers to the section of the *Spiritual Exercises* generally known as "Life Reform" as "that note at the end of the Second Week" [*Sp. Ex. 189*]. The paragraph in question follows the *Election* as a "note," "added appendix" or "small treaty" [*Sp. Ex. 169-189*], it seems thus to be of lesser importance. However, its original title, *To Amend and reform one's own life and state*, (. "*Para enmendar y reformar lapropia <vida y estado>*") is in no way insignificant. Gaston Fessard, for instance, considered this paragraph [*Sp. Ex. 189*] as the "seed of the essential fertility of the *Exercises*", a sort of passage that leads to the absolutely "universal relevance" that he acknowledged in the Exercises. However, neither that directory nor Fessard noticed that the *Exercises* never mention a "Reform." In light of this, I chose the terms "That note" as the heading for these pages. This title is intended to underline that, despite its apparent insignificance, that paragraph does in fact carry a great deal of importance in a tradition of interpretation and maintains that significance because of its location within the text. I therefore wish to point out its transcendence in the threshold toward the Passion of Christ.

Traditions have an origin. Initially, Ignatius strongly underlined the verb "to reform" which shows the practical dimension of that exercise. Soon enough, Ignatius learned from experience that the great majority of the ones

doing the complete Exercises were not ultimately making an election of state. In an effort to report approximate quantities of how many made the Exercises during Ignatius' lifetime (*grosso modo*, 7.500), Iparraguirre estimated that the great majority of them were neither religious nor did they choose religious life after completing them (Approximately 5.000 men). They maintained their respective ways of life. Understanding that married exercitants and the majority of the prelates had already made an election of a state of life, Ignatius advised them that "it is very beneficial" to reform their lives.

I will start by attempting to put the word "reform" into the right context. I will subsequently analyze the importance attributed by the directories and commentators of the Exercises to that "note" and the tradition which then grew. I will present a historic overview of how we have reached our present understanding of "The Reform." By this I intend to respond to the question raised by the Editor, an introductory article to the question: Why doesn't the Exercises change us? Finally, I will try to provide a summarized view of the principal hermeneutic keys applied.

A "Reform" of Life?

The Spanish Royal Academy Dictionary reports two meanings of the word "reform". It is the action and effect of "reforming oneself (individually) or of reforming something (an institution). While the *Ignatian Concordances* ("*Concordances Ignacianas*") do not include a single reference to the verb, they do in turn refer to four uses of the noun. The latter appears in the *Constitutions* on only one occasion; the *Exercises* use the word in three other instances in a consistent manner. These three occasions refer to the reform of "one's own life and state" and they place the reforming in an economic context. In fact the first two utilizations refer to "material goods" [*Sp. Ex.* 1891 and the third one refers to the "distribution of the assets of our Lord" in the *Rules for the Distribution of Alms* [*Sp. Ex.* 343]. The textual similarities among them [*Sp. Ex.* 189 and 343] were the reason why commentators linked both texts under The Reform. It is worth pointing out that the *Constitutions* also use "to reform" in a context of asset management (the Government of the Schools). To Reform relates to a supervision that the professed [*Co* 419]

maintained over the financial management that coadjutors carried out in schools [Co 421]. While the three uses of the *Exercises* focus on the management of the individual personal assets, the fourth deals with the management of institutional assets (school).

Ignatius' letters present no discrepancy with respect to this use. Consistent with the usage of the verbs in the Spiritual Exercises and the Constitution the first volume of Ignatian correspondence, for instance, continues using the verb. Furthermore, we also find the term "reformation," [reformacion]. Again, we find either the verb or the noun in contexts that are: 1) individual or 2) institutional: first, as a reform of the individual conscience, for instance in expressions such as: "Even though the obligation of charity is common to all the ones who carry within the image of God our Creator, repaired and *reformed* with the blood and life of Jesus Christ Our Lord, it especially compels us..." (*Epp* 1.726); second, as a reform of institutions such as: the clergy [*Epp* 1:148], the monasteries [*Epp* 1:252, etc.], bishoprics [*Epp* 1:393] or the universal Church [*Sp. Ex.* 1.-355J].⁸ The first volume of correspondence in most of

its uses refers to the reform of the monasteries of nuns (Lezo, Gaeta y Sicilia), with specific references to Catalan monasteries (*[Epp* 1:383-384; 421; 426 *passim*}).

The two books which provide us with the background to understand an individual's reform are *The Practice of the Spiritual Life* ("*Ejercitatorio*") of Jimenez de Cisneros, which discusses the "fruits of the Exercises", and *Imitation of Christ*, which talks about the "amendment."⁹ Both books carried out a search for the moral "benefit" or the "amendment": They searched for the control of passions, bad habits and tendencies, the use of time, compliance with duties, etc. Santiago Arzubialde pointed out the similarities between the language of The Reform and the one of the "gersoncito" [the Kempis].

The ecclesiastical language contemporary to the Spiritual Exercises can aid us in understanding the institutional use of "reform." In fact, the idea of

reform was developed in the ecclesiastic vocabulary as a consequence to the Gregorian reform movement. During the Middle Ages, the concept of an institutional reform reached the entire church: "since this disease is almost widespread, we believe it is appropriate to apply a general remedy" (Council of Lyon I, 1274). The councils of Constance (1414-18) and Basel (1431-49) requested a reform of the Church "from head to limbs." Finally, the Lateran Council V (1512-17) promoted the reform of customs with no great success; on the other hand, the Council of Trent (1546-63) established the strongest disciplinary reform. The context of the reforming decrees explain that "to reform" actually, for the most part, refers to bulls, constitutions [*Epp* 1:6131, briefs [*Epp* 1:494], statutes [*Epp* 1:447], precepts and notices by way of documents [*Epp* 1:458] in order to reform bishoprics, clergy [*Epp* 1:148], monasteries, etc.¹²

The *practicing* of the Exercises contributed to this institutional reform not so much at the beginning as much as after Ignatius' death, when the Exercises became popular and as they were repeated and adapted to different audiences and circumstances. That is when those giving the exercises understood The Reform in a general sense. On the one hand, the official documents are faithful to that concept of a "reform" that is associated with an external change (form), objective, institutional, "by decree."¹ On the other hand, after Ignatius, directors such as Ceccotti resorted to delivering "general rules" in writing in order to put order into life according to the condition of the exercitant.

From giving the Exercises for Election to Giving Them for the Reform

Ignatius initially conceived the Exercises as a method leading to an election of a state of life. Commentators agree in stating that, soon enough, Ignatius understood the fuller scope of the Exercises. In fact, he understood that many would benefit from the Exercises even though they were not able to make a change in their state of life. Two examples worth mentioning are: Peter Faber, ordained as a priest shortly after completing the Exercises; Francis Xavier, who initially took his vows in Montmartre and only later did he make the Exercises. Even though it has been argued whether "that note" was added to

the text of the Exercises in Paris or later. Married men or prelates such as Contarini, are examples of situations in which the Election [*Sp. Ex.* 169-188] could not properly have been applied to an election of a state of life.

Different commentators have adopted a variety of positions with respect to the place that the Election and, consequently The Reform, occupy within the Exercises. Leonce de Grandmaison represents the most contemptuous position while Giuseppe Blondo maintains the most "libertarian" one. In the opinion of Grandmaison, Ignatius conceived all the exercises of the Spiritual Exercises while focusing on a single specific case: a person who has not yet chosen his state of life and who is searching for God's will before he makes his choice. Therefore, this author judges the Reform is an added appendix, an application for "married men and prelates". In summary, The Reform "uses the Exercises" for another objective: to amend life within a vocation. In a differing view, Blondo specifies the targets of "The Reform" as to a Reform which must be carried out *by way of election*:

Wrong tendencies, passions, bad habits and principal defects, temptations, especially vehement ones, virtues, divine inspirations, the ministries of our Society, how to preach, how to confess, to pray, etc., and all other actions which require a reform, how to eat, sleep, study,
¹⁸
etc.

In the XX* century G. Fessard interpreted the same data provided by Grandmaison as a "logical consequence" in light of the increasing use of the Exercises. He believed that Ignatius himself must have understood the relevance of the Exercises, and thus decided to make them available to everyone. Through "that note" Ignatius may have started a twofold process toward the "globalization" of the Exercises. Because of this process, the choice of the Exercises apparently was a) extended to all as an instrument for conversion and sanctification (*expansion*) and, b) applied to every type of decision, beyond the choice of state of life (*depth*). Fessard, using a dialectic method of philosophy, aimed at rigorously analyzing the Exercise in depth and complementing the powerful intuitions of H. Bremond. On the other hand, there was a fundamental disagreement between Grandmaison, the practice that preceded him and the little depth that he perceived in it. We shall discuss it below.

"THAT NOTE AT THE END OF THE SECOND WEEK"

"The Reform": from the General to the Specific Meaning

Both the text of the Exercises and directories refer to the Reform in general terms. On the other hand, directors in their practice made efforts to get into detail or into a Reform in specific terms. Iparraguirre outlines the pastoral utilization of the Reform. His *History of the Exercises* refers to a correlation between a reform of individuals and the expectation of the Society that these persons would favor a reform of the institutions. This expectation grew stronger when it related to civil or ecclesiastic dignitaries. For instance, Everardo Mercuriano distinguished himself in his effort to reform the discipline of prelates and abbots before he was elected General of the Society. The very first directory that details a series of means of perseverance is attributed to him. These included small tactics to maintain the presence of God, such as ejaculations, exhortations to love above gratitude or fear, exercise of the learned techniques to meditate and make a double examen, devotion to Holy Mary, readings of devotion, works of mercy and even body positions.

"The reform may be understood in two ways: a more particular one which I believe was the one intended by Ignatius and a more general one, which interpreters and commentators usually adopted." So stated Ottavio Marchetti at the beginning of his comment about the Reform during the XXth century. Many years before Marchetti, one directory was questioning the meaning intended by Ignatius.² Another one began suggesting that the exercitant should choose between two virtues." The *Official Directory* called on the exercitant to make an account of the benefits derived from the Exercises. It vicariously suggests admonishing him with fear, including expressions such as: "if from here on he doesn't live as he intended..." Thus, in practice there was a tendency to interpret the text of the Reform in specific terms. Ignatius was thought to have dealt with only two aspects: the home and family on the one hand, and the "faculties" or assets, on the other. It did not seem that Ignatius had gone into specific details: he presumably limited himself to illustrate the Reform with a general example: asset management."

For a classic such as Achille Gagliardi, every exercitant (*omnis homo*) had to make a choice of assets and the number of choices that were possible was endless. Consequently, he determined there were two areas of selection, in addition to the choice of a life condition: a) matters relating to habits:

amending some bad and selecting some good and, b) difficult topics pertaining to government (similarly to how Ignatius determined the *Constitutions*). Gagliardi explained the Reform as a way to amend vices, mortify excesses or defects and to attain a correct virtuous environment. Of course, this reform required a degree of continuity and a pace to be maintained outside the Exercises instead of just determination. The *Official Directory* goes into details to indicate the frequency of confession, of communion (weekly), the duration of daily meditation (30-60'), the daily examen (150, and the need to be confronted with the confessor, with a stable guide and good people.²⁹ The directory attributed to Mercuriano suggested the "gersoncito" [Kempis] and included the treaty about the prayer by Luis de Granada.³⁰

Beyond seeking perfection in one's state of life, the Reform trained "married men and prelates" according to a model of religious perfection, that is, the apostolic model. G. Davila and the *Directory* stated that the Reform allows those living in the world to "treat perfection in his way" and he added: "whom we must invite in accordance with our vocation."³³

From our perspective, it is fair to wonder whether this fervor was also legitimate for the exercitant. According to the tone of footnote 15, which states that "the one giving the Exercises must not push the one receiving them more toward poverty or promise than toward their opposites, nor toward a status nor way of life rather than another, since outside of the Exercises we could legitimately and rightfully move... more than during such exercises... it is best for the Creator and Lord himself to communicate to his devoted soul."³ In fact those specialists did not perceive any contradiction between that way to proceed and Ignatius' recommendation. The Reform became a practice, and arguably, as the Exercises became increasingly popular, this policy delayed the maturing process of a diocesan or lay priestly spirituality.

The Renewal Retreats

The Reform in specific terms is a result embraced by the Exercises at the beginning of the XVII' century. At this time, some new circumstances continued to modify the comprehension of the text of the Reform. A decision taken by major superiors determined the experience that the Jesuits were to

Naturally, in light of this increase of eight day retreat, the directors recurred to the spiritual material more at hand.

It is appropriate to point out that the *History* by Iparraguirre never suggests that the issue CG6 was attempting to resolve was the consequence of a negligent practice of the Reform. He rather states that CG6 relied on the Exercises as a methodology and school of Ignatian prayer. Up to that time, many still interpreted the text literally and the Reform was deemed to be intended for "married men and prelates." On the contrary, Iparraguirre suggested that the Reform of the Exercises and, in general, the use that Jesuits would make of them, began gaining attention following the implementation of the decree: the Exercises increasingly became a routine, until they became a period for *renovation* and rest.

The tragedy consisted in the fact that the spiritual style in place at the time offered very few perspectives for the development of the spiritual depth that Ignatius had attributed to the Exercises. The preaching or rhetoric exposure of the matters overwhelmed... the spiritual experience.³⁸

Internal Renovation or External Reform

The French school of thought reacted against this superficial situation during the first half of the XXth century.³⁹ It is significant to point out that J. de Guibert dedicated an entire chapter to "explaining" the real meaning of the Jesuit ascetics, going against the extended prejudice that considered it as a development of virtues. This "interior" *reforme* was inspired by the thought and logic of the Exercises. De Guibert, however, acknowledges that it is not included in the text of the Exercises but it rather emerges from his adaptation in the tradition of the Society. Except for Gagliardi, De Guibert does not even refer back to the directories. The tools used by the exercitants consisted in the *inae* and other models of interpretation which were compatibles to but not intrinsic to the Exercises. Thus, the Exercises were applied not only to spiritual direction but also to evangelizing group tactics: the repetition of Exercises, preaching, teaching and the missions. Personalized appropriation was thereby lost in part. The Exercises turned out to be a very effective instrument with significant results: first, conversion and then

perfection. In addition, at the end of the XVIII' century, the exercises reached a wider audience. Closed and renovation retreats became generalized to the extent that some will affirm that "after the first generation, the Exercises did not survive in their original form". Even though we do not share this position, the reader will understand that the search for measurable results and the commitment to a moral Reform were parts of this development.

The text referred to the "fruits" inaccurately. Suarez preferred referring to the "effects." The directories and contemporary authors, however, underlined the significance of the Reform in relation with the benefit of the *Exercises* and with the spiritual principle which concludes the text [*Sp. Ex. 189*]: "for let each one think that he will benefit himself in all spiritual things in proportion as he goes out of his self-love, will and interest"; a "golden rule" for the apostolic spirituality. The *Directories* affirm that "this doctrine allows for many.... to profess perfection in their *own way*, while remaining in the world."

The typical benefit that resulted from the Exercises through the Reform was not only of an external nature. The external result served apologetic purposes.⁴³ Gonzalez Davila acknowledged that the reform of life could reform "many abuses, which may not be sins but certainly are the beginnings of much badness." Most of the results of the Reform, however, were never obvious. The Reform usually consisted in a new fervor, a progress in spiritual life and especially the frequency of sacraments and of mental prayers. That is, the Reform brought about a powerful transformation, but it often did not transcend the personal aspects. Therefore, it was unnoticed by historians.

Are the Exercises Changing Us? Criteria for Interpretation

Should the Exercises change us? Do the Exercises made annually change us? At the end of this process we should review Leo Bakker's interpretation of the Reform, between a technical restrictive interpretation and another that is derived and particular. Bakker provides convincing arguments which link the election of a state of life to a choice for actual poverty. Ignatius would not recognize the *states of life* he refers to (cf. [*Sp. Ex. 135*]) in the categories we use (lay, religious, priestly). Basically, there are two Ignatian states of life; these correspond to the ways of life that follow the counsels (life of perfection) or the ones following the commandments (Christian life). Respectively,

these conditions embrace either an actual and spiritual poverty or a spiritual one. The text of the Exercises witnesses to a certain period in the life of Ignatius. During this time, he conceived poverty (but not celibacy nor obedience yet) as the privileged means to "imitate and follow" Jesus Christ Our Lord, "poor and humble." In fact, we could present a lot of evidence to support this argument, in or outside of the Exercises, ranging from the similarities in the rules for almsgiving to the way in which Ignatius signed his letters during this time. Ignatius conceived poverty as the first act of humiliation and the first step to descend toward humility (cf. [*Sp. Ex.* 146]).

Bakker carries out a dialogue with his predecessors and sets forth his reflection in a new noetic frame. The importance of the Reform does not lie in the fact that it represents the finish line (at least vicariously to the election),

nor in the fact that it forms the exercitant to be open to a decision. It is always communion with God himself and because openness (abnegation) guides the retreatant toward the said objective. Bakker bases the election on the option for Jesus himself and in following him

[a la apostolical. Married *unnoticed by historians men and* prelates cannot choose to abandon their assets, but only to give and then in alms.

Thus, Reform may only represent an alternative for those who, as they are held back by their own possessions will not enter the apostolic pursuit. Why? Without a radical attitude of poverty related to the selection of a state of perfection, the retreatant may not gain access to a "new *knowledge* of his own life or of Christ". If an election is not to be made a repetition of the Exercises can be justified as a means to reach a "confirmation" through the Second or the First Time of decision.

In a strict sense, the Reform concerns tangible assets and property which would facilitate "a new knowledge of one's own life or of Christ". The reform only favor a limited degree of imitations; not a free imitation and following. Of course, this position may be criticized, but since there is no room to do so, I prefer to juxtapose the vision of another author. M. Giuliani transfers the theory of knowledge to the knowledge that the exercitant acquires of himself

through the election (Reform). Giuliani leaves the formal content of the election or reform on a second level.

Any election made by an exercitant goes through this purification process which consists in recognizing that prior decisions were of an imperfect and partially dark nature. But, beyond this purification... the freedom once again encounters a new integrity to commit itself because the exercitant has fully reconciled with his past.

Giuliani underlines the strength of the dynamics that characterizes the Exercises in daily life. These dynamics help the exercitant to re-interpret his personal history as a gift. What is essential, he affirms, is "having learned by experience to follow the internal path that leads to the freedom of the heart." Giuliani thereby changes the issue from the "what" to the "how". The Reform constitutes a starting point in a more radical manner than just the "fruits" or the deliberation and decision emerging *during* the Exercises. The Reform is nevertheless an occasion to transform the perception and judgment of the past before it becomes a decision to change the future (a desirable result, on the other hand). In what represents a Copernican turn, the same election becomes secondary with respect to the dynamics it is based upon and that it shares with the Reform.

In fact, the Reform is in the turning point of a process. At the beginning of the Third Week, one might experience a degree of gratitude that integrates

and frees one's own judgment, even beyond the conclusion of the Exercises.⁴⁹ In the tradition J. de Guibert, L. Bakker and M. Giuliani enriched the philosophical approximation of Fessard; S. Arzubialde brought back to us the text.⁵⁰ Each author sheds light on the text with his own particular emphasis. Each one interprets from the beginning of a tradition that expanded while extracting apostolic applications, or from the knowledge-experience that the exercitant acquires from Christ or from himself in relation to Christ during the Second Week, or, lastly, from the text itself.

We must not forget that there is a difference between what the text suggests and for whom, on the one hand, and what commentators have interpreted, on the other. Arzubialde reminds us that the first principle of interpretation should keep in mind the literality of the text. Thus, he first illuminates the text with the internal key of the *Principle and Foundation* (the

what) and the consequent application in the *Rules to distribute alms* (the *how*).¹ He, however, does not forget to interpret the Reform in the context of the Election. While some commentators of the paragraph [*Sp. Ex. 189*] thought they saw a "Reform of Life as a whole" the text only refers to a reform that affects the *quantity* of temporal assets. The text offers this reform as a secondary means to spiritually take advantage of the Exercises. Secondly, Arzubialde analyzes the Reform in the context of the rest of the Christian tradition of charity and maintains that the horizon to understand the Reform is "the love for the poor which always brings out God's love and mercy."⁵² It is not sheer wilfulness; it isn't Christian ascetics. The consequence he underlines is that the importance of the Reform is deduced from where it is placed: it is the "part that links the Second to the Third Week."⁵³

Conclusion

The Reform was not altered by "the ones who are prelates or who are married" but by the religious. On the one hand, the Reform could not apply to the religious, who had "steady occupations and whose lifestyle is based on obedience," and on the other hand, the religious were the ones who started *repeating* the Exercises. Guibert rhetorically questioned "must we accept a way to do the Exercises that does not include any effort to make an election?" Even though Ignatius conceived the Exercises as an experience of conversion to Christ, his companions in turn transformed the same into a *school for* apostles, a sort of tool to grow in a life of moral-spiritual perfection. In this context, the Reform not only found a new function, it also became the key element of a baroque device - intended with no negative connotation - focused on the results (moral). The work of Calveras about the benefit that should be pursued through the Exercises is the finishing flourish of this period.⁵⁵ The word "Election" gained a more ample meaning and those giving exercises in fact directed their Exercises toward the Reform in specific terms, whether internal or spiritual.

Why don't the Exercises change us? This question is filled with rhetoric and is difficult to answer. In some manner, the answer that seems to come from I. Iparraguirre, P. Arrupe or CCGG 31 and 32 do not consider a problem in the way the Reform is carried out. While, authors such as J. de Guibert did

use the term *reforms* in the sense of a spiritual improvement, Iparraguirre consistently avoids the word in light of the implications it has in Spanish; as we previously stated. Iparraguirre prefers the term *renovation*. He never confuses the practices of spiritual renovation that involved the Jesuits (of the XVII century) with the Reform. To Reform implies to change the form at an institutional level, as is shown in the study of "Reform" included in the Institute's documents and correspondence. To Re-form implies an external change that is institutional, with no internal or spiritual nature and CG 31, d.14 supported this definition in the use of the term. The Jesuit vocation emerges from the gratitude for the gift of salvation; it is associated to the work of Christ the Savior:

Thus this is our vocation, to love the Father and his children, and to work with Christ in the Church for the life of the world, so that the Father is more glorified.

CG 31 also maintains that the Exercises is a school of prayer and not a support to force a change through the Reform. Arrupe preferred the term renovation during a difficult time for the contemporary Society. Finally, CG 32 relied on the fact that the renovation would be attained through permanent formation (d.6, §18-20), even though it acknowledged that some Jesuits strongly opposed a process of renovation (d.1, §3).

This historic analysis was intended to underline the arguments that emerge from Ignatius and the interpretation that the Society has given of his Exercises and that represent our references for a discussion about the Life Reform in general. Far beyond the Desert Fathers there is a distance between us and the Ignatian "reforming." We should keep this in mind since it shall help us when reflecting about today's Life Reform in general.

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NOTES

1. Unknown author, *MIDirectoria 1919*, 889. As of now, I will refer to the directories according to the numbering of Miguel Lop S.J., *Los Directorios de Ejercicios (1540-1599)*, Manresa. Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero, Sal-Terrae, 2000, through the abbreviation "D" followed by the place occupied by each directory (xx) and the paragraph number according to this publication (yy), according to the abbreviation: D. xx n. yy.
2. Gaston Fessard, *La dialectique des Exercices Spirituels de Saint Ignace de Loyola*, Paris: Aubier, 1956, 88-103, especially 89.
3. Ignacio Iparraguirre SJ, *Práctica de los ejercicios de San Ignacio de Loyola en irida desu autor, 1522-1556*, Bilbao: Mensajero, 1946, 225. This book is the first of three volumes which constitute *Historia de los Ejercicios*.
4. Carlos Rafael Cabarriis, "<Por que no nos cambian los Ejercicios Espirituales?" ("Why don't Spiritual Exercises Change us?") in *Psicología y Ejercicios ignacianos*, ix>l I, Manresa n. 5 collection, Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero - Sal Terrae, 1991, 277-284.
5. Two of them in [Sp. Ex. 189] and the third in the *Reglas para distribuir limosnas* ("Rules to distribute alms") [Sp. Ex. 343], Ignacio Echarte, S.J., "to reform" in *Concordancias Ignacianas*, Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero - Sal Terrae, 1996.
6. This text has partially been annulled by CG 34; *Constituciones de la Compania de Jesus y Normas Complementarias* (*Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and complementary Rules*), Curia del Preposito General de la Compania de Jesus (ed.), Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, 1996.
7. "Reform of consciences or condition" [Epp 1:459].
8. The only reference to this word in the *Autobiography* [71] relates to this use.
9. There are five results from the *Ejercitatoria* 1) to avoid bad thoughts and interests, 2) to stabilize the sou] in order to work more effectively, 3) fervor and fidelity, 4) knowledge of oneself, 5) greater advantage and merit of the wise man who acts in accordance, Garcia Jimenez de Cisneros, *Ejercitatorio de la irida espiritual*. Madrid: Rialp, 1957; Victor Mercier SJ, *Concordance de {'Imitation de Jesus-Christ et des Exercices Spirituels de saint Ignace suivie d'un plan raisonne des exercices pour une retraite de butt jours*, Paris: H. Oudin, 1885, 296-317.
10. *De Imitations Christi*, Libro I, cap. 25. "De ferventi emendatione totius vitae", cfr. Arzubialde SJ, Santiago. "La limosna, reforma de la propia vida y estado : EE. 189 y 337-344," *Manresa* 58 (1986): 3-6.

11. John O'Malley SJ. "Reform, Historical Consciousness, and Vatican II's Aggiornamento." *Theological Studies* 32 (1971): 573-601 y Nelson H. Minnich SJ, "Concepts of Reform Proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 7 (1969) 163-251.

12. A revealing anecdote, Ignatius feared that, if the Society had dared to request licenses to confess monasteries of nuns (secondary orders) the same could have undergone a "reform in the institute itself forced by the natural chaplains of those nuns (primary or masculine orders). [*Epp* 1:6291.

13. Pascasio Broet was well-known for this reason [*Epp* 1:600], the same happened with Everardo Mercuriano, cfr. Ignacio Iparraguirre SJ, *Historia de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio*, 'vol. II, Bilbao: Mensajero, 1955, 174. Iparraguirre echoes the reform of the dioceses, of society, of the monasteries through the Exercises and illustrates it by referring to the change in the habits of some people, Iparraguirre, *Práctica de los ejercicios*, 227-228, 231, 236.

14. The book that collects the various documents used in the gestation of the *Formula* (1550) and of the *Constituciones* (*Monumenta Historica Ignaciana Series III*, vol 1), for instance, reiterates the expression "to reform bulls" frequently. On the other hand, the imposition to write letters to Rome on a regular basis is also identified as "reforming us", since it supposes a novelty in the institute [*Epp* 1:540].

15. D. 48 n. 17. He who is giving the Exercises ought not to influence him who is receiving them more to poverty or to a promise, than to their opposites, nor more to one state or way of life than to another. For though, outside the Exercises, we can lawfully and with merit influence every one who is probably fit to choose continence, virginity, the religious life and all manner of evangelical perfection, still in the Spiritual Exercises, when seeking the Divine Will, it is more fitting and much better, that the Creator and Lord Himself should communicate Himself to His devout soul, inflaming it with His love and praise, and disposing it for the way in which it will be better able to serve Him in future. So, he who is giving the Exercises should not turn or incline to one side or the other, but standing in the centre like a balance, leave the Creator to act immediately with the creature, and the creature with its Creator and Lord.

16. Even though the matter has been discussed since Jose Calveras situated the establishment of the Reform in Paris, M. Ruiz Jurado affirms that the date of the Text "E" supports this theory, cf. Manuel Ruiz Jurado SJ, "El texto de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio," *Manresa* 69 (1997) 179-182, 185 y ib., "Fuentes de las Elecciones," en *Las fuentes de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio: Actas del Simposio Internacional (Loyola, 15-19 septiembre 1997)*, Juan Plazaola SJ (ed.), Bilbao: Mensajero, 1998, 349.

17. Leonce de Grandmaison, *Recherches de science religieuse* 1920, 404-408, quoted by G. Fessard, *La dialectique*, 91.
18. D. 28 n. 12-14.
19. Fessard, *La dialectique*, 89 y 96.
20. Tony Severin SJ, *Mercurian: Un grand beige*, Liege, 1946, 169-176, quoted by Iparraguirre, *Historia de los Ejercicios*, vol. II, 172.
21. Ottavio Marchetti SJ, *Il pensiero ignaziano negli "Esercizi Spirituali," Roma: Pontificia Universita Gregoriana*, 1940, 252.
22. D. 24 n. 29.
23. *MIDirectoria* 1919, 889, n.5 quoted by Joseph de Guibert SJ, "L'Election dans les exercices spirituels," in *Les grandes directives de la retraite fermee*, Albert Valensin SJ (ed.), Paris: Spes, 1930, 175.
24. D. 33, 34, 43 n. 281.
25. For instance, Ignacio Casanovas SJ, *Explanacio dels Exercis Espirituals de Sant Ignasi de Loyola*, vol. Segona Setmana; Segona Part, Barcelona: Foment de Pietat, 1934, 113.
26. Achille Gagliardi SJ, *Commentarii sen Explanaciones in Exercitia spiritualia Sancti Patris Ignatii de Loyola*, Brugis: Desclee, De Brouwer, 1882, 92.
27. ib., 92-93.
28. Ib., 96-97.
29. D. 33, 34, 43 n- 283.
30. D. 18 n. 114.
31. D. 33,34,43 n.237. Curiously, the text supports this statement in the *Constituciones* of the Society of Jesus; cf. [Co 408-409],
32. "The one providing the exercises must not stir the ones receiving them more toward poverty nor promise than to their opposites, nor toward a certain condition or way of life than another since, in light of the fact that we may also drive them outside of the exercises legitimately and meritoriously, it is much more appropriate and best to allow the Creator and Lord himself to communicate with his devoted soul, embracing it with his love and praise and setting him on the path that can best serve him in the future. Therefore, the one providing them should not praise nor be inclined toward one direction or another; while staying in the middle like a weight,

he immediately lets the Creator work with the creature and the creature with his Creator and Lord." /Sp. Ex. 151.

33. Iparraguirre states that the practice to repeat the Exercises was nevertheless quite widespread by the time the decree was promulgated, *Historia de los Ejercicios*, axil.

in, Roma: IHSI, 1973, 461. The practice, however, is distinguished from the obligation that the training institution of the Society had to observe from that moment onward.

34. *InsMtutum Societatis Jesu*, Florentia: Typographia SS. Conceptione, 1983, 2:303, n.29.

35. Peelers SJ, Louis. *Vers l'union divine par les Exercices de S. Ignace*. Bruxelles - Paris: Charles Beyaert, 1924, 47-49.

36. Ignacio Iparraguirre, *Historia de los Ejercicios*, vol. III, 449-451.

37. "Excite your love, your affection of the triple path by talking with Christ. Make affections of decency, pain, and fear on the purgative path. Of humility, trust, devotion on the illuminative path, of unifying love, of overcoming difficulties, of devotion on the path of unity." Iparraguirre, *Historia de los Ejercicios*, <vol. III, 451.

38. ib., 473.

39. In addition to Grandmaison, Pinard de la Boullaye, and Joseph de Guibert, "L'Election dans les exercices spirituels," In *Les grandes directives de la retraite fermee*, Albert Valensin SJ (ed.), Paris: Spes, 1930.

40. "Reforme de la vie et effort ascetique" in Joseph de Guibert SJ, *La Spiritualite de la Compagnie de Jesus; Esquisse Historique*, Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1953, 565-577.

41. This text dated 1626 exemplifies this excellent adaptation: "Just as the main obstacle we have in determining what is convenient for a greater divine service is the disorderly love for honour, for gifts or property, the principal obstacle we have in order to carry out actions that have been decided is the contradiction posed by our sensuality and self-respect and mundane love. As a result, to help us in our determination, our holy Father provides us with the example of Christ our Lord, who is always before us with his cross so we may wish to follow him and resemble him; thus, in order to help us to confirm our determinations and to give us the strength to put them into practice, he slowly offers to us the meditation on the passion of Christ our Lord during the third week. The objective of the third week is therefore to exercise the most perfect virtues, which are experienced with contradiction and adversities, with dishonour and pain and lack of temporal things," Luis de la Palma S.J., *Practica y breve declaration del Camino Espiritual*, 2 ed. Madrid: Apostolado de la Prensa, 1944, p. 132-133.

42. D. 33,34,43 n.237.

43. Cfr. Francisco Suarez SJ, *Los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio. Una defensa*, Bilbao y Santander: Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 2003.

44. Cf. D. 31 n.154 y D. 33,34,43 n.236.

45. However, charity and changes in lifestyle were more noticeable, Iparraguirre, 'Prdctica de los ejercicios, 217ss.

46. Leo Bakker SJ, *Freiheit und Erfahrung: redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen tiber die Unterscheidung der Geister bei Ignatius awn Loyola*, Wiirzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1970; Spanish translation in *Libertady experiencia: Historia de la redaction de las Reglas de discrecion de espíritus en Ignacio de Loyola*, Fausto Palacios SJ (trad.), Bilbao-Santander: Mensajero Sal Terrae, 1995.

47. Maurice Giuliani SJ, "L'hier et l'aujourd'hui dans la demarche de l'Election," *Cahiers di spiritualite ignatiennel*, no. 27 (1983), 185.

48. Maurice Giuliani SJ, *L'esperienza degli Esercizi Spirituali nella irita quotidiana*, Roma: ADP, 1999, 181-201, 184.

49. Iparraguirre provides some very interesting examples in *Prdctica de los Ejercicios*, 229-235.

50. Arzubialde, "La limosna reforma de lapropia viday estado", 3-40.

51. With respect to the Principle and Foundation, authors such as Alfredo Sampaio Costa SJ, to whom I am grateful for his correct comments on this article, underlines that the Reform must not be approached automatically; rather from the Ignatian disposition of indifference (simple, orderly intention); cfr. su *Los tiempos de election en los directories de Ejercicios*, Maria Rosa Carbonell de la Fuente (trad.), Bilbao y Santander: Mensajero y Sal Terrae, 2004, 68-71.

52. Ib, 12.

53. Ib., 11.

54. Joseph de Guibert SJ, "L'Election dans les exercices spirituels," in *Les grandes directives de la retraite fermee*, Albert Valensin SJ (ed.), Paris: Spes, 1930, 174-175.

55. Jose Calveras SJ, *Quefruto se ha de sacar de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio: Textopara cursillos de Ejercicios*, Barcelona: Libreria Religiosa, 1941.

56. CG 31, d.4, §2.