EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

"North-South Cultural Contacts and Comparisons in Europe"

Project directed by Professors
Denys Hay and Anthony Pagden

E U I W O R K I N G P A P E R No. 95

'VIRTUE VERSUS LETTERS': THE SOCIETY OF JESUS 1550 - 1580 AND THE EXPORT OF AN IDEA

by

NIGEL GRIFFIN

MARCH 1984

BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO (FI)

Paper presented in the conference held on
6 and 7 December 1982 entitled

"The Diffusion and Repression of Protestantism in 16th and 17th Century Europe"

Printed in Italy in March 1984
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I - 50016 San Domenico (FI)
Italy

'VIRTUE VERSUS LETTERS': THE SOCIETY OF JESUS 1550-1580

AND THE EXPORT OF AN IDEA

NIGEL GRIFFIN

University of Manchester

A shorter version of this paper was given in the second 'North-South Cultural Contacts Workshop' held in December 1982 at Fiesole under the auspices of the Department of History and Civilization of the European University Institute. I am grateful to all those present on that occasion, and would like to thank in particular Anthony Pagden at whose suggestion I have revised it for publication in the Working Papers series, Gigliola Margiotta Broglio who saved me from a number of errors, and Fr Edmond Lamalle S.I. for making me welcome in the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus. My friend and colleague Dr A. Gordon Kinder drew my attention to a number of articles I have used in this paper and my brother Clive Griffin of Trinity College Oxford was, as ever, generous of his time in helping me to produce this final version.

NHG

Rome - Oxford 1983

1.0 The notion of Reformation is associated in the minds of most people with the spread of Protestantism. Nineteenth-century historians were generally content to employ a simple conflict model to explain political and ideological developments in the Reformation period. Recently, however, students of sixteenth-century thought have begun to realize that any study of the Reformation must necessarily be conducted against a background of the reforms that took place even in areas and cities that continued in unquestioning obedience to Rome. Repeated criticism in the early years of the sixteenth century of various aspects of the Church and its activities led to a number of different attempts to re-vitalise it as an institution and to give fresh meaning of many of its activities which had decayed into empty ritual. The writings of Erasmus and his followers are simply the best-known example of an almost universal recognition within the Church of the need to correct abuses and give a new impetus to orthodoxy. The devotio moderna that flourished in the Netherlands not only improved the quality of religious life there within the monasteries but also nurtured a spirituality among the laity which was similar in many respects to developments taking place in Southern Europe. Even though the 'Catholic Reform' was to become in large measure a response to Protestantism, there would assuredly have been a Catholic reform of some kind even if Protestantism as such had never developed.

1.1.0 One important feature of this reform was the establishment of new lay associations such as the Roman Oratory of Divine Love, founded at the end of the fifteenth century in Genoa by Ettore Vernazza and established at Rome in 1517. But there were also a whole host of new orders of clerks regular, among them the Theatines of St Cajetan (Gaetano di Thiene) and Gian Pietro Carafa (later Pope Paul IV), the Somaschi (1528),

and the Barnabites (1530). It was at this period also (1535) that the most important teaching order of women -- the Ursulines -- was founded, with Papal approval coming in 1544. Attempts at Catholic reform in Italy resulted in the appointment of Contarini (d. 1542), who enjoyed close connections with both Pope and Emperor and was to be legatus a latere at Regensburg in 1541, Carafa (d. 1559) and Gregorio Cortese (d. 1548) who belonged to the reformed congregation of Santa Giustiana, to serve alongside Reginald Pole (d. 1558) on the Papal commission which was to recognize the truth of certain views expressed by Luther when it recommended, in 1537, a wide-ranging and drastic series of proposals to reform the Church. If the report which the commission drew up, entitled Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia, could be criticized, as it was by Sadoleto's friend Sturm who published a pirated edition of it at Strasburg in 1538, on the grounds that it neglected the essential issues of the Reformation, it did at least represent an attempt (and the only really serious one of its kind) to give a unified expression to the Catholic reform movement in the period before the Council of Trent (1543). It was deeply critical of many of the abuses highlighted by Erasmus and by Luther, unhesitatingly placed the burden of guilt where it belonged, put forward concrete proposals for dealing with them and, in many ways, helped to shape the reform programme that was to be considered in the opening sessions of the Ecumenical Council itself.[1]

1.1.1 Ad fontes movements within existing religious orders were in the event more successful in promoting the reforming process. Papal blessing for the separation of Franciscan Observants and Conventuals (split to all intents and purposes since the death of St Francis early in the thirteenth century) came after the latter

had been thoroughly tightened up (usually by the substitution of Observants in Conventual houses) with the Papal Bull of 31 May 1517 Ite et vos. After some three years of struggle with the Observant authorities, the Capuchins emerged in 1528 as a separate Franciscan family, strongly re-emphasizing, as indicated in the Bull of Clement VII Religionis zelus (3 July 1528), the twin ideals of poverty and austerity. The Dominican spirit of renewal fostered by Savonarola led to a not dissimilar picture in that order also, with a progressive growth of reformed houses. The Benedictines had their own reforms well in hand by the first decade of the sixteenth century, and there was a large number of Benedictine houses associated with the reform, especially in Spain where the trail was blazed by the prestigious houses of San Benito de Valladolid, Sahagún, and Montserrat (where Abbot García Ximénez de Cisneros was not only a keen adherent of the ideas of the reform movement but was himself responsible for the first manual of methodical prayer to be published in Castilian: the highly influential and much reprinted Exercitatorio de la vida spiritual).

From Spain, where a wide-ranging purge of many ecclesiastical institutions had been under way from the early years of the century, comes, in addition to the so-called 'popular' spiritual movements associated with the cities of Seville and Valladolid, and the groundswell of interest in vernacular translations of both humanist and religious works, the well-documented case, as late as the 1560s and 1570s, of the Carmelite reforms successfully promoted, in the face of determined opposition, by Saint John of the Cross (1542-91) and Saint Teresa of Ávila (1515-82). These led to the restoration, in many houses, of the pronounced eremitical strain in Carmelite spirituality, and to the foundation of a number of new monasteries. Other

orders underwent an equally profound if less spectacular reform, and the ideals that lay behind it were in most cases similar: the urge for a return to the austerity, poverty and security of the 'Primitive Rule'.[2]

1.2 Although they are usually seen as an expression of retrenchment, Tridentine decrees, where they were enthusiastically promulgated -- and one should not forget that several Catholic monarchs were lukewarm in their welcome of the decisions of the Council -- helped in some measure to lend authority to this fashion for reform (though not necessarily to all its manifestations) and to channel the energies of those involved in promoting it. The rulings on episcopal residence and the emphasis placed by the decree De Reformatione of 15 July 1563 upon the creation of seminaries were important in this respect in that they carried the spirit of renewal over to the regular clergy and attempted to imbue future generations of religious, both monastic and regular, with the same concern for individual spiritual welfare that had informed the reform movement itself.[3]

1.3 One undeniable result of this development, whatever the success or failure of the various attempts at reform themselves, is an enormous increase in both the quantity and the quality of the documentary evidence available to the historian. Some of it has been published but much is still in manuscript. The libraries and archives of Europe are rich in correspondence, catechisms, regulations, instructions, suggestions, counter-suggestions, and resolutions, all of which have their origin in the reforming response of Catholic Christendom. Much of this evidence has recently attracted the attention of scholars, but a great deal has not, and discoveries are still being made which are causing a radical reappraisal of our conception of the complex cultural

and ideological debates and confrontations that, until recently, were presented as a simple opposition between Protestant reform and entrenched Catholic conservatism. We now know, for example, that the Tridentine Catechism, viewed for centuries as the clearest expression of an unwavering commitment to Papal authority and to the supremacy of Rome, did in fact borrow extensively from the writings of the radical Protestant humanist, reformer, and friend of Sadoleto, Philipp Melanchthon (recte Schwarzerd, 1497-1560); that, contrary to Marcel Bataillon's thesis, parts of the Diálogo de doctrina christiana (Alcalá de Henares, 1529) of Juan de Valdés (c.1500-41), the twin brother of the Imperial Chancellor, are lifted directly from the writings of Luther and Luther's disciples; and that Philip II, the embodiment of the repressive policies of Catholic Christendom as they are popularly understood, and of the dynastic concerns associated with those policies, engaged as his secretaries and private chaplains a succession of men who, for different reasons and in different ways, lent a sympathetic ear to many of the reformist ideas of Northern Europe.[4] Doubts still linger over the religious affiliations of men like Valdés, Morone, and Contarini, and over the position of Emperor Ferdinand (d. 1564) who seems in so many respects to have been more sympathetic, despite his family obligations, to Protestant reform than he was to its Roman opponents. The case of George Buchanan (d. 1582) the Scottish-born pupil of John Major who spent his formative years in Paris in the 1520s, was Rector at the Sainte-Barbe (1529-c.1531), returned briefly to Britain before accepting an invitation from the Crown to teach at Coimbra, and while in Portugal fell foul of the Inquisition, serves to indicate the similarities that linked moderate Protestants and the reforming wing of Catholic Europe

and united them in the hope that Trent would provide a compromise based on return to fundamentals. Buchanan's position was, in the words of his biographer, 'fluid' and 'affected by the company he kept'. He saw no reason to deny to the Inquisitors that he had 'read many books of Lutheran persuasion dealing with justification'. Our knowledge of the Coimbra magistri in the 1550s shows that he was not alone in doing so.[5]

It is true that a good many of the instructions and resolutions which have until recently lain unconsulted in European libraries and archives prove on inspection to consist principally or exclusively of restatements of positions long held, at least in theory, by the individuals and institutions who issued them. But that observation would also hold good of Trent itself; the history of Catholic reform is in large measure the history of emphatic restatement.

2.0 The investigation of this reform has generated a great deal of interest, and few scholars would now wish to retain the simplistic, binary picture of Protestants and Catholics which typifies nineteenth-century writings about the period (and which was fuelled, it must be admitted, by much of the propaganda put out in the late 1500s, and later by both sides during the Thirty Years' War). Yet no such radical reappraisal has been undertaken by scholars in respect of the Jesuit Order which is still seen primarily as the training-ground of some of the most effective batallions for a counter-offensive, both in Europe and in a wider world, orchestrated by Rome. It has remained fashionable to see Ignatius Loyola and his followers in the same terms as those used by Pope Gregory XIII, when he addressed the fourth General Congregation of the Order in 1581 (the Congregation at which the longest-serving Jesuit General, Claudio Aquaviva, was elected).

'You direct kingdoms and provinces', he said to them, 'and indeed the whole world. There is no single instrument raised up by God against heretics greater than your holy Order.'[6] The clear implication of this is that, unlike the reformers, Catholic and Protestant, who had allowed themselves to sink into a fearful muddle during the first fifty years of the sixteenth century, Ignatius had imbued his troops with a sense of purpose and a firmness of resolve that allowed them to succeed where others had failed. This view has much to commend it, and it is one which hagiographers have had some stake in preserving. Yet, when one begins to examine Jesuit records a little more closely, a much more complex picture emerges.

There are four important ways in which the Jesuit experience is itself revealing not of a single unified purpose at work but rather of a complex of religious and political ideas (as well as social practices and theories) that helped to shape religious and political attitudes during the crucial years of the 1550s, 1560s, and 1570s. These four factors are related, and I should like to begin by considering each in turn, using as my base the vast arsenal of Jesuit correspondence housed in the Archivio Romano Societatis Iesu. Each of these factors has a bearing on the nature and scope of the sources themselves; each also influenced materially the way in which the early Jesuits orchestrated their activities in the different countries -- the different microclimats -- into which, as the Pope's 'shock troops', they were marched.[7]

2.1.0 Firstly, as an entirely new order with every single member in this sense a raw recruit, there was little or no element of re-statement, of re-form, in decisions reached at the Jesuit Generalate in Rome, and little or no tradition which might

be handed down at local level either by word of mouth or by force of example from old hands to inexperienced members of the Society. Accordingly, the particular composition and culture of the small group of men in charge of the overall formulation of Jesuit policy was of crucial importance in determining the development of that policy and, with it, the establishment of precedent.

The social background of Jesuits has not yet been thoroughly examined. It was often said of the Order that they bent rules in order to admit those of wealth and influence, and to exclude the socially unimportant or politically undesirable. There is obviously some element of truth in this accusation, and it was, to a degree, part of their declared policy to do so.[8] But what evidence we have suggests that the Society drew a good part of its membership, in the first thirty years of its existence, from the lower nobility and the professional classes: notaries, lawyers, teachers, and officials, and, in France particularly, the sons of substantial merchants. These were the same social groups Ignatius Loyola regarded as his natural allies.[9] Recruits like these were men brought up in a tradition of self-reliance, and they expected to make decisions for themselves and to rely on their own judgement and experience. The concept of obedience enshrined in Ignatius's writings was never one of blind subordination by Rectors and Provincials to orders issued at headquarters (save where these orders related directly to an individual's spiritual welfare). Initiative and obedience were complimentary rather than contradictory notions.[10]

2.1.1. Yet the instructions these pioneer officials received -- as well as their shared religious experience based on the Spiritual Exercises -- reiterated the need to 're-make' the

individual 'in Christ's vineyard', to detach him from worldly affairs, and to persuade him to distrust his previous experience. The Constitutions, composed by Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), chiefly during the last nine years of his life and published two years after his death, stipulated that candidates for the Society 'should be persons already detached from the world and determined to serve God totally'.[11] There was a tendency for every matter on which there was no immediate and direct precedent to be referred to headquarters for a ruling. As a consequence, the influence of the small nucleus of Superiors and advisers at the Generalate was paramount, and the authority of Rome acquired a central importance in the governance of the Society. Those in charge of the small pilot Jesuit communities in Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, and elsewhere, sought guidance on a whole host of issues which, in other established religious communities, would normally have been settled by recourse to existing precedent and established tradition. As a result of this, Jesuit regulations, debates, and resolutions come thicker and faster during the twenty or so years after Trent than in any other order, and these letters to and from Rome are uniquely revealing about the day-to-day concerns of local communities in different parts of Europe.

2.1.2. One finds, to give but a few examples, enquiries about what to do with members of the order who are suspected of having venereal disease;[12] discussion of whether it was proper for younger recruits to sleep two to a bed when building operations restricted sleeping quarters, and of what to do with a young man who was found to be a eunuch and who seemed not to understand his singularity while being in other respects 'of comely appearance and good parts';[13] and enquiries about whether the canonical impediment against the entry of murderers into the order ought to be interpreted as applicable to a man who settled

an affair of honour by killing his wife, or to an Italian who had fought as a mercenary in the Wars of Religion and had, a year earlier, fatally stabbed a member of a family engaged in a vendetta against his own, or, finally, to ex-magistrates who had, in the course of their professional duties, sentenced to death many of the criminals who appeared before them.[14]

The letters also permit one to establish certain issues as being the particular concern of individual Provinces. It is a commonplace of social history that Spaniards were especially preoccupied with racial purity. The Councils of State in Spain had statutes excluding non-Spaniards and anyone of mixed race from a whole variety of offices at both national and local level. Similar impediments applied there to membership of various religious and chivalric orders and references of this kind are so frequent that racial intolerance is often advanced by modern commentators as a direct cause of much that took place in Spain during the sixteenth century. Unsurprisingly, this state of affairs is reflected in Jesuit correspondence with Rome: over 27% of the letters from Spanish Provincials of the Society to headquarters during the years 1550-1579 refer specifically to racial problems in Spanish society. On occasion Jesuits would give a recruit a new name in order to disguise his racial origins,[15] and, in Southern Spain in particular (and above all in Córdoba), they often found themselves under attack for admitting members of families which had already attracted the attention of the Holy Office, or 'neophytes', as these children of New Christians were often called.[16] Not a few Jesuits themselves commented adversely on this 'open-door' policy, pointing out that it drew attention to the Order as a refuge for the heterodox and the 'unclean', discouraged parents of children from older-

established Christian families and accordingly damaged recruitment and student intake.[17] One unusually open-minded and pragmatic ex-Inquisitor from Granada wrote to the Jesuit General Aquaviva that the problem was not that such recruits were invariably unsuitable as members of a religious community. He admitted that many of them set a fine example to Old and New Christians alike. It was, quite simply, that the reputation of the Society was irrevocably damaged in cities like Córdoba and Murcia by their presence in its midst.[18] This issue would become one of international importance in the 1590s during Aquaviva's Generalate when accusations of racial impurity were levelled against all but two of the twenty or so Spanish Jesuits who sent a catalogue of complaints to headquarters.[19]

Other clearly 'local' matters arise in the letters: the Spanish concern with conjugal 'honour';[20] the constant feuds which bedevilled social life in so many mediaeval cities;[21] the Jesuit campaign against bull-fighting;[22]; the hounding of Jesuits in the more openly Protestant areas of Northern France; and the dangers and difficulties of travel in Provence and Languedoc during the Wars of Religion.[23] Issues of a more clearly international character are present also: the economic difficulties of colleges during the period of initial expansion and at a time when Europe was experiencing acute economic crises exacerbated by war;[24] the acute shortages of trained personnel to build up Jesuit strength in a particular locality and to develop proper contacts with local magistrates, nobles, and cathedral chapter;[25] the characterization of rural and mountainous areas as 'other Indies' calling for an *ab initio* indoctrination of the people living there in the fundamentals of Christian belief (a campaign that even, on occasion, involved the teaching to the local clergy of the Lord's Prayer and the *Ave Maria*).[26]

2.1.3. But, for our present purposes, the primary importance of these letters lies in the simple fact that they are evidence of an unusual reliance on written instruction and, as such, have a more direct bearing on what preoccupied members of the Order and those among whom they lived than does the written record of other Orders where members had the advantage of an established tradition. That the letters are invariably dated, include an obligatory reference to the last letter received from the person to whom they are addressed, and were often sent in duplicate (the so-called due vie), enables one to draw up an inventory of the total correspondence with headquarters, including even those letters that have disappeared or which never reached their destination.[27]

The nature and frequency of the correspondence has also lent weight to the popular characterization of the Society of Jesus, especially in the accounts of its antagonists, as a tightly-knit and disciplined corps d'élite uniquely dependent on a well-oiled military machine, prone to formulating rules on every facet of its existence, and blindly obedient to the chain of command. It is true that those colleges and local missions which folded -- and many did -- did not do so because of any shortage of regulations on fiscal and juridical minutiae, even though they may on occasion have been weakened by the unavoidable delays suffered during the sixteenth century by any institution that relied so heavily upon the mails.[28] But the letters afford ample evidence of the give-and-take between precept and practice which one would expect of any institution where policy was developed in the light of experience.

2.2 The second of the four general observations I wish to make about the Jesuits -- and here, too, we have the source for much

of the hostility that they encountered from within the ranks of the Catholic Church and from Catholic laity -- arises from the fact that the Society was different in kind from the established religious orders with which people were familiar. Even though some of its innovations were imitated, it remained different in kind also from the new orders which were to spring up in the wake of Trent: the Oblates (1578) of the Archbishop of Milan Charles Borromeo (1538-84); St Philip Neri's Oratorians (1564; erected into a Congregation, 1575, and imitated in France in 1611 by Pierre de Bérulle); the Congregation of Minor Clerks Regular set up in 1588 by the Genoese Giovanni Agostino Adorno and St Francesco Caracciolo (first establishment, Naples 1589); and the Fathers of the Christian Doctrine who settled at Avignon in 1592.[29]

The ways in which the Jesuits deviated from the common pattern of religious orders, and which gave rise to much speculation about the legal status of the order, are now familiar to students of the sixteenth century. Juridically, the Society was a congregation of clerics (its professed were usually — though not necessarily -- ordained priests). But, although they lived in common and according to a rule, they omitted the usual monastic routine and habit, and in their duties and dress differed little from seculars. It was this determination to abandon choir and certain other features of community life which were held by many to be essential to any religious community that led to Paul IV's hostility in the late 1550s.[30] The distinctive character of the Jesuits is often summarized as 'a unique involvement with the world', but it is probably better understood in terms of its rejection of contemplation. Activity in the world rather than contemplation was Ignatius's primary idea.[31] In fact, the Jesuits were closer in character to the orders of chivalry

which played such a decisive part in Spanish society of the later Middle Ages than they were to other religious orders with which they are usually compared and by contrast with which contemporaries were wont to judge them. It is no coincidence that Loyola, like Teresa of Avila, the driving force behind Carmelite reform, had been in his youth an avid consumer of romances of chivalry.[32] His first instinct had been to set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and the twin notions of pilgrimage and crusade appear time and again in his writings and in those of his initially small group of collaborators.[33] Despite the importance that the Spanish Crown was to attach to campaigns against the Ottoman Turk, the Jesuits were to prove less active in that particular struggle in which the complimentary chivalric orders were closely involved, than they were in the fight against paganism and heterodoxy.

Although a measure of secular concern is a constant note in much reformist Catholic thinking since early in the sixteenth century, the 'different' nature of the Society of Jesus meant that there were no necessary parallels to be drawn with other religious foundations; no comparisons, that is, that might act as a guide or control to inexperienced local administrators, many of them men hurriedly recruited and dizzyingly promoted as the order expanded. Juan de Mariana, for one, in his Discurso de las enfermedades de la Compañia de Jesús (c. 1606), argued that this absence of models had been particularly harmful to the order during the first fifty or so years of its existence.[34] Certainly, it increased the dependence of individual colleges on the advice of Rome, but it did much more than this. Many of the examples that can be taken from the correspondence of Jesuits with headquarters during the period 1550-1579 reflect a deep-seated

puzzlement, even among the Society's most determined adherents, about its real nature and purpose.

2.3 Thirdly, the order was, from its inception -- and remained for many years (and in popular eyes for even longer) -- a Spanish-inspired and Spanish-dominated organization. Four of the first six followers of Loyola were Spaniards, and one was Portuguese. In 1556, something approaching one fifth of the total membership of the order was in Spain. Of the twenty-five delegates to the first General Congregation in 1558 only seven were not Spanish. There is no complete catalogue of the whole Society, but Scaduto, who compiled the catalogue of the Italian Provinces, makes the point that the 11% of Spaniards that appear in records of the members of the order working before 1565 in Italy enjoyed a good deal more influence than their mere numbers might imply. One reason for this is that these Spanish recruits, at least in Italy, were for the most part older than the average, and therefore tended to be preferred to positions of influence. At the Collegio Romano, for instance (and the Romano provided the model for later Jesuit colleges as well as many of their teachers), the chairs and other positions of authority were filled by Spaniards rather than Italians or Germans or Frenchmen.[35] In France, only 37% of the effective strength in 1572 was French by birth, and, as Olivier Manare, acting Rector of Billom complained to headquarters in 1565, this in itself discouraged local affection for the Society. Pleading for replacements in his depleted teaching staff, he stipulated that one requirement was that some of them at least should be French: 'fra l'altri bisogna che siano miscolati alcuni francesi perche dicono che siamo tutti stranieri'. Of these 'stranieri' the largest single group was Spanish.[36]

At the very highest level, of course, Spanish influence was even stronger and the 'Spanish' image of the Society was reinforced accordingly. The first three Generals of the Society were Spaniards; one of them, Ignatius, had been brought up in the distinctive and archaic culture of the Navarrese petty nobility; another, Borja, had held high positions of state under Charles V and acted for a time as Viceroy of Catalonia. The interregnum between the death of Ignatius (31 July 1556) and the election of Laínez as his successor (2 July 1558) was in part due to Paul IV's anti-Spanish stance.[37] Faced with the Pope's intransigence, Borja even broached the idea that the General Congregation be removed to Spain. Philip II's repeated attempts to wrest control of religious Orders operating on Spanish territory out of the hands of Superiors who owed no allegiance to the Spanish Crown only served to deepen the feeling that the Jesuits were a uniquely 'Spanish' institution. When the Spanish stranglehold on the Generalate was eventually broken at the General Congregation of 1573 at which a man of peasant origins born at Marcourt in Belgian Luxembourg, Everard Mercurian, was elected General, a 'Spanish succession' was only averted by the personal intervention of Gregory XIII. The Pope succeeded in his resolve mainly because the Castilian delegation had been ruinously weakened, on its way to Rome, when it was ambushed and taken prisoner by a band of vicomtes near Rodez in Aveyron.[38] It was no coincidence that, after his election, Mercurian chose as his secretary and closest adviser not the Spaniard Juan Polanco who had been widely tipped to succeed Laínez, had acted as Vicar-General, and possessed a knowledge of the workings of the Order second to none, but rather a relatively inexperienced Italian, Antonio Possevino.[39]

Spanish influence, as felt at the Courts of Vienna and Munich -- not to mention the client cities and states of Sicily and mainland Italy -- rapidly became identified in the minds of friend and foe alike with the fortunes of the Jesuits. Later in the century, men such as Archduke Albrecht protected and supported the Order in such a way that it became a political force of significance, but from an early date Jesuits had made good relations with those in power a cornerstone of policy. They supplied confessors to persons in positions of influence; in return, ambassadors from Philip II and servants of the Imperial household made common cause with the colleges of the Order in the most public manner: sponsoring schools, financing missions, and paying off Jesuit debts. In those areas where the Habsburg writ carried, Jesuits came to dominate the intellectual life of the country in a way and to a degree that indentified them totally with the ruling elite and with the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire that inspired Charles V and his Imperial Chancellor Gattinara.[40] Hofkultur and Jesuitenkultur became, for most purposes, synonyms, and the Jesuits, who spurned no opportunity to advertise their skill as linguists,[41] nevertheless came to be associated in the minds of the public with groups whose patterns of thought and behaviour were widely considered 'Spanish'.[42]

In areas of Europe where, for one reason or another, the Jesuits were less firmly established the belief that they were agents of Spain was no less widely held. At Avignon, in 1569, despite the apparent success enjoyed by the college in the recent past,[43] rumours spread through the city that the Jesuits were the harbingers of a 'Spanish Inquisition'. As a result, the small Jesuit community found itself confined to barracks, convinced that the mob would try to forestall such an unwelcome development

by murdering any member of the Order it could lay its hands on.[44] Wherever he went through the Lyons Province, Edmond Auger travelled with a bodyguard.[45] The decision of Charles IX to confiscate Huguenot property and grant it to the Jesuit Order did nothing to assuage popular hatred, and served only to strengthen the idea that these 'foreigners' were being artificially imposed upon the cities and townships of France.[46] Philip II may have distanced himself and his policies in Spain from the Jesuits whom he appears to have seen as a Papal fifth column. Yet it remains paradoxically true that, as the popular image of Philip II became that of the devious and intriguing spider of the Escurial whose agents were active in every court and every city of Europe, so the popular image of a subtle, devious, and ubiquitous Jesuit Order took colour from that view of Spain and its monarch, and served in turn to sustain it. Nor was such a view entirely unjustified. Spanish cultural and intellectual fashions continued to shape the Order, albeit in ways not universally appreciated, and the Jesuits exported to the rest of Europe a number of peculiarly Spanish cultural preoccupations more effectively and more insidiously than the Imperial armies or Philip's much-vaunted agents ever did.

2.4.0 The fourth and last of the general observations I wish to make about the Jesuits is linked to the first. The fact that the Society of Jesus was a new Order and an Order of a distinctly different kind is one reason why it expanded as fast as it did. There may be other explanations for the spectacular success they enjoyed in recruitment. Uncertainty about the true nature of the Order may well have been one of them, as indeed may the feeling that, despite its engagement in the saeculum and the much-publicized daring of its missionaries, Jesuit houses offered an

attractive refuge from a turbulent world.[47] But there is no doubt that the appearance of the Society as radically innovative acted as a spur to recruitment. There were approximately 1000 members of the Order by 1556, 2000-odd by 1570, twice that number a decade later, and over 13,000 by the turn of the century.[48] These bald figures hide an even greater success in attracting candidates, for the hostilities in France, the ambivalence of Venice, the English kamikaze missions, the plagues of the 1560s, and the high mortality rate on overseas expeditions made substantial inroads into Jesuit numbers. So, too, as we shall see, did defections to other Orders.

2.4.1 That the Order was expanding in the face of much opposition from within the Catholic Church itself served to make Jesuit Superiors especially sensitive to outside criticism, and to strengthen the 'closed' nature of the Society. Given the need to rely heavily on written instructions, the fledgling Society felt itself exposed, even more than many of its fellow Orders, to the danger that mail might be intercepted and the contents of letters acquired in this way used as propaganda against it. This fear, which was given some substance by the sporadic appearance of pamphlets purporting to be extracts or digests of despatches intercepted and published by 'good Catholics' or 'patriots' in order to 'un-mask' Jesuit plots or 'machinations' (thus foreshadowing the infamous Monita Secreta Societatis Jesu of 1614) not only encouraged the institutionalization of regular and frequent meetings and exchanges of personnel at every level and persuaded them in many cases to abandon the use of the Order's distinctive seal on certain vital letters, but also led to the introduction in the correspondence itself of codes and ciphers.[49] As the General wrote to Vasco Pérez in Coimbra in 1588, 'si aurá de tener cifra para poder escriuir al padre provincial algunas

cosas que no es bien ponerlas en auentura de que sean leydos de otros'.[50]

Some use was made of numerical cipher, of letter-for-letter substitution, and of numbers which cloaked the identity of individuals. Thus: 'mzbtsgmflu' stands for 'the Marquis'; 'penitence' appears as 'alfbkpalfbdKpzh'; and '69.3.425928 38849' is Francisco Lópes; the figure '35' denoted Philip II, '37' Mary Tudor, and '50' the Society of Jesus itself.[51] But the most widely-used systems were modelled on codes used in Spanish diplomatic correspondence (codes such as those Borja remembered from his period as Viceroy of Catalonia), and employed the one-for-one substitution of individual words and 'key' phrases which carried apparently innocuous but totally plausible messages. The hope was, of course, not only that the real content of the letter thus disguised would not be understood if it fell into the wrong hands, but also that any hostile reader not in possession of the key and instructed in the system employed would remain unaware that the message was encoded. The success of the system is attested to by its continued use in diplomatic correspondence,[52] and by the fact that even modern scholars, including some Jesuit editors of the Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, have failed to realize that they were dealing with letters in code. So, they have reproduced, without comment, phrases such as 'defende bene le conclusioni' or 'buoni suggetti', the decoded meanings of which are, respectively, 'murmuratori de superiori' and 'duro de conditione'. Examples are legion.[53]

2.4.2. One side-effect of the adoption of codes of this nature was that letters came more and more to conform to a particular model, to an established pattern, in order that the addressee might perceive apparent oddities and be alerted to the fact that

the letter he was reading contained a hidden message. This, in turn, accelerated the development of a recognizable Jesuit epistolary style, and one which was to be made explicit in the form of a practical guide, the Formula scribendi, which was inserted into the 1580 edition of the Regulae. The style and pattern which evolved in this way -- and which reinforced the emerging format -- had its origins in the habits of a small number of Spanish-born and Spanish-trained Jesuits in the 1550s and 1560s.[54]

3.0 Some of the problems and issues sketched in outline above had been foreseen by Ignatius and his immediate advisors. There are clear signs that the institutionalization of frequent and regular person-to-person contacts was more than an extension of the procedures adopted by other religious orders, more than a channel for ensuring that spiritual enthusiasm, not easily communicated by letter, continued undimmed, and more than a precaution against the possibility of important messages falling into the wrong hands. There is even some evidence that, for all his faith in the internationalism of Latin -- a language he had come to late in life and continued to feel unsure about using himself (he was in his late 30s when he enrolled at the Montaigu) -- Ignatius perceived, albeit dimly, that ideas and rules expressed in Latin would be interpreted differently by men from different parts of Europe, and that re-interpretation via a tacit translation into the vernacular of the recipient might well involve some measure of distortion.

Even the Litterae Annuae compiled by each college Rector and each Provincial from the mid-1560s (replacing the Litterae quadrimestres and the short-lived Litterae semestres of 1565-66) and issued in printed form from 1581, while in theory covering a

specified range of activities and subject to the emerging pattern we spoke of earlier, did, in fact, in their choice of what was notabile, reflect local cultural and political preoccupations.[55] Thus, letters from Spain, Austria, and Southern Germany give prominence to the Order's relations with local grandees and patrons; French correspondents speak at length of the struggle against the Society's enemies and voice misgivings about the way in which the Society was developing; those for Germany as a whole are generally the fullest, providing a complete compendium of life in the various colleges throughout the previous year.[56] In order to prevent the distortion, fragmentation, and dilution of purpose that such local concerns might encourage, Ignatius built into the fabric of the Society certain safeguards: Visits, Congregations, Provincial progresses, the interchange of personnel mentioned earlier, and the deliberate decision to discourage the posting of recruits to houses in their home territory.[57]

3.1 Yet, paradoxically, these 'failsafe' devices only exacerbated some of the Society's most pressing problems. Long and arduous journeys, often over difficult terrain or through hostile territory, and coupled with the burden of a regular mandatory correspondence, not infrequently proved the final straw to men brought to the edge of exhaustion by their day-to-day duties.[58] Staffing changes, necessitated by shortages of personnel in many areas, caused widespread resentment as competent and qualified men left a particular town or city only to be replaced by young and inexperienced recruits. Such resentment often affected a college's financial situation directly, and condemned it to a desperate search for further sources of funding. That search, in turn, fanned the flames of

resentment and opposition.[59] Not only were the Jesuits accused of adopting wealth and social standing as the sole criterion for admission to their 'secret society' but letter after letter sent to headquarters referred to widespread criticism of the Order as 'greedy', 'covetous', and 'intent only on lining its own coffers'.[60] The price-revolution of the sixteenth century left most Jesuit colleges in France owing debts amounting to two or three times their annual income by the 1590s, and obliged them to be constantly on the look-out for extra financial support.[61] As early as 1580, the position in Spain and Portugal was probably even worse, since it was exacerbated by the Spanish financial collapses of 1560 and 1575. The crisis was most acutely felt during the two years which elapsed between the Crown's defaulting on its international debts (1 September 1575) and the resumption of relations with the international banking community (5 December 1577).[62] Jesuit relations with the banking-houses of Central Europe (the traditional recourses of Habsburg finance) were especially hard hit;[63] the Order found itself in contravention of the Tridentine ruling that a community should not have more members than could be supported by its guaranteed regular income;[64] and building projects had frequently to be abandoned, causing further friction with benefactors.[65]

The policy of employing men away from their native heath, a proven expedient of Spanish state-craft, may have had much to recommend it. It discouraged a candidate's family from interfering with decisions reached in college about his future (something Ignatius had early seen as a threat),[66] and helped to prevent an individual's past life 'in the world' from prejudicing his chances 'in God's vineyard'. A Rector of the college on the island of Mallorca pointed out that a Jesuit Superior enjoyed only diminished 'respect' when his congregation could remember

him as a small boy; from Ávila came a similar warning about parishioners with long memories who could recall their Rector being caught stealing fruit as a young lad; and the Spanish Superiors of the Lisbon college made an even more tendentious point when they went on record in the early 1570s as being of the opinion that the Portuguese were by nature too kind and too gentle to impose the discipline that was needed in a college, and that the Province 'should never be governed by Portuguese, for they are not by Nature suited to authority' (although there are signs that some Spaniards alienated those for whom they were responsible by over-harsh treatment).[67]

But such a policy was viewed with disfavour in several countries of Europe where foreign travel (and the export of currency) was actively discouraged;[68] it meant that there were long delays until a recent arrival learned enough of the local language to help with confessions and to preach,[69] and it had frequently at any event to be tempered by the widely-held medical view that 'native air' was a natural cure for a variety of ailments. The extra travel involved in sending a man home for convalescence or posting him to a distant Province not infrequently proved too much for him to bear, especially if he was undernourished and in poor health.[70] In addition, 'foreigners', and particularly Spaniards (or those suspected of Spanish connexions) were unwelcome in many towns and cities throughout Europe. We have seen the Rector at Billom complaining that the people in his town objected to having their college staffed by stranieri; Catalan nationals were similarly affronted on several occasions by the insensitive imposition of superiors recruited from among their much-hated Castilian neighbours; the Sardinians at Sassari and Cagliari resented in

their turn the Catalan Superiors who were foisted upon them; and the relative failure of the French colleges to attract students may be in some measure attributable to the 'foreignness' of the Order in the public imagination.[71]

3.2 The taxonomy of over-rapid expansion upon an insufficiently developed infrastructure is one familiar to all who investigate the early years of the Jesuit Order. What is perhaps not fully appreciated in the degree to which Ignatius's own precautions exacerbated the problem. But his 'failsafe' mechanisms proved ineffective for other reasons also. Financial and political insecurity forced local Rectors and Provincials to ignore time and again specific instructions issued by those in authority over them; they turned their backs on standing orders in order to placate local patrons, both secular and ecclesiastic. As we have seen, officials were given a large measure of independence and enjoyed a relationship with headquarters which has been described as a 'virtually unique combination of flexibility and rigidity'.[72] They did not, however, enjoy carte blanche, and they were not expected to flout specific regulations repeatedly. The close relations they had been encouraged to develop with the rich and the powerful in the towns and cities where they were operating obliged them, none the less, to make wholesale exceptions to standing orders. Wives of influential and generous citizens -- merchants, nobles, and city-officials, -- were exempted from the injunction against the presence of women in Jesuit houses;[73] formal dinners were held to mark a benefaction or the death of a patron, even after headquarters had specifically ruled that such junketings were more often than not injurious to the spiritual health of the community and to the image that the Society sought to project;[74] and local dignitaries not widely

known for their virtue (and even their wives) were buried in the college cloister because this had been a condition attached to a substantial legacy.[75] The history of Jesuit school drama, which I have studied in detail elsewhere, offers a further case *à titre d'exemple*.[76]

4.0 But what we have here is not simply a variety of situations where greed or economic necessity dictated policy. There is a basic inconsistency built into both the draft Charter of the Society, embodied in Paul III Farnese's Bull of September 1540 *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* (verbal approval of the Order had been granted in September 1539), and the principal documents against which Jesuit administrative and institutional procedures were established -- the *Constitutions*, the *Institute*, and the pilot versions of the *Ratio Studiorum*. This fundamental inconsistency manifests itself in a multifaceted debate within the Society as to its true purpose and the proper means of achieving it. It affects every aspect of the life of the Order and is not resolved until late in the sixteenth century when Ignatian writ had been tempered by pragmatism, and men with long experience of government had interpreted it in a form it was to retain for a hundred years or more.

4.1.1 Although this dichotomy and this inconsistency affect every aspect of Jesuit life, they manifest themselves most clearly when the question of 'suitability' for membership of the Order is raised by an application to join, by one to leave, or by behaviour on the part of a member of the Order which obliged his immediate superiors to seek permission from headquarters to expel him.

We have already seen the quandary posed by the case of a man in solemn vows who was believed to have contracted venereal disease,

there are other clear-cut cases such as that of the young man who persistently chased married women and 'bakers' wives'.[77] There are those whose sexual proclivities were even more perturbing as they threatened the good name of college even more directly: in France there were a number of cases of young men being over-familiar with new recruits, and in Portugal of older boys tampering with the little black slaves who worked in the college kitchen (the question of the ownership of slaves was yet another which worried those uncertain about the Order's legal standing). There was a Spanish Jesuit playwright operating in Portugal who used his rehearsals as a pretext for over-familiarity with the boys whom he had chosen to act in his plays; a Portuguese who demanded to leave the Order when he was given 'the mildest of punishments of kissing all the brothers' feet and eating his meals under the table'; or a recruit in Granada who objected so strenuously to a suggestion that he be punished for bad behaviour that he went for his Superior with a knife.[78]

But these are not particularly interesting examples for our purpose. Much more revealing are the many cases of those felt to be incompetent rather than unsuitable in any more glaring moral sense. The Roman Province in 1571, the Aragonese Fathers that same year, the Upper German Provincial Congregation in 1573, and the Venice, Lyons and Aquitaine Provinces in 1587 pressed the Generalate to allow easier dismissal of those who were 'too old, too stupid, or too infirm' to be useful members of the Order.[79] There were of course a number of nice legal problems attendant upon dismissal, especially where the individual concerned had not invited explusion by bad behaviour or persistent disobedience. Secular lawyers, on more than one occasion, expressed themselves unhappy with Constitutions that prescribed the total surrender

of a candidate's worldly possessions and accordingly exposed him to penury upon explusion.[80] Not a few of those who had been treated in this way wrote to Rome to seek redress after being publicly cashiered and dumped, in the words of one such victim, 'in the streets in just a blanket'.[81]

Uncertainty over the legality of such a punishment, however, was not the only reason why the authorities seem to have been reluctant to dismiss even those who were patently a drain upon the Order's limited resources. Nor was it simply that they felt, not without justification, that the expulsion of volatile and disaffected individuals might do the Society more harm than if they were retained within the confines of college where a certain measure of control at least might be exercised over what they said and did. One effect of Trent had been to renew debate about the canonical validity of releasing members of religious Orders from their vows, and the Jesuits, under attack from more than one quarter for not conforming to the popular conception of a religious Order, seem to have found this question an especially delicate one. There was no precedent provided by other Orders for dismissing men against their will on the grounds of age or infirmity.

Some recognized that one of the root-causes of the problem had been over-rapid expansion during the 1550s and 1560s, and the over-hasty processing of recruits.[82] But there can be no doubt that the Constitutions, as Ignatius left them, prescribe a markedly limited range of activities as grounds for refusing entry to the Society. Primary impediments to membership consisted of the following: suspicion of heresy, homicide, public infamy occasioned by 'enormous sins', membership of another Order, marriage, legitimate slavery, and certain types of illness that might affect the mind and 'cloud judgement'.[83] By the same

token, the Constitutions envisage very few actions or conditions as grounds for expulsion, 'incorrigible addiction to vice' being the only one explicitly mentioned in Ignatius's own writings.

The threat of penury and a campaign of propaganda suggesting that those who were dismissed from the Order tended to meet with a sticky end both helped to keep dismissals to a minimum.[84] Licence was occasionally given to a Superior --and then only in extreme cases -- to grant a small lump sum by way of compensation to an individual on his departure from college. One such example is provided by the case of a North African slave (esclavo etiope) called Sebastian who had worked for many years at the Caravaca college, having formed part of the college's original endowment. He had suffered a crack on the skull during building operations that had 'opened his head so that his brains could be seen', and had recovered (though he remained disfigured) only to break a leg while working in the college mill. He was impatient that he be granted his freedom ('ardet incredibili desiderio libertatis') and was eventually allowed to leave. Yet even here it is difficult to suppress the feeling that, as he was already past forty years of age -- another document gives his age as 'forty-five' -- college was less reluctant than it might otherwise have been to dispense with his services. Headquarters directed that he was to be given a small sum of money to help him find his feet in the outside world.[85] But few cases were as clear-cut as this, and the warning issued by one Spanish Rector that the General would do well not to rely on the numbers contained in the annual Provincial returns as a faithful guide to the effective manpower of the Society, would seem to be entirely justified.[86]

On the one hand, then, there were virtual pensioners living in

Jesuit houses, while, on the other, Rectors and Provincials were extremely reluctant to dismiss younger candidates, even going so far as to ask the local secular authorities to arrest absconders and return them in chains to college. If we turn to the catalogues of the early Society -- where these survive -- we find a very high percentage in each of these categories. In Germany in 1574, 26% of those listed are described as 'useless to the Society'; in France the following year, although the picture is incomplete, the figure would seem to have been only marginally lower at 22%. Spain, which had enjoyed the highest recruitment figures and had, on average, recruited slightly older candidates, shows a lower proportion at 19%, but this figure may in any case be distorted by the export of the abler Spanish recruits in the early years to positions of authority elsewhere in Europe. Despite the canonical difficulties involved, the figures of dismissals are even higher: 28% of the Italian Jesuits listed by Scaduto either left or were dismissed; 29% is the figure given in a sample of catalogues of the German Provinces for the period before 1582. There is no complete catalogue for Spain, and one would have to assemble figures piecemeal but I suspect that they would differ little from those we find in Germany and Italy, especially after 1573 when the resentment of many Spaniards at the imposition of the 'foreign' General Mercurian began to make itself felt. A good number of those who left the Order did so because their initial commitment had been shallow, and because they found that the houses of the Society did not offer the shelter from the turbulent world they had imagined they would find there. Others had forced their superiors into action by blatant and repeated bad behaviour. There were to be even greater ructions in the mid-1580s after the election of a 36-year-old Neapolitan, Claudio Aquaviva, to succeed Mercurian in the

Generalate. The Generalate itself came under attack in the early 1590s from a group of Spanish Jesuits headed by Cardinal Francisco de Toledo and enjoying the partial support of Philip II and Pope Clement VIII.[87]

But by far the largest number of those expressing a wish to leave the Order during the years 1555 to 1575 gave as the origin of their discontent and dissatisfaction with the Order one of two reasons: the refusal of their superiors to allow them to continue with their studies (or to allow them to do so only after they had agreed to spend a number of years under strict supervision attending to their own 'spiritual edification'),[88] or -- conversely -- the feeling that the prevailing ethos of the Society was insufficiently 'spiritual'.

This latter plea to the effect that the Jesuits had become too involved with the world comes regularly paired with a statement that the writer intended to transfer to the Carthusians forthwith. It was an established principle in canon law that, even where his Superior refused to give explicit approval for such a move, a member of a religious Order might transfer to another Order which was 'stricter' than that to which he presently belonged. Such transfers took place against an established hierarchy of 'strictness' which enabled the individual concerned and the authorities of the Order to which he intended to transfer to determine whether such a move did indeed comply with canonical requirements. The Carthusians were regarded as the strictest Order of all, and Ignatius had persuaded Paul III, right at the end of his pontificate, to exclude Jesuits, in the Bull Licet debitum of 18 October 1549, from the general prescriptions governing transfers and to permit them access only

to the Carthusians, the Order to which Ignatius and his followers among the students at the Saint-Barbe in Paris had gone for communion, running the gauntlet of their own college authorities in order to do so.[89] The very number of defections during the 1570s, however, began to sour relations between the two Orders.

The contrast between these two alleged reasons for wishing to leave the Order -- that it was too much involved with the world and that, conversely, it was too much removed from it -- is to such a degree a keynote in the letters sent to headquarters during the period 1550 to 1579 that it calls for some explanation. It is the purpose of the rest of this study to consider whether that explanation cannot be found, in part at least, in the very cultural influences which characterized the early Order and shaped its vocabulary, its style, and its development. To do this we must first rehearse what we know of the cultural and intellectual background of the founder of the Order himself.

5.0 Ignatius Loyola was born in 1491 and raised in the harsh military and anti-intellectual tradition that persisted in much of Castile and in Navarre. His relations with his family were established, in accordance with that tradition, on a largely formal basis with very little of what Lawrence Stone has termed 'affective bonding' between him and his father.[90] At the age of thirteen he was sent, in accordance with tradition, to serve in a noble household where he studied the Castilian code of law, the Siete Partidas, with its emphasis on utter obedience to parental authority and on the knightly tradition of service.[91] The pursuit of humane letters, as it was understood by Italian and Italian-trained scholars of the day, had made little or no impact on the patterns of thought and canons of behaviour of those who

inhabited the world Ignatius knew as a young boy: reading was not a recognized pastime (the castle at Loyola contained only two books) and the education of children from noble families was still thought of in the same terms as those used by Don Juan Manuel in the early fourteenth century: 'they should have their interest aroused in chronicles of good deeds and great conquests and feats of arms and chivalry, of how lords won great estates through their goodness and their valour, and how those emperors and kings and great lords who did evil or were lacking in valour lived miserable existences and were branded after their deaths as infamous'.[92] The works to which a young man such as Ignatius would have access were all tailored, to a greater or lesser extent, to this same goal of training a noble youth in the knightly virtues; they stressed the largely fossilized chivalric ideals of valour, self-mastery, discretion, prudence, service, and virtue. He would also have known the standard works of history (and pseudo-history), estate-management, and military strategy, as well as essays on hunting and hawking. The only other reading-matter normally available in such circles consisted of works of devotion and the hugely popular romances of chivalry. We know that both of these had a profound effect on him as a young man; it is not insignificant that the Lives of the Saints and the romances of chivalry both laid great stress on heroic virtue. Ignatius's own life-long belief in the sacramental nature of the military life with its soldierly self-abnegation, its passages of rigorous testing and of pain, and its rigidly hierarchical structure is, then, no more than we should expect from a man raised as a minor Navarro-Castilian noble at the end of the fifteenth century. His reading and his early training were reinforced by his personal experience: two of his brothers were killed in battle, one in Naples, the other fighting the Turk in Hungary; a third died in Mexico in 1510. Ignatius was

himself badly wounded and nearly lost his life in the seige of Pamplona in 1520. It was while recuperating from his wounds that he turned his attention to the works of devotion owned by his sister-in-law and the seed of his 'conversion' was planted.[93] Yet, even then, there was no suggestion that he was turning his back on the chivalric ideal. The excruciating pain from his shattered leg, which had twice to be broken and reset, and the limp which he retained to the end of his life, served as a constant reminder of his past life and the learning he had acquired in his youth.

It is not simply that so many men of his class and his background remained impervious to what seems with historical hindsight to have been the siren-call of humanist learning. To a very considerable degree, they consciously turned a deaf ear to that call in a belief that affection for humane letters would directly imperil their chances of discharging their knightly obligations in a proper manner. As the scholar who pioneered the study of Castilian attitudes to learning at this period put it 'the few great lords who patronized humane learning... affronted a deeply-held prejudice among the knightly class'.[94] This 'inhumane' prejudice was not confined to Navarre nor even, as Russell reminds us, to the Iberian Peninsula, but there can be no doubt that it is nowhere found in a more extreme form than in Castile and Navarre. Even Castilians who had spent a long time in Italy continued to defend a concept of learning which represented a widening and deepening of mediaeval classicism rather than any radical critique of it, urging that youth should not be exposed to classical literature or to philosophy without the protection of a thorough religious instruction. University education was, of course, based on this same principle.[95]

5.1 We have seen that the Jesuit Order was widely thought of as Spanish-orientated and Spanish-dominated even despite Ignatius's disagreements with Spanish authorities, both ecclesiastical and secular. Many of the Spaniards who were rapidly promoted to positions of influence in the Order throughout Europe were already in their thirties or forties when they enlisted. Many of these men, who exercised such a decisive influence over the later sessions of the Council of Trent and who laid down the lines along which the Order was to develop during the sixteenth century, were brought up in the same tradition as Ignatius himself. Their habits of mind, and their normal modes of dicussion were formulated against a background of shared assumptions about the nature of man and of society, and of a common cultural heritage. That heritage and those assumptions would have seemed parochial and absurdly outdated to Italians imbued with a far more radical spirit of enquiry, yet, when the hugely popular Epistolae Indicae began to appear in print in the 1560s, relating the heroic sufferings of Jesuit missionaries in the service of their Lord, that common heritage appears in an unmistakable form.[96]

5.2.0 While there can be no gainsaying the initial impetus behind Ignatius's actions and decisions, it cannot be stressed too strongly that many key ideas enshrined in Ignatian writ came about, not as the logical consequence of that inspiration but rather as the result of an often uneasy compromise between conviction on the one hand and, on the other, the demands made upon the early Jesuits by circumstances beyond their control. The very flexibility which we discussed earlier enabled them to respond more readily than most institutions to changing circumstances, and the absence of established precedent meant that solutions reached on an ad hoc basis often found their way into the Society's developing structure.

Even the involvement of the Order in teaching, which placed it firmly in the vanguard of Catholic reform, came about as a response to events and circumstances rather than as the fruit of Ignatius's original inspiration.[97] It was this decision to extend Jesuit activity into the schoolroom which, more than anything else, led to the creation of a double goal for the Society. On the one hand there was the constant search for the perfection of the individual soul through self-denial in the service of God and the 'remaking' of the individual soul via close spiritual direction and the experience of the Spiritual Exercises.[98] On the other, there was now an equal (some felt an unequal) emphasis on the acquisition and dissemination of received truth, especially through preaching and schooling. The need to maintain new studia also called, as we have seen, for vastly increased financial support and this in turn led to a closer involvement with the world beyond the college gates. The whole history of the Jesuit Order, as recent events have reminded us only too forcibly, is studded with internal debate about the proper limits to be placed on involvement in learning, writing, propaganda, advocacy, and action. Such debates are common in every religious Order, even in those apparently closed off entirely from the world outside the monastery. Yet they figure more prominently in Jesuit intellectual and religious life than they do in that of any other Order.

5.2.1 The two grounds for discontent noted among those petitioning to leave the Order -- the refusal by a Superior to permit further study without the prior 'protection' that would be afforded by extended spiritual instruction, and the opposite conviction that spiritual concerns were being swamped by the rising tide of Jesuit involvement with the saeculum -- reflect a recognition on the part

of many in the Order that the two facets of Jesuit activity were fundamentally incompatible.

5.2.2 These two positions are reflected time and again in correspondence with headquarters in Rome. To cite an example which has been discussed more fully elsewhere, we find one Rector campaigning publicly against the arrival in his town of a troupe of itinerant actors and refusing to countenance the staging in college even of hagiographical dialogues, while one of his colleagues in the same Province twenty miles away was arranging no fewer than five separate full-scale tragedies to be performed in a single academic year before invited audiences and apparently remaining quite unperturbed by the interruptions to normal college life than such public productions necessarily involved. A Spanish-born master of rhetoric operating in Antwerp and the Director of Studies at the Chambéry college both left the Order after bombarding headquarters unsuccessfully for leave to continue their theology studies.[99] We have seen Everard Mercurian canvass a period of retreat for the indefatigable Edmond Auger;[100] the Rector at Lisbon rejoiced in 1569 that one of his classes was folding and that college would consequently be 'a quieter place and more like a house of religion'; and, four years later, the Granada Superior was to advise his successor to take particular care that his charges made progress 'in virtue rather than letters', implying that achievement in the one usually indicated a falling off in the other.[101]

This idea that virtue and humane learning were in some vital sense unsuitable bedfellows recurs time and again in Jesuit correspondence of the 1560s and 1570s, and not only among those wishing to quit the Order. It recalls directly the reassurance given in the mid-15th century to Prince Enrique of Castile by Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, that 'knowledge does not blunt the iron of the lance nor weaken the sword in the knight's hand'.[102] It was not

perhaps fortuitous that, in the substitution codes developed at the Spanish-dominated Generalate and then disseminated widely throughout Europe, a whole series of phrases chosen to indicate that an individual was not making satisfactory spiritual progress refer to his 'having an inclination for letters'.[103]

This deep disagreement among Jesuits about the true nature of their Society never ceased to exercise the Secretariat in Rome throughout the 1570s and into the 1580s, the arguments continuing to be conducted in terms of this mutual antipathy of virtue and letters.[104] In Logroño in 1579, the Rector of college repeated his view that a Jesuit's task was primarily a spiritual one, and he did so in language that should by now be familiar: 'apercibir esta tierra de letras con las spirituales de devoción'.[105] One of his colleagues who was in charge of the Córdoba college asserted baldly that missions were 'the purpose of our Institute'.[106] There was a complaint about the practice of some Provincials of appointing individuals to posts for which they had no appetite, presumably as a form of mortification; another letter explicitly warned the General that 'we wrongly wage war on all forms of mortification and religion'; while a third suggested that having to run so many classes meant that those in charge of them had little time or spare energy to attend to their own spiritual welfare.[107] Yet, all the time that these letters were coming into Rome, the number and size of Jesuit <u>studia</u> continued to grow, and efforts were made to curb the zeal of those who saw the purpose of their activity exclusively in terms of individual virtue.[108] One could multiply these examples indefinitely, and it would be no distortion of the truth to suggest that this debate furnishes one of the most recognizable keynotes of Jesuit correspondence at the period. But a number of conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the few cases we have cited

in this paper.

6.0 Firstly -- and Lynn Martin's recent work on Jesuits and their families comes to this same conclusion -- Jesuits were not at all the blindly obedient automatons of popular myth, nor did they all share a fixed and clear sense of their purpose. They enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy than can be found in any other religious Order of the second half of the sixteenth century and, although the Generalate sought to reject many of the solutions proposed at a local level to problems as they arose, it was usually the individual Rector's decision taken in the light of local circumstances rather than any ruling arrived at in Rome after close scrutiny of Ignatian writ that established the precedent which would guide the Order's actions in the future. The highly efficient system of regular reporting both to the Provincial and to Rome, and the circulation of the more formal Annual Letters throughout the Jesuit empire meant that the experience of one community was placed at the disposal of all others in a remarkably short space of time.[109]

Secondly, the continuing internal debate about the true nature of the Society is not simply evidence of a struggle between orthodox disciples of Ignatius and some more pragmatic or less committed generation that followed them. The insistence on spiritual direction, the long periods of spiritual training which a recruit was expected to undergo, the common experience of the Spiritual Exercises, and the regular exchange of letters all conspired to establish a large area of common ground, indeed of common language, among members of the Order. Yet, initially, those measures were less successful that one might at first suppose (and less successful than they would prove later in the century) simply because of the heady pace at which the Order recruited and expanded. And several of the basic anomalies which Jesuits perceived, albeit dimly, at the time were present in Ignatius's own

rulings and in his writing. To an extent they came into being as the Founder reshaped the order to cope with the problems he encountered in the different cultures into which his troops were marched, and as he adjusted his own concept of what was required in the light of demands made upon him by the Papacy and by other influential patrons. Yet the core of the problem and the source of many of the difficulties which the Jesuits created for themselves in cities and towns throughout Europe and even in the Americas and the Far East can be glimpsed in the common language in which Jesuit recruits learned to report their findings to Rome. That language carried within itself the seed of a deep-seated and durable Spanish mediaeval preoccupation with a hierarchical, God-given concept of society, and a concern about the conflicting claims of truth and intellect, of virtue and learning. It also contained a marked strain of nationalism, even of xenophobia.

That cluster of interrelated and oddly outmoded ideas was exported inexorably to the rest of Catholic Europe by the sons of Saint Ignatius. Often the seed fell on stony ground, yet on occasion it took root. The sudden and bizarre flowering of Jesuit probabilism in the seventeenth century provides the last and arguably the most compelling evidence of its durability.

* * * * * * * * *

N O T E S*

*All manuscript references, unless otherwise stated, are to the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI). Punctuation and capitalization have been regularized, and abbreviations resolved without indication.

1. Accessible accounts of developments in Italy at this period and their implications are provided by FENLON (1972),1-23, and DELUMEAU (1971), 33-62, and a good survey is JEDIN (1946). For the 1537 recommendations see MIRBT (1924), 267-70.

2. On Spanish reforms in general, see BATAILLON (1966) and GARCÍA ORO (1969). On reform in individual orders, BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA (1941) Dominicans; COLOMBÁS & GOST (1954), COLOMBÁS (1960), and ZARAGOZA PASCUAL (1981) Benedictines (the last of these dealing with the later sixteenth century); BATAILLON (1966) Franciscans; DOMÍNGUEZ CARRETERO (1956) Augustinians; SILVERIO DE SANTA TERESA (1935-) Carmelites; and GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE (1960) Praemonstratensians. Two useful recent contributions are DONNELLY (1979), chapter i, and CUETO (1981).

3. Catherine de Medici rejected the Council's decrees; Philip II, despite recent suggestions to the contrary (LLORCA [1980], 495), pursued his opposition to Papal involvement in Spanish affairs, opposing many of the reforms suggested, especially during the final period of the Council, and dragging his heels on ratification of them (JEDIN (1949-81), vol. IV, part 1, p.323). Philip's fear that reformers and other heterodox groups might attack the State from within was shared by many of his advisers: see HESS (1968, and 1978); TRUMAN (1979); TRUMAN & KINDER (1979); KINDER & TRUMAN (1980). On the general effects of Trent see GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA (1964) and LLORCA (1964); for reaction in particular areas GONZÁLEZ NOVALÍN (1963) Oviedo; GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE (1947) Pamplona; LÓPEZ MARTINEZ (1961, and 1963) Burgos; MARÍN OCETE (1962) Granada; SAN PEDRO GARCÍA (1957) Coria; SANTOS DÍEZ (1972) Toledo; TELLECHEA IDÍGORAS (1972a) San Sebastián and DE WITTE (1980) Portugal. Concern over the validity of unpromulgated decrees was not confined to France and Spain: DUIN & GARSTEIN (1980), 12-13.

4. TELLECHEA IDÍGORAS (1972b, and 1979); GILLY (1982, and 1983); REKERS (1972). The most comprehensive bibliography on Spanish dissent is KINDER (1983).

5. BIRELEY (1981); GINZBERG & PROSPERI (1979); McFARLANE (1981), 75-77. Studies on Damião de Góis show that Buchanan's colleagues at the Guyenne and at Coimbra adopted a similarly flexible position: FEIST HIRSCH (1967), 172-90; PINA MARTINS (1982).

6. Cited in MITCHELL (1980), 88.

7. On Jesuit archives in Rome, see LAMALLE (1968, and 1981-82).

8. BRIZZI (1980).

9. SCHURHAMMER (1973), 140. I have drawn heavily for what follows (and especially for details from France) on MARTIN (1982).

10. MOULIN (1955), 511-13.

11. GANSS (1970), 92 263-64.

12. Martin's suggestion that the Jesuits experienced a series of problems with men who enlisted at the suggestion of members of their family already in the Order (1982: 7-10) is exemplified by the case of an unidentified postulant with three brothers who were convictores or extern students at the Paris college. Although he was described as 'gibbosus, statura pusillus, asmaticus et parum sanus' his application was treated seriously (Matthieu to Mercurian, Paris, 23 January 1578: Gall. 90, 4r). Juan Hernández expressed a desire to accompany his Jesuit brother Bartolomé when the latter was posted to Peru; efforts were made to accelerate the application procedure and he was sent to Seville where the whole notion was dropped at the last moment when he was discovered to have contracted 'morbum gallicum' (Gil González to Borja, Valladolid, 10 November 1569: Hisp. 112, 123v). A fuller discussion of this case (but without specifying the disease involved) can be found in M.Per., I, 289 355. Martín Vergara complained bitterly in 1593 that his expulsion from the Order on the grounds that he had venereal disease was based on a wrong diagnosis and that he was innocent 'en materia de deshonestidad' (to Aquaviva, Seville, 15 January 1593: Hisp. 135, 20r). But the best documented case by far is that of the Catalan Antonio Menaut (or Menault) who caught the disease as a student in Barcelona in the late 1540s when he was 18 or 20 years old. Although he went completely bald at the time,he later believed himself cured and entered the Order where he proved a highly satisfactory recruit, teaching, preaching, and confessing at the Society's college on Mallorca. It was only when he began to get persistent back-ache that he wondered whether this had anything to do with his old complaint and confessed to having once had venereal disease. He was promptly despatched to Barcelona where the harsh Provincial Gil González dismissed him. In the mid-1570s, by which time he was working as a parish priest in the Urgel area, he began once again to press the authorities in Rome to re-admit him; both Borja and his successor Mercurian declared themselves prepared to do so provided he was given a clean bill of health by the Society's local medical advisers (Román to Borja, Barcelona, undated confidential letter (=?1566) and 18 April 1568; Ayala to Borja, Barcelona, 1 June, 29 July, and 20 August 1569; Villalba to Mercurian, Zaragoza, 1 August 1574 and undated (=?1574); Mercurian to Villalba, Rome, 29 August 1574; and Borrassa to Mercurian, Mallorca, 17 February 1575: Hisp. 104, 366r; Hisp. 108, 162r; Hisp. 111, 1r 173r 221r; Hisp. 122, 3r 308v; Arag. 1, 28v; Hisp. 123, 61r-v (copy at 153r-v)).

13. Manare to Borja, Paris, 11 September 1566 (Gall. 81, 119v): 'non puotremo admettere più di 80 con nostri poueri, perche dormono separati et alquanto rari nelle camere per più sanità loro et honestà'; Bustamante to the Provincial of Toledo, Villarejo de Fuentes, 14 September 1567(Hisp. 107, 26v); Manuel to Nadal, Madrid, 11 August 1572 (Hisp. 117, 101r).

14. Replies to queries from the Castilian Provincial Congregation of November 1584 (Congr. 95, 127r): 'Iten se pregunta si el juez que sentenció a muerte y el abogado ... contra el reo et huiusmodi se entenderán tener el impedimento essencial de homicidio que impide de entrar en la Compañía... Respuesta: el impedimento de homicidio de que las Constituciones hablan es el que se comete con delicto, no el que se haze por officio'; Roillet to Borja, Billom, 17 September 1563, discussing the credentials of ex-rebel and iconoclast Jean Masson (Gall. 80, 121r-v); Louis de Coudret to Laínez, Avignon, 21 June 1564 (Gall. 80, 229r): 'Quj è uenuto questa settimana da mè vno soldato dj Toscana... fra i soldati ch' stanno nella guardia del pallazzo dj questa città... dj età dj 32. annj huomo maturo et... inclinato alla diuotione...; essendo per il passato inimicistia fra alcuni gentilhuomeni et certi suoj parenti essendo assaltato luy per causa di detta inimicitia dalla contraria parte amazzò vno dj quellj che lo assaltorono, et questo fù contra mentem eius'. A similar case, together with an interesting aside on the supposed medical effects of sexual activity, is that of an ex-soldier who had fought in the Imperial armies in Flanders and elsewhere and had got himself involved in a private fracas during the campaigns: 'estando en el Campo, pasando acaso a cavallo vio dos soldados que se estaban acuchillando, y derribándose del cavallo con la espada en la mano fuése a poner paz entre ellos, y el vno, o no mirando lo que hazía o con rauia de que no le dexaban vengarse, diole vna cuchillada por la rodilla, que se guqgó [sic] ser mortal. Estotro con el dolor de la herida desatinado, y viendo que por hazer

bien rrecebía mal, dixo "O traydor, que me has muerto", y tírole vna cuchillada a la cabeza no sabiendo quasi lo que se hazía sino fuera de sí con el dolor de la herida, porque yo lo he examinado muy por extenso. Luego los hizieron amigos y los lleuaron ambos a curar al hospital de parma o plasencia [Piacenza]. Y la cuchillada de la cabeza no fue peligrosa y vino quasi a sanar de todo punto della, en tanta manera que trataban ya entrambos de yrse en seguimjento del campo que marchaba. Pero sucedió que o por mal regirse el contrario, de no abstenerse de vnas mugeres que le visitaban, o porque faltándole el zurujano [sic] que le curaba vino otro que no le acertó la cura, él recayo y murió de la herida. Acá hay diuersas opiniones: a vnos les pareçe que éste ni fue homicidio voluntario ni tuvo que ver con el; otros tienen más escrupulo. Pero los vnos y los otros juzgan ser caso muy digno de dispensación, si Vuestra Paternidad se dignase hazerle a él esta gracia, y a mí este fauor. Entiendo que es persona en quien cabe bien, y lo seruirá mejor a la Compañía, y yo con toda indeferencia espero la rrespuesta de Vuestra Paternidad...' (Antonio de Torres to Mercurian, Palencia, 14 April 1575: Hisp. 123, 298r). The final decision was left by Mercurian with the Provincial concerned (letter of 6 August 1575: Cast. 1, 28v-29r). Other kinds of murder are also discussed as possible impediments: Rodrigo de Ávalos to Diego Guzmán, Mora, 19 Jan. 1569 (Hisp. 109, 264r-v): 'Después que a Vuestra Merced besé las manos en Granada se dio sentencja contra mj en el pleyto que traýa contra don Rodrigo de Orozco mj tío y cunado, y quando fuy a Vbeda allé otra peor desdicha para mj, donde me fue forzado por esta negra onra matar a mj muger abrá año y quatro meses. Y acaeçjdo el negocio vinjmonos aquj a Portugal vn hermano mjo y yo con yntjncjón de yrnos a la çibdad de Ébora por la casa que en ella supimos abja de la Conpañja, y en el camjno nos atajó vn cauallero pryncjpal deste Reyno amjgo questá en esta vjlla casado, que abja djas que lo conoçjamos de Vbeda'. The case is further discussed in the covering letter signed by one 'Mauricio' and dated two days later from Évora, asking for a ruling on his view that there was an 'impedimento essential' and indicating that Ávalos wanted his three sons to enlist as Jesuits (Lus. 63, 12v).

15. Antonio Cordeses to Borja, Valencia, 5 February 1570 (Hisp. 113, 138r 142v): 'En Gandia está vn hermano llamado Francisco Hernández, es de nación de los moriscos de la tierra de Murcia, pero muy buen hijo, muy virtuoso, y buen latino. Tiene aptitud para gouernar... Quando entró se mudó el nombre por que no fuesse conoscido ni aún de los suyos proprios, de manera que nadi sabe que sea de casta de moris[cos] nec etiam nostri exceptis paucis.' Others had moved away from home in order to hide their origins: 'tiene nota no de parte de su madre sino del padre, y es que sus visagüelos fueron convertidos, mas fue en otra parte y no en Segouia y allí han sido siempre tenjdos por gente de bien y muy honrrada porque desde aquéllos han biuijo todos como buenos cristianos' (Diego Carrillo to Borja, Burgos, 8 September 1566: Hisp. 104, 90v). Vázquez wrote to Mercurian, 13 September 1573, pointing out the dangers involved were he to be promoted to a Rectorship in Andalusia: 'yo ha diez anos casi que soy maestro de nouiçios de toda esta prouincia; ... yo me consuelo de hazer este officio. Este officio hágolo de las puertas adentro acá entre los nuestros y el ser rector de vna çiudad como Seuilla, Córdoba, o Granada an de salir luego mis faltas en público y me an de examinar quién soy y de qué gente. Yo soy hijo de un çapatero pobre y ex christianis neofficritijs que es cosa que en España tanto se aborreçe' (Hisp. 119, 113r). The parallel with the early life of Christ would not, it seems, have struck his Old Christian neighbours...

16. Paulo Hernández, in a confidential letter to Mercurian in Rome, Ocaña, 15 June 1573 (Tolet. 37a, 69v): 'Lo que puedo dezir sin agrauio del secreto y para auiso a Vuestra Paternidad para el buen goujerno de nuestra religión enstas partes es lo primero que en estos tribunales tienen muy particular nota de los linajes y particularmente de los que tocan en Judío o moro y como nosotros somos los postreros en religión somos más notados en esto en que no ay delicto en el resceuir y gente se ha resceuido en la Compañía que los processos y delictos y sanct venitos están muy frescos'; secret instructions from Mercurian to García de Alarcón, Provincial-Elect of Andalusia, Rome, 4 January 1578 (Hisp. 89, 23v): 'En materia de genealogías ha auido

más rumor aquí que en otras partes'; Juan Legaz to Polanco, Seville, 22 December 1572 (Hisp. 118, 30r-v): 'En la casa de Córdoba... ay mucha nota de los nuestros que en aquella casa viuen de ordinario de gente no muy limpia, y es cosa marauillosa lo que echan de ver esto en esta ciudad. No entiendo yo que ay parte ninguna en la Compañía donde tan recatada esté la gente...; es gente que no para hasta desenterrarnos los huessos de nuestros padres y abuelos y visabuelos y más adelante...'. The same point is made by Canas in two letters to Mercurian from Granada, 24 June and 8 July 1573, by Santacruz to Borja, 23 August 1570, and by Francisco Duarte to Aquaviva, Córdoba, 28 September 1593 (Hisp. 119, 26r 38r-v; Hisp. 115, 51r; Hisp. 136, 73r).

17. Bartolomé Hernández to Borja, Burgos, 15 January 1567 (Hisp. 105, 37r): 'Lo que suele mouer mucho a los studiantes a entrar en la Compañía es ver la mucha aceptión de la Compañía acerca de la gente principal, y la frequentia della'; Avendaño to Borja, Salamanca, 14 May 1568 (Hisp. 108, 209v): 'Los studiantes no acudirán a nuestra casa... viendo que la demás gente prinçipal no acude'; Ramírez to Borja, Montilla, 1 September 1572 (Hisp. 117, 156r-v): 'El collegio de Córdoba tiene más de seiscientos studiantes y ent[re] ellos toda la nobleza de los hijos de los caualleros de Córdoua que es muncha y muy limpia sangre; y por nuesos padres aficionánd[o]se munchos dellos a religión. Y a la muestra no entra hombre dellos en nuestra Compañía, sino todos se entrán en San Pablo monesterio de domínicos. Y la raçón desto es porque nuestro collegio está muy infame entre los caualleros de que no entran en el sino judios... Si por desdicha entra alguno acá ay tan gran sentimiento como si a su linaje achasen algún sanbenito'.

18. Doctor Salcedo to Aquaviva, Madrid, 14 November 1587 (Hisp. 134, 64r). Aquaviva's polite reply, thanking him for his advice and telling him that Spanish Provincials would be instructed to tighten up on their admissions policy is in Tolet.3, 122r. Salcedo was not the only man to make this point forcefully. Navarro, writing to Rome from Granada, 21 February 1573 (Hisp. 118, 231r) warned that 'en España el Rey y los grandes y señores y Inquisidores tienen en muy poca estima y menos confiança... los que no son limpios', and informed the General that a local Inquisitor had told him only recently that 'no encomendaría officio ni gouierno a nenguno que fuesse confesso por sancto y letrado que fuesse'. A similar attitude is reported in a letter from Paulo Hernández to Aquaviva, Granada, 20 May 1585 (Hisp. 131, 347r), and Inquisition officials in Portugal were even more severe (Torres to Laínez, Lisbon, 16 May 1559; Lus. 60, 131r), especially after the situation became more delicate on the death of Sebastian and the accession of Philip to the throne (Francisco de Gouvea to Aquaviva, Lisbon, 20 Nov. 1594: Lus. 72, 219r).

19. Letters in Hisp. 137, covering the months of July to November 1594, indicate that this problem continued on the increase. See also ALONSO (1948), 34-46.

20. There are frequent references to Jesuits persuading husbands not to kill adulterous wives (or wives they suspected of infidelity): José de Acosta from Alcalá de Henares, 3 January 1563; Martín de Arratia from Segovia, 29 April 1563; Pedro Pérez from Zaragoza, 3 September 1563 (Hisp. 100, 46v 82r 317v); Annual Letter from Castile, unsigned, undated (=?January 1582), reporting an incident at Villagarcía de Campos, probably in 1581 (Hisp. 141, 375v); Annual Letter from Castile, unsigned, undated (=?January 1586), citing two such cases the previous year, one at Burgos and the other at Santiago de Compostela (Cast.32 I, 17v 20v); and the entry for Ocaña in the Annual Letter from the Toledo Province, signed by Pedro Cadena and dated at Madrid, 1 February 1580 (Tolet. 37a, 118v). An amusing variation on this theme is provided by the report on a man who beat his wife severely for returning home late from attending an unusually lengthy Jesuit sermon (Fernão Coutinho to Aquaviva, Évora, 31 January 1587: Lus. 70, 42r).

21. Such feuds are reported from Toledo, Gandía, Valladolid, Seville, Barcelona, Logroño, Coimbra, Braganza, and the island of Mallorca: Juan Manuel from Toledo, 1 May 1563; Juan Aguirre from Gandía, 9 May 1563; Antonio Torres from Valladolid, 31 December 1563; Pedro de Acevedo from Seville, 8 May 1563 (Hisp. 100, 169r 197r 453v 190v); José de Ayala to Dionisio Vázquez, Barcelona, 28 April 1569 (Hisp. 110, 258v); Antonio de Rueda to Borja, Logroño, 17 April 1570 (Hisp. 114, 42r); Annual Letters from Seville, 7 January 1567, and Braganza, 31 December 1570 (Hisp. 141, 110r; Lus. 52, 215r-v); Four-

monthly Letters from Braganza and Coimbra, 8 February and 1 May 1563 (Lus. 52, 8r 27r-v); Cussola from Mallorca, 13 February 1568 (Hisp. 108, 73v). Jesuits were particularly closely involved in the honour feud which led to a virtual state of civil war in Plasencia throughout the 1550s and 1560s: GRIFFIN (1976), especially 56-60 82-83; GRIFFIN (forthcoming a), documents (i)-(v) and notes; Four-monthly letters from Salamanca, 30 April, and from Plasencia, 30 August 1563 (Hisp. 100, 141r-v 279r); Bustamante to Gonzalo González, Provincial of Toledo, Plasencia, 30 October 1565 (Hisp. 102, 297r); Annual Letter from Plasencia, 1 January 1570 (Hisp. 141, 273r).

22. Approaches were made to Borja by individuals as early as the 1560s to him to persuade the Pope to ban bull-fighting: e.g. Juan Quirós de Sosa to Borja, Toledo, 17 August 1567 (Hisp. 106, 281r-283v). But the most important factor in the campaign was the tireless lobbying of Juan de Castañeda. He initially tackled the problem piecemeal, badgering the Valladolid city officials in 1570 to drop plans for a bull-fight in honour of the new Queen, Anne of Austria, and enlisting the rather reluctant support of the local bishop: Castañeda to Borja, Valladolid, 8 September; Gil González to Dionisio Vázquez, Segovia, 22 September 1570 (Hisp. 115, 111v-112r 148r), and then broadening his attack until he felt able to report to Borja from Madrid 'no se an corrido en las entradas que a hecho la reyna en ninguna çibdad' (16 November 1570: Hisp. 115, 282v). The Order came under attack from many quarters for its criticism of bull-fighting and bull-running, especially after the appearance of a Motu proprio of Pius V Ghislieri advising against such pastimes which was seen as the direct result of the Jesuit campaign (Rodrigo Arias to Mercurian, Medina del Campo, 25 September 1574; Annual Letter from the Castilian Province, Burgos, 1 January 1575: Hisp. 122, 81r; Hisp. 141, 351v). But Castañeda forged ahead with his one-man crusade, drawing up a paper which he submitted early in 1575 to Juan Suárez, Provincial of Castile. Although headquarters continued to counsel moderation in Jesuit sermons on the subject, they supported Castañeda even after his death, putting forward the names of three censors who might be approached with a view to the publication of Castañeda's paper (Castañeda to Mercurian, Valladolid, 1 February; Juan Manuel to Mercurian, Valladolid, 7 February 1575: Hisp. 123, 115r-v 123r; Juan Suárez to Mercurian, Segovia, 10 February, and Soria, 14 July 1575: Hisp. 123, 136r; Hisp. 124, 225r; Mercurian to Suárez, Rome, 15 April, and to the Toledo Province, 6 August 1575: Cast. 1, 23r; Congr. 41, 195v; Hisp. 90 I, 56v 122v). The issue lay dormant in the 1580s only to reappear the following decade as part of a general campaign against public festivities: Bartolomé Pérez to Aquaviva, Córdoba, 30 July 1592 (Hisp. 134, 274r); Diego Guzmán to Aquaviva, Seville, 23 January 1595, and the reply from Rome dated 10 April (Hisp. 138, 105r-108v; Baet. 3 I, p.209); Aquaviva to Gil González, Rome, 12 April 1593, and González's reply from Alcalá, 21 May (Tolet. 5 I, 292v; Hisp. 135, 269r).

23. Jean le Pelletier to Cristóbal Madrid, Toulouse, 15 July 1562; unsigned letter from Paris, 4 June ?1563; Pierre Pradenc to Cristóbal Madrid, Billom, 4 August 1563; unsigned letter from Lyons, February 1564 (Gall. 80, 31r-v 78r 107r 175r); Gil González to Dionisio Vázquez, Gandía, 6 November 1567 (Hisp. 107, 158r); Villalón to Borja, Valencia, 18 April 1570 (Hisp. 114, 53r-v); Cordeses to Borja, Barcelona, 2 June and 17 September 1570 (Hisp. 114, 190r; Hisp. 115, 138r); Luis Rodríguez to Nadal, Granada, 12 June 1572 (Hisp. 116, 369r-371v); Claude Matthieu to Polanco, Tournon, 3 November 1572 and 12 January 1573 (Gall. 84, 294r; Gall. 85, 8r); Hannibal de Coudret to Polanco, Rodez, 30 January, and to Mercurian, 12 November 1573; Sebastiano Molendino to Polanco, Toulouse, 6 February 1573 (Gall. 85, 19r 237r 24r); Annual Letter from the Lyons Province for 1575 (Lugd. 28, 1r). There are many letters of 1574 stressing the extreme danger of overland travel (Gall 86., 10v 43v 144v 204r etc.).

24. Prices soared in cities like Paris throughout the 1560s and early 1570s (BAULANT & MEUVRET (1960-62), I 243; SPOONER (1968), 19), to the acute discomfort of the Jesuit communities there: Claude Matthieu from Lyons, 2 February 1566; Borja to Matthieu, Rome, 26 July 1571; Olivier Manare to Nadal, Paris, 31 October 1571 (Gall. 81, 26r; Aquit. 1 I, 2r; Gall. 83, 272r).

25. This shortage of trained personnel is echoed in letter after letter: Mercurian to Laínez, Trier, 23 and 31 July 1560 (on the college at Tournon: Germ 142, 154v 157v); Manare to Borja, Billom, 20 April 1566, and Paris, 28 May and 2 August 1566 (Gall. 81, 57v 67r 99r). Two years later Manare was still complaining that the colleges in the Paris area were 'tanto sprouisti di gente di qualità et gouerno' (22 June 1568: Gall. 81, 214r), and in late 1571 the Scot Edmund Hay wrote to Nadal in similar terms (Paris, 10 November: Gall. 83, 274r). Mercurian sent a stream of letters to Rome depicting a similar plight in Southern France; e.g. his letters from Lyons, 2 January 1570, and Billom, 6 November 1569 (Gall. 83, 1v 173v). When offered the Pont-à-Mousson project, Maldonat stalled for time because he saw no way 'commo la Compagnia possa trouar gente per tanti collegi' (letter to Mercurian, Paris, 8 August 1573), while on the 26th of October that same year Hannibal de Coudret claimed that Toulouse was as badly affected as anywhere else (Gall. 85, 124v 209v). This lack of staff is closely linked to a lack of money. As Matthieu Thomas put it bluntly in letter written from Avignon to Aquaviva, 17 January 1577, 'sine temporalibus languent spiritualia' (Gall. 89, 28r). The effects of economic difficulties are movingly painted in a letter from Ávila dated 2 October 1567: 'Creo que no ay en la yglesia de Dios república más mal governada en lo temporal que nuestra mínima. Todo lo vendemos, rreçibimos muchos [sic] y tenemos poco que los dar a comer, y mucha [sic] gente a menester mucho [sic] mantenymyento, y ay poco, y para sustentarlos se venden las hazienda[s] de los collegios, se desedifica y inportuna la gente de fuera con enprestidos... Vásenos el tiempo y la industria pensando cómo sustentarlo; críanse con imperfectiones los noviçios...; es menester mucho [sic] govierno y no tenemos hombres para ello...' (Luis de Medina to Dionisio Vázquez: Hisp. 107, 60v). He wrote again in the same terms six weeks later (193r).

26. GRIFFIN (1981), 134-36; PROSPERI (1982). Other areas of Europe are similarly characterized in Jesuit correspondence with Rome as 'Indies': Prussia (Annual Letter from the Braunsberg college, 1 July 1568: Germ 140, 89v); the Sierra de Andévalo in S.W. Spain (Méndez to Borja, Trigueros, 3 November 1567; Annual Letters from the Trigueros college, 1 January 1568 and 1 January 1570, and from the Andalusian Province, 27 January 1572 (Hisp. 107, 149r; Hisp. 141, 171r 291v 327v); the hinterland of Sardinia (Olivencia to Aquaviva, Sassari, 20 October 1594: Sard. 16, cited without folio in TURTAS (1981), 60n.6). On occasion, posting to such remote outposts constituted a form of punishment, as witness a spate of letters from the 'Indies' of Braganza in N.E. Portugal: Lourenço Mexía to Borja, 7 December 1570; Francisco Gomes to Mercurian, 30 April 1579; Sebastião Moraes to Aquaviva, Lisbon, 20 and 23 May 1587; Francisco de Gouvea to Aquaviva, Lisbon, 25 November 1594: Lus. 64, 143v; Lus. 68, 133r; Lus. 70, 135v 145r; Lus. 72, 221r).

27. See LAMALLE (1968, and 1981-82). For examples of mail lost, see Alfonso Román to Borja, Monreal, 18 November 1567, reporting the interception of two mails in Southern France (Hisp. 107, 184r); Santacruz to Borja, Granada, 23 August 1570 (Hisp. 115, 51r), claiming that his letters to headquarters frequently go astray; Francisco de Porres reporting from Madrid, 10 April 1573, the murder of a messenger by 'lutheranos' (Hisp. 118, 336r); Giovanni Paolo Campano to Aquaviva, Kolozsvár [Cluj], 1 December 1585 (Germ. 165, 113r; letter ed.in MHSI, MAH, II (1976), 846-50 (847n.1)); Cardoso to Aquaviva, Lisbon, 23 May 1587: 'Agora me affirmaron que fuera tomada de los hereges el correo que el mes passado o principio déste iua a Roma' (Lus. 70, 142r), confirmation of this loss coming in another letter written that same day by Moraes to Aquaviva (145r); Moraes to Aquaviva, 1 November 1587: 'El ordinario que de allá partió en 7bre según se auisa de Madrid fue tomado de los ladrones en Francia' (263r).

28. Although the average time letters took to arrive in Rome from Spain was no more than five or six weeks (and from Portugal some six or seven), mails were often delayed by weather (BRAUDEL (1975), II 1077; Archivo General de Simancas, Estado 1058, 34r) and by the difficulties of travel both overland and by sea (above, n.27).

29. PONELLE & BORDET (1979); BRAUDEL (1975), II 831. There is much valuable information, as well as a refreshing iconoclasm, in DE MAIO (1973, and 1981).

30. COHEN (1974), 242. The antagonism between Loyola and Carafa, who first met at Venice in 1526, is analyzed by QUINN (1981).

31. KAMEN (1976), 257.

32. See the account of his early life (the 'Acta Patris Ignatii') Ignatius gave to Luis Gonçalves (MHSI, FN, I 370); EFRÉN DE LA MADRE DE DIOS (1982), 15-17. Santa Teresa's biographer, Francisco de Ribera, reported that she and her brother, Rodrigo Sánchez de Cepeda, even composed a romance of chivalry. No trace of this has beenfound (EISENBERG (1979), 27).

33. MHSI, FN, I 36-37 110 187 204 264 480; II 252 504 567 592; MI, Const., I 54; SCHURHAMMER (1973), 211. Ignatius described himself to Gonçalves as 'a pilgrim': MHSI, FN, I 382-83, and n.6.

34. MARIANA (1864), 596: 'Las demás religiones siempre tuvieron otras que imitar, casi todas, y a que arrimarse con su manera de vivir y por cuya huella se encaminaron para llegar al fin que pretendían sin temor de errar; mas los nuestros siguieron un camino, aunque bueno y aprobado de la Iglesia y muy agradable a Dios, como lo muestran los maravillosos frutos que de esta planta se han cogido, pero muy nuevo y extraordinario; traza muy sujeta a tropiezos, a la manera que los que caminan por arenales y por desiertos, donde no se ven pisadas ni camino, corren gran peligro de perderse y de no llegar al fin y paradero de su jornada. Esto sospecho yo fue la causa por que todas las demás religiones en sus principios se arrimaron a alguna de las reglas antiguas de San Agustín, San Benito, etc.; tiene esta dificultad mayor fuerza en nuestra congregación, por cuanto de propósito muchos de los nuestros, por no parecer frailes, se han apartado del todo de las costumbres, reglas, ceremonias y hasta de los vocablos que usan todas las demás religiones...'.

35. SCADUTO (1968), xii-xiii; SCADUTO (1964-74), I 254.

36. Manare to Borja, Billom, 17 May 1565 (Gall. 81, 3v); see also MARTIN (1982).

37. QUINN (1981).

38. GRIFFIN (1976), 73; MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO (1880-82), II 391; ABAD (1957), 69ff.; SOMMERVOGEL (1890-1960), IX 450; Juan Suárez to Polanco, Lyons, 8 and 9 March 1573 (Gall. 85, 52r-54v 55r-56v); Doménech to Polanco, Valladolid, 25 March 1573 (Hisp. 118, 300r); Mercurian to the Condesa de Monterrey, 5 May 1573 (Cast. 1, 1r); and the paper of 24 July 1603, entitled 'Relatio inuentionis corporis P. Martinj Gutierris' (Hisp. 92, 20r-22v).

39. King Sebastian of Portugal had demanded a ban on Polanco whom he believed to be secretly well-disposed to the New Christians. Yet Aquaviva's choice reflected his own convictions every bit as much as demands made upon him by outsiders; see ALONSO (1948), 34-36.

40. HEADLEY (1983), 12 33 59.

41. e.g. Breslau, Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich, MS PAWL 204, 215r: a performance which included dialogues in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Hungarian, Polish, Ruthene (Ukranian), Lithuanian and Samogitian; GRIFFIN (1975), 410.

42. See the material collected in BUCK and others (1981), especially VALENTIN (1981). Also WITTKOWER & JAFFE (1972), and GRIFFIN (forthcoming a), especially notes 193-204. The best study of the cultural and intellectual life of Habsburg Central Europe is EVANS (1979). Ironically, the Jesuit failure to establish themselves on an adequate scale in the Spanish city of Valladolid, the 'normal' seat of government in the mid-1560s, led to their efforts being compared unfavourably with those of the Dominicans and Augustinians who had thriving colleges there (Porres to Borja, Valladolid, 3 May 1567: Hisp. 105, 251r-v).

43. Unsigned Annual Letters from the Avignon college, 1 January 1568 and 1 January 1569 (Gall. 53, 103r-104v 105r-108v).

44. Louis de Coudret to Borja from Avignon, and Auger to Borja from Lyons, both 22 June 1569; comment of Mercurian recorded in a letter from Avignon four days later (Gall. 82, 76r 78r 80r).

45. Pierre Pradenc to Borja in Rome, Lyons, 29 July 1563 (Gall. 80, 105r).

46. Hannibal de Coudret to Borja, Auch, 22 March, and Toulouse, 12 May 1569; Mercurian to Borja, Lyons, 15 August and 19 December 1569 (Gall. 82, 45v 61v 122r 191r); William Crichton to Borja, Lyons, 25 March; Mercurian to Borja, Paris, 19 August, and Auger to Borja, Paris, 23 September 1570 (Gall. 83, 48r 119r 144r); Crichton to Polanco, Tournon, 12 January, and to Mercurian, Chambéry, 10 August 1573 (Gall. 85, 6r 127r); Pierre le Majeur to Mercurian, Avignon, 7 February 1578 (Gall. 90, 10r).

47. COHEN (1974), 237. There is even a suggestion that some enlisted in the Society in order to escape poverty at home: 'acaeçe pedirla [la Compania] algunos porque no tienen qué comer' (Plaza from Granada to Laínez at Trent, 13 August 1563: Hisp 100, 259v). Jerónimo de Benarcama, a Granadine recruit whose case has been studied elsewhere (GRIFFIN, 1976), claimed that his initial reluctance to return home when asked to do so was because he was unwilling to give his mother another mouth to feed (Benarcama to Borja, Granada, 25 September 1566: Hisp. 104, 129r-v).

48. MHSI, FN, I 64*-66*; SCADUTO (1968), viii-ix.

49. MITCHELL (1980), 88; DUIN & GARSTEIN (1980), 13; WICKI (1963). A number of letters refer specifically to the sending of codes for use in regular correspondence with headquarters: Christopher Rodríguez to Laínez, Venice, 24 September 1561; Juan de Victoria to Laínez, Vienna, 1 February 1560; Villalba to Possevino, Valencia, 20 December 1573; Leão Henriques to Borja, Lisbon, 30 July 1570 (Epp.NN. 86, 87r; Germ. 142, 103r; Hisp. 119, 301r; Lus. 64, 80v), and mention of codes is frequent: Mercurian to García de Alarcón, Rome, 25 December 1577; Avellaneda to Borja, Montilla, 23 August 1567; Villalba to Aquaviva, Segovia, 31 October 1587 (Hisp. 89, 21v; Hisp. 106, 294v; Hisp. 134, 37r).

50. Rome, 3 October 1588 (Lus. 32, 4v).

51. Cordeses from Aragon, 1 September 1563 (Hisp. 100, 293r); Juan Correa to Aquaviva, Coimbra, 19 March 1585 (Lus. 69, 55r); WICKI (1963), 160; GRIFFIN (forthcoming a), section III. Good examples of the use of numerical ciphers decoded upon receipt at headquarters are provided by two letters written in the the summer of 1585: Francisco de Gouvea and Sebastião Moraes to Aquaviva, 22 July and undated (=August) (Lus. 69, 114r-115v 122r-124v).

52. e.g. CLOULAS (1970), xxi-xxvi; Bishop of Lodi to Rusticucci, Villafranca, 13 February and 2 April 1586 (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segretaria di Stato, Spagna 32, 64r-65v 106r-107v).

53. Mercurian to Rome, Tournon, 9 May 1570 (Gall. 83, 64v); Gil González to Borja from Segovia, 24 February, and from Avila, 17 March 1568 (Hisp. 108, 97r and 129r); Cordeses to Borja, Barcelona, 2 June 1570 (Hisp. 114, 191r-v); Gil González to Borja, Valladolid, 5 September 1570 (Hisp. 115, 107r). It is not only modern editors who fail to perceive that messages are encoded: a marginal note scribbled at headquarters on a letter from Pedro Bernal to Mercurian written from Granada, 27 July 1575, asking for elucidation of a letter he received from Rome, reads 'no ha entendido la cifra' (Hisp. 124, 254r).

54. LAMALLE (1981-82), 97-100.

55. In the opinion of one man who was in a position to know, even the Litterae quadrimestres did not always provide a reliable account of college life: 'las quadrimestres [...] que nos enseñássemos a decir en ellas la verdad pura porque en algunas pareçe que no se no procura tanto dezir verdad, quanto no dezir lo contrario' (Solier to Laínez in Rome, Segovia, 2 October 1564: Hisp. 101, 11r). On Ignatius's own studies see DALMASES (1941); BATLLORI (1956); and MADURELL MARIMÓN & DALMASES (1968).

56. LAMALLE (1981-82), 105.

57. MARTIN (1982). See also the deliberations of the Aquitaine Province meeting at Bordeaux in July 1587 (Congr. 43, 190r-191r 203r-204r) and the complaint of Luis de Morales in a private letter to Aquaviva written from Seville, 2 January 1587, that the presence of local recruits led inevitably to a stream of visitors whom the college could not reasonably turn away (Hisp. 132, 271r).

58. GRIFFIN (1976), 61-62 90n.76 93n.91.

59. e.g Juan Manuel to Borja, Murcia, 9 January 1568: 'El obispo de Carthagena está muy enojado viendo al collegio tan desamparado de gente, y amenaza que se a de meter en pedir quenta cómo la Compañía cumple las obligaciones y capitulaciones que asentó con su predecesor en la fundación' (Hisp. 108, 7r); Claude Matthieu from Tournon, undated (=?1564): 'Il faudroit... qu'on ne changeat tant souuent les suggets car cela trouble fort le collège' (Gall. 81, 111v). The tug-of-war that took place between the fledgling Colegio Imperial in Madrid and the studia at Alcalá and Medina del Campo over Juan Bonifacio provides startling proof of the lengths to which rectors and provincials were prepared to go to keep their staff intact: GRIFFIN (forthcoming b). The Rome archives are full of letters begging that posting notices be rescinded (e.g. TURTAS (1981), 59n.4, citing Epp. Ext. 23, 279r-280v).

60. Benedetto Negro to Aquaviva, Avignon, 9 December 1575: 'noi somo notati d'auaritia' (Gall. 87, 443r-v); Fernández to Borja, Valladolid, 18 November 1567: 'ay uoz casi pública, y experiencia que los nouicios que tienen buen patrimonio salen más presto a estudios de la casa de prouación que los pobres, y alcalçan más priuilegios que los otros... porque se tiene attención que proueerán sus padres o parientes deste modo mejor los collegios donde están' (Hisp. 107, 186v); Valderrábano, privately, to both Polanco and Mercurian, Toledo, 1 March, and Madrid, 1 September 1573: 'vine por Madrid... y somos allí notados de codiçiosos que tenemos y no nos contentamos', 'ay mucha infamja desto por cobdicia y a la verdad nosotros damos occasión ha ello rrecibjendo como digo él que aliter no se avía de rreçebir sino por hazienda o nobleza' (Tolet. 37a, 74r; Hisp. 119, 101r); Ramírez, privately, to Mercurian, undated (=?19 October 1576): 'estamos los de la Compañía muy infamados de codiciosos... y de ambiciosos' (Hisp. 125, 169r). Also Juan Bravo to Borja, Alcalá de Henares, 16 February 1571 (MHSI, MFB, V, 560-64, letter 940).

61. Sebastiano Molendino to Polanco, Toulouse, 6 February 1573: 'questo collegio in così grande terra, tanto piccolo di gente, pouero d'intrata, le carestie grande, puoca o nulla prouisione, pieno di debiti, et senza speranza di poterle pagare' (Gall. 85, 24r); Juan Manuel to Dionisio Vázquez, Madrid, 3 September 1569 (on the Alcalá college): 'lo que yo procuro es que los estudiantes que allí están poco o mucho ayuden a su sustento, y así es ello' (Hisp 111, 259r); 'Isidoro' to Borja, Córdoba, 31 October 1568 (Hisp. 109, 124r); Jerónimo Manrique, Bishop of Cartagena, to the Jesuit Visitor, Madrid, 17 September 1588: 'Deve la Compagnia molti censi, et stanno li Gesuiti molto impegnati, essendo debitori di una gran quantità di danaro...' (Fondo Ges. 50, item [1], [6]v-[7]r). Even the Italian colleges were not free from the trials of poverty, as witness Stefano Tuccio's letter of 22 December 1575 from Padua compaining to Mercurian of the lack of adequate school books (Ital. 149, 381v).

62. MARTIN (1982), 18; LOVETT (1980); LOVETT (1982), 6 (noting the edgy attitude of the big banking-houses when faced with Spanish requests for loans).

63. All such questions of finance were debated against a background of accusations frequently levelled against the Church for being party to the so-called contractus Germanicus (see the outline given by FOSS (1969), 233-36).

64. Medina from Ávila to Vázquez, 2 October 1567 (Hisp. 107, 60v-61r); Bustamante to Borja, Toledo, ?15 January 1568 (Hisp. 108, 16v); Acosta to Borja, Segovia, 25 May 1569 (Hisp. 110, 335r).

65. The Andalusian Province, meeting at Seville from 29 January to 9 February 1571, complained that, since the removal of one Juan Lezcano to the Province of Toledo 'some seven or eight years previously', it could find nobody capable of finishing the various building projects that were on the stocks. This was a matter of grave concern as the unfinished buildings included Jesuit churches in important cities such as Seville and Córdoba (Congr. 41, 70v, item 31). Rome's only suggestion (75r) was that they should approach the Provincial of Toledo and ask that Lezcano be seconded to draw up the necessary plans. Similar dilemmas are recorded in GRIFFIN (1976), 63, and in letters which tell of architects ignorant of what is required in a college building (Roillet to Salmerón, Billom, 13 January 1562: Gall. 80, 5r) or of buildings collapsing during construction: Caraúz and Castañeda from Valladolid, 10 August 1566, 15 April and 12 July 1569 (Hisp. 104, 31r-v; Hisp. 110, 230r; Hisp. 111, 105r; also Tolet. 12a I, 131r 137r 139r 140v; Tolet. 44, 183r). A number of local Rectors and Provincials enthusiatically drew up plans without any kind of experise or experience (e.g. Carrillo to Borja, Burgos, 17 October 1566, and Valladolid, 4 Jan. 1567, and to Polanco, Valladolid, 7 February 1567: Hisp. 104, 188r-v; Hisp. 105, 14v 100v), and Borja was eventually obliged to forbid any venture of this nature without prior planning approval from Rome (Congr. 41, 124v). Fundamentally, however, the problem was not so much lack of expertise as shortage of cash: Méndez to Avellaneda, Trigüeros, 2 September 1566; Francisco López to Borja, Monterrey, 17 January 1569 and 30 June 1570 (Hisp. 104, 69v; Hisp. 109, 257r; Hisp. 114, 240r).

66. MI, Constit., II 50-51; GANSS (1970), 94; MARTIN (1982). There are recorded cases of students wavering in their faith and support for the Order as a result of spending vacations away from college with their families secundum carnem (e.g. the Braunsberg students some of whom returned in 1570 from their annual break 'infecti alienis a fide Catholica opinionibus': Annual Letter from the Braunsberg college signed by Johannes Vergerius, 3 November 1570: Germ. 140, 217v-218r). A further example of the pressures under which a Jesuit could come if he maintained contact with his family is afforded by Castañeda from Plasencia, 1 November 1566 (Hisp. 104, 212r-v), recording that one of his two surviving brothers (of an original family of thirteen children) has recently died and that his father is in dire need of help.

67. Bartolomé Coch (or Coque) to Borja, Mallorca, 14 August 1568 (Hisp. 109, 8r); Muñoz to Borja, Ávila, 15 February 1570 (Hisp. 113, 198r); Luís Gonçalves to

Polanco, Lisbon, 22 March 1571 (Lus. 64, 180v); Francisco de Varea to Rome, Lisbon, 21 February 1573 (Lus. 65, 123r). The over-harsh attitude of Gonzalo González at Plasencia is criticized in a confidential letter from Castañeda to Borja, 6 October 1566: 'es tam áspero que más pareçe modo de juez riguroso que pretende ser temido por amenazas y espantos que padre que deba ser amado por charidad y modo paternal', in a letter sent by Valderrábano to Rome the following day: 'a todos trae amedrentados y atemorizados', and by Baltasar Loarte (Hisp. 104, 166v 172v; GRIFFIN (1976), 90n.76).

68. See e.g. Francesco Antonio to Cristóforo Madrid, Sassari, 1 September 1561, complaining that Aragonese recruits there 'per un anno o due faranno poco frutto' and urging that only Italian-speaking recruits be posted to the island as they could far more quickly learn Sardinian and Corsican. Such a policy would have been contrary to the advice of Philip II's agent Pedro Clavero who wished the island Jesuit community to be staffed with Spaniards alone (Archivio di Stato, Cagliari, Antico archivio regio, H 8, 16r-18r). Probably before 1566, Sardinia was annexed to the Aragonese Province at the direct insistence of Borja and Spanish was established as the official language of the studium in accordance with Philip II's many letters imploring Rome to ensure that it did so (RUIU (1975), 43-47; TURTAS (1981), 68n.24, 73, etc.). Antonio de Cordeses made a more practical suggestion when he wrote to Borja that 'los que han de hazer fruto aquí en esta tierra, digo en las villas, no han de ser italianos ni spañoles porque esta gente no entiende bien essas lenguas, sino naturales' (Sassari, 23 May 1569: Sard. 14, 150v). Those with first-hand experience of missionary work repeatedly warned the Generalate of the importance of linguistic skills in undertaking that kind of task.

69. I am indebted to Dr R.W. Truman of Christ Church Oxford who discussed this aspect of Spanish policy with me and who read a paper on the subject at the 1983 Annual Conference of the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland. An appeal against the ban was lodged with Philip II by Laínez in an undated letter of 1562 written from Paris (Gall. 80, 45r-47v); it is referred to again by Louis de Coudret when writing to Borja, 18 December 1566 (Gall. 81, 182v); and colleges as distant as Trier complained, in the Annual Letter for 1570, of the adverse effect it was having on student numbers (Germ. 140, 204v). Later, Jerónimo Roca, writing in code to Aquaviva from Valencia, 18 May 1587, and Villalba, the Provincial of Castile, in a letter sent that same day from Medina del Campo, mention the Holy Office as having placed Jesuit Provincials under a strict order not to post anyone overseas without their express permission (Hisp. 133, 69r, 60r-v), and the Toledan Inquisitors wrote in the July to the local Vice-Provincial reminding him of the terms of Philip's injunction (ASV, Segretaria di Stato, Nunziatura di Spagna, 33, 302r). See also Jerónimo de Acosta, consultor to Villalba, to Aquaviva, Valladolid, 29 June, and Gil González, Provincial of Andalusia, also to Aquaviva, 9 October 1587 (Hisp. 133, 167v; Hisp. 134, 7r).

70. MARTIN (1982), 15 17; GRIFFIN (1976), 61; Claude Matthieu to Mercurian, Lyons, 18 October 1573: 'Le Père Henry est icy en telle disposition que les medecins iugent estre du tout necessaire que à plustost on l'enuoye en son air naturel; autrement il est en grand danger de sa vie' (Gall. 85, 198r); Diego Borrasano to Nadal, Lyons, 22 August 1572: 'entre todos los ayres el natural suele ser el más sano' (Gall. 84, 210r).

71. TURTAS (1981), 79-80; Ramírez on the opposition he encountered at Barcelona when he attempted to introduce a number of reforms in early 1563: 'echáuanlo a que yo era castellano y zeloso y soberuio y de presuntión y que quería sopear y pisar a los catalanes como lo usauan castellanos... Y sepa Vuestra Paternidad que aquella nación no ay cosa que más la altare que lleuar las cosas por aquí porque están muy mal con castellanos y tienen grande passión de que castellanos vayan a reformar sus cosas' (Valencia, 25 May 1563: Hisp. 100, 217v).

72. KAMEN (1976), 259. Ignatius's concept of a 'rigid flexibility' is also central to Pate's very useful account of Jerónimo Nadal's work for the Order in the period 1545-73: PATE (1980).

73. The ban on women which had been in effect even before 1572 (see Nadal on the Augsburg college, 6 November 1566: Instit. 209, 19v 20v) was given teeth by a Papal Bull of Gregory XIII Buoncompagni decreeing excommunication for any woman who disobeyed it. Yet such was the pressure from society ladies, especially in major court cities like Paris and Vienna, that it often proved unenforceable and local Rectors were perplexed about what they should do (see the Aquitaine Province meeting at Tournon in January 1573, and again three years later when they gathered in Lyons: Congr. 42, 65r 197r; the debate that went on in Paris throughout 1587 on whether to design a separate area of the projected Jesuit church to accommodate female members of the congregation: Congr. 43, 165r 167r; Congr. 94 I, 155v; and Claude Matthieu to Rome, Chambéry, 27-28 July 1572: 'Vorrej anche sapere se le done possono intrare nelli cortili delli collegij quando si fanno dialogj senza' perìcolo de l'excommuniche': Gall. 84, 198v). From Paris, 28 August 1568, Olivier Manare wrote to Borja with evident concern of a local worthy who, with his wife, had wandered into the college chapel (Gall. 81, 249r) and, five years later, Juan de Mariana recorded the wife of a prominent lawyer walking round the Paris college (to Polanco, Paris, 20 February 1573; Gall. 85, 42v). The problem was more delicate when it involved the mothers of intern students or the benefactresses of college: Polanco to Louis de Coudret, procurator of Aquitaine, 1568; Pedro Sánchez to Borja, Alcalá de Henares, 21 September 1569; Juan del Águila to Mercurian, Villagarcía de Campos, 25 January 1580 (Congr. 41, 227v; Hisp. 111, 309v; Hisp. 129, 10r-v). Compare the comments of the Bishop of Novara writing to Rusticucci from Madrid, 30 May 1586: 'saria molto seruicio di Dio à reuocare tutte le licenze che si sono concesse in questi regni à signore particolari d'entrare in certi tempi dell'anno in compagnia d'altre donne nelli monasterij di monachi, perche sono molto abusate, et me n'é venuto querela piu d'una uolta' (BAV, Segr. di Stato, Spagna, 32, 151r).

74. Francisco Antonio to Aquaviva, Madrid, 31 December 1594: 'El año passado el día de San Antonio de Padua que la Señora doña Margarita Cortereal muger de don Christóual de Mora suele hazer la fiesta en nuestra jglesia, fue tanta la gente que comió en el rrefitorio assí de clérigos cantores como de seglares de capa y espada, que casi llegaron a 30 personas, y fue con tanta dissolución y ruýdo que no parecía casa de rreligión, vltra que la comida fue excessiua, aunque a costa agena; y si Vuestra Paternidad para la fiesta que viene no pone alguna graue prohibición, no dexará de ser otro tanto (Hisp. 138, 58r). Similar concern was expressed by Santacruz to Nadal, Barcelona, 16 November 1561 (F.Ges. 620a/506, [1]r), and by Pedro Gascón to Mercurian, Valencia, 7 September 1575 (Hisp. 125, 17v).

75. Ambrosio de Castilla (Don Sancho) in a private letter to Borja, Cádiz, 19 January 1569, pleaded that a benefactress of the Cádiz college be buried inside the Church because 'en el ceminterio de la calle fuera de nuestra yglesia ... ay gran número de cuerpos de negros y de otra gente baxa' (Hisp. 109, 262r). Diego Carrillo, writing from Ocaña, reveals his reluctance to allow two local worthies to be buried with their wives in the local Jesuit church because, although they are 'gente de bien en su tanto, y medianamente ricos... vno es vn guantero... y [otro] es botero' (14 Feb. 1579: Hisp. 110, 52v). Ripalda, in Valladolid, took a less rigid attitude when he advocated college burial for a local cobbler who had, for twelve years and more, provided the college with shoes at less than cost, but in his case no wife was involved (Hisp. 113, 124v).

76. GRIFFIN (1972; 1973; 1975; 1976; forthcoming a).

77. Diego de Avellaneda to Borja, Seville, 21 April 1569; Dionisio Vázquez to Ruiz, Rector at Seville (Hisp. 114, 75r-v 76v). The term 'panaderas', literally "bakers' wives", may well be a synonym for "loose women": DICC. DE AUTORIDADES (1726-39), V 105; MICHALSKI (1969-70), 435-36.

78. MARTIN (1982), 10; Luis González to Polanco, Lisbon, 22 March 1571; Ruy Vicente to Borja, Oporto, 19 September and 4 October 1570 (Lus. 64, 180r 104r 122r); GRIFFIN (1973), 797-800. It is interesting that such events are often narrated in a mixture of Latin and vernacular, e.g. Castañeda in a confidential letter to Borja, Valladolid, 3 August 1570: 'Ame dicho vna persona grave desta villa, lo que yo no e podido creer, de vna persona de la casa çierta indeçençia quaerem satis turpem indicat & indecoram quae ex frequenti familiaritate cum quaedam faemina ortu est. Bien creo ser falso' (Hisp. 115, 3v; compare Pepys's use of a mixture of French, Spanish, and Italian to describe similar occurrences even when, being in shorthand, the confidentiality of his diary was assured: PEPYS (1970-83), I xlix-l).

79. Congr. 41, 17r 47r-v 51v; Congr. 42, 33v; Congr. 43, 56v-57r 174r 178v 188v; Congr. 94 I, 158v-159r.

80. Luis de Medina to Borja, Valladolid, 9 July 1567 (Hisp. 106, 143v-144r). Lawyers' doubts about the legality of selling off bequests or any part of a bequest also tended to prevent any radical solution being adopted to this kind of problem which affected so many colleges; see Carrillo's lengthy report to Borja, Valladolid, 30 November 1567 (Hisp.107, 208r-209v) and the seemingly endless debate about the Logroño college's unsatisfactory quarters (Hisp. 107, 18v 100v).

81. Diego Navarro to Borja, Jaén, 18 August, and ?Granada, 14 September 1570 (Hisp. 115, 15r 131r). A similar concern involved the mistresses put off at the insistence of Jesuit confessors: Annual Letter for the Würzburg college, 14 August 1569 (Germ. 140, 145v).

82. e.g. Maldonado to Borja, Paris, 5 August 1569 (Gall. 82, 110v).

83. MI, Constit., II, p.22 text a.

84. José de Ayala to Borja, Barcelona, undated (=?1566), asking for 'un catálogo de los que se an salido de la Conpañía y an tenjdo trabaxosos fines' (Hisp. 104, 369r).

85. Diego de Salazar to Mercurian, Caravaca, 11 December 1574; Antonio Cordeses, Provincial of Toledo, to Mercurian, Murcia, 15 January 1575; Mercurian to Cordeses, Rome, 25 April 1575 (Hisp. 122, 260r 266r; Hisp. 123, 56r; Tolet. 1, 45r). Compare Ignacio de Lima to Fonseca, Barcelona, 1 May 1587 (Hisp. 133, 41v).

86. Bernal to Mercurian, Montilla, 25 March 1574 (Hisp. 120, 265r): 'e[l] número de sujetos que va en los catálogos podra enganar [sic] si no se miran los munchos que ay jnútiles, enfermos y sin prouecho'. Compare Torres to Laínez, Coimbra, 29 November 1558: 'muchos si no digo totos son muy quebrados en la perfectión, y hartos inútiles, y imperfectos' (Lus. 60, 76r 91r).

87. PHILLIPPS (1970), 96; ALONSO (1948), 34-56; LEWY (1960), 114-20.

88. The prescription of a period of retreat was also issued to established members of the Order: e.g. Mercurian's suggestion that Edmond Auger should be relieved of his reponsibilities for a time and given some rest 'doue potesse attendere al suo interiore' (to Borja, Lyons, 3 July 1570: Gall. 83, 90v). See also Gall. 81, 26r.

89. See Bull of Martin IV of 30 July 1281 (POTTHAST (1874-5), 21773); MI, Constit. I, 356ff; BAUMGARTEN (1932), I 254-58, VAN DE VORST (1954).

90. STONE (1979), 88, cited in MARTIN (1982), 4. The best description of life in a late-fifteenth-century Navarrese castle is SCHURHAMMER (1973), 12-46.

91. See O'CALLAGHAN (1975), 467.

92. DON JUAN MANUEL (1974), 123: 'Et después deven fazer quanto pudieren por que tomen plazer en leer las corónicas de los grandes fechos et de las grandes conquistas, et de los fechos de armas et de cavallerías que acaesçieron, et en cómmo los grandes sennores llegaron a grandes estados por su vondat et por su esfuerço, et quánto mal passaron en su vida, et quán mal acabaron et quán mal fama dexaron de sí los enperadores et rreys et grandes sennores que fizieron malas obras et fueron medrosos et flacos de coraçón'.

93. On Ignatius's 'conversion' see LETURIA (1936) and PAPÀSOGLI (1965), 59-69.

94. RUSSELL (1967), 56. See also the comments of HILLGARTH (1976-78), II 58-69, and the material collected by ROUND (1962) and, most recently, by LAWRANCE (1979).

95. On Spanish university education generally, KAGAN (1981); on a fascinating example of the persistance of habits of thought, PAGDEN (1981).

96. PROSPERI (1982), 207-13; SCHÜTTE (1968), i-xliv.

97. LETURIA (1940); LUKÁCS (1960-61).

98. GUIBERT (1953), 525-41.

99. GRIFFIN (forthcoming a).

100. Above, n.88. For an account of Auger's connexions at Court and his close involvement in affairs of State, see MARTIN (1973).

101. Navarro to Rome, Granada, 21 February 1573: 'Téngase muy particular cuydado de cuidar sobre los studiantes y de que antes aprouechen en uirtud que no en letras, porque se vee lo contrario por experientia' (Hisp. 118, 231r).

102. Cited by RUSSELL (1967), 49. The original text is given by DURÁN (1980), 20.

103. A whole set of such phrases -- 'compone buenas epístolas', 'es buen poeta', 'tiene buen ingenio', 'es buen artista', and so on -- appears in the cipher Borja devised in 1565-66 for the composition of four-monthly letters from the Spanish Provinces (Fondo Ges. 678/21/4, 1r-2r, described by WICKI (1963), 150-51). The phrase 'buon lettore', in a letter from Mercurian to Rome, Tournon, 9 May 1570, has been decoded in Polanco's hand 'poco spírito' (Gall. 83, 64v).

104. Good examples are: Jerónimo de Ávila to Borja, Valladolid, 9 July 1567 (Hisp. 136, 139r-v); Manare to Borja, Paris, 14 October 1570 (Gall. 83, 160r); Annual Letter for the Aquitaine Province, Lyons, 13 January 1576 (Lugd. 28, 2r: on the Tournon college).

105. Diego de Avellaneda to Mercurian, Logroño, 22 September 1579 (Hisp. 128, 241r),

106. Ramírez to Polanco, Córdoba, 20 February 1573: 'lo que a mí se me a ofrescido es que no se tomasen tantos collegios, y aun se quitasen si ser pudiese de los que ay. Primero, porque se impiden las missiones que es el fin de nuestro instituto, que como son menester tantos para cátedras y gouierno de los collegios toda la gente que se cría se gasta en esto' (Hisp. 118, 229r).

107. Avellaneda to Borja, Montilla, 11 August 1567: 'auisan que si vno es inclinado a alguna cosa aunque sea buena se le da la contraria por ofiçio o exerçiçio sólo por romperle' (Hisp. 106, 261r); Castañeda to Borja, Seville, 15 March 1571: 'los que somos más antiguos y que debíamos dar el exemplo a los que van tras nosotros somos los que hazemos la guerra a todo género de mortificación y de relligión' (Hisp. 116, 23r); Gutiérrez to Borja, Salamanca, 17 May 1570: 'son criados los maestros que leen no con la mortificaçión que conujene'.

108. e.g. Sebastião Moraes, Provincial of Portugal, to Aquaviva, Lisbon, 16 May 1586: 'el padre Ignacio Martins... tiene en la ciudad nombre de santidad avnque en su zelo y sermones es menester moderarle' (Lus. 69, 229r), a criticism repeated by Moraes, 15 August 1587 (Lus. 70, 241v).

109. The Annual Letters were reproduced in multiple copies and circulated in manuscript. From 1581 until 1614 and for few years in the 1650s, they were made more generally available by being printed (in a somewhat abbreviated form), initially in Rome but later at Florence, Naples, and elsewhere.

REFERENCES

ABAD Camilo José (S.J.) (editor). 1957. El V.P. Martín Gutiérrez de la Compañía de Jesus: Su vida y sus pláticas sobre los dos modos de oración (Santander: Universidad Pontificia) [Miscelanea Comillas, 28].

ALONSO Dámaso. 1948. 'Jesuitas rebeldes o desasosegados', in his: Vida y obra de Medrano (Madrid: C.S.I.C., Instituto 'Antonio de Nebrija'), pp. 34-46.

BATAILLON Marcel. 1966. Erasmo y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI, translated by Antonio ALATORRE, second Spanish edition (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica).

BATLLORI Miquel (S.J.). 1956. 'Sobre l'humanisme a Barcelona durant els estudis de Sant Ignasi, 1524-1526', Quaderni Ibero-Americani [Turin], XIX/XX, 219-31.

BAULANT Micheline & MEUVRET Jean. 1960-62. Prix des céréales extraits de la Mercuriale de Paris (1520-1698), 2 volumes (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N.) [École Pratique de Hautes Etudes, VIème Section, Centre de Recherches Historiques: Monnaie, Prix, Conjoncture, 5].

BAUMGARTEN Paul Maria. 1932. Ordenszucht und Ordensstrafrecht: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gesellschaft Jesu besonders in Spanien, 3 vols (Traunstein, Oberbayern: F. Aker) [Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, edited by Paul BAUMGARTEN & Gottfried BUSCHBELL, 7-9], vol. I.

BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA Vicente (O.P.). 1941. Las corrientes de espiritualidad entre los domínicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca) [Biblioteca de teólogos españoles, VII, B: Monografías histórico-teológicas, 2].

BIRELEY Robert (S.J.). 1981. Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, S.J., and the Formation of Imperial Policy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).

BRAUDEL Fernand. 1975. The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, translated by Siân REYNOLDS, 2 vols (London: Collins).

BRIZZI Gian Paolo. 1980. 'Educare il principe, formare le élites: I gesuiti e Ranuccio I Farnese', in: Università, Principe, Gesuiti: La politica farnesiana dell'istruzione a Parma e Piacenza (1545-1622), edited by Gian Paolo BRIZZI, Alessandro D'ALESSANDRO, & Alessandra DEL FANTE (Roma: Bulzoni) [Centro Studi 'Europa delle Corti', Biblioteca del Cinquecento, 12], pp. 133-211.

BUCK August, HOFFMANN Georg, SPAHR Blake Lee, & WIEDEMANN Conrad (editors). 1981. Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Vorträge und Referate gehalten anlässich des Kongresses des Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreises für Renaissanceforschung und des Internationalen Arbeitskreises für Barockliteratur in der Herzog August Bibliothek vom 4. und 8. September 1979, 3 vols (Hamburg: Dr Ernst Hauswedell, [Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 8-10].

CLOULAS Ivan. 1970. Correspondance du nonce en France Anselmo Dandino (1578-1581) (Rome: Gregorian University Press & Paris: E. de Boccard) [Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae, VIII].

COHEN T. V. 1974. 'Why the Jesuits Joined', Canadian Historical Papers [Ottawa], pp. 237-58.

COLOMBÁS García M. (O.S.B.). 1960. 'Orígenes y primer desarrollo del Colegio de San Vicente de Salamanca', Salmanticensis [Salamanca], VII, 257-330.

COLOMBÁS García M. (O.S.B.) & GOST Mateo M. (O.S.B.). 1954. Estudios sobre el primer siglo de San Benito de Valladolid (Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat) [Scripta et Documenta, 3].

CUETO Ronald. 1981. 'On the Significance of the Reform of the Religious Orders in the Catholic Monarchy in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries: Teresa de Jesús, the Foundress, in Perspective', in: Teresa de Jesús and her World: Papers of a Conference Held at Trinity and All All Saints' College on October 24th and 25th 1981 in Preparation for Commemoration of the Quatercentenary of the Death of Saint Teresa of Avila (1515-1582), edited by Margaret A. REES (Leeds: Trinity and All Saints' College), pp. 19-50.

DALMASES Cándido de (S.J.). 1941. 'Los estudios de San Ignacio en Barcelona', Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu [Rome], X, 283-93.

DELUMEAU Jean. 1971. Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire (Paris: P.U.F.) [Nouvelle Clio, 30bis].

DE MAIO Romeo. 1973. Riforme e miti nella chiesa del Cinquecento (Naples: Guida Editori) [Esperienze, 17].

-- 1981. Michelangelo e la Controriforma (Rome: Editori Laterza) [Biblioteca Universale Laterza, 10].

DE WITTE Charles-Martin (editor). 1980. La Correspondance des premiers nonces permanents au Portugal 1532-1553, vol. 2: Textos (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da Historia).

DICC. DE AUTORIDADES. 1726-39. Diccionario de la lengua castellana... (Madrid: Real Academia Española).

DOMÍNGUEZ CARRETERO Eloy (O.S.A.). 1956. 'La escuela teológica agustiniana de Salamanca', La Ciudad de Dios [Madrid], CLXIX, 638-85.

DON JUAN MANUEL. 1974. Libro de los estados, edited by R. B. TATE & I. R. MACPHERSON (Oxford: Clarendon).

DONNELLY Paul J. 1979. 'A Study of Spanish Translations of Erasmus's Colloquia (1525-1536), with Special Reference to the Translations of Alonso Ruiz de Virués: Together with a Critical Edition of the Versions of Uxor Mempsigamos, Funus, and Part of Convivium Religiosum', unpublished doctoral dissertation, 2 vols (University of Oxford).

DUIN Johs J. & GARSTEIN Oskar (editors). 1980. Epistolarum commercium P. Laurentii Nicolai Norvegi S.I. aliaque quaedam scripta de manu eius (Oslo: St Olavs Forlag) [Norvegia Sacra, 23].

DURÁN Manuel (editor). 1980. Marqués de Santillana. Poesías completas, volume II (Madrid: Castalia).

EFRÉN DE LA MADRE DE DIOS (O.C.D.). 1982. Teresa de Jesús (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos).

EISENBERG Daniel. 1979. Castilian Romances of Chivalry in the Sixteenth Century: A Bibliography (London: Grant & Cutler Ltd) [Research Bibliographies and Checklists, 23].

EVANS R. J. W. 1979. The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700 (Oxford: O.U.P.).

FEIST HIRSCH Elisabeth. 1967. Damião de Góis: The Life and Thought of a Portuguese Humanist, 1502-1574 (The Hague: Nijhoff) [International Archives of the History of Ideas, 19].

FENLON Dermot. 1972. Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter-Reformation (Cambridge: C.U.P.).

FOSS Michael. 1969. The Founding of the Jesuits, 1540 (London: Hamish Hamilton).

GANSS George E. (S.J.) (translator and editor). 1970. Saint Ignatius of Loyola: The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus (St Louis, Mo.: The Institute of Jesuit Sources).

GARCÍA ORO José. 1969. La reforma de los religiosos españoles en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos (Valladolid: Instituto 'Isabel la Católica') [Documentos, 8].

GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA Ricardo. 1964. 'La reforma española en Trento', Estudios Eclesiásticos [Madrid], XXXIX, 6-92 147-73 319-40.

GILLY Carlos. 1982. 'Juan de Valdés, traductor y adaptador de escritos de Lutero en su Diálogo de doctrina christiana', in: Miscelánea de Estudios Hispánicos: Homenaje de los hispanistas de Suiza, a Ramón Sugranyes de Franch, edited by Luis LÓPEZ MOLINA (Montserrat: L'Abadía de Montserrat), pp. 85-106.

-- 1983. 'Juan de Valdés: Übersetzer und Bearbeiter von Luthers Schriften in seinem Diálogo de Doctrina', Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte [Gütersloh], LXXIV, 257-306.

GINZBERG Carlo & PROSPERI Adriano. 1979. 'Juan de Valdés e la riforma in Italia: Proposte di recerca', in: Doce consideraciones sobre el mundo hispano-italiano en tiempos de Alfonso y Juan de Valdés (Bolonia, abril de 1976), edited by Francisco RAMOS ORTEGA (Rome: Instituto Español de Lengua y Literatura de Roma) [Anexo de Pliegos de Cordel, I], pp. 185-95.

GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE J. 1947. Los navarros en el Concilio de Trento y la reforma tridentina en la diócesis de Pamplona (Pamplona: Imprenta Diocesana) [Pampilonensia: Publicaciones del Seminario Diocesano de Pamplona, series A, vol. 2].

-- 1960. 'La reforma de los premostratenses españoles del siglo XVI', Hispania Sacra [Barcelona], XIII, 5-96.

GONZÁLEZ NOVALÍN J.L. 1963. 'Historia de la reforma tridentina en la diócesis de Oviedo', Hispania Sacra [Barcelona], XVI, 323-46.

GRIFFIN Nigel. 1972. 'Some Jesuit Theatre Manuscripts', Hvmanitas [Coimbra], XXIII/XXIV, 427-34.

-- 1973. 'Miguel Venegas and the Sixteenth-Century Jesuit School Theatre', Modern Language Review [Cambridge], LXVIII, 795-806.

-- 1975. 'El teatro de los jesuitas: Algunas sugerencias para su investigación', Filología Moderna [Madrid], LIV, 407-13.

-- 1976. 'A Curious Document: Baltasar Loarte S.I. and the Years 1554-1570', Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu [Rome], XLV, 56-94.

-- 1981. '"Un muro invisible": Moriscos and cristianos viejos in Granada', in: Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P.E. Russell, edited by F.W. HODCROFT and others (Oxford: S.S.M.L.L.), pp. 133-54.

-- forthcoming a. 'Miguel Venegas, Lewin Brecht, and the School Drama: Some Further Observations', Hvmanitas [Coimbra].

-- forthcoming b. 'Juan Bonifacio S.J.: A Reappraisal'.

GUIBERT Joseph (S.J.). 1953. La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus: Esquisse historique (Rome: Institutum Historicum Soc. Iesu) [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., 4].

HEADLEY John M. 1983. The Emperor and his Chancellor: A Study of the Imperial Chancellery under Gattinara (Cambridge: C.U.P.).

HENGST Karl. 1981. Jesuiten an Universitäten und Jesuitenuniversitäten: Zur Geschichte der Universitäten in der Oberdeutschen und Rheinischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu im Zeitalter der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzung (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, & Zurich: Ferdinand Schöningh).

HESS Andrew C. 1968-69. 'The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain', The American Historical Review [New York], LXXIV, nr 1, 1-25.

-- 1978. The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier (Chicago: Chicago University Press) [Publications of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 10].

HILLGARTH J.N. 1976-78. The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516, 2 volumes (Oxford: Clarendon).

JEDIN Hubert. 1946. Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation? : Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Begriffe nebst einer Jubiläumsbetrachtung über das Trienter Konzil (Lucerne).

-- 1949-81. Storia del Concilio di Trento, translated G. CECCHI & O. NICCOLI, 4 vols (5 parts) (Brescia: Morcelliana).

KAGAN Richard L. 1981. Universidad y sociedad en la España moderna, with a prologue by José Antonio MARAVALL (Madrid: Teclos).

KAMEN Henry. 1976. The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe 1550-1660 (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1971; revised ed.: Sphere Books Ltd).

KINDER A. Gordon. 1983. Spanish Protestants and Reformers in the Sixteenth Century (London: Grant & Cutler Ltd) [Research Bibliographies and Checklists, 39].

KINDER A. Gordon & TRUMAN R. W. 1980. 'The Pursuit of Spanish Heretics: New Information on Casiodoro de Reina', Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance [Geneva], XLII, 427-33.

LAMALLE Edmond (S.I.). 1968. 'La Documentation d'histoire missionaire dans le Fondo Gesuitico aux Archives Romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus', Euntes Docete [Rome], XXI [Miscellanea Rommerskirchen], 131-76.

-- 1981-82. 'L'archivio di un grande Ordine religioso: L'Archivio Generale della Compagnia di Gesù', Archiva Ecclesiae [Rome], XXIV/XXV, nr 1, 89-120.

LAWRANCE Jeremy N.H. 1979. Un tratado de Alonso de Cartagena sobre la educación y los estudios literarios (Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Publicaciones del Seminario de Literatura Medieval y Humanística).

LETURIA Pedro (S.J.). 1936. 'La conversión de S. Ignacio: Nuevos datos y ensayo de síntesis', Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu [Rome], V, 1-35.

-- 1940. 'Perché la Compagnia di Gesu divenne un Ordine insegnante', Gregorianum [Rome], XXI, 350-82.

LEWY Günter. 1960. Constitutionalism and Statecraft during the Golden Age of Spain: A Study of the Political Philosophy of Juan de Mariana S.J. (Geneva: Droz) [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 36].

LLORCA Bernardino. 1964. 'Aceptación en España de los decretos del Concilio de Trento', Estudios Eclesiásticos [Madrid], XXXIX, 341-60 459-82.

-- 1980. 'Participación de España en el Concilio de Trento', in: La Iglesia en la España de los siglos XV y XVI, edited by José Luis GONZÁLEZ NOVALÍN, 2 vols (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos) [Historia de la Iglesia en España, edited by Ricardo GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, vol. III (2 parts: B.A.C., Maior 18 21)], part I (III-1°), pp. 385-513.

LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ N. 1963. 'El cardenal Mendoza y la reforma tridentina en Burgos', Hispania Sacra [Barcelona], XVI, 61-138.

LOVETT Albert. 1980. 'The Castilian Bankruptcy of 1575', The Historical Journal [Cambridge], XXIII, 899-911.

-- 1982. 'The General Settlement of 1577: An Aspect of Spanish Finance in the Early Modern Period', The Historical Journal [Cambridge], XXV, 1-22.

LUKÁCS Ladislaus (S.J.). 1960-61. 'De origine collegiorum externorum deque controversiis circa eorum paupertate obortis (1539-1556)', Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu [Rome], XXIX, 189-245; XXX, 1-89.

MHSI, MAH: Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae, edited by Ladislaus LUKÁCS (S.J.), 3 volumes (to date) (1969-81) [Monumenta Historica S.I., 101 112 121].

MHSI, MFB: Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, quartus Gandiae dux et Societatis Iesu praepositus generalis tertius: Monumenta, edited by Diego RODRÍGUEZ (S.J.) and others, 5 volumes (1894-1911) [MHSI, 2 23 35 38 41].

MHSI, M.Paed.: Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu, new edition by Ladislaus LUKÁCS (S.J.), 4 volumes (to date) (1965-81) [MHSI, 92 107 108 124].

MHSI, M.Per.: Monumenta Peruana, edited by Antonio de EGAÑA (S.J.), 7 volumes (to date) (1954-81) [MHSI, 75 82 88 95 102 110 120].

MI, Constit.: Constitutiones et regulae Societatis Iesu, 3 volumes (1934-38) [Monumenta Ignatiana, series 3, vols 1-3; MHSI, 63 64 65].

MI, FN: Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis, edited by D. FERNANDEZ ZÁPICO (S.J.) and others, 4 volumes (1943-65) [MI, series 4, vols 1-4; MHSI, 66 73 85 93].

McFARLANE Ian D. 1981. Buchanan (London: Duckworth, 1981).

MADURELL MARIMÓN J.M. & DALMASES Cándido de (S.J.). 1968. 'Jeroni Ardèvol, maestro de San Ignacio, y la enseñanza de las humanidades en Barcelona de 1508 a 1544', Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu [Rome], XXXVII, 370-407.

MARIANA Juan de. 1864. 'Discurso de las cosas de la Compañía' [?1606], in: Obras del Padre Juan de Mariana, 2 vols (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra), vol. II, pp. 595-617 [Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles, 30-31].

MARÍN OCETE A. 1962. 'El concilio provincial de Granada en 1562', Archivo Teológico Granadino [Granada], XXV, 23-178.

MARTIN A. Lynn. 1973. Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians (Geneva: Droz) [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 134].

-- 1982. 'Jesuits and Their Families: The Experience in Sixteenth-Century France', Sixteenth-Century Journal [Kirksville, Missouri], XIII, nr 1, 3-23.

MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO Marcelino. 1880-82. Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, 3 vols (Madrid: F. Maroto).

MICHALSKI André S. 1969-70. 'Juan Ruiz's troba cazurra "Cruz cruzada panadera"', Romance Notes [Chapel Hill], XI, 434-38.

MIRBT C. (editor). 1924. Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus, fourth edition (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr).

MITCHELL David. 1980. The Jesuits: A History (London: MacDonald Futura).

MOULIN Léo. 1955. 'Les Formes du gouvernement local et provincial dans les instituts religieux, II: L'Organization du gouvernement local et provincial dans les Constitutions des Jésuites', Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives [Brussels], XXI, nr 2, 484-523.

O'CALLAGHAN Joseph F. 1975. A History of Medieval Spain (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press).

PAGDEN Anthony R. D. 1981. 'The Preservation of Order: The School of Salamanca and the "Ius Naturae"', in: Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P.E. Russell, edited F. W. HODCROFT and others (Oxford: S.S.M.L.L.), pp. 155-66.

PAPÀSOGLI Giorgio. 1965. Sant'Ignazio di Loyola (Milan: Editrice Àncora).

PATE Dennis Edmond. 1980. 'Jeronimo Nadal and the Early Development of the Society of Jesus', unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of California at Los Angeles).

PEPYS Samuel. 1970-83. The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription, by Robert LATHAM & William MATTHEWS, eleven volumes (London: Bell & Hyman).

PHILLIPPS 1970. Catalogue of French, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Jugoslav and Slavonic Manuscripts from the Celebrated Collection Formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bt. (1792-1872), New Series, Sixth Part (London: Sotheby & Co.).

PINA MARTINS José V. (editor). 1982. Damião de Góis: Humaniste européen (Braga: Barbosa & Xavier) [École Pratique des Hautes Etudes, IVème Section: Centre de Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance. Études, I].

PONELLE Louis & BORDET Louis. 1979. St Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times (London: Sheed & Ward Ltd, 1932; reissued 1979).

POTTHAST A. 1874-75. Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno 1198 ad annum 1304, 2 vols (Berlin).

PROSPERI Adriano. 1982. '"Otras indias": Missionari della controriforma tra contadini e selvaggi', in: Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura: Convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze, 26-30 giugno 1980 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki), pp. 205-34.

REKERS B. 1972. Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) (London: The Warburg Institute & Leiden: F.J. Brill) [Studies of the Warburg Institute Institute, 33].

QUINN Peter A. 1981. 'Ignatius Loyola and Gian Pietro Carafa: Catholic Reformers at Odds', Catholic Historical Review [Washington, D.C.], LXVII, 386-400.

RONZY Pierre. 1924. Un Humaniste italianisant: Papire Masson (1544-1611) (Paris: E. Champion).

ROUND Nicholas G. 1962. 'Renaissance Culture and its Opponents in Fifteenth-Century Castile', Modern Language Review [Cambridge], LVII, 204-15.

RUIU G. M. 1975. La chiesa turritana nel periodo post-tridentino (1567-1633): (vita religiosa e istituzioni ecclesiastiche) (Sassari: Chiarella).

RUSSELL Peter E. 1967. 'Arms versus Letters: Towards a Definition of Spanish Humanism', in: Aspects of the Renaissance: A Symposium, edited by Archibald R. LEWIS (Austin and London: University of Texas Press), pp. 45-58. Reprinted and much expanded in: RUSSELL, Temas de 'La Celestina' y otros estudios: Del 'Cid' al 'Quijote' (Barcelona: Ariel, 1978) [Letras e Ideas, Maior 14], pp. 206-39.

SAN PEDRO GARCÍA F. 1957. 'La reforma del Concilio de Trento en la diócesis de Coria', Hispania Sacra [Barcelona], X, 273-99.

SANTOS DÍEZ J.L. 1969. Politica conciliar postridentina en España: El concilio provincial de Toledo de 1565 (Rome: Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica).

SCADUTO Mario (S.I). 1968. Catalogo dei Gesuiti d'Italia 1540-1565 (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I.) [Subsidia ad Historiam S.I., 7].

-- 1964-74. L'Epoca di Giacomo Lainez, 1556-1565, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni "La Civiltà Cattolica") [Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, 3-4].

SCHÜTTE Josef Franz (S.J.). 1968. Introductio ad historiam Societatis Iesu in Iaponia, 1549-1650 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu).

SCHURHAMMER Georg (S.I.). 1973. Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times, translated by M. Joseph COSTELLOE (S.I.), 4 vols, (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973-82), vol. I.

SILVERIO DE SANTA TERESA (O.C.D.). 1935-52. Historia del Carmen Descalzo en España, Portugal, y América, 15 vols (Burgos: Tipografía Burgalesa 'El Monte Carmelo').

SOMMERVOGEL Carlos (S.J.) (editor). 1890-1960. Bibliothèque des écrivains de de la Compagnie de Jésus: Première partie, Bibliographie par les Pères Augustin et Aloys DE BACKER; seconde partie, par le Père Auguste CARAYON, 10 vols (Brussels & Paris, 1890-99); vol. XI: Histoire, edited by Pierre BLIARD (S.J.) (Paris, 1932); vol. XII: Supplément, edited by Ernest M. RIVIÈRE (S.J.) (Louvain, 1960).

SPOONER F. C. 1968. 'The Economy of Europe 1559-1609', in: The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution (Cambridge: C.U.P.) [The New Cambridge Modern History, volume 3], pp. 14-43.

STONE Lawrence. 1979. The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800 (Harmondsworth: Penguin).

TELLECHEA IDÍGORAS J. I. 1972a. La reforma tridentina en San Sebastián: El libro de "Mandatos de visita" de la parroquia de San Vicente (1540-1670), second edition (San Sebastián: Caja de Ahorros Municipal).

-- (editor), 1972b. Bartolomé Carranza: Comentarios sobre el catechismo christiano (1558), 2 vols (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos) [B.A.C. Maior, 1-2].

-- 1979. Melanchton y Carranza: Préstamos y afinidades (Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Orientales y Ecuménicos Juan XXIII, Universidad Pontificia) [Bibliotheca Oecumenica, 4].

TRUMAN R. W. 1979. 'Fadrique Furió Ceriol's Return to Spain from the Netherlands in 1564: Further Information on its Circumstances', Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance [Geneva], XLI, 359-66.

TRUMAN R. W. & KINDER A. Gordon. 1979. 'The Pursuit of Spanish Heretics in the Low Countries: The Activities of Alonso del Canto, 1561-1564', Journal of Ecclesiastical History [Cambridge], XXX, 65-93.

TURTAS Raimondo (S.J.). 1981. 'La questione linguistica nei collegi gesuitici in Sardegna nella seconda metà del Cinquecento', Quaderni Sardi di Storia [Cagliari], II, 57-87.

VALENTIN Jean-Marie. 1981. 'L'Image de la cour dans le théâtre des Jésuites des pays germaniques (XVIème - XVIIème siècles)', in: BUCK and others (editors) (1981), vol. III, pp. 561-67.

VAN DE VORST Charles (S.J.). 1954. 'La Compagnie de Jésus et le passage à l'Ordre des Chartreux (1540-1694)', Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu [Rome], XXIII, 3-34.

WICKI Josef (S.I.). 1963. 'Die Chiffre in der Ordenskorrespondenz der Gesellschaft Jesu von Ignatius bis General Oliva (ca. 1554-1676): Anhand des Kodex Fondo Gesuitico 678/21 (ARSI)', Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu [Rome], XXXII, 133-78.

WITTKOWER Rudolf & JAFFE Irma B. (editors). 1972. Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution (New York: Fordham University Press).

ZARAGOZA PASCUAL Ernesto. 1981. 'Reforma de los benedictinos y de los canónigos regulares en Cataluña: Documentos inéditos (1588-1616)', Studia Monastica [Barcelona], XXIII, 71-148.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

EUI WORKING PAPERS :

No. 1 :	Jacques PELKMANS	The European Community and the Newly Industrialized Countries
No. 2 :	Joseph H.H. WEILER	Supranationalism Revisited - Retrospective and Prospective. The European Communities After Thirty Years
No. 3 :	Aldo RUSTICHINI	Seasonality in Eurodollar Interest Rates
No. 4 :	Mauro CAPPELLETTI/ David GOLAY	Judicial Review, Transnational and Federal: Impact on Integration
No. 5 :	Leonard GLESKE	The European Monetary System: Present Situation and Future Prospects
No. 6 :	Manfred HINZ	Massenkult und Todessymbolik in der nazional-sozialistischen Architektur
No. 7 :	Wilhelm BURKLIN	The "Greens" and the "New Politics": Goodbye to the Three-Party System?
No. 8 :	Athanasios MOULAKIS	Unilateralism or the Shadow of Confusion
No. 9 :	Manfred E. STREIT	Information Processing in Futures Markets. An Essay on the Adequacy of an Abstraction
No. 10:	Kumaraswamy VELUPILLAI	When Workers Save and Invest: Some Kaldorian Dynamics
No. 11:	Kumaraswamy VELUPILLAI	A Neo-Cambridge Model of Income Distribution and Unemployment
No. 12:	Kumaraswamy VELUPILLAI Guglielmo CHIODI	On Lindahl's Theory of Distribution
No. 13:	Gunther TEUBNER	Reflexive Rationalität des Rechts
No. 14:	Gunther TEUBNER	Substantive and Reflexive Elements in Modern Law
No. 15:	Jens ALBER	Some Causes and Consequences of Social Security Expenditure Development in Western Europe, 1949-1977
No. 16:	Ian BUDGE	Democratic Party Government: Formation and Functioning in Twenty-one Countries

No. 17:	Hans DAALDER	Parties and Political Mobilization: An Initial Mapping
No. 18:	Giuseppe DI PALMA	Party Government and Democratic Reproducibility: The Dilemma of New Democracies
No. 19:	Richard S. KATZ	Party Government: A Rationalistic Conception
No. 20:	Jürg STEINER	Decision Process and Policy Outcome: An Attempt to Conceptualize the Problem at the Cross-National Level
No. 21:	Jens ALBER	The Emergence of Welfare Classes in West Germany: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Evidence
No. 22:	Don PATINKIN	Paul A. Samuelson and Monetary Theory
No. 23:	Marcello DE CECCO	Inflation and Structural Change in the Euro-Dollar Market
No. 24:	Marcello DE CECCO	The Vicious/Virtuous Circle Debate in the '20s and the '70s
No. 25:	Manfred E. STREIT	Modelling, Managing and Monitoring Futures Trading: Frontiers of Analytical Inquiry
No. 26:	Domenico Mario NUTI	Economic Crisis in Eastern Europe - Prospects and Repercussions
No. 27:	Terence C. DAINTITH	Legal Analysis of Economic Policy
No. 28:	Francis C. CASTLES/ Peter MAIR	Left-Right Political Scales: Some Expert Judgements
No. 29:	Karl HOHMANN	The Ability of German Political Parties to Resolve the Given Problems: the Situation in 1982
No. 30:	Max KAASE	The Concept of Political Culture: Its Meaning for Comparative Political Research
No. 31:	Klaus TOEPFER	Possibilities and Limitations of a Regional Economic Development Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany
No. 32:	Ronald INGLEHART	The Changing Structure of Political Cleavages Among West European Elites and Publics
No. 33:	Moshe LISSAK	Boundaries and Institutional Linkages Between Elites: Some Illustrations from Civil-Military Elites in Israel
No. 34:	Jean-Paul FITOUSSI	Modern Macroeconomic Theory An Overview

No. 35:	Richard M. GOODWIN/ Kumaraswamy VELUPILLAI	Economic Systems and their Regulation
No. 36:	Maria MAGUIRE	The Growth of Income Maintenance Expenditure in Ireland, 1951-1979
No. 37:	G. Lowell FIELD John Higley	The States of National Elites and the Stability of Political Institutions in 81 Nations, 1950-1982
No. 38:	Dietrich HERZOG	New Protest Elites in the Political System of West Berlin: The Eclipse of Consensus?
No. 39:	Edward O. LAUMANN David KNOKE	A Framework for Concatenated Event Analysis
No. 40:	Gwen MOORE/ Richard D. ALBA	Class and Prestige Origins in the American Elite
No. 41:	Peter MAIR	Issue-Dimensions and Party Strategies in the Irish Republic, 1948 - 1981: The Evidence of Manifestos
No. 42:	Joseph H.H. WEILER	Israel and the Creation of a Palestine State. The Art of the Impossible and the Possible
No. 43:	Franz Urban PAPPI	Boundary Specification and Structural Models of Elite Systems: Social Circles Revisited
No. 44:	Thomas GAWRON Ralf ROGOWSKI	Zur Implementation von Gerichtsurteilen Hypothesen zu den Wirkungsbedingungen von Entscheidungen des Bundesverfassungsgerichts
No. 45:	Alexis PAULY René DIEDERICH	Migrant Workers and Civil Liberties
No. 46:	Alessandra VENTURINI	Is the Bargaining Theory Still an Effective Framework of Analysis for Strike Patterns in Europe?
No. 47:	Richard A. GOODWIN	Schumpeter: The Man I Knew
No. 48:	J.P. FITOUSSI/ Daniel SZPIRO	Politique de l'Emploi et Réduction de la Durée du Travail
No. 49:	Bruno DE WITTE	Retour à Costa. La Primauté du Droit Communautaire à la Lumière du Droit International

No. 50:	Massimo A. BENEDETTELLI	Eguaglianza e Libera Circolazione dei Lavoratori: Principio di Eguaglianza e Divieti di Discriminazione nella Giurisprudenza Comunitaria in Materia di Diritti di Mobilità Territoriale e Professionale dei Lavoratori
No. 51:	Gunther TEUBNER	Corporate Responsibility as a Problem of Company Constitution
No. 52:	Erich SCHANZE	Potentials and Limits of Economic Analysis: The Constitution of the Firm
No. 53:	Maurizio COTTA	Career and Recruitment Patterns of Italian Legislators. A Contribution to the Understanding of a Polarized Political System
No. 54:	Mattei DOGAN	How to Become a Cabinet Minister in Italy: Unwritten Rules of the Political Game
No. 55:	Mariano BAENA DEL ALCAZAR/ Narciso PIZARRO	The Structure of the Spanish Power Elite 1939-1979
No. 56:	Berc RUSTEM/ Kumaraswamy VELUPILLAI	Preferences in Policy Optimization and Optimal Economic Policy
No. 57:	Giorgio FREDDI	Bureaucratic Rationalities and the Prospect for Party Government
No. 58:	Manfred E. STREIT	Reassessing Consumer Safety Regulations
No. 59:	Christopher HILL/ James MAYALL	The Sanctions Problem: International and European Perspectives
No. 60:	Jean-Paul FITOUSSI	Adjusting to Competitive Depression. The Case of the Reduction in Working Time
No. 61:	Philippe LEFORT	Idéologie et Morale Bourgeoise de la Famille dans le Ménagier de Paris et le Second Libro de Famiglia, de L.B. Alberti
No. 62:	Peter BROCKMEIER	Die Dichter und das Kritisieren
No. 63:	Hans-Martin PAWLOWSKI	Law and Social Conflict
No. 64:	Marcello DE CECCO	Italian Monetary Policy in the 1980s
No. 65:	Giampaolo ROSSINI	Intraindustry Trade in Two Areas: Some Aspects of Trade Within and Outside a Custom Union
No. 66:	Wolfgang GEBAUER	Euromarkets and Monetary Control: The Deutschemark Case

No. 67:	Gerd WEINRICH	On the Theory of Effective Demand under Stochastic Rationing
No. 68:	Saul ESTRIN/ Derek C. JONES	The Effects of Worker Participation upon Productivity in French Producer Cooperatives
No. 69:	Berc RUSTEM/ Kumaraswamy VELUPILLAI	On the Formalization of Political Preferences: A Contribution to the Frischian Scheme
No. 70:	Werner MAIHOFER	Politique et Morale
No. 71:	Samuel COHN	Five Centuries of Dying in Siena: Comparisons with Southern France
No. 72:	Wolfgang GEBAUER	Inflation and Interest: the Fisher Theorem Revisited
No. 73:	Patrick NERHOT	Rationalism and the Modern State
No. 74:	Philippe C. SCHMITTER	Democratic Theory and Neo-Corporatist Practice
No. 75:	Sheila A. CHAPMAN	Eastern Hard Currency Debt 1970-83. An Overview
No. 76:	Richard GRIFFITHS	Economic Reconstruction Policy in the Netherlands and its International Consequences, May 1945 - March 1951
No. 77:	Scott NEWTON	The 1949 Sterling Crisis and British Policy towards European Integration
No. 78:	Giorgio FODOR	Why did Europe need a Marshall Plan in 1947?
No. 79:	Philippe MIOCHE	The Origins of the Monnet Plan: How a Transistory Experiment answered to Deep-Rooted Needs
No. 80:	Werner ABELSHAUSER	The Economic Policy of Ludwig Erhard
No. 81:	Helge PHARO	The Domestic and International Implications of Norwegian Reconstruction
No. 82:	Heiner R. ADAMSEN	Investitionspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949-1951
No. 83:	Jean BOUVIER	Le Plan Monnet et l'Economie Française 1947-1952
No. 84:	Mariuccia SALVATI	Industrial and Economic Policy in the Italian Reconstruction

No. 85: William DIEBOLD, Jr	Trade and Payments in Western Europe in Historical Perspective: A Personal View by an Interested Party
No. 86: Frances LYNCH	French Reconstruction in a European Context
No. 87: Gunther TEUBNER	Verrechtlichung Begriffe, Merkmale, Grenzen Auswege
No. 88: Marina SPINEDI	Les Crimes Internationaux de l'Etat dans les Travaux de Codification de la Responsabilité des Etats Entrepris par les Nations Unies
No. 89: Jelle VISSER	Dimensions of Union Growth in Postwar Western Europe
No. 90: Will BARTLETT	Unemployment, Migration and Industrialization in Yugoslavia, 1958-1977
No. 91: Wolfgang GERAUER	Kondratieff's Long Waves
No. 92: Elisabeth DE GHELLINCK, Paul A. GEROSKI Alexis JAQUEMIN	Inter-Industry and Inter-Temporal Variations in the Effect of Trade on Industry Performance
No. 93: Gunther TEUBNER, Helmut WILLKE	Kontext und Autonomie Gesellschaftliche Selbststeuerung Durch Reflexives Recht
No. 94: Wolfgang STREECK, Philippe C. SCHMITTER	Community, Market, State/ and Associations?
No. 95: Nigel GRIFFIN	"Virtue Versus Letters": The Society of Jesus 1550-1580 and the Export of an Idea