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The Ignatian Way In Education

MIGUEL A. BERNAD

The difference is, as frequently happens, that St. Bernard told us what had to be done, and St. Ignatius how to do it.

—Brou: IGNATIAN METHODS OF PRAYER

I

THERE is a Jesuit way in education, a way highly praised by some, roundly condemned by others—a phenomenon not unusual with respect to Jesuit undertakings. There are certain institutions (as there are certain men) that cannot arouse a merely mild liking or a merely lukewarm dislike; they arouse either enthusiastic devotion or intense (even insane) hatred. Of such men (and of such institutions) were St. Ignatius Loyola and the Society which he founded.

The Jesuit way in education is commonly referred to as the *Ratio Studiorum*—a somewhat equivocal (or at least analogical) term, as we have pointed out elsewhere.¹ The ambiguity comes from the fact that the term is applied both to the method and to the documents in which that method is codified—and there have been no less than six codifications, all of them called *Ratio Studiorum*.²

But if the *term* is ambiguous, the principles are not. There is no ambiguity about the Jesuit way in education. Its principles stand out with sufficient clarity, as clearly as anyone could wish who takes the trouble to examine the documents. It is our purpose in this article to examine one such document,

an early one antedating not only all the codifications of the *Ratio Studiorum* but even the Jesuit *Constitutions* themselves.

The principles of Jesuit pedagogy are not only clear: they are unchanging. The same principles that lay embedded in the *Ratio Studiorum* of Father Aquaviva in 1599 are to be found embedded in the *Ratio Studiorum superiorum* of Father Janssens in 1954: and those same principles are to be found in the writings of the Jesuit founder himself. "Embedded" is not the word: although it describes the usually implicit character of these principles, it gives no idea of their dynamic function. These principles are not only found there: they *make* the *Ratio Studiorum*.

The origin of these principles is interesting to note, for they were not arrived at *a priori*. They did not (like many an educational fad) originate in theory—though they presuppose and give rise to a theory; nor did they originate merely in practice, by fortuitous discovery in the classroom—although, again, their elaboration and implementation have been helped by the experience of hundreds of Jesuits in colleges and universities throughout the world through four hundred years. But the principles themselves were, so to speak, discovered³ by one man from a long and painful educational experience that is probably without parallel in history.

That man was the Jesuit founder himself, Ignatius Loyola. He had attended no less than six universities,⁴ and from the most famous of them all, the University of Paris, he held the licentiate and the master's degree in arts. His first ten companions, who with him were the first members of the Society of Jesus, enjoyed a similar *jus ubique docendi*, being also graduates of Paris—a fact considered of sufficient importance to merit mention by the Pope in the Bull granting them corporate existence as a religious order:

In artibus Magistri, in Vniuersitate Parisiensi graduati, et in theologicis studiis per plures annos exercitati, Spiritu Sancto, vt pie creditur, afflati...⁵

Yet it was no mere allegiance to an alma mater that made Ignatius adopt and improve upon the Parisian method of instruction: his experience showed him that Paris had a method

and plan of studies which assured results. A glance therefore at his experience (though a twice-told tale) might help us to understand the document we are going to examine.

II

When Ignatius Loyola decided that he needed a university education, he was thirty-three years old and completely "unlettered." By "unlettered" we do not mean illiterate: a man addicted to the reading of chivalric romances and who owes his conversion to a better way of life to the reading of pious books is not illiterate; as for writing, Ignatius was quite proud of his penmanship—*porque era muy buen escribano*, as he says in the Autobiography.⁶ But his education, both at home and at the court of Ferdinand, had been such as was considered sufficient for nobleman or soldier, he had not had a scholar's education—*letras*⁷—and that was to be had at the universities. He began, then, with the study of Latin grammar under Jerónimo Ardevól, *catedrático* at the University of Barcelona.⁸

His progress in studies was retarded by three difficulties: One was his age: Latin, and languages in general, are best learned early, when the memory is more retentive and the mind more impressionable; but Ignatius was already thirty-three.⁹ Another was his poverty, for he had given up his worldly possessions and had resolved to live on alms. A third was his piety—or rather, an unusual difficulty described in the Autobiography: his studies were often interrupted by intense spiritual consolations which engrossed him in the thought of God and took him away from his Latin declensions and even deprived him of sleep. On the face of it, this looked innocent enough and even holy: but its deleterious effects caused him to recognize it for what it was—a temptation to prevent whole-hearted application to study. Once recognized, the temptation was dealt with with characteristic Ignatian decisiveness.¹⁰

After two years of study at Barcelona, he was told by his teacher that he had enough Latin to follow the course in arts at the University of Alcalá. Ignatius himself had his misgivings, requested another examination, this time by a doctor of theology who confirmed the teacher's opinion. Still harboring misgivings, but yielding to the judgment of his teachers,

Ignatius left Barcelona for Alcalá.¹¹ Subsequent experience proved that his misgivings were not without foundation, and that it is false economy of time to attempt the higher studies before one is thoroughly grounded in the lower.

There was another lesson learned at Alcalá. Possibly in order to save time (for he was now thirty-five years old), he attempted to study at one and the same time both philosophy and theology. "*Estudió,*" he says, "*términos de Soto, y física de Alberto, y el Maestro de las Sentencias*":¹² he studied the *Summulae logicales* of Domingo Soto, the commentaries by Albertus Magnus on Aristotle's *Physics*, and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Logic, natural philosophy, theology all at once: no wonder that after a year and a half he had little to show for his studies.¹³

Nor was this the only difficulty at Alcalá. He was further retarded by the fact that he had to live on alms, a privation rendered more difficult by the austere penitential life he had been leading. His time was further taken up by well-intentioned and fruitful, but time-consuming work for the spiritual benefit of others.¹⁴ Worst of all, he was imprisoned 42 days by the Inquisition on a false suspicion, was cleared of the suspicion, but was silenced on theological questions as if he had been guilty of error, which the judges explicitly affirmed he was not.¹⁵ A more severe and even more unjust treatment was accorded him at Salamanca both by the Inquisition and by certain members of a religious order.¹⁶ Nothing illustrates more dramatically the need in those times for a university education than these two encounters with men upon whom not knowledge but the possession of a university degree, how low soever, appeared to make a greater impression. Ignatius was later to react to such an attitude in a twofold manner, as we shall see: on the one hand he demanded solid learning and mastery of certain important fields of study, independently of any academic degrees; on the other hand, he made sure that those who deserved academic degrees should stand for them.

But the importunities of the Spanish Inquisition had an unexpected and providential effect: they made Ignatius despair of getting an education at Spanish universities, and he deter-

mined (despite his friends' protests) to seek it at a greater, more cosmopolitan university: *Y así se determinó de ir a París a estudiar.*¹⁷

Paris was like a new world. It was not only a much greater university, it was also better organized. It had a plan of studies and a method of instruction that impressed Ignatius. Though he was now over thirty-six years old and had spent over three years and a half in studies, he made what must have been a heroic decision: he decided to begin again, with Latin grammar, studying with the children at the Montaigu: "*Y la causa fué,*" he tells us, "*porque, como le habían hecho pasar adelante en los estudios con tanta prisa, hallábase muy falto de fundamentos; y estudiaba con los niños, pasando por la orden y manera de París.*"¹⁸

The "orden y manera de París" was of course the seed that was to grow into the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*.

There were other advantages at Paris. For one thing, as Laynez points out, Ignatius did not know French, which limited his works of zeal and gave him more time for study.¹⁹ Moreover, he had learned from his previous experiences that studies must take up the whole man. He gave up even his begging and went instead every summer to Flanders (and once to England) to solicit contributions from wealthy Spanish merchants there. These contributions were enough to maintain him (and others) during the seven years that he spent at the University of Paris.²⁰

Better grounded in "humanities," he moved to the College of Sainte Barbe and took up the study of arts. "Arts" of course meant philosophy, the great corpus of scholastic philosophy which had grown out of humble beginnings in the trivial "logic" and the quadrivial sciences of the early middle ages. "Arts" was not something that could be learned in a day: Ignatius took three full years to learn it, and then stood, by a series of public disputations and examinations, for the licentiate, and later for the Master of Arts degree. It was not until his study of arts had been completed (though before the degree had been granted) that he began the study of theology.²¹

It is to be noted that for theology he did not go back, as at Alcalá, to the "Maestro de las Sentencias." There were at the University of Paris four centers of theology in Ignatius' time: one was the famous Sorbonne; another was the Royal College of Navarre; a third was the school of the Franciscans; a fourth was that of the Dominicans, St. Jacques. In this last-mentioned place, the *Sentences* of Lombard had been supplanted since 1512 by the *Summa theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas. It was to this last place, with its memories of Aquinas and Albert, that Ignatius Loyola and at least five of his companions (Favre, Laynez, Xavier, Salmeron, Bobadilla) went for their studies in theology.²² It is not surprising that in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius prescribed that Jesuit students were to study their theology from St. Thomas' *Summa*—a regulation later implemented in detail by the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599.²³

Eleven and a half years are a long time in any men's life, particularly in his middle age. Ignatius spent eleven and a half years at his studies, seven of them at Paris.²⁴ If there were ever any doubt about the high regard that Ignatius had for education, and in particular for university education, this fact alone would dispel it.

By the same token, when Ignatius would later speak of the need of "solid" learning (*estudiar fundadamente*), and of the need of giving up all distracting occupations that might tend to impede the progress of one's studies (*No se distraigan por devociones ni por atender al prójimo*), his words come to us with massive authority.

For if anyone knew what he was talking about in education, it was Ignatius of Loyola. He knew it both from his own experience and from contact with his companions: with men like Laynez and Salmerón, whose subsequent theological exploits at the Papal court and at the Council of Trent are recorded history; or with men like Xavier and Favre, who have since been raised to the altars.

As for Ignatius' own learning, Laynez takes a sober view of it,²⁵ as indeed he does of his own learning²⁶ which others

have declared enormous. Yet there are impressive testimonies of Ignatius' knowledge,²⁷ although some of that knowledge was doubtless due to sources other than natural.²⁸

In any case, when the Society of Jesus had to send its young scholastics to the universities to complete their education, and when the Society of Jesus itself began to open colleges for the instruction of externs, Ignatius Loyola prescribed certain definite rules to follow. He had undermined his health by severe fasts and penances: therefore he urged on all the proper care of their health. His studies had suffered from long prayers and time-consuming work for the neighbor: he ordered the curtailment of these during the time of studies. He had had to beg for his daily necessities: he ordered that his followers be supplied all things necessary and be given commodious quarters for lodging and study. He had seen promising young men undertake their studies for ambitious reasons, or on the other hand abandon their studies from selfish motives: his students must undertake their studies and throw themselves perseveringly into them from the pure motive of God's service and glory—for in studies, no less than in prayer, God may be found. All these we find in the document we are about to study.

There is one point emphasized clearly in St. Ignatius' other writings but which is found only suggested in this document. His own studies had suffered from lack of system: from undertaking too many courses at once; from taking up higher studies without thorough grounding in the lower. His followers must not make a similar mistake. Their studies, and those of their pupils, must be made systematically—according to the order and method of Paris.²⁹

III

The writings of Ignatius which have a bearing on education may be grouped under four headings: 1) The first comprises the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, consisting of ten parts, of which Part Four is devoted explicitly to education.³⁰ 2) Next, there is the book of *Spiritual Exercises*, which contains

the compendium of Ignatian spirituality, the spirit that pervades Jesuit pedagogy.³¹ 3) There are, thirdly, his letters and instructions to individuals or to newly founded colleges of the Society.³² 4) Finally, there are two documents, which, though dwarfed by the the *Constitutions* and the *Exercises*, are nevertheless significant as early drafts of the *Ratio Studiorum*. We shall examine one of these.

This document is entitled: *Constituciones que en los Colegios de la Compañía de Jesús se deben observar al bien proceder dellos a honor y gloria divina*. It is more briefly referred to as *Constitutiones Collegiorum*, which may be translated as "Statutes for Jesuit Colleges."

The type of "colleges" contemplated in this document is not what is ordinarily understood by that term in modern Philippines or American usage, namely a school where extern students are taught. Our document uses the term "colleges" in the older European meaning of that word: namely, houses where students (in this case Jesuit scholastics) live together under religious and academic discipline while pursuing studies at a university or elsewhere. St. Ignatius describes this type of college in an earlier document.³³

This fact explains a limitation in the scope of the document. It has rules for practically everything, except for the manner of *teaching*, i.e. for imparting instruction—a feature prominent in the later *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599. Our document is concerned not with teaching but with studying, with Jesuit scholastics pursuing their studies at the various European universities. As such, our document reflects more closely the experience of Ignatius.

The document comes to us in the handwriting of Father Juan Alfonso de Polanco, whom St. Ignatius had appointed Secretary of the Society and his assistant in drawing up the Constitutions of the Society. The manuscript was first published in 1901 by the editors of the massive *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI)* in a volume entitled *Monumenta paedagogica*.³⁴ Its publication in that volume, however, left much to be desired from a critical point of view: its origin and authorship were not sufficiently investigated, the numerous

additions and corrections both marginal and interlinear not sufficiently indicated—a fact bewailed by the more modern editors of the MHSI themselves.³⁵ The document has since been reedited in more scholarly fashion by Father Dionisio Fernández Zapico, S.J. in Volume 71 of the MHSI.³⁶ It is also reprinted in the handy but scholarly edition of Father Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.J. in the *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos* (BAC) published under the auspices of the University of Salamanca.³⁷ Our references below are to the MHSI edition of Father Zapico.

Regarding the authorship of the document there can hardly be doubt. It is of course in the handwriting of Polanco³⁸ and may therefore be said to be his. But in the Society of Jesus, the Secretary has no independent authority of his own. If he orders anything, he orders it in the name of the General, and only the General can impose regulations binding on all the colleges of the Society. Now the document in question purports to do just that: it imposes statutes binding on all Jesuit colleges of the time. This is clear from the title: *que en los colegios de la Compañía de Jesús se deben observar*. It is also clear from the directive at the end of the document: *Estas Constituciones se lean cada 15 dias*—these statutes are to be read (at table?) every fortnight. We are dealing, in other words, with a piece of legislation which can have been imposed on the colleges only by authority of the General—in this case, Ignatius of Loyola.

Furthermore, much of the material in these statutes has been incorporated into the Constitutions of the Society,³⁹ which certainly were written by Ignatius. Since as indicated below, our document antedates the Constitutions, it is clear, that Ignatius must have had these statutes before him when he wrote the Constitutions. It must therefore have had his approval, if not actually his authorship.

For these reasons, an Ignatian authority (Father Pedro de Leturia, S.J.) who has studied this document has no hesitation in affirming: “*Scrispit Polancus, Ignatio mandante et dirigente—immo et dictante.*”⁴⁰ (It was written by Polanco,

at the bidding and under the direction—indeed, it would seem at the dictation—of Ignatius.)

Regarding the date of the document there is less certainty as two excellent scholars are divided on the subject. Father Leturia affirms an early, Father Dudon a later date.⁴¹ The authority of Dudon, of course, cannot be belittled: he has written by far the best biography of St. Ignatius. On the other hand, it would be hard to refute the arguments of Father Leturia, based on a searching study of the text, and on diligent comparison with other texts. His reasoning is as follows: 1) Our document must have antedated the founding of the Roman College (1551): for that college drew up its own statutes (1552) which were adopted by the other colleges of the Society soon to be founded in Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, Flanders. 2) Our document must also have antedated the writing of the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus, because what our document says about the duration of the noviceship and the time for the first vows of the scholastics belongs to an early stage of the development of Ignatius' mind on the subject.⁴² Now the first draft of the *Constitutions* (what the critical edition calls *textus* "a") was drawn up before 1550: therefore our document was drawn up before that year, probably 1549.

The above reasoning would seem to be sufficiently cogent, but we might add another argument in favor of an even earlier date. The document makes no mention of teaching, nor is it intended for colleges for externs. Now, the colleges for extern students began to multiply after 1551. Previous to that there were only three (possibly four) such colleges: the University of Gandia (1546), Messina (1548), Palermo (1549). Tivoli may also have been opened in 1548, but of that there is question.⁴³

From the foregoing discussion, we may safely assume the Ignatian character (and perhaps even the Ignatian authorship) of the document, and its early date. And since it was intended as a codification of statutes for the direction of studies in the Society, we may safely refer to it as the first Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*—at least the first of a universal character intended to bind all colleges.

IV

The document is divided into seven sections (*partes*). The opening paragraph, by enumerating these sections, indicates the scope of the statutes:

En los colegios de la Compañía de donde por la mayor parte se cree que saldrán los que en ella han de hacer profesión, debe tenerse respecto a seis cosas:

La primera, cómo los que en ellos estuvieren se conserven y crezcan en espíritu y virtudes.

2a. Cómo se aprovechen en los estudios, que para el divino servicio y del prójimo toman.

3a. Cómo conserven la salud y fuerzas del cuerpo, que son necesarios para el divino servicio y de los prójimos en nuestro instituto.

4a. Cómo se conserven las cosas temporales del colegio y competentemente se aumenten.

5a. Cómo se aumente el número de los escolares.

6a. Cómo se aprovechen los prójimos de fuera de la Compañía. Y conforme a estos seis fines tendrán seis partes las constituciones, añadiendo la 7a. de lo que generalmente ayuda para todo lo dicho.

The document consists of a series of rules. But these rules may be gathered together under ten principles, adumbrations of the *Constitutions of the Society* and of the future *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, 1832 and 1954.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE

The first principle is really an attitude of mind. We may put it simply by saying that St. Ignatius had great respect for scholarship. He respected knowledge: deep, thorough, solid knowledge. Not the academic degree, but the knowledge was important and was worth the trouble of obtaining. Hence his respect for universities.

This is shown by the fact that he himself spent over a decade of his middle years in study. He recruited the first members of his company from among university men; and when later on they began to come in numbers seeking admission to

the Society before they had ended (or even begun) their university studies, he did not send them away to some obscure corner to learn from a compendium at the feet of some tutor, but to the great universities—to Paris, Bologna, Cologne, Louvain, and other centers of learning. Soon also he was sending them to the newly established Jesuit universities: to Coimbra and to Gandia.

If there were any doubt about St. Ignatius' attitude towards scholarship, it would be dispelled by the fact that he founded a Society in which definitive and full-fledged admission (the solemn profession) is restricted to men who give proof of knowledge ("outstanding and choice") of both philosophy and theology.

This attitude of high regard for learning and intellectual activity is reflected in our document in such rules as the following (later incorporated into the Jesuit *Constitutions*):

All should be convinced that the best thing they can do while they are in the colleges, and the most pleasing thing to God, is to study well. And just as prayer and contemplation are pleasing to God when done for love of Him, so also to devote oneself to the study of any faculty, is pleasing to God when done purely for His service.⁴⁴

Nor was this respect for studies a merely utilitarian attitude dictated by the fact that learning is useful in the ministry. It is indeed useful and should be cultivated for its utility; but over and above mere utility, knowledge has a dignity of its own, and its pursuit is pleasing to God if done out of the proper motives:

In such wise that even if a man should never come to use for the good of souls the knowledge that he has acquired, yet the very act itself of studying, when impregnated with obedience and charity, is greatly pleasing to God and meritorious in His sight...⁴⁵

This rule which we have just translated is entitled in the manuscript: *Juzgar que en el estudio Dios se sirva mucho, y deliberarse de estudiar de veras*—which is itself a compendium of Ignatius' attitude on intellectual pursuits.

In other words, studies have value even apart from their usefulness in the ministry. This is of course not quite the same

thing as Cardinal Newman's thesis (to which St. Ignatius would probably have subscribed) that knowledge is its own end: but it stems from the same attitude of respect for knowledge as having its own intrinsic dignity.

THE SECOND PRINCIPLE

The second principle is the converse of the first. Though knowledge has intrinsic worth, yet from another point of view this worth is only relative. It is not the *summum bonum*: there are other things greater, for instance the love of God and "the pursuit of solid virtues." And for that reason those who are at their studies must seek a pure intention, and cultivate a pure conscience, for as the Book of Wisdom has it, "wisdom does not enter an evil soul." God's aid must therefore be sought in prayer,⁴⁶ yet not so as to interfere with studies.⁴⁷

Nor are higher studies so important as to be necessary for all. Some have no talent for study, and those who have no talent (or are otherwise incapacitated) should not be allowed to attempt studies. There are other ways in which they can serve God, for instance in "the office of Martha."⁴⁸

THE THIRD PRINCIPLE

The third stems from the first. If knowledge is worth having, it is worth having solidly. Shaky knowledge is not knowledge. Therefore in all his studies, but especially in the more important branches, the student must not be content with anything less than mastery.

We have alluded to the intellectual requirements for solemn profession in the Order which Ignatius founded. It is noteworthy that the possession of a doctorate in philosophy, theology, canon law, or scripture, is not accepted as sufficient guarantee that the holder of the degree possesses the learning required. The Order demands other tests in which the examiners are under oath not to give a passing mark unless deserved. If all professors in colleges and universities were to take a similar oath, there would be less demand for sheepskin.

Hence the following rule, entitled in our document *Estudiar fundadamente*:

Let them not take any short cuts (*no estudien por compendio*) in the study of the principal subjects. Let them not study these subjects imperfectly. Rather, they should get to the bottom of them (*vayan muy de fundamento*), devoting to them all the time and attention necessary.⁴⁹

And since this mastery cannot be had by trying to master many things at once (as Ignatius had tried to do at Alcalá), each subject should be mastered one by one. Divide and conquer: for "it is better to learn one subject thoroughly, than to try to grasp too many things at once and learn little of each."⁵⁰

Similarly, in the study of each discipline, "it is better to master a few authors in every faculty than to read hurriedly through many authors without understanding them well: variety in this case is no help."⁵¹

THE FOURTH PRINCIPLE

The fourth principle is the need for method. If mastery is to be attained, it must be attained by systematic progress. This principle was later to be elaborated in the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, but the essentials of the system are in our document.

For instance, there is need for good teaching: and since, at the time of this document, the Society had no control over the university teacher to whose classes the Jesuit scholastics went, care should at least be had to choose which teachers the scholastics should hear. This choosing should be done by the Rector. And the good lecturers were to be recognized by three qualities: they must be learned (*doctos*), assiduous (*diligentes*), and regular (*continuos*). This last quality presumably meant that the lecturer should not frequently be absent for lectures. Nor is the teacher merely a lecturer: he should be, in the modern jargon, a "resource"; consequently the students should try to cultivate his good will, the better to be aided by him in the solution of their difficulties connected with the subject-matter.⁵²

But attendance at lectures (and it must be assiduous attendance)⁵³ is not enough. Mastery comes from making the

subject-matter one's own, and this is accomplished by "repetitions" (i.e. discussions held in common) either at the university or at home, and by disputations held monthly, weekly, and even daily, and the weekly disputations should be open to the public. Private study, however, might take the place of some of these disputations, but where there are disputations held, all must go.⁵⁴

Those studying languages and literature should have similar exercises, written and oral, daily and weekly.⁵⁵

The Jesuit student must be an active student. In this case the saying is verified: all real education is self-education.

THE FIFTH PRINCIPLE

The fifth principle is negative. If mastery is to be obtained in studies, all obstacles must be removed which hinder that mastery. Ignatius was doubtless thinking of his own experience.

In our document there are three rules on the subject: *No se distraigan por devociones, ni por atender al prójimo*—devotions and work for the neighbor must not be allowed to interfere with studies.⁵⁶ *Quitense otros impedimentos*—other obstacles to study must be removed, for instance penury (*padecer necesidad de cosas temporales*), or excessive distraction (*conversación distractiva*).⁵⁷ Not only must all necessities be supplied so that the students should not want for anything essential, but they must be relieved even of household duties which are heavy or time consuming (*Desocupar los estudiantes de cosas exteriores*).⁵⁸ There is, however, a note of humor in the regulations with regard to household duties. In the section on the care of health, the student is told that he must do some corporal exercise, such as sweeping the floor, making beds, bringing up firewood, taking care of clothes, etc.—"which, besides being useful to the house, are also good exercise. But even if they are not useful, at least they have their use as exercise."⁵⁹ Anybody who has watched the unskilled labor of novices and young scholastics will appreciate that remark!

THE SIXTH PRINCIPLE

The sixth principle is the one we have just alluded to: the care of health. There is good advice on the quality and quality of food, on the need for reasonably comfortable quarters, for cleanliness, for exercise, for sleep (regularly seven hours) and for "decent recreation" (*honesta recreatio*). All this is a help to studies. There are also prohibitions: against studying too soon after meals, against prolonged hours of study without interruption.⁶⁰ Some of the rules sound humorous to the modern ear: beds and clothes should be individual, not common;⁶¹ playing cards or murderous weapons should not be tolerated, but balls and playing equipment (*bolas, pelotas*) need not be frowned upon.⁶² The whole of Section III is a treatise on good health based on experience and common sense.

THE SEVENTH PRINCIPLE

The seventh principle: the need for a broad, general education, and the need (in consequence) of subordinating less important to more important subjects. Everyone, we are told, must study the following: language and literature (*letras de humanidad*), logic, natural philosophy, mathematics, moral philosophy, metaphysics, scholastic theology, and Scripture. These are the basic courses. If time permits, other courses of lesser urgency are to be taken: Councils, decrees, the holy Doctors, and other subjects pertaining to moral and pastoral theology. Moreover, it is fitting that more time and attention be devoted to the more important subjects and those of greater urgency (for instance, in theology, to matters controverted with the heretics.)⁶³

THE EIGHTH PRINCIPLE

The eighth principle is perhaps precautionary. Jesuit students must stand for university degrees, and they must submit to the public exercises (disputations and examinations) required for the granting of such degrees. But in obtaining the degrees, they must abstain from all external pomp. Furthermore, they should decline all honors (such as graduating at the head of a class or in second place, etc.), but must graduate as supernumeraries, so that the honors should go elsewhere.⁶⁴

In this manner, St. Ignatius safeguarded two things: on the one hand, religious humility and simplicity; on the other, the clear title to the *jus ubique docendi* implied in university degrees.

THE NINTH PRINCIPLE

The ninth principle is the need for mastery of the art of expression, the spoken and written word. This is clear from the insistence on oral disputations and written compositions already referred to above. It is also clear from the norms of examinations later drawn up, putting emphasis on the ability to explain, defend and teach doctrine. Mastery of the twofold *logos*—thought and expression—is one of the objectives of Ignatian pedagogy.

THE TENTH PRINCIPLE

Finally, the students are to follow, in all things, the doctrine most approved, and let them follow the best scholars in every faculty: and it is better to master the doctrine of a few than to read hurriedly through many authors without understanding them well."⁶⁵ This was to be made much more explicit in later writings, in the *Constitutions* and the *Ratio Studiorum* where the theological *Summa* of St. Thomas is prescribed for theology, as we have pointed out.

V

These are merely adumbrations of that Jesuit way in education which St. Ignatius made more explicit in the Fourth Part of his *Constitutions*, and which his followers were later to translate into concrete rules in the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599.

Three institutions, says Rashdall, dominated the thinking of the high middle ages: *imperium*, *sacerdotium*, *studium*.⁶⁶ In Saint Ignatius' time, the *imperium* was of course an abandoned ideal, although its spirit pervaded St. Ignatius' own mind (as seen for instance in the Parable of the Temporal King).⁶⁷ The *sacerdotium*, on the other hand, was a perennial institution, as indestructible as the Church: and St. Ignatius' devotion to this *sacerdotium* is best seen in the famous Fourth Vow which all

solemnly professed Jesuits must pronounce, of special devotion to the Pope. The *studium* that Rashdall speaks of is of course the universities—*studia generalia*: and the high, but not uncritical, regard that St. Ignatius had for the institution of higher education is apparent in all his works.

It has been said that Dante is the man who bridges over the gap between the middle ages and the modern era. Perhaps with greater accuracy the title should be given to Ignatius. His work, admittedly, was revolutionary. He was often attacked for his innovations. But it was also profoundly traditional, with its strong loyalties to the three medieval institutions: *imperium*, *sacerdotium*, *studium*.

* * *

¹ "The class of Humanities in the Ratio studiorum" *Jesuit Educational Quarterly* XV (March 1953) 197-205.

² Namely: 1586, 1591, 1599, 1832, 1941, 1954.

³ By "discovered" I do not mean that Ignatius invented these principles, which after all are as old as the human race. Despite his many innovations, his genius was for systematizing and reducing things to concrete forms. As Brou says, speaking in another connection, those who attack St. Ignatius for his emphasis on the examination of conscience should also attack St. Bernard and other saints who taught the same with similar emphasis. The difference is that St. Bernard tells us what is to be done, and St. Ignatius how to do it.—Brou *Ignatian Methods of Prayer*, trans. W. Young, (Milwaukee 1949), p. 74.

⁴ Barcelona, Alcalá, Salamanca, Paris, Bologna, Venice. *Vide infra* nn. 8, 21.

⁵ Paul III *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* Sept. 27, 1540. The document is reproduced in *Documenta Constitutionum praevia* (MHSI, Romae 1934), p. 25.

⁶ *Acta P. Ignatii ut primum scripsit P. Ludovicus Gonzales excipiens ex ore ipsius Patris*, cap. I, 5, 6, 11. The document is in MHSI *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, vol. I (Romae 1943) 354-507. We shall refer to this as *Autob.*

⁷ In St. Ignatius' usage, *letras de humanidad* refers to literary studies; *letras* (simpliciter) refer to higher education, mainly philosophy and theology. *Vide e.g.* *Autob.* VII. 65 (*Fontes narr.* I. 454)

⁸ Biographers have taken it for granted that Ignatius studied at Barcelona under private tuition. Recent research seems to have established the fact that Ardévol was a *catedrático* (professor) at the university in Barcelona, and that therefore Ignatius was a student at the university.—C. de Dalmases, "Los estudios de S. Ignacio en Barcelona," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* X (1941) 283-293.

⁹ I am following the chronology of the MHSI in the introduction to *Fontes narr.* I.1*-66*. This is based on 1491 as the year of the saint's birth.

¹⁰ *Autob.* VI.54-55 (*Fontes narr.* I.436)

¹¹ *Autob.* VI.56 (*Fontes narr.* I.438)

¹² *Autob.* VI.57 (*Fontes narr.* I.440)

¹³ *Autob.* VII.64 (*Fontes narr.* I.454)

¹⁴ Laynez' letter to Polanco, Bologna June 16, 1547. (*Fontes narr.* I.94.)

¹⁵ *Autob.* VI.57-63 (*Fontes narr.* I.440-452)

¹⁶ *Autob.* VII.64-70 (*Fontes narr.* I.452-462)

¹⁷ *Autob.* VII.71 (*Fontes narr.* I.462)

¹⁸ *Autob.* VIII.73 (*Fontes narr.* I.464)

¹⁹ Laynez to Polanco June 16, 1547 (*Fontes narr.* I.98).

²⁰ *Autob.* VIII.76 (*Fontes narr.* I.466)

²¹ On the studies of St. Ignatius at Paris, and later at Bologna and Venice, the latest is that of V. Larrañaga, "Los estudios superiores de S. Ignacio en Paris, Boloña y Venecia," *Razón y Fe* 153 (1956) 221-242. His chronology differs somewhat from that of the MHSI.

²² Larrañaga, *op. cit.*

²³ *Const. S.I.* IV.14. *Ratio studiorum* (1599), *reg. prov. et prof. theol.*; *Ratio studiorum superiorum* (1954) *passim*.

²⁴ Laynez in the letter cited above says St. Ignatius studied at Paris ten years: an obvious mistake. I am following the chronology of the MHSI.

²⁵ "Y cuanto al estudio, aunque tuvo por aventura mas impedimentos que ninguno de su tiempo, y aun mas adelante de su tiempo, tuvo tanta diligencia o mas, ceteris paribus, que sus contemporaneos, y aprovechó medianamente en las letras..." Laynez to Polanco (*Fontes narr.* I.100)

²⁶ "...el Señor especialmente nos ayudó así en las letras, en las quales hicimos mediano provecho..." Laynez to Polanco (*Fontes narr.* I.102.) Laynez was apparently given to litotes.

²⁷ *Apud* Larrañaga, *op. cit.*

²⁸ The following passage which we translate from the Autobiography is significant: "...the eyes of his understanding began to open. It was not a vision, but he began to know and to understand many things: as well spiritual things as those pertaining to Faith and to the sciences (*letras*), and this with a clarity so great that all things seemed new... in such wise that in the whole course of his life, up to his 62nd year and beyond, gathering together all the helps that God had given him and all the things that he had ever learned, if they were all put together into one, he believes that they still could not compare with what he learned at that one time alone." *Autob.* II.31 (*Fontes narr.* I.404) This great illumination was preceded by four remarkable visions of the Trinity and other truths. (*Ibid.* I.400-404).

²⁹ On the method of Paris and its influence on the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum*, see A.P. Farrell *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education* (Milwaukee 1938), pp. 28 ff.

³⁰ The critical edition is the three-volume *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* (MHSI, Romae 1934-1938).

³¹ The critical edition is *Exercitia S. Ignatii et eorum Directoria* (MHSI, Madrid 1919). There is a more recent and more critical edition of the *Directoria* (MHSI, Rome 1955).

³² Most of these are in the MHSI collection *S. Ignatii de Loyola epistolae et instructiones* (12 vols., Madrid 1903-1913). Documents dealing with education are in the *Monumenta paedagogica* (*vide infra*).

³³ "Para fundar Colegios" (1541) in *Documenta Constitutionum praevia*, pp. 48-65.

³⁴ *Monumenta paedagogica quae primam Rationem studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere* (Madrid 1901-1902)

³⁵ D. F. Zapico and P. Leturia, "Cincuentenario de Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 1894-1944" *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* XIII (1944) 43. Father Leturia had expressed the same opinion in 1938. (See note 40 below.)

³⁶ *Regulae Societatis Iesu 1540-1556*, ed. D. Fernández Zapico (Romae 1948). Our document is on pp. 213-245.

³⁷ *Obras completas de S. Ignacio de Loyola*, edición manual, ed. I. Iparraguirre (Madrid 1952). This volume was reviewed in PHILIPPINE STUDIES III (1955) 109-111.

³⁸ Fernández Zapico *op. cit.*, pp. 213-214.

³⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 215-216.

⁴⁰ P. Leturia, "De Constitutionibus Collegiorum P. Ioannis A. de Polanco ac de earum influxu in Constitutiones Societatis Iesu," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* VII (1938) 2 and note. Italics his.

⁴¹ P. Dudon, "St. Ignace et l'oraison dans la Compagnie de Jésus," *Revue d'ascétique et mystique* XV (1934) 255, cited by Leturia *op. cit.* p. 2 note 10.

⁴² Our document speaks of a three-month probation. St. Ignatius' definitive legislation in the matter is a two-year probation, an innovation in the history of religious orders.

⁴³ Farrell, *op. cit.* 431-433 gives a list of all the colleges founded in the lifetime of St. Ignatius. On the four types of Jesuit "colleges," see Ganss, *St. Ignatius' Idea of a University* (Milwaukee 1954), pp. 20-24.

⁴⁴ *Const. Coll.* II.4 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 228). The word "facultad" means a discipline—a term wider than our "course" but narrower than our "faculty."

⁴⁵ II.4 (*Reg. Soc.* pp. 228-229) ⁴⁶ II.3 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 228) ⁴⁷ II.6 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 229) ⁴⁸ II.1 (*Reg. Soc.* pp. 227-228) ⁴⁹ II.9 (*Reg. Soc.* pp. 229-230) ⁵⁰ *Loc cit.* ⁵¹ II.10 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 230) ⁵² II.15 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 230) ⁵³ II.13 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 230) ⁵⁴ II.16-20 (*Reg. Soc.* pp. 230-232) ⁵⁵ II.21-22 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 232) ⁵⁶ II.6 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 229) ⁵⁷ II.7 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 229) ⁵⁸ II.5 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 229) ⁵⁹ III.14 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 236) ⁶⁰ III.1-17 (*Reg. Soc.* pp. 233-237) ⁶¹ III.8-9 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 235) ⁶² I.31 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 225) ⁶³ II.12, 23 (*Reg. Soc.* pp. 230, 232) ⁶⁴ II.26 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 233) ⁶⁵ II.10 (*Reg. Soc.* p. 230).

⁶⁶ H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., ed. Emden and Powicke (3 vols. Oxford 1936), I, Introd.

⁶⁷ *Exercitia S. Ignatii et eorum Directoria* pp. 314-317.