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"When I would not I change in vowes, and in devotione": Donne's "Vexations" and the Ignatian Meditative Model

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Stephen Dedalus, the protagonist in James Joyce's *A Portrait Of The Artist As A Young Man,* enters a three day retreat that devotes a goodly amount of time to the preaching of the Jesuit retreat director, Father Arnall, who draws only on the First Week of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), with its meditation on sinfulness and on the suffering in Hell, and who therefore unwittingly reinforces rather than assuages Stephen's guilt, fear, and isolation. Stephen confesses that, in his words,

> he had sinned mortally not once but many times and he knew that, while he stood in danger of eternal damnation for the first sin alone, by every succeeding sin he multiplied his guilt and his punishment. His days and works and thoughts could make no atonement for him, the fountains of sanctifying grace having ceased to refresh his soul.[1]

Donne's *Holy Sonnets*, influenced as well by the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises,* confess a similar feeling of spiritual impotence, accompanied by a profound need for God's saving act of grace, for what may seem to be very different reasons, but upon closer comparison reveal intriguing connections with Joyce's text. Again and again, Donne's speakers beseech God to intervene, to relieve them from what John Stachniewski describes as a "dominant mood of despair,"[2] but the sought-after conversion remains unfulfilled. Two of the most frequent explanations for the recurring conflict within Donne's *Holy Sonnets* are

Donne's personal struggle with separation from his Roman Catholic past and his conversion to the Church of England, and the Calvinist influence on the thought of the *Sonnets*. Among other explanations is that of Mary Ann Koory, who attributes the absence of closure in Donne's devotional poems to Donne's reluctance to submit to closure.[3] This reluctance, in her view, stems from Donne's desire, in the face of the prospect of conversion, to "protect his poetic subject from the force of a divine love that would remake—and possibly remove—him" (157). But, to my knowledge, no study has examined the impact on the *Sonnets* of the conflicted impulses that inhere in the Ignatian meditative form itself, a form that exerted a significant influence on Donne's religious poetry and, I am proposing, on the resistance of the text to the enactment of a redemptive poetic exercise. Such impulses necessarily would have magnified Donne's personal struggle between Catholicism and Anglicanism as well as the reverberations of Calvinist thought on his thinking, given that the tensions in the structure and spirit of the *Exercises* originate out of similar tensions in the religious controversies of the time. The persistent recourse to biographical explanations of Donne's religious poetry, without consideration of the complex circumstances surrounding the composition of the *Exercises,* has created an overly constraining viewpoint.

The present study proposes that Donne's spiritual dilemma in those *Sonnets* that bear a kinship with the Ignatian meditative model is due in part to the impact of the turbulent religious climate on the final form of the *Spiritual Exercises*, in the same way that the religious poetry of Donne does not stand apart from the theological controversies of his time. This is not to deny that individuals who "make" the *Exercises* under the guidance of a Director may experience a high level of spirituality, but the use of the Ignatian model as a poetic meditative structure situates the speaker within a very different environment. Anthony Raspa's study of Jesuit poetics distinguishes between the *Exercises* in their ascetic form and the "aesthetic verse meditation" that bears the structure (or part of it): "meditative verse resembled *Exercises* because its imitation recreated the exercitant's experience of the affections. It departed from the manual because that experience was of an

aesthetic rather than of an ascetic order," a distinction that both bridges the *Exercises* and distinguishes between the two forms.[4]

Although the historical factors impinging on the formation of the Ignatian *Exercises* are complex and can be partitioned along many different lines, two co-ordinates seem to have given a lasting shape to the *Exercises:* first, an unresolved conflict in the Ignatian model between the Protestant-like emphasis on a private, inward spirituality and the Roman Catholic emphasis on a communal, or church-mediated spirituality; and second, a related tension in the model between the goal of meditation and that of contemplation, with contemplation having as its object a higher form of spirituality than meditation proper, namely, mystical union with the divine, which Donne's speakers pursue but fail to attain. The possibility arises that those poems of Donne informed by the Ignatian meditative model and characteristically are vexed in their quest for spiritual certainty may be so as a consequence in part of the indeterminate nature of the Ignatian meditative paradigm itself.

More recent scholarship has gained access to documents that cast new light on those turbulent—and formative—years in which Ignatius was composing the *Spiritual Exercises,* led in part by the extensive work of Hubert Jedin on the Council of Trent,[5] and, as John O'Malley emphasizes, by scholarship "grounded in better methods of research and less animated by unexamined prejudices" than previously.[6] Historians such as Jedin "are gradually helping us see with new eyes the complexity of the Catholic situation in that religiously troubled era" (O'Malley, 2). Terence O'Reilly points to such developments in scholarship as the improved understanding of the history of Catholic Reform of the sixteenth century and its roots in the late medieval Church, and of "the various reform movements in Spain and Italy among which Ignatius and his companions first appeared: the *alumbrados*, the Erasmian humanists, and the disciples of Juan de Avila in Spain, and the *spirituali* in Italy."[7] Reformation scholarship "has moved from major figures such as Luther and Calvin to the impact they and their movements had as they were interpreted and put into action at the grass roots" (O'Malley, 2).[8] As one well-documented study of the hagiographic tradition and the life of St. Ignatius (canonized in

1622) indicate, "many of our popular images of Ignatius Loyola go back to the first official biographies which were written towards the end of the sixteenth century by Pedro de Ribadeneira and Gian Pietro Maffei" (O'Reilly, 439).[9] O'Reilly emphasizes that Ribadeneira knew Ignatius well and his biography is a valuable source of information about him. It was based primarily on "earlier, unpublished lives, and on some of Igantius's own writings," but, in O'Reilly's view, Ribadeneira, "like all historians...had a view of the past that was shaped by the preoccupations of his own time and place" (439). The biography, which appeared following the Council of Trent (1545-1563), "when the Catholic Church in Europe was struggling to turn the tide of the Protestant Reformation," thus portrayed Ignatius

> as a soldier of the Church, leading its victorious armies against the Antichrist, Martin Luther; as a person hostile to earlier movements in the Catholic Reform, such as Illuminism and Erasmianism; and as a staunch defender of Catholic tradition. (O'Reilly, 439)

O'Reilly submits that there is, "undoubtedly, an element of truth" in the presentation of Ignatius, "especially in the case of his later years when he was General of the Society [of Jesus], the period during which Ribadeneira knew him" (439).

Another key development in scholarship has been "the publication in critical editions of Ignatius's writings, and of the earliest documents relating to his life, including the ones to which Ribadeneira himself had access" (O'Reilly, 440).[10] Scholarly developments such as these "have drawn attention to the fact that Ignatius's formative years were far removed from the late Counter-Reformation world in which Ribadeneira wrote;" rather, "his spirituality and his ideals were shaped during the 1520s and 1530s, in a period before the opening of the first session of the Council of Trent when the boundaries between orthodoxy and heresy were not always clear," and when Ignatius was in the midst of writing and revising the influential *Spiritual Exercises,* which received papal approval and were first printed in 1548 (O'Reilly, 440).[11]

Finding that Ignatius's views changed "sometimes radically" during the course of his life, O'Reilly holds that "it is no longer possible to see him, with Ribadeneira, as a man whose concerns were shaped fundamentally by the occurrence of the Lutheran Reform" (440). In light of scholarly developments such as these, it seems crucial to Donne scholarship to reconsider his meditative verse in the context of the changing perceptions of the historical milieu in which the composition of the *Spiritual Exercises* were embedded. While the source of the tensions and conflicts in Donne's religious verse are undoubtedly multiple, even a cursory look at the history out of which the Ignatian model arose explains much about the ambivalent features of the model, which Donne's speakers appear to repeatedly confront in their struggle to *enact* a redemptive poetic form.

The appeal for Donne of the specifically Ignatian meditative form has been demonstrated by Louis Martz in his seminal study *The Poetry of Meditation.*[12] Martz finds that "meditation seems to have coalesced with strictly poetical traditions of the Renaissance," and that the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises* exerted a formative influence on all the major treatises on meditation during the latter half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth (25), although Martz has since acknowledged that his "old historicism, intent on exploring the *poieses* of organic unity, did not concern itself with seeing the Art of Meditation as an instrument of political and ecclesiastical power, as in some hands it surely was."[13] Raspa maintains that

> the growth of a vital Ignatian poetic in England is understandable only as the aesthetics of a disaffected religion, as the poetry of the priest's hiding 'hole' in the country's usually surreptitiously Catholic houses. Its intensity and relentless piety, often resulting in a lack of poetic discipline, grew naturally out of the political pressure on its writers (6-7).

As Martz points out, The *Exercises* were being widely circulated "throughout Europe [and England] by religious counselors and by dozens of Jesuit treatises," and although there were variations in

meditative treatises, "all the important treatises on meditation show," according to Martz, "a remarkable similarity in fundamental procedure," because of "the widespread influence" of the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises (25).* Edward Wilson's study of Spanish and English literature proposes that it is quite likely that Donne, Herbert and Crashaw, at the least, "almost certainly knew and read Spanish," and therefore the direct influence of Spanish meditative poetry on English, such as an ode on the Ascension by Luis de León, a Spanish Augustinian friar, "remains a possibility."[14] A seventeenth-century Spanish diplomat to England, Diego Gondomar, reports his "astonishment at finding Spanish books on religious topics for sale in London bookshops" (Wilson, 243).[15] Edmund Gosse cites one of Donne's letters addressed to the Marquess of Buckingham, who was "in Spain with the Prince of Wales on the business of the marriage of the Infanta" in March, 1623, in which Donne claims to have had more Spanish books in his library than of any other:

> I can thus far make myself believe that I am where your Lordship is, in Spain, that, in my poor library, where indeed I am, I can turn mine eye towards no shelf in any profession from the mistress of my youth, Poetry, to the wife of mine age, Divinity, but that I meet more authors of that nation than of any other. Their authors in Divinity, though they do not show us the best way to heaven, yet they think they do. And so, though they say not true, yet they do not lie, because they speak their conscience.[16]

Gosse explains Donne's attraction to Spanish literature as his "response to an imperious instinct, where his peculiarly southern and Catholic intellect found the food that it required" (Gosse, 178). Herbert Grierson identifies three manuscripts of the *Holy Sonnets* which entitle them "'Devine Meditations.'"[17] Thomas Van Laan points to a passage in Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* that strongly suggests an indebtedness to the Ignatian *Exercises* in its meditation on the life of Christ. Van Laan notes that Martz did not include the *Devotions* in his

seminal study of Ignatian meditative poetry; an analysis of their structures would have given "added weight to the theory that Donne was influenced by systematized meditation."[18] In Expostulation of Section XVI, Donne acknowledges an even earlier participation in such a meditation, including "his use of a visual representation like those which Ignatius prescribes" (Van Laan, 193). Donne writes:

> I know I cannot have any better *Image of thee,* than thy *Sonne, nor any better Image of him,* than his *Gospell:* yet must not I, with thanks, confesse to thee, that some *historicall pictures* of his, have sometimes put mee upon better *Meditations* than otherwise I should have fallen upon? (Van Laan, 193-94)

Van Laan agrees with Douglas Peterson's claim that the *Holy Sonnets* are unified according to the Anglican doctrine of contrition, given that "the disciplines which the Anglican Church advocated to help the penitent achieve contrition were identical to the disciplines practiced in the Ignatian exercise" (192, n7).[19] According to Martz, at least four of Donne's *Holy Sonnets* are fully developed Ignatian meditations: "Spit in my face you Jewes"; "At the round earth's imagin'd corners"; "If poysonous mineralls"; and "I am a little world made cunningly" (49-53), although upon closer study, one can argue that none of the four poems advances beyond the substance of the First Week of the *Exercises,* given their protracted and unrelieved consciousness of sin.[20] Beyond these and other possible links to the Ignatian *Exercises,* are Donne's well-known Jesuit ties within his family, even though the extent to which his maternal Jesuit uncle Jasper Heywood figured in his education is debated.[21]

Barbara Lewalski, however, argues for a developing Protestant tradition of meditation indigenous to England, which she regards as the formative influence on Donne's poetry rather than the Ignatian model put forth by Martz.[22] She ascribes two distinguishing features to Protestant meditation: 1) "a focus upon the Bible, the Word, as guiding the interpretation of the subject," and 2) "a particular kind of application to the self, analogous to the 'application' so prominent in Protestant

sermons of the period" (148). For Lewalski, the latter feature, distinguishes the form from Ignatian or Salesian meditation. Whereas Ignatian or Salesian meditation encourages the application of the exercitant to the subject, Protestant meditation, in Lewalski's analysis, "is very nearly the reverse . . . it calls for the application of the subject to the self—indeed for the subject's location in the self, which appears to be the case in more than one of Donne's meditative poems (149). Even though the dating of Donne's poetry is uncertain, Lewalski finds that "in general his religious lyrics reflect the Protestant poetics more and more fully, from early work to late" (253).[23] It seems worth considering whether the Protestant poetics that Lewalski ascribes to Donne's religious poetry—rather than the Ignatian model—has its source, to some degree, in the Protestant-like elements that figure in the ambivalent nature of the Ignatian meditative model, to be discussed later.

It is important to call attention here to some of the ambiguities surrounding the terms "meditation" and "contemplation" as they were deployed in the devotional literature of the time. Martz has shown that meditation was primarily viewed as private methodical prayer, which "cultivates the basic, the lower levels of the spiritual life; it is not, properly speaking, a mystical activity . . . . It is not performed," according to Martz, "under the operations of special grace, but is available to every man through the workings of ordinary grace" (16). In the case of the Ignatian *Exercises,* meditation allows for considerable freedom in the way they may be adapted to the individual's distinct sensibility, even allowing for truncated versions, although always to be "made" under the guidance of a Director, or priest. At the same time, however, meditation was deemed "indispensable as preparation for the achievement of the highest mystical experience," and "hence the terms 'meditation' and 'contemplation' tend to flow together in the devotional treatises of our period" (Martz, 16-17). Martz finds that the meditative writers of the time are constantly using the threefold way of the mystics as a framework for [what are] purely ascetic and devotional exercises," and therefore one must be cautious in interpreting the presence of

mystical terminology in meditative verse as signifying that "the poetry is therefore the product of mystical experience," although meditation itself may at times, according to Martz, "go beyond [meditation] into something very close to a mystical state of contemplation" (20).

But the distinction between meditation and contemplation requires a further refinement with respect to the evolution of the *Ejercicios espirituales* of Ignatius of Loyola toward a papally-approved formulation. Tracing the historical background of the 1548 edition casts new light on the source of what Donne describes in one sonnet as his "holy discontent." The *Spiritual Exercises* were composed and revised by Ignatius between 1521 and 1541, a time when mysticism was flourishing. Alastair Hamilton has found that one reason for the flourishing of mysticism within the movement for reform, unlike the late Middle Ages, was the availability of mystical literature in the vernacular, or Castilian, during the first forty years of the sixteenth century, thus becoming widely accessible to the laity.[24] It was during the primacy of humanist Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros that mysticism was not only recommended for the unlearned, but soon "it was presented as both the easiest and the quickest manner of attaining perfection" (Hamilton, 13).[25] As Eugene Rice emphasizes, "no other period, except possibly the fourteenth century, has produced so abundant a crop of attractive visionaries as the age of the Council of Trent."[26] Rice explains this development as a product of "the harmony between the dogmatic decrees of Trent and the assumptions of mysticism," which "assumes that man, with the aid of God's grace, can gradually perfect himself and briefly see God face to face" (175).

Mysticism, then, "unlike classical Protestantism, is optimistic about God and man," respecting "a theology built on an affirmation of the freedom of the will [and], man's ability to cooperate in his own salvation" (Rice, 175-76).[27] And Humanism, with its refocus on the individual and "the dignity of man," clearly exerted a formative influence on the growing "need of devout men and women for a more personal, warmer piety and a more direct relation between God and man" (Rice, 176). The result, according to Rice, was that

> Protestantism met this need by eliminating hierarchical and sacramental intermediaries between God and man; Trentine mysticism offered an ascending ladder of contemplation and perfection on whose upper rungs men experienced brief moments of ineffaceable sweetness and piety. (176)[28]

But mysticism was strongly discouraged by the Roman Catholic Church prior to the Council of Trent, when Ignatius was most actively composing and writing the *Spiritual Exercises,* given the concern of the religious authorities at the time that such practices, which encouraged direct communication with God, and which came to be perceived as bearing the stamp of "Lutheranism," were undermining the authority of the institutional Church.[29] Concern also was voiced that individuals, whether religious contemplatives or ordinary citizens, could attain to at least a momentary experience of spiritual perfection grounded in their own words and images, independent of the sacraments and doctrine of the Church.[30] Concerns such as these were particularly the case because of the atmosphere created by the private mystical devotions of the *alumbrados* in Spain, which originated about 1512 among Franciscan friars who were part of the early reform movement within the Church, and whose expressed motivation for reform was the "quest for greater simplicity in religion" (Hamilton, 2).[31]

Robert Spach points out that "small groups of lay gathered in private homes, at times with clerics, to examine church dogma in light of the Bible," portions of which were now available in the vernacular.[32] Some *alumbrados* engaged in mystical practices and others rejected such practices; "some favored a form of mental prayer known as *recogimiento* (recollection), which involved centering physical and mental energy to meditate upon God, while others advocated *dejamiento* (abandonment), which meant abandonment to God, a 'letting go,' rather than focusing of one's energy and attention, which the Church interpreted as implying that the exercitant "had no need of the ceremonies or sacraments of the Church" (Spach, 860).[33] But despite these differences, the *alumbrados* shared several features: "most of them were of the urban lower middle class, lacked higher education, stressed

egalitarianism, and were of converso (Christian Jews) ancestry" (Spach, 860). One study observes that since the *alumbrado* spiritual movement arose "prior to the Lutheran Reformation," it arose as a native Spanish reform movement, "independent of any other movement of the Europe of the sixteenth century," and was "deeply rooted in the common people who wanted to have a more personal and direct communion with God" than was offered within the Church.[34] The emphasis of some *alumbrados on "illuminism,"* or inward "illumination" by the Holy Spirit, which later seemed perilously close to Lutheranism in its reliance on inward prayer rather than on the authority or sacraments of the Church, led to their being declared heretics by the Spanish Inquisition in 1519, with "the arrest of the first *alumbrados* [of Toledo] in 1524" (Hamilton, 2).[35] Hamilton explains the charge of *alumbradismo:*

> It could be held against the readers of Luther (and of Erasmus), and was an ideal means of attacking men of *converso* origin who had studied or taught at the university of Alcalá, who were attached to the imperial court, and who were resented by the more conservative elements in the Spanish Church. The accusation could even be extended to some of the most distinguished Catholic reformers—St. Ignatius Loyola, St. John of Avila, Bartolomé Carranza—who endeavoured to revive Catholicism with ideas suspicious on account of their novelty. (2)

The accusation of *alumbradismo* was in fact brought against Ignatius on more than one occasion. In early 1523, he began his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, having given up his secular life as part of the aristocracy. Previously, he had suffered severe injuries while a soldier fighting for Spain in a war with France. That experience (to be discussed in more detail later) and the long convalescence following had a transforming spiritual effect on Ignatius. Along the way he undertook to overcome his educational deficiencies and to study for the priesthood by sitting in on lectures at the University of Alcalá, University of Salamanca, and in Paris. Cardinal Cisneros, who recognized that "education was vital for meaningful piety," founded the University of

Alcalá to train clergy (Spach, 857). The milieu that Ignatius participated in at Alcalá has been described as a "creative intellectual community," the site of such important influences on the thought of Ignatius as Christian Humanism, which "emphasized the practice of mental prayer and the unimportance of a variety of religious observances" (Spach, 859). The writings of Erasmus, "which not only encouraged humanistic learning but also exposed ecclesiastical hypocrisy in bitingly satirical fashion," gained a foothold in the intellectual life of students at the University of Alcalá (Spach, 859),[36] along with the highly influential Spanish reformers, the *alumbrados.*

After its papal approval in 1540, and before Ignatius completed the *Spiritual Exercises,* the Society of Jesus also came under increasing criticism, with its widespread missionary activities distancing it from the control of the institutional church. "What distinguished the Jesuits from orders practicing traditional monastic seclusion," in Dennis Flynn's words, "was the Society's rather humanistic and almost heterodox view of the human soul's capacity for salvation through 'an immediate experience of God that would lead to an inner change of heart or a deepening of religious sensibilities.'"[37]

The Spanish Dominicans were much opposed to the Society, with its widespread missionary activities, "directed from abroad," and "not bound by any conventual rule;" [the Dominicans] believed that Ignatius had quite rightly been accused of being an *alumbrado* (Hamilton, 96-97). When, therefore, one turns to the section entitled *Rules for Thinking with the Church,* which Ignatius added later at the end of the *Spiritual Exercises,* we find the following "Rule," designed to add weight to he ultimate authority of the church in all things spiritual:

> If we wish to proceed securely in all things, we must hold fast to the following principle: What seems to me white, I will believe black if the hierarchical Church so defines. For I must be convinced that in Christ our Lord, the bridegroom, and in His spouse the Church, only one Spirit holds sway, which governs and rules for the salvation of souls. For it is by the same Spirit and Lord who gave the Ten Commandments that our holy Mother Church is ruled and governed. (Rule 365.13)

O'Malley's study of the early Jesuits contends that some of the rules can be interpreted "as countering dangerous ideas then circulating, whereas others simply lay down a course of action that Ignatius considered prudent" (49). O'Malley finds the essence of the rules to be "statements of attitudes that bear on both pastoral practice and interiorized appropriation of some religious values," bearing "a resemblance to some of the decrees of the Council of Sens, held in 1528, just after Ignatius had arrived in Paris," and fairly consistent with sixteenth century Catholic orthodoxy (49). But it is noteworthy here that "some of the earlier rules in the list clearly take positions contrary to ideas held by the *alumbrados* or attributed to them," so that the emphasis of the rules "on the more institutionalized aspects of religion . . . can be interpreted as balancing the rest of the text, where these aspects are taken so little into account" (O'Malley, 49). Interpreted in this way, the added "Rules" can be seen, in O'Malley's words, as "a manifesto of Ignatius's own orthodoxy, frequently impugned precisely on this score" (49).

Among the events in Ignatius's life, then, that clearly impacted on the final form of the meditative manual was the Spanish Inquisition's investigation of him four times between 1526 and 1527, and, although "cleared of the charge of heresy, the restrictions placed on [Ignatius's] activities that made him feel unable to follow his apostolic call, and that eventually drove him to leave Spain for Paris" (O'Reilly, 443). He was warned in November, 1526, by Alonso Mejfa, who was "acting as the inquisitorial visitor of the university of Alcalá," where Ignatius was studying, "that he was under suspicion of being an *alumbrado*" (Hamilton, 94). Ignatius was arrested in April, 1527, and charged with being a "private Protestant" in view of the individual and perceived "mystical" piety of his *Spiritual Exercises* as well as the highly suspect prayer meetings he was conducting for his followers in the early years of his reform activities (Hamilton, 94).[38] He was forbidden to preach publicly or privately for three years because of the kind of authority with which he invested himself—prior to his ordination—on the nature of sin (Hamilton, 94-95). And while in France for eight years (1527-35), we are told, Ignatius was "surrounded by religious dissent" (O'Reilly,

443). O'Reilly notes that when Ignatius began to study at the College of Montaigu in 1528, "one of his fellow students was John Calvin," and, during the same period, Ignatius twice "was obliged to defend himself before the Paris Inquisition against accusations and rumours that he was a covert heretic" (443-44).[39] After the incidents at Alcalá and Paris, and prior to the final version of the *Exercises,* Ignatius had "fallen under the suspicion of the ecclesiastical authorities, once in Rome and once in Venice," which was a center of Protestant influence in the peninsula (O'Reilly, 444). But later, in Rome, in 1538, we are told, his orthodoxy was "established after a revision of his former trials: (Hamilton, 96).[40] It was within this turbulent context that Ignatius composed and revised the *Exercises,* while encountering increasing pressure from the Church to establish an orthodox form of church-centered spirituality.

What therefore has not been explored within the context of Donne's meditative poetry is the evolving composition of the *Exercises*, which we now know were "heavily revised" following the charges brought against Ignatius in Alcalá and elsewhere concerning his orthodoxy, and in particular of his ambivalence toward the attainment of higher mystical states of mind (Hamilton, 93). Allison Peers writes that "it is not improbable that as many as twenty-five years went to the revision of the *Exercises* before they took their final form, in which few of the overlayings can be discerned, even by the closest critic" (I:10). Cándido de Dalmases's biography of Ignatius, regarded as one of the most factually accurate, makes the point that the *Exercises* were not written during one period; rather, following his stay in Manresa, "he kept on correcting and completing them, in accordance with his experiences, up to his days in Paris and Rome."[41] Dalmases notes that at the end of Ignatius's *Autobiography*, he tells his confidant Gonçalves da Camara that "he had not composed the *Exercises* all at one time, but that he put into writing some things that he had observed in his soul and found useful and thought they might be helpful also to others" (64). For example, in the early formation of the *Exercises*, we find two Exercises that most likely date from 1522, when, early in his spiritual development, Ignatius was in Manresa where, in 1521, he underwent a profound mystical experience, an experience that apparently laid the

foundation for the *Spiritual Exercises* (Hamilton, 94). O'Reilly takes note of "the two Exercises [in the First and Second Weeks of the meditative process]" that "portray in vivid images the kingdom of God in the world;" in other words, "the kingdom of God is interior and spiritual, the realm of men's souls: it is not identified with the Church," nor is the foe "said to be heresy, but the devil who rules through sin" (449). Another study observes that Ignatius even "follows traditional mystical methods in the disposition of the [Four Weeks] of the Exercises: the First Week is devoted to purgation and intense self-examination, employing the three faculties of the soul, and to "succeeding meditations on sin, death and hell" (Peers, I:12).[42] But even though the First Week leads "the exercitant into the Illuminative Way," as practiced by the *alumbrados,* Ignatius "makes no attempt, according to one study, to bring [the exercitant] to the higher ways of prayer which form the mystics' main theme" (Peers, I:13). Hamilton likewise claims that the final state of "mystical union with God, if Loyola touched on it at all, occupied no place of significance in his exercises," despite his own conversion experience while living in Manresa (94).[43]

Moreover, in Ignatius's *Directory To The Spiritual Exercises,* composed much later (and published after his death), he "specifically warns those who read it against supposing that because the different 'weeks' of the exercises are said to 'correspond with the traditional threefold way, those who follow them are themselves led into the three mystical states in turn" (Peers, I:13). Of relevance to Donne's poetry, specifically, is Ignatius's admonition in the *Directory* on the Fourth Week: "For if any one should rashly seek to aspire to this Unitive Way, it would result in great confusion, and altogether hinder his spiritual progress, and moreover expose him to dangers and illusions."[44] The concluding three weeks of the *Exercises*, in fact, are devoted primarily to "meditations and so-called contemplations on the life and death of Christ, leading from the Incarnation to the Resurrection," but with no mention of a higher state of spirituality. And yet, according to Hamilton's study, "by concentrating on the technique of meditation, Loyola can be said to have placed the practitioners of his exercises in a position to proceed to higher forms of prayer," while at the same time

devoting only the First Week of the *Exercises* to bringing the exercitant into the Illuminative Way (94). After the First Week, which is devoted to purgation, Peers notes that "St. Ignatius makes no attempt to bring [the exercitant] to the higher ways of prayer which form the mystics' main theme," for "the remaining three weeks are occupied largely with meditations and so-called contemplations on the life and death of Christ" (I:12-13). To complicate matters further, however, St. Ignatius writes in Chapter eighteen in his *Directory* to the *Spiritual Exercises* that the "Second Week answers to the Illuminative Way, because Christ is the Sun of Righteousness, 'which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'"[45] And in Chapter thirty-six of the *Directory,* Ignatius explains that "the Fourth Week appears to correspond with the Unitive Way, for it is wholly occupied with the love of God, and the desire of eternity."[46] But in the thirty-ninth chapter, Ignatius warns against the assumption that an individual can assume that having "made" the Four Weeks of the *Exercises,* he or she has "attained to perfect union with God."[47]

Peers notes that although Ignatius himself was certainly "a genuine mystic," his *Spiritual Exercises* adhere much closer to methodical prayer, or meditative practice than to the mystical writings of someone like Francisco de Osuna or St. Teresa of Ávila; for Peers, the *Exercises* "are ascetic rather than mystical" (I:15). Hamilton concludes: "there would thus seem to have been a certain ambivalence in the exercises" (94), perhaps inspired partly by the charges of *alumbradismo* brought against Ignatius, along with the influence of the surrounding reform movements integral to his developing spirituality. It is this ambivalence that may account in part for the limitations of the model as a redemptive form for Donne's meditative speakers.

The most direct textual influence on the composition of the *Exercises*—apart from the *Imitation of Christ,* read by Ignatius during his earlier convalescence from war injuries and "reread continually thereafter" (Guibert, 153)[48]—was *The Exercitatorio de la vida spiritual* completed in 1500 by Cardinal Cisnero's cousin García Jiménez de Cisneros, who was prior, and later abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat, a manual which "drew heavily on the most popular texts

on mysticism in circulation" (Hamilton, 12). Cisneros explains that he wrote his book in the vernacular "in order to reach '*los simples devotos,*' and not for the benefit of 'proud scholars,' '*los letrados soberbios.*'"[49] Cisernos's manual was the first manual of methodical prayer to be published in Castilian. Although the manual devotes a complete week to meditations on the Last Judgement and Paradise, it is noteworthy that the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius make no mention of either event in the life of Christ (O'Reilly, 287).[50] O'Reilly observes further that the papacy is never mentioned in the Exercises, and that there are few allusions to the Church (449), with the exception of the final passages on "the Church militant, and eighteen rules on the observance of the commandments of the Church," which were composed and added later, most likely between 1539-41, perhaps to demonstrate, prior to papal approval of the Society of Jesus in 1540, Ignatius's obedience to the authority of the Church (Hamilton, 96).[51] Whether or not Ignatius minimized the role of mysticism in the *Exercises* because of the Church's growing concern that mystical practices were encouraging private devotion at the expense of the Church's mediating role, or because, as Peers notes, Ignatius regarded the *Exercises* as "something other than 'writings' in the usual literary sense, but rather as "implements, tools, weapons, forged with a definite aim," for the use "of a spiritual army," and to be followed under the guidance of a spiritual Director, or priest (I:8), the fact remains that the Ignatian meditative method is ambivalent on the subject. Pierre Pourrat makes the provocative suggestion that Ignatius, perhaps out of fear of being associated with *alumbradismo,* "made a sort of inner sanctuary, closed to all unwholesome influences, and in it his supernatural convictions were guarded and fortified" (vi). An intriguing parallel exists in several of Donne's *Songs and Sonnets* wherein the speaker and his beloved seek to create a private, inner world, set apart from the threats of their worldly existence, in which the two lovers can enjoy a reciprocal and undying love.

But Hugo Rahner calls attention to Ignatius's statement in his *Autobiography* in which he claims that his mystical experience at Manresa in 1522 granted him "insight he calls faith and knowledge, and

contrasts it with all the theological knowledge which he acquired in later life."[52] Rahner points further to Ignatius's claim that "all the teachers the world has known could not have the influence God had on his mind at Manresa."[53] Still, according to Rahner's study, Ignatius's "most personal spiritual goods must prove their genuineness by conforming to the teachings of the hierarchical Church and to the dogmatic teaching of the scholastics, who, he says, were men 'instructed and enlightened by the grace of God ([Rule] No. 363)'" (89). The *Exercises* thus reflect "evident traces of recasting according to a theological point of view obtained in later years in Paris, Venice and Rome" (Rahner, 89). Jerónimo Nadal, who assisted Ignatius in his writings, states that "before having his book of the Spiritual Exercises printed, Ignatius consulted other books also and took counsel from the length and breadth of theology," so that "all books, all theologians, and all Scripture corroborated everything that had been taught by divine inspiration at Manresa."[54]

According to one study, however, there are continuing "traces of *alumbradismo* in the Exercises," which notes particularly their emphasis on the attainment of "perfectionism" through private methodical prayer, and on a method of meditation—at least in an earlier draft of the *Exercises*—that placed the practitioners of the *Exercises*" in a position to proceed *on their own* to higher forms of prayer.[55] O'Malley also calls attention to the "private," rather than corporate, nature of the program of the *Exercises,* which "originated with the Jesuits and was distinctive of them—[namely] the 'retreat,' which, "when the *Exercises* entailed a period of seclusion of some duration under a spiritual guide, they stood as an entity independent of other ministries" (89). O'Malley's study shows that although the *Exercises* were more than "one program of ministry among several;" they, in fact, "supplied the design for the basic course or movement the Jesuits wanted to make operative in whatever they did," with "the inner experience" as the "test of its authenticity" (89). Similar to the *Devotio Moderna,* and other spiritual movements, the early Jesuits "wanted to promote a more intensified interiority, and they found in mental prayer the most direct and efficacious means of doing so on a long-term basis" (O'Malley, 164).[56] At the outset of the

Spiritual Exercises, Ignatius prescribes "withdrawal" from "worldly cares" as the means to greater progress in the *Exercises:*

> in . . . seclusion the mind is not engaged in many things, but can give its whole attention to one single interest, that is, to the service of its Creator and its spiritual progress . . . . the more the soul is in solitude and seclusion, the more fit it renders itself to approach and be united with its Creator and Lord. (Section 20)

Nadal draws a useful distinction between "public and private" prayer:

> Public prayer consists principally in the mass, which has supreme efficacy as sacrament and sacrifice . . . . Private prayer . . . should always take order and priority over public prayer because of its power, and it especially befits us [Jesuits] because we do not celebrate public prayer in common—we do not have choir. This means that for the Jesuit his room becomes his choir.[57]

The Jesuits thus gave emphasis to the Word of God as "[coming] more from inner light received through prayer, contemplation, and special visitations of the Spirit," and "if legitimate, would not contradict the teaching of Scripture or the church, but as O'Malley indicates, "the teaching of the *Exercises* on this point nonetheless got them into trouble with some of the vigilant Catholic contemporaries" (133). Other studies of the final draft of the *Exercises* have called attention to further heterodox features such as their silence on the role of the Holy Spirit in the progress of the private meditation;[58] the turning away of the *Exercises* from scripturalism; the related emphasis on the "flow" of the subject's own words; and finally the Ignatian stress on the self-contained act of stimulating all the three powers of the soul.[59]

But the *Exercises* "do not themselves go far in the making of a mystic," according to Peers, for "they are not . . . meant to do so [in their final formulation], for both [Ignatius and the Society of Jesus] . . . represent the contemplative-active tendency rather than the attitude of the pure contemplative" (I:11). The *Exercises* place their initial

emphasis on "a concern for interior renewal," following Ignatius's own conversion at Manresa (O'Reilly, 446-47). The opening section of the *Exercises* bears out this contention:

> . . . so we call Spiritual Exercises every way of preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all inordinate attachments, and, after their removal, of seeking and finding the will of God in the disposition of our life for the salvation of our soul. (Section One)

But as O'Reilly shows, "the desire to help others grow spiritually developed alongside the ambition to 'spread the faith' in the Holy Land" (447), with preeminence given to the consecration of the self to serve God and "to 'defend' the faith emerg[ing] last of all, during the 1540's when the Society became involved in the battle against heresy in Italy and Northern Europe" (O'Reilly, 447).[60] Accordingly, Ignatius writes in a late addition to the *Exercises:* "Finally, we must praise all the commandments of the Church, and be on the alert to find reasons to defend them, and by no means in order to criticize them" (Rule 361.9).

Thus, one can explain Donne's spiritual frustration as a product of both the "missionary" trajectory of the Jesuits and its impact on the mixed objectives of the Ignatian model, that is, the "aspiration to combine contemplation and action," which Ignatian spirituality shared with the *alumbrados* (O'Reilly, 378). The crucial implication here for Donne's appropriation of the model is the Ignatian *deferral* of spiritual fulfillment. In other words, one's spiritual life is actualized through an ongoing, and elected, mission to serve God in the world, rather than through a singular intervention by God, such as that for which Donne pleads in "Batter my heart." Although the *Exercises* appear to foster that expectation initially, they do not proceed methodically toward a mystical plane of spirituality. Instead, they culminate in the "Contemplation to attain the love of God" [Section 230].[61] Peers notes that Ignatius seems to use the words "meditation" and "contemplation" interchangeably for the most part, that "contemplation," in its conventional usage pertaining to mystical experience, does not seem to be the case in the writings of Ignatius (I:14). At the beginning of the "Contemplation to attain the love of God," Ignatius, in fact, emphasizes that "love ought

to manifest itself in deeds rather than in words" (Section 230.1), underscoring both the missionary emphasis of the Jesuits "to help souls" as well as Ignatius's possible disclaimer that he is authoring a method by which one may attain a salvific state independent of the Church. Elsewhere I have attempted to show that Donne's "Goodfriday" poem initially follows closely the Ignatian model, but in the end, even with the speaker's direct address to Christ, the meditation never rises to a higher level of spirituality, with the speaker still beholden to his sinfulness as he continues to beseech Christ to think him worthy of His mercies.[62] In this instance, it seems, Donne's meditative speaker fails to move beyond his subjectifying gaze on the suffering Christ.

Raspa's study of the "emotive image" of Jesuit poetics calls attention to a related shift in poetics away from "memory as pictorial image" to "memory as sensation," or what he defines as "baroque" imagery (77), a move which may cast further light on the inwardness—and ambiguity—of the Ignatian *Exercises*.[63] Raspa finds that the replacement of a Thomistic view of memory as pictorial image changed "scholastic psychology itself," for what was in the memory now was a product of "personal experience rather than according to the pictorial norms of an outer world," and therefore "a sensibility concerned with the details of personal vision as the fundamentals of philosophical truth," which may cast further light on the ambiguities underlying the Ignatian meditative form (77-78). In Raspa's view, this shift, which created a Jesuit poetics that manifested itself in English poetry of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, "permitted the meditator in *Exercises* and in verse to bring the universe's elements under his personal control" so as "to create a dialogue between the meditator and the figures of his mythology" (43), even though the outcome was subject to "the constant alterations and coming and going of emotions that characterized rather than detracted from [human] identity" (17). Like its redemptive counterpart—meditative verse—*Spiritual Exercises* was an aesthetic response to "the regression of the spirit of the medieval and early Renaissance universe," signaling "the twilight of the hierarchical world in which the position of God was clear, fixed and unambiguous to the beholder" (47),[64] calling for greater self-reliance

along with the emergent need for a compensating inner authority. "Jesuit writings," which were "noteworthy for their creative rather than their analytic use of reason," began to "relegat[e] the rationalistic activities of reason [evident in the role of "understanding" in the Ignatian *Exercises*] progressively to the background" (67). And yet "the Ignatian tradition of meditation, leaning heavily on the emotive values of the new world view, represented an attempt to re-order human experiences into the permanent values of tradition [the philosophies of ancient Greece and Rome and of Europe] from which it seemed to be straying aimlessly" (32). But with a heightened emphasis on humans as constituted of both reason and feeling, or emotion—clearly evident in Donne's religious sonnets—the role of "understanding," and its relation to the activity of the "will," in meditative verse assumed a more "creative" and less analytical function.[65] Raspa points out that even in the Ignatian meditative program the fact that reason was defined as "understanding" rather than "reason," "suggests its creative [and perhaps ambiguous] role" (67).[66] And Protestant meditation, with its emphasis on the apprehension of the inner spiritual experience rather than on the recreation of visual biblical imagery, signals another influence on the inward turn of Ignatian meditation and its poetics. Multifaceted developments such as these, which deserve more space than can be given here, raise the possibility that the de-emphasis on rationalistic thought in meditative verse, may have been, for Donne in particular, one of its limiting features. Although Raspa's study of Jesuit poetics does not take up the turbulent religious life of Ignatius and how such factors might impinge on Ignatius's reappropriation of human faculties away from traditional classical thought, it nonetheless enlarges our understanding of the complex historical milieu, including Ignatius's predilection for an interiorized spirituality, as a significant factor in the perceived heterodox nature of the Ignatian meditative model prior to its final formulation.

Richard Strier's analysis of "Batter my heart" further underscores the inconsistencies in the speaker's meditative stance toward God. Strier finds the opening and closing of the sonnet affirming the speaker's dependency on God, but lines 5-10 are described by Strier as

"conceptually uncertain," almost "demonic."[67] The middle section of the poem, which focuses on the faculty of reason, or understanding, thus parallels the second of the three "powers" of the soul as defined by Ignatius in the First Exercise (Section 51). Here, Donne's speaker laments the Protestant conception of humans as estranged from God, and one wonders if the Ignatian turn toward meditation as an inner quest, independent of the instrumentality of the Church, adds another layer to the inadequacy of the Ignatian poetic model for Donne, that the "emotive" mode, in combination with other ambiguities in the *Exercises*, proves, in the end, insufficient. The speaker concedes: "Reason, your viceroy in mee, mee should defend,/But is captiv'd, and proves weake or untrue" (ll. 7-8).[68] Strier contends that "Donne could imaginatively enter into Reformation theology only by conceiving of grace as violence" (377). R. V. Young also finds it "questionable" that "Batter my heart" "yields a clear theological resolution," given its mixed views of the Calvinist notion of the irresistibility of grace."[69] He urges against reading the *Holy Sonnets* "as a specifically Calvinist, or even Protestant, exposition of election and grace."[70] For Young, "the persona of the *Holy Sonnets* seems to be trying out different versions of grace in order to arrive at a theologically moderate position" (*Doctrine and Devotion, 8).* An alternate reading, however, finds all versions of grace eluding Donne's persona, that at no point does his soul appear to enjoy the "graces and gifts from the infinite goodness of its God," which the *Spiritual Exercises* maintain is the ultimate object of the exercitant's—and the soul's—desires (Section 20). Donne's speakers seem caught in the "Examination of Conscience," or the "First Week" of the *Spiritual Exercises*, simultaneously relying on the self's inward resources and on the necessity of God's Grace. The *Exercises* encourage the former, but ultimately show restraint in affirming the individual's capacity to attain to the Unitive vision apart from the instrumentality of the Church. Young claims that the sonnet "resists clear doctrinal resolution just because it is an expression of religious uncertainty on the part of a speaker who is groping for some sense of balance between divine power and his own will and identity" (*Doctrine and Devotion, 17),* a "groping," one might add, that implies a loss of direction, and therefore

structural integrity, in the meditative pursuit of his justification before God. Helen Gardner regards the "flaws" in the "spiritual temper" of the *Holy Sonnets* to be "a part of their peculiar power;" their "devotional temper," according to Gardner, "is Catholic, but his devotion is a 'rectified devotion;' his theological position is Protestant."[71] And Roger Rollin finds in more than one of Donne's *Sonnets* nothing less than "spiritual impotence."[72] Even though they seem to begin in a confident and aggressive manner, ultimately, according to Rollin, they are about "paralysis" (144). Of course, the possibility also exists that Donne found the ambivalent nature of the Ignatian meditative model to some extent appealing, given his affinity for charged poetic subjects, but also because of his own conflicted spiritual history. In a period marked by the transgression of artistic forms, it may seem less surprising that Donne's speakers come up against a hybrid form limited—in the formation of the subject—by its own internal contradictions.

Flynn finds also that the reform movements of late medieval and early sixteenth century England increasingly gave to lay religious practices a private orientation, in which the distinctions between the public worship practiced by the Church and the private worship of the laity became sharper.[73] According to Flynn, "the laity had come to see the Mass as a useful occasion for their vernacular devotions, more than as participation in a corporate act of the Church," and the changes brought about by reform movements, including, it would seem, those introduced by Ignatius of Loyola, served to "carry this division deeper" in that religious exercises "tended to accentuate the subjective devotion of each separate worshipper in the isolation of his own mind" (187). Flynn cites a telling passage from one of Donne's letters, written to Sir Henry Goodyere during 1609, about Donne's spiritual isolation at that time: "'we at our lay altars (which are our tables, or bedside, or stools, wheresoever we dare prostrate ourselves to God in prayer) must beg [religious unity] of Him.'"[74] As Flynn explains, "the measure of Donne's spiritual isolation is his feeling that true religion subsists for him only 'at our lay altars...wheresoever we dare'" (187). Donne's words betray a religious consciousness, widely evident elsewhere at the

time, divided between "his private religious feelings and the institutional religion to which he subscribed" (187).

Ozment, however, attributes the emphasis on "psychological responses" in the *Spiritual Exercises* largely to the struggle of Ignatius with severe physical pain from leg wounds suffered in 1521 while a soldier in the service of Spain during a war with France. During his long convalescence in Loyola, it is known that Ignatius read and reread Ludolphus of Saxony's *Life of* Christ, a collection of saints' lives, *The Golden Legend,* and later, *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, which "became his favorite book" (Ozment, *The Age of Reform,* 410). Ignatius grew confident in the belief that "St. Dominic and St. Francis . . . had accomplished far greater feats than any knight on horseback;" we are told that he "confided to his biographer that he personally felt impelled to do whatever he read that Dominic and Francis had done" (410).[75] Later, in Manresa, "in imitation of Christ's forty days in the wilderness, he went begging, fasted for periods as long as a week, and spent seven hours a day in prayer" (412). Of particular significance for the present study, "Ignatius designed special exercises to bring about desired feelings and states of mind," so that "the first draft of the *Spiritual Exercises*...came in this way to be composed in Ignatius's own experience long before it received its first written conceptual form in 1548" (412).

It was at Manresa, then, following a mystical enlightenment, that Ignatius undertook what Ozment describes as "a deliberate remaking of himself" (412). He became "what one biographer calls "'the cold master of [religious] affect[ion]s.'"[76] Ozment notes, "here was a new type of religious self-confidence that ran counter not only to the Reformation, but to much traditional spirituality as well" (412). The *Spiritual Exercises,* which Ignatius began composing, thus "withdrew human attention from the outer world to an inner world," inspired primarily at Manresa by the "personal conversion" of Ignatius "to the holy life" (Raspa, 47). In so doing, "Ignatius had effectively remade the world into an unassailable shape in the inner self for all and not only for some of his contemporaries according, no less, to God's traditionally

held original plan to keep the material world at man's rational disposition," (Raspa, 66) thereby distinguishing the *Exercises* from "contemporary forms of immersive mystical experiences like those of Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, and Francis of Sales," as well as from "the earlier medieval forms of revelatory religious experience in Julian of Norwich and Richard Rolle, and from the divinely interventional Biblical forms of the prophets Enoch and Elias" (Raspa, 46-47).[77]

To re-emphasize, then, the relationship of the Ignatian meditative model to mystical union with God is ambivalent, and perhaps intentionally so, given the perceived heretical atmosphere created by the *alumbrados* during the time that Ignatius was actively composing—and, we are told, heavily revising over the course of twenty-five years—his spiritual manual. The Jesuit meditative treatises that circulated widely before and during Donne's life thus quite likely interpreted the Ignatian manual in ways that simultaneously fostered a mystical spirit *and* limited their objectives to something closer to traditional meditation itself.

In Margaret Edson's Pulitzer prize-winning play, *Wit,* Professor Vivian Bearing's words about Donne's Holy Sonnet "If Poysonous mineralls" seem remarkably apt in this context. Bearing, who is a Professor of seventeenth century literature, and particularly of Donne's poetry, focuses on the closing lines of the sonnet in which the speaker begs God to "forget" his sins. She elaborates on the lines, saying: "The speaker of the sonnet has a brilliant mind, and he plays the part convincingly, but in the end he finds God's forgiveness hard to believe . . .; [She asks:] Where is the hyperactive intellect of the first section? Where is the histrionic outpouring of the second? We want to correct the speaker, to remind him of the assurance of salvation. But it is too late. The poetic encounter is over," or in Bearing's words, "quandaries are addressed, but never resolved."[78] Like so many of Donne's *Holy Sonnets,* the meditation moves from what Bearing describes as "aggressive intellect" in its beginning, to "pious melodrama," and then "a final fearful point."[79] But in fact it is fear that the initial stages of the Ignatian meditation give "special emphasis" to, and, in Martz's view "to which Donne gives such magnificent expression" (146). Martz cites the last

"Rule" in the *Spiritual Exercises* (under "Rules for Thinking with the Church"), which distinguishes between "filial fear" and "servile fear," with the latter signifying "when nothing higher or more useful is attained" (Rule 370.18) (Martz, 147). Ignatius adds, however, that servile fear may be "helpful for rising from mortal sin, and once this is accomplished, one may easily advance to filial fear, which is "inseparably associated with the love of [God]" (Rule 370.18). If Donne's *Sonnets* are read as meditative poems that never advance to the highest state of filial fear, or of divine love, and in light of the highly unstable milieu in which the meditative model was formulated, it becomes clearer why, for Donne's speaker, "These are my best dayes, when I shake with feare."

Flynn's perceptive observations about the *Holy Sonnets* assume added significance in light of the view proposed here concerning the historical pressures exerted on the composition of the *Spiritual Exercises.* Flynn quite rightly claims that the *Sonnets* are "primarily concerned to dramatize the isolation of an individual soul aware of the odds against salvation without institutional support" (*Donne's Catholicism II,* 190). While Flynn's point rests primarily on the view that it is Donne's departure from the Catholic Church that underlies the profound "isolation" of the soul, it seems also that the inherent ambivalence in the Ignatian *Exercises* itself about the role of the Church—versus individual agency—in the attainment of higher levels of spirituality provides a related and perhaps more fundamental explanation for the pronounced inability of Donne's meditative personae to move beyond the preoccupations of the First Week of the *Exercises*, that is, "of the consideration and contemplation of sin" and the seeking of "contrition" (Section 4), or even to sustain a consistent meditative disposition. One of Donne's speakers characteristically laments: "Not one hour myself I can sustain." And another, in the same vexed state, complains: "When I would not I change in vowes, and in devotione." Lines from one sonnet capture the prevailing mood:

> O Might those sighes and teares returne againe
> Into my breast and eyes, which I have spent,

> That I might in this holy discontent
> Mourne with some fruit, as I have mourn'd in vaine.
> (ll. 1-4)

Robert Shaw's study of Donne's religious poetry gives emphasis to the fact that "although the *possibility* of . . . grace is held out as a hope ('Thy Grace may wing me to prevent [the Devil's] art'), it is not apparent anywhere in the sonnets that Donne has experienced it as a reality."[80]

While it may be argued that one source of the spiritual impotency for Donne is the strong Calvinist influence on his thinking, biographical readings of Donne's *Sonnets* and uncritical acceptance of the Ignatian meditative model as a stable form have ignored the impact of sixteenth century religious ferment—either directly or indirectly—on the *Spiritual Exercises*, which served as a dominant shaping influence on meditative poetry. It therefore seems crucial to our understanding of Donne's intractable verse that the indeterminate nature of the Ignatian model be factored in our analysis.

Turning back to the spiritual plight of Stephen Dedalus, mentioned earlier, one finds closer affinities with Donne's meditative speakers than perhaps seemed evident in the beginning. While at the retreat, Stephen Dedalus makes his confession, but as Stephen Kuder's study observes, "not to a Jesuit," underscoring "Stephen's growing isolation from friends, family, Church, and nation."[81] Martz reminds us that Ignatius prescribes that the *Exercises* "be performed under the direction of a priest who will adapt them to the needs and capacities of each individual" (46). The "Introductory Observations" for the *Exercises* emphasize the importance of the spiritual director's role in preventing any kind of excess in the exercitant's mental disposition: "the more unstable in character he knows him to be, the more he should forewarn and admonish him" (Section 14; also Section 18). But each of Donne's speakers, like Stephen, "is left on his own," without institutional support, and, because they give voice to an "aesthetic verse meditation" rather than to an "ascetic form," without a spiritual director (Kuder, 52). It is as if both Stephen and the speakers in Donne's meditative poems recognize that what they are attempting to attain on their own is

hopeless, with Stephen "push[ing] himself on in imitation of the hagiographies of the Jesuit boy-saints . . . which he had read at Clongowes and Belvedere" (Kuder, 53). But after Stephen turns away from the rigorous "religious duties which had been thrust upon him," he undergoes a "resurrection," which he describes as the 'call of life to his soul, not the dull gross voice of the world of duties and despair," which provides a solution to a young artist's desire "to discover the mode of life or of art whereby your spirit could express itself in unfettered freedom'" (Kuder, 55).

The mature Donne, on the other hand, parts ways with Stephen Dedalus at this point. Donne's speakers persist in their struggle to move beyond the dark night of the soul and the complex factors giving shape to their religious sensibilities, not the least of which are the ambivalent directives of the *Spiritual Exercises,* which appear to constrain the unanchored Donne from *the poetic refashioning* of a meditative self who can overcome a profound and seemingly irredeemable spiritual paralysis.

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Notes

1. Joyce, James, *A Portrait of the Artist as A Young Man* (Boston and New York: Bedford Books of St Martin's Press, 1993), p. 97.

2. Stachniewski, "John Donne: The Despair of the 'Holy Sonnets,'" ELH, 48 (1981): 677-705 (677).

3. Koory, "'England's Second Austine': John Donne's Resistance to Conversion," *JDJ*, 17 (1998): 137-161 (157).

4. Raspa, *The Emotive Image: Jesuit Poetics in the English Renaissance* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1983), pp. 1; 97. See also distinctions Raspa draws between the act of meditation and reading meditative verse (pp. 97-98).

5. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent,* tr. Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. 2 vols. (London: Nelson, 1957-61).

6. John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 2.

7. O'Reilly, *From Ignatius Loyola to John of the Cross (*Aldershot, GB: Variorum,1995), pp. 439-40. O'Reilly cites a number of studies germane to the revisionary history: I. Iparraguirre, 'Desmitificación de San Ignacio. La imagen de San Ignacio en el momento actual', AHSI 41 (1972), pp. 357-373; John W. O'Malley, "Catholic Reform" in *Reformation Europe: a Guide to Research,* edited by Steven Ozment (St. Louis, 1982), pp. 297-319; and "The Jesuits, St. Ignatius and the Counter-Reformation. Some Recent Studies and their Implications for Today", *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 14 (1982), part 1, pp. 1-28. (O'Reilly, p. 464, notes 4, 5)

8. See, for instance, Steven Ozment, ed., *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research (*St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982).

9. O'Reilly indicates that Ribadeneira's biography appeared in Latin (Naples, 1572) and, revised, in Spanish (Madrid, 1583): *Vita Ignatii Loyolae; Vida del bienaventurado padre Ignacio de Lloyola, fundador de la Compañia de Jesús.* (p. 464, n. 1). (See also E. Allison Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics* [London: SPCK; New York: The Macmillan Co., 3 volumes, 1951] on the editions of Ribadeneira's biography, which Peers notes was "reprinted almost immediately elsewhere" after the initial Latin edition was published. (vol. one, p. 341).

10. Among the three earliest biographical documents which O'Reilly identifies, all of which were written before Ignatius's death, is Ignatius's own *Autobiography*, "dictated between 1553 and 1556 to a Portuguese Jesuit, Luis Gonçalves da Cámara, written in Spanish and Italian. (p. 440) O'Reilly adds that "these early documents, known and read within the Society . . . . were withdrawn from general circulation, apparently at Ribadeneira's prompting, and they did not become widely known again until the present century," although the *Autobiography* was published in Latin in the eighteenth century," but "the original text was not edited

until 1904, and only in 1943 did a satisfactory critical edition appear in print" (p. 440). O'Reilly notes: "all these texts are published in *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis,* volume 1, ed. D. Fernández Zapico and C. de Dalmases, Rome, 1943" (p. 464, n. 6).

11. Whereas the first printed version of the *Spiritual Exercises* was in Latin, the printed edition of *Ejercicios espirituales* was published in 1615 in Rome. This edition is referred to as the "Autograph" of *Spiritual Exercises,* but the real Autograph is lost. (Peers, vol. one, p. 335, n. 89.).

12. Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1954).

13. Martz, "The Poetry of Meditation: Searching the Memory," in *New Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century English Religious Lyric*, ed. John R. Roberts (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 188-200(200). Raspa identifies three English Jesuit poets writing during Donne's lifetime: Donne's maternal uncle, Jasper Heywood, William Alabaster, and Robert Southwell (pp. 2-3).

14. Edward M. Wilson, *Spanish and English literature of the 16th and 17th centuries.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 243.

15. Wilson cites *Documentos inéditos para la historia de España. Correspondencia oficial de don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar* (Madrid, 1945), vol. iv, p. 4.

16. Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company; and London: William Heinemann, 1899), vol.II, 176. Gosse sent a copy of this letter to James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, a historian of Spanish literature, asking him what Donne's knowledge of Spanish literature might be. Fitzmaurice-Kelly replied: "Surely Donne may have read everybody from Boscán and Garcilaso to the early Lope de Vega . . . . In fact, with the exception of the drama, he may have possessed on his shelves nearly all that is best worth reading in Spanish verse. In prose, no doubt, he was familiar with the mystics. He must have read Luis de León, Santa Teresa, San Juan de la Cruz, Granada, Juan de los Angeles, and the rest down to Malón de Chaide's *Conversión de la Magdalena"* (p. 177).

17. Grierson: *The Poems of John Donne.* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1912), vol. I, p. 322.

18. Thomas P. Van Laan, "John Donne's Devotions and the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises," *SP* 60 (1963): 191-202 (193-94).

19. Van Laan cites Douglas Peterson, "John Donne's *Holy Sonnets* and the Anglican Doctrine of Contrition," SP, LVI (1959): 504-18.

20. Patrick Grant observes that the speaker, at the close of "Spit in my face yee Jewes," is "left waiting" on God's "strange love" (l.9) (*Literature of Mysticism in Western Tradition* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983), p.117.

21. See in particular R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 39-40; and Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic*

Nobility (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 79; 102-03; 183-84; 191. Bald contends that Donne's early education, though Catholic, was not Jesuit. See Raspa (pp. 2-4) on the Jesuit poetic movement, and in particular on the poetry of Jasper Heywood and its adaptation of the Ignatian meditative form.

22. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 147ff.

23. R. V. Young's response to Lewalski's study, however, seems fitting, namely, that "the devotional schema of Protestant poetics . . . forc[es] both parties [Catholic and Protestant] into narrow ideological categories and neglect[s] the variety of theology and worship that flourished within the Catholic Church . . . .[But] whatever differences in detail might obtain between Catholic and Protestant approaches to meditation . . . they shared an overriding common motivation: the longing for the divine presence" (*Doctrine and Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Poetry* [Suffolk, GB: D.S. Brewer, 2000], p. 88). The charges of *alumbradismo* and "Lutheranism" brought against Ignatius in the early part of the sixteenth century testify to the Inquisition's anxiety about the crossover between Catholic and Protestant approaches to meditation and to other practices. Patrick Grant, who references Martz's study [*The Poetry of Meditation*] as "the older 'Ignatian' view," finds that in the Holy Sonnet "Spit in my face yee Jewes," Donne adapts the Ignatian model "for his Protestant purposes" (pp. 166, n.16; 115-116).

24. Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados.* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1992), p. 13.

25. According to Hamilton, "the great product of the Devotio Moderna, the *Imitation of Christ,* was being issued repeatedly in the vernacular—in Catalan since 1482, in Castilian since 1490, in Valencian since 1491—Cardinal Cisneros himself ordered Castilian translations of St. John Climacus's *Spiritual Ladder,* of the works of Catherine of Siena and Angela of Foligno, and of the popular version of the Pseudo-Dionysius's *Mystical Theology* by Hugh of Balma translated as *Sol de contemplativos"* (p. 13).

26. Eugene F. Rice, Jr. with Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe: 1460-1559* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970 and 1994), p. 175.

27. See "Rules For Thinking With The Church," (Section 369.17) in *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius.* A New Translation Based on Studies in the Language of the Autograph by Louis J. Puhl, S.J. (Westminster, Md: The Newman Press, 1957) in which Ignatius defends free will. All subsequent citations are from this edition.

28. And, it should be added, the Ignatian stipulation of the need for a Director, or priest, to guide the exercitant was not a feature of Protestant meditative practices.

29. "In sixteenth-century Spain the word "Lutheran" was used to designate any Protestant" (Spach, 868). But as Steven Ozment points out, the Council of Trent (1545-1563), shaped largely by its Jesuit members, "undertook to make traditional

religious life *intrinsically* more attractive to laity, to this end encouraging a highly personal and activist spirituality," whose "special agent in this undertaking was the newly formed Society of Jesus." (*The Age of Reform*: 1250-1550 [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980], p.409.)

30. R. V. Young's study of devotional poetry in the seventeenth-century explains the increasingly private and personal nature of Catholicism at this time "partly as a result of humanism's focus on the individual and partly in response to the Reformation" (*Doctrine and Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Poetry*, pp. 28-29, n.58). Young emphasizes that the "Catholic recusants in England were effectively forced by government authority to make their religion a private affair and used Jesuit meditative techniques accordingly" (p.29, n.58). But the *Spiritual Exercises* were instrumental in bringing back to the Church Roman Catholics who were attracted to the more personal nature of Protestantism.

31. See also Hamilton, Chapter III, "Tradition and Discussion," pp. 43-50, on the role of the Franciscans in heretical movements in Spain as early as the fourteenth century.

32. Robert C. Spach, "Juan Gil and Sixteenth-Century Spanish Protestantism," *Sixteenth Century Journal,* 4(1995): 857-879 (860).

33. See also Hamilton, p. 2. Hamilton further describes *recogimiento* as "the 'gathering' of the senses," which Hamilton claims was "characteristic of the [Franciscan] order," and which "seems to have developed in the 1480s partly as a reaction against the excessive anti-intellectualism and devotion to liturgy prevalent during the earliest phases of reform" (p. 12).

34. José Nieto, *Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformations* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 59. (Cited in Spach, p. 860.) Hamilton concurs with the view, stating that "Luther can hardly have had a part in the genesis of [the] ideas [of the *alumbrados* of Toledo], although "the possibility of Lutheran influence on the *alumbrados* of Toledo by the time they were arrested in 1524 cannot be dismissed." (p. 43) Hamilton attributes much of the doctrine of the early *alumbrados* to that of "the Free Spirit or Beghards as it was described and condemned in the bull *Adnostrum* of 1312," ideas that may have entered Spain through the Order of St. Francis, "for there was a strong and reciprocal attraction between the Franciscan third order and the Beghards, especially after the latter had been condemned" (pp. 43-44).

35. Hamilton cites the founding of the Spanish Inquisition by the Catholic Kings in 1478, indicating that it "was established in Andalusia by the end of 1480" (p. 8).

36. O' Malley emphasizes that even though many similarities exist "between [Ignatius] and Erasmus concerning how the Christian message was to be lived, the latter has nothing to say about [the] kind of prayer [in the *Spiritual Exercises*] even in his *De modo orandi Deum"* (p. 47).

37. Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility,* p. 53.

38. According to Hamilton's study, "some of the more impressionable of Loyola's female followers" were soon subject to mysterious mental aberrations (p. 94).

39. Noted in *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Jesu initiis,* volume 1, pp. 180; 480.

40. Following the papal approbation of the *Exercises* by Paul III in 1548, opposition to Ignatius and the manual continued. Melchior Cano, a Dominican, who was a professor at the University of Salamanca at the time, and who was one of the most vigorous opponents of the *alumbrados,* attacked Ignatius and his companions, according to Pierre Pourrat, "both in his correspondence and in his still famous Memorandum" (cf. *Crisis de la Compañia de Jesus,* Barcelona, 1900, 152-159) in which he describes the *Exercises* as "diabolical artifices," which "encourage illuminism." (Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality,* Part 1: *From the Renaissance to Jansenism* (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1963, vol. III, p. 110). Cano became, in the words of Pourrat, "the evil genius of the Grand Inquisitor Fernando de Valdes," who "issued the famous Index of 1559 at Valladolid," which the Ignatian *Exercises* managed to *escape* (pp. 101; 109).

41. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work,* tr. Jerome Aixalá, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), p. 64.

42. The three faculties of the soul are memory, understanding, and will. On one level, then, the discipline of the Ignatian meditative process works to preserve the integrity of the self. See also Peter Iver Kaufman's study of the prayers of Elizabethan Calvinist pietists and their attendant despair, self-absorption and inwardness, which Kaufman contends is fundamentally a desire to refashion the self, that despair was something to be overcome, "a precondition for coming together, *religans,* for reforming the self and conforming to God's will" (*Prayer, Despair, and Drama: Elizabethan Introspection* (Urbana and Chicago: Uiniversity of Ilinois Press, 1996), p. 8. Kaufman finds that "in prayer, the petitioners move from self-accusation to contrition and from godly sorrow to assurance" (p. 35).

43. Hamilton, p. 94. Joseph de Guibert points to Ignatius's "mystical life" as "one stressing service because of love, rather than a mysticism of union and transformation." (*The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, ed. George E. Ganss, S.J., tr. William J. Young, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972), p. 178.

44. Ignatius of Loyola, *Directory* to the *Spiritual Exercises,* chap. xxxvi, p. 339, translated from *Directorium in Exercitia* by W. H. Longridge, M.A., S.S..J.E. (London, 1919; 2nd edition 1922). (Cited in Peers, vol. one, p. 14.)

45. Cited in Peers, vol. one, p. 13, n. 5.

46. Cited in Peers, vol. one, p. 13, n. 6.

47. Cited in Peers, vol. one, p. 13, n. 4.

48. Guibert indicates that the "spirit" of the *Imitation of Christ,* "in its more positive part," stands in agreement with that of Ignatius," namely "the book's

concept of a person's sanctification of himself" (p. 156). But the Ignatian emphasis on "apostolic service of God . . . throughout the world for the salvation of souls is almost entirely foreign to the *Imitation"* (p. 156).

49. García de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, 2 vols., Montserrat 1965, II, p. 454. (Cited in Hamilton, p. 13.)

50. Peers cites Henri Watrigant's study of the manual of Cisneros in which Watrigant emphasizes that in contrast to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius, "Cisneros writes for contemplatives only, Ignatius for all," and "to Cisneros prayer is more of an end in itself than to Ignatius, who subordinates it to 'ordered action.'" (Henri Watrigant, S.J., *La Genèse des Exercises Spirituelles de St. Ignace de Loyola* [Amiens, 1897], I:9, n. 4).

51. See also O'Reilly, p. 452.

52. Hugo Rahner, S.J., *The Spirituality of St. Ignatius Loyola,* tr. Francis John Smith, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1953), p. 89.

53. Rahner, p. 89. [Paraphrase from *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola,* tr. J. F. X. O'Connor, S.J., (New York, 1900)]. St. Ignatius dictated the *Autobiography* to Father Louis Gonzales de Camara (Rahner, p.114).

54. Nadal, in *Chronicon Joannis Alphonsi de Polanco*, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1894), vol. III, 530. (Cited in Rahner, pp.89-90.)

55. Hamilton, p. 94. (Italics mine.)

56. The influence of Eastern mysticism—and its emphasis on mental discipline—on Spanish mysticism deserves mention here. See, for example, Edward Maslin Hulme, *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe* (New York: The Century Co., 1915).

57. Nadal, *Pláticas espirituales del P. Jerónimo Nadal, S.J., en Coimbra (*1561), ed. Miguel Nicolau (Granada: Facoltad Teologica de la Compaña de Jesús, 1945), pp. 189-90. (Cited in O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* p. 164.) O'Malley adds: "In practice, however, Jesuits tried to find ways to correlate 'private prayer' with the public prayer that was the mass" (164).

58. Tad Dunne, "The Cultural Milieus of the *Spiritual Exercises,"* in *A New Introduction to the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius,* ed. John E. Dister, S.J. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1993), p. 19.

59. Janel M. Mueller, "The Exegesis of Experience: Dean Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions,"* JEGP, LXVII (1968): 1-19 (2). Mueller contends that the *Devotions* "demonstrate the futility of seeking a private path to salvation," particularly with the absence of the sacraments. (p. 6)

60. O'Reilly's study indicates that Ignatius "worked for the establishment of the Roman Inquisition in 1542" (p. 447).

61. Some studies, however, have found the Fourth Week of the *Exercises* to be analogous to the Unitive Way: according to one Jesuit writer, "Our Father Ignatius, while touching upon this last degree which belongs to contemplation, has sufficiently laid down all that has to do with its beginning, and with the form and matter

to be made use of and . . . for whatever lies beyond this belongs rather to the teaching of the Holy Spirit than to that of man." (P. Suarez, *De Religione,* IX, vi, 9, tr. W. H. Longridge, M.A., S.S.J.E., in *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola, translated from the Spanish, with a commentary and a translation of the "Directorium in Exercitia"* (London, 1919), pp. 261-62. (Cited in Peers, vol. one, p. 13, n.3.)

62. See my study: "Donne's 'Goodfriday, 1613. Riding Westward' and Augustine's Psychology of Time," in *John Donne's Religious Imagination: Essays in Honor of John T. Shawcross,* ed. Raymond-Jean Frontain and Frances M. Malpezzi (UCA Press, 1995), 284-305.

63. Raspa defines the "baroque" as referencing "the sensibility created by the gradual collapse of the set hierarchies of the Great Chain of Being, and by the rise and decline of the emotive world view that succeeded it in the Counter Reformation mind," and "roughly bounded by the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the middle of the seventeenth" (p. 11).

64. See also Raspa, Chapter Two, "The Baroque World View," pp. 11-36.

65. Raspa finds that "in Donne's sacred sonnets, the emphasis on human nature shifted away from its traditional medieval and humanist elements of body and soul as matter and form. Psychology and the senses became the predominant human traits," assuming "the emotive characteristics of the baroque spirit world" (74).

66. Hamilton's observations about the emotional/psychological effects that were reported to have occurred at prayer meetings held by disciples of Loyola (p. 94) deserve consideration in light of Raspa's findings. See n. 38 above.

67. Strier, "John Donne Awry and Squint: The 'Holy Sonnets,' 1608-1610," MP 86(1989): 357-84 (3 75-77). The poem's emphasis on violence is presented as "divine in the beginning, but demonic in the middle" (p. 377).

68. All citations are from *The Divine Poems of John Donne,* ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952).

69. Young, "Donne's Holy Sonnets and the Theology of Grace," in *"Bright Shootes of Everlastingnesse": The Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric,* ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987): 20-39 (31).

70. Young, (*Doctrine and Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Poetry),* p. 8.

71. Gardner, *The Divine Poems of John Donne* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. xxxi; 131.

72. Roger B. Rollin, "'Fantastic Ague': The Holy Sonnets and Religious Melancholy," in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne,* ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986): 131-46 (144).

73. Flynn, "Donne's Catholicism: II," *Recusant History,* 13 (1976):178-195 (187). Ozment calls attention to modern studies that "view the Counter Reformation as part of an ongoing effort to heal the breach that opened in the fourteenth century between lay piety and official church religion," a division attributed to "such varied

forces as Ockhamism and mysticism, the aloofness of the religious orders, and the remoteness of papal and Episcopal authority," which "encouraged religious individualism and subjectivity" (*The Age of Reform,* pp.397-98). The Inquisition was established by papal decree in Castile as early as November, 1478, ostensibly to address *converso* (Christian-Jews) heresies. See Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997), particularly Chapter 4, "A Continuing Opposition."

74. Gosse, I:223. (Cited in Flynn, "Donne's Catholicism: II," p. 187.)

75. Cited in *Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyol*a, ed. J. C. Olin, tr. J. F. O'Callahan (New York, 1974), p. 23.

76. Rene Fulöp-Miller, *The Jesuits: A History of the Society of Jesus* (New York, 1963), p. 47. (Cited in Ozment, *The Age of Reform,* p. 412.)

77. The Exercises, in the face of "the decline of the credibility of the Great Chain of Being and from the rising sensory values of the new universal view . . . . did not renege on the world as the domain of personal human reason," but reason assumed a new role as "an indisputable creator of images," for as "man became a meditator, he also became a consummate thinking artist" (Raspa, pp. 46; 66-67).

78. Margaret Edson, *Wit* (New York: Faber and Faber, inc., 1999), pp. 48-50.

79. Edson, p. 49.

80. Robert B. Shaw, *The Call of God: The Theme of Vocation in the Poetry of Donne and Herbert* (Cambridge: Cowley Publications, 1981), p. 51.

81. Kuder, "James Joyce and Ignatius of Loyola: The *Spiritual Exercises* In *A Portrait Of The Artist,*" *Christianity and Literature* 31(1982): 48-57 (52).