

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE EFFECT OF
MILITARY INFLUENCES ON THE THEOLOGY AND FORM OF
THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES
OF IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA**

THESIS

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by

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"RALLY TO YOUR COLOUR."

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Spiritual Exercises are frequently referred to simply as *The Exercises* and specific *Exercises* are indicated, whether singular or plural, by the precursor *Exx.*

.....

FRONTISPIECE

Sovereign's Colour, Royal Guard, 1st Bn The King's Own Scottish Borderers,
Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, July 1998.
(The Ensign is the author's son.)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the influences of a military nature affecting the life of Ignatius of Loyola up to the time he wrote *The Spiritual Exercises*, and to assess whether such influences may have affected the theology and form of *The Spiritual Exercises*.

The investigation opens with an apologetic on why the author considers it desirable to examine *The Spiritual Exercises* from this point of view. Thereafter a review of the life of Ignatius up to the time he wrote *The Exercises* is undertaken to identify which sources may have provided influences of a military nature or nuance, and to examine what possible effect these had upon Ignatius.

The potential sources of influence examined include Ignatius's family background and the *milieu* in which he grew up, the attitude of his mentors in particular and society in general to the profession of arms, and Ignatius's own response to this attitude.

From the age of twenty-five to thirty Ignatius was employed on duties of a principally military nature until he was severely wounded at the Battle of Pamplona in 1521. Therefore his military experience is examined together with an attempt to assess the degree, if any, of his spirituality at that point in his life. This is followed by an investigation of the literary sources available to Ignatius from the time of his wounding up to the time when he wrote *The Spiritual Exercises* at Manresa.

Thereafter an examination of the changes which took place in his psyche and spirit, from the time he was wounded up to the time he wrote *The Spiritual Exercises* is undertaken, in order to ascertain whether his attitude to military concepts immediately prior to writing *The Exercises* had changed from his pre-Pamplona days.

The Spiritual Exercises are then examined to consider which portions, if any, were affected in form or theology by military influences or nuances. The conclusion reached is that whereas *The Spiritual Exercises* are in no way a military treatise, the form is affected to a reasonable degree by Ignatius's experiences of, and attitude to, the military life, whereas the theology is affected only slightly.

PREFACE

Whilst studying *The Spiritual Exercises* for a course on Ignatian Spirituality, I was struck by the similarity between the form of parts of *The Exercises* and the form of military writing which I had used as a young British officer.

Coming, like Ignatius, from a country (Scotland) where there is hardly a family in the land which does not have some military connection of which they are proud, I have now lived for thirty years in South Africa, where the army has been generally despised by much of society and in particular by the church. It has therefore been a source of pain to me to find that the possibility of using positive military examples and imagery from scripture or theology, has tended to be dismissed out of hand by most theologians as having nothing beneficial to offer. This is understandable in view of the fact that up to 1994 the South African army was employed on internal security operations which inevitably involved it in domestic political conflict. This thesis is no way intended to support the many wrongs done by the military. My understanding of the correct use of an army is to restore peace, not to make war. I agree with Sun Tzu that "an army should be always ready but never used." (Laffin 1966:291) Thus The Prince of Peace can also be commander-in-Chief. Ignatius, I believe, understood this.

It is interesting to observe that since the democratic election of 1994, the South African army has become completely demoralised and virtually ineffective. A similar thing happened in Russia, after Stalin's purge prior to World War II. In both cases, the hard learned lessons of the past were ignored on grounds of political expediency.

My contention is that this did not happen with Ignatius. As he advanced from temporal to spiritual warfare, he took the lessons of the past with him, and applied them for good in his new role. Consequently I felt constrained to present an aspect of *The Spiritual Exercises* which seems to have been largely passed over and which, in my opinion is a gap in the theology of today,

without an understanding of which, we are unlikely to make significant inroads against the spiritual evils which are attacking modern society on every front.

I am most grateful to Dr. Susan Rakoczy IHM, of St Joseph's, Cedara, who was the first person to encourage me in this quest, and to Professor Felicity Edwards of Rhodes University for her enthusiastic support. I wish to particularly thank Professor (Brigadier) Deon Fourie of The University of South Africa who not only went to immense trouble with advice and help, but also encouraged me when I needed it most.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH PROBLEM, HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 IGNATIUS'S EARLY LIFE – THE ORIGIN OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

"Iñigo ... López de Loyola, known to history as Ignatius Loyola, was born in 1491, in the ancestral home of the Loyolas in the parish of Azpeitia in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa." (Caraman 1990:1) Ignatius was the youngest of eleven siblings born to Beltrán Ibanez de Oñaz, (the surnames Loyola and Oñaz alternated in the family), and Marina Sáenz de Licona. Shortly after his birth Ignatius's mother died.

Ignatius grew up in the castle of Loyola as a member of an aristocratic Basque household, "not known for their learning; all that was required of one with the family name to make his own way in the world was a spirit of enterprise." (Caraman 1990:7) Of his six brothers, only one did not serve at some time as a soldier – or a sailor – and his father fought in the wars both against Portugal and the French. (See Chapter 3 and also De Dalmases 1985 9, 12-13.) When he was fifteen he entered the household of the Treasurer of Castile, Jean Velásquez de Cuéllar. His father died about this time, Ignatius remained with them until Velásquez died in 1517, learning the life of a courtier, during which time he was noted neither for celibacy nor a cool head.

In 1517 Ignatius entered the service of the Duke of Nájera, recently appointed Viceroy of Navarre, where he became a gentleman-at-arms. In modern terms this has a very different connotation from the time when Ignatius lived. In part, it was much like being a modern day equerry. But it would also mean taking the field when his master went on

campaign and it might mean being sent on missions with the forces as well.¹ In this role he demonstrated not only courage in the field, but also ability in peacemaking negotiations. When the French invaded Navarre he was severely wounded in both legs by a glancing cannon ball while participating in the defence of Pamplona Citadel in 1521.

Ignatius recovered from his wound at his family home of Loyola. During his convalescence he experienced a profound conversion which resulted in a radical change of character and life direction. He decided to commit the rest of his life to Christ and, once he had recovered, he set out on a life of pilgrimage. After a night of vigil-at-arms at the Monastery of Montserrat, he left his sword at the altar of the Black Madonna, reaching Manresa in March 1522 in a state of poverty and humility. He remained there until February 1523, during which time "according to the unanimous account of witnesses, he wrote these *(Spiritual) Exercises*" (De Dalmases 1985:64) in their shapeless original version. (Rahner, Hugo 1990:57)

The present writer's reading of *The Spiritual Exercises* led him to conclude that there are portions of the work that may have derived from Ignatius's military background experienced in the atmosphere of his father's home, at the two courts in which he served, and in his experiences serving in the odd campaign, and which had some influence upon the form and theology of *The Exercises*. Perhaps the writer's own experiences as a soldier until the time he was wounded at about the same age as Ignatius, lay at the root of the impression.

Although there might be some doubt as to whether Ignatius was what would today be considered a regular, professional soldier, nonetheless, up to the time when he reached Manresa, he was exposed to many and various sources of military influence on his life. He had himself served as a soldier on active service. Perhaps one might with justification ask whether he would have been converted at all had he not been so seriously wounded.

His *Spiritual Exercises* contain many identifiable military features both latent and patent. Being fairly convinced of the validity of his observation the writer of this dissertation found himself moved to enquire as far as the limited sources permit, whether or not his observations were correct. This dissertation is the product of the research aimed at elucidating the problem.

It would be a mistake to separate the earlier images or stages of Ignatius's life rigidly one from another. It is disputed that he could have entirely left behind the earlier images and their influence when he moved into a new life. Features of what he once was may be expected to have remained permanent parts of his total personality thus making a lasting contribution to the man of later years.

(Lonsdale 1990:8).

The intention is in no way to glorify Ignatius's military life. Rather it is to demonstrate that it is a valid area of investigation into *The Spiritual Exercises* because it is critical to a more complete understanding of Ignatius's thought processes at the time when he was writing.

1.2 HYPOTHESIS

On the foundation of the preceding definition of a research problem, the writer has arrived at the following hypothesis to be falsified or demonstrated in this dissertation:

The form and theology of *The Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola were affected to a considerable extent by the various military influences which impacted upon his life within his family, as a young courtier and as a gentleman-at-arms, prior to his wounding and conversion.

1.3 SOURCES

Primary sources about Ignatius's early life, apart from the slim 'autobiography' were not really available to assist in the research. The sources considered therefore had to be limited to secondary sources and probably are of limited accuracy – given the time that has elapsed, the absence of almost anything that could inform the researcher about Ignatius's early life, and the inevitable hagiographic and other influences on writers about great personalities in history.

1.4 APPROACH

In dealing with the problem and the hypothesis, the approach has been to consider certain selected aspects of Ignatius's life, the society in which he lived and such other circumstances as seemed appropriate to clarification. It was also necessary to look at the contents of *The Spiritual Exercises* and to attempt an assessment of the hypothesis in the light of what they and certain commentators have to contribute to elucidation. The following are the materials considered.

1.4.1 Societal. Family Background.

Ignatius's family history and the *milieu* in which he grew up.

1.4.2 Environment.

The meaning of Basque identity in the Sixteenth Century and the influence of society and topography upon their character. The general situation in Spain as it was likely to impact

upon the young Ignatius, with particular reference to the state of the army and Ignatius's own military training and experiences, are also considered.

1.4.3 Mentors.

The influence upon Ignatius of Velásquez and the Duke of Nájera, his mentors during adolescence and early manhood, with reference to their own military reputations and experience.

1.4.4 Personal Experience.

A consideration of Ignatius's personal experiences of military life, from the time he entered the service of Velásquez until being wounded at Pamplona in 1521, together with a consideration of Ignatius's military capability by the time he was wounded and an assessment of his spiritual condition at that time.

1.4.5 Written Sources.

All the written sources which Ignatius is known to have read, from the time he was wounded until he reached Manresa, are examined with a view to establishing whether they may have provided inspiration for any of the military concepts identifiable in *The Exercises*. Also to consider whether such sources encouraged or discouraged Ignatius from using military ideas in his writing, and if so why?

1.4.6 Psychological and Spiritual State.

An endeavour is made to examine the changes which took place in Ignatius's mind and spirit from the time he was wounded until he wrote *The Exercises* in order to uncover

any military influences which he sought to remove from, or retain in, his consciousness, and what, if anything, was subconsciously retained. This provides a springboard for an investigation of *The Spiritual Exercises* proper.

1.4.7 *The Spiritual Exercises.*

These are examined to ascertain which significant military aspects, patent and latent, are identifiable therein and whether Ignatius may have included them, consciously or unconsciously, as a result of his military experience.

1.5 CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, the outcome of the research is an endeavour to demonstrate or falsify the hypothesis in the light of the limited sources available. It is realized that although the hypothesis directs the research to the demonstration of a particular conclusion, neither the absolute demonstration nor the absolute falsification need be the final outcome and that instead, a qualified conclusion may also be possible. This is indeed what developed from the research. The Ignatius who wrote *The Spiritual Exercises*, although a radically different personality from the man who was wounded at Pamplona, retained a sufficiently positive attitude to the military knowledge which he had gained, for it to positively affect certain aspects of the writing of *The Exercises*. It was however recognized that the conclusion could not be taken much further than that.

NOTES

- 1 'Gentilhombre', Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europa-Americana, Tomo XXV, 1924. Espasa-Calpe, S.A., Bilbao: 1281-1283.

CHAPTER 2

APOLOGETIC ON THE DESIRABILITY OF CONSIDERING THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF IGNATIUS'S LIFE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

An apologetic to justify the use of military science as an acceptable area of investigation into *The Spiritual Exercises* is perhaps necessary since the prevailing attitude in the academy contains some doubt about whether military science has anything worthwhile to offer the current theological debate. This is probably exacerbated by the fact that few modern theologians have had any military experience.

In his introduction to *Makers of Modern Strategy* in 1943 E M Earle wrote that:

The greatest military historians of our time felt under constant necessity to apologise for their interest in military problems, because dislike for war and ignorance concerning its role in human affairs, have led peaceful peoples everywhere to deprecate its significance in history and ignore its portentous meaning for our future.

(Earle 1943: viii)

It is hardly surprising therefore that this deprecation also extends to matters spiritual which have been affected by military influences. However when considering Ignatius's early life and military environment, it is surely important to assess *inter alia*, his military dimension, in order to achieve a balanced understanding of the real man.

2.2 THE ENDURING EFFECT OF MILITARY INFLUENCE

The author has observed in his own life that, despite having left the (British) army 30 years ago, many facets of his life are still affected by his military training as a young officer. These range from using a *military appreciation* when making a major life decision, to using methods of accounting learned as a soldier when keeping business books. Despite now having a very different approach to military style operations, to the extent of total revulsion at some activities he used to take part in, methods learned as a young soldier are still powerful tools for good in certain circumstances and have become second nature. This is also demonstrated by numerous ex-officers, professional or otherwise, of the author's acquaintance from armies as disparate as those of the U.S.A., Zimbabwe and Malaysia, who still model many of their business procedures on modern military techniques learned in their respective wars.

Certain features of Ignatius's character and life have drawn attention to a possible influence from his early life in military society on his subsequent thought and perhaps actions.

2.3 THE SCIENCE – THEOLOGY INTERFACE

According to Bohm (1980:176), "The best place to begin, (an investigation) [parentheses mine], is undivided wholeness." One result of his Implicate Order theory is the concept that, not only is no man an island (John Donne:Devotions), but that no meaning, concept, happening or anything else exists in a vacuum of time and space. Since this concept applies to humans as to everything else, it seems irresponsible to consider body, mind or spirit, or indeed anything else, in isolation, even at the transcendent levels of consciousness we encounter in *The Spiritual Exercises*. Bruteau (1980:134) and Wilber

(1975:106) support a merging at every level of consciousness. This merging into unity is, in their opinion, the crux of the problem in uncovering a real person. By a *real* person is meant how a person functions in their innermost being. Therefore in seeking the real Ignatius, any discipline must perforce be germane to the investigation. All the more important therefore not to exclude any area of influence on his life, however apparently abstruse. To discount fifteen years of Ignatius's life experience in an examination of *The Spiritual Exercises* is surely unacceptable? Hence this study is directed at attempting to discover if possible, the influence of those years in military society on the thoughts of Ignatius.

2.4 MILITARISM OR MILITARY SCIENCE?

It is not intended that this study should present Ignatius as militaristic as a result of his early life. It is merely intended to discover whether that life influenced certain of his approaches. Indeed, being inclined to use the approaches of the soldier are at quite a remove from being militaristic. Militarism refers to an overwhelming influence of military life in the thoughts and actions of a society. The remark that while most states have an army, Prussia under Frederick the Great, was an army that possessed a state, illustrates this.

De Guibert (1972:172) in his discussion on *A Military Spirituality* identifies most succinctly the difference between *militaristic* and *military* with reference to Ignatius and this is discussed in Chapter 4.

2.5 UNINFORMED COMMENTS ON MILITARY MATTERS

Comments on military matters from within the body of committed Ignatian writers do exist and perhaps they require comment. For example Lonsdale fails to understand that

genuine principles in any discipline are timeless. In a discussion of the qualities needed by a junior officer of Ignatius's day he is of the opinion that:

The nature of the fighting and of his position of leadership was likely to demand from him a high level of initiative, skill in swordsmanship, the ability to inspire others by personal example, courage and bravery in the face of danger to his life...

(Lonsdale 1990:13)

His point is that while these qualities obtained in the 16th Century, they no longer do. In fact the reverse is the case. These are the very qualities one would look for in a platoon or company commander today. *Skill at arms* would be more appropriate than *swordsmanship*, but otherwise the qualities remain relevant. When the author trained with the United States Army Rangers in 1960, each member on the course was given a copy of the *Plan of Discipline* by Major Robert Rogers, Commanding His Majesty's Rangers in North America during the 1750's and 1760's. In this plan it was emphasised that the same principles still applied today, especially the last injunction, "to preserve a firmness and presence of mind on every occasion." (Plan of Discipline for the Ranging Service, October 1757 para XXVIII). Perhaps more to the point, the principles set down by Rogers were similar to those used by the author in the Malaysia Rangers between 1962 – 1965 in the jungle war against Indonesia.

2.6 HAGIOGRAPHICAL BIAS

Somewhat detrimental to the present discussion is the entirely understandable hagiographical attitude to Ignatius's military experience by certain biographers, attributing exploits to the young soldier probably out of line with the reality of a soldier's life. Even Meissner (1992:155), who in general terms presents a most balanced picture, falls into this trap. He writes, "The same fanatical drive forced him to leap to the parapet

of Pamplona to meet the oncoming cannonball.” That is probably factually incorrect. Ignatius was more likely to have been wounded at ground level once the defences had been breached. Cannon were generally not used to kill defenders on elevated parapets, they lacked the necessary elevation. As a general rule canister or grapeshot was used against humans, cannon balls against defences. The concept of Ignatius leaping to meet the oncoming cannonball is wonderfully romantic, but military nonsense. Munitiz (1988:7) refers to Ignatius’s “weak flank, his genuine humility.” Any insightful student must surely consider that genuine humility is a position of great spiritual strength and a quality to be sought after! The point of the foregoing examples is not to discredit these commentators, but rather to demonstrate that they may sometimes comment on an area of expertise of which they have limited knowledge or understanding.

2.7 IGNATIUS’S MILITARY COMPETENCE

Ignatius, having had some fifteen years of military life of some sort, of which about five years was practical experience of warfare, could reasonably be expected to have achieved at least the equivalent military competence of a modern territorial or militia captain. Professional, in the strict sense of having been trained as a full time soldier, he was not, but for all practical purposes his profession was that of a gentleman-soldier between the ages of twenty-five and thirty. Indeed this was most probably the extent of “training” by any officer in those years. Apprenticeship, rather than military academies, was the officer’s school until the 17th Century at least. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

2.8 THE MILITARY – THEOLOGY INTERFACE

It therefore appears reasonable to the author to undertake an investigation into what might be described as the field of *military theology*, in an attempt to examine the

interface of the two disciplines and to investigate how someone with experience in both fields might transfer techniques from one to the other.

2.9 CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to be drawn from this chapter are;

- 2.9.1 Some military influences may have a lasting effect on an ex-soldier's life even though his attitude to that life may alter radically.
- 2.9.2 A military science – theology interface is implicit in Böhm's Implicate Order theory.
- 2.9.3 There is a difference between militarism and military science. The former is undesirable, the latter useful.
- 2.9.4 In Ignatius's case, it is critical to include a consideration of the influence of military aspects on his personality, if one hopes to achieve a reasonably objective view of his psychological state when composing *The Spiritual Exercises*.
- 2.9.5 Since it is necessary to consider the military influences in a balanced way, one must not either exclude them as irrelevant, or infuse them with an hagiographical bias.

NOTES

- 1. The State of the Spanish Army in Ignatius's day is discussed in Chapter 3

CHAPTER 3

SOURCES OF MILITARY INFLUENCE UPON IGNATIUS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

De Guibert (1972:152/3) divided his Ignatian sources into fundamental, (forming the major outlines of Ignatius's spiritual outlook), particular, (which could have suggested to him some single idea), literary, and oral sources. He comments that "His (Ignatius's) borrowing of details relatively secondary in importance from the particular sources ... are something unessential for understanding the spirituality of a founder." But for this investigation such secondary sources are critical. For someone as experiential as Ignatius, no influence, no experience, can be said to be without relevance in the makeup of the total person.

Therefore as wide a spectrum as possible of sources of influence should be investigated in order to identify in Böhm's terminology not only the implicate sea of Ignatius's spiritual thinking, but the explicate waves which go to make up that sea. Possible sources of military influence are therefore examined under the headings of:

- Societal.
- Experiential, and
- Literary.

3.2 SOCIETAL

3.2.1 Family.

Give me a child for the first seven years and you may do with him what you like afterwards.

(Attributed as a Jesuit maxim, Lean's Collectanea 1903. Vol 3:472)

A study of Ignatius's early life is desirable since "psychology attributes the greatest importance to the hereditary factors and environmental circumstances of the early years in the psychological make-up of an individual." (De Dalmases 1985:25)

Ignatius was born, probably in 1491, into a Basque family of minor nobility, with a long pedigree and a military tradition to match. Their coat of arms of seven red bars on a field of gold was awarded to the family by King Alfonso of Castile after the battle of Beotiber on 19th September 1321, when the heads of the Houses of Loyola and Oñaz, together with their brothers, seven men in all, played a leading role in an action when a tiny Spanish force of 800 ambushed and defeated a combined French, Gascon and Navarrese army of 70 000. (Caraman 1990:3) Thus the genesis of military tradition in the Loyola household encouraged their descendants to scorn overwhelming odds. This may have affected Ignatius's decision process at Pamplona 300 years later. Assessing the attitudes of the times, Meissner (1992:16) wrote "Military prowess and adventurous daring were highly valued a real man would never back away from a fight, even when the odds were against him."

Clearly, Ignatius came from a background which would have influenced him to identify with the military life and thus to think as a soldier might. Firstly, he would have been influenced by the example of his ancestors. Apart from a line of fighting men among his ancestors, his father, Beltrán Ibanez de Oñaz, (ca. 1439-1507), fought on the side of Ferdinand and Isabella, both against Portugal in 1476 at Toro and Burgos, and later against the French at Fuenterribia. Five of his six known brothers led a military life. De Dalmases mentions particularly one who fought on his own ship against the French and two who served in the wars of Navarre. All but one brother were in the service of the kings of Castile, either bearing arms as soldiers or participating in the conquest of the Americas. (De Dalmases 1985:9,12-13). Accordingly, a military atmosphere can be expected to have existed in the family.

De Dalmases (1985:36-37) warns that, to avoid the dangers of exaggeration, one should understand that Ignatius, his father and his brother Martin Garcia, were not professional soldiers. They were gentlemen, (*gentilhombres*) in the antique sense of the word. As such the description given by De Dalmases suggests that Ignatius fulfilled the role of an equerry to the Viceroy of Navarre.

"...when occasion required most nobles were expected...to serve in the army A sixteenth century army carried two sets of officers. The sergeants (and) sergeant majors...trained and moved the troops.... The noble colonels and generals, who could not be expected to do military house keeping, then led the army... and collected most of the glory."

(Ropp 1962:35)

Accordingly one would imagine that the *gentilhombres* would have had the character of the gentleman-officers of the Volunteers, and later the Territorials, in the contemporary United Kingdom. Many foreigners served in the various wars of Ignatius's time as gentlemen volunteers and, as experience in modern wars has shown, the amateur enthusiast was quite capable of adopting all the intellectual characteristics of the professional soldier and excelling therein.

One thinks of the remarkable initiative and insights of men like Shaka Zulu, who completely revolutionised the Zulu concept of warfare with no prior training, and the South African Boers, (mainly farmers), such as De La Rey who, "had naturally never seen a modern battle before the battle of Graspan. It had proved a revelation." But De La Rey "knew why they had been defeated. Their basic mistake was their choice of defensive positions....So.... give up the....traditional eyries of the Boer fighter. Dig into

the mud.... It was the last place where Methuen (the professional British commander) [parantheses mine] would expect to find them." (Packenham 1979:193)

Even Magdalena de Araoz, (the wife of Ignatius's elder brother Martin), who had a significant effect on Ignatius's life, had probably been exposed to some degree of military influence. She had been one of Queen Isabella's ladies-in-waiting. Isabella was a proponent of active participation by (some) women on campaign. "She appeared in arms at the head of her troops, and shrunk from none of the hardships of war." (Prescott 1846:174). De Gaury (1955:21) credits Isabella with providing "a stimulus for the army which no woman, except Joan of Arc, has ever equalled." Ropp (1966:110-111) not only comments that, "Isabella...in my view is the only woman in history who can be justly called a great captain", but goes on to say that "Ferdinand could never have achieved his successes without the magnificent staff work of his wife." Yet she retained her femininity. It seems reasonable to assume that Magdalena would be influenced in some way by such an outstanding woman as this queen, of whom she was a favourite. (Meissner 1992:13)

What we do know is that Magdalena had become second mother to Ignatius, (or third if we include his foster mother), when he was seven years old, his own mother having died in his infancy. It was Magdalena who nursed him back to health after he was wounded. That she made a lasting impression on Ignatius is evident from an incident many years later when he "told a Belgian novice that a picture of our Lady ... reminded him so much by its beauty of his sister-in-law Magdalena that it disturbed him in his devotion" (Hugo Rahner in Meissner 1992:240) Meissner (1992:240) suggests that the influence Magdalena had on the wounded Ignatius intensified the effect of the books which he read during his convalescence, simply because they were her's. One can readily understand the disproportionate psychological effect a caring woman might have on a wounded man.

3.2.2 A Basque Background.

The Basques are an ancient people whose origins are still in dispute. "Recent anthropologists, (Goyhenenche and Levine), consider them to be descendants of original cave dwellers, i.e. very indigenous." (Mayo 1974:106.) The Basque personality is quiet, reserved, courageous and fiercely independent. Caraman (1990:9) describes them as being able to concentrate on the subject on hand, deliberate in speech and reflective in outlook. This Basque-ness is not only evident in Ignatius's character but is clearly discernible in *The Spiritual Exercises*. Leturia (in De Dalmases 1985:26) attributes to Ignatius's Basque origins his unshakeable firmness of will. Neither is Ignatius one to equivocate! "As he thought that everything was quite clear, this direction was of no use to him" (Ignatius 1980:19), thus dismissing his confessor's advice out of hand as being useless.

The mountainous Basque country led to a local type of mosstrooping known as *euskalleria*. Not much is known about this form of warfare, but it is probably somewhat akin to the mosstroopers of the Scottish/English/Welsh marches up to the 17th Century – cattle rieving, family feuds and savage deeds.

"The mountain sheep are sweeter,
But the valley sheep are fatter,
We therefore deemed it meeter
To carry off the latter
We made an expedition;
We met a host, and quelled it;
We forced a strong position,
And killed the men who held it."

(T L Peacock. The War Song of Dinas Vawr)

What seems certain is that mountain warfare was in Ignatius's blood. (Brodrick J 1956:13). There is a widespread popular concept that mountain men are better fighters than plains men, but this is probably fallacious. Mountain Welshmen, (South Wales Borderers), and plains Englishmen, (Glosters), both stood equally firm nearly 80 years apart at Rorke's Drift in South Africa and the Imjim River in Korea. But what does seem to be a sustainable argument is that different types of topography breeds different character types of soldiers.

"National characteristics stem mainly from geography. The climate, type of soil, and the general position of a country dictate the sort of life that is led there....which in turn harden(s) into unmistakable characteristics... The Lowland Scots....have the dour attitude of those who live in a hard land. Springing from this environment, the Lowland (Scots) soldier carries easily recognisable traits of character."

(Baynes 1967:107-108)

Generally speaking, mountain men are not as good in defence as in attack, lacking the patience, the phlegm of the plains man. This has significance for this investigation when Ignatius's behaviour at Pamplona is considered and the *forward* quality so evident in the Basque character is clearly discernible in Ignatius's insistence on maintenance of the aim throughout *The Exercises*. It is in fact Philippians 3:14 in action. "I press on toward the goal ..."

3.2.3 The Wider Canvas.

Ignatius was born into a Spain dominated by the characters of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Although Isabella died in 1504 and Ferdinand in 1516, the state of the

country and in particular the army in which Ignatius served, was shaped by their influence. We have already seen how Isabella was an inspiration to her troops.

Caraman's comment (1990:21) that "The French had recently built up the first standing army in Europe, while Spain was only in the process of establishing something similar" does not do full justice to the Spanish army of Ignatius's time. According to Montgomery (1968:211) "In the history of European warfare in the Sixteenth century the leading nation was Spain". Whilst the armies of Europe were in a process of growth, the stage of growth varied from country to country. According to J B Collins (1995:14-15) the condition of the French army had slipped away and it was only from 1445 that the setting up of the *compagnies d'ordonnance du roi* by Charles VII resulted in the re-establishment of a standing army in that country.

According to W H Prescott (1841, Vol 1: 226-230), the organisation of the Spanish army had already commenced in 1475 when the fighting forces were little more than feudal bands –chivalrous, undisciplined and quixotic – and battles were mere melees. J F C Fuller writes (1970:391-401) that when Isabella and Ferdinand set out in 1483 to remove the Moors from Spain, Isabella, who was the soul of the movement, still needed to develop an army capable of getting away from the traditional *cavalgado* – the cavalry foray – and of overcoming the castles of Granada. For this she needed artillery, engineers and also infantry.

Fuller and Prescott (Prescott *op.cit.* 426-441) both describe how she imported gun founders and even shot, sometimes of marble, from other countries, and built forges, powder and cannon ball factories – and imported munitions as well – so that eventually the best artillery train in Europe could be placed under the command of the chosen commander, Francisco Ramirez. To move the artillery she needed roads for which she developed a corps of miners and pioneers, (field engineers), - at Cambril there were

6 000 to build a single causeway. She also established a supply train employing 80 000 mules. All this had to go hand in hand with organisation, so she developed a system for the organised distribution of rations, the billeting of soldiers and the planning of movements. She established a tented military field hospital – perhaps the first ever since the Crusades – and a regiment of field messengers. A corps of 30 000 devastators was also set up to forage and then destroy the enemy's means of subsistence. For her infantry she moved away from the undisciplined and independent levies, turning to the *hermandad*, originally vigilante groups that had recently been converted into regular rural and municipal constabularies. She converted them into the foundation of an organised, disciplined national army. To give the new army backbone she hired Swiss mercenary regiments, the most professional infantry in Western Europe. These she supplemented with volunteers from England, Ireland, France and Germany.

Theodore Ropp (1959:16-19) explains how the Spanish infantry, armed with varieties of muskets as well as pikes, were given a substantive regimental organisation into the famous *tercias* of ten companies. Ropp adds, "The impoverished Spanish nobility were now eager to serve in the infantry, and the infantryman, no matter what his social origins, began to consider himself a gentleman just because he had served in the infantry."

The Spanish contingent was always used as the spearhead (of Charles V's cosmopolitan armies) [parentheses mine], of any specially daring attack (and) ... everything was done in Spain to invest the profession of arms with the halo of romance.

(Davies 1937:22)

After two years of such organisation and development, Ferdinand and Isabella's army began the campaign which lasted from 1485 until the surrender of Granada in 1492.

According to Fuller (1970:402) that war "ushered in a new age militarily, in that it was a school of war in which was trained the finest army in Europe." John Laffin (1966:110-111), writing of the Spanish army states "... this change over from levies to professionals was a primary factor in the introduction of modern war." So by the time Ignatius was born, the Spanish army was as professional as that of France – if not more so. It seems hard to believe that he could have remained a rank amateur in such an army.

The state of the Spanish military of Ignatius's time owed much to Gonzalo de Cordoba, The Grand Captain (1453-1515). Devoted to and supported by Isabella, the Spanish army was transformed during his lifetime. Montgomery (1972: 148-149) describes how this army in 1503, in Ignatius's youth, and under the command of Gonzalo successively defeated Charles VIII of France in Italy at Cerignola and at the Garigliano. But what is of more significance here is that, when one reads the entry about Gonzalo in Prescott and in TN Dupuy's (1995:284-285) *The Harper Encyclopedia of Military Biography*, one is struck by the similarity of Gonzalo the Great's and Ignatius's apprenticeship for war. Gonzalo was also a page, (to Alfonso of Castile and then to Isabella herself), before going on to fight in the war against the Portuguese, 1474 – 1479.

The attitude of the church throughout Europe to military activity was very positive. In fact it was commonplace for priests to bear arms and take part in the fight. A chronicler writes of William Wallace's army, "Many ordained priests are known to have taken part in the war (for Scottish independence, circa 1295 – 1314) [parentheses mine], not only by exhortation but also by wielding arms." (Dow 1962:11). Spain was no exception to this attitude. In many cases "churchmen fought in full armour with their squadrons." (De Gaury 1955:22) The 500 year war with the Moors was viewed as a Holy War which helped to give warfare the religious aspect of an act of rendering justice (Earle 1943:5) and military monastic orders existed. "The cult of St James of Compostela grew up as a response to the threat of the Islamic troops" and this cult gave the soldiers of Spain "a

sense of solidarity and national pride which would not have been achieved by political leadership." (Boase 1978:64) The army "was inspired to heroic action by the invocation of its national patron" (Caraman 1990:7) and we know that young Ignatius was taken to the shrine of St James at Compostela by his father.

3.2.4 Mentors.

From the age of fifteen years until he was thirty, Ignatius served in two noble households. The first was that of Juan Velásquez de Cuéllar, Treasurer of Castile, and the second that of the Duke of Nájera, Viceroy of Navarre. In both households he was exposed to some degree of military training and experience, although he was never to receive formal training as a professional soldier in the modern sense.

"It was the practise in Spain For a youth of good family to be sent by his parents to be educated to a noble and preferably royal household, where he would learn good manners, the rudiments of reading and writing and the sports and military exercises befitting a gentle (well born) [parentheses mine] knight"

(Boase 1978:60]

Sometime before 1507 Ignatius took up residence in the Velásquez household at Arévalo. For nine or ten years he was brought up with Velásquez's children where "it seems likely that Inigo responded to Velásquez's fatherly interest." (Meissner 1992:19) His duties were that of a courtier rather than a soldier. Meissner (1992:18) describes Velásquez as "a good soldier, an able administrator and (one who) stood in high favour at court." Like Gonzalo, Velásquez was Queen Isabella's man, confirmed by his appointment as one of her executors. He held the fortresses of Arévalo and Madrigal for the Crown and it seems probable that Ignatius may have picked up something of the technique of fortress defence during his time at Arévalo. Strategy of the period was dominated by fear of the

pitched battle and a siege mentality, (Contamine 1984:219) so the defence of strong points was of strategic significance. This attitude, combined with the age and pre-artillery design of the Arévalo defences, may have influenced Ignatius's thinking at Pamplona, but clearly by the time he came to write the meditation on The Two Standards (*Exx 136 – 148*) he had broken loose from any automatic tendency to a defensive siege mentality. Under Velásquez's influence he also "learnt to ride, use his sword and flirt with girls." (Caraman 1990:11).

James Brodrick (1956:35) states that "... details of Ignatius' training are completely lacking." Whilst this may be true in the strictest sense, it is possible to build up a reasonable picture of his training from the general habits of the period. The training of a page in a household such as Velásquez's was known as *crianza*. "As a page it was his duty to ... practise armed combat, an education more physical than oral." The squires in charge of pages "were required to lerene them to ryde cleanly and surely, ... to learn them were their harness." (*sic*) It was their duty to arm their masters for tourneys and war, and to care for their armour and harness. "They learnt above all the three mysteries of love, religion and war." (De Gaury 1955:7) Were these mysteries to stand Ignatius in good stead in later life?

Velásquez's intention was to train Ignatius for life at court. At the age of fourteen Ignatius should have graduated from page to the rank of squire, thereafter concentrating on hunting and military activities. Nor was his experience at this stage entirely theoretical. After the death of Ferdinand in 1516 Velásquez fell into disfavour with the Crown and prepared to defend the town and castle of Arévalo rather than yield them. Ignatius was probably part of these defensive preparations but in the event Velásquez had to yield. Rodriguez, an early biographer, recorded that Ignatius experienced his baptism of fire at this time while defending an outpost, but the report is unsubstantiated. (Brodrick, J 1956:49)

Velásquez's resistance led to his downfall and he died shortly after in 1517. Ignatius was therefore obliged to take up a new post which Maria de Velasco, Velásquez's widow, arranged with Don Antonio Manique de Lara, Duke of Nájera, appointed Viceroy of Navarre in 1516, and commanding a force of 700 horse and 3000 infantry.

This signalled the start of a more serious soldiering period for Ignatius. Training for officers would have been very limited in those days. It would mainly have taken the form of riding, fencing, arms drill, foot and mounted drills and wherever possible, experience. For some, reading was also an important aspect. Nevertheless, as has been demonstrated by Volunteer and Territorial Army officers in the United Kingdom and Rhodesia, National Guard in the United States of America and Citizen Force officers in South Africa, 'professionalism' may depend very much on the character of the officer, and his interest and willingness to learn. It is not solely dependent on the careerist officer with no other occupation save that of arms. De Dalmases and others interestingly mention that Ignatius was a reader. It is a pity that by the time he began to dictate his memoirs he was not as concerned with describing his early life as with his life after conversion.

Nevertheless the sources De Dalmases uses, including some of Ignatius's companions, gives a picture of the keen amateur. Alonso de Montalvo, a fellow page states that "Inigo's main aspiration was a military career. ... By his own admission, 'Up to his 26th year he ... took a special delight in the exercise of arms' (and) ...longed for the life of a soldier." (Meissner 1992:23, 28).

Ignatius's new mentor, the Duke of Nájera was a competent strategist who had the wisdom either to take decisive military action or to negotiate, as the situation required. During the revolt of the *Comunero's* in 1520, when Ignatius accompanied him at the

storming of the town of Nájera, he (the Duke) tried unsuccessfully to prevent looting, and Ignatius, who "was among the first to force his way into the town, fighting with reckless abandon" (Meissner 1992:33), displayed a similar self discipline and magnanimity of spirit by refusing to join in or profit from the looting. An element of maturity is beginning to be evident in Ignatius, enhanced by the skill at negotiation he gained at Arévalo, and which he put to good use when Nájera appointed him as an arbitrator in a dispute in his home area of Guipúzcoa. This might have required military action had it been mishandled, as it might well have been had Ignatius been a fire-breathing glory seeker. Ignatius was said to "have shown considerable resourcefulness," (Caraman 1990:20) which augured well for his ability to formulate tactics and strategy later. Marcuse (1939:25) states that Herrera, commander of Pamplona citadel, took Ignatius with him to parley with the French, but this is not confirmed by contemporary observers.

During all this period of service Ignatius was generally under fairly close direction by a superior and it seems realistic to suppose that their example and behaviour had some effect on his development.

3.2.5 Conclusion

Given the circumstances in which Ignatius lived, his family's history of soldiering, the careers his brothers followed, the company he kept, the society in which he grew to manhood, the wars and revolts of his time and his romantic interest in advancing his reputation, there seems ample reason to justify an investigation into whether or not some military influences on Ignatius's approach to life and thought still existed after his conversion.

CHAPTER 4

IGNATIUS'S MILITARY EXPERTISE AND SPIRITUAL STATE AT PAMPLONA - 1521

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the degree of military professionalism which Ignatius had achieved by the time he was wounded at Pamplona, together with an assessment of his spiritual state at that point.

So far as the writer is aware, no-one has yet endeavoured to examine Ignatius's true military capability, if any. He has tended to be dismissed as a swash-buckling glory seeker or glorified as a potential Commander-in-Chief. Although glory seeking is certainly one aspect of his early character, many great leaders have been so in their youth. Yet this swash-buckling period may also have its part to play in the formation of the mature leader. One thinks of Thomas à Becket and Winston Churchill as examples.

It is therefore considered desirable to try to assess how one would have expected a rational person to mature in his understanding of tactics, strategy and the conduct of army life, given Ignatius's experiences up to Pamplona. This is in order to assess whether, when he came to write *The Spiritual Exercises*, he was possessed of a more than superficial understanding of military matters, which understanding might have assisted him, consciously or unconsciously, to a deeper insight into the use of military imagery, idiom and language in *The Exercises*.

Similarly, it seems desirable to assess what Ignatius's spiritual state was at this point in his life, in order to assess whether any portion of his spiritual growth, however slight, may have taken place in a military or quasi-military milieu.

If the conclusion reached is that Ignatius had no military ability whatsoever prior to his conversion experience, then the military influences upon him as a young courtier and gentleman-at-arms would be unlikely to have made any impact on his later life, including his spiritual and psychological state when he wrote *The Spiritual Exercises*. Similarly, if Ignatius possessed any degree of spiritual awareness prior to his conversion, the possibility of a subsequent deeper understanding of God's purpose for this fledgling awareness cannot be entirely discounted.

4.2 STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL MATURITY AT PAMPLONA

The general consensus of biographers seems to be that Ignatius may have acted rashly in encouraging and taking part in the defence of the citadel of Pamplona. His brother Martin, with whom he arrived, left the scene in frustration before the action started. In fact there probably would have been no action at all but for Ignatius. Herrera, commandant of the citadel was for surrender, but in Ignatius's (1980:7) own words he "gave so many reasons to the governor that he persuaded him to carry on the defense against the judgement of the officers, who found some strength in his spirit and courage." Was Ignatius's attitude one of foolish vainglory, or did he have reasonable grounds for believing that a defence of the citadel might have a positive outcome, even if at the cost of his own life and these of his co-defenders?

4.2.1 Misappreciations by Ignatius?

The problem confronting Ignatius at Pamplona was whether or not to defend the citadel? His experience of defence works was confined to the older type of fortification such as those of Arévalo. Therefore the possibility exists that he expected the new fortifications of Pamplona to be more effective against artillery attack than they actually proved to be.

Another weakness was that Ignatius was unaware of the strategy of King Charles V, which was to sacrifice Navarre to save Castile. Charles's attitude was that Navarre could always be taken back again, virtually at will. That this was indeed the case is demonstrated by the fact that on 30th June 1521, barely a month after the fall of Pamplona, the French were soundly defeated in the open field at Noain, where they were not only outmanoeuvred by the Spanish cavalry but also lost all their artillery. (Davies 1937:85). The relief of Pamplona was therefore not high on the king's strategic agenda.

4.2.2 Hope of an effective defence?

Whatever one may think of Ignatius he was certainly not stupid. Simply to court death without achieving any positive benefit from the outcome seems an unlikely course to pursue, even though he is credited with commenting – "To shun the common peril is the nature of cowards; to perish in the universal ruin is the mischance of brave men" (Liversidge 1970:8).

The possibility exists that Ignatius may have thought he could hold out successfully until relieved. Sieges of several months or even years were not uncommon. The siege of Granada lasted for ten months. In Zedekiah's time Jerusalem was besieged for 18 months (Jer 52:4-6). History is full of examples of greatly outnumbered forces holding weak defensive positions for considerable periods. Examples are the Spartans at Thermopylae, Horatius *et al* at the Tiber bridge, the South Wales Borderers at Rorke's Drift and the French Foreign Legion at Camerone. It is quite possible that a determined defence might have given Nájera time to march to their relief, particularly as he, (Nájera), had already once relieved Pamplona from an earlier French siege. Therefore the course adopted by Ignatius and his companions was to defend the citadel, which they successfully did for six hours. However in the absence of reinforcement, the serious

wounding of Ignatius (De Dalmases 1985:40), brought all hope of an effective resistance to an end and Herrera then surrendered. There seems little doubt that although Herrera was technically the citadel commander, Ignatius was the inspiration of the defenders.

4.3 MILITARISTIC IMMATURITY OR MILITARY MATURITY?

De Guibert (1972:172), in his discussion on A Military Spirituality identifies most succinctly the difference between *militaristic* and *military*. "There is nothing less militaristic, nothing less reminiscent of the drill-sergeant, than the spirituality of St. Ignatius....his role was not to bend everything into the frames of an inflexible theory. Rather it was to adapt these frames..." De Guibert has correctly identified *flexibility* as a critical aspect of *The Spiritual Exercises*, but perhaps unwittingly, also of the conduct of war. Yet, critical to this discussion is De Guibert's (1972:172) comment on Ignatius, "In all his activity throughout his whole life he must have kept the stamp left by his life as an officer until the time of his conversion. He must have always remained the soldier of Pamplona."

This understanding of military life and the way it affected Ignatius's thinking may appear somewhat flawed to the practised military eye. De Guibert identifies four characteristics of Ignatius, two negative which could be construed as militaristic, and two positive. The negative aspects are a *rigid and narrow discipline*, and *military exhibitionism*, but he goes on to demonstrate that the former is a serious misjudgment of Ignatius and in this he is supported by Lonsdale. The concept of Jesuit obedience as "rigid, unquestioning, (and) militaristic" is in fact a "distorted picture" of what Ignatius intended. (Lonsdale 1990:140). One of the most clearly applied Principles of War discernible throughout *The Spiritual Exercises* is Flexibility.

Ignatius's second possible negative, military exhibitionism, is demonstrated by De Guibert (1972:173) to be foreign to Ignatius's thought processes in later life. Yet what appears to De Guibert as *fuss and feathers*, and therefore of no genuine purpose or significance in military terms, may in practise have an acceptable military function. The use of feather bonnets and bearskins to increase the apparent height of troops, the whirring back-feathers of Polish hussars and the widely accepted belief that music is not just for parades but may have a significant effect on battlefield morale, are examples of this.

When Piper Laidlaw of the Kings Own Scottish Borderers won his Victoria Cross at Loos, 25th September 1915 "The battalion came under heavy artillery fire and poisoned gas... Many men...were visibly shaken ... The commanding officer, shouted above the noise, 'Pipe them to-gether Laidlaw, for God's sake pipe them to-gether' " (Henderson 1993:85). That was exactly what Laidlaw did; striding ahead of the infantry, he raised their spirits and took them forward into the face of the enemy. The purpose was not frivolous heroics, it had the practical spiritual function of inspiring and rallying the soldiers, so they they would continue on to the objective. Perhaps in view of Exx 137, Ignatius would have approved of one of the tunes he played which was, "The Standard on the Braes o' Mar".

De Guibert identifies positive military aspects in Ignatius's character as his *fighting quality* and his *understanding of the concept of service*. Yet his opinion that a commander "... should possess military science which is gained by reflective study," (De Guibert 1972:174) ignores the need for experience, which one cannot afford to do with someone as notably experiential as Ignatius. He is of the opinion that Ignatius had the potential to be a great commander in chief. This may not necessarily be the case. A junior officer may be an excellent leader and tactician, yet turn out to be a poor strategist should he achieve higher command. For instance General Sir Redvers Buller who was "one of that small ... band of leaders men cheerfully follow to hell", was

described by Morris, unfairly in Pakenham's opinion, as "a superb major, a mediocre colonel and an abysmally poor General". (Morris 1965:264)

Ignatius on the other hand does seem to have had the qualities to make an outstanding chief-of-staff, evidenced by the latent military writing techniques concealed within *The Spiritual Exercises* and to be discussed below. His subsequent ability for excellent staff work is more readily discernible in the writing of the *Constitutions* since "We are considerably better informed about the work of composing the *Constitutions* than we are for the *Exercises*" (De Guibert 1972:143). But a consideration of this lies outside the scope of this thesis.

4.4 THE MILITARY ETHOS EXPERIENCED BY IGNATIUS

Nowhere in scripture is the role of the soldier denigrated or rejected. Consider the conversion of Cornelius in Acts 10. That the first non-Jewish Christian was not only a professional soldier but also an officer of the occupying forces is a difficult morsel to digest in many theological circles. In modern times Cornelius might equate to a Wehrmacht captain in occupied France. But a professional army model, such as the Roman Army, can have strong positive spiritual parallels and, as discussed in Chapter 3, this was the type of model to which Ignatius was exposed. There seems little doubt that, whilst he started out as a glory seeking hothead, by the time he reached his thirtieth year, his attitude had started to change. The concept of the leader prepared to endure hardship himself as an example to his followers is clearly discernible in *The Kingdom of Christ*. In this model troops follow their leader out of love and respect, rather than exclusively from discipline and/or fear.

Yet train'd in camps, he knew the art

To win the soldier's hardy heart

(Walter Scott. Marmion).

Most armies develop an ethos which tends to fall into either the category of professionalism or militarism, which tendency reflects much on the development of junior leaders, and with Ignatius we are dealing clearly with officer material. Most young army officers start out as rather brash militarists, but as they mature, the majority naturally tend toward the ethos of the particular army in which they serve. Ignatius appears to have been no exception to this trend and the ethos of the Spanish Army of his day was one of emerging professionalism.

After his conversion Ignatius seems to have been aware that, as a Christian, he was *ipso facto* involved in spiritual warfare¹ whether he liked it or not. This emerges in *EXX 327.14* and the correctness of this understanding is confirmed by scripture (Eph 6:12). For Ignatius, Jesus Christ was the archetypal military leader, as demonstrated in the *Call of the King* and *The Two Standards*. Christ came to “destroy the works of the evil one” (I Jn 3:8) and the Christian’s weapons are to be used for conquest of the enemy, not just to make him uncomfortable. (*EXX 95* and II Cor 10:4)

4.5 THE MILITARY – SPIRITUAL INTERFACE

Those who, like Ignatius, have been military leaders and subsequently become spiritual leaders frequently have a better understanding of the complexities of spiritual warfare than others. The author has noted over a period of 40 years, that chaplains who were themselves fighting soldiers, usually have a better understanding of what their spiritual enemy is about than other chaplains. John Bunyan, whose early religious development bears a remarkable parallelism to Ignatius (Broderick W 1983:11), and who served in the Parliamentary Army during the English Civil War (c 1644/5) before his conversion in 1648, wrote not only *Pilgrim’s Process*, but also *The Holy War*. He and other significant Christian leaders such as George MacLeod, the founder of the modern Iona Community,

were involved in battle as non-professional soldiers before entering the church, and of Charles de Foucauld, professional soldier turned priest, Elizabeth Hamilton said, "The young explorer ... and the middleaged priest were one and the same." (Hamilton 1968:213)

Ignatius appears to have followed a similar spiritual pattern. The confession to a fellow soldier before the action in which Ignatius was so badly wounded, may have made more of a lasting spiritual impression on him than it is usually credited with, simply because it was a *spiritual* ministry from a brother-in-arms, who was about to live through the danger of battle in a way that a priest might not. Ignatius certainly considered the incident of sufficient importance in 1553, thirty years after the battle, to include it in the very short part of his autobiography dealing with Pamplona, (Ignatius 1980:7) yet from the hagiographical material surrounding him, it is made to appear that he only started to have any spiritual life once he was converted. Surprisingly few of his biographers give him any credit for reaching any degree of maturation of spirit or even character, prior to being wounded. De Guibert (1972:24) states, "nothing indicates that at that time (prior to his conversion) [parentheses mine], there was in him any real interior life." Surely what he means is that Ignatius had no interior life identifiably inspired by The Holy Spirit? To say that someone has *no* interior life cannot be true. Here is a man who from the age of twenty-five was entitled to command troops in the field and who had practical experience in a number of skirmishes and forays, as well as in peacemaking negotiations.

The writer has observed how young officers begin to take on a degree of maturity and intelligent self-confidence from about twenty-five years old. It seems unlikely that Ignatius's character had not started to mature at all before he was wounded. Lombillo (1973:399) avers that Ignatius's time in the household of Velásquez was a period of psychosocial moratorium and when he was forced to leave there after Velasquez's death and took service under the Duke of Najera, his overt military identity began to form in

earnest. In fact certain aspects of this identity had been forming from childhood as a result of the influences already considered, but more importantly, during his conversion and later, these military influences must reasonably be considered to have continued to impact upon his psyche and spirit to some degree.

Apparent minor spiritual experiences from the author's own pre-spiritual days have made a considerable impact upon his post-spiritual life. The possibility that nothing of a positive spiritual nature whatsoever affected Ignatius prior to this conversion experience cannot be stated categorically. Can one be sure that he had no real faith, even if weak and uninformed, prior to his personality change? Might the mustard seed not already have been there, waiting to be watered by the Holy Spirit? This may be conjectural, but not any more so than the theory that the faith which Ignatius possessed at Pamplona was not genuine? Many soldiers come to real faith before a battle.

4.6 CAN MILITARY DISCERNMENT ASSIST SPIRITUAL DISCERNMENT?

Since those who have experienced war as fighting soldiers, and subsequently become involved in spiritual matters, may have an advantage when it comes to understanding the strategy of Satan, who more likely to have such an advantage than Ignatius of Loyola? He would surely have agreed with Von Clausewitz about increased discernment as a result of habituation to combat.

Habit gives strength to the body in great exertion, to the mind in great danger, to the judgement against first impressions. By it a valuable circumspection (discernment) [parentheses mine] is generally gained throughout every rank,

from the hussar and rifleman up to the General of Division, which facilitates the work of the Chief Commander.

(Von Clausewitz 1968:168)

In the same way the work of Jesus, Ignatius's Chief Commander, may have been facilitated in his own life by an habituation to spiritual warfare, enhanced by his experience gained in earthly warfare. Thus insights which Ignatius acquired as a soldier and subsequently incorporated into his *Spiritual Exercises*, may possibly have given generations of retreatants an advantage in the spiritual struggle.

4.7 CONCLUSIONS

- 4.7.1 The possibility that Ignatius's decision at Pamplona was taken on sound military principles and not necessarily in the heat of the moment, as is generally suggested, must be admitted, although he made some mistakes due to inexperience. However there appears to be reasonable grounds for accepting that, by May 1521, Ignatius had achieved a sufficient understanding of tactics and strategy to assess a military situation as a gentleman of his seniority might be expected to. The fact that he was not a professional soldier in the technical sense of the word does not nullify this.
- 4.7.2 Therefore experiences carried forward by Ignatius into his conversion inevitably included a certain amount that was military. Whether he subsequently rejected these influences, either consciously or unconsciously, will be considered later.
- 4.7.3 Whatever military skills and experience Ignatius gained, the "transformation of the fearless and flamboyant hidalgo *and soldier* (italics mine) into the humble pilgrim, the man of God, and finally the saint" (Meissner 1991:15) was of critical necessity if his military experience was to be any practical use in a spiritual perspective. The theological

standpoint that temporal warfare is futile, whereas spiritual warfare is essential, is perhaps overstated, but it is nonetheless critical to ensure that, if one seeks to learn which lessons from temporal warfare might assist in the spiritual battle, excess baggage, must not be carried over to cloud the issue. We must "lay aside every encumbrance". (Hebrews 12:1).

- 4.7.4 Assuming that Ignatius was able successfully to make the essential transference from temporal to spiritual warfare, he would possess an experiential advantage in this area which not many Christians possess.
- 4.7.5 One cannot state authoritatively that Ignatius had no genuine faith whatsoever before his conversion experience. Despite his lifestyle, he professed to be a believer and his confession to a fellow soldier indicates some degree of faith, though probably weak and uninformed.

NOTES

- 1 On the subject of spiritual warfare, *The New Dictionary of Catholic Spirituality* says the following:

The subject of spiritual warfare of combat needs to be seen against the backdrop of Christian Gnosticism, which perceives the world as a hostile place against which one must fight. The world is regarded as full of temptations and evils, the source of all sin. A spiritual person must seek interior strength to combat these evils. This attitude is found in the Scriptures, especially in the Pauline letters Paul compares the Christian to

soldiers who must arm themselves with the armor of discipline (Eph 6:11). In order to be on permanent guard against the enemy, which may be interior or exterior to the person, the Christian is called to a life of asceticism.

(Downey 1993:1017)

The New Bible Dictionary has a similar approach.

The Christian's warfare is pre-eminently a spiritual warfare, and he has been equipped with all the armour necessary if he is to obtain victory (Eph 6:10-20). It follows that he should be under military discipline, and to this end the NT abounds in injunctions couched in military terms and in military metaphors generally. The critical battle was won at Calvary (Col 2:15), so that the emphasis in a passage like Eph 6:10-20 is not so much on the gaining of new ground, but in the holding of what has already been won.

(Wood 1996:1230)

CHAPTER 5

LITERARY SOURCES AVAILABLE TO IGNATIUS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

An examination of the written sources available to Ignatius up to the time of writing *The Spiritual Exercises* is perhaps required in order to assess which literary sources, if any, affected his mind and spirit to the extent that they may have inspired, reinforced or confirmed military influences discernible in *The Spiritual Exercises*, and also to consider whether any of these sources may have had the effect of reducing, or causing Ignatius to seek to expunge, certain influences of a military nature from his past life.

5.2 THE CONCEPTION OF *THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES*

Whilst Boyle (1983:242) suggests an hiatus of a decade between Ignatius's enlightenment by the River Cardoner at Manresa and the literary composition of *The Exercises*, there is no serious opposition to admitting the first unpolished form of *The Exercises* existed by 1523, within two years of his conversion experience. Polanco asserts the teaching of *The Exercises* was derived "not so much from books as from the anointing of the Holy Spirit and from interior experience." (Boyle 1983:242). Hugo Rahner puts it much more strongly:

As far as Ignatius is concerned ... he drew his life's ideal and the major ideas for his work from the most intimate depths of spiritual and mystical experience. And in any consideration of these works – from the *Exercises* to the *Constitutions* – it would be quite out of place to go hunting down sources in the spirit of the schools.

(Rahner H 1990:34)

The concept of experience might perhaps be developed further. Ignatius appears to have been experiential to a degree and one may argue that this is why he continually used, and urged others to make use of, imagination in order to make the *experience* of a contemplation real. Ignatius was not afraid to use practical experience to assist spiritual experience. "The representation will consist in seeing in imagination the material place." (*Exx 47*). Surely it cannot be Rahner's thesis that nothing at all experienced by Ignatius prior to his conversion and enlightenment had any impact whatsoever on his subsequent work, or that mystical experience operates in a vacuum?

Boyle (1983: 244-245) certainly does not support this attitude, reminding us that the result of historical research on the texts and contexts of Luther's formation is that "the ascendent argument is now that the Reformation did not originate in Luther's sudden illumination, but in his daily office". In Ignatius's case she comments that "Jesuit historical method has acknowledged and detailed the influence on his *Exercises* of the devotional *Flos Sanctorum* and the *Vita Christi Cartujani* which he perused during his convalescence." She also includes Cisneros's *Ejercitatorio de la Vida Espiritual* and the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis in her discussion and asks the telling question, "Did Loyola glean nothing from the *Flos Sanctorum*?" The obvious inference is that what he did indeed glean was of some significance, and by extrapolation he probably gleaned from the other works as well. De Guibert (1972:152-153) also appears to support this attitude by writing, "The fundamental or general sources are those profound ones which exerted an important influence in forming the major outlines of Ignatius' spiritual outlook." He proceeds to list three of the four works considered in this chapter as confirmed fundamental sources. All this appears to justify an investigation to assess whether or not there were discernible military influences in these works, and whether or not they may have had some impact on the form or theology of *The Exercises*.

Although it is thought highly probable that he read such works as *Amadís of Gaul* and other romantic fiction during his time with the Velásquez household, this investigation confines itself to the works which Ignatius is known to have read between the time his being wounded and his reaching Manresa. It is common cause that certain of these works had a profound influence upon him and had an enduring effect upon his understanding of the work of The Holy Spirit. When he arrived on a stretcher at the Castle of Loyola he still had "a vain and overweening desire to win renown" (Caraman 1990:26), to such an extent that he was prepared to endure exceptional pain to have his leg straightened, simply in order to be able to perform deeds of valour before the lady of his dreams. Yet the man who wrote *The Spiritual Exercises* was cast in an entirely different mould. What part, if any, did literature play in this change of heart?

5.3 WORKS AVAILABLE TO IGNATIUS

The works to be considered in this Chapter are;

- ***Vita Christi*** by Ludolph.
- ***Flos Sanctorum*** by Voraigue.
- ***Imitatio Christi*** by Thomas à Kempis.
- ***Ejercitatorio de la Vida Espiritual*** by Cisneros.

Each work is briefly considered below:

5.3.1 ***The life of Christ: Vita Christi* by Ludolph the Carthusian, translated by Ambrosio de Montesinos and published at Alcala in 1502 – 1503.** (De Guibert 1972:153).

Vita Christi was one of the two books which Ignatius's sister-in-law Magdalena provided him with during his convalescence. That it made an impact on Ignatius can hardly be

disputed. Ludolph, in his prologue, outlined the method of imaginative and affective contemplation which Ignatius used in the Second Week of *The Exercises*. (De Guibert 1972:154) It therefore seems reasonable to suppose there might have been other passages which also affected the construction of *The Exercises*. Hugo Rahner (1990:114) suggests that the mystery of Christ's redemptive work was probably grasped by Ignatius whilst reading this book. But what is of concern for this investigation is whether or not any military influence is discernible in it, and if so, how might it have affected Ignatius? It seems unlikely that any military attitudes or concepts might emerge from such a title until Leturia draws attention to the following passage:

Iñigo would surely have been struck by such a passage as this; "Our Sovereign and Lord and Army-Commander Jesus desires that the eyes and countenances of his devout *caballeria* should ever be raised to His life giving wounds, so that looking in the mirror of His Passion they may become the more valiant for the sufferings and the hardships of the battle."

(Leturia in Brodrick, J 1956:73)

Hardly the sort of material to cause Ignatius to think slightly of his old profession of arms or experiences as a soldier, yet tempering such an attitude by focussing the passage on Jesus, thus placing it firmly in the realm of spiritual, rather than temporal, warfare.

5.3.2 *Flos Sanctorum* or *The Golden Legend: Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voraigne: translated and with preface by Fray Gauberto Vagad. Published at Saragossa sometime between 1490 and 1510. (De Guibert 1972:153).

De Guibert (1972:154) is of the opinion that Ignatius read *Flos Sanctorum* before *Vita Christi* and that he may have been drawn to it because he knew Gauberto Vagad, who had been an officer in the service of King Ferdinand, before becoming a Cistercian. Ignatius would have found in Vagad's preface:

A fundamental idea which was going to dominate his conversion and his whole life... This notion was expressed ... in such a style that at least in passages it reflects the spirit of the former officer, Gauberto.

(De Guibert 1972:154)

This fundamental idea was that His knightly-saints rendered heroic service to Christ. Thus Ignatius had before him the example of a military man who later took the cloth, yet accepted the concept of heroic service as a typological Christian concept, and who had successfully transposed this concept into the spiritual realm. Would it be far fetched to think that Ignatius could not have had a more direct encouragement to retain such aspects of his military experience as were capable of adaptation to spiritual use in the service of Christ?

In the atmosphere of the period, the concept of a chivalrous knight was imbued with a spiritual quality. Earle (1943:5) has written in this respect, "Spiritually as well as economically the knight was a characteristic product of the Middle Ages....in waging war the knight served God." The desire to serve should precede any inclination to engage in warfare, whether spiritual or temporal. The soldier-saints of *Flos Sanctorum* were called to spiritual warfare in addition to earthly battlefields.¹

These soldier-saints were prepared to disobey an order from an earthly commander, even if such disobedience led to death, if it conflicted with their higher obedience to God. This is typological of the Christian who chooses to serve Christ above an earthly authority

in the manner set forth by Peter and John before the Council. "Whether it is right in the sight of God to give heed to you rather than to God, you be the judge" (Ac 4:19). The soldiers of *Flos Sanctorum* would fight for an earthly master only as long as their Christian consciences were clear.

In accordance with the commandment of God, they rendered to God the things that were God's and to Caesar the things that were Caesar's. Gathering a legion ... they sent them to the Emperors to aid them in just wars.

(De Voragine 1941:567)

The legion under command of (St) Maurice had been admonished by the Pope that they should die by the sword, sooner than violate the faith of Christ. (De Voragine 1941:567). And that is exactly what they did. The entire legion of 6,666 men was executed for refusing to sacrifice to idols. This must have been a superb example to Ignatius of the concept of obedience to God irrespective of the cost and the precedence of spiritual warfare over temporal. As Meissner (1991:31) says, "The values inherent in the lives of the saints were first assimilated to the ego-ideal. He saw the heroic deeds of the saints as projections of heroic chivalry to the service of God rather than to the service of a human lord."

Spiritual beings also feature as soldiers in *Flos Sanctorum*. In the story of St Christopher, Satan is described as leader of a host "fierce and terrible of visage" (De Voragine 1941:378), suggestive of *Exx 138* wherein Lucifer is described as the chief of the enemy. Angelic soldiers are identifiable in St Michael as "Bearer of the Standard of Christ amid the host of the saints." (De Voragine 1941:578). Ignatius does not introduce good angels in the military sense into *The Exercises*, even in the contemplation devoted to *The Two Standards*. There is reference to the (Arch)-Angel Gabriel in *Exx 102* and elsewhere but Michael does not feature. In *The Meditation on Two Standards*, Satan

sends forth demons (*Exx 141*), and in *Exx 50* fallen angels are also mentioned, but Christ sends forth exclusively human beings; "persons, apostles, disciples, etc." (*Exx 145*). It seems surprising that Ignatius did not use angels as members of Christ's army. One possible reason, discussed in Chapter 9, is that such inclusion might tend to detract from the retreatant's understanding of the unity of the Holy Spirit as the sole empowering spirit in Christ's army.

Flos Sanctorum therefore provided Ignatius with a positive view of both military/temporal and military/spiritual activity on the part of both saints and angels, with numerous examples for future use, should he choose to do so.

5.3.3 *The Imitation of Christ : Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis, in Ignatius's provenance attributed to Gerson, and commonly called the *Gerzoncito*. (De Guibert 1972:153/5) The original was published before 1427. (Knott, in the Introduction to à Kempis 1977:20)

This work, first encountered by Ignatius at Manresa, possibly made the deepest impact upon him of the four works considered here. That it had a significant effect upon *The Exercises* is manifest. Mercier even went to the extent of publishing a concordance between *The Imitation* and *The Exercises*, (De Guibert 1972:155), but although it contains material which might be implicitly supportive of attributes required of a soldier such as discipline, obedience and readiness to suffer hardship, to imply even latent military influences to these passages is to stretch the bounds of credibility. In fact this is a most unmilitary book, and one might suppose its strong influence might have turned Ignatius away from a willingness to view spiritual matters from any military perspective at all, save for one passage. In Chapter XIII of Book Three headed, "On humble submission and obedience, patterned on Jesus Christ." Thomas à Kempis appears to place submission to Christ firmly in the field of combat when he writes;

The enemy outside is defeated sooner when the man within is not in chaos....
 You must learn a real indifference to self if you want to win the victory over flesh
 and blood.

(à Kempis 1962:114)

Only those involved in a truly service role will exercise real indifference to self, Jesus Himself being the prime example. A commander in the field who has no fear of death and therefore is continually at the point of greatest danger, exercises indifference to self in a similar spiritual way to a mother who gives her child the last food in the house and goes without herself. Possibly the reference above may have had some influence on the wording of *Exx 179*, where indifference to self is set forth as a pre-requisite for achievement of the aim.

5.3.4 *Ejercitatorio de la Vida Espiritual* by Garcia de Cisneros, Abbot of Montserrat and published there in 1500. (De Guibert 1972:156)

There is discussion as to whether Ignatius actually obtained a copy of this work or whether he was merely exposed to it during his brief stay at Montserrat. Ribadeneyra (in De Guibert 1972:157) considers it probable he was given a copy, Caraman (1990:35) states it as a fact. "This was the book give to Inigo by a Frenchman, Jean Chanon." Despite the similarity in the titles there are fundamental differences in form and style between Cisneros and Ignatius. According to De Guibert (1972:157-158) "... it does not seem that his reading of it made a very deep impression on him." But he goes on to say, "Yet ... Cisneros seems to have been the principal intermediary who transmitted the influence of the New Devotion (*Devotio Moderna*) to the spirituality of Ignatius."

Thus, even if Ignatius made only a passing acquaintance with Cisneros's work whilst at Montserrat, he seems to have carried away certain crucial concepts which subsequently appeared in *The Spiritual Exercises*. These were *inter alia*;

- Organisation and systematisation of the spiritual effort.
- Determined exercises at a fixed hour.
- An order adapted to a precise aim.
- The importance of spiritual direction.

(De Guibert 1972:158)

None of the above are military concepts *per se*. However all are not only desirable, but invariably found in a military milieu and put into practise in a good unit, with appropriate temporal conversion. The simple fact is that good spiritual qualities and good military qualities have much in common.

However at best the *Ejercitatorio* occupies a neutral stance in this investigation.

5.4 CONCLUSIONS

- 5.4.1 None of the works studied by Ignatius, between the time he was wounded at Pamplona and the time he drafted *The Exercises* at Manresa, would be likely to have suggested to him that the profession of arms was an unacceptable pursuit for a servant of Christ.
- 5.4.2 With the exception of Cisneros, all these works contain portions which might positively motivate a reader with a military bent to consider himself in the role of a knight of Christ.
- 5.4.3 In his *Life of Christ*, Ludolph encourages the reader to see Christ as an army commander.
- 5.4.4 Thomas à Kempis plays a small but crucial part, since his *Imitation of Christ* uses military idiom in his portrayal of one's submission to Christ.

5.4.5 *Flos Sanctorum* appears to be a rich field with many examples of spiritual military service which almost certainly influenced the inclusion of some concepts with a spiritual/military duality in *The Spiritual Exercises*. Significant points are that;

- Gauberto Vagad, who wrote the prologue, was probably known to Ignatius personally as a soldier who had later entered the church.
- the concept of obedience to God before, and if necessary in opposition to, an earthly commander is praised.
- the need for perseverance and courage, (highlighted by Mary's charge to Ignatius of Antioch),² is manifest.
- Standards, and the importance of the role of standard bearers, are clearly set out.

The inference is that these works most probably confirmed to Ignatius's understanding that military-type service of a spiritual nature to God was not only acceptable, but essential if the battle against evil was to be decisively won and Ignatius's desire to help souls was to be effectively accomplished.

NOTES.

1. There are eleven soldier's tales in *Flos Sanctorum* lauding the conduct of military saints. Most of these soldier saints were officers, like Ignatius. Designations such as leader, tribune, consular rank, officer, master of the soldiers and captain, abound. Ignatius could have felt that he was at least the raw material from which saints might be made, and that being a soldier was nothing to be ashamed of. St Eustace even went to the extent of re-entering the service of the Emperor as commander of an army, subsequently being martyred for his faith. (De Voraigue 1941:558/9)

2. "Inigo was undoubtedly deeply impressed by the heroic tale of the great saint (Ignatius of Antioch) that he read in the *Golden Legend*." (Meissner 1992: 154). Mary's charge was to "Have courage and persevere in the faith." (De Vorraine 1941:146), and this concept is discernible in *The Exercises*. For example in *Exx 12* the retreatant must "Take care that he is satisfied in the consciousness of having persevered".

CHAPTER 6

THE CHANGES IN IGNATIUS'S PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SPIRITUAL STATE BETWEEN PAMPLONA AND MANRESA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

There was a profound change in Ignatius's psychological and spiritual state between the time he ceased to be involved in military service and the time he wrote *The Spiritual Exercises*. Meissner poses the question whether one can psychoanalyse a man who has been dead nearly 500 years? Langer certainly thinks this an acceptable proposition when he refers to the "Urgently needed deepening of our historical understanding through exploitation of the concepts and findings of modern psychology" (Langer in Meissner 1992:xiii). Meissner himself (1992:xiv) goes on to say that "The psychohistorian is not immune to the demands of evidence and proof, but because of the hidden nature of what he deals with, the proof has a different cast than ordinary historical discourse."

Like Meissner, the present author seeks to probe the heart and mind of Ignatius and to "Look behind the façade, behind the events, behind the various accounts and documents, to try to discern the face of this man of God and what motivated his wondrous trajectory." (Meissner 1992:x)

6.2 THE APPROACH TO PSYCHOANALYSING IGNATIUS AT A REMOVE OF 500 YEARS

Meissner (1991:7,10) states succinctly, "psychoanalysts generally do better with living patients than dead ones." The intention is to delve not only into Ignatius's psyche but

also his spirit for, though "the psychoanalyst(s) ... method and ... perspective do not include the theological and spiritual," that is exactly where this investigation needs to go. Philip Sheldrake (1991:3) warns against the "... danger of removing spiritual experience beyond the historical and psychological conditions." Such dangers include psychoanalytic hagiography and hagiographic countertransference (Meissner 1992:xxvii).

The prevailing mood of the saint's life, and even the source materials themselves, have been contaminated by what I choose to call the 'hagiographic bias', i.e. the persistent tendency in all the material related to Ignatius' life to see and interpret it in the highest spiritual terms.

(Meissner 1991:14)

Similar dangers apply to military history. "All accounts of ... battles should avoid two pitfalls: dramatisation and also rationalisation." (Contamine 1984:229) So one navigates between the *Scylla* of hagiography and the *Charybdis* of drama and rationale. How does one set a course to avoid both?

6.3 IMPOSSIBILITY OF TOTAL OBJECTIVITY IN PSYCHOANALYSIS

Since psychoanalysis and spiritual analysis cannot be wholly objective, the author ventures to offer his own insights into Ignatius's mind and spirit, partly on the strength of the available evidence and partly because of experience with soldiers who have become committed Christians. There is an inevitable degree of subjectivity but since Meissner (1992:x) "can do no better than Freud, who commented ... 'I am far from overestimating the certainty of these results.' " perhaps one may be permitted to at least try, yet realising that like 'the good psychobiographer (one) must learn to live with ambiguity and uncertainty – and to settle for what (one) can get." (Meissner 1992:xvii)

Perhaps we might heed a quotation from Cicero which Ignatius himself probably read in the Introduction to *Flos Sanctorum*. "It is permitted to rhetors to falsify somewhat in their histories, in order to make their points more forcibly." (De Voraigue 1941:xii). Like George MacLeod, he considers the truth more important than the facts! Jesus Christ is The *Truth*, not the *facts*. We are seeking the true spiritual Ignatius, who may quite possibly appear to be different to the factual Ignatius.

6.4 DEVELOPMENT OF IGNATIUS'S PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SPIRITUAL CHANGE

6.4.1 At Pamplona

At the time of his wounding, Ignatius's ego ideal was that of a chivalrous hero, loyal and trustworthy. (Meissner 1992:40). Both Meissner (1992:41) and Lombillo (1973:388) consider his pathological state at Pamplona to be one of phallic narcissism. Pride and vanity are clearly still evident but the trauma of the wound triggered off a severe regressive delayed adolescent crisis. Since "We cannot separate the psychodynamic process that produced it from the historical setting in which it takes place ..." Lombillo (1973:387/9) advances the opinion that this crisis was caused by *inter alia*;

- the socio-historical setting of his upbringing including "The military tradition of Ignatius's ancestors."
- his childhood, particularly the impact of the death of his mother.
- his adolescence and the impact of the death of his father.
- his young manhood and the desire for military glory, dramatically cut short by his being wounded.

6.4.2 The conversion experience



Clearly his conversion experience was pivotal and "the circumstances of this profound spiritual experience set the stage for the transformation of the fearless ... soldier into the humble pilgrim." (Meissner 1992: 15). There is little point going over ground already covered so effectively by Meissner and Lombillo. Whilst there can be no doubt that a significant character change took place during Ignatius's convalescence and conversion, what is critical to this argument is the question of whether during this character change, Ignatius repudiated, or endeavoured to repudiate from his psyche, any or every aspect of his military life, or whether he was selective in what he sought to discard and retain? Lombillo (1973:392) is of the opinion that, at this time, Ignatius's military identity collapsed, but did it collapse to the point of extinguishment? It would appear that what actually collapsed was his *militaristic* identity. Ignatius (1980:9,11) repudiated the earlier excesses of his worldly life, the many vain things which had engrossed him when "he felt so great a disgust with his past life" and he discovered that " ... His greatest consolation (was) to gaze upon the heavens and the stars ... because ... he felt within himself a powerful urge to be serving our Lord."

This regressive crisis which destroyed his phallic narcissism may be interpreted as a symbolic castration.

From being a military man who satisfied his phallic narcissism in conquests and victories he became a religious man to try to obtain the favour of Christ.

(Lombillo 1973:401,407)

It seems that Lombillo is implying that Ignatius expunged every military influence from his psyche, but we will see that when he came to write *The Spiritual Exercises*, and later on, in his letters, this was not necessarily the case. The change which took place in what

one might term the *military segment* of his psyche appears to have been that of temporal soldier changing to spiritual warrior. What Ignatius seems to have got rid of was not his *military* psyche but his *militaristic* psyche, as he advanced from temporal to spiritual.

One may speculate that if Ignatius had continued in a military career after his conversion, he might have been an outstanding soldier because, added to his considerable tactical abilities, he now could set aside the aspect of vainglory, and therefore appraise the real function of military operations more objectively. This is not to imply that warfare should be acceptable in Christian circles, simply that Ignatius had a new and better understanding of it. "It is clear ... that experience was the main catalyst for change in his life." (Lonsdale 1990:28). He was too experiential to waste anything which might improve his service to Jesus. Whilst he now served the King of Kings, is it not reasonable to suppose that he was either aware of, or his subconscious retained, certain lessons learned in the service of an earthly king which could materially assist his new task?

6.4.3 Resolution of the new identity

Whilst Ignatius's conversion experience at Loyola was critical for the resolution of his new religious identity, having experienced the second stage of depression and synthesis, his psyche now began to develop into a more integrated position. "The ego becomes a whole ego and the self a whole self." (Lombillo 1973:394-395,404). Ignatius's ego was relating "to the archetypes as an equal, resulting in a psychic shift from ego to self, leading to a deeper, humbler person." (Barry in Brooke 1991:18) As this was an ongoing process, not a momentary happening, to consider that the change was completed at Loyola would be naïve. The working through of the psychoanalytic process still had some way to go. During his convalescent period Ignatius experienced a

transference neurosis and repetition process, and started on the process of reconstruction. (Lombillo 1973:408/9). In Kris's view "it is then possible for the insight and new memories to produce change in the self image of the patient, which develops new perspective." (Lombillo 1973:409). Gill (in Lombillo 1973:410) considers de-automatisation of the defences as a necessary precondition to the development of a new structure therefore a "re-automatisation of new, more sublimated adaptive patterns" is necessary for the completion of the working through process. The question posed here is whether these new patterns in his psyche own anything to previous military influences, and if so, which ones?

Ignatius's belligerent attitude to the Moor¹ en route to Montserrat shows much of the *old Iñigo*, but the key to some of the inner workings of his spirit may be found in his vigil of 21st March, 1522 before the black Madonna of Montserrat where;

He determined therefore on a watch of arms throughout a whole night ... he had made up his mind to clothe himself in the armour of Christ.

(Brodrick, J 1956:85)

Ignatius is the only saint known to have dedicated himself to God utterly by a vigil of arms. (Brodrick, J 1956:85) Prior to this vigil he made a three day confession, a serious spiritual catharsis, and left "his sword and dagger ... at the altar of our Lady." (Ignatius 1980:15) He would surely not have left an offering of no value at this altar? One may infer that he is not saying he had no further need of weapons, but that henceforth his "weapons of warfare were not of the flesh" (II Cor 10:4). By leaving his sword, the outward sign of an officer and gentleman, he was not only renouncing physical weaponry, but also his past life, offering to Christ that which, by his understanding, was best in that life, namely his honour, courage and loyalty. He was not thereby repudiating his military background, but rather having removed what was vain and prideful from it,

he offered to God those aspects which he considered useful in his new warfare against "the spiritual forces of wickedness in heavenly places." (Eph 6:12)

When he dictated his autobiography in 1553, (by which time even the most critical opinion must surely accept that his identity had formed in its substantially Freudian *afternoon* form), Ignatius (1980:15) did not repudiate such clear military imagery as a watch-at-arms or the armour of Christ. Indeed the Montserrat vigil could arguably be called *the* pivotal point in Ignatius's life.

6.4.4 Arrival at Manresa

This was the mental condition in which he arrived at Manresa. Whilst there the inner workings of his spirit underwent some tempestuous upheavals, but since there is no evidence of any military influence whatsoever at Manresa, this investigation will not be advanced by a study of these upheavals for:

During the months at Manresa he had learnt to discern the moods and motions of his soul: he had got rid of the morbid need for confession. His heart had been raised to an entirely new level of the love of God proportionate to the clarity of his vision; and his faith was strengthened to such a degree that he could say that he would have been prepared to die for it even if the scriptures did not exist. It was to this grace that one of his friends attributed "the marvellous peace and strength in all he did, and the cheerfulness and joy that imbues all his actions." ... It was from this period that Iñigo formed the ideas upon which he based his *Spiritual Exercises*.

(Caraman 1990:40/1)

6.4.5 Ignatius's personality transformed, not destroyed

We cannot state with certainty that no trace of Ignatius the soldier survived. Meissner has remarked that;

If the moratorium at Manresa had in fact produced a new personality, the lines of continuity between Iñigo, the courageous man of arms and the emerging personality of the pilgrim were all too clear The identity of Iñigo was not destroyed; it was transformed.

(Meissner 1992:85)

Meissner develops this further in his discussion on The Two Standards.

Once again the words of the meditation enable us to catch a glimpse of the old Iñigo, the soldier of honour and ideals It suggests that the old ego ideal has not perished and that there is something of the old Iñigo in the new Ignatius. But the very imagery ... is transformed and elevated We can think of no better way to conceptualise this transformation than in terms of the transvaluation of identity.

(Meissner 1992:99)

6.5 ENNEAGRAM ASSESSMENT² OF IGNATIUS'S PERSONALITY

The use of a hypothetical Enneagram assessment has been used in order to highlight the radicality of Ignatius's personality change between the end of his military service and the writing of *The Spiritual Exercises*. Some fascinating revelations appear.

- 6.5.1 At the time of Pamplona, Ignatius is assessed as a Motivator, Type Three for which *genuineness* and *self acceptance* are natural characteristics, (Risco 1990:111) and *fear of failure* is the principal area of avoidance. (Metz & Burchill 1987:92) However by the time he reaches Manresa, Ignatius now scores zero on Type Three so it is clear that his personality change was nothing short of cataclysmic! Risco does not even have a zero on the score sheet.
- 6.5.2 At Manresa Ignatius scores equally for Helper, Type Two and Artist, Type Four. The positive attributes for Type Two are *altruistic* and *disinterested*, whilst *creativity* and *self renewal* are those of Type Four. (Risco 1990:111) The general tendency would almost certainly be to accept that Ignatius was indeed a Helper, but perhaps not so readily an Artist. Yet creativity and self renewal are surely essential requirements for someone to be able to conceptualise *The Spiritual Exercises*?
- 6.5.3 Areas of avoidance for Type Two are for *one's own needs* (Metz & Burchill 1987:91), very clearly applicable to Ignatius at Manresa where his asceticism was extreme. For Type Four they are *joy and sadness* (Metz & Burchill 1987:92), highlighting his deep concern with consolation and desolation in *The Exercises*.
- 6.5.4 Yet despite this radical change of character, the assessments of both Pamplona and Manresa place him in the same triad, that of the Kataphatic Sector of those who operate most from the heart, (after Metz & Burchill 1987:86). So whilst Ignatius's character change must be considered as *metanoic*, his basic personality dimension remained the same. He was a new Ignatius, but he was still Ignatius! Thus Meissner's comment about Ignatius's character being transformed rather than destroyed, (Meissner 1992:85) is supported by these findings.

6.6 CONCLUSIONS.

- 6.6.1 Lombligo is of the opinion that Ignatius's military personality collapsed totally, but even if that were the case, it cannot imply a total and immediate extinguishment of all previous knowledge and feelings. It appears more correct to suggest that his militaristic personality had been reformed. The conversion process does not expunge from one's consciousness all knowledge previously gained. Neither does it alter the subconscious to the extent that every prior influence is removed from it immediately and in toto. There is still a working through process to undergo.

Meissner in fact disagrees quite strongly with Lombligo regarding Ignatius's transformation.

In some profound sense, the transvaluation of identity that transformed Iñigo de Loyola into Ignatius was a process of evolution....it does not seem accurate to envision this process as the elimination of an old identity and its replacement with a new one. The effort...was not a reflection of ego regression or collapse...Rather...the ego of Iñigo de Loyola matured to a new level....Rather than an exchange of identities...there was an enrichment.

(Meissner 1992:85)

- 6.6.2 That Ignatius experienced a true metamorphosis in both mental and spiritual outlook between Pamplona and Manresa is manifest. But whilst now he sought to reject what he perceived to be wrong from his previous life, he was still affected by the experiences of that life in the same way that a reformed sinner may still be affected by the results of previous sin.

6.6.3 The critical points are therefore;

- Ignatius was now Christocentric.
- To this Christocentricity he brought, amongst other experiences, a degree of military knowledge.
- It seems an unsustainable argument to suggest that Ignatius no longer retained an ability to think in military terms, any less than he retained the ability to read a book or ride a horse. Of more significance was the new focus of his understanding which guided him to select, on a different basis to that which he had previously employed, what attitudes, including those with a military bias, he wished to retain or reject in his new life.
- He remained experiential to a considerable extent.
- His personality had been transformed, but rather in the sense of growth and enrichment, than in a total destruction of his previous personality type.

NOTES.

1. Soon after leaving Loyola to start his new life, Ignatius was concerned to find that he harboured murderous thoughts towards a Moor whom he met on the road and who, in Ignatius's opinion had insulted the Virgin Mary. (Caraman 1990:34)
2. The Enneagram is an ancient method of character identification which the author has tested against The Beatitudes (Mat 5:3-12) and the Fruit of The Spirit, (Gal 5:22-23) [see Appendix 3], and considers acceptable to use in an assessment of Ignatius. The methods of Risco (1990) and Metz and Burchill (1987) have been used as the basis of assessment.

In her article *Redemption and romantic melancholy: Thomas Merton and the Enneagram*, Suzanne Zuercher (1990) reached the conclusion that Thomas Merton was a Type Four

enneagram personality, apparently without ever meeting him. The author therefore considers it acceptable to do the same with Ignatius.

CHAPTER 7

MILITARY STAFF DUTIES AND TRAINING ASPECTS DISCERNIBLE WITHIN *THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES*

"The theme of combat against the spiritual enemy is a dominant *leitmotif* in *The Exercises* that pervades the consciousness of the *hidalgo* turned saint."

(Meissner 1992:89)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

That *The Spiritual Exercises* contain much military imagery and idiom is not in dispute. Indeed most Ignatian authors fall naturally into such imagery when commentating upon *The Exercises*. It has already been noted that some of these authors appear to be on shaky ground in their understanding of some of the military terms which they use, but this is only apparent to someone with background military knowledge. For instance Ganss (1992:167) identifies the aim of *The Two Standards* as "to study the tactics...of the leaders", whereas in fact it deals with a *strategic* situation encompassing the entire globe, not just a local *tactical* situation.

Due to the fact that early *Staff Duties in the Field* (and therefore this particular genre of military writing), did not start to appear in Europe before Gustavus Adolphus and the Thirty Years War (1611-1632) at the earliest, it is impossible to categorise the military aspects discernible to the modern observer within *The Spiritual Exercises*, by using a basis which Ignatius himself might have recognised, or indeed used. Despite the fact that Queen Isabella provided some inspiration for Gustavus Adolphus (Laffin 1966:111),

and that as a Quartermaster-General *par excellence* her staff work, (commented on in Chapter 3), was of a similar high quality, we have no indication that Ignatius learned such staff work, although it may be reasonable to assume that he understood its importance, bearing in mind the quality of the Spanish army of his day and his declared interest in the profession of arms.

Therefore the aspects of *The Spiritual Exercises* which contain significant military aspects have been grouped under modern headings, making use of the modern *Principles of War* (Appendix 1) and other widely accepted military maxims.

One other point requires clarification. In the author's opinion, since matters of life and death require a realistic appraisal of any situation, they tend to require a similar psychological and spiritual approach, regardless of the field of study. Thus the heart surgeon needs a similar approach in his decision making process to the racing driver, though both require very different training.

Pursuing this trend of thought, it is the author's contention that the spiritual life and the military life have much in common, (II Tim 2:3-4) and although they may lie on different planes, they require similar qualities. Just as militarism makes a bad soldier, so sanctimoniousness makes a bad spiritual director. Yet if both are prepared to adopt a genuine servant attitude, but without abrogating their responsibilities as commander or counsellor, the qualities required tend to be very similar in both cases. Therefore one may expect good spiritual direction to require the same true qualities as good military leadership. They are mutually complementary, not mutually antagonistic, though regrettably few soldiers or theologians seem prepared to consider this seriously.

7.2 MILITARY ASPECTS SELECTED FOR CONSIDERATION

The survey does not seek to be exhaustive, but rather to highlight selected aspects which fall under three major headings, with thirteen subheadings as follows:

STAFF DUTIES¹

- Selection and Maintenance of the Aim.
- Appreciation of the Situation.

TRAINING AND RELATIONAL ASPECTS

- Leadership
- Obedience.
- Individual training: Repetition.
- Unit and formation training: Preparation and Planning.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

- Use of ground.
- Reconnaissance.
- Rally to your Colour.
- Attack.
- Counter Attack.
- Flexibility.
- Debriefing.

7.2.1 Staff Duties

7.2.1.1 Selection and maintenance of the aim

Selection and maintenance of the aim is the first Principle of War (Appendix 1). Throughout *The Exercises* a strong singleness of purpose in maintaining the original aim is evident. What was Ignatius's aim in writing *The Spiritual Exercises*?

We must study, not the aim which we ourselves might assign... but rather the end which Ignatius himself had in mind in writing them. What was for him the essential purpose of these *Exercises*?

(De Guibert 1972:122)

De Guibert (1972:126) goes on to admit that not all who have tried to answer this question are in agreement. He himself concludes that when "we consider the present text of the *Exercises* in its genesis ... we must acknowledge that the work ... is ... dominated by the thought of the choice of a state." He is of the opinion that The First Principle and Foundation (*Exx 23*), may have been placed at the beginning of *The Exercises* later (see below). Indeed De Guibert (1972:126) identifies The Introduction to Choice of a Way of Life as the *fieri* of the Exercises. In it Ignatius identified his aim which (co-incidentally?) refers to his First Principle. "Ignatius' characteristic insistence on clarity about ends and means is prominent here...it clearly reminds a retreatant of the Foundation." (Ganss 1992:176).

Ignatius was his typical forthright self when he stated that "Our intention must be simple (and)... my first aim should be to seek to serve God." (*Exx 169*) His conclusion to the First Principle was that "Our one desire and choice should be..." and then he proceeded

to bracket it with his opening which is "to praise, reverence and serve God, and by this means to save his soul."

It therefore seems clear that Ignatius understood the importance of clearly selecting his aim, or intention, in order to provide a focus for direction. Once having identified the aim, it is critical to maintain it through opposition and adversity. It is a well known ploy of Satan to do whatever he can to divert the servant of God from his/her appointed task, just as a human enemy would. Lonsdale describes Ignatius as having "The ability to carry a project through to the end despite the most severe and unexpected obstacles." (Lonsdale 1990:21.) This critical aspect of maintenance of the aim becomes more evident as we delve deeper into *The Exercises*.

There are many indications of the intensity of Ignatius's focus on his aim within *The Exercises*. For example in *Exx 16*, "The reason he wants ... anything will be solely for the service, honour and glory..." of God, and in *Exx 20* "...The mind ... can give its whole attention to one single interest." Throughout the body of *The Exercises* Ignatius continually reminds us of, and focuses on his aim. So critical did he consider this later that, it is generally conceded, within a space of approximately 20 years, he moved the *First Principle and Foundation* from its original position in the Annotations, to the start of *The Exercises*. (De Guibert 1972:120)

In the General Examination (*Exx 32*), he clearly states the aim or purpose at the start, and in *Exx 74.2* he "will not permit my thoughts to roam ... but turn ... at once to the subject." *Exx 127* "...Read only the mystery that I am immediately to contemplate," emphasises his refusal to be distracted from his immediate aim.

This determination of purpose was discernible in the young Ignatius, both through his Basque personality and his behaviour at Pamplona. It is possible that this could be

interpreted as stubbornness rather than determination, since there appears to be no evidence of a long obedience in the same direction, prior to his writing of *The Exercises*. Yet he had the example of the Spanish army and people who had demonstrated a considerable singleness of purpose for 500 years in their efforts to oust the Moors from their country. Whilst one must beware of confusing boldness with singleness of purpose, it may well be that both were inherent in Ignatius's character and that it was purely fortuitous that in due course, one of the most identifiable traits evident in *The Spiritual Exercises* came to be recognised as a basic principle of war.

7.2.1.2 Appreciation of the situation ²

An "appreciation is simply a logical analysis of the problem." (*Aide Memoire*, Appendix 2) One might argue that providing the writer had a logical mind, whoever structured the First Way of Making a Good and Correct Choice of a Way of Life (*Exx 178-183*), would come up with the same, or at least a similar, format to that of Ignatius. However this is the part of *The Exercises* which first drew the author's attention to a remarkable similarity between parts of *The Exercises* and the practice of modern military writing.

The need for a formal military appreciation arises only if the best course of action is not immediately obvious. Thus it is actually a fallback position in the same way as Ignatius's *First Way of Making a Good and Correct Choice of Way of Life (Exx 178-183)*. It may happen through inspiration or experience that a formal military appreciation is not necessary, in that same way that when immediate conviction or understanding is given to the Christian, (as described in *Exx 175 and 176*), the *First Way* need not be applied. However in the absence of inspiration, understanding or tranquillity, the retreatant, and the commander, may require to address the situation in a more methodical manner.

The headings for a modern Appreciation of the Situation as laid down in the *Aide-Memoire* (Appendix 2) are;

Object.	What is the Aim?
Factors.	What may influence the outcome?
Courses open.	This thought process requires determining the variety of actions available to the appreciator.
Course adopted.	Here one asks, "Which of the actions appears to be the best possible course to be adopted to achieve the aim?"
Plan.	The steps or programme for the execution of the course selected are set out as the plan.

Ignatius identifies strikingly similar points in *Exx 178-183*.

Thus;	Ignatius	Military Parallel
FIRST POINT.	Place before my mind the OBJECT	Selection of the AIM, which is either given by the higher commander or imposed by circumstances, terrain or other external conditions.
SECOND POINT	"To keep as my AIM."	Maintenance of the AIM.
THIRD POINT	Seek God's direction. What is His will?.	Determining the military aim is not always simple. It often requires a careful, systematic analysis of the situation to ensure that the appreciator has chosen the correct aim, relevant to the situation.

FOURTH POINT	Weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the "alternatives."	FACTORS and COURSES OPEN have to be determined, analysed and balanced.
FIFTH POINT	"Which alternative?"	COURSE SELECTED
SIXTH POINT	"With great diligence" ask God to "accept and confirm."	Confirm by making a PLAN with great diligence

Although the uncanny similarity between *Exx 178-183* and a modern military appreciation may be coincidental, what is significant is the fact that Ignatius either identified or developed a technique which, after nearly 400 years appeared in modern *Staff Duties* almost identically as he wrote it in the 1520's. Yet as far as can be ascertained, this technique was not used by Ignatius during his military days. For instance his decision making process at Pamplona seems to have been more along the lines of *Exx 175* than *Exx 178-183*. One wonders what the result of his next battle might have been had he returned to military service and written *The Military Exercises* instead?

Is it possible that this modern military concept may actually have its genesis in 1522 with an obscure ex-soldier? Could Ignatius have learnt this technique, or did he develop it himself? There is no evidence either way, but it poses the question whether, had Ignatius continued a military career after recovering from his wound, he might not have come to be recognised as the father of modern *Staff Duties in the Field* instead of Gustavas Adolphus? One cannot but wonder whether the first formal derivation may not have come from another soldier who had experienced *The Spiritual Exercises*?

7.2.2 Training and Relational aspects

7.2.2.1 Leadership

Leadership is another feature which Ignatius appears to develop in the military contemplation of the term. The section of *The Exercises* devoted to the contemplation on The Kingdom of Christ is patently, one might say blatantly, military. Both earthly and Heavenly Kings summon their followers to conquest. Hugo Rahner in his discussion on the Call of the King observes that Ignatius "Saw Christ as a King... who therefore continues his fight against Satan in the Church here and now by calling magnanimous souls to battle by his side." (Rahner, Hugo 1990:58)

Lonsdale certainly has no doubt that Ignatius's military experiences affected his understanding of his relationship with Jesus as his leader, and in a quotation redolent of *Exx 93* he states that:

... His life as a soldier offered Ignatius an experience of friendship and close companionship. In wartime particularly, the lord and his knights shared the same life: food, accommodation, often long journeys together, and miseries as well as victories. They depended upon one another for help, support and protection in real danger of injury or death: they had to trust one another's loyalty and collaboration in difficult and dangerous enterprises: all of this depended upon and could create strong bonds of personal love and friendship. It is clear from the *Exercises* that this *kind of experience* [italics mine] coloured Ignatius' understanding of his relationship with Jesus. (*Exx 96-100*).

(Lonsdale 1990:11,14)

It seems regrettable that Lonsdale, who understands Ignatius's position so well, does not realise that such attitudes still exist today in a good military unit. By love is meant the sort of which Christ Himself speaks. "Greater love has no one than this, that one lay down his life for his friends" (Jn 15:13). This love between commander and follower is not only evident in the Kingdom of Christ (*Exx 93*), but is further confirmed by *Exx 230.1 and 231.2* wherein we read that love must manifest itself in deeds rather than words. The Heavenly Commander voluntarily operates under the concept of *noblesse oblige*, despite complete lack of pressure upon Him to do so, in the same way that the good unit feeds its animals first, then rank and file, non-commissioned and warrant officers, and only then officers in ascending rank, ending with the commanding officer. Thus if anyone goes hungry, it is the most senior. Sir Rory Baynes commented on this when arriving at a new unit:

It struck me ... that no one had ever said anything to me about the importance of looking after the welfare of the troops – and yet, it was the first thing that had been impressed on me, when I joined The Cameronians.

(Baynes & McLean 1990:21)

This is exemplified by the, perhaps apocryphal, story of Alexander the Great refusing to drink unless his soldiers could, and pouring the only remaining water onto the desert sand rather than be the only one to drink. Men will follow such leaders into the mouth of Hell. Ignatius, in *Exx 95*, indicates that Christ's intention is to "conquer ... all my enemies," so quite possibly the mouth of Hell is exactly where our Heavenly King may take us to achieve His aim, the reconnaissance already having been carried out in *Exx 65-71*. Only a well disciplined unit, such as the Light Brigade at Balaklava (1854) can execute such an order without breaking:

Boldly they rode, and well
 Into the jaws of Death,
 Into the mouth of Hell
 Rode the Six Hundred.

(Tennyson, The Charge of the Light Brigade)

Military hagiography perhaps?

One characteristic of good leadership which appears to be highlighted in the military sense in *Exx 169*, is not to seek personal honour or glory. This is somewhat contrary to De Guibert's (1972:172) fuss and feathers premise of military behaviour. Many soldiers are indeed glory seekers. Indeed there are indications that, during his time of service with the Duke of Nájera, Ignatius was such a one. But by the time he reached Manresa, or perhaps even by Pamplona, he was starting to set the cause above renown (Newbolt: *The Island Race*), demonstrated by his refusal to accept booty from the sacking of the town of Nájera since "he deemed it unworthy and would have none of it." (Meissner 1992:33)

Events at Pamplona had shown Ignatius that battles may result in suffering and death with very little glory. Soldiers, contrary to the popular fiction, generally do not enjoy war. "He sees war feelingly now, discovering in its danger, monotony and especially (in) its 'filth', the acme of human misery." (Baynes & McLean 1990:189). This comment from a young captain is echoed by a great commander-in-chief, both deeply concerned for their troops. "Nothing except a battle lost can be half so melancholy as a battle won." (Wellington after Waterloo)

One further leadership aspect from *The Two Standards* is worthy of notice. The text indicates that Satan is not prepared to go out to battle with his troops, whereas Christ is. *Exx 140* describes Satan seated on his throne as though he were an *armchair* leader.

Christ on the other hand in *Exx 144* is standing as though ready to move out, prepared for action. The concept of sacrificial leadership and mutual support between leader and follower was clearly evident in Ignatius's time through the chivalric relationship between a vassal knight and his greater lord. (Lonsdale 1990:11).

Thus the leadership style of *The Spiritual Exercises* is of the best sort, with Christ as archetype, and Satan as the epitome of all that is bad. Whilst there have always been outstanding military leaders throughout the ages, not until after World War I did the West really come to understand the need for all leaders, at all levels, to be trained in the qualities so evident in *The Exercises*. Clearly Ignatius had a firm grasp of what makes a good leader.

7.2.2.2 Obedience

Obedience to orders is a military requirement which one may reasonably assume Ignatius understood. Without it in an organisation there would be chaos. In some circumstances obedience may even require the sacrifice of one's own life. Ignatius adopted this attitude in *Exx 165*: "I so subject and humble myself as to obey...in all things so that not even...to save my life would I consent to violate a commandment." The possibility of death is no reason to disobey an order, as demonstrated by Ignatius's obedience to Nájera's order to defend Pamplona.

The concept of obedience is particularly discernible in *The Kingdom of Christ* where "all Christian princes and people pay homage and obedience," and the subject is dealt with more fully in the Rules for Thinking with the Church (*Exx 352-370*). De Guibert (1972:172) comments on "the strikingly theocentric outlook in his writings, especially in the *Exercises* ... ; his demands in the field of obedience for the renouncement of one's own judgement and will." *Exx 175* enjoins no hesitation or "the possibility of hesitation,"

in following Christ, and *Exx 353.1* encourages us to be "ever ready and prompt to obey." In fact, although the principal obedience required in *The Exercises* is to Christ, Ignatius also elaborates this concept in respect of the hierarchical church. Ganss (1992:199), noting that *Exx 352-370* refer to the church militant on earth with all her faults, has identified *Exx 353* as the general rule on obedience, followed by three groups of counsels which might possibly be equated to Ignatius's military experience, without implying in any way that this was the sole source of his inspiration:

GANSS

MILITARY

Group I (*Exx 354.2 – 361.9*)

Attitude to the general conduct
(way) of life

Attitude to the general conduct
of army life

Group II (*Exx 362.10 – 364.12*)

Attitude to superiors.

Attitude to superiors.

Fundamental principle: Be more inclined to praise than blame.

Group III (*Exx 364.13 – 370.18*)

Attitude to doctrinal topics
including fundamental principles.

Attitude to fundamental
military principles.

There seems to be reasonable evidence to suggest that at least one reason why Ignatius decided to defend Pamplona was that he had been ordered to hold it by his commander, the Duke of Nájera. That the independent, self-willed *hidalgo* adopted this attitude to his orders, seems to give reasonable grounds to assume that the concept of obedience had been developed in Ignatius to some degree prior to his conversion. However the concept of obedience to the hierarchical church was also highly developed in the Spain of Ignatius's day. So although one cannot say with any confidence that Ignatius's concept

of obedience originated entirely in his military psyche, there seem to be reasonable grounds to suggest that this was at least partly the case.

7.2.2.3 Individual training - Repetition

Munitiz complains about "A perplexing readiness for the 'repetition' of exercises: no sooner has a meditation been finished before one is examining one's conduct and progress in the course of that meditation, and then repeating it!" (Munitiz 1988:11) He has failed to realise that the intent of the repetition is to inculcate correct responses, even in times of great weariness and exhaustion.

The Spanish infantry, (discussed in Chapter 3), would not have been the best in Europe without superior training, an inevitable aspect of which is repetition until the correct reaction becomes instinctive. Ignatius's *crianza* training would have involved much repetition in weapon handling since according to Caraman (1990:12-13) "there was no doubt that Iñigo's education was very thorough." In a swordfight had Ignatius thrust when he should have parried, he could have been in serious trouble. Repetition is a continual requirement throughout *The Exercises* to make one's spiritual responses instinctive, in the same way that the handling of a soldier's personal weapon, or his actions and reactions on the field of battle must be instinctive, if he is to cope in combat. Yet whilst reaction must be instinctive, it must be correctly instinctive, and this only occurs with much practice. Ganss (1992:157) explains that repetitions are not a mere reviewing of the preceding meditation or contemplation, but rather an assertive assimilation, a deepening personalisation of one's previous inner responses.

7.2.2.4 Preparation and planning

It is axiomatic that preparation and planning are vital to any successful operation whether military or otherwise. Even God makes plans (Jer 29:11). The very word *plan* indicates to a soldier that serious preparation has taken place. "*n Boer maak 'n plan*" is a most misleading comment to any soldier who is not South African!

Perhaps even Ignatius would not have endeavoured to defend Pamplona if Nájera had not planned and prepared by modernising the defences and provisioning and equipping it for a siege. (Caraman 1990:22) The fact that the citadel fell in such a short time merely bears out the point that the preparations were inadequate – a malaise still discernible in military and other fields today.

But in *The Exercises* Ignatius always seeks to give a retreatant the best possible opportunity to succeed, so in *Exx 7* when the director is told to provide encouragement, preparation is also commended;

He should encourage and strengthen him for the future by exposing him to the wiles of the enemy ... and by getting him to prepare ... for the coming consolation.

(*Exx 7*)

The lack of a cohesive plan is evident in *Exx 141*, as Satan *scatters* his followers throughout the world. Ignatius points to a multiplicity of diverse spiritual beings and the inference is rather of a *divide and rule* strategy with the element of proper planning lacking.

Christ, on the other hand, *sends* his soldiers throughout the world in *Exx 143-146*, thereby giving the impression of more cohesion. Although not explicit in the text, the inference is that, in contradistinction to Satan's innumerable spiritual beings, Christ's followers are all inspired by the one Holy Spirit, perhaps subtly emphasised by the fact that Ignatius does not introduce supernatural spiritual beings into Christ's army. Christ's plan seems much more cohesive as "His servants and friends whom He sends.... seek to help *all*," (*Exx 146*) thus harking back to the original aim of *Exx 137*, namely that Christ and Lucifer both want all beneath their respective standards. In fact Christ maintains His aim, Lucifer does not, thereby contributing to his own inevitable defeat.

Yet both Christ and Satan have a three point plan for the task in hand, Christ's constructive, Satan's destructive.

CHRIST *Exx 146*

1. Poverty
2. Insults
3. Humility

Satan *Exx 142*

1. Covetousness
2. Worldly honours
3. Pride.

7.3 CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to this chapter appear at the end of Chapter 8.

NOTES.

1. *Staff Duties* consist of the work undertaken by officers designated to assist force commanders in the function of command and to help both the fighting troops and the services in carrying out their tasks. *Staff Duties* include inter alia;

Making appreciations of the situation, advising, and controlling the execution of all matters related to operations. (Based on *Staff Duties in the Field*. 1962. London: War Office. 101-103 and with acknowledgement to Prof DFS Fourie, UNISA).

2. An Appreciation of the Situation should not be confused with a Situation Report. An Appreciation is used by commanders at all levels in order to assess the best course of action, when it is not immediately evident. A Situation Report is a report from a junior to a senior commander about the current tactical situation obtaining on the ground.

CHAPTER 8

STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL ASPECTS DISCERNIBLE WITHIN *THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES*

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers those portions of *The Spiritual Exercises* containing aspects relating to strategy or tactics, namely:

- Use of Ground.
- Reconnaissance
- Rally to your Colour.
- Attack.
- Counter Attack.
- Flexibility.
- Debriefing.

8.2 USE OF GROUND

In the author's opinion the topographical description in the Two Standards is significant. Ganss (1992:167) says that the aim of the meditation of The Two Standards "is to study the tactics of the two leaders, Christ and Satan." Any commander considering a tactical course of action, who does not take into account the ground, would demonstrate foolishness of a high order. Ignoring this may be acceptable for Satan, but surely not for Christ!

In *Exx 138* Ignatius requires us to, in imagination, picture the plains around Jerusalem and Babylon. Whilst there is no evidence to show that he had any knowledge of the topography around Babylon, that certainly does not apply to Jerusalem. (See Appendix 4) Not only does he demonstrate in the Mysteries, (*Exx 201, 202*) that he knows the area around Jerusalem contains mountains and valleys, but he actually went there in 1523. In none of his subsequent redactions did he amend this topographical error. Why this apparent *deliberate mistake*?

Had this been the only meditation to mention topography, one might be forgiven for considering it to be an aberration. However in no less than eight meditations, Ignatius makes specific mention of topographical features and, in some cases even tells the retreatant to pay particular attention to them.¹

What is more salient in considering setting the scene for The Two Standards, is that Ignatius places limits upon the retreatant's imagination, by laying down specific topographical details. This is the reverse of his methodology in *Exx 112 and 192* where he specifically leaves all topographical dimensions and contours up to the retreatant's imagination. It does seem unlikely that he located the two camps on a plain purely on a whim. Whimsy is not a Basque trait, but since there is no documentary evidence stating why Ignatius placed limits on the retreatant's imagination in the setting of this meditation, any attempt to explain has to be conjectural to some degree.

Yet Ignatius would probably have been aware that an encampment for an army of the size envisaged for that of Christ, might encounter serious logistical problems if it were to camp in the hilly country round Jerusalem. Pompey, when he marched on Jerusalem in 64 BC, had to set up two camps, South-West and North-West of the city. (Rasmussen

1989:197) Ignatius's military background would most probably have included the knowledge that large bodies of troops need room to camp and manoeuvre effectively.

Whilst there is no documentary evidence to support an understanding of the use of ground by Ignatius in his soldiering days, given the competence of the Spanish army, and the fact that *euskalleria* depended greatly on the use of natural obstacles such as defiles and broken ground, it seems reasonable to suppose that Ignatius understood that the effective use of ground was a factor in strategic and tactical planning. Since Ganss considers the situation to be a tactical one, the reader may at least admit the possibility of Ignatius adapting the ground to a specific tactical purpose, rather than by accident or on a whim.

8.3 RECONNAISSANCE

Time spent in reconnaissance is seldom wasted is a well known military maxim. Ignatius appears to have used a type of reconnaissance concept in writing *The Spiritual Exercises* in his use of the imagination, which is one of his trademarks. Ganss (1992:58) translates the starts of *Exx 47, 91.3 and 112* as, "The composition, by imagining the place." Puhl on the other hand makes the point that, *composición viendo el lugar*, should not be translated as Ganss renders it in what Puhl calls the traditional rendition, and that "*viendo...*should at least be (translated) *by seeing*. Evidently the phrase means 'A representation of the place by seeing it in imagination.' " (Puhl 1951:170-171).

Admittedly Ganss (1992:10) describes his translation style as one of functional equivalence, but the author seeks to make the point that Puhl's comments support his argument. This in no way contradicts Ganss's (1992:155) meaning of *composición* as "the mental art of putting things together," for later on in *Exx 112*, Ganss's (1992:58) translation reads, "*see in imagination*" and "*look at the place*" whilst Phul (1951:58) uses,

"*seeing* in imagination" and "*observe* the place." Ganss translates Exx 66.1 as, "*to see with the eyes of imagination.*"

Seeing, looking and observing are exactly what one does on a reconnaissance. Indeed when one considers the use of the other senses, as described in Exx 66-70, the author can recall reconnaissances when intelligence was also gathered using the senses of hearing, smell and touch, in addition to sight. Even the sense of taste was presumably used during the initial reconnaissance of the Promised Land, (Num 13:23) when surely the figs and grapes were sampled?

What Ignatius may be doing, possibly unawares, is to transpose a military concept into the spiritual dimension. Examination of the ground in great detail is critical to several of his contemplations. "Consider... the way (route) from... to... length and breadth... level or hilly... The cave... large or small... high or low... how arranged? (Exx 112). Yet for some reason in *The Two Standards*, Ignatius decided to limit the retreatant's imagination in regard to area and contour, something which he does nowhere else in *The Exercises*.

Therefore it seems possible that Ignatius's insistence for a retreatant to see *the material place* in his mind's eye before getting into a meditation proper, may indicate an awareness of the desirability for a concept not dissimilar to reconnaissance. Even if Ignatius did not achieve an awareness for the need for this during his time as a soldier, Exx 327.14 makes it apparent that, by the time he wrote *The Exercises* he realised that to "explore the fortification and defences" of the enemy could have a practical spiritual application.

8.4 RALLY TO YOUR COLOUR

In the meditation on Two Standards a similar situation to The Call of the King is encountered, but this time we visit the camps of the armies of Christ and Satan. This section of *The Exercises* shows more inherent military thinking by Ignatius than any other.

De Guibert (1972:119) considers Ignatius may have borrowed his idea for The Two Standards from Werner, the Benedictine Abbot of St. Blaise. However he goes on to admit that it is highly unlikely that Ignatius could have seen Werner's homily prior to reaching Paris in 1528, six years after writing *The Spiritual Exercises* at Manresa, so such a borrowing is improbable, especially since The Two Standards occupies such a critical position in *The Exercises*. It is also unlikely that it was interpolated later.

This sudden departure (of Christ) [parentheses mine], for the real messianic task of fighting against Satan is accorded a key role by Ignatius, because in between the scene in the temple and the journey to the Jordan comes the great meditation of the Two Standards.

(Rahner H 1990:140)

Hugo Rahner (1990:115) further comments that "the meditation of the Two Standards... was one of the basic elements of grace Ignatius received at Manresa."

Standards and banners have been used since ancient times as a means of identification and rallying points in battle, (Ganss 1992:167) as well as for controlling the movement of large bodies of people. Numbers 2:2 describes the use of the standards of each camp of Israel in Mosaic times, and the banners of each family around which the camps were ordered. By Ignatian times *standards* inferred a royal presence whereas a *banner* was

the name for a tactical unit within a larger unit known as a *battle*, (Contamine 1987:229) equating somewhat to the modern battle group. Over a period of time standards and banners developed a mystique of their own and came to be the visible sign of the honour of a fighting unit. Such concepts would not have been lost on Ignatius. In one of Cordoba's battles twenty-two banners were captured from the Moors. (De Gaury 1955:20)

One aspect of the meditation of The Two Standards is that Christ and Satan want to muster *all* beneath their respective standards (*Exx 137*). Thus the initial strategy in both cases is a mustering of the full strength available, and only then deployment to diverse theatres of spiritual activity. This concentration is necessary for instruction and inspiration, prior to engagement with the enemy.

One further reason for an initial rallying of troops was to enable them to identify the standard or banner of their own unit so that, if they became detached or disoriented in battle, they knew where to go to find their leader and friendly support. This is the origin of Trooping the Colour which originated from the practise of marching the colour through the ranks of a unit, prior to going into battle, so that the troops would be able to recognise their own colour in the confusion of the battle, and rally to the correct place where they would find their leader.

Thus the setting of The Two Standards has a number of latent aspects that a non-military person would be unlikely to fully understand.

8.5 ATTACK

The only example of tactical attack in *The Exercises* is contained in *Exx 327.14*, but the theme emphasised in it is to attack at the weakest point, rather than a set-piece attack.

The tactical set piece attack is not discernible in *The Spiritual Exercises* although in *The Kingdom of Christ* followers of both kings are called to *conquest* (*Exx 93,95*), thus inferring a campaign rather than a single battle.

We are aware that Ignatius took part in at least one formal tactical attack at the storming of Nájera in 1520, and in the area of strategic conquest, he was witness to the conquest, and vicariously, of the reconquest of Navarre. One cannot say with any certainty that these experiences contributed to the inclusion of the kings' intent to conquer in *Exx 93 and 95*, but the detail of *Exx 327.14*, where the tactics for the investment of a city, culminating in attack at the weakest point, are outlined, must surely be accepted by any reasonable commentator, to have been at least influenced by Ignatius's observations of the French commander's actions at Pamplona and possibly those of his own side at Nájera. Besides this, Ignatius (1980:9) himself spoke to his biographer of his passion for reading heroic tales, and these may have added to his understanding of the use of attack.

8.6 COUNTER ATTACK (*AGERE CONTRA*)

Any servant of Christ with some degree of spiritual discernment is aware that all that is required to attract the ire of Satan, is to serve Christ. The spiritual Christian is therefore constantly under attack. Ignatius employs his well known technique of *agere contra* to deal with such situations. According to Meissner (1992:103), the concept reaches its apogee in the Third Humility of *Exx 97*, though it is also found elsewhere. Ignatius calls on the retreatant to act against his/her sensuality in this *Exx* in the struggle between the will and passion, in the manner suggested by Lorenzo Scupoli in *The Spiritual Combat*, published in 1589 (Downey 1993:1018). Inordinate attachments stand in the way of spiritual growth and *agere contra* is part of the approach to overcoming this problem. Ganss (1992:161) comments that "We not only stand firm against the temptation or

desolation, but also try to turn the seemingly bad situation into an occasion for greater generosity, praise and service of God."

There is no evidence that Ignatius ever took part in a counter attack and commentators are rather silent on possible origins of Ignatius's *agere contra*. Meissner (1992:103) says "We can translate the process of *agere contra* into terms of drive and defense," but this inverts the normal military order, a counter attack being necessitated only after an unsuccessful defence. In fact what Meissner is describing is the classical attack which concludes with a preparation to fight off the expected counter attack. In spiritual warfare terms, the Christian principally has to hold the ground already won by Christ at Calvary (See Ch 4: Note 1), and it is actually Satan who has to counter attack. In the strictest sense therefore *contra agere* might perhaps be defined as *counter-counter attack* rather than simply counter attack.

However this may be an unnecessary legalism, particularly in view of the fact that in *Exx 327.14*, the enemy plans to attack a stronghold in the form of a city. This has clearly been held for a long time, as has the ground already won by Christ, since it has established defences. The normal course of action of a garrison would be to defend, and in due course to counter attack, by means of a sally, if and when sufficiently strong. Otherwise they would have to wait for relief.

On the one hand it may seem probable that, despite the obvious military terminology, Ignatius's *agere contra* actually owes nothing to his military background. On the other hand, counter attack was a well known concept in military circles which could have been quite familiar to Ignatius in his military days, so one cannot comment upon its appearance in *The Spiritual Exercises* with any degree of confidence.

8.7 FLEXIBILITY

After Selection and Maintenance of the Aim, *Flexibility* is the Principle of War most clearly demonstrated in *The Exercises*, thus refuting any accusation that Ignatius was possessed of a rigidity in his spirituality and discipline. In fact in *Exx 18* we are told that "*The Spiritual Exercises* must be adapted." Rigid discipline is usually not good discipline. To outward appearances the British Special Air Service (SAS) may seem to have no discipline at all, yet they are arguably the most effective troops in the world. One reason is that they employ self discipline, part of the fruit of the Holy Spirit. (Gal 5:23).

Whilst there is no evidence of Ignatius having learned the importance of flexibility in a military sense, the Basque concept of *euskalleria* or guerilla warfare required a flexibility not normally evident in the more formal fighting units of the time. Baynes's comment that the character of certain fighting units affects the techniques they use, was discussed in Chapter 3. For instance a set piece attack across a minefield might be better handled by a Guards unit than Gurkhas, yet in the guerilla type of warfare required in the Chindit campaign, (Burma 1944), the reverse would apply. One applies flexibility not only to the strategic or tactical plan, but also to whom one chooses for a particular task. This principle appears in *Exx 18*, where *The Exercises* may be adapted for different types of people.

Ignatius appears to have realised that rigidity stifles individuality, and he designed *The Spiritual Exercises* to help individuals. The entire style of *The Exercises* is to set clear parameters, and then to allow considerable latitude within these parameters. Ignatius employs the same *modus operandi* in *The Exercises* as a field commander who sets the objective for a junior commander and, having given him his boundaries, allows him to formulate and execute his own plan to attain the objective. Just as the junior commander needs freedom to adapt his actions to whatever situation may develop in the

heat of battle, so the retreatant needs the same freedom to deal with whatever unexpected spiritual attack may be sprung by Satan. In fact, sometimes the surprise move may even originate from one's own side. A senior commander may do surprising things which might puzzle a junior commander who, concerned with the immediate tactical situation, has no idea of the overall strategic plan. This is similar to what happened to Ignatius due to his ignorance of Charles V's attitude regarding the defence of Navarre, and perhaps even more so when The Holy Spirit reveals only a small part of His overall plan.

Right at the start of *The Exercises*, in the Introductory Observations *Exx 1-20* and especially *Exx 4*, we are given very considerable latitude with our calendar but none with our clock! (*Exx 12*). Ignatius would probably agree with Jomini who was opposed to:

Systems of war which provide for all contingencies ... and which present hard and fast rules on all matters of military organisation ... (because war is) [parentheses mine] an impassioned drama and in no way a mathematical operation.

(Jomini in Earle 1943:84)

How much more so when one is dealing with mysteries of the spirit! De Guibert (1972:132) concerned with the multiplicity of minute directions and precise methods which the reader of *The Exercises* has to face, considers them to appear at first sight to be a spiritual pillory. However for those who have actually done *The Exercises* "an impression of broad and consoling liberty of soul" is evident. Yet flexibility does not mean slackness. Ignatius was concerned to "express as exactly as possible ... by preventing all ambiguity." (De Guibert 1972:164)

Munitiz has captured the essence of Ignatius's approach to flexibility:

Within *The Exercises* it is necessary to distinguish the practical – one might say “technical” – instructions from the indications of basic ideals and principles. The former ... tend to attract more attention ... But the second group is the animating element within the body of *The Exercises*.

(Munitiz 1988:11)

De Guibert (1972:168), on the other hand, views the problem with an eye for ground. “Ignatius’ role on this *terrain* [italics mine], consisted in perfecting these methods by simplifying them, varying them and making them flexible.”

In Ignatius’s day flexibility had not been identified as the critical military necessity it is now known to be, and there is no evidence that this concept was used or learned by him. Therefore a reasonable assumption may be that it was a product of his own original thinking, inspired by the Holy Spirit rather than by his military experience, and its appearance in *The Spiritual Exercises* was therefore probably not a result of his military service.

8.8 DEBRIEFING

Debriefing prepares troops and commanders for the next battle by reviewing the successes and mistakes of the last one. Review performs the same function in *The Exercises* for the retreatant.

After an exercise is finished ... I will consider how I succeeded ... If poorly, I will seek the causes of the failure; and after I have found it I will be sorry, so that I may do better in future. If I have succeeded, I will ... the next time try to follow the same method.” (Exx 77)

This could well be a modern definition of debriefing. A reflection on *Exx 327.14* may demonstrate the effectiveness of this concept in Ignatius' own life:

The conduct of our enemy may be also compared to the tactics of a leader intent upon seizing and plundering a position he desires. A commander and leader of an army will encamp, explore the fortifications and defences of the stronghold, and attack at the weakest point. In the same way, the enemy of our human nature investigates from every side all our virtues, theological, cardinal and moral. Where he finds the defences of eternal salvation weakest and most deficient, there he attacks and tries to take us by storm.

(Exx 327.14)

As already discussed, this appears to be based to some degree on a revisitation of the siege and capture of Pamplona. The following specific military functions are identified by Ignatius during the meditation:

Aim.	"Intent upon seizing."
Firm Base.	"Encamp."
Reconnaissance.	"Explore the fortifications and defences."
Plan.	"Attack at the weakest point."

In this *Exx* Ignatius appears to have actually done what this thesis endeavours to demonstrate. He has reviewed a personal military experience and adapted aspects of the experience into a meditation in a similar way to that which he suggests a retreatant should use to review the results of each prayer period. One purpose for such reviews is set out in *Exx 7*, to "encourage and strengthen him for the future by exposing him to the

wiles of the enemy." In other words the retreatant is learning how the enemy thinks and functions, the better to be prepared to deal with future conflict.

The concept of review is of course not exclusively military, but what is singularly military is Ignatius's insistence upon it taking place immediately, irrespective of the state of fatigue of the retreatant or troops concerned. That Ignatius considered this desirable is emphasised in *Exx 334.6* when the retreatant is encouraged "to review *immediately* [italics mine] the whole course of the temptation." How often as a young subaltern has the author wished that the debriefing could be put off until he had had a good sleep, yet the senior officers insisted upon it immediately the exercise was over, as Ignatius did.

Despite the foregoing, there is no evidence that reviewing in this manner was the general practise in the Spanish army of the day. In fact it appears rather unlikely. Yet today it is recognised as an essential military tool, in the same way that Ignatius used it as a spiritual tool five hundred years ago. Possibly Ignatius was ahead of his time in this function as well?

8.9 CONCLUSIONS TO CHAPTERS 7 AND 8

Each aspect was examined individually to try to assess whether prior military experience *may* have made significant contributions to *The Exercises*.. This was felt to be an acceptable approach since Meissner (1992:59) resorted to conjecture about Ignatius's unconscious libidinal impulses, and Ganss (1992:206) in his discussion on whether Ignatius may have read certain of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, states that "we do not have documentary evidence that he did. But other indications make it probable."

Even though we are dealing here with possibilities rather than probabilities, as Meissner (1992:xvii) has already pointed out, "the good psychobiographer must learn to live with

ambiguity and uncertainty – and to settle for what he can get.” Therefore the author has done just that, and suggests that the following are reasonable inferences.

- 8.9.1 That *The Spiritual Exercises* is not a military treatise is manifest. That there are military undertones throughout, and in places, even overtones, should not be in dispute. However in many cases there is insufficient evidence to identify the genesis of the use of military imagery and idiom in *The Exercises*.
- 8.9.2 Whilst it would be subjective and an overestimation of the limited sources to say that any particular experience in Ignatius’s early life motivated any particular meditation in *The Exercises*, with the possible exception of *Exx 327.14* (in the absence of documentary evidence to support it), there can be little doubt that at the very least, Ignatius’s military experiences influenced some parts of *The Exercises*. However it is virtually impossible to particularise, and to what degree.
- 8.9.3 The thirteen headings considered in this and the preceding chapter as being sources of possible military influence on *The Exercises* fall naturally under three broad headings, namely:
 - Those aspects which, although having some military connotation, might have been used by any educated or observant person of the day.
 - Those aspects which have a significant military bearing and which, although able to be used by an author without any military experience, demonstrate a depth of understanding unlikely to be fully grasped by a completely non-military person.

- Those aspects which may not have been included as a result of Ignatius's military background, but which have subsequently been demonstrated to have a military significance in modern times.

NOTES

1. Topographical features or dimensions are specifically mentioned in the following *Exx*:

<i>Exx 65</i>	-	First Prelude. Length, breadth and depth.
<i>Exx 91</i>	-	First Prelude. Synagogues, villages and towns.
<i>Exx 103</i>	-	Second Prelude. Entire surface of the earth (macro) and the Virgin Mary's house and room (micro).
<i>Exx 112</i>	-	Second Prelude. Route description (linear), cave description (point).
<i>Exx 138</i>	-	Second Prelude. Two plains about two cities.
<i>Exx 140</i>	-	Vast plain.
<i>Exx 144</i>	-	Great plain
<i>Exx 192</i>	-	Second Prelude. Route description (linear), and upper room description (point). [Similar to <i>Exx 112</i> .]

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

IS THE HYPOTHESIS TENABLE?

9.1 THE HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis posed in Chapter 1 was that:

The form and theology of *The Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola were affected to a considerable extent by the various military experiences and other military influences which impacted upon his life within his family, as a young courtier and as a gentleman-at-arms, prior to his wounding and conversion.

9.2 SURVEY OF THE INVESTIGATION

The investigation commenced with an apologetic on why the military influences on Ignatius might be an acceptable field of research into *The Spiritual Exercises*, followed by an examination of the social influences upon Ignatius from birth up to the time he reached Manresa, to ascertain whether any military nuances developed from these social contacts. The main thrust was to assess what attitude to military matters prevailed in the society in which Ignatius lived and whether or not he conformed to the attitudes of that society in this respect.

Thereafter his military experience and expertise was examined in order to assess what degree of military maturity he may have reached prior to his conversion experience. His spiritual standpoint at that stage was also considered.

Since the theological literature which Ignatius read from the time he was wounded until he wrote *The Spiritual Exercises* can be identified with a fair degree of certainty, it was then reviewed to discover what positions were adopted by their authors with regard to military exploits. It was also considered what response the examples contained therein may have evoked in Ignatius. Of particular concern was whether any military concepts may have influenced portions of *The Spiritual Exercises*. Although many non-military concepts which clearly influenced *The Exercises* are contained in this literature, this thesis is confined to those with an apparent military bias.

The psychological course of Ignatius's conversion experience and the changes to his personality were then considered, to examine whether anything may have occurred at this stage to discourage or divert him from the use of military concepts during the writing of *The Exercises*.

A review of *The Spiritual Exercises* themselves was then undertaken, to identify certain military principles and concepts evident in *The Exercises*. Each principle or concept was also considered in the light of Ignatius's personal experiences and the influences he was subject to, in order to assess what the effect, if any, on the composition of *The Exercises* might be.

9.3 INFERENCES DRAWN FROM THE CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

To say that Ignatius was never trained as a professional soldier is true, yet it does not quite give a balanced view. To bear arms in battle does not make one essentially a soldier, but one fulfils the role of a soldier at the time.

Moreover as Contamine has said, there was no formal training for officers prior to the 17th Century. J.R. Hale (1983:225-246) in his article "The Military Education of the

Officer Class in Early Modern Europe" comments that institutions for "formal military education" were not established until the 1650's, and only developed in the following hundred years. He cites examples of young boys being sent off to learn by practical experience of fighting in the preceding years. It is widely accepted that Ignatius was very experiential, and therefore unlikely to waste any experience which could later be put to good use in the service of Christ. He not only experienced the normal military training of a page while serving in the Velásquez household, but under the Duke of Nájera his role was largely military, being that of an equerry and junior officer.

Perhaps a significant inference to be drawn from Chapters 3 to 5 inclusive, is that little or nothing in Ignatius's experience caused him to look askance at, or question the acceptability of his desired profession of arms as a suitable career for someone who professed to be a Christian. His early youth was permeated by stories of his ancestor's military prowess, and his family's lifestyle added its impact. Add to this the fact that for a Basque male, moss-trooping (*eùskalleria*) was a way of life, and one can understand why young Ignatius grew up probably without ever questioning either the moral or spiritual acceptability of a military or quasi-military career.

This attitude was further reinforced by his mentors, Velásquez and Nájera, themselves both soldiers of some ability, who encouraged his development in the profession of arms. In the service of Nájera, Ignatius also gained practical experience and achieved some degree of maturity as a junior leader.

From the spiritual standpoint the inference drawn is that, by the time he was wounded, Ignatius may have possessed a genuine, if largely uninformed, belief in God, but not necessarily a strong Christian faith. His confession before the battle seems to indicate a genuine concern for the welfare of his spirit, though it stands in stark contrast to his subsequent three day confession at Montserrat. If he had no faith at Pamplona, why

bother, particularly as no priest was present? Some degree of faith, immature though it might be, therefore seems a possibility prior to his being wounded.

Chapter 6 considered the significant psychological and spiritual changes which occurred in Ignatius as a result of his conversion experience. After he was wounded, one might assume that he would start to view his military life, and everything connected with it, with a jaundiced eye, although military concepts were evident in much of the spiritually orientated literature he read at the time of his conversion. He began to see things from a Christocentric perspective and did indeed begin to reject certain aspects of his previous life as unacceptable. It is noteworthy that whereas he sought to remove carnal lusts from his psyche, including such undesirable militaristic aspects as pride and vain-glory, he still retained a willingness to use certain knightly military concepts, such as his vigil-at-arms at Montserrat and his continuing acceptance of warfare as a means of advancing the cause of Christendom against the heathen.

Not even in later life did he object to the use of temporal warfare against the Muslims, any more than he objected to spiritual warfare against Christ's enemy Satan. For example in 1550 he wrote to encourage the Spanish army which was besieging Tunis, and in 1552 he advanced a proposal to sweep the Turks from the Mediterranean. (Ignatius 1959:260-265) Yet in 1554 he wrote against the practise of duelling (Ignatius 1959:334-335), thereby indicating his rejection of militaristic attitudes.

Yet, during and following his convalescence, he did indeed develop a more mature discernment in virtually every area of his life, especially the spiritual. Therefore by the time Ignatius came to write *The Spiritual Exercises* he;

- (1) - had reformed his perspective from egocentric to Christocentric.
- (2) - still retained a markedly experiential outlook.

- (3) - had a reasonable grasp of certain military concepts and principles.
- (4) - had probably reviewed many aspects of his early life, seeking to remove militarism from his makeup.
- (5) - was advancing from a position of temporal appraisalment to one of spiritual discernment.

9.4 REFINING THE HYPOTHESIS

Points (1), (2) and (5) above do not relate exclusively to his military life and experiences, although there are critical areas of interface. Points (3) and (4) do. The question posed by the hypothesis therefore reduces in scope to whether points (3) and (4) considerably affected the form and theology of *The Exercises*?

9.5 THREE CLASSES OF INFLUENCE

The thirteen headings considered in Chapters 7 and 8 as being sources of possible military influences on *The Exercises* fall naturally under three broad headings, namely:

- (1) Aspects of partial military connotation, comprising:
 - Selection and Maintenance of the Aim.
 - Leadership.
 - Obedience.
 - Preparation and Planning.
 - Counter Attack.
 - Repetition.

- (2) Aspects from Ignatius's experience with a significant military orientation, comprising:

Use of Ground.

Reconnaissance.

Rally to your Colour.

Attack.

- (3) Aspects with a present day military orientation, comprising:

Appreciation of the Situation.

Flexibility.

Debriefing.

9.5.1 Aspects of partial military connotation

Those aspects which, although having some military connotation, might have been used by any educated or observant person of the day, are considered below:

9.5.1.1 Selection and Maintenance of the aim

A strong singleness of purpose to maintain the original aim is evident in *The Exercises*. The desirability for a Christian attitude of perseverance has been clearly understood from the time of Christ. (Jas 1:4) Therefore although the need for determination in achieving an objective was evident in Ignatius's early character, this is not an exclusively military concept. Indeed it is not confined to any discrete field, being a general principle of life which applies to any problem, spiritual or temporal.

9.5.1.2 Leadership

The concept of chivalric leadership permeated the society in which Ignatius lived. Therefore, even although there is evidence of a leadership style in *The Exercises* which would today be considered good militarily, this concept would have been equally understood by most courtiers or minstrels of the day. In fact, in Ignatius's time, leadership was expected of the *hidalgo* class, and could therefore be construed as a social expectation rather than military. Only by the twentieth century did the sacrificial type of leadership, as suggested by *Exx 93 and 95*, come to be widely accepted as desirable in the military. Indeed in some armies it is still neither understood nor accepted.

9.5.1.3 Obedience

An army without a sense of obedience would be a shambles but so would a church, or indeed any other organisation. Also any form of *exercise* without any form of obedience would be singularly unprofitable. Obedience is such a widely understood and accepted concept, that it would probably have surfaced in any book of Exercises by any author, whether spiritually or temporally inclined.

9.5.1.4 Preparation and Planning

The same applies to this concept. The need for preparation and planning inferred in *Exx 327.14* may perhaps have originated as a result of the outcome of the battle of Pamplona and Ignatius's subsequent review thereof, but whether that was the case or not, the same warning could have been communicated to a retreatant by the use of imagery other than military. It is not therefore an exclusively military concept.

Nevertheless it is certainly a factor with strong military connotations in achieving success that is frequently overlooked in civilian life.

9.5.1.5 Counter Attack (*Agere Contra*)

As remarked earlier, we have the paradoxical situation whereby a manifestly military concept, clearly evident in *The Exercises*, may not have been inspired or suggested by Ignatius's military experiences at all, but rather by his natural and unyielding strength of character. Yet counter attack is very definitely a military concept that could hardly have been encountered in another context. In a sense, his refusal to yield to his wound by undergoing two excruciating operations to straighten his leg, might be considered as the first recorded example of *agere contra* demonstrated in his own life.

9.5.1.7 Repetition

The need for repetition, or drill, to make reactions instinctively correct would most probably have been recognised by Ignatius during his acquisition of weapon handling skills. However its use is not confined to the military classroom. For example its usefulness in certain types of prayer has been widely recognised for centuries. Therefore although it is a necessity of military training, it is also applied in so many disparate fields that it cannot be claimed as exclusive to any particular discipline.

9.5.2 Aspects from Ignatius's experience with a significant military orientation

The following aspects discernible in *The Spiritual Exercises* have a significant military bearing and, although able to be used by an author without military experience, they

demonstrate a depth of understanding unlikely to be fully grasped by a completely non-military person:

9.5.2.1 Use of Ground

Ignatius emphasised the need for a clear grasp of the scene, sometimes even to an assessment of dimensions, before entering properly into any meditation based on any "physical" place. He sometimes extended this requirement to include non-physical places such as in *Exx 65*, where the retreatant is required to "to see in imagination the length, breadth and depth of hell." One might argue that an artist could have adopted a similar approach, but despite the partial categorisation of the new character of Ignatius as "artist" in the Enneagram assessment in Chapter 6, there is no evidence of this being developed in the normal way. Since the retreatant is sometimes required to visualise routes and large areas of the earth's surface, (as in *Exx 103*), the scope goes beyond the normal artistic setting of a scene. A cartographer would have grasped it, but we have no evidence that Ignatius ever saw a map, let alone knew how to draw one.

The author submits that the understanding of the desirability for a pre-knowledge of the ground *to be meditated over*, has a particular military usage which Ignatius would have been unlikely to have grasped as well as he did, other than as a result of military service. A military commander, even at the most junior level, who failed to take ground into consideration would soon find himself in trouble. Ignatius seemed to have understood the importance of the use of ground in a way that an entirely non-military person would be unlikely to fully appreciate.

9.5.2.2 Reconnaissance

The need for reconnaissance is closely tied up with an understanding of the use of ground. It is of particular military significance, even though it might have been ignored often enough by professional soldiers. e.g. Methuen at Magersfontein, and Buller at the battle of Spion Kop. (Packenham 1979:202,283-297) The actions of Ignatius prior to the engagement at Pamplona possibly indicate that he did not fully grasp this at the time. However it seems reasonable to suppose that later, upon reflection, he came to understand the desirability of a detailed reconnaissance *prior* to commitment to action. This may be one reason why he insisted that a retreatant "sees" every aspect of the scene clearly prior to committing to the meditation.

9.5.2.3 Rally to your Colour

Because of his family background, in particular the battle of Beotiber (1321), it seems a reasonable inference that Ignatius did not accept the need and desirability of a rallying point in battle during his early life. Indications are that he scorned the danger of a divided force and the threat of being outnumbered. All the more significant therefore, that, by the time he came to write *The Two Standards*, he used a rallying point, (the standard), as the heart of his scene. Although the imagery of a standard as a rallying point could have been used by any observant writer of the day, and therefore cannot be advanced with any great degree of confidence as due entirely to Ignatius's military experience, there is so much hidden significance in its use, that some background military knowledge seems probable. For example the following points are not always clear to the general observer, whereas to a soldier of the day, they would have been second nature:

- The standard indicates the location of the commander in the fog of war.

- Troops need to be able to identify their own standard before the battle, so that they can recognise it during it. Therefore an initial mustering is essential to achieve this.
- When wounded, lost, or in distress, the standard is where one goes to find succour and one's own leader.

9.5.2.4 Attack

Although attack, as such, is only evident once in *The Exercises*, and the concept is so widely understood that its use can hardly be claimed as exclusively the province of the military, yet attack is closer to the military culture than the various facets of Staff Duties that have been discussed above. It is what soldiering and war is all about, getting to grips with the enemy. Ignatius had practical experience both of attacking, at Nájera, and being attacked, at Pamplona.

9.5.3 Aspects with a present day military orientation

Those aspects which may not have been included as a result of Ignatius's military background, but which have subsequently been demonstrated to have a military significance in modern times are considered below.

Three points are considered jointly under this heading;

- Appreciation of the Situation.
- Flexibility.
- Debriefing.

In the discussion on these points in Chapters 7 and 8 it was pointed out that, although their appearance in *The Spiritual Exercises* may not be due to military influences on the life of Ignatius, they have in time become such critical aspects of the conduct of war, that the question should perhaps be asked, whether Ignatius was an original thinker with particular insight into, *inter alia*, certain critical military functions? Was he possibly a man ahead of his time, identifying without realising it, specific military principles which would not be categorised, in the West at least, until Napoleonic times, by observers such as Jomini and Von Clausewitz?

This does appear to be a distinct possibility. The inference is therefore drawn that Ignatius had the potential to be an outstanding chief-of-staff, rather than a great commander-in-chief. De Guibert's (1953:174) opinion is that Ignatius "has the qualities of a leader, a truly great commander in chief". A great staff officer may also be a great leader of men, but history has shown that for a commander to be really effective, the services of an outstanding chief-of-staff are critical. This fact is not generally understood outside military circles, or sometimes even within them. Ferdinand would probably not have succeeded as well as he did without Isabella's brilliant staff work. The chief-of-staff may be the deeper person, even out-thinking his commander-in-chief, as in the, (possibly apocryphal), incident when Jomini told Napoleon where they would rendezvous, before Napoleon had confided his plans to anyone.

In the author's opinion De Guibert (1953:174) has, if anything, actually underestimated Ignatius's potential military ability, by diminishing the function of the staff to something less critical to the conduct of a campaign than the ability of a commander-in-chief to "discern by intuition the decisive point where he should direct his major effort." In fact De Guibert is partially correct in this assessment, but he does not go far enough. Initially the author was of the opinion that De Guibert's assessment of Ignatius as "a marvellous trainer and incomparable strategist" was overly hagiographical, but on reflection, that is

exactly what history has shown him to be. What military instruction manual has been in constant use for 500 years in the way that *The Spiritual Exercises* have? With his emphasis on flexibility, review, and a formal appreciation when the situation required, Ignatius was surely a man ahead of his time?

9.6 IS THE HYPOTHESIS TENABLE?

Was the form and theology of *The Spiritual Exercises* considerably affected by the military influences and experiences of Ignatius?

Had Ignatius not served in the capacity of a gentleman-at-arms, he might still have been exposed to all the influences upon his life discussed above, up to the time he left the Velásquez household but not thereafter. Therefore whilst the societal sources of military influence upon Ignatius would have had the potential to affect the composition of *The Exercises*, experiential, and possibly some literary sources, could not have done so. However to consider whether Ignatius would have been converted at all, and whether *The Spiritual Exercises* would ever have been written had Ignatius not been wounded, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The Spiritual Exercises is permeated with military idiom and concepts. Of course many patently military aspects, such as the intent of both earthly and Heavenly kings to *conquer* the whole world, (*Exx 93 and 95* respectively), and the contemplation on The Two Standards, might well have been motivated by the prevailing attitude of the day regarding the acceptability of the use of warfare against any enemy of Christ, whether corporeal or spiritual. In other words, someone who had never been a soldier might well have used these concepts.

Themes with a military aspect might also have been introduced by any author with limited military knowledge gained from literary study in the way that De Guibert (1953:174) suggests. The fact is that Ignatius might have read the same works even if he had never been a soldier. For instance he might have been struck down by some serious illness and recuperated at Loyola. He would however, probably not have been able to approach them with the same depth of understanding, if he had had no experience of military life.

Even concepts such as Christ and Satan in the roles of army commanders, and of knightly service, might have been introduced by someone with only vague military knowledge. But this is unlikely to apply to certain Ignatian spiritual principles, which coincidentally, happen to be identifiable modern Principles of War as well. The use of a concept such as reconnaissance does not necessarily denote any unusual degree of military influence, but the depth of understanding of its usefulness does. Though *Exx 327.14* may, or may not, refer to a personal experience of Ignatius, there are other aspects such as a correct understanding of the use of ground, and the deeper purposes of a standard in the field, where personal experience of Ignatius may be concealed to the average observer.

9.6.1 The effects on the form of *The Spiritual Exercises*

In view of the foregoing, it seems reasonable to accept the thirteen headings discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, as having had some effect upon the overall form of *The Spiritual Exercises* and that, at least in part, the form of the meditations in which these concepts appear, owes something to Ignatius's military experiences, or the impact of military examples from society and literature upon his life. However the probability is that only three of the thirteen; Use of Ground, Reconnaissance, and Rally to Your Colour, have any reasonable claim to being directly attributable, in some way, to the personal experiences

of Ignatius's military life. The effect of all thirteen headings does not have a considerable, but rather a reasonable effect upon the form of *The Spiritual Exercises*.

9.6.2 The effects on the theology of *The Spiritual Exercises*

The question remains whether they affected the theology in any way? The meditations of The Call of the King and The Two Standards are areas of significant military metaphorical foci in *The Exercises*. Nevertheless one cannot discern in them, or elsewhere, what might be called a *martial theology*, as one may identify a Christocentric or Trinitarian theology. Although these and other meditations do have military undertones, the undertones have no significant effect upon the essential theology of *The Exercises*. Indeed, other than a reinforcement of the concept that The Prince of Peace is also Commander of the Army of The Lord, the military idiom and imagery can hardly be said to affect the theology at all. Had nautical imagery been used instead, with Christ and Lucifer as captains or admirals, the theological thrust would have remained the same.

However there are two inferred aspects of theology in the meditation of The Two Standards which are emphasised by military nuances:

9.6.2.1 The unity of The Holy Spirit

The unity of the Holy Spirit is emphasised by Ignatius's description of the composition of Satan's army. In *Exx 141*, Lucifer summons and then scatters, *innumerable* demons. This multiplicity of spiritual beings is in contradistinction to the unity conferred upon the army of Christ by the fact that they are all inspired by the One Holy Spirit. In this Christ's army is empowered to apply another Principle of War, that of concentration of

force, whereas Satan's cannot. Thus the capability of Christ's army for cohesive action, and the inability of Satan's to behave in like manner, is rather subtly emphasised.

9.6.2.2 Christ a superior commander

In Isaiah the Messiah Himself is described as a rallying point:

...the nations will resort to the Root of Jesse, who will stand as a standard for the peoples;

(Is 11:10, NASB alternative translation)

Although the presence of a standard denotes a royal presence, it does not necessarily denote the presence of the sovereign him/herself. The standard raised at Glen Finnan in 1745 belonged to Prince Charles Edward, designated by history as the Young *Pretender*, much in the way that Satan is also a pretender. So Ignatius sets out an hierarchical order for the owners of the standards by describing Christ as Commander-in-Chief, whereas Lucifer is merely the chief of the enemy. Thus the sovereignty of Christ is emphasised, as well as His superior authority to command. In Ignatius's day the Sovereign would be the Commander-in-Chief, even although sometimes the actual commander on the ground might be someone else. This situation still exists in the U.S.A. today, where the President is Commander-in-Chief.

Other than the two points discussed above, the theology of *The Exercises* does not appear to have been influenced to any noticeable degree by military nuances.

9.6.2 The spirituality of Ignatius

Warfare as a spiritual concept was identified and used by Ignatius in conformity with the general understanding of the church militant of his day, not as an end in itself. Despite Ignatius's use of many military terms and idioms, *The Exercises* are permeated by a spirituality which in no wise could be termed military. There was a humility evident in his writing not often found in military authors, and it is clear that when he used a military concept, he did so only to advance the essential aim of *The Exercises* which is "To praise, reverence and serve God."

The spirituality of Ignatius was not the spirituality of the battlefield....(though) spiritual combat occupies a large place in the directions Ignatius gave....And yet when we take a closer look, we perceive without difficulty that this struggle relentlessly carried on under diverse forms was for Ignatius only a hard result of the circumstances in which we ought to serve God ... in his spiritual life there was nothing of the brilliant cavalier ... for Ignatius the combat, bitter and long as it might be, had only one reason, one goal ... to make the person capable of finding, embracing and carrying out the will of God "for a greater praise and service of his Creator and Lord."

(De Guibert 1972:173-174)

9.6.3 Final conclusion

The hypothesis appears to be only partly sustainable, and to a limited degree, for the following reasons:

- There are parts of *The Spiritual Exercises* which appear to have been inspired, or at least influenced, by external military influences upon the life of Ignatius. These influences may have been societal or literary, or a combination of both.
- But Ignatius could have used most of these concepts whether he had had personal military experience or not. For instance had he been a student of military history, or merely a receptive vehicle for the stories he heard and read.
- Yet such concepts had a reasonable effect upon the form and a limited effect on the theology of *The Exercises*.
- However contained within some of these concepts are traits which would have been unlikely to have been fully understood by someone with no experience or understanding of martial life and the conduct of war.

There was a remarkable coincidence between the manner in which Ignatius presented *The Spiritual Exercises* and the military idiom. To a greater or lesser degree, as has been demonstrated in this dissertation, Ignatius made use of military figures of speech and images. He drew parallels with military life and procedures. He wrote in the manner of someone familiar with the field and the camp.

On the one hand it would be foolish to attribute all this to a desire to militarise the faith and spirituality of *The Exercises*. On the other hand, as practitioners of Private Law would say, on the balance of probabilities, it seems apparent that the years he spent associating with his father, brothers, other relatives and the courtiers with whom he was raised and worked and fought, if only briefly, at least influenced his mind, if not his personality. The influence on the structure and design seems quite apparent. The

influence on the theology, less so. As to whether the spirituality of Ignatius was equally influenced calls for, it would seem, the Scottish verdict of "not proven."

9.7 FURTHER QUESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

The investigation opens up questions which may merit further research. These are;

- (1) **Was Ignatius's natural bent as a soldier that of field commander or staff officer, and what was his potential?**

Ignatius's use of basic Staff Duties concepts in *The Spiritual Exercises* seems to antedate certain aspects of modern military writing by some 300 years, indicating potential ability as a staff officer of note. This possibility does not seem to have been recognised by the main corpus of Ignatian writers, the general tendency being to assume that Ignatius might have become a great field commander, but denigrating the role of the staff.

- (2) **Did Ignatius subsequently change his attitude to military service and warfare to the point where he may have regretted the inclusion of obvious military references in *The Spiritual Exercises*?**

His later writings suggest that this was not so, but this might be a profitable subject for research.

- (3) **The question arises whether there may be areas of spirituality, the study of which may have relevance for students of military science? Conversely are there areas of military science which might benefit students of spirituality?**

The author is of the opinion that there is much to be gained both theologically and militarily by greater cross-disciplinary study in these fields. The author contends that this could be of considerable relevance in the increasingly troublous times we live in, and in view of recent advances in cross-disciplinary thinking, such as Böhm's Implicate Order Theory.

9.8 FINALLY

In the same way that an author from any age, infused by The Holy Spirit, may speak to the modern Christian in an immediate and personal way, so Ignatius the soldier-Christian of long ago may speak deeply into the spirit of the modern soldier-Christian through a common understanding of hardship and battle. How well Ignatius would have understood the feelings of a junior officer of a later day, more noted for his cheerfulness in the face of adversity than for his spirituality, whom history has also made famous. Lt. "Birdie" Bowers, Royal Indian Marines, who died returning from the South Pole with Scott in 1912, wrote this to his mother:

Have been reading and thinking a lot about things...I seem to get into a quagmire of doubts and disbeliefs...I felt I should never get out, there was no purpose of it. One night on deck when things were at their blackest, it seemed to me that Christ came to me and showed me why we are here, and what the purpose of life really is. It is to make a great decision – to choose between the material and the spiritual, and if we choose the spiritual we must work out our choice, and then it will run like a silver thread through the material.

(Wheeler 1996:142)

How well Bowers would have related to Ignatius's *Making a Choice of a Way of Life* (Exx 169), and how well Ignatius would have understood Birdie's quagmire of doubts and disbeliefs.

But Ignatius himself, as one of the greatest of those who have served both as earthly soldiers and soldiers of Christ, should have the last word. In this famous prayer of the great spiritual warrior it seems that we can discern the fulfillment of Paul's injunction to Timothy to "endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ" (II Tim 2:3) in Ignatius's own life.

"Teach me, Good Lord,
 To serve Thee as Thou deservest;
 To give and not to count the cost;
 To fight and not to heed the wounds;
 To toil and not to seek for rest;
 To labour and not to ask for any reward,
 Save that of knowing that we do Thy will;
 Through Jesus Christ our Lord."

AD MAJORAM DEI GLORIAM

.....

APPENDIX 1

THE PRINCIPLES OF WAR

(As currently recognised by the British and other armies.)¹

PRINCIPLE	WHETHER DISCERNIBLE IN <i>THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES</i>
1. THE AIM. (Selection and maintenance)	Yes. Throughout.
2. MORALE. (Maintenance of)	Yes. <i>Exx 7, 146.</i>
3. OFFENSIVE ACTION.	Yes. <i>Exx 230.1; 325.12;</i> <i>350.5</i>
4. SURPRISE.	Yes. <i>Exx 326.13; 330.2</i>
5. CONCENTRATION OF FORCES.	Yes. <i>Exx 146; 327.14</i>
6. ECONOMY OF EFFORT.	No.
7. SECURITY.	Yes. <i>Exx 328-336.8</i>
8. FLEXIBILITY.	Yes. Throughout.
9. CO-OPERATION.	Yes. <i>Exx 22; 231.2</i>
10. ADMINISTRATION	Yes. <i>Exx 210-217;</i> <i>337-344.</i>

1. Christie, J McC. 1996: With reference to the Principles of War, explain the failure of the German counter-offensive in the Ardennes in December 1944 – January 1945. Unpublished essay submitted for Junior Officers military history and current affairs prize essay competition. Belfast, May 1996

APPENDIX 2

EXTRACTS FROM;

1. GUIDE TO APPRECIATION AND ORDERS. ¹
2. AIDE-MEMOIRE FOR SUPPORT TROOP COMMANDERS. ²

Guide to APPRECIATIONS and ORDERS

Contents :—

Form of APPRECIATION.

Coy. Comd's. RECCE. and PRELIMINARY ACTION.

ATTACK : points in appreciation by Coy. Comd.

ATTACK : form of verbal orders for Coy.

DEFENCE : points in appreciation by Coy. Comd.

DEFENCE : form of verbal orders for Coy.

Note.—Forms of orders are a GUIDE ONLY and MUST be varied to suit the situation.

General Staff,

Defence Headquarters,

Pretoria, April, 1942.

REPRINTED IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, BY THE GOVERNMENT
PRINTER, PRETORIA, WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE
WAR OFFICE AND H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

Q.P.-8.85161—1942-43—4,000.

APPRECIATION.

HEADING (For Written Appreciation).—Appreciation of the situation by (comd. concerned) at _____ (place) at _____ hrs., on _____ (date). Ref. map _____

OBJECT.—Is a purpose or aim, e.g., "to capture _____" or "to defend _____". Often defined in superior's orders. Be certain OBJECT is correctly defined or faulty plan will result. Don't confuse with "objective", evolved as result of appreciation. Should have only one OBJECT, but may have more than one objective forming stepping stones to achievement of OBJECT. Don't look too far ahead.

FACTORS.—Consider only those affecting attainment of your OBJECT; from each give deductions "_____therefore_____"; if no deduction possible omit that factor. Be careful to make accurate assumptions, credit enemy with common sense, avoid wishful thinking.

The three main factors :—

RELATIVE STRENGTH.—Personnel, armament, mobility, morale, resources, present dispositions—control and comms.

GROUND.—Concealment, covered approaches, defilade, exposed areas, fire posns., O.P.s. obstacles, key features. Think of ground in terms of surprise.

TIME AND SPACE.—Distance between opposing forces; distance of route proposed; distance across exposed ground; time relative to above; time available; time for recce. and issue of orders by subordinates; hrs. of daylight or moonlight.

NOTE.—In addition, higher comds. may have to consider many other factors which may include CLIMATE, SECURITY OF FORCE, DECEPTION, etc.

COURSES OPEN (Both sides) : Keep OBJECT in mind. Consider own course first unless initiative obviously with enemy (e.g., own forces withdrawing). State feasible courses and summarise points for and against each. Enemy courses must be sensible though give weight to his difficulties and weak pts. Finally state definitely **COURSES ADOPTED** for plan.

PLAN to carry out course adopted : Concisely stated in outline only, no details, but sufficient as basis for orders. Keep the plan **SIMPLE**.

NOTE.—Appreciation is simply a logical analysis of the problem confronting the Comd. (as stated in OBJECT) leading to the best solution (the PLAN).

AIDE - MEMOIRE

FOR

SUPPORT TROOP COMMANDERS.

ORDERS

+

APPRECIATIONS



The information given in this document is NOT to be communicated, either directly or indirectly, to the Press or to any person NOT authorised to receive it

BATTLE PROCEDURE

CONTENTS OF A WNG O

1. Essential
 - a. Outline info regarding future ops.
 - b. Earliest time at which move is to take place or the time before which no move is to take place. *at specific time for move*
 - c. RV and time of O gp.
2. Whenever Possible
 - a. Details of assy area (if known).
 - b. Move of F and A echs.
 - c. Re-grouping.
 - d. Limitations on recce.
 - e. Limitation on use of tpt.

PLANNING OF RECCE

1. Obtain all the info avail about the sit, then decide what you have to look for during your recce to complete the picture.
2. Decide how much time you can spend on your recce. Allow for prep of your Os, your O gp and subsequent action nec before H hr.
3. Do not start on your recce before you have studied your map to decide best view pts and routes.
4. Remember concealment.

APPRECIATIONS

FULL APPRECIATION

1. When a problem requires detailed examination and there is sufficient time a full appreciation is to be made in the fol sequence; AIM, FACTORS, COURSES OPEN (EN and OWN), COURSES ADOPTED, PLAN. The most important factors are usually; En (str and disposns), Ground and Time and Space.

BATTLE APPRECIATION

2. When confronted with a problem which requires a quick solution the pl comd is to use a shortened form of appreciation as fols:
 - a. AIM. Usually the task set for this by his coy comd. He must not deviate from it.
 - b. GROUND. Examined objectively. Ask yourself "So what" or "Therefore".
 - c. PLAN. Derived from the DEDUCTIONS made from his study of ground.

1. General Staff 1942, April. *Guide to appreciations and orders*. Pretoria. Defence Headquarters.
2. General Staff, Undated. *Aide-memoire for Support Troop Commanders: Orders and Appreciations*. Pretoria: Defence Headquarters.

APPENDIX 3

RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE ENNEAGRAM

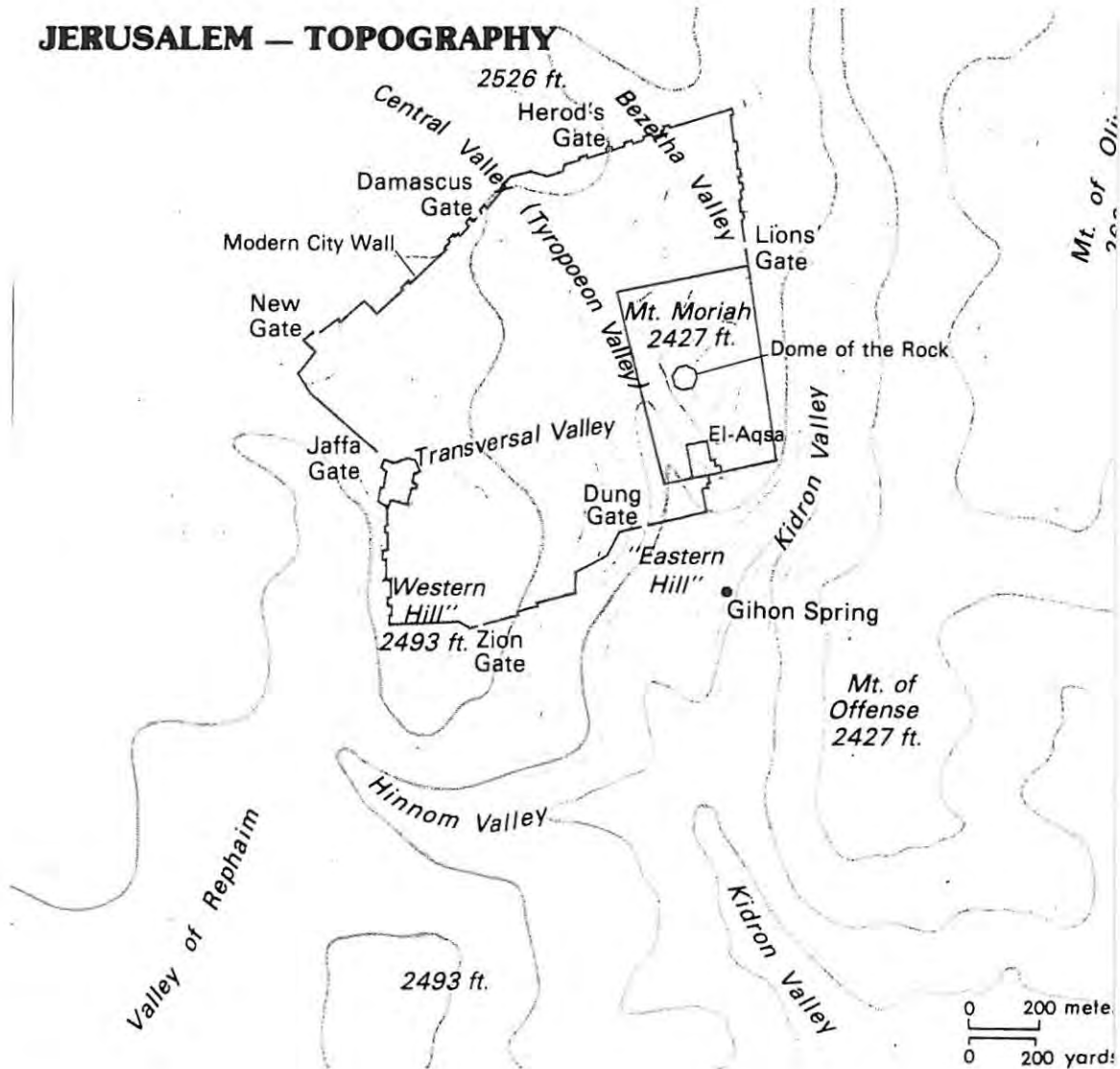
THE BEATTITUDES (MATT 5: 2-12) AND THE FRUIT OF THE SPIRIT (GAL. 5: 22, 23) IN THE ENNEAGRAM

No.	Triad (Metz)	Type (Risco)	Beatitude Type	Blessing	Fruit	Level 1A	Level 1B	Avoidance (Metz)
						(Risco)		
1.	GUT	REFORMER	INSULTED	REWARDED	PATIENCE	DISCERNMENT	TOLERANCE	ANGER
2.	HEART	HELPER	GENTLE	INHERIT THE EARTH	GENTLENESS	DISINTERESTED	ALTRUISM	NEEDS
3.	HEART	MOTIVATOR	PURE IN HEART	SEE GOD	GOODNESS	SELF ACCEPTANCE	GENUINE	FAILURE
4.	HEART	ARTIST	MOURN	COMFORTED	JOY	SELF RENEWAL	CREATIVE	JOY/ SADNESS
5.	HEAD	THINKER	HUNGER & THIRST FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS	SATISFIED	LOVE	UNDERSTANDING	DISCOVERY	EMPTINESS
6.	HEAD	LOYALIST	PERSECUTED	KINGDOM OF HEAVEN	FAITHFUL- NESS	SELF AFFIRMATION	COURAGE	DISOBEDIENCE
7.	HEAD	GENERALIST	POOR IN SPIRIT	KINGDOM OF HEAVEN	KINDNESS	ASSIMILATION	GRATITUDE	PAIN
8.	GUT	LEADER	MERCIFUL	RECEIVE MERCY	SELF CONTROL	SELF RESTRAINT	MAGNANIMITY	WEAKNESS
9.	GUT	PEACEMAKER	PEACEMAKER	CHILDREN OF GOD	PEACE	SELF POSSESSION	FULFILLMENT	CONFLICT

1. Based on Risco 1990: 111 and Metz & Burchill 1987:86, 91-92

APPENDIX 4

TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF JERUSALEM AND SURROUNDS

JERUSALEM — TOPOGRAPHY

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