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The Early Jesuits' Relations with Other Religious Orders

NELSON H. MINNICH

As noted by John O'Malley, Jesuits have been both praised and vilified over the centuries.¹ Their critics have come from both within and outside the Roman Catholic Church. One group that deserves more attention in the literature are members of other religious orders. Jesuit relations with other orders ran the gamut from amiable to hostile. What explains the hostility? Part of an explanation can be found in the situation these orders found themselves in at the time.

The plagues of the fourteenth century had seriously reduced the numbers of religious; they struggled to retain their houses and recruit new vocations. Civil unrest and frequent warfare (e.g., the Hundred Years' War [1337–1453], wars of succession in Spain and England, conflicts in Italy, etc.) brought insecurity and destruction. Discipline declined. A reform movement known as observantism swept across the orders. It called for a return to the observance of the original rule. While some orders succeeded in self reform, others split into conventual groups that retained their dispensations from the rule and observant religious that embraced the reforms. Among the orders that splintered are the Franciscans: the observants gaining control of the order while the unreformed broke off as the conventuals (1517). Some Franciscans wanted even more reform and formed their own orders: the Minims with perpetual abstinence (1474), the Capuchins with their long hoods and stricter poverty (1528, 1619). The Carmelites split into conventuals and discalced in a gradual process between 1562 and 1593. The Augustinian Hermits spun off the Recollects between 1588 and 1621. Dominicans were able to keep their order intact. The reform movements consumed the attention and energies of the various religious orders that were viewed as the established old guard.²

A second factor was the challenge coming from Protestantism. Martin Luther rejected monasticism as a way to holiness, instead claiming that one is justified by faith

1. John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1.

2. For overviews of the observant movement, see Mario Fois, "L'osservanza' come espressione della 'ecclesia semper renovanda,'" in *Problemi di storia della chiesa nei secoli xv/xvii*, ed. il Consiglio di Presidenza dell'Associazione italiana dei Professori di Storia della Chiesa (Naples: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1979), 13–107; reprinted in an abridged form with ample systematic bibliography as "Osservanza, Congregazioni di Osservanza," in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, ed. Guerrino Pellicia and Giancarlo Rocca (Rome: Ed. Paoline, 1980), 4:cols. 1036–57; Kaspar Elm, ed., *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, Berliner Historische Studien 14, Orden Studien 6 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989) with essays by leading scholars on various mendicant orders; and James D. Mixson and Bert Roest, eds., *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

alone. Other Protestant leaders agreed.³ When Protestants took control of cities and territories, they closed the monasteries and exiled the recalcitrant friars. Scholars have estimated the following statistics for Germany: by the time of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), Luther's Augustinian friars lost seven-eighths of their members; the Dominicans kept only forty-two percent of their houses; the Conventual Franciscans lost two-thirds of their houses, while the Observants kept eighty percent of theirs; the Carmelites held on to forty-eight percent of their houses.⁴ In England, all monasteries were suppressed by 1540 and their inhabitants given a pension and absorbed into the secular clergy.⁵ In Denmark, monasteries were pressured or prohibited from accepting new members.⁶

While the old established orders were suffering serious losses and inner turmoil, new orders were arising: the clerics regular. The Theatines, Barnabites, and Somaschi remained small, their ministries confined mostly to Italy. Both the Theatines and Somaschi tried to merge with another order of clerics regu-

3. On Luther's views, see Bernhard Lohse, *Mönchtum und Reformation: Luthers Auseinandersetzung mit dem Mönchsideal des Mittelalters*, Forschungen zu Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963); Heinz-Meinolf Stamm, *Luthers Stellung zum Ordensleben* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980); Hans Christoph Rublack, "Zur Rezeption von Luthers *De votis monasticis iudicium*," in *Reformation und Revolution*, ed. Rainer Postel and Franklin Kopitsch (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Vlg Wiesbaden GmbH, 1989), 224–37. For Calvin's views, see David C. Steinmetz, "Calvin and the Monastic Ideal," in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 51 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 605–16.

4. On the Augustinian friars, see Michael Klaus Wernicke, "Die Augustiner-Eremiten," in *Orden und Reformation und katholischer Reform 1500–1700*, Band 2, ed. Friedhelm Jürgensmeier and Regina Elisabeth Schwerdtfeger, *Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* 66 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2006), 49–72, here 49; on the Carmelites, see Nicole Priesching, "Die Karmeliten (Ordo Fratrum B.M.V. de Monte Carmelo)," in Jürgensmeier and Schwerdtfeger, *Orden und Reformation*, 89–109, here 89; on the Dominicans, see Klaus-Bernward Springer, "Die Dominikaner (OP)," in Jürgensmeier and Schwerdtfeger, *Orden und Reformation*, 9–47, here 9. On the Conventual Franciscans, see Christian Plath, "Die Franziskaner-Konventualen (Minoriten) und Martinianer," in *Orden und Reformation und katholischer Reform 1500–1700*, Band 3, ed. Friedhelm Jürgensmeier and Regina Elisabeth Schwerdtfeger, *Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* 67 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2007), 137–61, here 137; on the Franciscan Observants, see Walter Ziegler, "Die Franziskaner-Observanten," in Jürgensmeier and Schwerdtfeger, *Orden und Reformation*, 163–214, here 163.

5. On the suppression of the English religious houses, see, for example, Geoffrey Baskerville, *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries*, Bedford Historical Series (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937); David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 3, *The Tudor Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 195–417; George Henry Cook, *Letters to Cromwell and Others on the Suppression of the Monasteries* (London: J. Baker, 1965); George William Otway Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (New York: Walker, 1966); Joyce Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, Historical Problems: Studies and Documents 14 (London: Routledge, 1971); and Joseph Harold Betty, *The Suppression of the Monasteries in the West Country* (Stroud, Gloucester: Sutton, 1989); James G. Clark, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021).

6. Jens E. Olesen, "Dänemark, Norwegen, und Island," in *Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Nordische Königreiche und Konfession 1500 bis 1660*, ed. Matthias Asche, Anton Schindling, and Simone Giese, *Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* 62 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 27–106, here 61; Ernest Hale Dunkley, *The Reformation in Denmark* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948), 26, 75, 86, 93–94, 142–44.

lar, the Jesuits, but they rejected the offer.⁷

The Jesuits were different in various ways from the established monastic and mendicant orders: they were without vows of stability, had no set garb, no recitation of the divine office in common, no prescribed penitential practices, a two-year (not one) period of probation, simple perpetual vows for those in training that can be dispensed by the order, and a solemn fourth vow for the professed to undertake any mission assigned them by the pope. They also accepted New Christians as members. They had their own way of proceeding.⁸ Some of these differences from other orders were a source of controversy.

Another distinctive trait of the Jesuits was the desire to be like their founder, Ignatius of Loyola. Jerónimo Nadal early on propagated this theory of the Ignatian paradigm.⁹ One of the characteristics of the founder was his quest for glory: as a soldier, a reputation for bravery and military skills; as a religious, a desire for promoting the greater glory of God, struggling under the banner of Christ the King. As the Jesuit psychiatrist William Meissner opined, Ignatius's "*machismo* was never in doubt," he was given to "competitiveness [and] self-display."¹⁰ There was a "can do," competitive ethos to the early Jesuits. *Aemulatio* featured prominently in their educational practices.¹¹ It is not surprising that these unconventional upstarts could experience push-back from established religious orders. A topic that needs to be explored in greater detail is their relationship with other orders.

Given the shared mission of the religious orders to help save souls and their common Protestant or pagan opponents, cooperation among the religious would seem desirable, even required. Offering hospitality to travelers, their churches to worshippers, their libraries to researchers, conferring on how best to collaborate—these were not uncommon practices. But tensions could also arise. Jesuits could be critical of the abuses, negligence, and ignorance of local clergy. When they intervened to preach, hear confessions, and celebrate Mass, they were accused of "taking the bread from the

7. John Patrick Donnelly, "New Religious Orders for Men," in *Reform and Expansion 1500–1600*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, Cambridge History of Christianity 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 162–79; O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 51; Cándido de Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work*, trans. Jerome Aixelá, Modern Scholarly Studies about the Jesuits in English Translation, series 2, no. 6 (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), 140–42; André Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Maura Daly, Joan Daly, and Carson Daly (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987), 78, 167, 192.

8. Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, Translated with an Introduction and Commentary by George E. Ganss, S.J.* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 66, 76 (name), 68 (no stability), 80 (no prescribed penances), 70 (no choir), 79–80, 267–71 (vow to undertake any mission assigned by pope), 84 (no specified habit), 233 (two years of probation), 71, 141–50, 241 (dismissal from simple vows); O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 53, 67–68, 188–89, 341–56, 368–76.

9. O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 65–67, 333; John W. O'Malley, "The Historiography of the Society of Jesus: Where Does It Stand Today?," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 3–37, here 5.

10. William W. Meissner, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Psychology of a Saint* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 21, 23, 26.

11. Paul F. Grendler, *Humanism, Universities, and Jesuit Education in Late Renaissance Italy*, History of Early Modern Educational Thought 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 398–401.

friars' mouths."¹²

Ignatius had various encounters with the major religious orders of his day. During his convalescence at Loyola, he desired to emulate Saints Francis and Dominic.¹³ After his conversion, he spent time at the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat, but a vow of stability was not attractive to him. At Manresa, he stayed briefly with the Dominicans. His future relations with them became complicated. As a student at Alcalá, his lifestyle was investigated by the Dominicans, and he was ordered not to wear the long gray gown (but the garb of students) and not to speak on matters of the faith until he had completed four years of study. At Salamanca, he chose as his confessor a Dominican friar. He was interviewed by the friars and sent to prison for further interrogation and ordered not to speak on the difference between a mortal and venial sin until he completed his studies.¹⁴ At Paris, he prayed at the church of St. Dominic and followed the lectures of the Dominican Thomist Jean Benoît at the convent of St. Jacques, the same Benoît who twenty years later led the attack on the Jesuits. In his *Constitutions*, Ignatius prescribed the study of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologica* for Jesuits in training, and they used Tommaso de Vio's *Summula peccatorum* in preparation for hearing confessions. In Rome of 1541, he joined the Dominican Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.¹⁵

Nonetheless, the Dominicans and Jesuits became rivals. In Paris of 1554, Ignatius's former teacher, Benoît, was the principal author of a decree of the Faculty of Theology that denounced the Jesuits for arrogating the name of Jesus, for not following the practices of other religious orders, for using their extraordinary privileges to subvert the secular and spiritual order, and for thus being "dangerous to the faith, disturbers of the peace of the Church, overturning monastic religion, and being more for destruction than for edification."¹⁶ Some Spanish Dominicans in 1555 attacked the very nature of the Jesuit order. They desisted when warned that the pope had approved the order and such criticisms could cause them to be cited to Rome.¹⁷ Dominicans saw themselves as the leading theologians and opponents of heresy who served as inquisitors and functioned as the pope's official theologian as masters of the sacred palace. When Paul III (r.1534–49) chose theologians to represent him at the Council of Trent (1545–63), however, he sent instead the Jesuits Diego Laínez and Alfonso Salmerón. Jesuits were also sent as assistants to papal legates and nuncios, as was the case with Pierre

12. A. Lynn Martin, *Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 207–8.

13. Joseph F. O'Callaghan and John C. Olin, trans. and ed., *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola with Related Documents* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974), 23.

14. Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 56, 101–5; John Patrick Donnelly, *Ignatius of Loyola: Founder of the Jesuits*, Library of World Biography (New York: Longman, 2004), 16–18, 35–37.

15. O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 146–47, 248–51; Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 188; letter of Pierre Favre to Diogo de Gouveia, from Rome, November 23, 1538, in *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola [...] Epistolae et instructiones*, tomus primus (Madrid: MHSI, 1903), 134; *Nicolai Alphonsi de Bobadilla [...] gesta et scripta*, Bobadillae Monumenta (Madrid: MHSI, 1913), 614–15.

16. James Broderick, *The Progress of the Jesuits (1556–79)* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1947), 46.

17. Josef Wicki, "Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, erster und einziger Kardinalprotektor der Gesellschaft Jesu," in *Saggi storici intorno al papato*, Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 21 (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1959), 243–68, here 254.

Favre assisting Cardinal Gasparo Contarini at the Regensburg Colloquy in 1541, Lainez accompanying Cardinal Ippolito d'Este to the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561, and Peter Canisius helping Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Commendone at the Augsburg Diet of 1566. Jesuits also came to replace Dominicans as confessors to leading rulers. Jesuit spirituality became the target of the famous Spanish Dominican theologian Melchor Cano.¹⁸ When the *Spiritual Exercises* were published, another Spanish Dominican denounced its teachings on predestination and free will to the inquisitor of the archbishop of Toledo, a harbinger of the famous *De auxiliis* controversy over efficacious grace.¹⁹ Their Roman College became the premier place in Rome to study theology.²⁰

In 1574, Jesuits entered Oaxaca in Mexico and tried to establish a house near to a Dominican monastery and were excommunicated for it by the Dominican bishop.²¹ The Jesuit missionary strategies of cultural accommodation in the Orient became the target of criticisms, with the Dominican Domingo Fernández Navarrete a chief opponent. The competition for influence and patronage between the sons of Dominic and Ignatius was apparent for all to see.²²

Jesuit relations with the Franciscans were more amiable. The early Jesuits such as Favre, Nicolás Bobadilla, and Francis Xavier were disciples of the Franciscan Scotist professor in Paris, Pierre de Cornibus, who became a significant supporter of the early Jesuits.²³ They planned initially to go to the Holy Land to work for the rest of their lives there for the salvation of souls, knowing that the Franciscans were in charge of the churches there and they would need to collaborate with them.²⁴ Ignatius made a lengthy general confession to a Franciscan friar prior to accepting his election as superior of the Jesuits and had him send a letter to the electors testifying to his suitability.²⁵ Conflicts, however, did arise. The Jesuits' cardinal protector Rodolfo Pio da Carpi intervened in 1553 to silence false accusations by a Franciscan in Corsica that the Jesuits had been censured. Another Franciscan challenged the Jesuit promotion of frequent communion. Controversies arose over establishing Jesuit houses in close proximity to Franciscan monasteries in Spain and Mexico.²⁶ Franciscan friars in turn entered the Jesuits' previously exclusive missionary territories of Japan and China, preached a brand of Christianity that warned pagans they were heading to hell, and some sought

18. Donnelly, *Ignatius of Loyola: Founder of the Jesuits*, 65, 106, 148–49; Terence W. O'Reilly, "Melchor Cano and the Spirituality of St. Ignatius Loyola," in *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, ed. Juan Plazaola (Bilbao: Mensajero, 1992), 369–80.

19. O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 50, 84; *Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal Societatis Jesu ab anno 1546 ad 1577*, tomus primus, (1546–1562) (Madrid: MHSI, 1898), xl–xlv, 244.

20. An engraving of Rome features the Roman College with Jesuit priests and all the satellite student residences—see "Roma detta Ignaziana, edita ad Anversa nel 1610," in *Le Piante di Roma*, ed. Amato Pietro Frutaz (Rome: n.p., 1962), 2:pianta 140, tavola 280.

21. Broderick, *Progress of the Jesuits*, 223.

22. Cajetan Kelly, "St. Ignatius and the Dominicans," *Dominicana* 41 (1956): 244–49.

23. Letter of Favre to Gouvea (Rome, 1538), 614–15; Favre in 1542 had a less enthusiastic private assessment of de Cornibus, accusing him of not following his vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, of failings as a teacher and preacher, of being too curious, and of vanity—see *Beati Petri Fabri [...] epistolae, memoriale et processus* (Madrid: MHSI, 1914), 548–49.

24. Callaghan and Olin, *Autobiography of St. Ignatius*, 49–51, 87–89

25. Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 115–16.

26. Wicki, "Kardinalprotektor der Gesellschaft Jesu," 253–54; Broderick, *Progress of the Jesuits*, 223.

martyrdom. Jesuits, trained in Italian humanism, tried to win over the ruling classes by intellectual arguments and cultural accommodation, while Franciscans worked among the lower classes with a simple message.²⁷

Jesuits seem to have had good relations with the Augustinian Hermits despite Ignatius's initial difficulties with Agostino Mainardi de Piemonte, the suspected disciple of Luther who ironically denounced the saint to the Roman Inquisition. Earlier, when Ignatius had been imprisoned in Salamanca by the Dominicans, he took refuge upon his release with the Augustinians. Ignatius admired the spiritual teachings of Luis de Montoya and sent his young Jesuits in Coimbra in 1543 to study with the Augustinians on how to pray. Augustinian prelates and theologians praised the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius and welcomed Jesuits into their territories.²⁸

The one religious order for which the Jesuits had special admiration and affection was the Carthusian. It was considered an order that never needed reform. Ignatius thought of entering the order after returning from Jerusalem. As a student in Paris, he met with fellow students on Sundays at the Carthusian monastery for spiritual exercises. In England, they were among the first to suffer a cruel martyrdom for refusing to acknowledge Henry VIII (r.1509–47) as head of the church in his realm. The Cologne priory welcomed the Jesuits to their city and encouraged Canisius to join the new order. When writing the *Constitutions* for the Society of Jesus, Ignatius discouraged any Jesuit from transferring to a different order, the only exception being to the Carthusians.²⁹

Jesuits were eager to be ranked among the leading religious orders, to have their founder Ignatius in the company of Saints Dominic and Francis. They placed the faces of their various founders in an altarpiece in the Gesù church in Rome, prior to their formal beatification, something Clement VIII (r.1592–1605) censured.³⁰ They promoted the causes of Ignatius's and Xavier's canonizations, eagerly reporting the miracles attributed to their intercession, and they took pride in their martyrs: Edmund Campion (d.1581), Rodolfo Acquaviva (d.1583), Robert Southwell (d.1595), and those from the

27. Liam Matthew Brockey, *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 397–98; Nicolas Standaert, "Christianity Shaped by the Chinese," in Hsia, *Reform and Expansion*, 558–76, here 559, 561–66.

28. David Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians from the Protestant Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia 1518–1648*, History of the Order of St. Augustine 2 (Villanova: Augustinian Historical Institute, Villanova University, 1979), 121, 130, 163.

29. Callaghan and Olin, *Autobiography of St. Ignatius*, 25; Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 46–47, 113, 135, 192; Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 107n22.

30. Ruth S. Noyes, "Aut numquid post annos mille quingentos docenda est Ecclesia Catholica quomodo sacrae imagines pingantur? Post-Tridentine Image Reform and the Myth of Paleotti," *Catholic Historical Review* 99, no. 2 (2013): 239–61, here 249n43.

Japanese mission.³¹ Jesuits could be models of sanctity.

But Jesuits could also be perceived as proud upstarts with numerous privileges—they name themselves the companions of Jesus, act as if they are the true reformed clergy, are university-trained and hence smarter than others, can do things others cannot (e.g., faculties to preach wherever, to absolve special cases such as heresy), and do not play by the rules set for others (e.g., at the Council of Trent Salmerón spoke for two hours instead of the maximum half-hour; Laínez later spoke for three hours on justification when others were restricted to one). They were also seen as poaching not only the potential recruits to the older orders but also the laity who had earlier come to hear the friars' sermons, join their confraternities, and give donations to support their ministries. It would not be surprising if feelings of resentment and jealousy arose.

Jesuits were not hesitant to tout their accomplishments. They published “edifying letters” that recounted the successes of their ministries around the world. They wrote biographies of their holy men, Pedro Ribadeneyra penning lives of Ignatius, Laínez, and Francisco de Borja. Giampietro Maffei published another biography of Ignatius and letters from Jesuit missionaries. Jesuits wrote their own histories of the Society, starting with that by Niccolò Orlandini (1615), which others added to until it brought the story up to 1632 and became an eight-volume work. Histories of individual provinces were encouraged by Claudio Acquaviva.³² The rival to producing a grand history of a religious order was the *Annales Ordinum Minorum* (up to 1540) by Luke Wadding, continued up to 1680 by Giovanni de Luca, Giuseppe Maria de Ancona, and Gaetano Michelesi (in thirty-two volumes), and the smaller history (1,364 pages) of the Franciscans, the *De origine seraphicae religionis franciscanae* by Francesco Scipio Gonzaga (Rome, 1587). The popularity of scientific history in the nineteenth century led to the publication of various collections of documents. The Jesuits produced their *Monumenta historiae Societatis Iesu* series (starting in 1894—currently 157 volumes) and scholarly journals dedicated to the order's history, such as the *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* and the *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. Other orders also had their series. The Capuchins published their *Monumenta Historica Ordinis Minorum Cappuccinorum*, twenty-three volumes (Assisi and Rome, 1937–93) and Costanzo Cargnoni edited the five-volume *I Frati Cappuccini: Documenti e testimonianze del primo secolo* (Perugia, 1988–93).

31. Peter Burke, “How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint (1984),” in *The Counter-Reformation: Essential Readings*, ed. David Luebke (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 1999), 130–42; Simon Richard Ditchfield, “Thinking with Jesuit Saints: The Canonization of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier in Context,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9, no. 3 (2022): 327–37; O'Malley, “Historiography of the Society of Jesus,” 6–7, 31n11 (Ribadeneyra's hagiographical lives of Loyola and Xavier); Liam Matthew Brockey, “The Cruellest Honor: The Relics of Francis Xavier in Early Modern Asia,” *Catholic Historical Review* 101, no. 1 (Centennial Issue 2015): 41–64, here 54–57 (promoting the miracle of his incorruptible corpse); Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)* (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001), 267–72; Pamela Jones, “Celebrating New Saints in Rome and across the Globe,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692*, ed. Pamela Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 148–66, here 154–58; Brockey, *Visitor*, 382–85.

32. O'Malley, “Historiography of the Society of Jesus,” 6–10.

But the Jesuits dedicated more resources to theirs (e.g., a staff of Jesuit historians), they had the Monumenta series digitized, and they opened their archives to researchers, so that scholars today tend to ignore the important work of other orders and concentrate their research on the Jesuits. Part of the problem for this disparity lies with the mendicant orders themselves. Their historical institutes and scholars concentrate their research on the founding period of their order, in an effort to carry out the mandate of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) that urged them to return to the original genius of their foundation.³³ For the Jesuits, that meant the early modern period; for the monastic and mendicant orders, it was the Middle Ages. One thus gets the false impression that the Jesuits were the principal order active in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A few scholars are trying to provide a more balanced picture: Piotr Stolarski's *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594–1648* (Farnham, UK, 2010) highlights the role of the Dominicans in keeping the area around Kraków loyal to the church; Megan C. Armstrong's *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers during the Wars of Religion (1562–1594)* (Rochester, NY, 2004) documents the importance of Franciscan preachers in keeping Paris Catholic. While Jesuits tended to work with the nobility, the friars directed their ministry to the ordinary folk. After suffering many losses in the early days of the Reformation, the mendicants experienced a great revival and expansion. But their ministries are relatively understudied. They worked alongside and at times in competition with the Jesuits. Much more work needs to be done on this relationship.

33. *Perfectae caritatis*, October 28, 1965, in *The Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman Tanner (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 2:940, no. 2.