

romance novels to pass the time. There were none in the castle of Loyola, but there were two other books which would change the course of Church history. Ludolph of Saxony's *De Vita Christi* is mentioned in almost every biography of Ignatius. He read it in an edition in Castilian. Ludolph proposes a method of prayer which asks the reader to visualise the events of Christ's life (known as simple contemplation). The second book was a Spanish translation of the *Flos Sanctorum* by Jacobus de Voragine.

Ignatius began to read them. The more he read, the more he considered the exploits of the saints worth imitating. However, at the same time he continued to have daydreams of fame and glory, along with fantasies of winning the love of a certain noble lady of the court, the identity of whom we have never discovered but who seems to have been of royal blood. He noticed, however, that after reading and thinking of the saints and Christ he was at peace and satisfied. Yet when he finished his long daydreams of his noble lady, he would feel restless and unsatisfied. Not only was this experience the beginning of his conversion, it was also the beginning of spiritual discernment, or discernment of spirits, which is associated with Ignatius and described in his *Spiritual Exercises*.

The *Legenda Sanctorum – Flos sanctorum* in the vulgar – is one of the best known manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Together with the Bible, it is the book of which most medieval copies have been preserved: more than a thousand manuscript copies of the work have survived, and after the 1450s, printed editions appeared quickly in Latin and in every major European language. The *Legenda Sanctorum* is a compilation of sketches of different length, which describe the saints' lives according to the order of their feasts in the liturgical year. The author embellishes the biography with supernatural tales of incidents involving the saint's life. Major feasts are treated too (Nativity, Purification, Easter, Pentecost...).

The *Legenda Sanctorum* is written in simple Latin. It is considered to be a kind of encyclopedia of medieval hagiography and saint lore. As such it is invaluable to hagiographers, but also art historians and medievalists who seek to identify saints depicted in art by attributes (often linked up with their 'biography').

The edition of the *Legenda Sanctorum* used by Ignatius was highly probably the Spanish version which appeared in Sevilla in 1520 with the printer Juan de Varela. If it is not exactly this copy, it will surely be closely related to this edition. The editor, Félix Juan Cabasés, has taken care of a complete transcription of the only copy of this book which – to our knowledge – survived. The edition appeared in the truly monumental series *Monumenta historica societatis Jesu*. It is an exemplary scientific edition with an extended introduction and lots of indexes. Because the manuscript is so huge, the editor made no annotations to the text. The main importance of this edition is twofold: Firstly 'spiritual': the meaning of this book for the Society of Jesus. Secondly: printed, contemporary vulgar editions of the *Legenda* are rather rare.

H. GEYBELS

Robert Aleksander MARYKS. *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabilism*. Aldershot, Ashgate; Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2008. (16×24), XIII-168 p. ISBN 978-0-7546-6293-8. £55.00.

Robert A. Maryks has a gift for bringing new and thought-provoking perspectives to age old and complex debates. In calling Cicero a saint and the Jesuit order a synagogue of Jews, he gives his readers no chance but to appreciate his ability to stir up controversy. In the book at hand, the official account of a most important chapter in the history of moral theology – probabilism and its adoption by the Jesuits – is at stake. Probabilism is known to be a rather benign method of settling cases of conscience, allowing agents to act on the basis of an opinion that is sufficiently probable even if the contrary opinion is more probable. Traditionally, its rise as a principle of moral decision making has been associated with the rise of the Jesuits, although it was first formulated in 1577 by Bartolomé de Medina, a Dominican.

Maryks tries to show, however, that the widespread adoption of probabilism by the second generation of Jesuits stands in marked contrast to the profound tutoristic tendencies in the writings of the first Jesuits. Moreover, the overall aim of this book is to demonstrate that the Jesuit turn towards moral probabilism from the late sixteenth century onwards must be explained by the influence of Cicero and the liberal arts on Jesuit thought in general. There is a fundamental divide between the tutoristic attitude of the first generations of Jesuits and the probabilistic approach by subsequent Jesuits, says Maryks, because the latter were ‘rooted in the classical rhetoric promoted by Renaissance Humanism’ (p. 3).

An attempt to articulate this rather uncommon argument is made in a reader-friendly essay composed of five small chapters. The first chapter highlights the Jesuits’ concern for the sacrament of confession and the consolation of souls, as expressed in the foundational document *Formula instituti* (1540). It also includes a useful census of 39 Jesuit authors who, taken together, published 58 different penitential handbooks between 1554 and 1650. The second chapter focuses on Juan Alfonso de Polanco’s *Directory for confessors*, the first Jesuit manual for confessors. It was decisive in promoting tutorism among the Jesuits from its publication in 1554 until its decline in the 1590s. As Maryks has it, ‘the mathematician Pascal’s words, “Je ne me contente pas du probable, je cherche le seur [sic]” could have been very well Loyola’s, Polanco’s or Laínez’s’ (p. 70). It is maintained that the Aristotelian/Thomistic framework of the *Directory* helps to explain its tutoristic overtone. The same deference to Aristotle and Thomas is said to have determined the alleged tutorism inherent in the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. In sum, ‘the tutoristic mindset of Loyola and the first Jesuits was deeply shaped by the prophetic “culture of Jerusalem”’ (p. 75).

It is claimed that the revolution of probabilism could only have taken place because of the infiltration of the ‘culture of Athens’ into Jesuit thought. A modest attempt at describing this process is made in the third chapter. Originally, the foundational documents did not include the ministry of education at colleges and universities. From the actual foundation of the college at Messina in 1548 onwards, however, educational efforts required an ever growing engagement by the Jesuit professors with the classics and the liberal arts. A synoptic study of three subsequent editions of the *Ratio Studiorum* (1586, 1591, 1599) is supposed to demonstrate the gradual turn from tutorism to probabilism in the Jesuit order in connection with their involvement in education. This revolution is chiefly ascribed to the influence of Cicero, ‘to whom they assigned a “sacred” place in their classes’ (p. 88).

Cicero’s epistemological acceptance of probability rather than absolute truth in line with Pyrrhonic skepticism is pointed out as a main factor in the adoption of probabilism. Maryks notes a strong resemblance between the procedure that

Cicero describes for an ideal orator to follow in trying to persuade his audience by probable opinions, on the one hand, and the probabilistic method prescribed in the *Ratio Studiorum* for Jesuit professors to follow in dealing with cases of conscience, on the other (p. 101). This seems to be one of the major original conclusions to be drawn from this book. Chapter four is less interesting as it merely repeats what other scholars have already written about the probabilistic attitude of Bartolomé de Medina, Gabriel Vázquez and Francisco Suárez. Unfortunately, the same holds true of chapter five, which describes the well-known Jansenist attack on Jesuit probabilism and the rise of probabilistic tendencies in Jesuit ethics in the later seventeenth century, notably with Tirso González de Santalla.

Sometimes there is no avoiding a feeling that the argument lacks precision and consistency. For example, while suggesting at one point that the Jesuits' original conservatism in ethics could be explained by their Jewish background (p. 5), a little further on the *converso* Manuel Sá is – rightly – mentioned as a main representative of Jesuit probabilism (p. 10). Typically, 'medieval tutorism' is opposed as a fixed couple of terms to 'modern probabilism' (p. 146), while a few lines higher and throughout the book it is shown that there were as many probabilistic tendencies in the Middle Ages as there were tutoristic lines of thought in Modern Times. The first Jesuits are reported to have been imbued with a tutoristic spirit. Yet, at the same time, the most renowned document of pristine Jesuit spirituality, the *Spiritual Exercises*, is held to contain an embryonic form of probabilism (p. 81). The cult of Loyola by Polanco and Nadal, amongst others, is said to have had a possibly negative effect on the engagement of the first Jesuits with culture and academic teaching (p. 76); still, Polanco and Nadal are held on the next page to have been well trained in theology and familiar with Renaissance Humanism. Embarrassingly, in misreading a crucial passage from Bartolomé de Medina, the 'magisterial rule' is said to coincide with the rule that in doubtful cases the lot of the owner should be preferred (p. 117, note 31). In fact, for the scholastics, the 'magisterial rule' is exactly the principal tutoristic rule, stating that in case of doubt the safer course of action must be followed. The rule taken from Roman and canon law that in doubtful cases the lot of the owner should be preferred, on the other hand, is the most original expression of probabilism...

One might also wonder why the moral theological treatises *On Justice and Right* by famous Jesuits such as Luis de Molina, Leonardus Lessius and Juan de Lugo have been excluded from the census of penitential handbooks, even though they addressed themselves expressly to confessors. Incidentally, it is a pity that no use has been made of former attempts to classify and order the massive amount of penitential literature in the early modern period, notably H. Braun and E. Vallance (eds.), *Contexts of Conscience in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, London, 2004. Moreover, it seems odd in a book on probabilism to give an overview of Jesuit penitential handbooks, while omitting the task of making a census of Jesuit commentaries on Thomas's *Primae Secundae*. After all, that was the *locus classicus* for all theologians, including the Jesuits, to expound their theoretical views on the doubtful conscience and moral probabilism.

More regrettable, however, is the absence of any reference to the recent two-volume standard work on the history of probabilism by R. Schüssler: *Moral im Zweifel*, Paderborn, *Band I: Die scholastische Theorie des Entscheidens unter moralischer Unsicherheit*, 2003, and *Band II: Die Herausforderung des Probabilismus*, 2006. Maryks's argument could have gained in strength considerably, if

only it had confronted Schüssler's thorough analysis of the juridification of early modern moral theology as the main explanatory factor behind the rise of moral probabilism. It is difficult to imagine how Maryks would have squared his elusive thesis about Cicero's role as a catalyst in the rise of probabilism with Schüssler's profound analysis of the radically juridical foundations of moral probabilism. This is a lost opportunity, for the conclusions that can be drawn from Schüssler's research seem to be at odds with Maryks's chief hypothesis.

As regards Cicero, for instance, Schüssler shows that in his work on ethics, *De officiis*, Cicero held the same 'conservative' tenets as Augustine and the Medieval tutorists, namely that one should prefer the sure to the doubtful course of action. This interpretation goes radically against Maryks's hypothesis. Incidentally, Schüssler's view seems to be confirmed by an analysis of the way very concrete cases of consciences were dealt with by the Jesuits. As has been demonstrated in *Lessius and the Breakdown of the Scholastic Paradigm*, in *Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 31 (2009) 57-78, Molina and Lessius expressly refuted Cicero's analysis of the 'Merchant of Rhodes' in order to defend the 'progressive' standpoint that making profits on the basis of asymmetric information is licit. Humanist writers like Caspar Barlaeus, on the other hand, were unable to take this accommodating view, precisely because they wished to remain true to the rigorist ideas of Cicero. Ironically, Maryks mentions the case of the Merchant of Rhodes as a testimony to the Ciceronian influence on the Jesuit probabilists (p. 77). It is true enough that the Jesuits were very familiar with Cicero, but that does not mean that they adopted his ethical viewpoints altogether.

To conclude with, Maryks's is a must-read book for intellectual historians, historians of moral theology, and researchers in the field of Jesuit studies. These scholars will remain unconvinced by its thesis, however, as long as it does not deal with the conclusions about the juridical origins of moral probabilism that can be drawn from Schüssler's *magnum opus*. Generally speaking, this book falls short of expectations. Typically, the reader is warned in the midst of chapter four that 'despite the title of this chapter [The genealogy of Jesuit probabilism], tracing the exact genealogy of Jesuit probabilism, however, is not the major purpose of the present work.' (p. 112) This book, then, creates a lot of expectations only to leave its reader tantalized. The argument about a Ciceronian influence on the Jesuits' adoption of probabilism is appealing, but it should be made more robust. It seems beyond doubt, therefore, that following traditional interpretations of the rise of probabilism is still the safer course of action.

W. DECOCK

Jean-François GALINIER-PALLEROLA. *La résignation dans la culture catholique (1870-1945)*. Préface par Claude BRESSOLETTE. Postface par Gérard CHOLVY (Histoire). Paris, Cerf, 2007. (23,5×14,5), III-497 p. ISBN 978-2-204-08285-3. €49.00.

G.-P. a «entrepris une enquête approfondie pour comprendre l'évolution des mentalités catholiques. Comment, en moins de cent ans, depuis la guerre franco-prussienne de 1870 à la Seconde Guerre mondiale, est-on passé d'une insistance sur la résignation à un quasi rejet?» (p. I). Son ouvrage se compose de trois parties: