JOSÉ GARCÍA DE CASTRO VALDÉS, SJ*

COMPANIONSHIP IN THE SPIRIT. A HISTORY OF THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS[1]

To the Society of Jesus,
and the Jesuits;
In their 475 years of History
(1540 - 2015)

Fecha de recepción: noviembre de 2015
Fecha de aceptación y versión final: enero de 2016

RESUMEN: Uno de los puntos más propios de la espiritualidad ignaciana es favorecer una mirada bondadosa sobre todas las cosas, sobre toda la creación, empezando por una aceptación misericordiosa e incondicional del propio sujeto orante. «Dios trabaja y labora por mí en todas las cosas criadas» [Ej 236]. A lo largo de sus 475 años de vida la Compañía de Jesús ha estado presente en lugares muy diferentes y en circunstancias muy diversas. Una presencia que hace de la acción un medio privilegiado para explicar su experiencia religiosa, su manera particular de amar a Dios y amar al prójimo: «El amor ha de ponerse

* Profesor en la Universidad Pontificia Comillas de Madrid; director del Máster *Ignatiana*: josegc@comillas.edu.

[1] This article comes from two lectures given at the International Conference on Ignatian Spirituality, «An Ignatian Pilgrimage: from Personal Interiority to Shared Apostolic Vision», held at Xavier House, Ignatian Spirituality Center, Hong Kong, 28 November - 1 December 2014.

más en las obras que en las palabras»[Ej 230]. Este artículo ofrece una visión (irremediablemente) panorámica de la acción bondadosa y misericordiosa de la Compañía de Jesús, a través de los ministerios que de los jesuitas que la han integrado y sus colaboradores han ido realizando a lo largo de su historia.

PALABRAS CLAVE: acción; Compañía de Jesús; ejercicios espirituales; Ignacio de Loyola; jesuitas; ministerios; misión.

ABSTRACT: One of the most unique features of Ignatian Spirituality is the development of a loving gaze on all things, on all Creation, starting with a merciful and unconditional acceptance of the person who prays. «God labors and works for me in all creatures» [Sp Ex 236]. Throughout its 475 years of history, the Society of Jesus has been present in very different places and very diverse circumstances, a kind of presence that employs action as a principal means to explain her religious experience, her particular way of loving God and loving the neighbor: «Love ought to manifest itself more by deeds than by words» [Sp Ex 230]. This article offers an inescapable panoramic view of the kind-hearted and merciful work that the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits who have dwelt in her and her collaborators, have been doing through her History.

KEY WORDS: action; Society of Jesus; spiritual exercises; Ignatius of Loyola; jesuits; ministries; mission.

When the Society of Jesus was founded by Pope Paul III[2], a new trend in spirituality arose within the Catholic Church. Even though the followers and the First Companions of Ignatius of Loyola were never known as or called «Ignatians»[3], this new spirituality is nowadays recognized as «Ignatian Spirituality». It was a new path, a new method to search for God proposed by Ignatius and his First Companions[4] and mainly fixed in the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus.

---

[2] The official document *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* (September 27th, 1540) confirmed ten years later by Pope Julius III, *Exposcit Debitum* (1550).

[3] As, for example, the Franciscans from Saint Francisco, Dominicans from Saint Dominique or Benedictines from Saint Benedict.

[4] I call «First Companions» the group of ten young men that gathered at Sorbonne University (Paris) between 1529-1536 around Loyola's Project to travel to Jerusalem. See: J. García de Castro, «Ignatius of Loyola and his First Companions», in *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola* (Mariks, R., ed.), Brill, Boston 2014, 66-83; J. García de Castro, «Los primeros de París: amistad, carisma y pauta», *Manresa* 78 (2006) 253-275.

In order to understand the origins and development of this spirituality and how this movement of the Holy Spirit has reached us, we will try to follow the historical development of the Society of Jesus. It is a long period of 475 years full of life, including a wide variety of experiences all around the world and in many different fields of human culture. The more we consider the history of the Society of Jesus, the more we realize how wide and deep the contribution of the Jesuits was to build the history and culture of Western tradition.

Because of the new features of this new congregation, the Jesuits could move around the world and were allowed to preach the Gospel through many different means, which they called «ministries»[5]. They did not adopt a single specific work (healing, education, preaching…) as their charismatic mission. From the very beginning, and inspired mainly by the «Contemplation to attain love» of the *Spiritual Exercises* [230-237][6], they had a deep conviction that God dwells, labors, and works in everything, and so it is possible to search and find Him in everything.

To talk about Ignatian Spirituality requires a wide and deep vision that includes under this category the many apostolates developed by the Jesuits from the XVI century until our times. In these pages, we will consider only the most significant works, projects, and relevant figures of each historical period[7]. Let's start by going back to the first sources.

---

[5] See: J. O'Malley, «To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation», *Studies in the Spirituality of the Jesuits* 16/2 (1984).

[6] I will refer to the *Spiritual Exercises* offering the international paragraph numbers; G. E. Ganss (ed.), *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand 1992.

[7] Some reference books: W. V. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis-MO 1972; J. De Guibert, *The Jesuits. Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis-MO 1964 (3th printing 1986) (Spanish translation: *La Espiritualidad de la Compañía de Jesús. Bosquejo histórico*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1956); G. E. Ganss (ed.), *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis-MO, 1970; J. W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge-MA 1994; Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana (ed.), *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana* (2 vols.) Mensajero-Sal Terrae, Bilbao-Santander 2007 (*DEI*); Ch. O'Neill / J. Mª Domínguez (eds.), *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, (4 vols.) Universidad Pontificia Comillas - Institutum Historicum SI, Madrid-Roma 2001 (*DHCJ*).

1. THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE CHARISMA, GIFT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

1.1. To follow the institute of Íñigo

To understand the origins of what is called as «Ignatian Spirituality», we have to turn back and travel to, maybe, the third floor of that «tower-house» of Guipúzcoa, located between two small villages, Azpeitia and Azcoitia. What was the inner experience of that 26 year old wounded soldier between June 1521 and February 1522? The first and transforming spiritual experience of this man appears in the *Autobiography*, chapter 1 [5-7]. The reading of two classical books of Medieval piety was the starting point of his unexpected human and spiritual transformation. Analysis and contrast of different feelings and thoughts; consolations and desolations, fantasies, desires and dreams… and at the end… a decision to leave his parents' home and to travel to Jerusalem[8].

Even before the Society of Jesus was founded, Ignatian Spirituality began to reach beyond the person and the experience of Íñigo / Ignatius of Loyola. The First Companions decided to found what they called a «Societas», that is a «companionship». That means that to understand the charismatic foundational experience and Ignatian Spirituality, we also need to look at the experience of the First Companions of Ignatius and to integrate their experience of God in the process of birth and first development of the Ignatian Spirituality. Who were they?

[8] See on Ignatius of Loyola: R. García-Villoslada, *Ignacio de Loyola. Nueva biografía*, BAC, Madrid 1986. Others: C. Dalmases, de, *Ignatius of Loyola. Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work*, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis-MO, 1985; J. I. Tellechea Idígoras, *The Pilgrim Saint*, Loyola University Press, Chicago 1994; recent one: E. García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola*, Taurus, Madrid 2013. See, also: R. García Mateo, *Ignacio de Loyola, su espiritualidad y su mundo cultural*, Universidad de Deusto-Mensajero, Bilbao 2000.

1.2. Different… but one mind and one will[9]

This «Societas», this «friendship in the Lord» as Ignatius wrote[10], included people from very different backgrounds. The First Companions were conscious of their diversity, coming from different places and cultures, but it was clear to them that the Holy Spirit was the link to the union between their hearts and minds. During their *Deliberation* in Rome (1539), they decided to remain together because they were sure that it had been God (and not themselves) who had gathered them years ago in Paris[11].

The first companion was Peter Faber (Saboye 1506-Rome 1546). He and Ignatius met at Sainte Barbare College in Paris. After a long and delicate process of discernment, Peter decided to perform the Spiritual Exercises with Ignatius, and join him on his project of travelling to Jerusalem. Peter Faber was a Jesuit for only 6 years (1540-46) but during this short period of time he was a pilgrim around Europe, always available and obedient, ready to move to any part of the world he was required to. He was the «apostle of the conversation» and as Ignatius used to say, Faber was the best one in giving the Spiritual Exercises[12].

Close to Faber, sharing the same room in that college, was Francis Xavier (Xavier/ Navarre 1506-Shouang 1552). It was not easy for Ignatius to convince Xavier to join the project to travel to Jerusalem. Even though he had not yet done the spiritual exercises, Xavier took part in the liturgy of Montmartre (Agust 15th 1534) where the first seven companions[13] promised to try to go to Jerusalem and remain there forever,

---

[9] «Aunque de tan diferentes naciones, de un mismo corazón y voluntad», P. Ribadeneira de, *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*, *Fontes Narrativi* IV, Roma 1965 (MHSI 93), 233. [See recent English edition: *The Life of Ignatius of Loyola*, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis 2014 (C. Pavur, trad.)].

[10] «De París llegaron aquí, mediado Enero, nueve amigos míos en el Señor», *Epistolae et Instructiones* I, Madrid 1903, 119.

[11] J. Conwell, *Impelling Spirit. Revisiting a Founding Experience 1539*, Loyola Press, Chicago 1997, 11-17. See, also J. Conwell, «Deliberaciones 1539», *DEI* I, 549-553.

[12] See: W. V. Bangert, *To the Other Towns: a Life of Blessed Peter Faber, first Companion of St. Ignatius*, Ignatius Press, San Francisco 2002.

[13] Besides Ignatius, Faber and Xavier the first group of seven companions was integrated by Diego Laínez, Alfonso Salmerón, Nicolás de Bobadilla and Simão Rodrigues. Once Ignatius left Paris to Azpeitia, his own town North Spain, Faber gave exercises to Claudius Jayo, Jean Codure and Paschase Broët who decided to join

if possible. Xavier, maybe the most well known of the First Companions, was the «apostle in mission,» generous and deeply motivated to gain souls for the Kingdom of Heaven. Through Francis Xavier and his departure for India (April 1541), the Ignatian Spirituality began to be universal, as it was already written in the *Formula Instituti*[14].

Among the other Companions in the first generation of Jesuits, two of them had a more relevant role in the first development of the «body of the Society» and its spirituality[15]. Fr. Jerome Nadal (Palma de Mallorca / Spain 1507 - Rome 1580) was the first «Theologian» of the Ignatian Spirituality, that is, the first who offered a systematic reflection regarding the spiritual experience of Ignatius and its consequences for the foundation of the Society of Jesus[16]. Nadal had the responsibility of traveling to different parts of Europe to explain to the Jesuit communities what the Society of Jesus was and was not, and what this new spirituality consisted of[17].

Fr. Nadal worked close with Fr. Juan Alfonso de Polanco (Burgos / Spain 1517 - Rome 1576), the main Secretary of the institution and one of the most influential Jesuits in the first Society of Jesus. He was not only in charge of the increasing bureaucracy in Rome; he also wrote thousands of letters in the name of Ignatius, and prepared a very valuable *Directory for the Spiritual Exercises* which was the main inspiration for the official one, *Official Directory* published by Fr. Claudius Aquaviva

---

the project. The three new members participated in the Liturgy of Montmartre, same date in the next two years: August 15th 1535 and 1536. See: J. Padberg, «The Three forgotten Founders of the Society of Jesus», *Studies in the Spirituality of the Jesuits* 29/2 [march 1999]). A short biography of each of the ten founders in *AHSI* 59 (1990).

[14] «and to go at once, …, to whatsoever provinces they may choose to send us -wheter they decide to send us among the Turks or any other infidels, even thosue who live in the regions called the Indies, or among any heretics whatever, or schismatics…» (Ganss, *Constitutions*, 68). See: G. O. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, his Time* (4 vols.) Institutum Historicum S.I., Rome 1973-1982.

[15] «How did the Society of Jesus come to be?» O'Malley offers a list of important Jesuits of the very first years of the Society of Jesus, «however, three outstrip the others by far: Polanco, Nadal and Ignatius» (*The First Jesuits*, 376).

[16] Most of his lectures and «pláticas» in *Monumenta Natalis* V, *Commentarii de Instituto*, Roma 1962 (MHSI 90). See, also, *Las pláticas del P. Jerónimo Nadal. La globalización ignaciana* (Lop, M., (ed.) Mensajero-Sal Terrae (col. Manresa nº 45), Bilbao-Santander 2011.

[17] See: W. V. Bangert, - Th. McCoog, *Jerome Nadal (1507-1580). Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits*, Loyola University Press, Chicago 1992.

(1599). Polanco wrote both a *Directory for Confessors* (Roma 1554) and also one on how to assist and offer pastoral care to dying people[18], two bestsellers in European spiritual literature of the sixteenth century. A man familiar with business, government and bureaucracy, he offered a new face to the Jesuit mission, working generously for the inner structure of the Institution[19].

Polanco also worked as General Secretary of the Society under the second Fr. General, Diego Laínez (Almazán / Spain 1512-Rome 1565); it was a period of the founding of new schools and the expansion of the Society all over the world[20]. With Francis Borgia (Gandía 1510- Rome 1572), third General Praepositus of the Society of Jesus, spiritual life became more regular and more structured in a religious congregation which had neither prayer nor choir in common. The Second General Congregation (1565), decree 29, established: «At length the congregation agreed that Father Superior General in his prudence might increase the time, as he would judge proper in the Lord, taking into account his understanding of persons, regions and so on»[21]. Two months after the Congregation was over, Fr. Borgia decided: one hour of morning prayer for all Jesuits in Spain (45 minutes in other places) and half an hour in the evenings, including an examen of consciousness[22]. Borgia himself was very attentive to his own personal prayer; his *Spiritual Diary* and

[18] *Methodus ad eos adjuvandos qui moriuntur*… (Macerata 1575).

[19] J. García de Castro, *Polanco (1517-1576). El Humanismo de los jesuitas*, Mensajero-Sal Terrae-Universidad P. Comillas (col. Manresa nº 48), Bilbao-Santander-Madrid 2013; see also: *DEI* II, 1462-1471.

[20] M. Scaduto, *L'epoca di Giacomo Laínez (1556-1565)*, La Civiltà Cattolica, 1964-1974; recently P. Oberholzer (ed.), *Diego Laínez (1512-1565) and his Generalate*, IHSI, Rome 2015.

[21] Very good modern edition of all decrees of the first thirty General Congregations in: *For matters of greater moment: the first thirty Jesuit General Congregations: a brief history and a translation of the decrees* (Padberg, J. W. / O'Keefe, M. D. / McCarthy, J. L., eds.) Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis -MO 1994; here, 120; original latin texts in: *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, Typis Civilitatis Catholicae, Romae 1869, here II, 201-202. GC 4 went back to this point and confirmed what Fr. Borgia had decided: «is by all means to be retained as a devout and salutary custom» (GC 4, decree 5), see: *For matters of greater moment* 169, *Institutum* II, 248.

[22] See: M. Scaduto, *L'opera di Francesco Borgia (1565-1572),* La Civiltà Cattolica, Roma 1992, 97 and Leturia, P. de, «La hora matutina de oración en la Compañía naciente [1540-1590]» *Estudios ignacianos* II, ,189-243, BIHSJ, Roma 1957.

most of his treatises on spiritual life[23] focus mainly on sin, mercy and indignity, and they allow us to uncover his soul. Borgia also supported and encouraged missions beyond Europe: Florida, Cuba, México, Brazil and Peru, where Jesuits such as José de Acosta were developing a deep connection with indigenous cultures.

2. MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF THE CHARISMA AND FIRST CONTROVERSIES

But not everything was easy during the first years, even the first decades of the Society of Jesus. Over one thousand Jesuits spread all over the world were working in the Vineyard of the Lord at the date of Ignatius' death (July 31st 1556). Far from Rome, despite the great efforts by Fr. Polanco and his Secretary, communications were not regular and information was not always punctual[24]. How, then, can one live a spiritual life trying to remain faithful to the first charisma if Jesuits didn't know what this first charisma was exactly?

2.1. Tendencies to cloistered and contemplative life

One of the first misunderstandings about the interpretation of Ignatian charisma appeared soon in Gandía (Spain), promoted by Fr. Andrés de Oviedo and Fr. Francis Onfroy. Maybe through the influence of mystic spiritual ties from Northern Europe or from new Franciscan movements in Spain, as *recogidos*, they felt a strong vocation to contemplative life (silence, prayer, retreat) inside the Society. They were convinced that to be a good Jesuit they should pray five or six hours a day and keep silent for most of the day… as if they were part of a new form of monastic way of life. Fr. Oviedo wrote to Rome asking for permission to remain for seven years in the desert (!). Rome had to respond to these new proposals by showing and explaining to them the true Ignatian charisma and urging them to come back to the Ignatian way of prayer and

[23] *Diario Espiritual* (Ruiz Jurado, M., ed.) Mensajero-Sal Terrae (col. Manresa nº 17), Bilbao-Santander 1997; *Tratados espirituales*, Juan Flors, Barcelona 1964.

[24] Some examples: a letter from Rome to North or South Italy, 6-8 days; from Rome to Madrid, Lisbon or Paris, 25-30 days; a letter to Goa (India) 12-15 months.

apostolic life[25]. One hour of prayer including the exam of consciousness was enough; the rest of the time should be invested in helping souls, that is, on «apostolic mministries» as related in *Formula instituti* (1550)[26].

2.2. Tendencies to silence and silent prayer

Also in the XVI century, was the more powerful movement that proposed and taught a new style of prayer that distanced itself from that of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Fr. Antonio Cordeses (Olot / Gerona 1518 - Seville 1601) in his *Itinerario de la perfección* (*Itinerary to perfection*) developed a method of prayer in which he insisted that reaching inner silence and awakening the affections were the main goals of experience in prayer. Fr. Borgia told him that God had already given to the Society of Jesus a way to pray, that is in the *Spiritual Exercises*; next Fr. General, Everard Mercurian, had to insist (November 25th 1574) in the primacy of the apostolic sense of Ignatian prayer through contemplation of the Life of Christ. Cordeses accepted these recommendations from Fr. General and most of his final years were dedicated to ministries with sick people and confessions[27].

Close to Cordeses, was Fr. Baltasar Álvarez (1533-1580), novice Master, Third Year Instructor and Rector of some colleges in Spain. He was Saint Therese's confessor: «he was the one who helped me most,»[28] «he was a real saint,» said the Saint of Ávila. But his teachings on prayer insisted, perhaps too much, on silence, taking distance from contemplation of the Mysteries of the Life of Jesus and colloquies, as taught in

[25] Fr. Oviedo's letter in *Epistolae Mixtae* I, Madrid 1898 (MHSI 12) 467-472 and Polanco's answer in *Epistolae et Instructiones Ignatii* II, Madrid, 1904 (MHSI 26) 54-65. Very interesting and also very unknown is the long letter called «Illusionibus quibusdam» written by Polanco (Rome 1547) (*Epistolae et Instructiones* XII, Madrid, 1911, MHSI 42) in which the Secretary of the Society offers a very lucid list of criteria for discernment inspired in those we can find in «Rules to aid us…» of the *Spiritual Exercises* [313-336].

[26] Fr. Oviedo was missionary in Goa and after Patriarch of Ethiopia, where he died as a holy man (Fremona-Ethiopia 1577). See: J. Vaz de Carvalho, «Oviedo, Andrés de», *DHCJ* III, 2936-2937); De Guibert, *The Jesuits*, 219-229.

[27] M. Ruiz Jurado, «Cordeses, Antonio», *DHCJ*, I, 952-953; P. Dudon, «Les idées du P. Antonio Cordeses sur l'oraison», *Révue d'Ascétique et Mystique* 12 (1931) 97-115.

[28] «el que más me aprovechó», *Book of Life*, 26.3.

the *Spiritual Exercises*. His Provincial Fr. Juan Suárez, knowing the last documents of the Inquisition against *Alumbrado's* movement, decided to inform Fr. Everard Mercurian, Fr. General at that time. Rome sent some guidelines back to Spain strongly recommending following the traditional way of prayer of the Society of Jesus. Fr. Álvarez obeyed and continued working in the Society; he was appointed Provincial of Peru, but never travelled to Latin America; afterwards he was appointed provincial of Toledo Province (Southern Spain), but he died in Belmonte, Cuenca, before reaching his final destination[29].

3. THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

3.1. Who are we? Spiritual Exercises and Ignatian identity[30]

It is very difficult to understand either the inner life of the Society of Jesus or that of a Jesuit without entering into the «what» and the «how» of their spiritual experience as proposed in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. We could say that the Society of Jesus took shape in the womb of the *Spiritual Exercises*. In a way, the *Exercises* are the articulated and systematic words of the spiritual processes of Ignatius of Loyola from 1521 until his last theological reflection on his own experience in Paris (1528-1534) and later in Rome (1540-1544). Ignatius understood his religious and mystic life under the systematic frame of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

All the first ten companions completed the full spiritual exercises in Paris (1534-1536), six of them under the Ignatius' guidance,[31] and

[29] Ph. Endean, «The strange style of Prayer: Mercurian, Cordeses and Álvarez», *Mercurian Project. Forming Jesuit Culture 1573-1580* (McCoog, Th., ed.), Institute of Jesuit Sources - Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, St. Louis - Rome 2004, 351-398; M. Ruiz Jurado, «Álvarez, Baltasar», *DHCJ* I, 91-93; F. Boado, «Baltasar Álvarez en la historia de la espiritualidad del siglo XVI», *Miscelánea Comillas* 41 (1964) 155-257; P. Dudon, «Les leçons d'oraison du P. B. Álvarez», *Révue d'Ascétique et Mystique* 2 (1921) 36-57; J. de Guibert, *The Jesuits*…, 219-229.

[30] See: M. Ruiz Jurado, «Los EE en la vida interna de la CJ», inside «Ejercicios Espirituales», *DHCJ* II, 1226-1227.

[31] Peter Faber, Diego Laínez, Alfonso Salmerón, Nicolás de Bobadilla, Simão Rodrigues and Francis Xavier.

three of them under Peter Faber's.[32] Even though we don't know much about these foundation experiences,[33] we can affirm that this experience changed their lives; all of them decided to follow Ignatius' way of life, which at that time implied traveling to Jerusalem and, if possible, living and preaching the Gospel in the Holy Land[34]. The first Jesuits were so convinced of the «power» of the spiritual exercises that they started to give them to many different social groups of people, always adapting them to the circumstances and possibilities of the person.

Peter Faber and Claudio Jayo in Germany, Francis Xavier in Portugal and India, Diego Laínez, Alfonso Salmerón and Nicolás de Bobadilla in Italy… it doesn't matter where they were, they always found time to talk about and to give the exercises, which became an essential and indispensable point in the identity of the Society of Jesus[35]. Ignatius had already said: «The Spiritual Exercises are the very best thing that in this life I can think, perceive, or understand for helping a person benefit him[her] self as well as bringing fruit, benefit, and advantage to many others»[36].

It was the General Congregation IV (1598) which determined that all candidates should perform the spiritual exercises during their first probation,[37] and the General Congregation VI (1608, decree 29) which

[32] Claude Le Jay (Jayo), Paschase Broët and Jean Codure.

[33] Only a couple of paragraphs about Peter Faber spiritual exercises in Paris: L. Gonçalves da Cámara, *Memoriale* [305]. See: *Remebering Inigo. Glimpses on the Life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. The Memoriale of Luis Gonçálves da Cámara* (Egleaston, A. and Munitiz J. A., eds.), Gracewing, St. Louis-MO 2004; original critical edition in *Fontes Narrativi* I, Rome 1943 (MHSI 66), 508-752.

[34] These decisions were openly communicated in the liturgy of Montmartre, not far from Paris, August 15th 1534, and repeated the same date in 1535 and 1536 (see: *Autobiography* [85]).

[35] Fr. Iparraguirre prepared a long list with all the Jesuits who gave the spiritual exercises during Saint Ignatius times: Antonio Araoz, Francisco de Borgia, Peter Canisius, Jerónimo Doménech, Leonard Kessel, Francisco Villanueva and many others (see the wonderful: Iparraguirre, I., *Práctica de los Ejericicios de San Ignacio de Loyola en vida de su autor (1522-1556)* I, Mensajero-IHSI, Bilbao-Roma 1946, 299-301).

[36] Letter to Manuel Miona (Venice, November 16th 1536), Ignatius of Loyola, *Letters and Instructions* (Palmer, M. / Padberg, J. / McCarthy, J., eds.) The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis-MO 2006, 27.

[37] The Jesuits called «First Probation» (*Prima probatio*) a short period of time (12 to 20 days) that the young boys who wanted to join into the Society of Jesus had to spend as a guest or in a separated room before becoming a part of the Noviciate

decided that every Jesuit should practice eight or ten days of Spiritual Exercises every year. An *Instruction* from Fr. Aquaviva included the 30 days retreat (a full month of Spiritual Exercises) as an important element in the Tertianship (Third Year), that usually took place in the Noviciate community[38].

In the most difficult days in the History of the Society, those of the Suppression, the Jesuits went back to the exercises as the mystical place for their own identity in troubled times. The I Polocense Congregation (1783) established that those priests or scholastics who wanted to join back with the Society after having left it, should spend four weeks in the Exercises, showing how deeply rooted in the Exercises the identity was[39].

One of the most fervent «apostles» of the Spiritual Exercises was Fr. Jan Roothaan. He was so convinced about the value of the Exercises that he learnt Spanish in order to be able to closely study the Spanish text called *Autograph* and to compare it with the latin text *Vulgata* or other latin versions as *P1* or *P2*. He was sure that it was through the fidelity to the Spiritual Exercises that the Society of Jesus would find the way back to its own identity and charisma[40]. M. Chappin says that Roothaan's most personal contribution as General was his philological and spiritual focus on the book of *Spiritual Exercises*, offering the whole Society the core of its own charisma. Because of this, some historians considered Roothaan the second Founder of the Society of Jesus[41]. The energy flowing from Roothaan's affection for the *Exercises* lasted until contemporary times.

Community. Noviciate was the «Second Probation» and at the end of the Formation the «Tertia Probatio» or Tertianship appears (see the very complete and systematic article: R. Ruiz Jurado, «Probación», *DHCJ* IV, 3235-3242).

[38] *Ratio peragendi tertium annum probationis* (1592). See also: «De usu Exercitiorum Spiritualium» (August 14, 1599) in *Epistolae Praepositorum Generalium ad Patres et Fratres Societatis Iesu* (I), Gandavi 1847, 276-279.

[39] *For Matters of greater Moment*, 409; *Institutum* II, 452.

[40] His second letter to the Society was *De Spiritualium Exercitiorum S.P.N. studio et usu* (Dec 27th, 1834); he insisted on how the Jesuits, especially Novices Masters and Tertian Instructors, should receive a deep knowledge of the Exercises and a faithful practice of the method. See: «Sobre el studio y uso de los Ejercicios espirituales de nuestro Santo Padre», *Cartas selectas de los Padres Generales*, Oña 1917, 194-205. Original latino: *Opera Spiritualia Ioannis Phil. Roothaan* I (De Jonge, L. / Pirri, P., eds.), Romae 1936, 357-366.

[41] M. Chappin, «Generales: 21. Roothaan», *DHCJ* II, 1665-1671, 1666 y 1670.

A hundred years later, another Fr. General, Wlodimiro Ledóchowski, insisted on this point: the spiritual vigor of the Society depended on the fidelity to the practice of the Exercises. After Council Vatican II, Fr. Pedro Arrupe encouraged all Jesuits to perform the Exercises every year according to the spirit of Saint Ignatius (silence, retreat, solitude…)[42].

3.2. Spiritual Exercises… to help souls

But the Spiritual Exercises were not only a key element in the identity of the Jesuits and the Society of Jesus; they were also one of the most important ministries in the apostolic life of the those men[43]. The Exercises were included in The *Formula Instituti* as one of the specific ministries of the Jesuits[44]; in fact, the *Constitutions* recommend that every Jesuit has to learn how to provide the Spiritual Exercises[45]. Among all the Jesuits from the first generation, Peter Faber, according to Ignatius himself, was the best one giving the Spiritual Exercises[46]. He used to give the Exercises to many different kinds of people and under different circumstances, always adapting the method as annotations 18th and 19th propose. As the Jesuits started to give the Exercises, many different ways

[42] See: letters of Fr. W. Ledóchowski June 9th, 1935 and Fr. Arrupe's December 31st, 1975 (*Acta Romana SI*, Roma 1976, 635-636).

[43] See the monumental work of Fr. I. Iparraguirre, *Historia de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio* (vol. 1: «En vida de su autor» [During his Author's life]; vol. 2: «Desde la muerte de su autor hasta la promulgación del *Directorio oficial*» [since deaht of his Author (1556) till *Official Directory* (1599)]; vol. 3: «Evolución en Europa durante el siglo XVII» [development in Europe during XVII century]), Biblioteca del IHSI, Roma 1946-1973. See, also J. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, «The Exercises in Practice», 127-133.

[44] «…public preaching, lectures, and any other ministration whatsoever of the word of God, and further by means of the Spiritual Exercises, the education of the children…» (Ganss, *The Constitutions*, 66).

[45] «After they have had experienced of the Spiritual Exercises in their ownselves, they should acquire experience in giving them to others. Each one should know how to give an explanation of them and how to employ this spiritual weapon, since it is obvious that God our Lord has made it so effective for His service» (*Constitutions* [408] see, also, next declaration [409], Ganss, *The Constitutions* 202-203).

[46] «Speaking about the [Spiritual] Exercises, he said that of those he knew in the Society, Fr. Favre took the first place in giving them, Salmerón the second…» *Remembering Inigo* [226], 130.

of interpreting the text appeared[47]. Fr. Aquaviva tried to unify them and published an *Official Directory* of the Spiritual Exercises (Rome 1599) that every Jesuit should follow in his ministry[48].

The Jesuits gave the Exercises according to the *natura* of the person. They were convinced that the 30 days retreat should be given to very few people, but especially to those who could consider the possibility of becoming a priest or joining a religious congregation, including the Society of Jesus… and the method worked! We have a list of the people who joined the different religious congregations after having undertaken the spiritual exercises[49]. During Saint Ignatius' life, the Jesuits gave the exercises to members from other religious congregations: Augustinians, Benedictines, Carmelites, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jeromes[50]… Most of the retreatants undertook some exercises from the First Week about sin, the mercy of God, and guidelines for a good examen of consciousness and confession.

But, where did they provide the Spiritual Exercises? In the very beginning Jesuits used to go to people's homes. Soon they started welcoming retreatants for spiritual exercises in their own residences and, as the numbers increased, they adapted an area of the schools (as in Gandía, Siena, Goa…) as a preliminary step to the appearance of the first retreat house[51]. During the XVII century the apostolate of the Exercises increased very quickly. In 1727, there were eleven retreat houses in France, seven for men and four for women[52]. Diocesan priests and other

---

[47] I. Iparraguirre, *Exercicia spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola et eorum Directoria. Directoria (1540-1599)*, Nova editio, II, Roma 1955. All directories in *On giving the Spiritual Exercises*, (Palmer, M., ed.) Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis-MO 1996; *Los Directorios de Ejercicios* (Lop, M. ed.) Mensajero-Sal Terrae (col. Manresa nº 23), Bilbao-Santander 2000.

[48] It was not the first *Directory*. Some years before, other Jesuits had written their own way of giving the Exercises as Diego Mirón or Juan A. de Polanco (1573-1575).

[49] Augustinians, Benedictines, Capuchins, Dominicans, Carthusians, Franciscans, Jeromes, Mercedarians, Theatins… Complete list of names and places in I. Iparraguirre, *Práctica de los Ejercicios*, I, 297-298. Iparraguirre also offers some cases of people who had left their congregations and joined them again after the exercises (298).

[50] Complete list of names and places in I. Iparraguirre, *Historia*, I, 302-303.

[51] Maybe the first retreat house was in Alcalá de Henares (Spain), promoted by Fr. Francisco Villanueva (see: I. Iparraguirre, *Práctica* I, 145).

[52] About the apostolate of the spiritual exercises developed once the Society of Jesus was restored see: Tetlow, J., «Casas de Ejercicios» [Retreat Houses], *DEI* I, 311-314.

religious congregations (Redentorist and Pasionist) started to provide exercises (full or adapted) to all kinds of people. At the beginning of XIX century, 1816, Bruno Lanteri founded the Oblates of Virgin Mary whose specific charisma was to give spiritual exercises in rural and poor areas. Years later, the Parochial Cooperators of Christ the King and Hand Maids of Christ the King were founded to provide spiritual exercises and to support the retreat houses[53].

4. SPIRITUALITY ON THE TRACK. FR. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA'S PERIOD (1581-1615)

Elected by the IV General Congregation (GC) (February 7 - April 22, 1581) and having been Provincial of Naples, Fr. Claudio Aquaviva became the fifth Fr. General of the Society of Jesus. He was only 37 years old. His long generalate lasted for 35 years, so he was perhaps the most influential one in the history of the first Society of Jesus. Concerning spiritual life, the GC IV established one hour of daily meditation for all Jesuits and determined a formation plan for novices[54]. Fr. Aquaviva followed the spiritual life of the Society very closely, always encouraging and keeping alive the inspiration of the Holy Spirit through letters and documents to the whole Society[55]. It was during the GC VI (1608) that decree 29 established the eight - ten day retreat for all Jesuits and the triduum for renovation of vows[56]. Aquaviva also focused on formation for young Jesuits during the Juniorate or Tertianship. He also insisted on the presence of the Spiritual Father in every community and in the formation of those who would become preachers (human values, oratory style or even some techniques for memorizing).

---

[53] The first congregation was founded by Fr. Francis de Paula Vallet (1883-1947) and the second by Fr. Pedro Legaria Armendáriz (1878-1956), both in 1928.

[54] Decree 67, *Institutum* I, Roma 1869, 241-242.

[55] *Spiritus ac fervoris renovatio* (1583), *De studio perfectionis et caritate fraterna* (1586), *Ad augendum et renovandum spiritum in Societate* (1588), *De fervore et zelo missionum* (1594), *De renovatione spiritus et correspondentia cum Deo* (1604). See: *Epistolae Praepositum Generalium ad Patres et Fratres Societatis Jesu* I, Gandavi 1847, 74-359.

[56] «1. ante renovatione votorum instituatur vacatio per triduum…»; «homnes quotannis vacent spiritualibus exercitiis per octo vel decem dies continuos» (*Institutum* I, 279).

Two very important documents appeared in 1599: The *Official Directory of Spiritual Exercises* and *Ratio Studiorum*, this latter after seventeen years of experience from many high schools all over Europe. This *Ratio* was probably the most influential pedagogical document in modern times. Inspired by the *Spiritual Exercises,* it offered a method and a frame to build an Ignatian person in all his or her dimensions[57].

Aquaviva did not forget the missionary life of the Society. The Mexican Province grew from 107 Jesuits (1580) to 314 (1599). Three new provinces appeared: Philippines, Paraguay and Nuevo Reino (Colombia and Venezuela) and, responding to the demands of Enrich IV of France (1604), some Jesuits were sent to Canada for the first time in 1611. In the East Assistancy, Aquaviva supported Robert De Nobili's mission for the conversion of brahmans in India, and the adaptation that the Gospel required in Japan, as Alessandro Valignano proposed[58].

5. «… FOR YOUR SPIRIT'S REFRESHMENT AND CONSOLATION»[59]. PRINTED SPIRITUALITY

It was also under the government of Fr. Aquaviva that the spiritual literature of the Jesuits reached a higher level of divulgation.

Fr. Alonso Rodríguez (Valladolid / Spain 1538 - Seville 1616) was one of the most influential Jesuit writers in the first Society of Jesus. He spent most of his life in Castile and Andalusia (southern Spain) teaching Theology in different places and working as Novice Master[60]. His *Ejercicio de perfección y virtudes cristianas* (*Practice of Perfection and Christian Virtues*) (Seville 1609), consists in a collection of his weekly lectures to

[57] See: V. J. Duminuco (ed.), *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400 anniversary perspective*, Fordham University Press, New York 2000. See also bilingual edition, Latin-Spanish in *La pedagogía de los jesuitas, ayer y hoy* (Coria Gil, E., ed.) U. P. Comillas - CONEDSI, Madrid 1999.

[58] M. Fois, «Generales: 5. Aquaviva», *DHCJ* II, 1614-1621.

[59] «It would be all right for you to occasionally read or have someone read to you [spiritual books] for your spirit's refreshment and consolation» (Letter to Francesco Mancini (Rome, April 7, 1554), *Letters and Instructions*, 490).

[60] J. P. Donnelly, «Rodríguez, Alonso (II)», *DHCJ* IV, 3394-3395; J. P. Donnelly, «Alonso Rodríguez: Ejercicio: A Neglected Classic», *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11 (1980) 15-24; A. de Vassal, «Un maître de la vie spirituelle, le Père Alonso Rodríguez», *Etudes* 150 (1917) 297-321.

his community between 1589 and 1595. In 1626, only fifteen years after the first edition, this book had been translated into French, Italian, Latin, German, Deutsch and partially into English. There were more than 300 editions, and it was translated into 23 languages, including Armenian (1741), Arabic and Chinese (1890). This was perhaps the most printed and published book written by a Jesuit after the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius[61]. Rodriguez's book was the text every novice had as his personal spiritual reading. Jesuits were not the only people who read and prayed with this book; other religious congregations and lay people used it as well. Practical, spiritual, rooted in the Christian tradition (Agustin, Bernard, Gregory, Jerome) and full of life and examples, the book of Rodrigues was very alive until the Council Vatican II.

Born in the same Castilian city as Rodríguez, we find Fr. Luis de La Puente (Valladolid 1554 - Valladolid 1624). La Puente lived most of his years as a Jesuit in Castile working as a Novice Master, Tertian instructor or teaching Theology in Valladolid[62]. In 1605, he published his *Meditaciones de los misterios de nuestra santa fe* (*Meditations of the Mysteries of our Holy Faith*), that reached 400 editions and translations (Chinese and Arab included). Four years later (Valladolid 1609), the *Guía spiritual* (*Spiritual Guide*) appeared, a description of the different paths of the Holy Spirit based on prayer and mortification. He also wrote a well known *Vida del P. Baltasar Álvarez* (*Life of Fr. Baltasar Álvarez*) (Madrid 1615) where he tried to offer a portrait of a perfect Master of spiritual life that was deeply influenced by the doctrines and teachings of Fr. Louis Lallemant[63].

Achile Gagliardi (Padua / Italy 1539 - Módena / Italy 1607) had a deep influence as well as being a spiritual writer in Italy. Professor of Philosophy and Theology in Collegio Romano, he worked also in Padua,

---

[61] See: C. Sommervogel, «Rodriguez, Alphonse», *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de* Jésus, Bruxelles - Paris 1890-1930, VI, 1946-1963. The book has three main parts of eight treatises each; every treatise has around twenty chapters. The books touches the main aspects of Ignatian Spirituality (I), the principle virtues of the Christian person (II) and the spiritual fundaments of the Society of Jesus (III).

[62] M. Ruiz Jurado, «La Puente, Luis de», *DHCJ* III, 2244-2245. See, also: C. Mª Abad, *El venerable P. Luis de la Puente. Compendio de su santa vida*, Valladolid 1935; J. Allison Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, 3 vols. (London 1951-1960), II, 241-269.

[63] Four Latin editions, twelve French editions and some others in Italian, German, Flemish…. Sommervogel, «Puente, Louis de la», VI, 1271-1295.

Milano, Brescia and Modena, always in Italy. During his fourteen years in Milano, he was the spiritual director of a mystic, visionary woman from the Milanese society, Isabella Berinzaga. Gagliardi wrote a *Breve compendio in torno alla perfezione christiana* (*Brief Compendium about Christian Perfection*) (Brescia 1611) where he described and analyzed the mystic intuitions of this woman: deification of the soul, passive quietness, and pure union with God. Even though Gagliardi remained inside the orthodox catholic limits, he seemed to be close to «pre-quietism.» Pope Clemens VIII imposed on him a *retractatio* and silence about these doctrines. His most popular ignatian work, *S. P. Ignatii de Loyola de discretione spirituum regulae explanatae* (Naples 1851) (*On Discernment of spirits*) offers a synthesis of the ignatian mysticism following the rules on discernment of the *Spiritual Exercises* [313-336][64].

Among the very long list of spiritual writers, there are still two more that we should mention. Fr. Diego Álvarez de Paz (Toledo 1561 - Potosí / Bolivia 1620) was sent to Peru and reached Lima on June 1585. After being a teacher and a rector in several schools in Peru, he was appointed Provincial in 1616. Fr. De Paz combined his administrative work with his writing. A huge work in three volumes (1608, 1613 and 1618) constitutes his Spiritual Theology. The third one, *De inquisitione pacis*, is a treatise on prayer which develops in four steps: intellective prayer, affective prayer, «incoative» contemplation and perfect contemplation. Fr. Álvarez de Paz tried to integrate his own spiritual experience with his spiritual theological reflection in a very systematic way: in the fifth part of the third volume he organizes the ascent to pure mystic life in fifteen steps[65].

All this spiritual literature arrived in France and influenced Fr. Louis Lallemant (Châlons-sur-Marne / France 1588 - Bourges 1635). After years teaching philosophy, moral theology and mathematics, he became a Novice Master (Rouen, 1622-1626) and Tertian Instructor (Rouen, 1626-1631). One of his disciples, Jean Rigoleuc, took notes from his lectures and published, with Pierre Champion, the book *Doctrine Spirituelle*

[64] G. Mucci, «Gagliardi, Achille», *DHCJ* II, 1547-1548; D. Gil, «Gagliardi y sus comentarios a los Ejercicios», *Manresa* 44 (1972) 273-284. Sommervogel, «Gagliardi, Achille», III, 1095-1099.

[65] E. Fernández, «Álvarez de Paz, Diego», *DHCJ* I, 94-95; E. López Azpitarte, *La oración contemplativa. Evolución y sentido en Álvarez de Paz, SJ*, Faculta de Teología, Granada 1966; T. G. O'Callaghan, *Álvarez de Paz and the Nature of Perfect Contemplation*, Rome 1950. See: Sommervogel, «Álvarez de Paz, Jacques», I, 252-258.

(*Spiritual Doctrine*), one of the most important titles in the history of the spirituality of the Society of Jesus. The second conversion, caution regarding the active life, purity of heart and guidance of the Holy Spirit are the main topics that Lallemant develops in the seven main parts («principles / principios») of his *Doctrine*[66]. The martyrs and saints Isaac Jogues (+ October 18, 1646), Antonio Daniel (+ July 4, 1648) and Jean de Brébeuf (+ March 16, 1649) were some of his disciples who died in the Canadian mission among the Hurons. Lallemant is nowadays recognized as the Master of what we can call the «French Jesuit School of Spirituality» whose most recognized disciples are Jean Joseph Surin, Julien Maunoir, Jean Rigoleuc and Vincent Huby.

6. «AMONG THE TURKS, OR ANY OTHER INFIDELS…»[67]. SPIRITUALITY FOR AND IN MISSION

As it is written in the *Formula Instituti* and appears in the VII part of the *Constitutions*[68] one of the main and biggest concepts in Ignatian spirituality is «mission»[69]. From the very beginning, the first Jesuits developed a deep self-consciousness of apostles, of men sent by Jesus Christ through their Superiors or through the Pope (Vicar of Christ) to a concrete and specific mission. Francis Xavier in India, Peter Faber in Germany, Laínez and Bobadilla in Italy, Claude Le Jay in Austria or

[66] See: *The Spiritual Doctrine of Father Louis Lallemant, of the Company of Jesus*, Kessinger Publishing 2007; new and critical edition: *La doctrine spirituelle* (Salin, D., ed.), Desclée de Brouwer, Paris 2011. SOMMERVOGEL, «Lallemant, Louis», IV, 1402-1404.

[67] «… even those who live in the region called the Indies…» (*Formula of the Institute* [3], see: GANSS, *The Constitutions*, 63-73, 68.

[68] «The distribution of the incorporated members in Christ's vineyard and their relations there with their fellowmen» («De lo que toca a los ya admitidos en el cuerpo de la Compañía para con los próximos, repartiéndose en la viña de Cristo nuestro Señor»).

[69] M. SIEVERNICH, «La misión y las misiones en la primitiva Compañía de Jesús», *Ite, Inflammate omnia. Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006* (McCoog, Th., ed.) IHSI, Rome 2010, 255-273; J. O'MALLEY, «Mission and the early Jesuits» *The Way Supplement* 79 (1994) 3-10. See, also: I. SALVAT, *Servir en misión*, Mensajero-Sal Terrae (col. Manresa nº 27), Bilbao-Santander 2002.

Simão Rodrigues in Portugal served as the first missionaries in a long tradition in the Society of Jesus which reaches the XXI century.

From the very beginning, with Ignatius of Loyola Father General (1540-1556), the Society sent Jesuits to different parts of the world, and as a consequence, new provinces began to appear[70]. A Jesuit was a man not only *with* a mission, but *on* mission. Many young Jesuits departed from Lisbon (Portugal) or from Seville (Spain) to preach the Gospel in the new lands of Latin America, or following the first steps of Francis Xavier in India and beyond; most of them were volunteers. Between 1610 and 1730, more than 760 German Jesuits asked to be sent to the «missions,» and during the first fifteen years of the XVII century more than 130 Jesuits from Italy, Spain or Portugal left for the Portuguese Indies[71].

6.1. Missions in India and Asia

On a very long and relatively unknown list of missionaries, we find Jesuits who have really fixed their names in the history of the Mission. Thomas Stephen (+ Salsete, Goa 1619), a friend of Edmund Champion, published a Cathecism and the first *Grammar* of the Konkani language (and the first one in any Indian language); he also published his *Christian Purâna* (1616) in Marathi, a long epic poem of 11.018 stanzas of four verses each! The poem explains the History of Salvation since the Creation of the world till the Ascension of Christ to Heaven. People used to sing some stanzas during liturgy celebrations, at home or while working in the fields[72]. Gonsalvo Fernandes worked hard in Madurai (India) for more than fourteen years without achieving one conversion until the arrival of Robert de Nobili (Rome 1577 - Chennai (India) 1656).

---

[70] 1546 Portugal; 1547 Spain; 1549 India; 1551 Italy; 1552 Aragón (Spain); 1553 Brazil; 1554 Castile, Aragón, Andalusia (Spain); 1555 France; 1556 Germany.

[71] Those volunteers were known as *Indipeti* (those who ask [latin «*petere*»] for going to the *Indees*) volunteers for the overseas missions. «About 14.000 of these autograph letters (pre-1773) are held in ARSI» (see: Gramatowski, Wiktor, *Jesuit Glosary: Guide to understanding the documents* [English version: Camilla Russell] in www.sjweb.info/arsi/documents/ glossary.pdf).

[72] See: P. Caraman, «Stephens (Stephanus, Estevão), Thomas», *DHCJ* IV, 3637. Sommervogel, «Busten, Buston, de Bubsten, Estevam, Stephens, Thomas» II, 468-469.

This great Roman Jesuit studied Tamil, Sanskrit and the complex and rigid caste system. He dressed like an Indian man and tried to adapt the liturgy to Indian tradition. Nonetheless conflicts arose. Some Jesuits thought he was going too far in his methods of evangelization, to the point where Fr. Provincial, Pero Fernandes, forbade him from baptizing. Even though Fr. General Aquaviva supported De Nobili, the Inquisition of Goa prosecuted him; after a long process, Pope Gregory XV defended him and the case was closed[73].

But India was not the limit. With Fr. Alessandro Valignano (Chieti 1539 - Macao / China 1606) the Jesuits crossed India and reached Japan. In 1573, Fr. Mercurian appointed Valignano as «Visitador» for India and the Far East. On March 24th 1574, he departed Europe from Lisbon for Goa with forty one missionaries; it was the first trip to Asia, his place for mission during more than 30 years. He organized provinces in Japan, the formation of the Jesuits, the promotion of diocesan priests, and built the first press in Japan for Japanese Christian literature. Many of his great efforts had a deep influence in the attitude of the Church towards «mission»[74].

A bit younger, LI Mandou was the Chinese name of Lorenzo Ricci (Macerata / Italy 1552 - Beijing / China 1610), another Italian missionary, founder of the Jesuit mission in China. After a long formation in Rome, he travelled to Goa (1578), and four years later Valignano called him to work in China. He and Michele Ruggieri established the first mission in China. Ricci studied Chinese religious traditions and learnt Chinese. His deep knowledge of mathematics, cartography and cosmology and his extraordinary memory created a deep esteem and reputation among the Chinese high intellectual society. His five scientific books appeared under the title *Qiankun tiyi* (*Treatise on Heaven and Earth*). His collected works are very diverse and touch very different fields of human culture[75]. In 1604, the Chinese mission became independent from the Japanese

[73] S. Ponnad, «De Nobili, Robert», *DHCJ* II, 1060-1061; S. Rajamanickam, *The First Oriental Scholar*, Tirunelveli 1972. Sommervogel, «Nobili, Robert de», V, 1779-1780.

[74] H. Cieslik / J. Wicki, «Valignano, Alessandro», *DHCJ* IV, 3877-3879; J. Wicki (ed.), *Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542-1564)*, Roma 1944; A. C. Ross, «Alessandro Valignano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East», *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773* (O'Malley, J.W. / Bailey, G. A. / Harris, S. J. / Kennedy, T. F., eds.), University of Toronto, Toronto 1999, 336-351.

[75] See: Sommervogel, «Ricci Matthieu», VI, 1792-1795.

Jesuit Province, and Ricci was its first Superior. As this happened to De Nobili in India, Ricci had conflicts with other missionaries (inside and outside of the Society of Jesus) who could not accept his methods for *inculturation* and provoked the «controversy about Chinese rites.» When Ricci passed away, the Jesuit mission in China had eight missionaries and eight Chinese Jesuit brothers working in four Jesuit residences, as well as a Christian community of 25.000 members[76]. Chinese bishops in Council Vatican II (1963) asked the Pope to introduce the «cause of beatification» of Fr. Mateo Ricci[77].

6.2. Missions in America

Meanwhile what was happening on the other side of the world? America was a new continent, and the new circumstances of its people and culture were demanding new methods for evangelization. Following the Franciscans projects, the Jesuits began with the «reductions,»[78] which included not only a way to promote Christian Faith or to convert unbelievers, but also a proposal for building a new life for the indigenous people: education, art, culture, music, economy, religion, family, and work. Jesuits began the first reductions in the region of Paraguay and the highest population reached 104.483 in 1755. Community life

[76] In his reception to the Jesuits of the 35th General Congregation (February 21st 2008), Pope Benedict XVI offered the testimony and life of Mateo Ricci and Robert de Nobili as examples of inculturation of the Faith: «extraordinary experiences of proclamation and encounter between the Gospel and world cultures» (*Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Fathers of the General Congregation of the Society of Jesus* [5] in *Decrees and Documents of the 35th General Congregation*, British Province of the Society of Jesus in association with Way Books, Oxford 2008, 143).

[77] Among the very long bibliography: N. Standaert, «Jesuits in China», *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (T. Worcester, ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, 169-185; J. Sebes, «Ricci, Mateo», *DHCJ* IV, 3351-3353; Sebes, J., «Ritos chinos. Controversia», *DHCJ* IV, 3367-3372; J. B. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, Penguin Books, Nueva York, 1984.

[78] The word comes from latin «ducere» (to lead), and the word «reduction» was used to refer «to persuade» or «to convert». The action consisted (in its first meaning) on leading the indigenous people from being dispersed in the jungle to new collective ways of living in villages organized and run by a small community of Jesuits.

was always structured around the church[79], the residence of the Jesuit Fathers and the big square in the middle of the city. They developed their own economy around agriculture (sugar, tobacco, potatoes) and cattle[80]. After a long period of conflict with Portuguese and Spanish kings, the reductions declined and started to disappear when the Jesuits were expelled from all Portuguese and Spanish territories in 1767 and 1768. Political and ecclesiastical conflicts wrote the last line of one of the most prosperous projects in the history of Christian missions, that revealed the «inner energy» of the Ignatian Spirituality[81].

7. TO LOVE AND SERVE TILL THE VERY END. SPIRITUALITY OF MARTYRDOM

«No one has a greater love than those who give their own life for their friends» (John 15, 13). In the *Spiritual Exercises* the retreatant used to pray: «I wish and desire, and it is my deliberate decision, provided only that it is for your greater service and praise, to imitate you in bearing all injuries and affronts, and any poverty actual as well as spiritual…» [*Sp Ex* 98]; and the «Third way of being humble» prays: «I desire and choose poverty with Christ rather than wealth; contempt with Christ laden with it rather than honors. Even further, I desire to be regarded as a useless fool for Christ… rather than as a wise or prudent person in this world» [*Sp Ex* 167].

The history of Ignatian Spirituality is also based on a fundament of fidelity and commitment with projects that the Jesuits started in so many different places all over the world and, even more, with the people they helped in their missions. This fidelity and commitment to people and to God was often the main cause of a violent death and martyrdom. The

[79] Some of them very big and rich: the church of Saint Ignatius Mini was 24 meters wide and 62 meters long. See: G. A. Bayle, «Jesuit Architecture in colonial Latin America», *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Worcester, T. ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, 217-242.

[80] 700.000 sheeps, 75.000 horses give an idea of the prosperity of the economy of those communities.

[81] M. M.ª Morales, «Reducciones», *DHCJ* I, 111-114, under «América Hispánica III. Métodos misionales»; M. Revuelta, «Los jesuitas en la América española. Gloria y Cruz de las Reducciones del Paraguay», *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, Universidad P. Comillas, Madrid 2006, 113-143.

list of Jesuit martyrs is quite long; they offered their lives in very different contexts, revealing how deep their spiritual experience was, mainly rooted in the friendship with Christ, through the *Spiritual Exercises*. Even though they were conscious of the circumstances and risks around them, they chose to remain in their missions.

YEAR	PLACE	NAME	BLESSED / CANONIZATION
1570, July 15	Canary Islands (Spain)	Ignacio de Azevedo and 39 companions (see list: DHCJ III, 2539-2540).	Beat.: Pius IX, May 11, 1854.
1571, Set 13	Brazil	Pedro Días and 11 companions (see list: DHCJ III, 2540).	Venerable.
1574-1603	England	Edmund Campion, Alexander Briant, Robert Southwell, Enrich Walpole	Paul VI, Oct 25, 1970.
1583 Jul 25	Salsete (India)	Rodolfo Acquaviva, Alfonso Pacheco, Antonio Francisco, Pietro Berno, Francisco Aranha	Beat.: Leon XIII, April 30th 1893.
1597-1633	Japan	Pablo Miki, Juan de Gotó, Diego Kisai and 34 companions (beat.) (see list: DHCJ III, 2545)	Canon.: Jun 8, 1862 Beat.: Jul 7, 1867.
1603-1625	England	Nicolas Owen, Thomas Garnet	Paul VI, Oct 25, 1970.
1615	Glasgow (Scotland)	John Ogilvie	Paul VI, Oct 17, 1976.
1616 Nov 16-20	Durango, North México	Hernando de Tovar, Bernardo de Cisneros, Diego de Orozco, Juan del Valle, Luis de Alavés, Juan Fonte, Jeronimo de Moranta, Hernando de Santarén	Process reopen Dec 20th 1983.
1619 Set. 17-8	Slovakia	Istvan Pongrácz, Melchior Grodziecki, Marko Krizevcanin	Canon.: John Paul II, July 16th 1995.
1624 Set. 28	Ethiopia	Francisco Machado, Bernardo Pereira	Victim of Violence[82].
1625-1649	England	Edmund Arrowsmith, Enrich Morse	Paul VI, Oct 25, 1970.
1628, Nov 15-17	Paraguay	Roque González, Alonso Rodríguez, Juan del Castillo	John Paul II, May 16, 1988.
1635 Apr 25	Ethiopia	Gaspar Pais, João Pereira, Bruno Bruni	Process opened in 1902.

YEAR	PLACE	NAME	BLESSED / CANONIZATION
1638 Jun. 14	Ethiopia	Francisco Rodrigues, Giacinto Franceschi	Process opened in 1902.
1642-1649	Ontario (Canada)	Renato Goupil, Jean de la Lande, Antonio Daniel, Jean de Brefeuf, Gabriel Lallemant, Garnier, Noel Chabanel	Canon.: Pius XI-1930.
1649-1702	England	Peter Wright, Philip Evan, David Lewis	Beat.: Pius XI, Dec 15, 1929. Canon.: Paul VI, Oct 25, 1970.
1653	Ethiopia	Bernardo Nogueira	Victim of Violence.
1670, Jan 29 1672, Apr 2	Micronesia	Luis de Medina, Diego Luis de San Vitores	Beat.: John Paul II, Oct 6 1985.
1674, Feb	Micronesia	Francisco Esquerra	Victim of the War.
1675, Dec	Micronesia	Pedro Díaz	Victim of the War.
1676, Jan-Set	Micronesia	Antonio di San Basilio, Sebastian de Monroy	Victims of the War.
1684, July - 1685, July	Micronesia	Manuel Solórzano, Balthasar Dubois, Agustín Strohbach, Pieter Coemans	Victims of Violence.
1792 Set 2-5	France	See long list of 23 Jesuits in *DHCJ* III, 2534-2535	Beat.: Pius XI, Oct. 17 1926.
1936, Aug 19	Valencia (Spain)	Tomás Sitjar Fortiá and 12 companions (list: *DHCJ* III, 2538).	Beat.: John Paul II, March 11, 2001.

The *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* offers a long collection of articles (III, 2531-2551) on all these Jesuit Martyrs explaining the main causes, reasons and kind of martyrdom.

[82] «Victim of Violence / Victim of War» is the name given by the DHCJ; see vol. IV, 3940-3944: «Victims of Violence in El Salvador (Nov 16th 1989)» 3940-30941; «Victims of Violence in the Civil Spanish War (1936-1939)» 3942-3943; «Victims of Violence in Indonesia (Nov. 1st 1945)» 3943; «Victims of Violence in Libano (June 1860)» 3943-3944; «Victims of Violence in Pécs (Hungary) (March 26th 1704)» 3944.

8. «EDUCATION OF CHILDREN AND UNLETTERED PERSONS IN CHRISTIANITY»[83]: SPIRITUALITY IN POPULAR MISSIONS

This is a method of Evangelization that appeared in the XVI century. A «Popular Mission» was a pastoral strategy specifically thought and prepared for small villages and poor rural areas. This ministry had a deep influence during the Counter Reformation period in those places far from big cities and with much less opportunities for a basic Christian education. Even though the Society of Jesus invested a lot of Jesuits, time and efforts in this ministry, other new religious congregations were also dedicated to Popular Missions: the Priests of the Mission of Vincent Paul (1625) and Redentorists of Alfonso M.ª de Liguorio (1732), among some others.

The first Jesuits adopted also this apostolate, motivated once more by the significance of «mission» in the *Formula Instituti* or in the *Constitutions* [603-632]. Probably the first one dedicated specifically to this apostolate in small villages was the Italian Silvestro Landini (+ Corse / France 1554)[84], author of a very detailed apostolic project: one week in a village preaching, giving Christian doctrine to different groups of population, praying the *Via Crucis*, offering sermons and confessions, promoting reform of life, and, in the end, founding small confraternities that could continue with the mission once the missionary had to leave to the next village.

Fr. Aquaviva encouraged this apostolate with three of his letters (1590, 1594, 1599) and one *Instruction*, mentioning the main goals, means and topics that the missionary should develop[85]. Soon this method was spread among other countries such as Germany, Spain, Portugal or France[86]. In northern Europe, missionaries fought mainly against the

[83] *Formula Instituti*, Ganss, *Constitutions* 66. See, also, *Constitutions* [528]: «The promise to instruct the children and uneducated [rudos] persons in conformity with the apostolic letters and the *Constitutions*…» (Ganss, 238).

[84] See: A. Guidetti, «Landini, Silvestro», *DHCJ* III, 2277. Some people compared the work Silvestro did in Europe with the one Francis Xavier did in India.

[85] The *Instruction* «Pro iis, qui ad missiones fructificandi causa proficiscuntur», in *Institutum SJ*, III, 365-368.

[86] Among the long list of Jesuits dedicated to this apostolate, we should mention: Konrad Herdigen and Georg Loferer in Germany; Jerónimo López and Pedro de Calatayud in Spain; Francis Regis and Julien Maunoir in France.

«false doctrine» of the Lutherans, while in the South the enemies represented ignorance, superstition and vices.

After the Restoration of the Society of Jesus (1814) and strongly supported by Fr. Jan Roothaan in his *Meditationes et Instructiones compendiosae pro SS. Missionibus* (1879)[87], the Jesuits continued with this method of Evangelization. The *Manuel du mmissionnaire* (Paris 1847) published by the French Adrien Nampon offered a very good guide on how to proceed in the missions[88]. Germany (Colonia, Aquisgran, Paderborn), Holland, Austria, France, Italy, Spain, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia and United States continued this fruitful methodology always inspired by the *Spiritual Exercises*[89]. In the sixties of the XX century this apostolate came into a deep crisis and experienced a fast and universal decline.

9. «COLLABORATION AT THE HEART OF MISSION» (GC 35)[90]: CONFRATERNITIES

As it was written in the *Formula Instituti*, to move from one place to another was a proper element in the Jesuit vocation. So, first Jesuits started to think on how to preserve the experience and the fruits God had produced in the Vineyard where the Jesuits had been working. Without any institution around, there was a high risk of losing easily what they had built up with such big effort.

Sent to Parma (June 1539), Peter Faber and Diego Lainez worked there for more than one year. Before leaving for Germany (Faber), and

[87] See: SOMMERVOGEL VII, 127.

[88] *Manuel du Missionnaire, séculier ou régulier: ouvrage utile á tous les pasteurs des âmes* (Lyon et Paris 1847). Almost eighty five years later a new handbook appeared, this time in Italian: *Manuale pratico per le Missioni al popolo* (Padua 1931) by Giuseppe Golia. See: SOMMERVOGEL V, 1554-1557.

[89] Some numbers are really amazing: Germany: in twenty years: 1.500 missions; Holland 1912: 179 missions; Austria Fr. Mathaus Wieser 943 missions in 33 years (almost 29 every year); France: 285 missions in 1851 (see: O'MALLEY, John «II. CJ Restaurada (Desde 1814). In «Misiones Populares», *DHCJ* III, 2693-2694).

[90] «We are humble and grateful that so many –inspired as we have been by the vocation of Ignatius and the tradition of the Society– have chosen both to work with us and to share our sense of mission and our passion to reach out to the men and women of our broken but lovable world» (GC 35, decree 6 [3], 108).

to Rome (Laínez), they founded the confraternity of the «Holy Name of Jesus». Faber wrote a list of guidelines offering advice on how to keep alive what people had already received through spiritual exercises and conversations with these two Jesuits[91]. In 1547 Ignatius worked with twelve men who could help him organize the works of mercy in Rome around the church of the «Twelve Apostles», as the beginning of the confraternity of the «Holy Sacrament». Nadal, founded in Mesina and Laínez in Palermo different confraternities; some others appeared in Genova, Padua, Ferrara, Florencia, Venecia, Siena and Perugia. Even though it was easy to see and verify the fruits of those small institutions, Ignatius preferred the Jesuits free from direct responsibilities in order to keep them available for other missions and he, for example, refused permission to Polanco when a confraternity in Pistoia wanted to elect him rector.

These pastoral platforms helped lay people live their Christian lives; sometimes the congregations were specifically oriented towards different social groups: doctors, lawyers, artisans, sailors, or even prisoners. Juan Berchmans discovered his vocation in the Congregation in Malinas; Francis Sales in Clermont; Jean Eudes in Caen and also others as Alfonso M.ª de Ligorio, Jean Baptiste de la Salle, Camille de Lelis, etc.[92].

But the most important fruit of these confraternities were the Congregations of Our Lady, Marian Congregations, founded by Jean Leunis (Liège, Belgique 1532 - Torino, Italy 1584) a young Belgium Jesuit and grammar teacher at Collegio Romano[93]. He began a congregation with his students called «Congregation of Annunciation», the name of the church where they used to meet. In 1564 they approved the *Rules of the Congregation*, the first structure of the thousands of communities that would appear in the future. Ten years later, Fr. Aquaviva prepared a new version of the rules; the Jesuit «in charge» of the Congregation was not going to be elected anymore by its members, but appointed

[91] Meditation, Exam, Daily Mass, weekly Communion, works or mercy (see: *Monumenta Fabri*, 41-ss). Some important Jesuits of the first generation joined the Society through this confraternity: Jerónimo Doménech, Benito Palmio, Antonio Criminal (martyr).

[92] See: J. De Guibert, *The Jesuits*, 295-301; O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 192-197.

[93] See: J. Wicki - R. Dendal, *Le P. Jean Leunis, fondateur des Congrégations Mariales*, Rome 1951. A short article G. Meessen, «Leunis (Leon), Jean», *DHCJ* III, 2242.

by the Fr. General. Soon this structure was adopted by other institutions: the Collegio Germanico, the Roman Seminary or the English College in Rome, and also beyond Italy as in Bohemia, Poland, Spain, Peru, México, Portugal, Brazil and Japan. Leunis founded new congregations in France (Paris, Billom, Lyon and Avignon) and they entered into Germany.

The General Fathers E. Mercurian and C. Aquaviva seriously supported the congregations and the Bulle *Omnipotentis Dei* (1584) by Pope Gregory XIII erected the congregation of Collegio Romano as the «Mother and Head» of all congregations and placed all of them under the immediate direction of the Fr. General. Marian congregations were integrated in the pedagogical structure of the Jesuit schools, being an important element in the Christian formation of the students[94]. After difficult times during the Suppression of the Society, the congregations renewed their rules (Fr. General Peter Beckx, 1855) and adapted to new times. The movement grew very quickly[95] till the new atmosphere after the Council Vatican II (1965) started to demand new changes in the congregations. It took many years, long conversations and a delicate process of discernment to transform the congregations into the new movement, the Christian Life Communities (CLC)[96].

[94] One of the Rules of Fr. Rector of the *Ratio Studiorum* encouraged him to include the Congregation of Our Lady in the ordinary life of his School: «Procure que la Congregación de Santa María de la Anunciación del Colegio Romano se extienda por el suyo…» («Reglas del Rector [90]», *La pedagogía de los jesuitas*, 84; *Institutum* III, 168).

[95] «more than one thousand of new congregations were afiliated to the Prima Primaria in Rome every year».

[96] Paul VI confirmed the new situation «ad experimentum» on 25th March 1968, and approved definitely 31st May 1971. See: P. O'Sullivan, «Congregaciones Marianas», *DHCJ* I, 914-918.

10. «GENEROUS CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN»[97]

10.1. The Charismatic experience of Ignatius and his Companions

The role of women in the spiritual growth of Ignatius of Loyola was very important[98]. When he left his home in Azpeitia with his eyes and heart in Jerusalem he stopped in Manresa for quite a long time, eleven months (March 1522 - February 1523). On her way back home, the evening of March 25th 1522, Ines Pascual was the first one to talk to Ignatius, helping him when he was lost upon arrival to Manresa[99]. She and her friends assisted Ignatius during his sickness in Manresa, supported him with food and clothes and were affectionate towards the very first Ignatius' teachings on prayer[100]. Inés, as her son Juan declared, also helped Ignatius during his years of studies in Paris (1528-1534), sending him money enough to pay for books, accommodation, registration…

In Barcelona Ignatius became friends with Isabel Roser and her group of devout women[101]. Isabel also supported Ignatius during his days in Barcelona and also years later, as Inés Pascual, during his studies in Paris. When Isabel's husband died, she decided to travel to Rome and to join the Society of Jesus. As Ignatius tried to avoid it, Isabel wrote to the Pope Paulus III[102] and Ignatius had to admit her and her two com-

[97] «We wish to express our appreciation for this generous contribution of women, and hope that this mutuality in ministry might continue and flourish» (General Congregation 34, decree 14).

[98] And even before: his mother, his wet nurse, his «certain lady» (*Autobiography* [6]). For Ignatius, Women, and First Jesuits, See: J. García de Castro, «Las mujeres y los primeros jesuitas», *Iguales y diferentes* (Rivas, F. ed.), San Pablo, Madrid 2012, 219-282.

[99] That day, Inés took Ignatius to Sainte Lucía Hospital and that first night brought him a chicken soup.

[100] Their names: Angela Amigant, Juana Serra, Micaela Canilles, Inés Claver, Brianda Paquera, Juana Ferrer; they were known as «The Yñigues», catalan word «affictionated to Iñigo». Most of the information about these women in *Scripta Sancti Ignatii*, Madrid 1918.

[101] See: C. de Dalmases, «Roser (Rosés, Rosell), Isabel», *DHCJ* IV, 3413. Names of her friends: Isabel de Josa, Leonor Zapila, Estefanía de Requesens, Guiomar de Ostalrich, Mencía de Requesens, Isabel de Boxadors, Aldonza de Cardona.

[102] The letter in *Scripta* II, 12-13 and also in *Fontes Documentales*, Rome 1977, 698-699.

panions Francisca Cruyllas and Lucrecia de Brandine in the Society[103]. After pronouncing their vows, the three women became Jesuits and remained in the Society for a period of nine months. Which could be the most suitable mission for them? Ignatius sent them to «Santa Marta», a house for the rehabilitation of prostitutes[104]. But after a few misunderstandings and conflicts, Ignatius asked the Pope to cut the link of the vows they had pronounced and to allow the Society not to admit women again. Isabel and Francisca went back to Barcelona; Roser joined the Franciscan convent of Saint Mary of Jerusalem in 1549 and Cruyllas worked serving at Hospital de la Cruz[105]. Lucrecia joined into a convent in Naples.

Original and strange was the case of Juana de Austria, who was also admitted in the Society of Jesus (letter January 3, 1555) and who was a Jesuit till she died (September 7, 1573). Daughter of the Emperor Charles V, Juana was an important benefactor of the Society. To keep the unusual situation secret and in silence, Jesuits always referred to her in their correspondence as «Mateo Sánchez» or «Montoya». She died at El Escorial Monastery (near Madrid) and was buried in the Carmelite convent of Descalzas Reales that she had founded in Madrid[106].

Women appeared again in Alcalá and Salamanca (1526-1527) as devout followers of Ignatius, interested in deepening their spiritual lives[107]. They used to meet in private homes or in the Antezana Hospital, residence of Ignatius in Alcalá, to talk about methods of prayer, exam of consciousness and how to prepare a good confession. Because of this kind of meetings and the original personality of Ignatius and his friends (Calisto de Sá, Diego de Cáceres and Juan de Arteaga), the Inquisition

[103] The three of them pronounced their vows 25th December 1545 in Sainte Mary of the Strada Church, in front of Ignatius of Loyola.

[104] Ch. Chauvin, «Ignace et les courtisanes. La Maison Sainte Marthe (1542-1548)», *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo* (Plazaola, J., ed.), Mensajero-Universidad de Deusto, Bilbao 1992, 551-562.

[105] Ignatius himself explained the situation in a letter to Fr. Torres (*Epistolae* I, 437-441). See: J. García de Castro, «Las mujeres y los primeros jesuitas», 253-270.

[106] See: C. de Dalmases, «Juana de Habsburgo (Austria)», *DHCJ* III, 2159-2160; Villacorta Baños-García, A., *La jesuita. Juana de Austria*, Ariel, Barcelona 2005; C. de Dalmases, «Jesuitesas», *DHCJ* III, 2148-2149.

[107] Isabel Sánchez, Beatriz Ramírez, María Días, María de la Flor, Ana, Leonor… full list in *Scripta* I, 609.

began to keep an eye on them to the point where Ignatius spent forty-two days in prison. They had to leave the city and start thinking of a new plan[108].

Once in Rome, and after the episode with Isabel Roser, Jesuits started to develop a way of proceeding with women based on prudence, respect and a certain distance. Other religious congregations considered that the Jesuits were too close to women in their confessions and conversations[109], that's why some of Fr. Nadal's advices first, and the *Constitutions* later tried to introduce some changes in the behavior of the Jesuits[110].

Nowadays, Jesuits have revisited this topic in the 34th General Congregation (1995). Decree 14 recognized all the mistakes in the Jesuit tradition against women, gave thanks to all the women that had been faithfully collaborating in Jesuit institutions, and offered some practical points in order to change ideas and behaviors for a better integration of women in the society[111].

10.2. Ignatian Spirituality and Female Religious Institutions (FRI)[112]

We have mentioned how women in different places and moments were sensitive and attracted to Ignatian Spirituality. If it is true that after the first approach by Isabel Roser there were no other *open* initiatives from women to become Jesuits, Ignatian Spirituality inspired many other ways of living under the new charisma initiated by the First

[108] See: *Autobiography* [58-62].

[109] As the Dominican Melchor Cano; See: T. O'Reilly, «Melchor Cano's *Censura y Parecer contra el Instituto de los Padres Jesuitas*. A Transcript of the British Library Manuscript», in *From Ignatius Loyola to John of the Cross. Spirituality and Literature in Sixteenth-century Spain*, Aldershot-Hampshire 1995, V, 1-21. See also the opinion of Archbishop of Valence (Spain) in *Epistolae Mixtae* I, 257 (January 26th 1546).

[110] See, for example, *Epistolae Natalis* IV, 334, 521, 592, 597, 621, 626 and *Constitutions* [266.267.588]: «it is expedient that women should not enter the houses or colleges but only the churches» and few lines lower: «the superior in his discretion will have the power to grant a dispensation for just reasons».

[111] See: 34th General Congregation, Decree 14: «The Society of Jesus and Women in the Church and in the Society»; L. Fulam, «Juana, S. J.: The Past and Future? Status of Women in the Society of Jesus», *Studies in the Spirituality of the Jesuits* 31, St. Louis 1999.

[112] I am following De Charry J. RSCJ, «Institutos Religiosos Femeninos ligados a la CJ», *DHCJ* III, 2050-2056.

Jesuits. Five new FRI were founded before the Suppression of the Society[113] (1773); six appeared during the Suppression of the Society (1773-1814)[114] and around 209 after the Restoration (1814). Among these 220, 166 were born in Europe[115], 35 in North America (USA and Canada), 28 in Latin America, 12 in Asia[116], 7 in Africa[117] and 4 in Australia.

YEARS	Nº of FRI	YEARS	Nº of FRI	YEARS	Nº of FRI
1815-1830	32	1871-1880	21	1921-1930	17
1831-1840	23	1881-1890	15	1931-1940	7
1841-1850	17	1891-1900	10	1941-1950	15
1851-1860	13	1901-1910	11	1951-1976	4
1861-1870	17	1911-1920	7		

What was the main role of the Jesuit(s) in all these processes of foundations? The *Constitutions* [588] were very clear: «… people of this Society […] must not take care of souls ['cura de ánimas'], even less charge of religious women or any others, to confess them ordinarily or to govern them»[118]. But the fact that History is telling us is that Jesuits worked hard to promote and to incarnate Ignatian Spirituality among women. Sometimes Jesuits were the spiritual directors of the Founder; at other times, they acted as advisors or confessors of the Foundress, and on other occasions Jesuits offered help in writing and preparing the first drafts of their *Constitutions*.

[113] 1585: Ursulines of Dôle; 1607: Daughters of Our Lady; 1609: Institute of BVM (Mary Ward); 1633: Order of Incarnate Word; 1650: Sisters of Saint Joseph.

[114] Daughters of Heart of Mary; Society of Sacred Heart; Daughters of Holy Family of Amiens; Daughters of Our Lady; Handmaids of Christian Instruction; Congregation of the Nativity of Our Lord.

[115] France 76; Spain 29; Italy 26; Belgium 14; Ireland 5; Holland 5; Germany 3; Poland 2 and Sweden 1.

[116] India 7; Líbano 1; Siria 1; Sri Lanka 1; Indonesia 1 and Thailand 1.

[117] Argelia 2; Zaire 2; Nigeria 1; Zambia 1; South Africa 1.

[118] See: Ganss 262-263.

11. «ASSISTING AND SERVING THOSE WHO ARE FOUND IN PRISONS OR HOSPITALS» (*FORMULA INSTITUTI, 1550*)

When Ignatius of Loyola left his family home in Azpeitia for Manresa, poverty became one of the most important dimensions in his new life. This option for poverty led him to choose hospitals as ordinary places to live. During his eleven months in Manresa he stayed most of the time at Sainte Lucia hospital. After having finished his studies in Paris, Ignatius travelled to Loyola (April 1535) and decided to stay at La Magdalena Hospital in Azpeitia, two kilometers away from his family home[119]. With his own experience, Ignatius started a way of proceeding for his Companions.

11.1 «THE SICK PERSON WAS GREATLY COMFORTED AND QUICKLY RECOVERED» [*AUTOB*. 95]

The First Companions made the same decision when they left Paris (November 15th, 1536) and travelled to Venice; they used to stop at hospitals sharing their lives with the sick and poor[120]. Once in Venice, «at the beginnings of 1537, they started to serve in diverse hospitals» and it was while serving the poor that Diego de Hoces, one of the First Companions, died in the hospital of Padua (13th of March 1538)[121]. Ignatius tried to keep the Jesuits close to poverty. In an instruction to the Fathers sent to Trent, Loyola recommended visiting the hospitals: «I would hear the confessions of the poor and console them, even bringing them something if I could. I would have them say prayers, as was said regarding confessions»[122]. Diego Laínez and Nicolás Bobadilla became members of the confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Rome. We can also mention Fr.

---

[119] See: *Autobiography* [87-88].

[120] A wonderful description of this journey in Simão RODRIGUES, *A Brief and Exact Account: The Recollections of Simão Rodrigues on the Origins and Progress of the Society of Jesus* (Conwell, J. F., trans.), Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis 2004. (Original: *Origine et progressu Societatis Iesu*, *Fontes Narrativi* III, 5-135), with many references to the hospitals and how devoutly First Companions used to serve the sick.

[121] See: *Autobiography* [93.98].

[122] See: «Instruction to the Fathers of the Council of Trent», *Letters and Instructions* 128-131; the instructions of Ignatius written in first grammatical person «I»; see *Epistolae et Instructiones* I, 386-389.

Paschase Broët, a Jesuit from the First Companions, who died in Paris (September 14th 1562) taking care of sick people during a plague that started in July that year[123].

After all these experiences, this ministry for helping the sick was considered so important as to be included in the *Formula Instituti* («to serve the sick people in the hospitals» [3]) and in the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus. To visit and to live in a hospital is the second «probatio» for the Jesuits novices, who are called to serve the poor with the love of Christ[124].

Fr. Nadal «has justly been described, for instance, as 'the premier organizer of social relief in Sicily' during his years there, 1548-53»[125]. From the letters that Jesuits had to send to Rome every year, we know that in Lisbon, for example, Jesuits worked in hospitals preparing food, making beds and washing the sick. The same occurred in Goa (India) and in Japan where Jesuits founded a small village near Nagasaki to take care of the lepers, both men and women, who were not allowed to enter into the cities.

In the ministry of caring for the sick, the borders are the people suffering from the plague, the most contagious and mortal illness among other diseases such as malaria, cholera or typhus. More than 2.000 Jesuits died serving the sick, and they are known as the «martyrs of charity». Based mainly on the writings of Fr. Polanco, O'Malley offers some particular cases of this ministry of the first Jesuits: «During the plague in Rome in 1566 and again in 1568, they went out in large numbers to care for the stricken, with each Jesuit assigned a street as his particular charge. In Lisbon in 1569 seventeen Jesuits died while attending victims of the plague»[126].

The young Louis Gonzaga died in Rome (June 21th, 1591), but there were many others in France, Northern Italy, Naples, Seville, Poland or

---

[123] We preserve the last document from Fr. Broët: a short list of the things of this room he had touched; after, trusting God's mercy, he peacefully says goodbye to his Jesuits companions before dying. See: *Monumenta Broetii*, Madrid 1903 (reimp. 1971) 194.

[124] See: *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus [66]; «They can help the sick, especially those in hospitals by visiting them» [650].

[125] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* 167.

[126] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 171, from *Polanci Complementa* II, Madrid 1917 (MHSI 54), 666.691 and 707. Recently: Malulu Lokuwe Gauthier, *Etude des oeuvres de miséricorde ignatiennes à Azpeitia, en Vénétie et à Rome*, Thèse doctorale, U. P. Comillas, Madrid 2015.

Yucatán (México) and Paraguay. It is time to remember St. Pedro Claver, «apostle of black slaves», who also died after four years fighting against an illness he contracted during his service to sick people. This apostolate reaches our times. There have been institutions for lepers in Fontilles (Spain), Culión (Philippines) (1924 - 5.500 sick); Mangalore, Trombay and Goa (India) and N'Djamena (Tchad) a hospital for disabled servicemen. Fidelity and generosity appear as features of Ignatian Spirituality[127].

To accompany *dying people* was a work of mercy in which Ignatius was always very interested. He knew that Jesuits were often called to this ministry, and therefore he showed a deep interest in having a handbook that could help young (and not so young) Jesuits in their ministries. He himself had gone through the experience of «touching the end of his life», in Loyola, in Manresa, leaving Valencia, or Rome…[128]. We preserve many letters from different parts of the world in which Jesuits informed Rome how often they were called to assist people in their last moments: «We are usually called to help people in a 'good death', and we go there diligently»[129]: «it was more necessary to help people reach a good death than to enjoy a good living»[130]. Fr. Polanco published the first book: *Methodus ad eos adjuvandos qui moriuntur*[131]. This book had 17 editions and was translated into German, French and Portuguese. This text offered a synthesis of Dogmatic, Spiritual, Moral and Pastoral Theology and was truly one of the most influential books among the Spiritual and Pastoral literature in the second part of the XVI century in Europe[132].

---

[127] See: P. Caraman / C. J. Viscardi, «Enfermos, ministerio de los», *DHCJ* II, 1242-1244; all numbers in 1243.

[128] See: *Autobiography* [33].

[129] *Litterae Quadrimestres* V, 801: Alfonso Román to Diego Laínez (Zaragoza, Set. 18, 1558). More references from other cities as Granada, Sevilla, Salamanca, Lisbon, Valladolid in J. García de Castro, «"Que partan de esta vida en gracia y amor de Dios". El *Directorio para ayudar a bien morir* del P. Juan Alfonso de Polanco», *Discursos después de la muerte* (M.ª Jesús Fernández Cordero / Henar Pizarro Llorente, eds.), col. Textos para un milenio, Madrid 2013, 15-38, here 21-22.

[130] J. Burrieza, «Los Jesuitas: de las postrimerías a la muerte ejemplar», *Hispania Sacra* LXI, 124 (julio-diciembre 2009) 513-544.

[131] Full latin title: *Methodus ad eos adjuvandos qui moriuntur ex complurium Doctorum ac piorum scriptis diuturnoque usu et observatione collecta* (Sebastiano Martinelli, Macerata 1575).

[132] Sommervogel VI, 944-945 with all the editions and translations. Other titles: Tomás de Villacastín, *Práctica para ayudar a bien morir* (1630); Alonso de Andrade, *Lección de bien morir* (Madrid 1662); Juan Weyer, *Affectus pii* (Olmutz 1670). Long

11.2. «The defense of Faith and promotion of Justice» (GC 32, decree 4; 1974).

To visit prisoners or slaves in galleys[133] became a typical ministry for the Jesuits. It was already recommended in the *Constitutions*[134] and to

ask about this apostolate was one of the Rules for Fr. Provincial during his canonic visits to communities. People were surprised and «edified» by these well known priests who, besides from working as teachers in schools or universities, were also occupied with marginalized and poor people. They visited prisons to offer spiritual help through prayer, simple devotions, confessions, Masses or sermons, but they also offered corporal assistance[135].

Jesuits begged in the streets or in their churches to earn money for bread, fruit, medicines, tobacco or even to pay for fines prisoners owed. They also worked to achieve better health conditions for sick prisoners. In Seville, for example, Fr. Pedro de León founded the «Congregción de Nuestra Señora de la Visitación» to offer legal support to prisoners. He also accompanied 309 condemned to death consoling them in the last moments of their lives. In Rome in 1575, the French Fr. Jean Tellier founded the «Confraternità dei carcerati». Jesuits received a license from civil authorities to allow prisoners to attend Sunday Mass in any chapel close to the prison, and often they prepared prisoners for their First Communion[136]. This apostolate continued after the restoration of

---

and amazing list about literature of helping dying people in Soomervogel X, 510-519: «La Mort».

[133] Related to this, we find the early case of Fr. Laínez who in June 1550 had to join in Sicile the naval expedition of Juan de Vega as chaplain. Healing the sick, hearing confessions, helping dying people, baptizing the converted… «with almost not time to eat or to sleep»; see the four letters sent to Rome in *Monumenta Lainii* I, Madrid 1912, 164-173 and the short information from Polanco, *Chronicon* II, 43-44.

[134] Ganss, *The Constitutions* 283: «[they] do what they can for the poor and for prisoners in the jails» [650], and the *Formula Instituti*: «and serving those who are found in prisons».

[135] Sommervogel II, 1242-1243, «Clinton, Alexander, dont le vrai nom est MacKensie»; first title, *The poor Prisoner's Comforter*, London 1764.

[136] See: C. J. Viscardi, «Encarcelados. Ministerios con», *DHCJ* II, 1239-1241 and O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* 167-168, 173-174, with many references to Fr. Polanco's *Chronicon Societatis Iesu*.

the Society of Jesus and during the XX century when many Jesuits Provinces sent members to work as chaplains in prisons[137].

But there were also some other social groups of people who also needed be liberated from other kind of prisons. A few months after their arrival in Rome, the first Jesuits realized how many prostitutes were in the city and how poor and miserable their living conditions were. The few institutions that already existed in 1540 seemed not to be enough to afford the situation. Ignatius decided to start a congregation, «Compagnia della Grazia», to get money to start building a new place for them. The project, «Casa de Santa Marta», was approved by the pope Paulus III in February 1543, and was supported by fourteen cardinals in Rome. This house was organized almost as a convent and the process of admission required the women to answer a detailed list of questions[138]. Seven years after, more than three hundred women had received help from the institution and twenty years after the death of Ignatius, the house had been transformed into a female convent.

Even though this ministry doesn't appear in the *Formula Instituti*, it was quite common among the first Jesuits and Superiors who used to inform Rome about what the Jesuits in their communities and provinces were doing regarding the rehabilitation of prostitutes[139].

12. «THIS SICK MAN WAS DEVOTED TO SAINT PETER» [AU. 3] SPIRITUAL LIFE THROUGH POPULAR DEVOTIONS

«Devotion» is a very important concept and experience in Ignatian Spirituality. It appears at the beginning and at the end of the *Autobiography*. «It happened that this sick man was *devoted* to St. Peter» and it was through his intercession that Ignatius started to recover his health [*Au*

[137] We can not forget the high number of Jesuits that for very different reasons have suffered themselves the experience of being prisoners; see: G. M. Anderson, «Jesuits in Jail, Ignatius to the Present», *Studies in the Spirituality of the Jesuits* 27/4 (September 1995).

[138] See: J. M. Aicardo, *Comentario a las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús* IV, Madrid 1924, 651-652. Ch. Chauvin, «Ignace de Loyola et les Courtisannes. La maison Sainte Marthe (1542-1548)», 551-562.

[139] P. Caraman, «Ministerios apostólicos especiales. I Prostitutas», *DHCJ* III, 2678-2679; See letter of Bartolomé Ferrão (November 1545; *Epistolae et Instructiones* I, 327-328).

3]; and in paragraph [99] Fr. Câmara says: «our Father [Ignatius] was always growing in *devotion*, that is, in facility to find God». Devotion was for Ignatius an inner feeling which helped him to discern and discover God in all things.

The Jesuits promoted different devotions to help people to discern and to discover God in their ordinary lives. It would take us a long time and a very great number of pages to describe in detail all these devotions; but we have to mention at least some of them in order to get a more complete picture of Ignatian Spirituality through history.

12.1. Devotion to frequent Communion

We know how important the Eucharist was in the life of Saint Ignatius: Manresa, Barcelona, Paris, Venice, Rome etc… Some of his important visions were related to the Mystery of Eucharist[140]; the first vows of the Companions in Montmartre were pronounced during a Liturgy, before the Body of Christ[141] and his very important spiritual discernment on poverty (Rome 1544-1545) always took place around the daily Mass, as the *Spiritual Diary* testimonies[142]. The *Spiritual Exercises* recommend «to attend Mass and Vespers daily» and the «Third rule for thinking with the Church» says: «We should praise frequent attendance to Mass»; Jesuit Scholastics should frequent communion every eight days and hear Mass everyday[143].

The first Jesuits were promoters of frequent communion. Peter Faber, in his notes to the confraternity in Parma, recommended receiving

[140] *Autobiography* [29].

[141] See: *Autobiography* [29.85].

[142] The deep mystical experience during the thirteen months (2nd February 1544 - end of February 1545) of the *Spiritual Diary* takes place always around the Eucharist; the *Ignatian Concordance* offers more than three hundred references to the daily Mass celebrated by Ignatius. Mensajero-Sal Terrae-Institute of Jesuit Sources, (col. Manresa, nº 16). Bilbao-Santander-St. Louis 1996, 792-800.

[143] See: *Sp Ex* [20 and 355]; *Constitutions* [342]; «very special care should be taken that those who come to the universities of the Society to obtain knowdege should acquire along with it good and Christian moral habits […] hear Mass everyday» *Constitutions* [481] (See: Ganss 184 and 223).

communion every eight days[144]. Frequent communion was a common topic in the preaching of the First Companions after their ordination. Bobadilla had written about it in his *Libellus* on frequent communion[145] and the book of Fr. Cristóbal de Madrid, based on a previous incomplete text by Fr. Salmerón, became very popular[146].

Fr. Aquaviva did not allow lay people to receive communion twice a week without permission from Fr. Provincial. In the XVIII century the book of Jean Pichón *L'Esprit de Jéus-Christ et de l'Eglise sur la fréquente Communion* (Paris 1745)[147], encouraged people to receive communion every day; it was a polemic text that received a lot of criticism, mainly from Jansenists, and was included in the *Index* of forbidden books. Still in 1883, Jesuits Scholastics were not allowed to receive communion more than once a week. In 1906, a decree by Pious X would change the situation.

12.2. Devotion to Our Lady, Mary

Reading the *Autobiography* we discover how present Mary was in the life of Ignatius[148]; the *Spiritual Diary* is a clear example of the role of Mediator that She has in the mystical experience of Ignatius and in the *Spiritual Exercises* Mary is always the Third person to talk to in the final colloquy of every exercise. Very probably inspired by *The Life of Christ* of Ludolpho of Saxony, Ignatius offers the first contemplation of

---

[144] See: *Monumenta Fabri*, Madrid 1914 (reimp. 1972) 42. Faber had gotten into troubles because he had recommended a woman to receive communion everyday.

[145] Maybe the first book written on this topic, but not the first published; see: P. Caraman, «Comunión, Ministerio de la», *DHCJ* I, 893-894. The text from Bobadilla was published in *AHSI* 2 (1933) 258-279.

[146] *Libellus de frequenti usu Sacramenti Eucharistiae* (Neapoli 1556); see: Sommervogel V, 278-279.

[147] *The Spirit of Christ and of the Church on frequent Communion*; see: Sommervogel VI, 717.

[148] From *Autobiography* [10] (vision of Our Lady with the Son) till *Autobiography* [96] where Ignatius prays insistently to Mary to be placed with her Son, before the Storta vision. Our Lady of Olatz, in Loyola, Our Lady of Aránzazu near Azpeitia, or Our Lady of Montserrat, monastery where Ignatius offered his weapons and changed his clothes, and Our Lady of La Strada in Rome show how important Mary was in the first steps of his new life.

the Fourth Week: «How Christ our Lord appeared to Our Lady» [*Sp Ex* 218-225]. Peter Faber used to say that, after the contemplation of the Mysteries of the Life of Christ, nothing is as helpful in spiritual life as the contemplation of the Mysteries of the Life of Mary[149]. During three years (1534-1536), the vows of Montmartre were pronounced in the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady (August 15) and the final vows of the first Jesuits in Rome at the basilica of Saint Paul before a mosaic of our Lady. In the beginning of the Society of Jesus, many Jesuits pronounced a vow of defending the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; maybe the most known is John Berchmans who signed the formula with his own blood.

Jesuit literature on Marian topics is very wide. Only a few years after the Society was founded first devotional books started to appear: Gaspar de Loarte published *Istruttione e avvertimenti per meditar i misterii del Rosario* (Rome 1573), Francis Coster *De vita et laudibus Deiparae Mariae Virginis meditations quiquaginta* (Amberes1587), similar to those of Vicenzo Bruni (Venecia 1586)[150].

Joseph de Guibert maintains that Jesuits do not add anything original to the traditional devotion to Mary, but just preserve and care for what already was a patrimony of Western Spiritual Tradition[151]. Jesuits wrote abundantly about the Immaculate Conception of Mary, about devotion to Rosary, devotion to the Scapulary[152], to the Heart of Mary or to the Month of Mary. Even though few titles of these two last devotions appeared at the end of XVII century, most of them belong to XIX century.

In XVII century, Jesuits referred to Mary as the «Mother of the Society». In 1914, hundred years after the Restoration of the Society, Fr F. J. Wernz changed the title into «Queen of the Society» and in 1942 W. Ledóchowski got from Pope Pius XII the Mass of «Mary, Queen of the

[149] See: Peter FABER, *Memorial* [110]. Mary is present in the experience of Peter Faber: *Memorial* [27.39.45.85.91.135.150.208238…].

[150] SOMMERVOGEL X, 424-442.

[151] DE GUIBERT, *The Jesuits*, 387-389.

[152] First titles on Rosary, maybe, Benoît Herbestus, *Adjecta quoque est pro Christianis piis Rosarii Virginis Mariae expositio devota* (Cracow 1568) and Gaspar Astete *Modo de rezar el Rosario, Salmos y oraciones* (Salamanca 1578) (SOMMERVOGEL IV, 292 and I, 604). Devotion to Scapulary started a bit later in 1654: Théophile Raynaud, *Scapulare Partheno-Carmeliticum illustratum et defensum* (Venecia) (SOMMERVOGEL VI 1537).

Society of Jesus»; this title lasted till 1973 when it went back to «Mother of the Society»[153].

Mary our Lady was always present in the main documents of different Fathers General during the difficult times of prosecutions. Fr. Lorenzo Ricci used to encourage the Jesuits asking them to pray first to Mary in all possible ways: litanies, offerings… totally convinced that «she never abandons who honestly pray to Her»[154].

In contemporary times, last General Congregations have reminded and insisted on the role and significance of Mary in the life of the Institute: «filial devotion to his Mother and our Lady», «humble and simple devotion to our Lady»[155]. «Mary shows us how to live in total availability and to place our whole lives at the service of her Son. In her instruction to the servants at Cana, 'Do whatever he tells you', Mary points out for us the basic orientation that should guide our lives. For this reason, the Society has always seen in Mary a model of obedience»[156].

12.3. Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus

This was perhaps the most popular and influential devotion promoted by the Society of Jesus. As we understand it today, the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus was not a part of the spiritual life of the first Jesuits. Faber and Borgia had special devotion to the wound in Christ's side, that already appears in the medieval prayer *Anima Christi*: «intra vulnera tua, abscondeme» («inside your wound, hide me»). Peter Canisius wrote about a deep experience he went through the day of this solemn profession in Rome: Christ opened his Heart and invited him to drink

[153] Ch. O'Neill, «Devoción a María», *DHCJ* II, 1104-1106: «h) Mes de Mayo» and «i) Consagración a María». See also *DHCJ* IV, «Teología. IV.5. Mariología» 3737-3739.

[154] See: *Supresión y Restauración de la Compañía de Jesús. Documentos* (Valero, U., ed.), Mensajero-Sal Terrae-Universidad P. Comillas (col. Manresa nº 52), Bilbao-Santander-Madrid 2014, 89-134.

[155] General Congregation 31, decrees 8.3 and 16.7e.

[156] General Congregation 35, decree 4.53. Something similar offers the concluding paragraph [108] of decree 1 of GC 33, a quotation from one of the first letters of Ignatius to Inés Pascual: «I pray to our Lady to implore on our, behalf between us sinners and her Son and Lord, and to gain us His grace, so that…».

the water that flowed from His Heart[157]. Important Jesuits writers as Fr. Diego Álvarez de Paz and Luis de la Puente in Spain, or Vincent Huby in France began writing about the Heart of Christ.

But this devotion entered into a new dimension with Fr. Claude de la Colombière, spiritual director of Margarite de Alacoque, a mystic visionary of the Heart of Christ. Her visions took place in Paray-le-Monial. She wrote six letters in which she established links between the Heart of Christ and the Society of Jesus. A year after her having passed away, the Jesuit Jean Croiset published *La dévotion au Sacré Coeur de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* (1691) (*Devotion to Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ*). Soon some confraternities appeared, the first one in France in 1698 and eight years later there were more than one hundred. On January 2nd 1765 the Pope approved the Mass of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

This devotion was very important during the difficult times of the Suppression of the Society. The II Polocense General Congregation (decree 8) imposed prayer to the Heart of Christ in these days of prosecution, and to celebrate a triduum before the Feast. New religious congregations of the «Sacred Heart» appeared, and many bishops wanted to consecrate their dioceses to the Heart of Christ. In August 23th 1856, Pious IX extended the Feast to the whole Church and in 1899 and Leon XIII consecrated the world to the Heart of Christ. This devotion became a very important part of the spiritual life of the universal Church and the Society of Jesus after the Restoration remained very close to the Heart of Christ[158].

Yet, after the Council Vatican II, the 31st General Congregation (1965) recommended a renovation of this devotion and the next 32nd (1975) insisted on this point. At the same time, the most important theologians, such as Karl Rahner, offered a new theology of the Sacred Heart. Fr. Pedro Arrupe included the Spirituality of the Sacred Heart of Christ in one of his letters in 1972 and, again, in one of his most important documents as Fr. General of the Society of Jesus: «Rooted and Founded in the Charity» (1980). Pope Jean Paul II asked the Society to continue promoting this devotion (1986) and Fr. General P.-H. Kolvenbach went back to it in

[157] See: P. Canisio, *Epistulae et Acta* (Braunsberger, O., ed.) Friburgo 1896, I, 55-59.

[158] All General Superiors wrote letters or documents on this devotion: Jean Roothaan, Peter Beckx, Anthony Anderledy, Luis Martín, Francis Wernz, Wlodimiro Ledóchowski, Jean B. Janssens.

his lecture «Munus suavissimum» (1988) and in his letter April 12th 1992 announcing the canonization of Blessed Claude de La Colombière[159].

12.4. Devotion to Saint Joseph

Saint Joseph doesn't appear in the *Autobiography* nor in the *Spiritual Diary* nor in the *Exercises*[160]. Among the many saints that do appear, I have not found him in the *Memorial* of Peter Faber. But devotion to Saint Joseph became more and more important in Europe in the XVII century and some devotional books were published in honor of Saint Joseph; the Jesuits were devout promoters of this devotion[161]: De Barry La *Dévotion à Saint Joseph le plus aimé et le plus amiable de tous les saints* (Lyons 1640), Fr. Nadasi *Hebdomada S. Iosepho sacra* (Roma 1659); Fr. José Antonio Patrignani *Il divoto di San Giuseppe* (Florencia 1707)[162].

13. «HE SAW THE WINDOWS WERE CLOSED» [AU 97]. THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS (1773)

From the very beginning, things were not always easy. Since his time in Alcalá 1526 until his last years in Rome (1540-1556), Ignatius went through seven Inquisitorial processes. He and his First Companions were often under the eye of the Inquisition. 1538 was, maybe, one of the most difficult periods in the life of the group due to a conflict with

[159] Lecture in the third Centenary of the revelations (July 2nd 1988); letter in *Acta Romana SI* 20 (1988-1992) 725-729. See the article M. Nicolau / C. J. Viscardi, «Corazón de Jesús. Devoción», *DHCJ* I, 944-948; De Guibert, *The Jesuits*, 392-401.

[160] Only in the references to Mysteries of the Life of Christ [264.265.269.270].

[161] See: De Guibert, *The Jesuits* 389-390, who refers to Sommervogel X, 447-448.

[162] Among the different devotions promoted by the Jesuits we can add devotion to Purgatory as a place to «awake» to a better life. Some titles: Binet: *De l'etat heureux et malheureux des âmes souffrantes en Purgatoire, et des moyens souverains pour n'y aller pas ou y demeurer fort peu* (1626); Martín de la Roa: *Estado de las almas del Purgatorio* (Sevilla 1619); Domingo Bruno: *Il Purgatorio aperto e chiuso* (Nápoles 1730) (4 vols.); J. E. Nieremberg: *Devoción con las ánimas del Purgatorio* (1630); Marcos de Bonnyer: *L'avocat des âmes du Purgatoire* (1632); Jacques Mumford: *A remembrance for the living to pray for the dead* (1641); Nicolas Zucchi: *Pratica della vera divozione in aiuto delle anime del Purgatorio* (Roma 1659).

an Augustine Friar in Rome, Augustin Mainardi[163]. A few months later, the process of the founding of the Society took more time than expected because Cardinal Jerome Guinucci, in charge of writing the report to the pope, was openly against the foundation[164]. But all these difficulties were almost a game compared to what had to happen two hundred and thirty five years later…

In 1759 the King of Portugal decided to expel the Jesuits from his territories. Louis XV of France did the same in 1764 and also the King of Spain, Charles III, through his document known as *Pragmática Sanción*, in April 2nd 1767. An experience of exile began for all Jesuits living in all these countries and their colonies in Asia and Latin America. We cannot spend time detailing the main causes for this very complex situation: the economy, social, political and ecclesiastical reasons[165] are behind this dramatic episode in the History of the Society of Jesus. The Pope Clemens XIII tried to avoid this conflict but all his efforts were not enough[166].

Elected in May 21, 1758, Fr. Lorenzo Ricci was the 18th Superior General of the Society[167]. In January 1765 he began writing open letters to the whole Society encouraging the Jesuits and asking them to remain faithful to their vocation and close to Jesus Christ in those very difficult times. He asked for sincere prayers, and to remain close to the Passion of Christ. The Sacred Heart of Jesus and Our Lady Virgin Mary, as well the Saints of the Society of Jesus, were always present in their prayers[168]. But the pressure that the different Kings of Europe placed upon the Vatican, and directly onto the Pope, succeeded, and Clemens XIV in his

[163] «El negocio ha seido tal, que durante ocho messes enteros hemos passado la más recia contradicción o persecución que jamás ayamos passado en esta vida» Letter of Ignatius to Isabel Roser (Rome, December 19, 1538) *Epistolae et Instructiones* I, 137.

[164] See: J. Conwell, «Cardinals Guidiccioni and Ghinucci faced with the Solemn Approbation of the Society of Jesus», *AHSI* 66 (1997) 3-50.

[165] See the long article: I. Pinedo, «Supresión» inside «Compañía de Jesús», *DHCJ* I, 878-884; J. A. Ferrer Benimelli, *Expulsión y extinción de los jesuitas. 1759-1773*, Mensajero, Bilbao 2013.

[166] He wrote the Bullle *Apostolicum Pascendi* (January 7, 1765), and an important letter to King Charles III (April 16th 1767), asking him to revoke the decision of expelling the Jesuits from his territories.

[167] G. Bottereau, «Ricci, Lorenzo», *DHCJ* II, 1656-1657.

[168] See the very good collection of original documents on Suppression and Restoration in U. Valero, (ed.) *Supresión y Restauración*, 89-134.

technically called *brief,* but quite long document, *Dominus ac Redemptor Noster* (June 21st 1773), decided to abolish the Society of Jesus. That meant that the Society had to disappear from the «face of the Earth»: Jesuits, institutions, patrimony… everything:

> We suppress and extinguish that Society; we abolish and declare null all and each of their ministries and works, houses, schools, colleges, orphanages, farms and whatever possessions placed in any Province, Kingdom or Dominions… and her statutes, customs, decrees and constitutions… And so, we declare that all authority of Fr. General, Fathers Provincial, Visitadores and any other Superiors concerning temporal and spiritual matters, were perpetually abolished and totally extinguished[169].

The period of the Suppression lasted for forty years. Most of the Jesuits were living in very difficult and poor conditions. Many of them were in prison until they died. It was a time for the Society to grow in humility and poverty; time to contemplate the Third Week of the Spiritual Exercises, the Passion, suffering and death of Jesus Christ; time to consider the third level of Humility and to experience what more than two hundred years before, Fr. Diego Laínez had called the «*Minima* Societas Iesu». Fr. General Ricci and his Assistants were put in jail in Castel Sant' Angelo in Rome in September 1773. Ricci was there for two years and two months, until his death on November 24th 1775[170]. It was a very hard period and probably the darkest page of the history of the Society of Jesus, but at the same time a very deep experience in the spiritual life of the Institution.

In the middle of the darkness, a very weak light was still shining. Zarina Catherine II of Russia did not recognize the papal document in her territories and that is why the Jesuits could continue with their own apostolates in that region. I am sure that Catherine was not conscious of the depth and transcendence of her decision supporting the Jesuits. She was so satisfied with Jesuit schools and their pedagogical methods, that she could not even think about the possibility of losing one of them.

---

[169] U. Valero, *Supresión y Restauración…*, 158-159.

[170] In his two pages document «Declaration of Innocence», written a few days before his death, he declared open and honestly regarding his innocence and the innocence of the Society and also his forgiveness to all the people responsible for the situation: «I wish dye with this desire in my heart». U. Valero, *Supresión y Restauración…*, 170.

14. TOWARDS CONTEMPORARY TIMES: THE SOCIETY OF JESUS RESTORED

In 1800 there were in Russia 214 Jesuits (94 priests, 74 scholastics and 46 brothers). The Society was officially restored when Pious VII published his document *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclessiarum* (August 7th 1814); at that moment there were six hundred Jesuits, but soon the situation started to change and the number of Jesuits increased very quickly, as we can see in the following table[171].

YEAR	JESUITS	FR. GENERAL
1814	600	Tadeusz BRZOZOWSKI
1829	2.139	Louis FORTIS
1853	5.209	John ROOTHAAN
1887	12.070	Peter BECKX
1892	13.274	Anthony ANDERLY
1906	15.661	Luis MARTIN
1936	16.950	Francis J. WERNZ
1942	26.588	Wlodimiro LEDÓCHOWSKI
1964	35.968	Jean B. JANSSENS

14.1. Back to the Exercises

After the Restoration, Jesuits started to rebuild their own formation structures and were called upon by many institutions (mainly schools or seminaries) in different countries such as Ireland, England, France, Italy or the United States. But the Society did not have enough human resources to respond to all the demands. It was under the Generalate of Fr. Jean Roothaan (1829-1853) that the Ignatian Spirituality became more explicit in the life of the Society and in every Jesuit's life in particular. The Spiritual Exercises were the central point in the formation and life of the Jesuits[172]. Roothaan really loved the experience and the text of the

[171] All numbers taken from the articles in the *DHCJ* II, 1660-1696, from «General 19c. T. Brzozowski» till «General 27. J. B. Janssens».

[172] See the letter «Ad Patres et Fratres Societatis: De spiritualium exercitiorum S. P. N. studio et usu» (Roma December 27, 1834) in I. Roothaan, *Opera Spiritualia* (De Jonge, L, / Pirri, P., eds.), (2 vols.) Roma 1936, I, 357-366. See also *Cartas selectas de los Padres Generales*, Oña 1917, 170-221.

Exercises. He studied the *Autograph,* (Spanish) version of the *Exercises,* and prepared some editions of the *Vulgata* (Latin) version[173].

14.2. Mission again and again

Roothaan also promoted the «Popular Missions» and attempted to have his own Jesuits involved in this ministry of all Jesuit Provinces. He was sensitive to the context surrounding this matter, as we see during the cholera epidemic in Rome (1837) where he organized all the Jesuits in the city to assist the sick. His letter *De Missionum externarum desiderio excitando et fovendo*[174] had a great impact among young Jesuits to the point where more than 1260 Jesuits offered themselves as volunteers to go to any mission around the world[175]. Diocesan Seminaries were opened in China and Albania (1843), India (1844) and Syria (1845), and Jesuits were sent to many countries around the world[176], where a few of them were appointed bishops in different dioceses.

General Congregation XXII elected Fr. Peter John Beckx as Father General in July 2, 1853. He wrote fourteen letters to the Society regarding Jesuit religious life, formation, and how to support the Society during troubled times[177]. Number 12 insisted on mission: «On the zeal for the souls and how to help them» (December 10th 1875). The 1st of January 1872, all Jesuit provinces were consecrated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Missions in Asia and Latin America grew[178]. The same

[173] Latin editions in 1838, 1847, 1852 y 1854. He also prepared an edition of the Spanish text that he liked to offer to Friends or visitors. Recently: P. Cebollada, «Jan Philip Roothaan, restaurador de los Ejercicios Espirituales», *Manresa* 87 (2015) 73-75.

[174] *On how to awake the desire for external Missions* (December 3, 1833), in *Opera Spiritualia* I, 347-356.

[175] But Roothaan was very strict with the natural and spiritual conditions of the missionaries, avoiding when possible «missionary romanticism».

[176] United States, Siria, Bengal, Argentina, Jamaica, Greece, Argelia, Uruguay, China, Paraguay, Chile, Guatemala, Madagascar, Herzegobina, Central Africa, Sri Lanka, India…

[177] See complete list of documents in Smet, S. de, «Becks, Pedro Juan [Pieter Jan]», *DHCJ* II, 1672. Selection of letters in *Cartas selectas*, 222-236.

[178] New missions in Cuba, Colombia, Philippines-Culión, Madagascar, Mangalore, Zambia, Australia.

happened under the short period of government of the next Fr. General, Antonio Mª Anderley (1887-1892).

14.3. Spirituality, Formation and Mission

Fr. Luis Martín García was elected General (Loyola 1892[179]) and, following one of the main accents for Anderley, insisted, on intellectual apostolate and serious formation of the Jesuits. He had a deep interest in the History of the Society of Jesus and began (Madrid 1894) the huge collection of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, a critical edition of all documents regarding the beginnings of the Institution, starting from those of the first Jesuits[180].

Fr. Franz Xavier Wernz (General September 8th 1906), a German canonist, insisted upon the renovation of the spiritual life of the Jesuits, vocations and solid formation inside the Society. To develop a deeper communication among the Jesuits, he founded *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, the official publication inside the Society of Jesus and also the prestigious periodical *America* (December 8th 1909). The Pope Pious X founded the Pontifical Biblical Institute which was run by the Jesuits from the beginning, and Fr. Wernz founded the University of Tokio (1908). In 1914, the Society celebrated the first Centenary of the Restoration; one of the main outcomes of this was the *Liber saecularis S.I.* that included the main activities and ministries of the Society during the last hundred years. To prepare this important date, Wernz wrote a letter to the whole Society (September 8, 1907) insisting on spiritual renovation and on the apostolic value of high divulgation works.

[179] Due to the conflictive political situation in Italy, Fr. Martin (General Vicar) decided, with the approval of Pope Leo XIII, to convoke the 24th General Congregation in Loyola (Spain); it started September 24th 1892. See the long article R. M.ª Sanz de Diego, «Martín García, Luis», *DHCJ*, II, 1676-1682; some of his letters in *Cartas selectas*, 476-511.

[180] *Monumenta*, a treasure of the patrimony of the Society of Jesus, started in Madrid and then moved to Rome in 1932. More than 165 volumes including the writings of first Jesuits and all documents concerning the first missions of the Society of Jesus. Detailed and full description of this amazing collection in: R. Danieluk, «Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu. Uno sguardo di insieme sulla collana», *AHSI* 81 (2012) 249-271.

Born in Austria October 7th 1866, and elected Fr. General on February 11th 1915, Fr. Wlodimiro Ledóchowski continued insisting on formation for the young Jesuits, education and what we call today «Intellectual Apostolate». He revised the *Ratio Studiorum* and published a new version (1941); The Gregorian Pontifical University began publishing the periodical *Gregorianum* (1920) and in 1929 the Pontifical Biblical Institute started, always run by the Jesuits. Ledóchowski founded the Historical Institute in Rome and started the periodical *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*. Some of his letters to the Society focused on «Apostolate of Sacred Heart of Jesus» (1919) and «On devotion to our Saints» (1933). He started the Secretaries of «Apostolate of Prayer» and «Congregation of our Lady». It was Ledóchowski who established the Curia in Borgo Santo Spirito, inaugurated in 1927[181].

The 29th General Congregation could not gather until September 1946, four years after the death of Fr. Ledóchowski (Rome, December 13th 1942). Fr. Jean Baptist Janssens, from Amberes (Holland) was elected in the first round. Among the many letters he wrote to the Society, the first one was about «Spiritual and interior life» (1946) and the second one on «Social Apostolate» (1949)[182]. He had to address the impact of the «New Theology» and provide instructions regarding books and readings which were not appropriate for Jesuits students.

Related to this, Janssens had to handle the conflict with Fr. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and his important book *Le Phénomène humaine*[183]. Scientist, Anthropologist, Theologian and Mystic, Fr. Teilhard had opened a new door for a new way of thinking, that is the relationship between Science and Religion. But his ideas were, maybe, too advanced for that moment. At the same time, the spirit of the mission continued growing; many new provinces appeared and also new missions in South Corea (1955), Zambia (1956), Yoro (Honduras, 1957), Sinoia (Rodhesia)

[181] See: *La voz del P. Ledóchowsky*, Barcelona 1945; *Selected Writings of Fr. Ledóchowsky*, Chicago 1945.

[182] *De vita interiore fovenda*, *Instructio de apostolatu sociale* and some others about *Ratio Studiorum* (1954), *On Liturgy* (1959), or even on *De veste Societatis* (*On Jesuit dress*) (1964) or *Normae de usi tabaci*, (*On tobacco and smoking in the Society*) (1957).

[183] Once Teilhard had passed away (December 19th, 1955), the book was published without the required «imprimatur». Janssens forbade the book in all Jesuits libraries (January 1956) and two years later it was the Congregation of the Holy Office who made remove all works of Fr. Teilhard from the libraries of all religious communities.

and Osorno (Chile) the last two both in 1959. Fr. Janssens died on October 5th 1964, when the Council Vatican II was in its full development.

15. IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES

15.1. The Renewal of the Society of Jesus

The renovation of the Church promoted by the Council Vatican II provoked a deep and quick renovation inside the Society of Jesus. Fr. Pedro Arrupe (1907 Bilbao / Spain) was elected Fr. General on May 22nd 1965. He was the man who had to lead the Jesuits into a very turbulent period in the history of the Church. It is very difficult to summarize the richness of Arrupe's period (1965-1983) concerning Ignatian Spirituality[184]. Following his previous tradition, Arrupe confirmed the primacy of the Spiritual Exercises in the personal life of every Jesuit and in the life of the Society. He encouraged the «people who give» the Exercises to renew methodologies going back to more Ignatian ways of providing the Exercises. At the same time, he promoted the foundation of centers and institutes to study Ignatian Spirituality and the sources and history of the Society[185]. The fruit of all the efforts which had started years before the initiatives of Arrupe, was a quite long list of Jesuits fully dedicated to the study and promotion of Ignatian Spirituality and Jesuit History: Ignacio Casanovas, Joseph de Guibert, Pedro de Leturia, Dionisio Zapico,

[184] Almost everything about Pedro Arrupe, his time and circumstances in *Pedro Arrupe, General de la Compañía de Jesús. Nuevas aportaciones a su biografía* (La Bella, G., ed.), Mensajero-Sal Terrae, Bilbao-Santander 2007, 1077 pp. and 24 collaborators. German translation: *Pedro Arrupe Generalloberer der Jesuiten: Neue biographische Perspektiven* (Gianni La Bella and Martin Maier, eds.) 608 p. Herder 2008. English translation: *Pedro Arrupe Superior General of the Society of Jesus: New Contributions for his Biography* (Prologue by Father Adolfo Nicolás; trans. Michael Campbell-Johnston and others) Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand 2008, 362 pages and a CD containing 18 chapters of the original not in printed edition.

[185] Some of the Ignatian periodicals that appeared in this time: *The Way* (London 1962), *Diakonía* (Panamá 1967), *Boletín de Espiritualidad* (Buenos Aires 1968), *Progressio* (Rome 1968), *Studies in Spirituality of the Jesuits* (St. Louis, MO 1969), *CIS* (Rome 1970), *Appunti di Spiritualità* (Napoles 1972), *Ignis* (Mumbai 1972), *Cahiers de Spiritualité* (Quebec 1976).

José Calveras, Hugo Rahner, Cándido de Dalmases, George Ganss, Ignacio Iparraguirre, Maurizio Costa among many others.

He tried to adapt poverty and obedience to the new times but being faithful to the very first intuitions of Saint Ignatius, in search of the essential. Arrupe insisted on how necessary it is for a Jesuit to be rooted in a deep spiritual experience; his main letters and lectures to the Society have offered a renewed interpretation of Ignatian Spirituality[186]. Supported by the 31st and 32nd General Congregations (decree 4[187]) the Society pushed its institutions and Jesuits towards a deeper commitment with «Justice» and this new perspective had an important influence on spirituality: spirituality from the poor and for the poor.

15.2. Contemporary Ignatian Spirituality

a. Jesus Christ as «Principle and Foundation»

Time, culture and people are in permanent change; that is why spirituality has to remain alert to adapt its language and pastoral methods, when and where possible, to these new circumstances. Different circumstances but same God. He is the same as Ignatius discovered during his convalescence in Loyola, the same that the *Spiritual Exercises* offer to be known, loved and to be followed. God is the same that supported the Society in difficult times during the Suppression and the One who offered His grace to Jesuits who accepted martyrdom. After these Christocentric documents by Fr. Arrupe[188] and many others by Fr. Peter Hans Kolvenbach[189], the 34th General Congregation (1995) opened the spiritual

[186] Main documents of Fr. Arrupe on Ignatian Spirituality an Ignatian charisma are: «Apostolic mission, key to Ignatian charism» (1974), «Our way or proceeding» (1979), «Trinitarian inspiration of Ignatian Charisma» (1980) and «Rooted and founded in Charity» (1981). See recent edition of these documents: *Pedro Arrupe, carisma de Ignacio* (Mollá, D., ed.), Mensajero-Sal Terrae-U. P. Comillas (col. Manresa nº 55), Bilbao-Santander-Madrid 2015.

[187] Decree 4: «Defense of Faith and Promotion of Justice».

[188] See, for example, Arrupe's prayer: «Jesus Christ Our Model» in «Our way of Proceeding» (1979).

[189] P.-H. Kolvenbach, *Decir al Indecible. Estudios sobre los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio*, (Iglesias, I., ed.) Mensajero-Sal Terrae (col. Manresa nº 20), Bilbao-Santander 1999.

life of the Society of Jesus to new dimensions: Culture, Interreligious Dialogue, Ecumenism, Collaboration with lay people, Status of Women, Ecology[190]. These were new topics that invited Ignatian Spirituality to explore the world under the light, always new, of the Incarnation. Thirteen years after, the 35th General Congregation confirmed the Christocentric dimension of the heart of the Society, and so, the heart of the Ignatian Spirituality and the different ministries that flow from her. «Jesuits know who they are looking at Him»[191].

b. Culture - Dialogue - Justice

And where is the Ignatian Spirituality nowadays? If we revisit the main points of the last two General Congregations (34th - 1995, and 35th - 2008) we discover new topics that have opened new dimensions for Ignatian Spirituality. According to the rich missionary tradition, Ignatian Spirituality returns to *culture* as one of the main factors for a fruitful mission[192]. Once Spirituality is inside a culture, a process of dialogue begins. This Spirituality remains always in the dialogue, we could say, developing a «culture of dialogue»; it is a Spirituality of listening, opening to others, and being ready to start a conversation for a better world. Dialogue with other Christian Churches (GC 34, decree 12 «On Ecumenism») and dialogue with other religions (CG 34, decree 5 «Our Mission and Interreligious Dialogue») were incorporated as one of the missions' main goals in the Society. Culture and Dialogue offer the possibility to continue working for Justice, the third pillar that inspires and supports a spiritual experience from an Ignatian perspective today[193].

[190] Decrees 4, 5, 12, 13, 14 and 20.

[191] General Congregation 35, decree 2. The whole document is very Christocentric: the first conversion of Ignatius in Loyola (1522), La Storta experience (1537), the Deliberation of First Fathers (1539) or the mission of Francis Xavier in India (1542).

[192] See what we have already said about Mateo Ricci or Robert de Nobili; see also General Congregation 34th, decree 4 «Our Mission and Culture». Twenty years before, Fr. Arrupe had started to talk about «Inculturation» in his letter to the whole Society «On inculturation» (May 14th, 1978), *Acta Roma S.I.* XVII [1978] (1979) 256-263.

[193] GC 32nd, decree 4 and GC 34th decree 3 «Our Mission and Justice».

c. Reconciliation

The contemplation of the Incarnation offers us the possibility of contemplating «those on the face of the earth, so diverse in dress and behavior: some white and others black, some in peace and others at war» [*Sp Ex* 106]. The *Formula Instituti* (1550), expanding the «works of charity» that the previous *Formula* (1540) had only mentioned without any specification, included «reconcile the estranged» ('desavenidos'), encouraging the Jesuits to work as «peacemakers» among different people, families, villages or even countries. Recently Ignatian Spirituality has recovered this deep intuition from the first Jesuits[194], and has begun thinking and working intensely in this ministry of reconciliation. The 35th General Congregation in its decree number 3 wrote about «Reconciliation with God [19-24]», «Reconciliation with one another [25-30]» and «Reconciliation with Creation [31-36].

d. Ecology

It has become one of the most sensitive points in contemporary culture. A new relationship with nature started to emerge a few years ago in many different countries and in social and political groups. If we refer to the *Spiritual Exercises* we discover a few key elements which allow us to make a commitment to Ecology, deeply rooted in Ignatian tradition. We only have to explore what Ignatius says in the second and third points of «Contemplation to Attain Love», found in the first definition of Consolation (third rule of discernment of spirits [316])[195]. As a prophetic voice, the 34th General Congregation (document 20) had written a short «Recommendation to Fr. General: On Ecology» asking for a study regarding how Ignatian Spirituality can contribute to inspire different ministries in the universal Society of Jesus.

Thirteen years later, the 35th General Congregation (2008) referred to Ecology in decrees two and three helping the whole Society of Jesus in

[194] See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 168-171.

[195] See: paragraphs [235-236] «Contemplation to Attain Love» (how God dwells, labors and works in creatures) and [316[1]] the first definition of spiritual consolation. See: J. Aguilar, «Contemplation to attain love and ecology» and J. García de Castro, «Ecology and Consolation», both in «A Spirituality that Reconciles us with Creation», *Promotio Iustitiae* 111 (2013/2) 10-14 and 22-26.

becoming more sensitive and effective on ecological matters, «men and women to take responsibility for our home, the earth»[196]. The Congregation «urges all Jesuits and all partners engaged in the same mission, particularly universities and research centers, to promote studies and practices focusing on the causes of poverty and the question of the environment's improvement». Our relation to Creation has become a criterion to discern the authenticity of our spiritual experience: «to appreciate more deeply our covenant with creation as central to right relationships with God and one another»[197].

Based on this mystical fundament, Ignatian Spirituality is inspiring new missions and ministries[198].

[196] See: decree 2 [20-24] and decree 3 «Reconciliation with Creation» [31-36].

[197] GC 35, decree 3 [35-36].

[198] See the document: *Healing a Broken World*, *Promotio Iustitiae* 106 (2011/2), specially «Understanding our Jesuit Mission in the Context of Ecological Crisis» 29-41 and «Recommendations and Concrete Suggestions», 42-53. Recently: «Espiritualidad ignaciana y ecología. Ecos de la *Laudato si*» (Tatay, J., coord.) *Manresa* 87 (2015); *The Way*: «The Spirituality of Laudato Si», (October 2015).