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**THE GENERAL CONGREGATION
AS AN INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNANCE
IN THE SOCIETY OF JESUS**

by
© B. Jeffrey BLANGIARDI, S.J.

**A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Canon Law,
Saint Paul University, Ottawa, Canada, in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Canon Law**

**Ottawa, Canada
Saint Paul University
1997**



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DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF
ROSE IRENE BLANGIARDI
(1919-1990)

The General Congregation as an Instrument of Governance in the Society of Jesus

B. Jeffrey Blangiardi, S.J.

The general congregation is the supreme legislative authority in the Society of Jesus. However, unlike the general chapter associated with other religious communities, the Jesuit general congregation does not meet on a regular or periodic basis. In fact, in the history of the Society of Jesus, there have been relatively few general congregations; in just over 450 years, only 34 general congregations have been held. Although the general congregation functions as the supreme authority within the Order, the Society's founder—St. Ignatius Loyola—did not want or encourage frequent, periodic assemblies. But, has this peculiar arrangement or format been a help or a hindrance in the overall governance of the Society? In other words, the basic question is this: As an instrument of governance, with a seemingly inherent flaw, how effectively or successfully has the general congregation been able to govern the Society of Jesus, which is one of the largest Orders in the Church? And furthermore, has the general congregation throughout its history been adequately responsive to an ever-changing world, in both its secular and ecclesial dimensions? These are the main questions which this study addresses. Thus, the focus of this dissertation concerns the proper law of the Society of Jesus, specifically its *Constitutions*, Part VIII, which deals with the general congregation as an instrument of governance, and how it functions as the Order's supreme legislative authority. As a means for analyzing the basic question or problem, an historical methodology has been used throughout the study. Thus, the dissertation looks at specific examples of how various general congregations throughout the Society's history have functioned as the supreme authority and as an instrument of governance, and at how well these assemblies accomplished their intended purpose. By analyzing selected congregations, the dissertation offers an historical survey of the general congregation's accomplishments and shortcomings over time. As a result, this study presents a critical evaluation of the general congregation as an instrument of governance. The first chapter is entitled "St. Ignatius and the Early Years of the Society" and it focuses on a few key events that help shed light on the spiritual background and psychology of the man who founded the Society of Jesus and wrote its *Constitutions*. These events give an insight into Ignatius' fundamental belief-system and help establish his general philosophy of governance. The second chapter is entitled "The General Congregation According to the Constitutions"; it closely examines Part VIII of the *Constitutions* and, in particular, its six chapters which deal specifically with the general congregation. Thus, Chapter Two constitutes a thorough examination of the Society's proper law, updated to the most recent congregation, as it relates to the general congregation as an instrument of governance. The third chapter is entitled "The General Congregation and the Superior General"; it looks at certain aspects of the executive office in light of the superior general's significant role vis-à-vis the general congregation. Although the general congregation is the supreme legislative *body*, the Roman pontiff remains the "Supreme Legislator" of this pontifical Institute. Therefore, the fourth chapter, entitled "The General Congregation and the Papacy," examines the Society's special relationship with the Roman pontiff and the enormous influence of the papacy, especially with regard to papal interventions both preceding and during the general congregations. Finally, the fifth chapter is entitled "By Way of Conclusion....," and it concludes this study with certain observations on the general congregation's strengths and weaknesses as an instrument of governance.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The preparation of this dissertation involved the assistance of a great number of individuals. I wish to express my gratitude to the New England Province of the Society of Jesus, which made available the time and resources necessary for such a project, and especially to the Reverend William A. Barry, S.J., Provincial, for his encouragement and support. I also thank the members of the Upper Canada Province of the Society of Jesus, especially the Jesuit community in Ottawa, for their warm hospitality and assistance during my stay here.

I acknowledge my sincere appreciation to the Reverend John P. McIntyre, S.J., for his valuable assistance in directing this dissertation and for his guidance, patience, generosity, and friendship.

I also acknowledge the assistance of the Faculty of Canon Law and to its Dean, the Reverend Roch Pagé, and to his secretary, Ms. Cherry Heard. I remember with warmth and appreciation the former Dean, the Reverend Jean Thorn (d. 1996), who accepted me into the doctoral program.

Access to research material for a dissertation project is critical. Therefore, I extend my appreciation to the Chief Librarian of Saint Paul University, Mr. Larry L. Eshelman, and to the entire library staff. Gratitude is also expressed to the Reverend Joseph N. Tylenda, S.J., and to the library staff at the Woodstock Theological Center in Washington, D.C.; to the library of the Weston Jesuit School of Theology/Episcopal Divinity School (Cambridge, Massachusetts); to the library of the Graduate Theological Union (Berkeley, California); to the library of The Catholic University of America (Washington, D.C.); and to the library of the University of California at Berkeley, School of Law (Boalt Hall). I also wish to thank Fathers Hans Zwiefelhofer, S.J., James W. Sauvé, S.J., and Charles J. Jackson, S.J., of the Curia of the Society of Jesus in Rome, for their help in providing several requested documents.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAS</i>	<i>Acta Apostolicæ Sedis</i> , 1909—
<i>ActRSI</i>	<i>Acta Romana Societatis Iesu</i> , 1906, 1910—
<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i> , 1932—
<i>ArchRSJ</i>	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</i> , Romæ (central archives)
<i>ASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctæ Sedis</i> , 1865-1908
<i>Autobiography</i>	ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, <i>Sr. Ignatius' Own Story, As told to Luis González de Câmara, With a sampling of his letters</i> , trans. W.J. YOUNG, Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1980
<i>CG/GC</i>	<i>Congregatio Generale</i> /General Congregation
<i>CIC (1917)</i>	<i>Codex Iuris Canonici</i> , 1917
<i>CIC (1983)</i>	<i>Codex Iuris Canonici</i> , 1983
<i>CIC/83/fontes</i>	<i>Codex Iuris Canonici</i> , 1983, with <i>fontes</i>
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis</i> , Roma
<i>CLD</i>	<i>Canon Law Digest</i> , 1934-1969, 1975-1986, 1991—
<i>CLSA</i>	Canon Law Society of America, Washington, D.C.
<i>Code</i>	The 1983 <i>Code of Canon Law</i> , Latin-English edition, Washington, D.C. CLSA, 1983
<i>Collectio decret.</i>	<i>Collectio decretorum congregationum generalium Societatis Iesu</i> , 1923
<i>Cons.</i>	<i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus</i> , any edition
<i>Constitutiones</i>	S. IGNATIO DE LOYOLA, <i>Constitutiones Societatis Iesu, cum Declarationibus</i> , Romæ. Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1937

<i>Constitutions</i>	<i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, Translated, with an Introduction and Commentary</i> , ed. G.E. GANSS, St. Louis, IJS, 1970
<i>Epitome</i>	<i>Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu additis præcipuis præscriptis ex iure communi Regularium</i> , Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1924
<i>Epplgn</i>	<i>Sancti Ignatii de Loyola, Societatis Iesu fundatoris, Epistolæ et Instructiones</i> , 12 vols. in <i>MHSI</i> , eds. M. LECINA, V. AGUSTÍ, F. CERVÓS, and D. RESTREPO, Madrid, 1903-1911
<i>ES</i>	PAUL VI, Motu proprio, <i>Ecclesiæ sanctæ</i> , 6 August 1966
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fontes Documentales de S. Ignatio de Loyola: Documenta de S. Ignatii Familia et Patria, Iuventute, Primis Sociis</i> , col. et ed. C. DE DALMASÉS, Romæ, <i>IHSI</i> , 1977
<i>FN</i>	<i>Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis</i> , 4 vols. in <i>MHSI</i> , eds. D. FERNÁNDEZ ZAPICO, C. DE DALMASÉS, and P. DE LETURIA, Romæ, <i>IHSI</i> , 1943-1960
<i>Formula Instituti</i>	<i>Formula Instituti Societatis Iesu a Summis Pontificibus Paulo III et Iulio III approbatæ et confirmatæ</i> , 1540, 1550
<i>Formula/Notes</i>	A.M. DE ALDAMA, <i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: The Formula of the Institute, Notes for a Commentary</i> , trans. I. ECHÁNIZ, Rome, CIS, St. Louis, IJS, 1990
<i>IHSI</i>	<i>Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i> , Romæ
<i>IJS</i>	The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis
<i>InstSI</i>	<i>Institutum Societatis Iesu</i> , 3 vols., Florence, Ex Typographia a SS. Conceptione, 1892-1893; specifically vol. I: <i>Bullarium et Compendium Privilegiorum</i> , 1892
<i>MHSI</i>	<i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu</i> , 147 vols., Madrid, Romæ, 1894—
<i>MHSI Cons.</i>	<i>Constitutiones et Regulæ Societatis Iesu</i> , 4 vols. in <i>MHSI</i> (Series III); specifically vol. III: <i>Textus latinus</i> , ed. A. CODINA, Romæ, <i>IHSI</i> , 1938

ABBREVIATIONS

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<i>PC</i>	VATICAN COUNCIL II, Decree <i>Perfectæ caritatis</i>, 28 October 1965
<i>Ratio studiorum</i>	<i>Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu</i>, 1586, 1599
<i>SI/SJ</i>	<i>Societas Iesu</i>/Society of Jesus
<i>Studies</i>	<i>Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits</i>, 1969—
<i>WL</i>	<i>Woodstock Letters</i>, 1872-1969

INTRODUCTION

The general congregation is the supreme legislative authority in the Society of Jesus. Even the superior general of the Order is subject to its decrees. Indeed, only the pope's authority is higher than that of the general congregation.

However, unlike the general chapter associated with other religious communities, the Jesuit general congregation does not meet on a regular or periodic basis. In fact, in the history of the Society of Jesus, there have been relatively few general congregations. In just over 450 years, only 34 general congregations have been held. The last one, GC XXXIV, convened in 1995. Of these 34 congregations, the vast majority—26—were convoked primarily to elect either a new superior general (who serves a life term) or a vicar general. The remaining eight congregations convened principally to handle specific issues and other legislative matters, the most recent example of this type being GC XXXIV.

Although the general congregation functions as the supreme authority within the Order, the Society's founder—St. Ignatius Loyola—did not want or encourage frequent, periodic assemblies. As Father Ladislav Orsy points out, "St. Ignatius was eager to prevent his Society from prolonged introspection at the expense of its

apostolic activity."¹ But, has this peculiar arrangement or format been a help or a hindrance in the overall governance of the Society? In other words, the basic question (problem) is this: As an instrument of governance, with a seemingly inherent flaw, how effectively or successfully has the general congregation been able to govern the Society of Jesus, which is one of the largest Orders in the Church? And furthermore, has the general congregation throughout its history been adequately responsive to an ever-changing world, in both its secular and ecclesial dimensions? These are the main questions which this study will address. Thus, the focus of this dissertation concerns the proper law of the Society of Jesus, specifically the Ignatian *Constitutions*, Part VIII, which deals with the general congregation as an instrument of governance, and how it functions as the Order's supreme legislative authority.

As a means for analyzing the basic question or problem, an historical methodology has been used throughout the study. Thus, the dissertation looks at specific examples of how various general congregations throughout the Society's history have functioned as the supreme authority and as an instrument of governance, and at how well these assemblies accomplished their intended purpose. By analyzing selected congregations, the dissertation offers an historical survey of the general congregation's accomplishments and shortcomings over time. As a result, this study presents a critical evaluation of the general congregation as an instrument of governance.

¹L. Örsy, "Some Questions about the Purpose and Scope of the General Congregation," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 4, no. 3 (June, 1972), p. 87.

To understand or appreciate the overall purpose of the general congregation and how it functions as the supreme authority within the Jesuit Order, one must fully recognize its pivotal place within the spiritual context of the Ignatian *Constitutions*. For it is here within the *Constitutions* that we can plainly see that the general congregation acts as an integral part of St. Ignatius' worldview and apostolic vision. Therefore, in the first chapter, which is entitled "St. Ignatius and the Early Years of the Society," we focus on a few key events that help shed light on the spiritual background and psychology of the man who founded the Society of Jesus and who wrote its *Constitutions*. These events give us an insight into Ignatius' fundamental belief-system and help establish his general philosophy of governance, which is so clearly manifest in the *Constitutions*.

The second chapter of the dissertation is entitled "The General Congregation According to the *Constitutions*"; it is here that we examine closely Part VIII of the Ignatian *Constitutions* and, in particular, its six chapters which deal specifically with the general congregation. Thus, Chapter Two of this work constitutes a thorough examination of the Society's proper law, updated to the most recent congregation (GC XXXIV), as it relates to the general congregation as an instrument of governance.

In the third chapter, entitled "The General Congregation and the Superior General," we look at certain aspects of the executive office, in light of the superior general's significant role vis-à-vis the general congregation. The superior general has the right to convoke, preside over, and guide the general congregation; but like all other Jesuits, he is equally bound by its decisions (decrees). The role of the superior

general at the congregation represents an exercise of *executive* power only; when he acts alone, the superior general has no *legislative* authority. Thus, the general congregation itself remains the sole legislator and it clearly ranks above all superiors in the Order, including the superior general. Therefore, in Chapter Three, we will look at the constitutional role of the superior general in the Society of Jesus and, to a greater degree, at the lives of four particular Jesuits who served in that capacity: Claudio Aquaviva (1581-1615), Jan Roothaan (1829-1853), Włodimir Ledóchowski (1915-1942), and Pedro Arrupe (1965-1983). Their terms of office cover a 400-year span of Jesuit history. Each of these generals played a major role in shaping that history; and they did so according to their unique vision and in their own manner and style of governance. Furthermore, each of them made significant contributions to the Society's Institute and apostolates; and their lasting influence can be seen in the decrees of the *ten* general congregations which they presided over as superior general. Thus, in the third chapter, we will also look at the chief decrees of these particular ten general congregations.

Canonically, the Society of Jesus is an Order of "clerics regular" and a religious institute of pontifical right. Therefore, although the general congregation is the supreme legislative *body*, the Roman pontiff remains the "Supreme Legislator" (*Summus Legislator*)² of this pontifical Institute; thus, only the pope can interpret the

²Cf. "*Præfatio*" in *Codex iuris canonici auctoritate Ioannis Pauli PP. II promulgatus fontium annotatione et indice analytico-alphabetico auctus* (=CIC/83/*fontes*), Città del Vaticano, Libreria editrice Vaticana, 1989, p. xxv.

"Formula of the Institute" (which is tantamount to the Society's "Rule" and considered pontifical law), and any/all changes to this "Formula" must have his approval. In fact, it is even within the pope's purview, if he so chooses, to disallow any formal discussion of altering the "Formula"; and some popes have exercised this papal prerogative. Indeed, papal exhortations and allocutions to the Society have assumed greater significance ever since Pope Pius XII addressed the delegates of the 29th General Congregation in 1946. As Jesuit historian, Father John Padberg, points out, the papal allocution at the beginning of a general congregation has become increasingly important in setting that congregation's agenda.³ Therefore, in the fourth chapter, which is entitled "The General Congregation and the Papacy," we will examine the Society's special relationship with the Roman pontiff and the enormous influence of the papacy on the Society's Institute, and most especially, on papal allocutions and interventions both preceding and during the general congregations. Furthermore, we shall also look at some of the past disputes between the papacy and the Society of Jesus. Most especially, we will consider how these conflicts were finally settled, including the reaction and response of the various general congregations that had to deal with these disruptive issues.

Finally, in the fifth chapter, entitled "By Way of Conclusion....," we are able to conclude this study with certain observations on the general congregation's

³J.W. Padberg, M.D. O'Keefe, and J.L. McCarthy, eds., *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations, A Brief History and A Translation of the Decrees*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994, pp. 55-56.

strengths and weaknesses as an instrument of governance. Therefore, the final evaluation will also address the two main questions which have been the primary focus of this examination: How well has the general congregation performed throughout the centuries, as an instrument of governance; and does it truly achieve its intended purpose as envisioned by St. Ignatius?

CHAPTER ONE

ST. IGNATIUS AND THE EARLY YEARS OF THE SOCIETY

The Society of Jesus was officially approved by Pope Paul III (1534-1549) in his bull, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, of September 27, 1540.¹ A group of ten "companions," men of diverse backgrounds who had come to Rome just three years earlier, petitioned the Holy See for papal approbation. Among these was Ignatius of Loyola, a Basque nobleman and spiritual leader of the group, who is rightly recognized as the founder of the Society. After his election in 1541, as the first superior general of the new Order, Ignatius continued to govern the Society until his death on July 31, 1556.² By the time Ignatius died, the Society had grown enormously, from the initial ten to approximately one thousand members.³ Following a relatively swift process for canonization, taking less than one hundred years, Pope

¹Paul III, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, 27 September 1540, in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, 3 vols., Florentiae, Ex Typographia a SS. Conceptione, 1892-1893, vol. I: *Bullarium et Compendium Privilegiorum*, pp. 3-7; and in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (=MHSI), Series III: *Constitutiones et Regulæ Societatis Iesu* (=Cons.), 4 vols., vol. I: *Monumenta Constitutionum prævia*, ed. A. Codina, Romæ, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (=IHSI), 1934, pp. 24-32.

²J.W. O'Malley, "The Society of Jesus," in *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation*, ed. R.L. DeMolen, New York, Fordham University Press, 1994, p. 139.

³W.V. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, rev. ed., St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986, p. 25.

Gregory XV (1621-1623) proclaimed Ignatius of Loyola a saint on March 12, 1622.⁴

St. Ignatius was born, most probably in 1491,⁵ and was given the name Iñigo López de Oñaz y Loyola. Loyola was the name of the family estate and manor house situated near the town of Azpeitia in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa.⁶ Ignatius was baptized in the parish church of San Sebastián and, along with his family, was a practicing Catholic, as were most Basques. However, it can also be said that, from 1491 to 1521, the young man showed no signs of excessive spirituality.⁷ Father Thomas Clancy, S.J. describes him as "a run-of-the-mill Catholic who gave no sign of spiritual promise."⁸ At about the age of 15 or 16, probably in 1506, Ignatius was sent by his father (to Arévalo) to live in the house of Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, treasurer of the royal court of Ferdinand and Isabella, where he was to be trained as a Spanish nobleman and courtier. He remained there for ten or eleven years until the death of his patron in 1517. Ignatius then went to Pamplona, in Navarre, where he joined his relative, the Duke of Nájera, who was the local commander of royal troops. At this

⁴G.E. Ganss, ed., *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*, The Classics of Western Spirituality, New York/Mahwah (New Jersey), Paulist Press, 1991, p. 49.

⁵The exact date is unknown because of the destruction of church and family records.

⁶C. de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work*, trans. J. Aixalá, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985, pp. 3-5.

⁷Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 15.

⁸T.H. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life: The Constitutions and History through 435 Years*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1976, p. 27.

point, at the age of twenty-six, Ignatius became part of the duke's command and took part in military expeditions when the need arose.⁹

In his autobiography, Ignatius summarizes this period of his life, from birth to Pamplona, by stating that until his twenty-sixth year he was "a man given over to the vanities of the world, and took a special delight in the exercise of arms, with a great and vain desire of winning glory."¹⁰ Ignatius' vainglorious lifestyle, however, came to a sudden halt when he was injured in battle. In May of 1521¹¹ the French army attacked Pamplona, and a cannonball shattered his right leg. With no place else to go, Ignatius returned to his family's home at Loyola where he began the long, painful process of recuperation, which included at least two operations to mend the broken leg. It was this event and its aftermath that would change Ignatius' life forever. As Father Bangert so accurately points out, "the protracted period of convalescence did more than restore damaged health. It transformed his mind and heart."¹²

Thus, over the next eight months, from June, 1521 to February, 1522, Ignatius underwent a deep spiritual awakening until the process of conversion was complete.

⁹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰St. Ignatius of Loyola, *St. Ignatius' Own Story, As told to Luis González de Câmara, With a sampling of his letters (=Autobiography)*, trans. W.J. Young, Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1980, p. 7.

¹¹The exact date of the battle, and/or injury, is disputed; Ganss (*Ibid.*, p. 17) gives the date as May 17, but Bangert (*Ibid.*, p. 5) and Clancy (*Ibid.*, p.27) give May 20 as the date.

¹²Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 5.

During this time, he read constantly, prayed, and kept spiritual notes.¹³ It is, perhaps, important to indicate some of the actual reading material that obviously influenced his conversion and profoundly shaped his thoughts and ideas in the crucial years that followed. Perhaps the most significant book read by Ignatius was a life of Christ, *Vita Jesu Christi*, written by the German Carthusian monk Ludolph of Saxony (d. 1377).¹⁴ This book, like others at the time, presented meditations on events in the life of Christ. However, Ludolph's book was different in that it contained the *whole* mystery of Jesus Christ, revealing God's plan of salvation in historical sequence. This is significant because, as Father Ganss points out in his commentary, "This succession of ideas in Ludolph's chosen topics is so important for studying the steps by which Ignatius formed his own spirituality. [Furthermore,] this sequence contained in Ludolph's *Vita* became the nucleus of Ignatius' thought, which at Manresa he would soon express in his *[Spiritual] Exercises*."¹⁵

Another significant book read by Ignatius during his period of convalescence was *The Golden Legend (Legenda aurea)*.¹⁶ a book containing the lives of the saints

¹³Ignatius of Loyola. *Autobiography*. p. 11.

¹⁴It was written sometime between 1360 and 1377, in manuscript form. The first printed edition, in Latin, was available in 1472. Ignatius read a Spanish translation of this work (by the Franciscan Ambrosio de Montesinos) that was published at Toledo in 1502-1503. Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 19.

¹⁵Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁶All editions printed before 1500 were in Latin. Ignatius used a Spanish version, probably the one translated by Fray Gauberto Vagad (published at Saragossa at an unknown date) and reprinted at Toledo in 1511 with a Latin title, *Flos sanctorum*. J. de Guibert, *La spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus: Esquisse*

written by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (or Jacopo da Varazze, d. 1298).¹⁷ This book contained a prologue by the Cistercian monk Gauberto Vagad in which he described the saints as "knights of God" whose good deeds were done in the service of Christ, the "eternal prince." This idea of doing chivalrous service for Christ made a lasting impression on Ignatius. Indeed, after reading this book, Ignatius fixed his concentration on one central idea, summarized by Father Pedro de Leturia, S.J., as follows: Christ is King; the saints are His knights; and the human soul is a battleground for a momentous conflict between God and Satan.¹⁸ Father Ganss, likewise, comments on these "new" thoughts of Ignatius: "They contain a fundamental idea which was to dominate the rest of his life: to give an outstanding service to Christ, following the banner of this King who has the saints as his knights."¹⁹ It should also be mentioned that in reading the lives of the saints, Ignatius was profoundly impressed by two of them in particular, St. Dominic and St. Francis

historique, Romæ, IHSI, 1953; English trans. W.J. Young, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice, A Historical Study*, Chicago, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1964; reprint, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994, pp. 24-25, including footnote no. 9. Cf. Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 16.

¹⁷de Guibert, *The Jesuits*, p. 25. Cf. J. Lacouture, *Jésuites: Une Multibiographie*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1991 and 1992; English trans. J. Leggatt, *Jesuits: A Multibiography*, Washington, D.C., Counterpoint, 1995, p. 12.

¹⁸Pedro de Leturia, *Iñigo de Loyola*, Syracuse, 1949; reprint, Chicago, 1965, pp. 95-98.

¹⁹Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 16.

of Assisi.²⁰

Thus, by the time his body had healed, the spirit of Ignatius had been reborn and his mind reoriented. His new aim in life was to cooperate intimately with Christ in His divine plan of salvation. From now on, he would desire nothing more than to order all things toward the greater glory of God (*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*). It is with this conviction that Ignatius left Loyola in late-February 1522, to begin his new life of total dedication. And, as one of his early goals, Ignatius resolved to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. After leaving Loyola and after three weeks of travel, his first stop was the famous shrine of the Black Virgin and Benedictine abbey of Montserrat. After a careful examination of conscience, lasting three days, Ignatius made a general confession to one of the monks and then proceeded on his journey, now under Mary's protection.²¹

It is not my intention to recount, in detail, all of the events that transpired during this period of Ignatius' life. Since these events are well-known, they are already well-documented in various scholarly biographies and histories. I can add little to this vast body of knowledge. I do wish, however, to focus on two more events, besides his conversion, that help shed light on the spiritual background and psychology of the man who would later found the Society of Jesus and write its

²⁰Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, pp. 9-10. Ignatius would later imitate Francis by his pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and he would imitate Dominic by his years of study in Spain and Paris. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 12. Cf. de Guibert, *The Jesuits*, p. 25.

²¹Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 26.

Constitutions. These events give us an insight into Ignatius' fundamental belief-system and help establish his philosophy of governance which is so clearly manifest in the *Constitutions*. Therefore, the focus of this study remains the constitutions of the Society of Jesus, and in particular, the general congregation, as an instrument of governance.

Accordingly, another significant event in the life of Ignatius occurred at Manresa, a small town about twelve miles from Montserrat. He arrived there on March 25, 1522. Ignatius had decided to stop there for a brief rest and to make some notations, planning only to stay for just a few days, before moving on to Barcelona and thence to Venice, where he intended to board ship for Palestine. The decision to stop at Manresa was, as Father Bangert describes, "a decision fecund with the most penetrating and transforming of spiritual experiences."²² The intended brief stay of only a few days became a sojourn lasting almost a full year. During most of this time Ignatius lived with the Dominicans, who had provided him with a small cell in the priory, but sometimes he sought the quiet isolation of a cave in the nearby hills.²³ His lifestyle could best be described as "eremitical,"²⁴ and the physical conditions to which he subjected his body were severe.

Thus, Manresa gave Ignatius the opportunity to rival the great saints in his

²²Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 7.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 27.

complete rejection of worldly ways.²⁵ More importantly, his new body of ideas, formulated at Loyola, was now to be widely expanded and deepened. This sojourn at Manresa, in the words of Father Ganss, "was to have immense importance for the formation of the major principles of his spirituality, for their formulation in writing, and for the orientation of all his future work."²⁶ Indeed, it was at Manresa that the *Spiritual Exercises* began to take form. For it was while he was at Manresa that Ignatius received the spiritual gift of infused contemplation. And, at the same time, he also received many mystical illuminations and began writing the notes which would eventually become the *Spiritual Exercises*.²⁷ This small book, which has become a classic in the history of Christian spirituality, is basically a manual for retreat directors. It contains a series of practical instructions on methods of prayer and the examination of conscience, as well as a variety of meditations and contemplations, all of which aim at helping the person on retreat to discover God's will. Although it was not published until 1548²⁸, the main ideas were clearly established and written in his

²⁵Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 7.

²⁶Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 27.

²⁷*Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis* (=FN), 4 vols., eds. D. Fernández Zapico, C. de Dalmasés, and P. de Leturia, in *MHSI*, Series IV, revised, Romæ, IHSI, 1943-1960, vol. I: 1523-1556, *Narrationes scriptæ ante annum 1557*, p. 29; and in de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 57.

²⁸The *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius were officially approved by Pope Paul III in his brief, *Pastoralis officii*, of July 31, 1548; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I: *Bullarium et Compendium Privilegiorum*, p. 13. Cf. A. Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules of the Society of Jesus*, trans. M. Germing, St. Louis, Missouri Province Educational Institute, 1948, p. 28.

notes by the time Ignatius left Manresa in late-February 1523.²⁹

It is noteworthy that a second important event in the life of Ignatius also occurred at Manresa. Ignatius once revealed to his secretary, Luis González de Càmara, that "it was at Manresa" that he first became acquainted with the spiritual classic, *The Imitation of Christ*.³⁰ Ignatius treasured this book highly and recommended it to all those with whom he dealt on a spiritual level. He told de Càmara that he read a chapter or two every day, and never did he wish to read any other book of spiritual devotion.³¹ This small book, perhaps more than any other apart from Scripture, deeply influenced Ignatius for the rest of his life.³²

The Imitation of Christ, a masterpiece of devotion, belongs to the Catholic spiritual revival of the late 15th and early 16th centuries that was commonly known throughout Europe as the *Devotio Moderna*. Ignatius came in contact with this particular school of spirituality mainly through reading; however, it was clearly the predominant spiritual influence on him. Indeed, it is no small coincidence that Montserrat was one of the leading centers of this school of spiritual thought.³³

²⁹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 8-9, 11.

³⁰Ignatius referred to this book as the "Gersonçito" (or "little Gerson") because, in his day, it was widely attributed to Jean Gerson. Today, however, most scholars identify Thomas à Kempis as the author or compiler of this work.

³¹de Guibert, *The Jesuits*, pp. 155-157; and in *FN*, vol. II: 1557-1574, pp. 584, 659.

³²Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 28.

³³Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 28.

Although this spiritual movement was relatively short-lived, it had a great influence on Ignatius, Erasmus, and others. Father Ricardo García Villoslada, S.J. sums up the key characteristics of the *Devotio Moderna* as follows: Christocentrism; affectivity; moralism; asceticism; and interiority (subjectivism).³⁴ Ignatius obviously benefited from the teachings of the *Devotio Moderna*, and, with some modifications, he made these teachings his own.³⁵

After completing his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Ignatius returned to Barcelona in 1524. He realized more than ever the need for a strong academic foundation if he were to fulfill effectively the mission of aiding souls. Thus, over the next eleven years (1524-1535), Ignatius pursued various academic disciplines, mainly in the arts, while living in several different cities throughout Spain and France: two years in Barcelona, a year in Alcalá, a year in Salamanca, and seven years in Paris. During all of this time he often engaged in spiritual conversations, attracted friends and followers, and "gave meditations or spiritual exercises, in which he had special ability and efficacy, and the gift of discernment of spirits, and of helping and directing other souls."³⁶

Ignatius arrived at Paris in 1528. He thought that by going there he could

³⁴R. García Villoslada, "Rasgos característicos de la devotio moderna," in *Manresa*, 28 (1956), pp. 315-350; and in P. de Leturia, *Estudios ignacianos*, 2 vols., ed. I. Iparraguirre Aldonondo, Romæ, IHSI, 1957, vol. II: *Estudios espirituales*, ch. 24.

³⁵Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 29-30.

³⁶*FN*, vol. I, p.84. English trans. G.E. Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 35.

better concentrate on his studies because his ignorance of French would obviously inhibit any excessive involvement in apostolic work.³⁷ During his time in Paris, however, the genesis of the Society of Jesus starts to take shape; here, as if by destiny, Ignatius would meet his earliest companions. Or, as Father Clancy suggests, "he finally discovered in Paris the kind of companions who responded fully to his Spiritual Exercises."³⁸

After spending his first year at the Collège de Montaigu, Ignatius transferred to the Collège Sainte-Barbe in 1529. During his stay at Sainte-Barbe he began to refer to himself as "Ignacio," in addition to Iñigo,³⁹ because he mistakenly thought that the name Ignacio was simply a variant of Iñigo,⁴⁰ which it is not.⁴¹ And while he was at Sainte-Barbe Ignatius encountered "his first permanent recruits," Pierre Favre and

³⁷Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 35.

³⁸Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 37.

³⁹The use of both names continued until 1545; the form "Iñigo" was predominant in his letters and familiar conversation, while "Ignacio" (or the Latin form "Ignatius") frequently appeared in official documents. After 1545, however, Ignacio or Ignatius were the forms most commonly used. H. Rahner, *Ignatius von Loyola als Mensch und Theologe*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Verlag Herder KG, 1964, pp. 31-42.

⁴⁰G.M. Verd, "De Iñigo a Ignacio: El cambio de nombre en San Ignacio de Loyola," in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (=AHSI), 60 (1991), pp. 113-160.

⁴¹The Basque name "Iñigo" is derived from "Enneco," an indigenous name of pre-Roman Spain; therefore, it is not related in any way with the Latin name Ignatius or its Spanish form Ignacio. *Fontes Documentales de S. Ignatio de Loyola: Documenta de S. Ignatii Familia et Patria, Iuventute, Primis Sociis* (=FD), collegit et edidit C. de Dalmasés, Romæ, IHSI, 1977, vol. I, p. 395.

Francisco de Jassu y Javier (=Francis Xavier).⁴² As a boarder at the college, Ignatius shared a room with these two other students who were fifteen years younger than he: at the time, they were both twenty-three and Ignatius was thirty-eight. Pierre Favre came from the Alpine village of Villaret in the French province of Savoy, and Francis Xavier, a Basque nobleman like Ignatius, came from the province of Navarre.⁴³ Among the three roommates, a close, personal friendship soon emerged, despite the difference in age. However, it would take almost five more years before Favre and Xavier seriously considered joining Ignatius in his commitment and way of living. Meanwhile, they continued on with their studies and, in 1533, Ignatius received his first degree, the Licentiate in Arts.⁴⁴

In that same year, 1533, a chance meeting took place on the streets of Paris when Ignatius encountered two young Spaniards, Diego Laínez (or Laynez) and Alfonso Salmerón, who had recently come to Paris to pursue their own studies. As a result of this meeting, the three companions now became five in number. And a short time later, early in 1534, two other students joined the group: a Portuguese, Simão Rodrigues, and another Spaniard, Nicolás de Bobadilla.⁴⁵ Thus, the group of friends now numbered seven in all, including Ignatius. The seven attended Mass together

⁴²J.W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London, Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 29.

⁴³Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 15.

⁴⁴This was followed by the Master of Arts which he received two years later. Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 36.

⁴⁵O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 30-31.

every Sunday at the Carthusian monastery and eventually became a real community, sharing meals and material possessions.⁴⁶ These six young men and Ignatius had now formed a unique group which Ignatius called "friends in the Lord."⁴⁷

Throughout that pivotal year of 1534, Ignatius directed all of them, one-by-one, in the Spiritual Exercises. As a result of this experience, their lives took a radical turn. They were now moving in an entirely new direction, and nothing would ever be the same as it was before. Commenting on the experience of the Exercises and its aftermath, Laínez noted that "through prayer" all six of them "had resolved to serve our Lord, leaving behind all worldly things."⁴⁸ Furthermore, at Paris, all six committed themselves to Ignatius' ideal of apostolic action and promised to remain faithful to the end.⁴⁹

It was no surprise, then, that the group would decide to bind themselves formally, by vow, to this particular plan of action and to seal their common fellowship. Thus, in order to "make more secure the bond of unity among themselves and to strengthen their determination,"⁵⁰ they reached an agreement, after prayerful

⁴⁶Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 37.

⁴⁷Ignatius of Loyola, *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola, Societatis Iesu fundatoris, Epistolæ et Instructiones (=Epplgn)*, eds. M. Lecina, V. Agustí, F. Cervós, and D. Restrepo, 12 vols., in *MHSI*, Series I, Madrid, Typis Gabrielis Lopez del Horno, 1903-1911, vol. I, p. 119.

⁴⁸Diego Laínez, *FN*, vol. I, p. 100.

⁴⁹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 15.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 16.

deliberations, to pronounce three vows: poverty, chastity, and to go to the Holy Land to work among the Moslems.⁵¹ They further agreed that if the trip to Jerusalem could not be carried out, they would, instead, go to Rome and offer their services to the pope. This special devotion to the pope was no small matter, and its significance would, indeed, become apparent later on. And so it was, that on August 15, 1534, the feast of the Assumption of Mary, these seven "friends in the Lord" pronounced their vows in a small chapel on Montmartre, Paris.⁵²

When these first vows took place, Pierre Favre was the only one who was a priest, having just been ordained on May 30, 1534.⁵³ However, it was clear that, by now, the other six had already decided to do the same. Nevertheless, despite their decision to seek orders and to take vows, the group had no firm intention of founding a new religious order;⁵⁴ except, perhaps, for Ignatius, who later revealed in a letter to his brother that the idea for a new order began to take hold of him at approximately this time.⁵⁵

Ignatius trained his companions to give the Spiritual Exercises, and, in his own

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 37; cf. de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 120.

⁵³W.V. Bangert, *Claude Jay and Alfonso Salmerón: Two Early Jesuits*, Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1985, p. 8; cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 15.

⁵⁴O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 32.

⁵⁵*EppIgn.*, vol. I, pp. 148-151.

estimation, Pierre Favre was unequalled among them in this skill.⁵⁶ So talented was Favre, that he was principally responsible for recruiting three new members to the group; and, like himself, all were students from France: Claude Jay (or Le Jay), from Savoy; Paschase Broët, from Picardy; and Jean Codure, from Provence.⁵⁷ And, like Favre, Jay and Broët were already ordained priests. Ignatius, who was now living in Venice, welcomed these new members and received them in January 1537.⁵⁸ Thus, the group now numbered ten; and it is this group of men who are officially recognized as the founding members of the Society of Jesus, and who are referred to as the "*primi Patres*" (First Fathers). And so, it is only these ten companions who are mentioned in the bull of papal approbation, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*.⁵⁹

By January 1537, the ten had all completed their studies and had gathered in Venice, the point of embarkation for Jerusalem. They could not depart for the Holy Land, however, until all were ordained, and that event would happen in the spring. On June 24, 1537, the feast of St. John the Baptist, the remaining seven who were not yet clerics were ordained in Venice: Ignatius, Xavier, Laínez, Codure, Rodrigues, and Bobadilla were ordained priests, while Salmerón, who was only twenty-one, was

⁵⁶Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 17.

⁵⁷O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 32.

⁵⁸P. de Leturia, *Estudios ignacianos*, ed. I. Iparraguirre, 2 vols., Romæ, IHSI, 1957, vol. II: *Estudios espirituales*, pp. 23-24; and in Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 122.

⁵⁹O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 36; Paul III, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, in MHSI, Series III, vol. I, p. 25.

ordained a deacon.⁶⁰ In Venice they worked with the sick and the poor and, travelling in groups of two or three, engaged in various apostolic activities in the surrounding towns of Vicenza, Verona, Bassano, Monselice, and Treviso.⁶¹ They did all this while awaiting word that safe passage to Jerusalem was possible. Unfortunately, the political situation with the Turks precluded any chance of making a voyage that year. Thus, as winter approached and their agreed-upon year of waiting had ended, they determined that it was God's will that they go to Rome and offer themselves to Paul III, to be employed in whatever apostolic labors he saw fit.⁶²

It was at this time that they felt a need to identify themselves by name, just in case someone were to ask about their group identity. They decided to call themselves the *Compañía de Jesús* (or, in Italian, *Compagnia di Gesù*).⁶³ They chose this name because they had dedicated their lives to Jesus, and they had no other superior but him.⁶⁴ Father Juan de Polanco, who later became secretary of the Society (in 1547), offered this explanation: "It is not called the Society of Jesus as if ours pretended to

⁶⁰Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 41. Salmerón's priestly ordination took place the following October, when he reached the age of 22. Ibid., p. 374 (footnote no. 44).

⁶¹O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 33.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁶³The title officially approved by Paul III, in *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* (1540), and confirmed in later papal documents, is "*Societas Iesu*."

⁶⁴*FN*, vol. I, p. 204; and *FN*, vol. II, pp. 595-596; and in G. Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver, sein Leben und seine Zeit*, 4 vols. in 8, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1955-1973; English trans. M.J. Costelloe, *Francis Xavier, His Life and Times*, Romæ, IHSI, 1973, vol. I, p. 370.

be the special companions of Jesus, but the word [*Compañía*] is taken in a military sense as a regiment of one under whom they do service."⁶⁵ Father O'Malley, however, gives the following commentary regarding the unusual word *compagnia*:

The Italian word *compagnia* in such a context meant nothing more than an association and was in widespread use in Italy at the time to designate various kinds of religious confraternities or brotherhoods. Its Latin equivalent was *societas* — thus, "Society of Jesus." It was chosen as perhaps not much more than a term of convenience, for they surely were not ready to designate themselves members of a religious order.⁶⁶

Nonetheless, Ignatius was quite content with this new name. In fact, he was later convinced that God had indeed confirmed this choice of title through one of his many mystical experiences.⁶⁷ On his way into Rome, just on the outskirts of the city, Ignatius had stopped to pray at a small chapel in the hamlet of La Storta. There, in November of 1537, he had a vision of Jesus carrying the cross, with God the Father at his side. He then heard Jesus say, "I wish you to be my servant," to which the

⁶⁵J. de Polanco, *Vita Ignatii Loyolæ et rerum Societatis Jesu historia*, in *Chronicon Societatis Iesu, auctore Joanne Alphonso de Polanco, S.J. (=PolChron)*, eds. J.M. Velez and V. Agustí, 6 vols., Madrid, 1894-1898, vol. I, p. 74; English trans. M.P. Harney, *The Jesuits in History: The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries*, New York, The America Press, 1941, p. 110, footnote no. 22.

⁶⁶O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 34. For a more extensive commentary on this title, see G.E. Ganss, ed. and trans., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, Translated, with an Introduction and Commentary (=Constitutions)*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970, pp. 345-349.

⁶⁷*FN*, vol. I, p. 313 (footnote no. 37); and *FN*, vol. II, pp. 132-135; also in Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 40-42; in Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 19; and in Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 346-347.

Father added, "I will be propitious to you in Rome."⁶⁸ For Ignatius, this particular experience proved to be as important as his other experience at Manresa. Father Ganss analyzes this crucial event as follows:

Ignatius' vision at La Storta had a profound and confirming effect on the foundation of the Society and the shape it took. He perceived himself intimately united to Jesus, and he wanted to found a society totally dedicated to him, bearing his name, and carrying on his work.⁶⁹

Thus, the name selected by the companions, Society of Jesus, was inextricably connected with their divine mission, all of which was confirmed at La Storta.

By the spring of 1538 all of the companions had finally made their way to Rome. During a papal audience in November of that year, they offered their services to Paul III, as they had vowed to do at Montmartre. The Pope wanted them to stay in Rome and gave them various apostolic works to do within the city. They worked primarily with the poor, in hospitals, preaching, teaching catechetics, and administering the sacraments.⁷⁰ The winter of 1538-1539 was especially harsh in Rome; and during this time they focused their thoughts and prayers on the future, and specifically on whether to form a more permanent union. They considered whether they should dissolve their community, stay together as is, or whether to found a new religious institute. As they thought about binding themselves together as an order, they were fearful that they might be compelled to live under some ancient rule that

⁶⁸Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 19; and in O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 34.

⁶⁹Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 41-42.

⁷⁰Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 45-46.

would severely restrict their particular vision of apostolic service. But they also realized that unless they were more firmly organized, their effectiveness would ultimately weaken and that their vision, no matter how charismatic, would probably die along with them. Furthermore, if they really wanted a stronger union, they would need a superior; so they considered whether or not they should add a vow of obedience to their present vows of poverty and chastity.⁷¹

The ten companions decided, therefore, to spend the forty days of Lent 1539, deliberating the options for their way of life. They met every evening, after a full day's work, and considered each matter, point by point. They weighed all of the reasons for and against the possibilities.⁷² Their careful deliberations applied all of the directives for an election as outlined in the *Spiritual Exercises*.⁷³ It soon became clear, however, that they would need more than forty days to complete this discernment. And so, for three additional months — from mid-March to June 24, 1539 — they continued to discuss the pros and cons of the numerous questions and issues that lay before them.⁷⁴ This event and what transpired over the course of nearly five months, is commonly referred to as the "Deliberation of the First Fathers"

⁷¹G.E. Ganss, "St. Ignatius' Personal Charism and Its Institutionalization in His Constitutions," in *Dossier "Constitutions" A*, Documentum IV, Roma, Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis (=CIS), 1972, p. 133.

⁷²Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 47.

⁷³Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 44-45.

⁷⁴A. Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus*, trans. M. Daly, J. Daly, and C. Daly, San Francisco, Ignatius Press, 1987, p. 216.

(*Deliberatio primorum Patrum*). Since these deliberations represent a classic model of communal discernment, they have been discussed and analyzed by numerous authors.⁷⁵

To the major questions at hand, namely: did they want to remain united in a single body and should they seal their union with a vow of obedience, they reached a unanimous decision in the affirmative.⁷⁶ On April 15, 1539, the *primi Patres* decided to take a vow of obedience to one of their own and to establish a new religious institute. The name of the institute had been decided already: *Compañía de Jesús*, the Society of Jesus. Although there was some later criticism of, and even opposition to, this title by some church officials, the *primi Patres* saw no presumption in it; they merely wished to express their firm desire to serve Jesus Christ and His Church.⁷⁷

The *Deliberatio primorum Patrum* reveals the process by which the *primi Patres* reached their unanimous affirmative decision to take the vow of obedience. This document provides an accurate record of the considerations and discussions which

⁷⁵*Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, published by The Institute of Jesuit Sources (St. Louis), has devoted four issues to this topic; for further reading see: J.C. Futrell, "Ignatian Discernment" (vol. 2, no. 2, April, 1970); J.J. Toner, "A Method for Communal Discernment of God's Will" (vol. 3, no. 4, September, 1971); L. Örsy, "Toward a Theological Evaluation of Communal Discernment" (vol. 5, no. 5, October, 1973); and J.J. Toner, "The Deliberation That Started the Jesuits" (vol. 6, no. 4, June, 1974). The last work is a translation and commentary. The original Latin text of the *Deliberatio* is found in *MHSI Cons.*, vol. 1, pp. 1-7. Another English translation is by D. Maruca, "The Deliberation of Our First Fathers," in *Woodstock Letters*, 95, no. 3 (Summer, 1966), pp. 325-333.

⁷⁶J.C. Futrell, *Making an Apostolic Community of Love*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970, pp. 187-194.

⁷⁷K. Rahner and P. Imhof, *Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. R. Ockenden, London and Glasgow, Collins, 1978, p. 59.

led to the founding of an order. It tells how Ignatius and his companions first resolved to preserve their nascent community, through the vow of obedience, but then went further and decided to form a new religious institute. In his commentary, Father Robert Doherty, S.J. calls these critical sessions of 1539 "a marvelous exercise in real group dynamics."⁷⁸ Thus, the *Deliberatio* enables us to study, first hand, the original method of achieving a consensus: how each companion had his opportunity to speak, and how they listened to one another respectfully; as a result, they welcomed and received all arguments in good faith and weighed each one carefully. Through these deliberations, the *primi Patres* overcame their petty differences with "spiritual solidarity" characterized by "freedom of spirit, breadth of vision, personal integrity, mutual respect and openness to others, and astounding unity amid diversity of temperament and views."⁷⁹ All of this remains very significant because it establishes the foundation and framework for all subsequent negotiations and decisions, including those concerning the actual *Constitutions* and the Society's system of governance.

The decision to found a new religious institute made it necessary to work out further internal structures and constitutions. Thus, the process of institutionalizing the Jesuit charism began. Throughout May and June of 1539 the *primi Patres* continued their discussions and compiled the further results of their deliberations into a document

⁷⁸R.G. Doherty, *Notes for a Study of the Jesuit Institute (=Notes for a Study)*, Shadowbrook/Lenox (Massachusetts), By the Author, 1968, p. i.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

known as *The Determinations of the Society (Determinaciones Societatis)*.⁸⁰ This brief document, consisting of only eleven "chapters" (sections), was, in effect, the working model for the later *Constitutions*. As Father André Ravier, S.J. remarks in his commentary:

These first "constitutions" were of major importance in understanding the later development of the order. Already we see in them that which will mark the spirit of the future texts: the *mens Societatis*; the obedience to the Pope and to the Superior General, the importance of missions, the teaching of Christian doctrine, ... the principle of deliberating to arrive at communal decisions, ... — we find all these things in the early constitutions — the Society's first clear and significant expression of a certain controlling spirit.⁸¹

Thus, this preliminary document, the *Determinations*, successfully captured the Jesuit charism and helped lay the foundation for all subsequent documents, including the *Constitutions*.

It was now time to give juridical structure to the group, and to do this, the companions composed a summary of the institute for presentation to the Pope. By the end of June 1539, the first draft of statutes for the new order was assembled in a new document entitled, *First Sketch of the Institute of the Society of Jesus (Prima Societatis Jesu Instituti Summa)*.⁸² This was another brief document, consisting of only five

⁸⁰MHSI, Series III: *Constitutiones (=MHSI Cons.)*, vol. I, pp. 9-14; in Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 217; and in Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 48.

⁸¹Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 218.

⁸²The original Latin text is found in *MHSI Cons.*, vol. I, pp. 14-21; English trans. by J.F. O'Callaghan in *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola, with Related Documents*, ed. J.C. Olin, New York and London, Torchbooks, Harper & Row, 1974, pp. 106-109; another translation is in Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 51-54.

sections in seven pages; hence, it is frequently referred to as the *Five Chapters* (*Quinque capitula*).⁸³ The Ignatian ideals permeated this concise document; or, as Father Ganss comments, "the 'First Sketch' unmistakably reflects the personal outlook on spiritual and apostolic life which Ignatius communicated to his first companions."⁸⁴

By early July 1539, the *Five Chapters* was ready to be sent to the Pope. Ignatius gave it to Cardinal Gasparo Contarini who, in turn, passed it on to Father Tommaso Badia, a Dominican working on behalf of the papal curia.⁸⁵ After two months of careful scrutiny, the document was approved by Father Badia and the curia and returned to Cardinal Contarini, who then presented it to Paul III. On September 3, 1539, at Tivoli, Paul III verbally approved (*viva voce*) the *Prima Societatis Jesu Instituti Summa*, remarking, "The finger of God is here" (*Digitus Dei est hic*).⁸⁶

After his verbal recognition, Paul III ordered that an official document be prepared for his signature. However, Ignatius and his companions had to wait a whole year to secure the final *written* approbation of the new order. There was still some resistance from certain members of the papal curia, including Cardinals

⁸³Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 102; in Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 51; in Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 45; and in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, vol. I, pp. 462-465.

⁸⁴G.E. Ganss, ed., *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977, p. 3; for a more extensive commentary on the "Five Chapters," see Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 101-107.

⁸⁵Rahner and Imhof, *Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 59-60; and in Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 54-55.

⁸⁶Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 218; and in Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 45.

Girolamo Ghinucci and Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, who disagreed with some of the non-traditional features of the new institute.⁸⁷ Moreover, since they also feared proliferation, these cardinals were fundamentally opposed to the founding of *any* new orders in the Church.⁸⁸ Finally, after a year of ongoing discussions, a compromise was reached: The new Society would have to be limited to sixty priests,⁸⁹ at least for the time being.⁹⁰ Then on September 27, 1540, at the Palace of St. Mark ("*Palazzo Venezia*"), Paul III signed the bull, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, officially establishing the Society of Jesus as a religious institute.⁹¹

Regimini militantis ecclesiae basically reproduced the original *Five Chapters*, which had been modified only slightly. It approved the name *Societas Iesu*, and the unique characteristics of the order, including the additional vow of obedience to the pope (with regard to missions). Furthermore, through this papal document, the Society gained the right of electing a superior general and of setting out rules,

⁸⁷Some of these "new" features included the absence of a common habit or the chanting of the Divine Office in choir; the omission of prescribed (codified) fasts and penances; and the fourth vow of special obedience to the pope with regard to missions.

⁸⁸Rahner and Imhof, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 60; in Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 55-56; and in Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 21-22.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Four years later, on March 14, 1544, Paul III issued another bull, *Iniunctum Nobis*, which removed the restriction. The original Latin text is found in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 5-8; and in *MHSI Cons.*, vol. I, pp. 81-86.

⁹¹See footnote no. 1.

regulations, and constitutions for the new institute.⁹² Thus, Ignatius and his companions were now, officially, a new order of priests, a clerical religious institute (*ordo clericalis*), "clerics regular" (*clerici regulares*)⁹³ in the Roman Catholic Church, and the *Five Chapters* was its pontifical law. The Society of Jesus, as a fully canonical juridic person, had finally become a reality.

Six months later, in early April, 1541, the *primi Patres*⁹⁴ elected Ignatius as the first superior general; it was a unanimous vote, excluding his own. After some considerable initial reluctance, and after much prayer, he finally accepted the position

⁹²*MHSI Cons.*, vol. I, pp. 27, 31; in Rahner and Imhof, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 60; and in Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 220.

⁹³Between 1524 and 1617, there were nine orders of "clerics regular" (or "clerks regular") established in Italy, including the Jesuits, Theatines, Piarists (or Scolopi), Barnabites, Camillans, and Somaschi (or Somascans). These were orders of priests, who lived under a "Rule," and who dressed like the secular clergy of the day. They offered an alternative to the forms of service given by monks and friars. Working primarily in cities and towns, their ministry was often centered in schools, hospitals, and orphanages. For a more extensive explanation and description of "clerics regular," see R.L. DeMolen (ed.), *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation*, pp. xiv-xvii; Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 16-21; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. W.J. McDonald, 15 vols., New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967, vol. 12, pp. 291-292; and L.F. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes, From the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. and trans. F.I. Antrobus (vols. I-VI), R.F. Kerr (vols. VII-XXIV), E. Graf (vols. XXV-XXXIV), and E.F. Peeler (vols. XXXV-XL), 40 vols., London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., St. Louis, B. Herder Book Company, 1898-1953, vols. XII-XIV (1534-1559), and vol. XI (1534-1549), p. 515.

⁹⁴Since the ten companions were the only ones named in the papal bull, only they had the prerogative of voting for the new superior; see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 36. Actually, on the day of voting, only six of them were present in Rome. Favre, Xavier, Rodrigues, and Bobadilla were absent; they had already been assigned to various missions away from the city, but all (except Bobadilla) left behind their written instructions and ballots. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 56; and in Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 22.

on April 19; and on April 22, at the Basilica of St. Paul Outside-the-Walls, Ignatius and five companions (those still in Rome) pronounced their solemn vows in the new Society.⁹⁵

A re-confirmation of the Society came in 1550. Ten years of experience had necessitated some minor adjustments in the Society's pontifical law. These modifications, including some additions and deletions, were incorporated into a new bull, *Exposcit debitum*, issued by Pope Julius III (1550-1555) on July 21, 1550.⁹⁶ Basically, this document duplicated the *Five Chapters of Regimini militantis ecclesiae*. In its revised form, however, the later bull contains the definitive "Formula of the Institute" (*Formula Instituti*).⁹⁷

The "Formula of the Institute" is considered the basic rule or fundamental law of the Society of Jesus. It establishes the basic structure of the order and authorizes its superior to establish more detailed statutes in a code of legislation, or

⁹⁵Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 46; and in Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 22.

⁹⁶Julius III, *Exposcit debitum*, 21 July 1550; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 20-26; and in *MHSI Cons.*, vol. I, pp. 373-383; English translations are found in Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 63-73; in Ganss (ed.), *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, pp. 5-12; and in A.M. de Aldama, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: The Formula of the Institute. Notes for a Commentary (=Formula/Notes)*, trans. I. Echániz, Rome, CIS, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1990, pp. 3-23. For an explanation of the modifications incorporated into this bull, see A.M. de Aldama, "Origin and History of the Formula of the Institute," in *The Formula of the Institute*, ed. A.M. de Aldama et al., Roma, CIS, 1982, pp. 23-29.

⁹⁷Strictly speaking, what is called "The Formula of the Institute" comprises sections 3 through 8 of *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* and sections 3 through 6 of *Exposcit debitum*.

constitutions.⁹⁸ The "Formula of the Institute," as contained in the bull *Exposcit debitum*, remains the fundamental "Rule" of the Society and is still in force today. It is "pontifical law"⁹⁹ and, as such, enjoys supreme authority and dignity over all other documents and legislation of the Society, including the *Constitutions*.¹⁰⁰ As Father Antonio de Aldama, S.J. states so clearly and concisely in his commentary, the "Formula of the Institute" is "the most important document in the law of the Society: ... it is the document that, in the whole body of papal law, has the greatest authority for the Society, and even for the General Congregation."¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the "Formula of the Institute" can only be changed by the Roman Pontiff and his successors and not by any authority within the Society, including the general congregation.¹⁰²

As stated above, the "Formula of the Institute" is the fundamental law of the

⁹⁸Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 36; and in de Aldama (ed.), *The Formula of the Institute*, p. 7.

⁹⁹General Congregation (=GC) XXXI, Decree 4: "The Preservation and Renewal of the Institute" (*De conservatione et renovatione Instituti*), in *Decreta: Congregationis Generalis XXXI, a Restituta Societate XII, Annis 1965-1967* (=Decreta: CG XXXI), Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1967, no. 2, pp. 54-55; English trans. by the Jesuit Conference (Washington, D.C.), *Documents of the 31st and 32nd General Congregations of the Society of Jesus: An English Translation of the Official Latin Texts of the General Congregations and of the Accompanying Papal Documents* (=Documents of GC 31 and 32), ed. J.W. Padberg, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977, nos. 42-47, pp. 83-84.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 36; in de Aldama (ed.), *The Formula of the Institute*, p. 7; and in Ganss (ed.), *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰¹de Aldama (ed.), *The Formula of the Institute*, p. 7.

¹⁰²Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 45.

Society; it corresponds to what other religious orders call the "Rule," such as the Rule of St. Benedict or St. Augustine. But, if this is so, why was the special word "Formula" adopted, in place of "Rule"? Speculating on this question, de Aldama offers the following explanation:

Our first Fathers may on the whole have avoided calling it the Rule because, according to the conciliar decrees officially in force [Fourth Lateran Council (1214) and Second Council of Lyons (1274)], any new foundation was supposed to adopt an existing Rule. They preferred to call it Formula or way of life (*formula vivendi, forma vitæ*).¹⁰³

Regardless of terminology, it still functioned (*de facto*) as a Rule, as Ganss is quick to point out:

In the Constitutions Ignatius did not himself employ the term Rule in its ancient sense to designate the Formula; but the reverence with which he constantly refers back to the Formula in his Constitutions clearly shows that he regarded it, and not them, as the Society's basic code.¹⁰⁴

And, in two of his letters, Francis Xavier actually refers to the "Formula" as "our rule" (*nuestra regla*),¹⁰⁵ as does Pope Pius VII (1800-1823) in his bull that universally restored the Society after its suppression.¹⁰⁶ The Society itself, through decrees issued

¹⁰³de Aldama, *Formula/Notes*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁰⁴Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁵Francis Xavier, *Epistola: PP. Claudio Iaio et Didaco Laynez, Romam, Ulyssipone 18 Martii 1541*; and *Epistola: Socii Romæ Degentibus, Cocino 15 Ianuarii 1544*; in *Epistolæ S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, eds. G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki, 2 vols., tomus I: 1535-1548, tomus II: 1549-1552, Nova editio ex integro relecta, Romæ, Apud MHSI, IHSI, 1944-1945, tomus I, Epistola 12, no. 6, p. 87, and tomus I, Epistola 20, no. 14, p. 176.

¹⁰⁶Pius VII, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, 7 August 1814, in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 340-343. The Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV (1769-1774) in his brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, of July 21,

at three general congregations, has officially accepted the term "Rule" as a fitting description of the "Formula."¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, some Jesuit scholars and historians still disagree; they feel that "Rule" is an inappropriate term (i.e., imprecise), and that it should not be used as a synonym for "Formula."¹⁰⁸

Long before the election of Ignatius, it was always the original intention of the *primi Patres* that, together, they would draft the primary constitutions of the new order.¹⁰⁹ On March 4, 1541, however, a meeting took place among the six first Fathers still in Rome where it was decided that, realistically, the work of writing the constitutions would have to fall upon those remaining Fathers who could actually (i.e., physically) be present, and that full delegation for this task would be given to this indefinite assembly. And, as circumstances would have it, four of the six (Jay, Broët, Laínez and Salmerón) already had pressing assignments in and around Rome that

1773; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 313-328. Prior to its universal restoration in 1814, the Society was restored in Russia in 1801 and in both Sicilies in 1804. A. Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁷GC V (1593-1594), Decree 58, in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 208; GC XXVII (1923), Decree 12, in the same work cited, p. 531; and GC XXXI (1965-1966), Decree 4: "The Preservation and Renewal of the Institute," no. 2, in Padberg (ed.), *The Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 45, p. 84.

¹⁰⁸Ravier disagrees that the "Five Chapters" is a "Rule" (*Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 111-112); and also P. Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia de Gesù in Italia*, 2 vols. in 4, Roma, Edizioni la Civiltà Cattolica, 1938-1951, vol. I, p. 295. For a more extensive commentary and analysis of the *Formula of the Institute*, see A. Coemans, *Introductio in Studium Instituti et Annotationes in Formulam Instituti*, Bruxellis, Apud Procuratorem Provinciae Belgicae Septentrionalis, 1937; and in the two works, already cited, by A.M. de Aldama.

¹⁰⁹Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 216.

would prevent them from fully participating in the project. As a result, it would necessarily fall to Ignatius and Codure to compose the constitutions. Thus, one month prior to his election as General, Ignatius, with Codure, received the delegation to draft the constitutions. Unfortunately, Codure died just five months later, in August, leaving the entire work to Ignatius alone.¹¹⁰ As he began this monumental task, however, Ignatius agreed that he would submit his work, *as it progressed*, to the *primi Patres* for their approval.¹¹¹

The *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus would ultimately become Ignatius' masterpiece and a great legacy to the Church; it would later be used as a paradigm and inspiration by the founders of other religious communities of men and women. Any adequate discussion of the *Constitutions* requires a deeper understanding of the man who wrote them. Therefore, it is important and useful to look at Ignatius' understanding of life, his spirituality, his worldview, and his vision for the Society. Ignatius gradually developed a worldview whereby he saw all things as proceeding from God and, at the same time, as the means by which men and women can return to God. Thus, the supreme end for all mankind is the "beatific vision" and the self-fulfillment one gains by praising and enjoying God for all eternity.¹¹² All men and women can achieve this end by knowing, loving, and serving God while on earth. Ignatius, therefore, was constantly driven to make all his activities result in greater

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 219-221.

¹¹¹Ibid., pp. 216, 220.

¹¹²Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 11.

praise or glory to God. The "greater glory of God" became his motivation for all things and provided the criterion by which he made all decisions.¹¹³

One salient characteristic of Ignatian spirituality, especially important for understanding the *Constitutions*, concerns the focus or emphasis on "ends" with their accompanying means. For Ignatius, his ends were always clear and hierarchically arranged, with everything leading up to God.¹¹⁴ Ignatius' emphasis on ends or goals was very effective in influencing others to join him, as Father Ganss has pointed out: "In large measure he was able to inspire, win, and govern men so successfully because he so clearly presented to them the inspiring goals for which he was enlisting their cooperation."¹¹⁵

Ignatius' worldview led him to one supreme end, the keystone of his thought, on which all else would be based: to bring greater glory to God. And for Ignatius "glory and praise" of God implied *service*. Ignatius expressed this viewpoint in all of his writings and applied it to all situations.¹¹⁶ In the *Constitutions*, he applied it to the motivation and maintenance of an apostolic religious order; and that is why everything in the *Constitutions* must be viewed as a means to that supreme end.¹¹⁷ Father Ganss refers to this Ignatian perspective as "the underlying spirit or tenor of thought in the

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 11-12.

¹¹⁵Ganss (ed.), *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, p. 18.

¹¹⁶Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 12.

¹¹⁷Ganss, "St. Ignatius' Personal Charism," p. 137.

Constitutions.¹¹⁸ The *Constitutions*, therefore, is simply a means to an end. They exist and function to aid all Jesuits in their efforts toward personal sanctification and the sanctification of others through apostolic activity, and in so doing, to bring praise and greater glory to God.¹¹⁹ And to that supreme end, everything else within the institute is means: material goods, rules and regulations, work and relaxation, structures and procedures, the vows themselves, and even prayer. As Father Joseph de Guibert, S.J. has pointed out so well, "none of these is the end. Instead, all these were precisely so many means," in order that each Jesuit "might be able to carry out perfectly his own service directed to his true end, the greatest possible glory of God."¹²⁰

Ignatius' charismatic worldview is woven into all of his writings; and it is especially apparent in the *Constitutions*. This may seem strange, on the surface, since the document would appear to be a piece of legislation. But the *Constitutions* is no mere legal document, it is the embodiment of a vision. As a result, key concepts such as "glory," "praise," and "honor" to God recur constantly;¹²¹ and they often connect in meaning with another phrase, "the service of God," which appears 140 times in the *Constitutions* alone.¹²² Interestingly, Ignatius rarely gives a complete synthesis or

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 136.

¹¹⁹Ganss (ed.), *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, pp. 18-19.

¹²⁰de Guibert, *The Jesuits*, pp. 70, 178.

¹²¹Some 133 occurrences can be found in the *Constitutions* and *General Examen*. Ganss (ed.), *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, p. 18.

thorough presentation of these key ideas, but, instead, returns to these topics over and over again in successive parts of the text. These successive treatments suggest that in no one place did Ignatius regard his written expression as adequate to his vision.¹²³ They further suggest that the *Constitutions* is not merely a code of laws, but, also, a manual of discernment designed for helping *all* Jesuits, not just superiors, to discover the better choices among the various options which lay before them. In other words, which particular option is most likely to bring "the greater praise and service of God"?¹²⁴

As an end or goal, "the greater glory of God" dominates the *Constitutions* both implicitly and explicitly. Furthermore, according to Father François Courel, S.J., this is the only true end of the Society: "The real single end of the Society is the glory of God and the aid of one's neighbor. Personal progress is a means interior to that end, at once its condition and its fruit."¹²⁵ Thus, Father Courel clearly maintains that in the mind of Ignatius there is, in all reality, only *one* end — greater glory to God — which is achieved by means of personal sanctification and apostolic activity.¹²⁶ Needless to say, there may be many subordinate ends, but all of them remain subject

¹²²de Guibert, *The Jesuits*, p. 84.

¹²³Ganss, "St. Ignatius' Personal Charism," p. 135.

¹²⁴Ganss (ed.), *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, p. 19.

¹²⁵F. Courel, "La fin unique de la Compagnie de Jésus," in *AHSI*, 35 (1966), pp. 186-211; English trans. T.H. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 108.

¹²⁶Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 78, footnote no. 11.

to the one supreme end: the greater glory of God.¹²⁷

Finally, one other overriding theme permeates the *Constitutions*: *mission* (from the Latin *missio*: a sending forth). Ignatius firmly believed that the essential nature of all Jesuit ministry is mission, and he stated so in very clear language: "we take as our head Jesus Christ Himself, our Creator and Lord, to go out under His banner preaching and converting, which is our profession."¹²⁸ Thus, the apostolic life of a Jesuit can be described as a "missionary lifestyle" or a "life on mission,"¹²⁹ which is to say that the fundamental charism of the Society is missionary activity. As a result, "This apostolic life, or life on mission, determines and conditions the majority of the norms of the *Constitutions*, such as those which refer to selection, intellectual formation, the vows of obedience and poverty, central government, and so on."¹³⁰

Father de Aldama goes on to point out that:

The *Constitutions*, along with the ideal of the "mission," show us how the body, in which such a life is to be enfolded, is organized; the manner of structuring the religious order in which it has to be realized. Ideal and realization, the spirit and body. "mission" and juridical organization (or charism and institution), are the two aspects or dimensions which together offer us the real key to reading the *Constitutions*.¹³¹

¹²⁷Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 108.

¹²⁸*MHSI Cons.*, vol. I, p. 80. no. 13; and in *The Spiritual Diary of St. Ignatius*, February 11, 1544, *ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

¹²⁹A.M. de Aldama, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions (= The Constitutions)*, trans. A.J. Owen, Rome, CIS, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1989, p. 14.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*

¹³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

Thus, if the fundamental charism of the Society is missionary activity, then the *Constitutions* is its procedural manual or *vademecum* for carrying out and accomplishing the aims of this activity in a successful manner.

Ignatius started working on the *Constitutions* shortly after his election as General, in 1541, and this monumental work continued throughout the whole period of his generalate.¹³² Although the composition was substantially complete by 1552, he continued to modify the *Constitutions* until he died in 1556.¹³³ Throughout all of this period, in so far as it was possible, Ignatius developed the major points of the document in collaboration with those *primi Patres* still present in Rome.¹³⁴ For the most part, however, he worked alone; and, since he had numerous other responsibilities, progress on the composition was necessarily very slow. Father Jerónimo Nadal, a close advisor and assistant to Ignatius, later wrote that Ignatius, prior to 1547, did not devote himself seriously to the task of writing the *Constitutions*.¹³⁵ What he was able to accomplish, however, was very fruitful; and it was precisely during those early years that he made several significant decisions that

¹³²A.M. de Aldama, "La composición de las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús," in *AHSI*, 42 (1973), pp. 201-245.

¹³³O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 7.

¹³⁴de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 236.

¹³⁵*FN*, vol. II, pp. 100, 207; and in de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 236.

would affect the future text of the *Constitutions*.¹³⁶

One of the most important documents to emerge from this early period was Ignatius' treatise, "Concerning Missions" (*Constituciones circa Misiones*)¹³⁷ which would later become the substance of Part VII of the *Constitutions*.¹³⁸ Thus, Part VII is the oldest section of the *Constitutions*; and it is not surprising that Ignatius chose this subject to address first, given that the notion of *mission*, as discussed earlier, was the central theme for all apostolic life in the Society. Consequently, as Father Maurizio Costa, S.J. points out, "Part VII is certainly one of the most important, not to say the most important, of all the *Constitutions*."¹³⁹ And Father Clancy, using more emphatic language, states that Part VII is "the summit of the *Constitutions*" and "the *raison d'être* of the Society."¹⁴⁰

From 1541 to 1546, Ignatius, working alone, slowly plodded through the process of writing the *Constitutions*. In March of 1547, however, Father Juan Alonso de Polanco (1517-1576) was appointed secretary of the Society and, from that point

¹³⁶M. Costa, "Historical Genesis of the Constitutions: Its Various Texts," in H. Alphonso et al., *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Incorporation of a Spirit*, Rome, Secretariat for Ignatian Spirituality, Anand (India), Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1993, p. 31.

¹³⁷*MHSI Cons.*, vol. I, pp. 159-164.

¹³⁸Costa, "Historical Genesis," p. 33.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 94. The same view, that "divine service" is the "*raison d'être*" of the Society, is also held by Father Urbano Valero, "Revision of Our Law and of Our Life," in *Review of Ignatian Spirituality*, 25-1, no. 75 (1994), p. 109.

on, the composition of the *Constitutions* made rapid progress.¹⁴¹ With the help of an able assistant, Ignatius was finally able to devote himself "seriously" to the writing process, as Father Nadal later observed.¹⁴² There is no doubt that Polanco's role was critical. In his historical analysis, Father Costa comments: "Polanco was the right man needed to help Ignatius give a new impetus to the work."¹⁴³ In the lengthy process of composition, Polanco made numerous suggestions, raised questions and drafted responses, and did a considerable amount of research.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, Father O'Malley believes that, although "Ignatius himself was the principal inspiration behind the *Constitutions*, ... much of the wording and arrangement and many of the details must be attributed to the secretary."¹⁴⁵ Whatever the case may be, the fact remains that, in the course of the next five years, the text of the *Constitutions* was finally put together in a holistic way.¹⁴⁶ By 1552, a preliminary draft was ready for promulgation.¹⁴⁷

The term "Constitutions" is used in a comprehensive sense. It refers primarily to the body of legislation (statutes and ordinances) composed by St. Ignatius for the

¹⁴¹de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 236-237.

¹⁴²*FN*, vol. II, p. 207.

¹⁴³Costa, "Historical Genesis," p. 34.

¹⁴⁴de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, pp. 2-11.

¹⁴⁵O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶Costa, "Historical Genesis," p. 34.

¹⁴⁷O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 7.

governance of the Society of Jesus. It also refers to three other documents which accompany the actual constitutions: (1) *The General Examen (Primero examen y general)*¹⁴⁸ — a conspectus or instrument of investigation intended to give candidates to the Society a summary knowledge of the Institute and to spell out the Society's expectations regarding its manner of living. After Ignatius wrote this document, probably in 1546, he later decided that it should serve as a preamble to the *Constitutions*;¹⁴⁹ (2) *The Declarations on the Examen* — a series of authoritative explanations or commentary on the related sections of the *General Examen*; and (3) *The Declarations on the Constitutions* — another series of authoritative explanations regarding the application of particular points in the *Constitutions*. Although these last three documents have "equal binding force" with the *Constitutions*, it is the *Constitutions, per se*, which remains "the pivot about which the other three revolve."¹⁵⁰ At the time of Ignatius' death in 1556, these four individual documents were still in manuscript form;¹⁵¹ but in the later printed editions, "The Formula of the Institute" was usually added as a kind of preface to them.¹⁵²

The Society does not possess a handwritten copy of the *Constitutions* that

¹⁴⁸*MHSI Cons.*, vol. I, chapters 13-14; vol. II, chapters 6-27.

¹⁴⁹de Aldama, "La composición de las Constituciones," pp. 201-245.

¹⁵⁰Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 36, 38.

¹⁵¹*The Constitutions* comprised 80 pages (*folios*); *The Declarations on the Constitutions*, 98 pages; *The General Examen*, 48 pages; and *The Declarations on the Examen*, 10 pages. Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 36-39.

¹⁵²Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 36.

comes directly from Ignatius himself. Apparently, he did a great deal of dictation; his secretary, Polanco, incorporated these words and ideas into a text (written in Spanish) which Ignatius later corrected and approved.¹⁵³ Since this particular methodology produced several different drafts and redactions, there exists a clear chronological evolution of the *Constitutions* as we know them. Prior to his death in 1556, there existed three (3) Spanish texts that Ignatius reviewed himself, and on each of them can be seen his personal annotations and corrections on various points. The oldest of these is known as *Text 'a'*, and it was written between 1547 and 1549; it already contained the ten-part structure that would remain in the final text.¹⁵⁴ This version was quickly followed by *Text A* in 1550. Although Part IV (regarding schools and universities) was still incomplete, *Text A* was the same text that Ignatius submitted to the professed fathers whom he had summoned to Rome. In meetings lasting from early January to February 1, 1551,¹⁵⁵ they discussed the text and suggested some minor adjustments; but, overall, they approved the work.¹⁵⁶ They did express the wish, however, that the text be made shorter and more compact.¹⁵⁷ Thus, Ignatius and Polanco revised *Text A* and, in 1552, produced *Text B*, which came to be known as

¹⁵³Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁵⁶*MHSI Cons.*, vol. I, nos. 77-85, pp. 390-396; vol. II, no. 194; and in P. Dudon, *St. Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. W.J. Young, Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1949, pp. 288-289.

¹⁵⁷Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 14.

the "Autograph." In 1553, Ignatius appointed Nadal to promulgate this text, but only on an experimental basis.¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile, Ignatius continued to make corrections and marginal notations in his own hand. Polanco later wrote that Ignatius was still introducing changes up until five months before he died.¹⁵⁹ By 1556, the Autograph text had been expanded to include the other Ignatian documents (discussed earlier): *The General Examen* and *The Declarations*.

After the death of Ignatius, there were two more Spanish texts produced, each of which showed only slight variations from the Autograph. In 1558, Polanco prepared a new edition, *Text C*, which corrected some minor details of *Text B*, mainly punctuation and grammar;¹⁶⁰ in effect, the form and structure of the Autograph remained the same.¹⁶¹ At about the same time, Polanco also prepared a Latin translation of this revised text. *Text C* and the Latin version were both approved by the First General Congregation (=GC I) on September 10, 1558, at which time the *Constitutions* officially became binding in the Society of Jesus.¹⁶² GC I further

¹⁵⁸Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 51. *Text B* was not promulgated in the provinces of Spain and Portugal until 1554. de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 238.

¹⁵⁹de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 238.

¹⁶⁰*MHSI Cons.*, vol. II, pp. 123, 726; in Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 2 vols., La Collection Christus, nos. 23 and 24, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1967, vol. II: Introduction à une lecture par F. Roustang; traduction du texte primitif par F. Courel, pp. 35-36; cf. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 51, and Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 63.

¹⁶¹Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 15.

¹⁶²Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 53.

decreed that the Latin text would be the *official* text (*versio vulgata*) and ordered that it be printed and distributed throughout all the provinces of the Order.¹⁶³ In 1581, GC IV ordered the preparation of a new Latin text; this edition was published in 1583 and has, to this day, been recognized as the official *Latin* text of the *Constitutions*.¹⁶⁴ In 1594, GC V set up a small commission of professed Spanish Fathers to study and compare *Text C* (approved) with the Autograph (*Text B*). The result was a slightly amended text which was called *Text D*.¹⁶⁵ After approval by the Congregation, it led to the very first printing of a Spanish text of the *Constitutions*.¹⁶⁶ And so it is that these two texts, *Text C* (approved by GC I) and *Text D* (approved by GC V), are the official and authentic *Spanish* texts of the *Constitutions* to be used by the Society of Jesus.¹⁶⁷ In the words of the Society's own proper law, these two documents are "to be kept inviolable, and will be of assistance to a General Congregation and the Superior General in interpreting the Latin version."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³Decrees 78 and 79, in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 88-89.

¹⁶⁴GC IV, Decrees 8, 33, and 50; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 170, 176-177, and 180-181; and in Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 53.

¹⁶⁵Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁶This edition also carried the Latin text on opposite pages, and was entitled, *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu latinæ et hispanicæ cum earum Declarationibus*, Romæ, 1606; reprint, Madrid, Aloysii Aguado, 1892, 420p.

¹⁶⁷Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁸*Compendium Practicum Iuris Societatis Iesu*, 2a editio recognita, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1986; English trans. by The Jesuit Conference of South Asia, *Practical Compendium of the Law of the Society of Jesus*, Anand, Gujarat

When Ignatius and Polanco had finally completed the composition of the *Constitutions*, they had produced something unique; it was unlike any other church-related document that came before it. As a legal document, Father O'Malley offers this assessment: "Its style and organization unmistakably distinguished it from earlier documents of the same genre, both religious and secular."¹⁶⁹ The *Constitutions* are, first and foremost, a body of statutes which function primarily to apply and expand the various provisions contained in the "Formula of the Institute," the Society's fundamental rule approved by Paul III.¹⁷⁰ Or, as O'Malley puts it, "The *Constitutions* articulated the broad principles according to which the Society was to achieve its goals and reduced the generalities of the *Formula* to concrete structures and procedures."¹⁷¹ Moreover, according to Father Ganss, they represent the embodiment of a vision: "The *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* are the application of Ignatius' worldview to the organization, inspiration, and government of the religious institute he founded."¹⁷² And as to their basic *purpose*, St. Ignatius himself offers this explanation: "The purpose of the *Constitutions* is to aid the body of the Society as a whole and also its individual members toward their preservation and development for the divine glory

(India), Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1991, ch. 1, section 3, §3; cf. General Congregation XXVII, Collected Decrees, Decree 2, in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 528.

¹⁶⁹O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁰Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 37.

¹⁷¹O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 7.

¹⁷²Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 55.

and the good of the universal Church."¹⁷³ Finally, according to Father Pedro Arrupe, former Superior General of the Society (1965-1983), the *Constitutions* contain the very *spirit* of the Society:

The *Constitutions*, which St. Ignatius composed so carefully and bequeathed to the Society he founded, remain for all Jesuits the pure font from which to draw the spirit of their vocation. [...] For in them, as the preface to the first edition of the *Constitutions* in 1559 states, "are contained the sinews of our Society, the firm foundation of its religious institute, and those bonds by which its whole body should be tied and held together."¹⁷⁴

Thus, the *Constitutions* of St. Ignatius is truly a unique document; it successfully contains both the rules and ordinances of governance and, most importantly, the motivating spirit that is the very foundation of the law.

In their basic structure, the *Constitutions* are divided into ten "Parts" (*Partes*). They do not follow an intentional order, i.e., the end or goal of the Society is not presented first, followed by the means to attain it. Rather, they move in a chronological pattern, following the stages of a Jesuit's life: from the very beginning — as a candidate, through his scholastic training and definitive incorporation, up to ministry and common life; the latter parts focus on the overall governance of the Society, specifically on the role of the superior general and the general congregation

¹⁷³Ignatius of Loyola, "Preamble to the Declarations and Annotations on the *Constitutions*" (*Proœmium in Declarationes et Annotationes Constitutionum*): "*Cum Constitutionum hic finis sit ut universum corpus Societatis et particularia eius membra ad sui conservationem et incrementum, ad gloriam Dei et universalis Ecclesiæ bonum, iuventur*"; in *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu, cum Declarationibus*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1937, p. 48; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 121.

¹⁷⁴P. Arrupe, "Preface," in *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, ed. G.E. Ganss, p. 15.

in preserving the well-being of the Society as a whole.¹⁷⁵

Part I of the *Constitutions* deals with the admission of candidates, the qualities required in them, and any impediments to admission. Part II treats the problem of dismissal. Part III deals with the spiritual life of the young Jesuit after his admission to the novitiate. In the words of Father de Dalmasés, Part III contains "the marrow of Ignatian spirituality."¹⁷⁶ Part IV devotes itself to the intellectual formation of a Jesuit and the apostolate of schools and universities. Part V deals with the process and requirements regarding full incorporation into the Society. Part VI focuses on the personal and religious (vowed) life of those admitted; it treats the religious vows as they are understood and practiced in the Society. Part VII is dedicated to "missions" and the missionary apostolate so essential to the Society. Part VIII pertains to the moral "union of minds and hearts"¹⁷⁷: how the members relate to each other and with their head. Part VIII also includes the general congregation, the primary focus of this study. Part IX of the *Constitutions* is totally devoted to the superior general, the head

¹⁷⁵O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 7; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 37; and in de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 240.

¹⁷⁶de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 240.

¹⁷⁷Ignatius actually used a simpler expression, "union of hearts" (*unión de los ánimos*, or in Latin, *unio animorum*) — in Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 285-286, 290; but GC XXXII expanded this concept in its decree, "The Union of Minds and Hearts" (Decree 11), in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 467-485. In the original Spanish text the word *ánimo* (which corresponds to the Latin *animus*) means "the principle and seat of thoughts and feelings" (hence, the "heart"). The "union of hearts," therefore, refers to "an interior or spiritual union, which must be constant even in dispersion." de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 266. Cf. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 285, footnote no. 2.

of the Society, and to the government of the body. Finally, Part X expresses the aim, goal, and purpose of the *Constitutions*, which is the preservation, development, and well-being of the Society as a whole.¹⁷⁸ Part X has been called "the crown of the *Constitutions*,"¹⁷⁹ as well as "its résumé and the 'pearl' (*gemma*)."¹⁸⁰

All ten parts of the *Constitutions* work together to form a single entity; and this embodies the *means* by which the Society is able to achieve its end: the salvation and perfection of its members, as well as the salvation and perfection of others, all for the greater glory of God (*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*).¹⁸¹ Father Ravier summarizes the "characteristic thrust" of the *Constitutions* as follows: "What characterizes the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus is that they are, rather than structural or architectural, essentially missionary and that this missionary itinerary faithfully

¹⁷⁸H. Alphonso, "Jesuit Constitutions: Aim and Recapitulation (Part X)," in Alphonso et al., *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 381-382.

¹⁷⁹de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 245.

¹⁸⁰Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 251.

¹⁸¹Ignatius of Loyola, *The General Examen*, ch. 1; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 77-78. See also J. Nadal, *Epistolæ et Monumenta P. Hieronymi Nadal*, eds. F. Cervós and M. Nicolau, Madrid, 1898-1905; reprint, 6 vols., Romæ, IHSI, 1962, vol. 5: *P. Hieronymi Nadal Commentarii de Instituto Societatis Jesu*, ed. M. Nicolau, p. 199, no. 184; cf. also pp. 304, no. 69; 330, no. 86; 490, no. 3; 662, no. 42; 785, no. 13. See also GC XXVII, "Collected Decrees of the General Congregations" [*Collectio decretorum congregationum generalium Societatis Iesu (=Collectio decretorum)*], Titulus III: *De Instituti conservatione*, Decree 13, §2; in *Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII, A Restituta Societate VIII*, 1923, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1924, p. 32; and in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 531.

reproduces the long experience of the group of the first companions."¹⁸²

We will now focus on Part VIII of the *Constitutions*, and, specifically, on the general congregation, as an instrument of governance.

¹⁸²Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 252.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GENERAL CONGREGATION ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTIONS

Part VIII of the *Constitutions* is entitled, "Helps toward uniting the distant members with their head and among themselves."¹ The first seven parts of the *Constitutions* focused primarily on the members in their various stages of formation and mission. It follows naturally, therefore, that some concern is now expressed regarding the members and their unity: how are they to remain united among themselves and with their head? Ignatius was especially concerned for those Jesuits who were scattered throughout the world, who were living amongst the "unbelievers" in unsupportive environments. Since there is always a grave danger of disunity in such a situation, Ignatius wrote Part VIII, at least in part, as a preventative against this danger.² For Ignatius, unity among the members was not simply an added bonus, or something to be desired, but an absolute necessity.³ In his commentary on the *Constitutions*, Father Jean-Yves Calvez, S.J. emphasizes that "a remarkable importance is given to union in the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus," and more precisely, "a remarkable importance is given to 'uniting' the 'congregation' it

¹"*De iis quæ conferunt ad eorum, qui dispersi sunt, cum suo capite et inter se mutuam unionem,*" in *MHSI Cons.*, vol. III, p. 216; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 285.

²de Dalmasés, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 243.

³Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 102.

constitutes."⁴

Part VIII of the *Constitutions* is comprised of seven chapters. Chapter 1, which serves as a preface to the remaining six, is entitled, "Aids toward the union of hearts" (*De iis, quæ iuvant ad unionem animorum*).⁵ In this key chapter, Ignatius lays the foundation for all that will follow. In Chapter 1, Ignatius deals first and foremost with what can aid this "union of hearts." He therefore proceeds to set down the various *means* by which unity can be achieved; and the preeminent item on his list is obedience: "this union is produced in great part by the bond of obedience" [no. 659].⁶ And in a letter of explanation, written for Ignatius, Polanco later states that obedience "binds all the members of the Society into a single spiritual body, wherever they are found."⁷

Much has been written about Jesuit obedience; and it has often been called the "hallmark of the Society" and "her principle of vitality."⁸ Malachi Martin describes it this way: "Obedience is the coagulant of the Society; obedience and union of hearts

⁴J.-Y. Calvez, "Union: Community for Mission," in Alphonso et al., *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, p. 311.

⁵*MHSI Cons.*, vol. III, p. 216; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 285.

⁶Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 286.

⁷J. de Polanco, *Ex commissione*, Letter to Francesco Mancini, S.J., April 7, 1554, in *MHSI Epplgn*, vol. VI, p. 586; in de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 267.

⁸GC XXXI, Decree 17: "The Life of Obedience" (*De vita obœdientia*), no. 1; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 268, p. 157.

within the Society, all of them with the Roman Pontiff."⁹ Drawing from his military background,¹⁰ Ignatius certainly considered obedience to be of great importance, and something which should set the Jesuit apart from other religious. As a religious vow, obedience in the Society of Jesus is essentially the same as that of other religious orders; the difference, however, is one of emphasis, much in the same way that Franciscans place a special emphasis on poverty. Ignatius insisted not only on absolute (unconditional) obedience, in the sense of swift external execution of orders, but also on complete submission of intellect and will.¹¹ Ignatius' views on obedience were clearly expressed in his *Epistle on Obedience* (March 26, 1553):

Other religious orders may surpass the Society in fasting and other austerities which according to their institute they piously practice; but in true and perfect obedience and abnegation of will and judgment, I greatly desire that those who serve God in this Society should be conspicuous ... and should be distinguished by this mark.¹²

Thus, there is little doubt that Jesuit obedience played a key role in binding the

⁹M. Martin, *The Jesuits*, New York, A Touchstone Book, Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1987, p. 233.

¹⁰A common opinion among many historians is that Ignatius "never ceased to be a soldier." G. Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government in the Early Years of the Society of Jesus," in *Church History*, 29 (1960), p. 143.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Ignatius of Loyola, *An Epistle of Our Holy Father St. Ignatius on the Virtue of Obedience*, in *Rules of the Society of Jesus*, Roehampton (England), The Manresa Press, 1929, no. 3, pp. 48-49. Cf. M.P. Harney, *The Jesuits in History: The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries*, New York, The America Press, 1941, p. 116. See also W.J. Young, trans., *The Letter on Obedience (to the Province of Portugal)*, New York, The America Press, 1953, no. 3, pp. 7-8.

Society of Jesus together, even through some of its most difficult periods of history. Furthermore, it can safely be said that Jesuit obedience is also responsible, in large measure, for the many apostolic achievements effected by the Society.

Despite his strong views on obedience, Ignatius did not consider it the *principal* bond for uniting the Society. He wisely understood that obedience, by itself, could never achieve the desired "union of hearts." Thus, Ignatius clearly states that the principal bond of unity is, and must be, *love (caritas)*: "The chief bond to cement the union of the members among themselves and with their head is, on both sides, the love of God our Lord. For when the superior and the subjects are clearly united to His Divine and Supreme Goodness, they will very easily be united among themselves" [no. 671].¹³ Furthermore, in the "Summary of the Constitutions" (*Summarium Constitutionum*), Ignatius states that it is the interior law of love etched in the hearts of men that is to help the Society in advancing the service of God, rather than written constitutions.¹⁴ And in a letter to Ignatius (12 January 1549), Francis Xavier paraphrased this ideal when he wrote: "[...] the Company of Jesus ought to be called the company of love and conformity of souls."¹⁵

Throughout the remaining sections of Chapter 1, Ignatius continues to set down

¹³Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 291.

¹⁴J.J. Daly, *The Jesuit in Focus*, Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1940, p. 11.

¹⁵Francis Xavier, *Epistola: P. Ignatio de Loyola, Romam, Cocino 12 Ianuarii 1549*: "[...] Compañía de Jesús quiere dizir Compañía de amor y conformidad de ánimos"; in *Epistolæ S. Francisci Xaverii*, eds. G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki, tomus II, Epistola 70, no. 5, p. 8; English trans. Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 120.

the various ways by which a "union of hearts" can be achieved. After obedience, he mentions the proper order of authority, including subordination and delegation of power [nos. 662-663, 666];¹⁶ the right choice in the appointment of superiors, with the chief quality being a genuine concern for the brethren [nos. 667-668];¹⁷ and the quick removal¹⁸ of any "troublemakers" (*perturbatores*): those who are "seen to be a cause of division" [nos. 664-665].¹⁹ Ignatius warned that swift action was necessary in these cases because such persons are a "pestilence" (*pestis*) which can seriously "infect" a community.²⁰ The closing sections of Chapter 1 are mainly concerned with the need for various means of communication: provincial visitations [nos. 669-670]; the exchange of personal letters²¹ [nos. 673-674]; periodic newsletters and bulletins [no. 675]; and, finally, province catalogs and updated address listings [no. 676].²²

All of the remaining six chapters in Part VIII (Chapters 2-7) are concerned with the general congregation. The general congregation is the highest legislative

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 289-290.

¹⁷Ibid., 290-291.

¹⁸Removal or separation can mean either dismissal from the Society or transfer to another place.

¹⁹Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 289-290.

²⁰Ibid., p. 289.

²¹Ignatius himself was a great letter-writer. Almost 7000 of his letters still exist and are published in 12 volumes (*MHSI*, Series I: *Epplgn*); many more of his letters are now lost. The vast majority of them were written *after* Polanco became his secretary (March, 1547). Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 54.

²²Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 291-293.

body in the Society of Jesus and, *de facto*, the highest *governmental* body, because even the superior general is bound by its decrees. The role of a general congregation must be understood within the spiritual context of the *Constitutions*. According to St. Ignatius, structures are necessary to assure human cooperation in the divine plan and to help humanity advance more effectively in God's service. Thus, laws and institutions have only a *relative* importance in the hierarchy of values: they are never the goal of our existence and work, but simply the *means* to achieve our goals.²³ And, according to Father Ladislav Ōrsy, S.J., these structures "must be continuously adapted and re-adapted to a higher end."²⁴

It seems appropriate to begin our discussion of the general congregation by clarifying the Ignatian terminology. Why did Ignatius prefer the term "general congregation" (*congregatio generale*) when most other religious orders, at that time and later, call their assemblies a "general chapter" (*capitulum generale*)²⁵? The word "chapter" (*capitulum*) was not rejected because it represents something antithetical to the nature of the Institute;²⁶ nor was it rejected outright. In fact, the word "chapter"

²³Ōrsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," pp. 90-91.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁵Cf. canon 631, §1, in *Codex iuris canonici auctoritate Ioannis Pauli PP. II promulgatus [=CIC (1983)]*. Città del Vaticano, Libreria editrice Vaticana, 1983; English trans. by the Canon Law Society of America (=CLSA), *Code of Canon Law: Latin-English Edition (=Code)*, Washington, D.C., CLSA, 1983, pp. 236-239.

²⁶de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 276. Cf. J. De Roeck, "La genèse de la Congrégation générale dans la Compagnie de Jésus," in *AHSI*, 36 (1967), pp. 267-290.

appears in the *Constitutions* thirteen times; but, clearly, the term "congregation" (*congregatio*) predominates; Ignatius uses it 40 times, or in a proportion of three to one with "chapter" (*capitulum*).²⁷ Ignatius preferred the term "congregation" because it reflected better his philosophical understanding of what the assembly was supposed to be, vis-à-vis the whole Society. For Ignatius, the Society itself was a "congregation,"²⁸ i.e., a permanent and stable association, albeit scattered around the world. The general congregation, therefore, was envisioned as "the temporary reunion or concentration of this permanent congregation, which is the Society normally dispersed throughout various parts of the world."²⁹

A general congregation is made up of representatives (some *ex-officio*, but most elected) from the *whole* Society; it functions, therefore, as an "instrument of unity"³⁰ for the whole body. One of its primary goals is to "create a unity of vision and purpose that all can accept."³¹ In the critical process of building unity and preserving it, the whole Society supports the general congregation. In the words of Father Ōrsy, the universal membership of the Society, with all its gifts and human

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸The Society is actually called a "congregation" in nos. 1 and 655 of the *Constitutions*. See Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 75, 285.

²⁹de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 276. Cf. nos. 603 and 605 of the *Constitutions*; Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 267-268.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

limitations, is still "the main source that feeds the congregation."³² For Ignatius, the assembled members of a general congregation are supposed to be more than just a symbolic sampling, or microcosm, of the Society — they *are* the Society: "the Society joined together or concentrated for a period of time in one place."³³ Father Clancy has pointed out that the word "Society" is used as a synonym for "general congregation" at least four times [nos. 679, 687, 689, 690] in Part VIII of the *Constitutions*, thereby demonstrating that when a general congregation is assembled, the Society of Jesus is together in one place.³⁴

Although the general congregation is essentially "an organism for decision-making,"³⁵ still the limits of its powers are determined by the Society's own law: "the general congregation possesses full, legislative, judicial, disciplinary and administrative power, within the norms of common [universal] law and of the special [particular] law of the Society."³⁶ Father de Aldama reminds us that, "The general congregation has the fullness of authority granted to the Society because it is the

³²Ibid.

³³de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 276.

³⁴Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 104.

³⁵U. Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation [GC 34]: What It Can and Can't Do," *National Jesuit News*, October, 1993, p. 8.

³⁶*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 17, §1, in *Formulae Congregationis Generalis XXXI Opera et Auctoritate Retractata*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1973; English trans. U. Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

Society itself, the whole Society."³⁷ As a result, the general congregation is empowered to make whatever decisions are necessary or appropriate for the Society's well-being and proper functioning. Of course, there are some important restrictions to this power which derive from the Society's own law. Because the general congregation is itself regulated by proper law, there are certain provisions in that law which the general congregation cannot change. Furthermore, since the general congregation is a governmental body of the Society and for the Society, its power is naturally limited to the Society. In other words, as an *internal* structure it functions only internally. As a governmental body, its only jurisdiction operates within the Society of Jesus.³⁸ Thus, the power given to a general congregation has several objective limitations in itself and in its exercise.

The question naturally arises: Can the *Constitutions* of St. Ignatius be altered by a general congregation? According to the bull of Paul III, *Iniunctum nobis*,³⁹ a general congregation is empowered to modify the *Constitutions* in so far as it does not compromise the terms of the "Formula of the Institute." In other words, the *Constitutions* of St. Ignatius can be altered by subsequent congregations, provided that the changes do not conflict with a higher (i.e., pontifical) law. In approving the *Constitutions*, GC I decreed that the statutes of Father Ignatius must be respected and

³⁷de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 276.

³⁸Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

³⁹Paul III, *Iniunctum nobis*, 14 March 1544; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 5-8; and in *MHSI Cons.*, vol. I, pp. 81-86.

"observed as presented in the original copy."⁴⁰ As a result, later congregations have modified some statutes of the Ignatian Constitutions when there was a good reason to do so; but "they have rightfully indicated such modifications only in their own decrees and thus left Ignatius' text intact".⁴¹ GC I also made an important distinction between the types of matter contained in the *Constitutions*: "substantial" elements must be treated differently than "other particulars" (non-essentials).⁴²

In order to understand fully the parameters of a general congregation's legislative power, it becomes necessary to determine and clarify the "substantials" of the Institute. In the philosophical sense of the term, a "substantial" is "whatever constitutes the substance of something, that without which it would cease to be what it is."⁴³ Within the context of the Society, Father Valero defines the term as follows: "certain elements essential to the Society's manner of existence, without which the Society would change substantially or be unable to subsist in its original form as approved by the Church."⁴⁴ In a juridical sense, a "substantial" is "what belongs to

⁴⁰GC I, Decree 15; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 76.

⁴¹Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 46. Furthermore, a decree concerning such a change or modification must have a two-thirds majority. *Formulae Congregationum*, no. 118, §2; in Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 17c. Cf. GC XXXI, Decree 50, "Changes in the Formula of the General Congregation in Accord with the Decisions of the Present Congregation" (*Mutationes Formulae Congregationis Generalis secundum ea quae a Congregatione decreta sunt*); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 716, p. 294.

⁴²Ibid., Decree 16, p. 76.

⁴³de Aldama, *Formula/Notes*, p. 34.

⁴⁴Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

the fundamental law of a group" and that element of the law which cannot be altered if the group wishes to preserve its identity;⁴⁵ it is tantamount to constitutive law.⁴⁶ As established earlier, in the Society of Jesus, the fundamental law or basic rule is the "Formula of the Institute" approved by Julius III (1550). Prior to GC XXXI (1965-1966), a distinction was made between "Substantials of the First Order" (*Substantialia primi ordinis*) and "Substantials of the Second Order" (*Substantialia secundi ordinis*), and a list was drawn up for each category.⁴⁷ However, GC XXXI abrogated these detailed lists of substantials.⁴⁸

The "substantials" or fundamentals of the Society's Institute are, first and foremost, all those matters contained in the "Formula of the Institute" which establish the basic structure of the Society, and which are, therefore, considered to be of pontifical law.⁴⁹ Examples include the name of the Society, the supreme power of the

⁴⁵de Aldama, *Formula/Notes*, p. 34.

⁴⁶Cf. canon 86, *CIC* (1983); in *Code*, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁷A complete list of "substantials" was first published in the *Collectio decretorum* approved by GC XXVII (1923); in *Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII*, Decree 13, pp. 32-35; English trans. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 531-533; and in the *Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu additis præcipuis præscriptis ex iure communi Regularium* (= *Epitome*), editio minor, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1924, no. 22, pp. 15-18. Later editions of the *Epitome* appeared in 1931, 1949, and 1962. The 1924 list (trans. Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, pp. 16-17) appears in *Appendix D* of this work.

⁴⁸GC XXXI, Decree 4: "The Preservation and Renewal of the Institute" (*De conservatione et renovatione Instituti*), no. 3 (which abrogates Decree 13 of the *Collectio decretorum* of 1923); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 51, p. 85.

⁴⁹Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

general congregation, and the distinction of grades. These essential elements were previously called "first-order substantials," but since GC XXXI they are now termed "substantials contained in the *Formula*." These substantials may be *interpreted* by a general congregation acting on its own authority, *but not altered*, because, as elements of pontifical law, they remain outside the general congregation's competence.⁵⁰

And there are other "substantials," of a secondary nature, which are intimately related to the "Formula of the Institute," "either as a necessary or a very conducive condition."⁵¹ Even if these additional elements are not found in the "Formula," they are contained elsewhere in the *Constitutions*. Previously called "second-order substantials," they are now termed "substantials outside the *Formula of the Institute*."⁵² These secondary elements are deemed necessary because, without them, the substantial elements in the "Formula" could not be maintained, or maintained only with great difficulty.⁵³ Examples include the required manifestation (or account) of conscience, the life-term of the superior general, and the two-year novitiate. The secondary

⁵⁰GC I, Decree 16; and in GC XXVII, *Collectio Decretorum*, Decree 14, §1; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 76, 533. *Epitome*, no. 23; in Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 17a; and in Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

⁵¹de Aldama, *Formula/Notes*, p. 34.

⁵²GC XXVII, *Collectio Decretorum*, Decree 12; Decree 13, §7; and Decree 14, §2; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 531-533. GC XXXI, Decree 4, no. 3; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 53, p. 85.

⁵³GC V, Decrees 44, 45, and 58; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 200, 208. GC XXVII, *Collectio Decretorum*, Decree 12; in Padberg et al., in the work cited, p. 531. GC XXXI, Decree 4, no. 3; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 50, p. 85.

substantials can be changed by the general congregation "only in the measure that their linkage with the substantial elements in the Formula has notably weakened"; in principle, the secondary substantials must retain the stability which they have always possessed.⁵⁴

In virtue of its supreme legislative power, the general congregation is competent to legislate on all matters pertaining to the Institute, i.e., on all matters regarding the life, government, and apostolic works of the Society of Jesus. Thus, only a general congregation can adopt new constitutions, alter them, or make other major decisions that would permanently change the character of the Society.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the general congregation is also empowered to rule on the meaning of the *Declarations* and to make official interpretations of the *Constitutions*, including those essential elements which are termed the "substantials" of the Institute.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, there are still certain matters pertaining to the Society's Institute which remain *outside* the general congregation's competence. For example, the dispositions of pontifical law, whether universal or particular, may not be altered by a general congregation unless it receives special authorization from the Holy See.⁵⁷ The matters

⁵⁴GC XXVII, *Collectio Decretorum*, Decree 14, §2; Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 533. GC XXXI, Decree 4, no. 3; Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 53, p. 85; and in Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

⁵⁵Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 118, §1; in Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

of pontifical law which are *particular* to the Society of Jesus include the "Formula of the Institute" approved by Julius III (1550); other laws which became laws of pontifical right after being granted specific approval by the Holy See; and, finally, the apostolic letters, rescripts, and indults granted by various popes in favor of the Society.⁵⁸ Although a general congregation cannot, on its own authority, change the dispositions of pontifical law, it may however address these matters and propose changes in them to the Holy See.⁵⁹

The general congregation can change the *Constitutions* in all matters which are not substantial elements or which have not subsequently taken on the status of pontifical law. Sometimes such changes are necessary and should be made. However, the Society's own law clearly warns and dictates that such a change should not be decreed definitively without a previous trial or experiment, or without a very clear reason.⁶⁰ Furthermore, in order to change the *Constitutions*, a general congregation must first follow all of the special procedures provided in the Society's

⁵⁸*Epitome*, no. 5, §1, p. 7; and GC XXXI, Decree 4, no. 2, §§1-3, in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 45-47, p. 84; and in Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

⁵⁹In such cases, special procedural requirements must be observed. *Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 118, §1.

⁶⁰GC I, Decree 16; GC XXVII, *Collectio decretorum*, Decree 14, §4; Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 76, 533. *Epitome*, no. 24, p. 19; in Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8; and in Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 17a. GC XXXI, Decree 4, no. 3; Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 54, p. 85.

proper law.⁶¹

The general congregation can also change, through normal procedures, the various decrees of prior general congregations, the rules and regulations reserved to its own competence, and the rules and ordinances decreed by past and present superiors general.⁶² Furthermore, according to GC XXXI,

Decrees of general congregations, as well as rules and ordinations drawn up by the generals, even if inserted in the *Collection of the Institute*, not only may be changed by the aforesaid authorities in accordance with the competence of each, but it is their duty to provide for the continuing adaptation of them to the needs of the times.⁶³

Finally, GC XXXI also established the fundamental guideline for effecting any possible changes to the *Constitutions*:

Every adaptation of the Institute should aim at always establishing whatever seems to contribute most, all things considered, to the knowledge, love, praise, and service of God, and to the salvation of souls. For our holy Father Ignatius laid down as the foundation, or first criterion, of all our laws the greater glory of God and the help of souls.⁶⁴

⁶¹*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 118, §2.

⁶²GC XXVII, *Collectio decretorum*, Decree 4, §2; Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 529; and in Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

⁶³GC XXXI, Decree 4, no. 3; Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 55, pp. 85-86. Cf. *Epitome*, no. 25, p. 19; English trans. Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 17a. Cf. Ignatius of Loyola, "Preamble to the Declarations and Annotations on the Constitutions," in Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 136, pp. 121-122.

⁶⁴GC XXXI, Decree 4, no. 3: "*Omnis accommodatio Instituti eo tendat oportet, ut id semper statuatur, quod, omnibus perpensis, ad Dei cognitionem, amorem, laudem, servitium, et ad animarum salutem magis collaturum esse videatur. Legibus etenim nostris omnibus quasi fundamentum seu normam primam subiecit S. Pater Ignatius maiorem Dei gloriam et auxilium animarum*"; in *Decreta CG XXXI*, p. 56; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 56, p. 86. Cf. Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8; and Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 17a.

Thus, changes to the laws of the Society, even if decreed by past congregations or superiors general, are possible, and sometimes necessary; in all cases, however, these changes should only be carried out under certain conditions: (1) that they are made for legitimate purposes only (i.e., to advance the goals of the Society); (2) after a period of trial or experiment; and (3) according to the established procedures and norms of proper law.

The second chapter in Part VIII of the *Constitutions* is entitled, "The occasions for holding a general congregation" (*Quibus in casibus congregatio generalis fieri debeat*).⁶⁵ Unlike other religious orders that hold their general chapters periodically, Ignatius did not want a general congregation to be convoked at regular intervals. As he states in the *Constitutions*: "It is presupposed that for the present it does not seem good in our Lord that such a congregation should be held at definite intervals or very often; for the superior general, ... can spare the Society as a whole from that work and distraction as far as possible" [no. 677].⁶⁶ Thus, even though a general congregation acts as the highest legislative body and represents a valuable means of unity in the Society, the superior general is urged to refrain from using it solely for this purpose. The work, the apostolate, the mission must always come first, and before any other consideration. For Ignatius, a general congregation would, in effect, "distract" the Society by "depriving it of the time and attention which, in conformity

⁶⁵*MHSI Cons.*, Vol. III, p. 226; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 294.

⁶⁶Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 294.

with its Institute, it ought to give to the apostolic ministry."⁶⁷ Or, in the words of Father Örsy, "St. Ignatius was eager to prevent his Society from prolonged introspection at the expense of its apostolic activity."⁶⁸ Father O'Malley, however, suggests that although Ignatius' decision to avoid regular chapters...

[...] was consistent with the primacy of ministry in an organization originally conceived as operating to a large extent in conditions of diaspora, that is not to deny that other factors—temperamental, cultural, and ecclesiastical—played a role in the decision.⁶⁹

Thus, for various reasons, but most especially the high priority of ministry, Ignatius did not deem it wise or suitable for the general congregation to meet at regular intervals.

Nevertheless, Ignatius goes on to explain that "on some occasions a general congregation will be necessary, for example, for the election of a new superior general, whether it be because of the death of the preceding general or because of any of the reasons for which a general may relinquish that office" [no. 677].⁷⁰ Thus, a general congregation is always convoked at the death of a general in order to elect his successor. In the long history of the Society, only *one* general has officially resigned⁷¹ from office — Father Pedro Arrupe (1965-1983) who, for reasons of grave

⁶⁷de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 279.

⁶⁸Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 87.

⁶⁹O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 53.

⁷⁰Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 294.

⁷¹Formal resignation by a superior general was not constitutionally possible until GC XXXI (1965-1966), which decreed that, "Father General may in good

health, resigned in 1983. Accordingly, GC XXXIII convened on September 2, 1983, and it elected Father Peter-Hans Kolvenbach (1983-present) as his successor.

A living general may also convoke a general congregation "when it is necessary to deal with long-lasting and important matters, ... or with other very difficult matters pertaining to the whole body of the Society or its manner of proceeding" [no. 680].⁷² Surprisingly, the Society of Jesus has found few "long-lasting and important matters" that had to be dealt with by a general congregation. In just over 450 years, only 34 general congregations have been held. Of these, the vast majority—26—were

conscience and by law resign from his office for a grave reason that would render him permanently incapable of the labors of his post (*Præposito Generali in conscientia et de iure licet gravi de causa, quæ imparem laboribus sui officii eum perpetuo reddat, muneri suo renuntiare*). However, CG XXXI further stipulated that the general's resignation does not take effect "until it has been accepted by the Society in a General Congregation (*nisi a Societate in Congregatione Generali fuerit admissa*). See GC XXXI, Decree 41: "The Office of the General," no. 2, §§1 and 5; Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 632 and 636, pp. 269-270. Prior to GC XXXI, a superior general who was incapable of fulfilling his duties and obligations was allowed to remain in office, with his title, while a vicar general was appointed to oversee the day-to-day affairs of the Society [Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 786, pp. 322-323]. Superior General Goswin Nickel (1652-1664) was relieved of his powers by GC XI in May of 1661; he was eighty years old and too ill to govern. The congregation elected Father Giovanni Paolo Oliva as vicar general, with the right of succession, and granted to him, exclusively, all the powers of the general. As a result, Father Nickel remained superior general in name only. See Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 18; and Decrees of GC XI, nos. 1-8, in the same work, pp. 321-323. In the same way, and for the same reason, Superior General Pieter Beckx (1853-1887) was relieved of his powers by GC XXIII in September of 1883; he was eighty-eight years old. Father Anton Maria Anderledy was then elected vicar general, with the right of succession, and was granted the full powers of the general. See Padberg et al., in the work cited, p. 38; and Decrees of GC XXIII, nos. 1-6, in the same work, pp. 461-464.

⁷²Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 295.

convoked primarily to elect either a new superior general or vicar general.⁷³ Thus, only *eight* general congregations were convened principally to handle specific issues and to discuss other "matters of greater moment" (*ad graviora negotia*).⁷⁴

Father Thomas Reese, S.J. and other political scientists maintain that one of the indices for demonstrating the importance of a legislative body is the frequency with which it meets.⁷⁵ However, such a criterion can hardly be applied to the Society of Jesus. Indeed, there are, perhaps, very few legislative bodies that meet as infrequently as the general congregation of the Society of Jesus. Father Padberg points out that in the 200 years prior to the Society's suppression (1773), i.e., between the first and nineteenth congregations, the *average* interval between congregations was ten and one-half years. During that time, the shortest interval was just two years (between GC IX and GC X); and the longest interval was 29 years (between GC VII and GC VIII).⁷⁶ In the restored Society (after 1814), i.e., between the twentieth and thirty-fourth congregations, the *average* interval between

⁷³Of these 26 congregations, 24 elected superiors general and only two, GC XI (1661) and GC XXIII (1883), elected *vicars* general; see footnote no. 71 above.

⁷⁴GC XXVII, *Collectio decretorum*, Decree 13, Part I, §3, 1^o; English trans. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 531. The eight congregations convened to handle serious matters were: GC V (1593); GC VI (1608); GC XIV (1696); GC XXVII (1923); GC XXVIII (1938); GC XXX (1957); GC XXXII (1974-1975); and GC XXXIV (1995).

⁷⁵T.J. Reese, "The General Congregation of the Society of Jesus: A Study in the Legislative Process," in *The Jurist*, 34 (1974), p. 359.

⁷⁶J.W. Padberg, "The General Congregations of the Society of Jesus: A Brief Survey of Their History," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 6, nos. 1 and 2 (January and March, 1974), p. 107.

congregations is eleven years. During this period, the shortest interval is eight years (between GC XXVI and GC XXVII, between GC XXXI and GC XXXII, and between GC XXXII and GC XXXIII); and the longest interval is 30 years (between GC XXII and GC XXIII).⁷⁷ Six times, in the overall history of the Society, the interval has been twenty years or more.⁷⁸

The infrequency or irregularity of general congregations has often been debated and criticized by those Jesuits, and others, who advocate more frequent congregations, ones that would be held at set intervals. Even some of the popes have been involved in this long-standing discussion. At GC VIII (1645-1646), Pope Innocent X (1644-1655) asked the delegates to consider several reforms, among them a proposal for holding a general congregation every nine years. After a month's debate, the congregation informed the Pope that it was willing to accept the provision for periodic congregations, but that it could not reach an agreement on the other reforms.⁷⁹ As a result, Innocent X issued a brief, *Prospero felicique statui* (1 January 1646), ordering the general congregation to meet every nine years.⁸⁰ This brief was in effect for one hundred years, even though a general congregation could not always meet at the prescribed times and Pope Innocent's successors frequently dispensed from the

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 359.

⁷⁹Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 23.

⁸⁰Innocent X, *Prospero felicique statui*, 1 January 1646; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 177-180. See also Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 259; and Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, p. 29.

prescription.⁸¹ Two congregations, however, did convene mainly in accordance with the decree of Innocent X: GC XI (1661) and GC XIV (1696-1697).⁸² After numerous lobbying efforts by various superiors general, the provision for fixed intervals was finally abrogated. Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758) abolished the requirement for periodic general congregations in his brief of December 17, 1746, *Devotam maiori*.⁸³

The debate concerning set intervals continued, however, even into modern times. At GC XXXI (1965-1966) the question came up again because some *postulata* petitioned for general congregations at stated times. However, after considerable discussion, the status quo prevailed. On July 14, 1965, the penultimate day of the first session, the congregation fathers decided that there would not be general congregations at fixed intervals.⁸⁴ In recent years, those Jesuits who advocate a

⁸¹Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, p. 29. Cf. Harney, *The Jesuits*, p. 259.

⁸²Reese, "The General Congregation," pp. 359-360. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 25, 30; and Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 18, 22-23.

⁸³Benedict XIV, *Devotam maiori*, 17 December 1746; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 262-269. See also Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, p. 29; Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 23; and Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 16.

⁸⁴GC XXXI, "Historical Preface to the Decrees of the Thirty-First General Congregation (*Prooemium Historicum ex actis Congregationis Generalis*)," no. 31, §1, in *Decreta: Congregationis Generalis XXXI, A Restituta Societate XII, Annis 1965-1967*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1967, pp. 32-33; in J.W. Padberg, *Together as a Companionship: A History of the Thirty-First, Thirty-Second, and Thirty-Third General Congregations of the Society of Jesus*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994, p. 22; See also Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 98.

periodic meeting of the general congregation, or who at least are open to the idea of it, include Fathers Örsy, Padberg, and Reese. Among these, Father Örsy has been the most vocal. In a 1972 article, he wrote:

The fact that general congregations meet only at unpredictable intervals is now a standing weakness. [...] Irregularity in convoking a congregation favors delay in facing up to many issues, and abets the tendency to resolve some important ones by unconstitutional means.⁸⁵

Father Örsy further argues that Ignatius prefaced his dictate against regular meetings with the words, "for the present" [*Constitutions*, no. 677]. Thus, "he did not judge it [a definite interval] convenient or suitable or necessary *for the present*, namely, in his era of slow travel."⁸⁶ Also, "It is legitimate to think that if he saw the amount of *cosas de importancia* [matters of importance] today, he would opt for regular meetings," because Ignatius firmly held the principle that "no one but the general congregation should judge and decide important issues."⁸⁷ And to these arguments, Father Reese simply adds, "there is no known legislative body of any importance that does not meet on a regular basis."⁸⁸

Father John Padberg reveals his preference for periodic meetings by stating:

[...] the Society seems to be one of the very few organizations, lay or religious, with a legislative body which does not meet at set intervals to conduct routine business in an atmosphere untouched by the exceptional or the

⁸⁵Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 105.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 111.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 360.

crisis-ridden situation.⁸⁹

He further contends that, while the facility of modern communication may argue *against* regular meetings, the ease of modern travel can certainly be used as an argument in their favor. But, in the final analysis, the issues surrounding a general congregation — structure, procedure, membership, and *frequency*, must all "be judged in the light of what the general congregations are there for."⁹⁰ Thus, periodic meetings would be more helpful, but only to the extent that they accomplish their purpose. This view tends to echo the sentiment expressed by St. Ignatius, which is his guiding principle for holding general congregations and which Father Örsy paraphrases as follows: "It is not a goal in itself, but a means to an end. It should be held to the extent that important issues require it, neither more nor less. Any fixed and unchangeable rule would be legalism; it would put the law above reason."⁹¹ Örsy, however, carries the thought one step further, as he concludes: "The need to convoke it cannot depend on any abstract, or legal, or traditional principle. It must depend on the need that arises from the changes that take place in the world, in the Church, or in the Society itself."⁹² There is little doubt that we have not heard the last of these arguments; future congregations may yet decide that the time has come for holding general congregations at set intervals.

⁸⁹Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 107.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 95.

⁹²Ibid., p. 96.

The third chapter in Part VIII of the *Constitutions* is entitled, "Those who should come" (*Qui debeant congregari*).⁹³ Currently, there are two ways by which delegates are chosen for the general congregation: either (1) by election, or (2) by appointment, i.e., those who attend by virtue of office (*ex officio*). However, the process for selecting delegates to the general congregation has changed considerably over time. At first, as stated in the "Formula of the Institute," the general congregation was supposed to be made up of "the greater part of the entire professed Society which can be summoned without grave inconvenience by the superior general."⁹⁴ By the time the *Constitutions* were written, however, the Society was already too large and too dispersed to make it practical for *all* the professed members to go to Rome for a general congregation.⁹⁵ As a consequence, Ignatius decided to institute the "provincial congregation" which would *elect* two delegates to the general congregation; the provincial of each province would go *ex officio*. Or, as stated in the *Constitutions*, "[...] three will come from each province: the provincial and two others chosen by the other participants in the provincial congregation, which will be held for this purpose before the general congregation."⁹⁶ Of course, the three delegates

⁹³*MHSI Cons.*, vol. 3, p. 228; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 295.

⁹⁴Julius III, *Exposcit debitum*, no. 2; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 3, p. 67.

⁹⁵Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 361.

⁹⁶Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 682, p. 296. At GC XXX (1957), a proposal was offered to reduce the total number of electors from each province. As a means of reducing the overall size of the general congregation, it proposed that only *two* delegates come from each province (one elected representative and the provincial).

representing a province would all be *professed* fathers; this requirement satisfied the provision set down in the "Formula of the Institute," as stated above. Moreover, this requirement seemed appropriate because, according to Ignatius, the professed of four vows constitute the Society in its most precise meaning. Earlier, in Part V of the *Constitutions* (concerning incorporation into the Society), Ignatius explains, that "The fourth and most precise meaning of this name, the Society, comprehends only the professed. The reason is [...] that the professed are the principal members." ⁹⁷

The composition of the provincial congregation has also changed substantially over time, but most especially since GC XXXI. In his *Constitutions*, Ignatius states that the provincial congregation should be made up of "all the professed who can come, the superiors of the houses, the rectors of colleges, and the procurators, or those whom they send in their place."⁹⁸ It quickly became apparent, however, that this particular mandate would eventually prove too cumbersome. For example, while Ignatius was still alive, approximately 92 percent of the priests in the Society were professed; this meant that practically all those with final vows were obliged and expected (unless impeded by physical ailment) to attend their respective provincial

But, "since this touched upon the Constitutions," the fathers "chose not to act upon the matter." GC XXX, Decree 26, no. 1; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 661. However, as we will discuss shortly, the total number of electors was finally changed by GC XXXIII (1983), which established a proportional system for selecting delegates to the general congregation.

⁹⁷Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutions*, Part V, Ch. 1; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 511, p. 232.

⁹⁸Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 682, p. 296.

congregations.⁹⁹ To help remedy this unmanageable situation, GC V (1593-1594) changed the make-up of the provincial congregation by putting restrictions on those who were eligible to attend.¹⁰⁰ As a result, attendance at the provincial congregation was thereby limited to the provincial and to all local superiors appointed by the general, plus only enough fathers, chosen among those most senior in profession, needed to fulfill the predetermined number.¹⁰¹

For the next 371 years (1594-1965) there was little change regarding the make-up of the provincial congregation. It was criticized by some, especially in the 20th century, for favoring the *oldest* members of the province, those who, in most cases, were naturally more conservative. Or, as Father Padberg reports, "A 'gerontocracy' is what some had rather wryly dubbed it."¹⁰² Another criticism focused on the

⁹⁹L. Lukács, "*De graduum diversitate inter sacerdotes in Societate Iesu*," in *AHSI*, 37 (1968), pp. 237-316; also in Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 362. For a summary of Father Lukács' analysis regarding the diversity of grades among the priests of the Society, see Ganss, *Constitutions*, "Note B", pp. 349-356, and footnote no. 20, pp. 81-82.

¹⁰⁰GC V, Decrees 24, 38, 60, and 81; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 193, 197, 209, and 215.

¹⁰¹The predetermined number was either 40 (when a provincial congregation meets to elect a procurator) or 50 (when it meets to prepare for a general congregation); in either situation, the number of professed fathers must always form the majority of those present (allowing for the possibility that sometimes *ex officio* members might not be professed). GC V, Decree 60; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 209. GC VII (1615), in Decree 2, later allowed *former* provincials to attend a province congregation, even in excess of the fixed number; in Padberg et al., in the work cited, p. 247.

¹⁰²J.W. Padberg, "The Society True to Itself: A Brief History of the 32nd General Congregation of the Society of Jesus (December 2, 1974—March 7, 1975)," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 15, nos. 3 and 4 (May and September, 1983),

undemocratic nature of the process: there were no elections; all delegates were either appointed (based on seniority) or attended *ex officio*. However, this odd mixture of local superiors and approximately the 40 (or 50) oldest members remained the norm for all provincial congregations until GC XXXI changed the system radically and established an electoral process.¹⁰³ Under the revised system, there would still be delegates chosen by reason of office;¹⁰⁴ but, in addition, 40 fathers and brothers (twenty in a vice-province) would be chosen by election, and without any consideration for seniority. Strictly speaking, seniority was no longer a factor; however, the new guidelines did maintain that only those with *final* vows (whether solemn or simple) had active and passive voice in the election that preceded a provincial congregation, i.e., they were the only ones who could vote or be elected.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, "The provincial, with the deliberative vote of the group that counts the ballots [i.e., the consultors of the province], can summon to the congregation three other fathers or brothers, and these attend in addition to the fixed number of 40 (*supra*

p. 16.

¹⁰³GC XXXI, Decree 40: "Province Congregations" (*De Congregatione Provinciæ*). See Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 624-630, pp. 265-266.

¹⁰⁴According to GC XXXI, the *ex officio* delegates include: the provincial, all local superiors who are normally appointed by the general; vice-provincials and vice-superiors; the province treasurer; and the province consultors. GC XXXI, Decree 40, no. 1; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 624, p. 265.

¹⁰⁵GC XXXI, Decree 40, no. 2; *ibid.*, no. 625, p. 265.

numerus).¹⁰⁶ The final requirements of GC XXXI maintain that "at least half" of the members of a provincial congregation (including those who attend *supra numerum*) should be solemnly professed of four vows; and that the brothers ("formed temporal coadjutors") should not number more than five members, although at least one of them should be present in the congregation.¹⁰⁷

The next significant change concerning the provincial congregation came with GC XXXII (1974-1975). Although most members of the Society were generally pleased with the changes enacted by GC XXXI, there were still some members who felt that the changes did not go far enough. At GC XXXII, therefore, the fathers were once again compelled (via the *postulata* submitted) to address the subject of the provincial congregation. The most serious concern centered on the fact that participation in the provincial congregation was still restricted to those with final vows, since only they had active and passive voice in the process of selecting delegates. Accordingly, GC XXXII sought to remedy the exclusivity of the selection process by expanding the participation of Jesuits to include, for the first time, those *without* final vows. As a result, the general congregation granted the right to participate in the provincial congregation (and in the election preceding it) to Jesuits without final vows, but only on a limited basis, according to the following provisions: (1) all scholastics and brothers have *active* voice five years after their entrance into the Society; (2) they obtain *passive* voice after eight years in the Society; and (3) there

¹⁰⁶GC XXXI, Decree 40, no. 3; *ibid.*, no. 628, p. 266.

¹⁰⁷GC XXXI, Decree 40, no. 4; *ibid.*, no. 629, p. 266.

may not be more than five delegates (three in a vice-province) without final vows, but there should be at least one.¹⁰⁸ The fathers at GC XXXII further decided that "these norms and determinations should be reviewed by the next general congregation";¹⁰⁹ but, upon review, GC XXXIII (1983) decreed that the norms "should continue in force" at least until the next general congregation (GC XXXIV).¹¹⁰

At GC XXXIV (1995), the fathers again decided to maintain the current norms of the provincial congregation with regard to active and passive voice.¹¹¹ However, they did make some other changes, especially concerning the *make-up* of the provincial congregation. According to GC XXXIV, the composition of participants at the provincial congregation must include: (1) the professed of four vows, at least 50 percent; and (2) a total representation of "formed" members (i.e., all those with *final* vows, whether solemn or simple) of at least 80 percent. In addition, of the elected and *ex officio* participants, there must be at least one "formed" brother and

¹⁰⁸GC XXXII, Decree 14: "The Provincial Congregation" (*De Congregatione Provinciæ*), no. 11; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 322, p. 509.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰GC XXXIII, Decree 5: "On the Province Congregation" (*De Congregatione Provinciæ*), 1^o; in *Documents of the 33rd General Congregation of the Society of Jesus: An English Translation of the Official Latin Texts of the General Congregation and of Related Documents (=Documents of GC 33)*, eds. D.R. Campion and A.C. Louapre, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1984, no. 80, p. 70.

¹¹¹GC XXXIV, Decree 23: "Congregations and Governance", Section D, no. 7; in *Documents of the Thirty-Fourth General Congregation of the Society of Jesus: The Decrees of General Congregation Thirty-Four, the Fifteenth of the Restored Society, and the Accompanying Papal and Jesuit Documents (=Documents of GC 34)*, trans. by the Curia of the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, ed. J.L. McCarthy, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995, no. 495, p. 224.

two "approved" members (i.e., those without final vows), of whom at least one is not ordained.¹¹² Furthermore, the general congregation also determined that the *socius* of the provincial could participate, *ex officio*, in the province congregation; and that the provincial, with the deliberative vote of the province consultors, could now designate up to five additional participants¹¹³ in the province congregation.¹¹⁴

As stated earlier, Ignatius had determined that each provincial congregation would elect *two* delegates¹¹⁵ to the general congregation; these delegates,¹¹⁶ who had to be professed of four vows, would attend the general congregation along with their provincial (who goes *ex officio*). Thus, each province would send a delegation of

¹¹²GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section D, nos. 4 and 5; *ibid.*, nos. 492 and 493, p. 224.

¹¹³This represents an increase of *two* over and above the three additional participants allowed by GC XXXI (see footnote no. 102). However, this adjustment applies only to those provinces which have at least 0.5 percent of the total membership of the Society; otherwise, three additional participants remains the norm for those provinces which have a smaller membership.

¹¹⁴GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section D, nos. 3 and 6; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, nos. 491 and 494, p. 224.

¹¹⁵Actually, there were *five* persons elected at the provincial congregation: the *two* delegates who would accompany the provincial to Rome, and *three* substitutes (or alternates), just in case one (or all) of the others were somehow impeded from attending the general congregation. It would be the prerogative of the provincial to decide which of the substitutes would actually go, if that situation arose. Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 684, p. 297. However, GC III (1573) later determined that, if needed, substitutes should be sent according to the same order in which they were elected. See GC III, "Formula for a Provincial Congregation," Ch. 4, nos. 1-2; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 158.

¹¹⁶The delegates to a general congregation are officially called "electors" (*electores*). This title refers to the fact that, in most cases, delegates are sent to a general congregation in order to *elect* a new superior general.

three representatives to the general congregation.¹¹⁷ As a result, nearly one-third of all delegates were provincials who were appointed by the general. This system, outlined by Ignatius, remained in place for the next 425 years (1558-1983).¹¹⁸ By the time GC XXXIII convened (1983), it had long been felt that, since the membership of some provinces was much larger than others (some four times the size of others), representation at the general congregation should be more proportional.¹¹⁹ Therefore, GC XXXIII established a proportional system for selecting delegates to all future general congregations.¹²⁰ According to this plan, the number of delegates representing each province is based on the membership of that province as a percentage of the total membership of the Society.¹²¹ And in this system, the *maximum* number of delegates

¹¹⁷Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 682, p. 296.

¹¹⁸A slight change did occur in 1938. GC XXVIII decreed that, in addition to provinces, vice-provinces and independent missions also have a right to elect and send delegates to the general congregation; however, such entities were permitted to send only *one* elected delegate (who had to be professed of four vows). See GC XXVIII, Decrees 44 and 46; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 614-615 and 618-619; and in Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 361. At first, the delegates from vice-provinces and missions were called "procurators"; but GC XXX (1957) decreed that these representatives should be called "electors" (the same title given to those from provinces). See GC XXX, Decree 59; in Padberg et al., in the work cited, p. 677. GC XXXIII (1983) would later eliminate the distinction between an "independent vice-province" and a province. See GC XXXIII, Decree 3, no. 1, #2; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, no. 68, p. 67.

¹¹⁹Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 106-107.

¹²⁰GC XXXIII, Decree 3: "On the Composition of the General Congregation" (*De compositione Congregationis Generalis*), no. 1; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, nos. 60-69, pp. 66-67.

¹²¹The formula that was finally agreed-upon for determining the total number of "electors" from each province is as follows: *one* elector: when the membership of

representing each province (including the provincial) is limited to seven.¹²² Despite their democratic move toward proportional representation, the fathers at GC XXXIII decided to maintain the requirement that *all* delegates to a general congregation must be solemnly professed of four vows.¹²³ Such a radical departure from the Ignatian *Constitutions* would have to wait for another time.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the issue concerning a delegate's qualifications was raised again at GC XXXIV (1995). The concern this time centered on the fact that many able Jesuits, who were *not* professed of four vows, were being automatically excluded from direct participation in the decision-making process.

Although GC XXXI had opened-up the *provincial* congregation to include those

a province is less than 0.5% of the total membership of the Society; *two* electors (including provincial): when membership is at least 0.5%, but less than 1.4% of the total; *three* electors (including provincial): when membership is at least 1.4%, but less than 2.4%; *four* electors (including provincial): when membership is at least 2.4%, but less than 3.2%; *five* electors (including provincial): when membership is at least 3.2%, but less than 4.0%; *six* electors (including provincial): when membership is at least 4.0%, but less than 4.8%; and *seven* (maximum) electors (including provincial): when membership is at least 4.8%, or greater. GC XXXIII, Decree 3, no. 1, #1, 1°-7°; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, nos. 61-67, pp. 66-67.

¹²²At GC XXXIV (1995), the first general congregation to employ the proportional system of delegates, the theoretical maximum of *seven* delegates from a single province was never actually attained. Instead, the province with the most number of delegates was Italy, which had six; France had five delegates; and New York, Castile, and Patna (India) each had four. Of course, these numbers represent only those delegates elected at provincial congregations and the provincials; they do not include certain members of the Society's General Curia (from various provinces) who were also delegates, *ex officio*, at GC XXXIV. "The Society Towards GC 34," in *News and Features*, Documentation No. 74 (November, 1994), pp. 5-7.

¹²³GC XXXIII, Decree 3, no. 1, #1, 1°-7°. Cf. *Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 6, 3°-4°.

Jesuits who were not professed, the general congregation itself still remained off-limits to all but the solemnly professed. In response to this disparity, GC XXXIV decreed that "all formed coadjutors [i.e., all spiritual and temporal coadjutors with final (simple) vows] have the right to be electors in a general congregation. [... Thus,] all formed members of the Society [...] have passive voice in the province congregation to be chosen as electors (and substitutes) to the general congregation."¹²⁴ The primary reason or motivation for this change, as stated in the decree itself, was to favor the participation of all members in the life of the Society, as recommended by the Second Vatican Council,¹²⁵ and as prescribed in the revised (1983) *Code of Canon Law*.¹²⁶ GC XXXIV further requires that "those elected in the province congregations should constitute a majority of the members of the general congregation;"¹²⁷ and that, in any case, the general (or vicar general) should "provide for the participation of some brothers [if none are elected], at least as procurators *ad negotia*"¹²⁸.¹²⁹

¹²⁴GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section A, nos. 2 and 2, 1°; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, nos. 470-471, pp. 219-220.

¹²⁵Vatican Council II, Decree on the Updated Renewal of Religious Life, *Perfectæ caritatis*, 28 October 1965; in *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis* (=AAS), 58 (1966), pp. 702-712; English trans. A. Flannery, gen. ed., *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (=Documents of Vatican II), rev. ed., Dublin, Dominican Publications, 1992, no. 14, pp. 619-620.

¹²⁶The *CIC* requires that a general chapter represent "the entire institute" (*totum institutum repræsentans*); canon 631, §1, *CIC* (1983); in *Code*, pp. 236-239.

¹²⁷GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section A, no. 1, 2°; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, no. 469, p. 219.

¹²⁸The "procurators *ad negotia*" are those members who are called to the general congregation by the general (or who are sent by their provincials with the

Finally, although the formed coadjutors are now guaranteed a place at the next general congregation (GC XXXV), there are some restrictions placed on the size of their membership and on the level of their participation in the voting process at that congregation. Thus, the fathers at GC XXXIV determined that, "If the total number of formed coadjutors elected [at provincial congregations] is more than ten percent of the members (elected and *ex officio*) of the general congregation, the one most recently admitted to final vows will be replaced by a substitute elected from the same province who is professed of four vows."¹³⁰ Furthermore, with regard to elections at the general congregation itself, the fathers also decided that "formed coadjutors will not have passive voice for election to an office for which the profession of four vows is required."¹³¹ This last stipulation admittedly conforms to the wishes of Ignatius, especially with regard to the office of general. In his *Constitutions*, Ignatius clearly

general's permission) in order to "provide more ample information on affairs." Ordinarily, they join the congregation only "for the business" (*ad negotia*) session, i.e., after the election of a new general has been completed; but from that point on, they have "the right of voting in everything except the election of the general assistants." *Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 7, §1. Cf. GC XXXI, Decree 50: "Changes in the Formula of the General Congregation in Accord with the Decisions of the Present Congregation" (*Mutationes Formulæ Congregationis Generalis secundum ea quæ a Congregatione decreta sunt*); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 706, p. 292. The presence of procurators *ad negotia* at the general congregation and their voting rights were first determined by Ignatius and have their foundation in the *Constitutions*. See Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 683 and 699, pp. 296-297 and 301.

¹²⁹GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section A, no. 2, 3°; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, no. 473, p. 220.

¹³⁰GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section A, no. 2, 2°; *ibid.*, no. 472, p. 220.

¹³¹GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section A, no. 2, 1°; *ibid.*, no. 471, pp. 219-220.

dictates: "[...] the professed of three vows and some coadjutors [...] could hold active and likewise passive voice [during the *business* portion of a congregation], but not the capacity to preside over the professed of four vows. If the congregation is held for the election of a general, no one who is not professed of four vows will have active or passive voice in that election."¹³² However, as of GC XXXIV, the formed coadjutors will now have at least *active* voice in the election of a general.

Finally, in the closing section of Chapter 3, Ignatius addresses the voting power of those attending the general congregation, specifically the primacy of the general and provincials in determining the final results of any vote that ends in a tie. As he states:

Of the professed who take part in the chapter, each one will have only one vote and the general two; but if the number of votes is equal, the provincials' will be preferred over the others. If there is a tie among the provincials, the side which is favored by the general (or if he is no longer alive, by his vicar) will prevail.¹³³

GC XXVIII (1938) confirmed the twofold vote of the superior general and his tie-breaking powers within the congregation's plenary sessions; however, it went on to state that, within the commissions (*deputationes*), the general has one vote only.¹³⁴

Chapter 3 of Part VIII of the *Constitutions* can best be summarized as follows:

¹³²Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 683, pp. 296-297.

¹³³Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 686, p. 297. Father de Aldama points out that this particular norm for voting (i.e., that in the case of a tie, the vote of the provincials and of the general prevails), was inspired by the Dominican Constitutions. de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 281.

¹³⁴GC XXVIII, Decree 44; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 614. Cf. *Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 20, §1.

At first, Ignatius wanted almost all of the professed fathers to participate in the general congregation. When such a system became unrealistic, i.e., too cumbersome due to large numbers, he instituted the provincial congregation which would elect two delegates, from among the professed, who would attend the general congregation along with their provincial. The Ignatian system for selecting delegates to the general congregation remained in place for over 400 years.¹³⁵ In this century, however, recent congregations have sought to update the selection process by first instituting an electoral system for choosing delegates to the provincial congregations and, then, by establishing a proportional system of representation and by broadening the membership of a general congregation to include non-professed fathers, and even some brothers.

The fourth chapter in Part VIII of the *Constitutions* is entitled, "Who should convoke a general congregation" (*Ad quem spectet Congregationem generalem indicere*).¹³⁶ As stated earlier, the vast majority of general congregations (24 out of 34) was summoned, following the death of a general, in order to elect his successor. According to the *Constitutions*, when a general dies, the responsibility for convoking the next congregation "will fall upon one of the professed whom the general before his death will have designated as his vicar. [...] His office will be to summon the Society for a specified place and date."¹³⁷ Originally, a superior general could name the vicar general either verbally (as, for example, on his deathbed), or in writing, usually by

¹³⁵Reese, "The General Congregation," pp. 362-363.

¹³⁶*MHSI Cons.*, vol. 3, p. 230; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 297.

¹³⁷Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 687, p. 297.

means of a sealed letter that was kept in his desk drawer. GC XXXIV, however, determined that the appointment of a vicar must be in writing: "Father General is to deposit in writing the name or names of the temporary vicar(s) general he wishes to appoint in case of his death and in case of his incapacity."¹³⁸

It could sometimes happen, however, that a vicar general is *not* named beforehand, either because the general dies suddenly or unexpectedly without having made his choice, or perhaps because he was undecided and deliberately chose not to name someone.¹³⁹ Whatever the particulars of such a scenario, the *Constitutions* still require the appointment of a vicar who "should hold the place of the general until a new one is elected."¹⁴⁰ Therefore, in such a situation where no vicar has been designated beforehand, Ignatius suggested that all of the professed who are nearby (i.e., in Rome or its environs) should gather to "elect a vicar by a majority of votes."¹⁴¹ The Society of Jesus has since established an elaborate protocol for this type of special election, or, as it is called, a "Congregation for electing a temporary

¹³⁸GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section B, no. 1; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, no. 477, p. 221.

¹³⁹For example, in 1730, Superior General Michelangelo Tamburini (1706-1730) died without designating a vicar general. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁰Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 688, pp. 297-298. Cf. GC III, "The Office of Vicar General," no. 2; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 162.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*

Vicar General" (*Congregatio ad eligendum Vicarium Generalem temporarium*).¹⁴² GC XXXIV has put a limit on the size of this special gathering by specifying, in very precise terms, *which* professed fathers are eligible and/or invited to attend such a mini-congregation, if, indeed, one is ever needed.¹⁴³

Sometimes a vicar general is already "in place" at the time of a general's death. This situation occurs when a living general has asked the previous general congregation to elect a "permanent" vicar general who will assist him in the day-to-day operations of the Society. Normally, such an extreme measure would be necessary only if the general were somehow impeded from carrying out his duties because of age or illness. The *Constitutions* clearly allow for this situation.¹⁴⁴ In the past, there have been some vicars general elected at the general congregation. On two occasions in the Society's history, the general congregation elected a vicar general and also granted him the right of succession (as "coadjutor").¹⁴⁵ In most situations,

¹⁴²See "*Formula Congregationis ad eligendum Vicarium Generalem temporarium*" in *Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII, A Restituta Societate VIII, 1923*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1924, pp. 223-227; revised by GC XXXI, *Formula Congregationis Generalis XXXI Opera et Auctoritate Retractata*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1973; partially revised by GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section B, nos. 1-3; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, nos. 477-481, p. 221. GC XXXIV has called for further revisions to this document; in the work cited, no. 482, p. 221.

¹⁴³GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section B, nos. 2-3; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, nos. 478-481, p. 221.

¹⁴⁴*Constitutions*, Part IX, Chapters 4 and 5; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 773, 786-787, pp. 319, 322-323.

¹⁴⁵See footnote no. 71, in Chapter 2 of this study.

however, a "permanent" vicar general would serve only for the remainder of the general's lifetime. Then, upon the death of the general, a new "temporary" vicar general would be either appointed or elected according to the normal procedures (outlined above). It is the sole responsibility of the "temporary" vicar general to summon the next general congregation and to function as the acting-general until the next superior general is elected.¹⁴⁶

Of course, there is nothing to prevent a "permanent" vicar general (whose office expired with the death of the general) from being selected as the "temporary" vicar general (who will hold office until the new general is elected). Indeed, such was the case when Superior General Jean-Baptiste Janssens (1946-1964) died on October 5, 1964. In 1960, Father Janssens, whose health was declining, appointed Father John L. Swain¹⁴⁷ as permanent vicar general to help him with the heavy duties and increasing demands of his office.¹⁴⁸ Upon the death of Father Janssens, the office of "permanent" vicar general ceased. However, Father Swain was then appointed, through the normal process, as "temporary" vicar general of the Society. Thus, it was

¹⁴⁶Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 687-688, pp. 297-298. Cf. GC III, "The Office of Vicar General," nos. 3-4; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 162.

¹⁴⁷Father Swain, a Canadian, had been elected one of the regional assistants to the general (for the English Assistancy) at GC XXX (1957). GC XXX, Decree 34, no. 2; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 60, 665. As Vicar General (1960-1965), he was the first non-European Jesuit to hold such a high-ranking position in the Society of Jesus. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 72.

¹⁴⁸The "appointment" of a permanent vicar general, by the superior general, is permitted in certain situations, according to the *Constitutions*. Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 773 and 787, pp. 319 and 323.

in this capacity that he sent out (on November 13, 1964) the letter convoking the Thirty-First General Congregation, which convened the following May (1965).¹⁴⁹

As stated, the vicar general can convoke a general congregation, which is a function he carries out primarily upon the death of a general. In addition to the vicar general, a living superior general can, of course, summon a general congregation when the need arises, i.e., to discuss and resolve serious matters ("of greater moment"). The general receives this authority, given to his office, through the *Constitutions*, which state: "When the congregation is not held for the election of a general, the general himself is the one who should convoke it. [...] he will not summon the Society many times, but when necessity compels" [no. 689].¹⁵⁰ In most cases, the superior general will decide which matters are important enough to warrant the convocation of a general congregation; the *Constitutions* leave this decision to his discretion.¹⁵¹ However, sometimes the decision to summon a general congregation can be made by others who are close to the general; and if that happens, he should then comply willingly with their recommendation. In this regard, the *Constitutions* state:

But when matters arise which are urgent and of great importance, so that the assistants to the general, the provincials, and the local superiors judge by a majority of votes that a general chapter should be held, [...] it should be convoked. Moreover, the general should acquiesce and order that chapter to

¹⁴⁹Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 298. Cf. no. 681, p. 295; and no. 755, pp. 315-316.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, no. 681, p. 295.

be held with great diligence.¹⁵²

Furthermore, although a living superior general may make a decision (based solely on his own judgment) to convoke a general congregation, he may also be *required* to do so, by a "congregation of procurators." GC II (1565) instituted the Congregation of Procurators, based on the *Constitutions* [no. 679], as an alternative to holding the general congregation at fixed intervals.¹⁵³ Originally, the congregation of procurators was supposed to meet every three years, and its primary purpose was to decide whether a general congregation should be convoked. In addition, the procurators, representing each province, would inform the superior general on the present state of their particular province, in accordance with the *Constitutions*. Since their establishment at GC II, there have been 67 congregations of procurators; the last one was held in 1987. The congregation of procurators now meets in Rome "every four years after the end of the last general congregation."¹⁵⁴ The procurators are elected by their provincial congregations, which also vote whether or not to have a general congregation. The vote of the provincial congregation, however, is *not*

¹⁵²Ibid. Cf. no. 773, p. 319; and no. 786, pp. 322-323.

¹⁵³GC II, Decree 19; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 116-117.

¹⁵⁴GC XXXIV, Decree 23: "Congregations and Governance," Section C, no. 6, 2^o; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, no. 488, p. 222. Prior to GC 34, the congregation of procurators was required to meet every other *third* year, alternating with the congregation of provincials.

binding on the procurator.¹⁵⁵ Of the 34 general congregations convoked in the history of the Society of Jesus, only GC VI (1608) was summoned by request of a congregation of procurators.¹⁵⁶ The vote by a congregation of procurators in favor of holding a general congregation is binding on the superior general;¹⁵⁷ but it is he *alone*, in virtue of his office, who can actually summon a general congregation.¹⁵⁸ Thus, GC VI was officially convoked (*de iure*) by Superior General Claudio Aquaviva (1581-1615), but in accordance with the judgment and recommendation of the Eleventh Congregation of Procurators (1606).¹⁵⁹

Prior to GC XXXI, only the congregation of procurators could *require* a

¹⁵⁵GC XXXI, Decree 39: "Congregations of Procurators and Provincials," no. 3, 2°: "Procurators are never bound to follow the opinion of their province, but they should adopt as their own that opinion which, after considering all the information they received, seems better in the Lord"; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 621, p. 264.

¹⁵⁶GC VI was convoked in accordance with a decree issued by the Eleventh Congregation of Procurators (1606). A. Coemans, *Commentarium in Regulas Societatis Iesu omnibus nostris communes*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1938; English trans. M. Germing, *Commentary on the Rules of the Society of Jesus*, St. Louis, Missouri Province Educational Institute, 1948, p. 383, footnote no. 2; also in Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 359; and in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 13, 217.

¹⁵⁷Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 681, p. 295.

¹⁵⁸Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 689 and 755, pp. 298 and 315-316. According to the Constitutions, a general congregation can also be summoned by the four general assistants, acting together (when three out of four agree), if/when it becomes necessary to depose a superior general (Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 782, pp. 321-322); however, this situation has never occurred.

¹⁵⁹Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 217. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 20.

superior general to summon a general congregation. However, GC XXXI instituted a new entity having the same authority, the "Congregation of Provincials,"¹⁶⁰ which was to meet in Rome every alternate third year, in place of the congregation of procurators. In voting for or against the calling of a general congregation, the provincials were "bound to follow the opinion which was approved by their province's congregation in an instance where that opinion was affirmative, i.e., for calling the congregation, but not if it was negative."¹⁶¹ With time, the congregation of provincials proved to be unnecessary and of little value. In fact, there has been only *one* congregation of provincials since it was instituted in 1966; and this one was held at Loyola, Spain, in 1990. Thus, after only 29 years of existence, the congregation of provincials was abolished by GC XXXIV in 1995.¹⁶² In its place, however, GC XXXIV decreed that the superior general shall convoke a "meeting" of all Provincials "every six years beginning from the last general congregation" in order to discuss "the state, the problems, and the initiatives of the universal Society."¹⁶³

The fifth chapter in Part VIII of the *Constitutions* is entitled, "The place, time, and manner of assembling" (*De loco, tempore et modo congregandi*).¹⁶⁴ When a

¹⁶⁰GC XXXI, Decree 39, no. 1; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 616, p. 263.

¹⁶¹GC XXXI, Decree 39, no. 3, 1°; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 620, p. 263.

¹⁶²GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section C, no. 3, p. 115.

¹⁶³GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section C, no. 4, p. 115.

¹⁶⁴*MHSI Cons.*, vol III, p. 231; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 298.

general congregation is summoned for the purpose of electing a general, it should "ordinarily" be held "where the general more commonly resides [i.e., Rome¹⁶⁵], unless the members agree to meet in another place more convenient for all of them" [no. 690].¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, in this same situation, the time period allowed for the start of the congregation "will be five or six months from the date of the letters of notification," unless a longer period becomes necessary.¹⁶⁷ When a general congregation is summoned for "other" matters, the decisions regarding the time and place of the congregation are left entirely to the general's judgment.¹⁶⁸

In Chapter 5, Ignatius again addresses the importance of the provincial congregation and its unique role in selecting delegates to the general congregation.

¹⁶⁵Ignatius had earlier suggested that Rome was the ideal location for the Society's headquarters because "it can be a great help for the general to reside for the most part in Rome, where communications with all regions can more easily be maintained." *Constitutions*, Part VIII, Ch. 1; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 668, p. 291.

¹⁶⁶Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 298. Only once in the Society's history has a general congregation been held outside Rome. In 1892, the unstable political situation in Rome (i.e., the anticlerical demonstrations) forced GC XXIV to assemble at Loyola, in Spain. The change of venue was approved by Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903). Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 41. In 1873, the same political instability, the aftermath of Italian unification, had also caused the Society to move its generalate from Rome to Fiesole (just outside Florence), where it remained for twenty-two years, until January 1895. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 438-439. Likewise, in 1915, after Italy entered World War I, Superior General Włodimir Ledóchowski (1915-1942) moved the generalate to Zizers, in neutral Switzerland, for the remainder of the war. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 57.

¹⁶⁷Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 691, pp. 298-299.

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, nos. 690-691, pp. 298-299.

Here, Ignatius instructs that the delegates to be chosen should be elected "by a majority of votes, with the provincial having two votes" [no. 692].¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, he states the *norm* for choosing delegates as follows: "These delegates will be the persons who are most fit to participate in the congregation and who will cause less harm through their absence" [no. 692].¹⁷⁰ Thus, we can see once more Ignatius' deep concern for the apostolate, and how nothing, not even a general congregation, should interfere or detract from the Society's primary work.

Finally, Chapter 5 concludes with a reminder that everything must always take place within a spiritual context. Thus, when a congregation is summoned, superiors should carefully instruct

[...] that all those under obedience to the Society should offer prayers daily, be mindful in their Masses to commend earnestly to God our Lord those who are going to the congregation, and beg that, whatever matters will be treated in it, all may turn out as is expedient for His greater service, praise, and glory [no. 693].¹⁷¹

Therefore, the whole Society shares the responsibility for maintaining that spiritual, prayerful climate that is so essential for deliberating such important matters.

The sixth chapter in Part VIII of the *Constitutions* is entitled, "The manner of reaching a decision in the election of a general" (*De modo deliberationis, cum de electione Generalis agitur*).¹⁷² Chapter 6 is basically concerned with the various

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 299. Cf. GC III (1573), "Formula for a Provincial Congregation," nos. 5-6; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 160.

¹⁷⁰Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 299.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 299.

procedures to be followed prior to, during, and after the election of a superior general. Numerous commentators have pointed out that many details in this chapter seem to be influenced by the Constitutions of the Dominicans.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, certain Ignatian qualities do emerge and are evident throughout the text; hence, it is these qualities that make the chapter unique. Or, as Father de Aldama has observed:

Generally speaking, we could say that when Ignatius finds inspiration in other legislation, he takes external and juridical dispositions from it; [however,] it is the additional matter, of a supernatural order, which is most characteristic and original.¹⁷⁴

Once the general congregation convenes and the initial housekeeping concerns are out of the way, the first substantive matter is the election of the new general. The election is preceded by a four-day period (*quatrimum*) during which the "electors" are asked to "commend themselves to God" through prayer and reflection and to "seek enlightenment" and "make investigations" as to whom would be "most suitable for that office" [no. 694].¹⁷⁵ However, they should not make a firm decision at this time;

¹⁷²*MHSI Cons.*, vol. 3, p. 233; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 299.

¹⁷³The influence of the Dominican Constitutions has been well-documented by various Jesuit scholars; see Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 301, footnote no. 1; de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, pp. 279-281; Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 103-104; Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, pp. 114-117; A. Hsü, *Dominican Presence in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, Dissertation, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana (Facultas Theologiae), Roma, 1971; and F.J. Egaña, *Origenes de la congregacion general en la Compañia de Jesús*, Romæ, IHSI, 1972. A synoptic comparison of the Ignatian texts with the corresponding sections of the Dominican Constitutions is found in *MHSI Cons.*, vol. II, pp. ccix-ccxiii.

¹⁷⁴de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 282.

¹⁷⁵Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 299-300.

rather, they should leave the final decision "until they have entered the place of the election."¹⁷⁶ In his commentary on the *Constitutions*, Father de Aldama believes that this "delay" in making a decision is a "notable and significant point" and that it represents an Ignatian innovation. He points out that Ignatius discarded the established method of *Tractatio* (or *Tractatus*),¹⁷⁷ commonly used in ecclesiastical elections of that period, and replaced it with the four-day period of prayer and discernment.¹⁷⁸

Since the election of a general should take place in an atmosphere of prayer, attuned to the movement of the Holy Spirit, any *human* influences that could hinder the divine intervention should be avoided. Indeed, Ignatius forbids any form of campaigning by, or on behalf of, individuals who may seek (aspire to) the office of general;¹⁷⁹ he further requires that very strict measures¹⁸⁰ be taken against anyone with

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷According to the method of *tractatio*, "the electors proposed candidates, discussed their relative merits, even carried on campaigns in favor of one or other, and perhaps came to agree on the one whom they should elect." de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 280.

¹⁷⁸de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, pp. 280-281.

¹⁷⁹Cf. *Code of Canon Law*, canon 626.

¹⁸⁰One who is found guilty of this charge would be deprived of passive voice, dismissed from the congregation (hence, the loss of active voice), and barred from *all* future congregations. Furthermore, if anyone knows that someone is seeking the office of general, he is obliged (previously under pain of excommunication) to report him. Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 695, p. 300.

such ambition.¹⁸¹ And to emphasize the spiritual context of their work, the fathers gather on the day of election to celebrate the Mass of the Holy Spirit.¹⁸² After the Mass, they assemble for an exhortation which instructs them "to choose as superior one likely to bring about greater service to God" [no. 698].¹⁸³ Then, after having recited the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, the election takes place.¹⁸⁴

As for the election itself, Ignatius allows for the possibility that three different formats may be used: (1) election by "common inspiration" [no. 700]; (2) election by ballot [nos. 701-706]; and, if necessary, (3) election by "arbitration" [nos. 707-710].¹⁸⁵ In the long history of the Society, there has never been an election by "common inspiration" (i.e., by general concensus and acclamation).¹⁸⁶ However, Ignatius was clearly open to this possibility because, as he states, "[...] the Holy

¹⁸¹Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 695-696, p. 300.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, no. 697, p. 301.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 301.

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵These three forms of election were, at that time, well known in canon law, having been expressly approved by the Fourth Lateran Council (1214). de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 281.

¹⁸⁶Although there has never been an election by "common inspiration," there have been two occasions where the superior general was chosen by unanimous vote. In 1541, Ignatius was elected the first superior general by a unanimous vote (excluding his own); and in 1682, at GC XII, Charles de Noyelle (of Belgium) was elected the twelfth superior general of the Society, having received all of the votes (except his own) on the first ballot. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 19. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 26-27; and Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 226.

Spirit, who has moved them to such an election, supplies for all methods and arrangements" [no. 700].¹⁸⁷ Likewise, election by "arbitration" (i.e., by compromise) is also a possibility, but only when the congregation is deadlocked (i.e., "if no one receives more than half of the votes" [no. 707]).¹⁸⁸ If such a situation should ever occur, then "three or five should be chosen as electors by a plurality vote; and whoever receives the majority of votes from these three or five should be the superior general" [no. 707].¹⁸⁹ To date, there has never been a superior general elected by this method of compromise.

The likelihood of using either of these two methods, however, was presumably deemed rare; and, so, election *by ballot* was surely the expected norm. Thus, Ignatius spells out the procedure to be followed in the balloting process:

each one should pray privately and, without speaking with anyone else, [...] he will come to his decision in the presence of his Creator and Lord. Then he will write on a paper the name of the person whom he chooses for superior general, and he should sign the paper with his name [no. 701].¹⁹⁰

It is noteworthy that these particular Ignatian instructions, according to Father de

¹⁸⁷Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 301.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 303. Cf. canon 174, *CIC (1983)*, in *Code*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁸⁹Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu et Normæ Complementariæ*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1995; English trans. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms: A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts*, gen. ed. J.W. Padberg, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996, p. 340. Originally, the three or five "arbiters" were selected by a majority vote, but the *Formula Congregationis Generalis* (no. 83, §2) was later modified to allow for a plurality vote in the selection process; in the work cited, p. 340, footnote no. 30.

¹⁹⁰Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 301-302.

Aldama, are unique: "All this is original and comes from Ignatius himself; we have not found it in any other religious or ecclesiastical legislation."¹⁹¹

Furthermore, those who vote in the election for general must swear that they are choosing the person whom they judge most suitable for the office. The electors may use the following formula for their oath: "With all reverence, I call upon Jesus Christ, who is the Eternal Wisdom, to witness that I, *N*, choose and name as superior general of the Society of Jesus him whom I think to be most fit to bear this burden" [no. 705].¹⁹² In his commentary, Father de Aldama points out that the elements of Ignatian mysticism can readily be seen in this formula, especially in the words "with all reverence" (*cum omni reverentia*) which clearly reflect a characteristic trait of his mysticism: "respect and reverence."¹⁹³

Finally, after the general has been elected and proclaimed,¹⁹⁴ all of the electors should pay him reverence: "While kneeling on both knees they should kiss his hand" [no. 701].¹⁹⁵ The *Constitutions* further add: "The one elected should not have the right to refuse either the election or the reverence, being mindful in whose name he

¹⁹¹de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 281.

¹⁹²Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 303.

¹⁹³de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 281.

¹⁹⁴The decree of election is proclaimed by the secretary of the congregation using this formula: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. I, *N*, in my own name and the name of all those who have the same opinion, choose *N* as superior general of the Society of Jesus." Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 701, p. 302.

¹⁹⁵Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 302.

ought to accept it" [no. 701].¹⁹⁶ Then, in closing the election, everyone at the congregation should recite the *Te Deum Laudamus*.¹⁹⁷

The seventh, and final, chapter in Part VIII of the *Constitutions* is entitled, "The manner of reaching a decision about matters other than the election of the general" (*De modo in deliberationibus tenendo, quando in Congregatione generali, non de electione Præpositi, sed aliis de rebus agitur*).¹⁹⁸ Whether the congregation was called to elect a general or to discuss other important matters, Ignatius did not want long sessions or a protracted period of assembly. It was his hope and expectation that, after the fathers had gathered, every effort would be made to ensure that the congregation would last only as long as necessary. Ignatius wanted to speed things along, especially during the election of a general; he suggested that "the fathers should be locked within the place of the congregation" and that "they may not leave nor have any other food except bread and water [...] until they have elected a general" [no. 698].¹⁹⁹ However, when a congregation is meeting to discuss other matters, Ignatius believes "the locked enclosure will not be necessary" [no. 711].²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶Ibid.

¹⁹⁷Ibid.

¹⁹⁸*MHSI Cons.*, vol. 3, p. 239; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 304.

¹⁹⁹Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 301. In his commentary, Father Ganss indicates that these specific requirements were probably influenced by the Constitutions of the Dominicans which also prescribed fasting and enclosure before the election of the master general. Ganss, in the work cited, p. 301, footnote no. 1.

²⁰⁰Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 304.

Nonetheless, he still expresses a desire that "an effort should be made to finish as soon as possible everything requiring discussion" [no. 711].²⁰¹

In Chapter 7, Ignatius again emphasizes the spiritual dimension of the congregation's work. Hence, even while discussing "other" (business) matters, the context always remains that of holiness; and any decisions that are made should all be spiritually motivated. Thus, Ignatius requires that "Masses and prayer will be offered in the place where the congregation is held, as well as in the other regions of the Society" so that the fathers may, during their discussion of the issues, "obtain grace to conclude them in a manner conducive to greater glory to God our Lord" [no. 711].²⁰²

In their discussion of timely issues and other important questions, the fathers at the congregation can "propose [orally and in writing] the matters which they think should be discussed," but they should do so "after each one has seriously pondered his opinion and commended it to God our Lord" [no. 712].²⁰³ Furthermore, in order to prevent the discussion from getting out of hand, and to help bring a matter to closure, the fathers will elect, by a majority vote, four "definitors" (*definitores*)²⁰⁴ who, along with the general, will define or summarize what is presented and discussed by the general congregation. According to the *Constitutions*, "these (to whose arbitration the rest should submit) will meet as many times as necessary with the superior general and

²⁰¹Ibid.

²⁰²Ibid., pp. 304-305.

²⁰³Ibid., p. 305.

²⁰⁴Ibid., no. 715, p. 305.

settle all the matters which require handling" [no. 715].²⁰⁵

Over time, as the membership of the Society grew, so did the size of the general congregations. As a result, additional procedural rules had to be implemented to handle the related problems brought about by growth. For one thing, the number of individual speeches became overwhelming, unruly, and very time-consuming. The most noticeable changes occurred at GC XXXI, where the membership of the congregation had jumped to 224 (226 in the second session) from only 185 members at GC XXX.²⁰⁶ Because of this new development, it became increasingly necessary to limit the amount of time that each delegate could speak. Father Padberg narrates the sequence of events and the related changes at GC XXXI as follows:

At first, each delegate could speak only once in a session on the same topic of business; later, this was cut down to a speech of seven minutes length, and in the second session, to five minutes if requested at the session, and seven minutes only if requested beforehand.²⁰⁷

GC XXXI was also responsible for other innovations: speeches no longer had to be given in Latin (although it remained an option); delegates could now speak in either French, English, Spanish, or Italian,²⁰⁸ with simultaneous translation "sometimes" available.²⁰⁹ At the second session of GC XXXI, and for the very first time, the

²⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 305-306.

²⁰⁶Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 70, 73.

²⁰⁷Ibid., p. 78.

²⁰⁸Ibid., p. 79.

²⁰⁹Simultaneous translation was not installed for the congregation as a whole; it was, however, allowed in the commission meetings and, as an experiment, in six of

committee meetings became "open sessions," i.e., open to any *delegate*.²¹⁰ And finally, GC XXXI established an "Information Office" which was responsible for publishing a newsletter and bulletins (in several languages),²¹¹ thereby abrogating the centuries-old rule of secrecy.²¹²

The passing years have brought about many other procedural changes in the congregation. Today, in many ways, the *real* work of the congregation is done by the major commissions (*deputationes*) and the various subcommissions; and this has been especially true since GC XXXI. Long before the delegates arrive in Rome, and even

the plenary sessions. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 79. With CG XXXII, however, simultaneous translation became a fixed and necessary part of the proceedings. At this congregation, six spoken languages (Latin, French, English, German, Spanish and Italian) were accessible in either French, English, or Spanish translation. J.W. Padberg, "The Society True to Itself: A Brief History of the 32nd General Congregation of the Society of Jesus (December 2, 1974—March 7, 1975)," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 15, nos. 3 and 4 (May and September, 1983), p. 17.

²¹⁰Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 79.

²¹¹*Ibid.*

²¹²The rule of secrecy, reaffirmed by GC XXVII (1923), stated that "no one was to communicate to others outside the congregation the actions taken in the congregation" (*Acta in Congregatione nemo cum aliis extra Congregationem communicet*); in *Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 25; English trans. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, footnote no. 7, p. 5; Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," endnote no. 190, p. 122. With regard to the Society's renewal and updated spirit of openness, see GC XXXI, Decree 1: "The Mission of the Society of Jesus Today" (*De hodierna missione Societatis Iesu*), nos. 5-7, in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 10-17, pp. 69-72; and Decree 2: "The Renewal of Our Laws" (*De nostrarum legum renovatione*), nos. 1-4, in the same work, nos. 18-23, pp. 73-75. Cf. Paul VI, *motu proprio*, *Ecclesiae sanctae*, 6 August 1966, in *AAS*, 58 (1966), pp. 757-787; and in *Canon Law Digest*, vol. 6, pp. 285-287.

before they are chosen, the work of preparing for the congregation is already underway. Starting with GC XXXII, the average preparation period for recent congregations has been three or four years. Commenting on the phenomenon of GC XXXII, Father Padberg states: "No previous congregation in the Society's history had such a lengthy period of preparation. No previous congregation tried to involve in that preparation as many of the members of the Society as the Thirty-Second did."²¹³ The preparation period for GC XXXII lasted three years and eight months,²¹⁴ from April 1971, when a six-member preparatory commission was set up, until December 1974, when the congregation convened in Rome.²¹⁵ Likewise, the preparations for GC XXXIV were almost as lengthy and equally broad in scope. These preparations began in February 1992 and continued unabated until the congregation convened on January 5, 1995.²¹⁶

²¹³J.W. Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," p. 3.

²¹⁴The "official" preparation period, however, was only fifteen months, dating from September 8, 1973 when the congregation was officially convoked by Superior General Pedro Arrupe (1965-1983). Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," p. 4, and endnote no. 6, p. 97. Father Arrupe's Letter of Convocation is found in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, 16, fasciculus I (1973), pp. 109-115.

²¹⁵Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," pp. 3-4. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 249.

²¹⁶GC XXXIV, "Historical Preface," no. 1; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, pp. 1-2. On February 12, 1992, Superior General Peter-Hans Kolvenbach (1983-present) wrote to all major superiors informing them that the process of preparation had been "set in motion" and that he was appointing three initial coordinators (from among his general counselors). Although the preliminary work began in 1992, GC XXXIV was not officially convoked until September 8, 1993. See *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, 20 (1993), pp. 922-923. Father Kolvenbach's Letter of Convocation was also published in the *National Jesuit News*, vol. 23, no. 1 (October,

The commission charged with the immediate preparation of the general congregation is called the "Official Preparatory Committee" (*Coetus praeivus officialis*).²¹⁷ This committee is made up of the superior general, members of the congregation from each of the individual "assistancies,"²¹⁸ and others whom the general may choose to appoint.²¹⁹ The task of this committee, according to the norms of proper law, is "to complete the proximate preparation"²²⁰ and to do so in an "authoritative" manner, in the sense that the studies and reports (*relationes*) produced or approved by it "should be regarded as part of the official work of the Congregation

1993), p. 8.

²¹⁷*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 12, §1. The Official Preparatory Committee was authorized by GC XXXII and was used, for the first time, in the preparations for GC XXXIII. GC XXXII, Decree 13, no. 1(c); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 305, p. 503. GC XXXIII, "Historical Preface," no. 2; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, p. 14.

²¹⁸An "assistancy" is a regional grouping of provinces. At the start of GC XXXIV there were *eleven* assistancies, but now there are only ten. Spain and Italy, which had been *individual* assistancies, were combined to form a "new" assistancy called "South Europe." Thus, the Society of Jesus is currently divided into 84 provinces, 5 independent regions, and 19 dependent regions (or "missions"), all of which are clustered into *ten* assistancies: Africa, South Latin America, North Latin America, South Asia, East Asia, Central Europe, South Europe, West Europe, East Europe, and the United States. "The Society in Numbers," in *News and Features*, Documentation No. 76 (April, 1996), p. 20. Cf. *1996 Catalogus Provinciarum Societatis Jesu: Statuum Foederatorum Americæ*, Washington, D.C., Jesuit Conference, n.d., p. 3. See *Appendix E* for the provincial make-up of each assistancy.

²¹⁹*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 12, §1.

²²⁰*Ibid.*

and acknowledged by the Congregation itself."²²¹

Furthermore, one of this committee's major responsibilities involves sifting through and screening all of the *postulata* submitted by the provincial congregations and by individuals.²²² This alone is an awesome task, for the number of *postulata* can be enormous. For instance, at GC XXXI 2,021 *postulata* came to the congregation;²²³ and at GC XXXII, the number submitted was 1,077.²²⁴ GC XXXIII, however, had fewer *postulata*, mainly because its primary purpose was not legislative. In his letter convoking GC XXXIII, Father Paolo Dezza, S.J. (Delegate of the Holy Father) emphatically reminded the Society that, "The task of General Congregation XXXIII will be first of all to deal with the resignation of Father General [Pedro Arrupe] and the election of a new General."²²⁵ In effect, his letter served to discourage the subsequent provincial congregations and individuals from drafting untimely or

²²¹Ibid., no. 10, §2, 2°. Cf. Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, "Historical Preface," no. 2, p. 14.

²²²*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 13.

²²³J.-Y. Calvez, "A Critical Appraisal of the Preparation for the Jesuits' Thirty-Second General Congregation," in *Review for Religious*, 34, no. 6 (November, 1975), p. 946. Cf. Padberg, *Together as a Companionship*, p. 3; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 77. Father Padberg points out that this very large number represents a significant increase over GC XXX (1957), which had less than 500 *postulata*.

²²⁴Ibid. Cf. Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," p. 5.

²²⁵GC XXXIII, "Historical Preface," no. 1; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, p. 14. The full text of Father Dezza's letter, issued December 8, 1982, is found in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, 18, fasciculus III (1982), pp. 856-858.

inappropriate *postulata*. Finally, at GC XXXIV, the total number of *postulata* was 779.²²⁶ Based on all the *postulata* received, the *Coetus praeivus* prepares a report (*Relatio praevia*) which it submits to the general (and eventually to the whole congregation).

Once the congregation convenes, the first order of business is the election of the Secretary and his two assistants (sub-secretaries).²²⁷ Then, after the election of these officers, the first major commission to be established is the "Commission on the State of the Society" (*Deputatio de statu Societatis*).²²⁸ This commission is made up of *elected* members, one member from each of the individual assistancies. Thus, at GC XXXIV, there were eleven members serving on this commission.²²⁹ Its task, of course, is to report on the present state of the Society. As a means of assisting the commission, by providing valuable regional information, the delegates prayerfully examine the strengths and weaknesses of contemporary Jesuit life, and, at the assistancy level, report the "fruits" of their reflection to the commission. After analyzing the individual reports from each assistancy, the Commission on the State of the Society will then draft its final report.²³⁰

²²⁶McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, p. 3.

²²⁷*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 109.

²²⁸*Ibid.*, no. 111.

²²⁹GC XXXIV, "Historical Preface," no. 3; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, pp. 8-9.

²³⁰*Information Bulletin*, No. 2 (January 13, 1995), Rome, Information Office of the Society of Jesus, p. 1.

The next, and perhaps the most important, commission to be established is the "Coordinating (or Steering) Committee" (*Deputatio ad negotia, sive de tractatione negotiorum*).²³¹ This commission is also comprised of elected members, one from each of the individual assistancies, plus two additional members appointed by the general. Thus, at GC XXXIV, there were thirteen members on the Coordinating Committee.²³² This committee, together with the general, has the important task of setting up the various commissions that will handle the substantive matters.²³³ The basic procedure is this: At a plenary session, all of the delegates review the report of the *Cœtus prævius* and determine (by vote) whether or not each suggested topic (garnered from the *postulata*) is indeed appropriate matter for eventual discussion (either at the commission level, or in the plenary sessions). The delegates then break up, by assistancy, to discuss the matter further, in light of the congregation's vote. Each assistancy then reports its final conclusions to the Coordinating Committee and to Father General. They also provide, at this time, a tentative list of nominees for the possible commissions.²³⁴ In this way, the whole congregation chooses the themes to

²³¹*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 112. In the documents of GC XXXIV, the English translation for the name of this commission is "Coordinating Committee" [McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, pp. 8-9]; however, in the documents of GC XXXIII, the same Latin title was rendered "Deputation for Handling Substantive Matters" [Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, pp. 20-21].

²³²*Flash*, No. 1 (January 9, 1995), Rome, Information Office of the Society of Jesus, p. 1; and *Information Bulletin*, No. 2, p. 1. Cf. GC XXXIV, "Historical Preface," no. 3; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, p. 9.

²³³*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, nos. 103, §1, and 113.

²³⁴*Information Bulletin*, No. 2, p. 1.

be discussed. The Coordinating Committee and Father General then establish the various commissions and assign the chosen themes to the appropriate commissions. The superior general and the Coordinating Committee are also responsible for naming the commission members; they appoint every delegate to a commission, taking into account the preferences expressed by the assistancies.²³⁵ Finally, the Coordinating Committee elects three "moderators" (*Moderatores*) who will chair, in turn, along with Father General, the plenary sessions of the congregation.²³⁶

The number and size of the commissions has varied significantly over time. The trend in recent years, however, clearly shows expansion, perhaps as a means of involving more and more delegates in the process. At GC XXXI, there were six major commissions established, each containing between 24 and 59 members;²³⁷ in addition, almost all of these commissions had between three and seven subcommissions (for a total of 24 subcommissions), with approximately five to ten members in each.²³⁸ At GC XXXII, there were ten major commissions, with various

²³⁵GC XXXIV, "Historical Preface," no. 3; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, pp. 9-10.

²³⁶*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 101, §7. Cf. GC XXXIV, "Historical Preface," no. 3; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, p. 9.

²³⁷Except for one commission, "Mission of the Society Today," which had only eight members.

²³⁸Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, pp. 3-4. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 77-79; Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 372; G.E. Ganss, "Impressions of the 31st General Congregation," in *Woodstock Letters*, 94 (1965), pp. 386-387; and J.P. Jurich, "The 31st General Congregation: The First Session," in *Woodstock Letters*, 95 (1966), pp. 72-77. The last work contains a complete list of the 24 subcommissions and the names of all their members.

subcommissions, and two technical committees (one on juridical matters, and the other on procedural matters).²³⁹ At GC XXXIII, eight major commissions were set up; each had twelve members, one from each each assistancy, except for one commission ("On Our Mission") which had *two* members from each assistancy. GC XXXIII also had a small juridical committee comprised of three members.²⁴⁰ And, finally, at GC XXXIV there were sixteen major commissions established, each having between seven and eighteen members (most commissions, however, had between twelve and fifteen members).²⁴¹

Having just looked at the general congregation and seen how it functions as a unique instrument of governance in the Society of Jesus, we can easily notice specific Jesuit characteristics that stand out and distinguish it from other "chapters" or assemblies held by different religious communities. First of all, it is infrequent. Unlike other religious institutes, the Society of Jesus does not hold its general congregation at fixed intervals, but only when the need arises. The general congregation will only convene to resolve an urgent matter (e.g., the election of a new general) or to handle specific issues of great importance. In that sense, we can also say that the general congregation is, by definition, always timely and expeditious. It almost always has a clear goal or mission to accomplish. Another hallmark of the

²³⁹Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, pp. 45-46.

²⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

²⁴¹GC XXXIV, "Historical Preface," no. 3; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, pp. 10-11.

general congregation is its legislative function; when in session, it is the supreme authority of the Society (apart from the pope), and all Jesuits are bound by its decrees, including the superior general. And as a legislative body, it is truly representative of all Jesuits. The delegates, having been elected by their provincial congregations, represent every province and independent region of the universal Society.

Furthermore, the input of all Jesuits is also effected through the extensive preliminary meetings and preparations, and through the numerous *postulata* drafted and submitted beforehand. Finally, another distinguishing characteristic of the general congregation is its mood or ambiance of prayerfulness. Ignatius desired that everything take place within a holy, spiritual context. Thus, periods of prayer and discernment precede all serious discussion, and all voting and decisions must be spiritually motivated, for the greater glory of God.

In summary, we have just analyzed the Society's proper law concerning the general congregation. The core body of law in this specific area is found in Part VIII of the Ignatian *Constitutions*. The overall purpose of Part VIII, according to Ignatius, is *unity*. The general congregation, therefore, is a *means* for uniting the members among themselves and with their head (the superior general). St. Ignatius subdivided Part VIII into seven chapters. The first chapter focuses on the "union of hearts" and it serves as a preface for the following six chapters, which are more "mechanical" in nature. Thus, the philosophical elements of the first chapter clearly establish the foundation (or theory) for all the substantive matters ("nuts and bolts") of the

remaining six chapters. Put another way, in the grand design of Part VIII we can see and trace Ignatius' acknowledged teleology: the relationship between Chapter 1 (the preface) and the successive chapters is one of end and means. The preface enunciates the purpose, goal or end of the general congregation (i.e., unity), and the final six chapters indicate the appropriate means for achieving that end.

And so, the primary focus of this chapter has been Part VIII of the Ignatian *Constitutions*. Thus, we have examined what the *Constitutions* say about the general congregation; and we have looked at subsequent proper law, i.e., Jesuit legislation (general decrees of recent congregations) concerning the current procedures and mechanics for holding a general congregation in the Society of Jesus.

In the next chapter, we will examine the role of the superior general, vis-à-vis the general congregation, and look at the influence of certain superiors general throughout history.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GENERAL CONGREGATION AND THE SUPERIOR GENERAL

As we have seen, the chief legislative authority within the Society of Jesus is the general congregation. At the executive level, authority resides in the office of the superior general,¹ who is the "monarchical" (*monarchicam*) head of the Order.² As many commentators have pointed out, the official title "superior general" (*Præpositus Generalis*) has no military connotation. Rather, the word "general" (*generalis*), in this case, simply means universal or overall, as opposed to particular.³ In his commentary, Father Harney has added that, "there was nothing new in this usage: for centuries the Franciscans had a Minister Generalis and the Dominicans a Magister Generalis, [while] the Theatines and the Somaschi even used the very term Præpositus Generalis."⁴ As noted earlier, the superior general is elected for life. The *Constitutions* prescribe the life-term of the general [no. 719],⁵ which GC XXXI

¹The "superior general" of the Society of Jesus is the "supreme moderator" (*Supremus Moderator*) of the Order. Cf. canon 622, *CIC (1983)*; in *Code*, pp. 234-235.

²*Epitome, Proœmium: Normæ quædam generales, Titulus V: De Instituti conservatione*; no. 22, Part I, § 3, 4°, p. 15.

³Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 114.

⁴*Ibid.* The Theatines and the Somaschi (or Somascans), like the Jesuits, were "Clerics Regular." See Chapter One of this study, p. 25, footnote no. 93.

⁵Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 719, pp. 307-308.

reaffirmed.⁶ Previously, it was considered a "substantial" of the Institute.⁷ Unlike most religious orders, the superior general is the *only* superior within the Society of Jesus who is elected; otherwise, he appoints all other subordinate superiors.⁸

Part IX of the *Constitutions* describes the authority and power (*potestas*) of the superior general,⁹ which is beyond the scope of this study. However, it will be necessary to look at certain aspects of the executive office, especially in light of the general's significant role vis-à-vis the general congregation. Overall, the general's powers are quite extensive; but the "Formula of the Institute" approved by Julius III (1550) uses four terms which help summarize the scope of the general's authority: administration (*administratio*); correction (*correctio*); government (*gubernatio*); and edification (*œdificatio*).¹⁰ Ignatius believed in a clear line of authority. According to the *Constitutions*, authority resides in the superior general, who then delegates his authority to subordinate superiors. In Part VIII (Ch. 1) of the *Constitutions*, the role

⁶GC XXXI, Decree 41: "The Office of the General" (*De munere Præpositi Generalis*), no. 1; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 631, p. 269.

⁷It was categorized as a "Substantial of the Second Order" (*substantialia secundi ordinis*). *Epitome*, no. 22, Part II, § 7, 6°, p. 18; and in Doherty, *Notes for a Study*, p. 17. Cf. GC XXVII, *Collectio decretorum*, Decree 13; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 532. Cf. also *Appendix D* of this study.

⁸Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 114.

⁹The general's numerous powers are specifically outlined in Chapter 3 of Part IX, which is entitled, "The superior general's authority over the Society and his functions" (*De auctoritate Præpositi Generalis erga Societatem ac de officio eius*). *MHSI Cons.*, vol. III, p. 247; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 312.

¹⁰*Formula Instituti*, nos. 6 and 8; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 4 and 5, pp. 68-70; and in Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 105.

of the superior general is described as follows:

[...] he will carry on his office, which is to be for all the members a head from whom descends to all of them the impulse necessary for the end which the Society seeks. Thus it is that from the general as the head flows all the authority of the provincials, and from the provincials that of the local superiors, and from that of these local superiors that of the individual members. Thus too from that same head come the assignments to missions; or at least they come by his mandate and approval. The same should be understood about the communication of the graces of the Society; for the more the subjects are dependent upon their superiors, the better will the love, obedience, and union among them be preserved [no. 666].¹¹

Thus, it quickly becomes apparent that the general congregation is not the only "center of unity" for the Society; clearly, the office of the superior general also functions in that capacity.¹²

Although a general congregation alone possesses full legislative power,¹³ the superior general also has the authority, through his ordinary executive power, to enact *certain* legislation: "The General can make general Rules, particular Rules for officials [pertaining to offices], issue Ordinations, either for some definite territory, or for the whole Society."¹⁴ It is clear, however, that the general cannot issue general

¹¹Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 666, p. 290.

¹²Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 92.

¹³GC XXVII, *Collectio decretorum*, Decree 3, §1; and GC IV, Decree 19, canon 21; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 172-173 and 528. Cf. Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, p. 29; and *Practical Compendium*, p. 12.

¹⁴*Epitome*, no. 746, §§ 1 and 2, p. 313; and *Formula Instituti*, no. 2, in Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 3, p. 67. Cf. Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, p. 29. See also GC I, Decree 143, canon 3; and GC VII, Decree 76; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 102-103 and 272. Furthermore, through his ordinary executive power, the superior general can also issue general executory decrees and instructions (not true laws); see canons 31-34, *CIC (1983)*, in *Code*, pp. 10-13.

decrees or establish laws that have the same authority or force as the *Constitutions* or the general decrees of the congregations.¹⁵ Unlike the general congregation, the general's power does not extend to "long-lasting and important matters," nor to "other very difficult matters pertaining to the whole body of the Society or its manner of proceeding" [no. 680].¹⁶ In the words of Father Örsy, this sharp distinction between the role of each authority represents a "positive affirmation of the power of a general congregation" and a "negative circumscription of the power of the superior general."¹⁷

Several authors have made comparisons between the power of the general congregation and that of the superior general. According to Malachi Martin, St. Ignatius instituted the general congregation as...

[...] an element to balance the absolute power of the Father General and the extensive powers of lower Superiors. He also set it up because he felt sure that, in a general assembly of his followers, there would be less likely a danger of personal idiosyncrasies and minority tactics taking over the direction of his Society.¹⁸

Father Örsy, on the other hand, has a far more positive view in his analysis:

This division of power between the two centers of unity, the general congregation and the superior general, is healthy. It brings a good balance into the government of the Society. It gives priority to collective wisdom; it

¹⁵GC VII, Decree 76; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 272.

¹⁶Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 680, p. 295; and in Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," pp. 92-93.

¹⁷Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 93.

¹⁸Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 230.

assures that one man will not bring about significant changes.¹⁹

Finally, Father Örsy also points out that this division of power represents a clear distinction between "extraordinary" and "ordinary" government. He states that the general congregation holds the key to both "historical stability and continuity" as well as to "legitimate [constitutional] changes." Meanwhile, the superior general is responsible for the day-to-day operations of the Society and for the administration of apostolic works. The general does all of this, of course, "according to certain fundamental principles and structures that he is not authorized to touch."²⁰

For Ignatius, the role or function of the superior general is the same as that of the general congregation: they are both responsible for uniting the Society. They are both a source of unity, or, as Örsy prefers to say, a "center of unity" for the Society.²¹ Martin has called the general congregation the "mind and voice" of the Society;²² but as a legal entity or juridic person, the Society of Jesus "speaks" through *both* the general congregation and the superior general.²³ The general congregation remains the supreme authority, however, because even the general is bound by its decisions. Thus, when a general congregation is in session, "it is, by Ignatius' own design, superior to every individual Jesuit in the Society, including the Father

¹⁹Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 93.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., pp. 92-93.

²²Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 231.

²³Ibid., p. 230.

General."²⁴ As a result, it is quite understandable that sometimes a natural tension may exist between the superior general and the members of the Society who are represented by the general congregation.

Since the superior general acts as a "center of unity" for the Society, it naturally follows that there is a "genuine communion" between him and all the members of the Society.²⁵ It is a very special, but sometimes delicate, relationship. According to Ōrsy, this special relationship ("communion") "becomes particularly intense at the time of a general congregation, which the superior general has the right to convoke, preside over, and guide."²⁶ Although he may lead the delegates, he is still bound by their determinations. Martin describes this delicate balance of power this way: "The Father General is elected and instructed by the General Congregation, and is its personal representative. He remains answerable all his life as General to each Congregation. The General cannot, strictly speaking, make any Congregation do anything."²⁷ Therefore, the general congregation clearly ranks above all superiors in the Society, including the superior general. Only the pope has authority greater than the general congregation.²⁸ Thus, in Ignatian hierarchical theory, "the Pope is the

²⁴Ibid., p. 225.

²⁵Ōrsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 93.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 230.

²⁸Ibid., p. 226.

ultimate Superior of the Society."²⁹

In summary, we can say that the role of the superior general *at the congregation* represents an exercise of *executive* power only; when acting alone within this context, he has no legislative authority. While the superior general possesses this executive power, it is the general congregation itself which remains the sole legislator.³⁰ According to the *Constitutions*, the superior general exercises his executive power in the following manner: Once the general congregation is in session, the general is the one who "directs those who attend and who dismisses them when the agenda have been concluded" [no. 755].³¹ In this way, as Father de Aldama puts it, "The superior general is no less the head of the assembled Society than of the dispersed Society."³² His task, according to Örsy, is "to mission" the members of the Society; that is, "to commission them for a work and to see that the mandate is carried through. At times he does not do so in his own name but in the name of the vicar of Christ."³³ And when the general communicates his authority, in virtue of obedience, all will obey; for as the *Constitutions* instruct: "At all times he should be obeyed and revered as the one who holds the place of Christ our Lord" [no.

²⁹Ibid., p. 230.

³⁰Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 94.

³¹*Constitutions*, Part IX, Chapter 3, no. 755; trans. de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 278. Cf. Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 315-316.

³²de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 278.

³³Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 94.

765].³⁴

The general's power is limited, however, and certainly not arbitrary: he exercises his authority only within the prescribed limits of the *Constitutions*, which he cannot change.³⁵ Likewise, he is bound by the decrees of all previous congregations, i.e., by those still in effect. And even while the general congregation is in session, the general is obliged to follow the expressed will of the assembled fathers.³⁶ Furthermore, the general is also subject to dismissal, just like any other member of the Society. The *Constitutions* spell out the various crimes ["mortal sins" (*peccata mortalia*)] for which a general can be deposed: "sexual intercourse" (*copula carnalis*); "infliction of a wound" (*vulnerare quemquam*); avarice or embezzlement; making unauthorized donations (including the alienation of goods) to family and friends; and "holding false doctrine" (*pravam doctrinam habere*), or heresy [nos. 774-777].³⁷ The sanctions for such crimes can be severe: "In such a case, when the evidence is altogether sufficient, the Society can and should depose him from his office³⁸ and, if it

³⁴Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 765, p. 317.

³⁵Harney, *The Jesuits*, p. 115.

³⁶Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," p. 143.

³⁷Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 774-777, pp. 319-320. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 105.

³⁸Deprivation of office is one of several "expiatory penalties" (*poenae expiatoriae*) established by the universal law of the Church (*CIC*). Cf. canon 1336, §1, 2°, *CIC* (1983); in *Code*, pp. 482-483.

is necessary, dismiss him from the Society" [no. 774].³⁹

The superior general has four "general assistants" (*Assistentes Generales ad providentiam*) who exercise "provident care" over him and who, along with other responsibilities, serve as general counselors. The general assistants are elected by the general congregation, chosen from four different assistancies, and should be professed fathers ("if this is conveniently possible"); they normally remain in office until the next general congregation.⁴⁰ If the superior general falls into heresy, sins grievously, or is guilty of some conduct unworthy or detrimental to the Society's well-being, the general assistants have the authority (when three out of four agree) to summon a general congregation for his removal.⁴¹ Thus, in this extreme situation, it is the *assembled* Society who will judge and, if necessary, depose him.⁴² In such a case, the general congregation functions, in effect, as a trial; and if the general is found guilty, he can be removed from office by a two-thirds vote. Should that occur, the election of a new general would be taken up immediately.⁴³ In the long history of the Society, there has never been a superior general who was brought to trial or deposed.

³⁹Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 774, pp. 319-320.

⁴⁰Ibid., nos. 766 and 779-781, pp. 318 and 320-321. Cf. GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section E: "Father General's Assistants and Counselors;" in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, nos. 500-520, pp. 226-229.

⁴¹Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 782, pp. 321-322. Cf. Harney, *The Jesuits*, p. 115; and Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," pp. 142-143.

⁴²de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 278.

⁴³Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 782, pp. 321-322.

The highly centralized government of the Society of Jesus has been called "the most authoritarian, the least democratic or collegial in the Church."⁴⁴ In the ordinary governance of the Society, the superior general makes the final decision on all issues.⁴⁵ Ignatius determined that such far-reaching authority would be appropriate and constructive; as he states in the *Constitutions*, "It is judged altogether proper for the good government of the Society that the superior general should have complete authority over it, in order to build it up" [no. 736].⁴⁶ The general exercises his control over the Society constantly and universally.⁴⁷ He appoints directly all who exercise jurisdiction within the Society: provincials; superiors of independent regions; superiors of dependent regions (or "missions"); rectors of theologates, scholasticates, universities, colleges, and high schools; as well as the superiors of nearly all Jesuit houses. The term of office for all these positions is generally three years, once renewable; although, the general can either prolong or shorten a term if he so wishes.⁴⁸ Thus, since these offices change hands at least every six years, the general must constantly inform himself and decide on all new appointments, for an average of

⁴⁴"The Jesuits in the Post-Conciliar Era: The Thirty-First General Congregation and the New General," in *Herder Correspondence*, 2, no. 2 (November, 1965), p. 352.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 736, p. 312.

⁴⁷"The Jesuits in the Post-Conciliar Era," p. 352.

⁴⁸Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 105.

at least 150 superiors each year.⁴⁹

The general's power, of course, is balanced or kept in check by the higher authority which the whole Society has over him, which it exercises ordinarily through the four general assistants.⁵⁰ The general assistants not only exercise "provident care" over the general by monitoring his physical and spiritual well-being, they also advise him on all affairs affecting the whole Society.⁵¹ Moreover, according to GC XXXI, "These four General Assistants have a deliberative or consultative vote in those cases in which the common [universal] law requires, even in the Society, that the General must act with the consent [*consensus*] of his consultors or listen to their advice [*consilium*]."⁵² Furthermore, for other important matters and decisions, the superior general will also consult his "general council." The general council includes the four general assistants (*ex officio*).⁵³ In a separate capacity, the general assistants also function as "regional assistants" (*Assistentes Regionales*). Altogether, there are *ten* regional assistants, one from each assistancy; their function is mainly consultative

⁴⁹"The Jesuits in the Post-Conciliar Era." pp. 352-353.

⁵⁰Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 766-767 and 779, pp. 318 and 320-321. Cf. Ganss, in the work cited, p. 312, footnote no. 1.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, no. 766, p. 318; and "The Jesuits in the Post-Conciliar Era," p. 353.

⁵²GC XXXI, Decree 44: "Assistants and Consultors of the General" (*De Præpositi Generalis Assistentibus et Consiliariis*), Part I, no. 2; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 650, p. 274. Cf. canons 127 and 627, *CIC* (1983); in *Code*, pp. 40-41 and 234-237.

⁵³GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section E, Part I, no. 2; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, no. 502, p. 226.

(with regard to their particular region), and they are appointed by the general.⁵⁴ The general council has approximately twelve members, and they are called "general counselors" (*Consilarii Generales*). The council comprises the ten regional assistants (which includes the four general assistants), plus one or two other counselors who have a particular expertise (*Consilarii periti*).⁵⁵ Thus, all of the general counselors are appointed by the superior general, except for those four regional assistants, also general assistants, who are elected by the general congregation.⁵⁶ Prior to GC XXXI, however, *all* of the regional assistants were elected by the general congregation.⁵⁷

Having just discussed the office and constitutional role of the superior general in the Society of Jesus, we will now examine the lives of four Jesuit generals in particular. I have selected four men who, apart from Ignatius, have had the most profound influence on the Society's Institute and its long-term direction: Claudio

⁵⁴When appointing regional assistants, the general will choose from a list of three candidates (*terna*) provided by *each* assistancy. All of this takes place at the general congregation, where the delegates from each assistancy propose the candidates by means of a secret ballot. GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section E, Part II, no. 1, 1°-2°; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, nos. 510-511, p. 227.

⁵⁵GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section E, Part I, nos. 1-4; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, nos. 501-504, p. 226.

⁵⁶Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 779, pp. 320-321; and *Formula Congregationis Generalis*, nos. 130-137. Cf. GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section E, Part II, no. 1, 3°; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, no. 512, p. 227.

⁵⁷GC XXXI determined that the superior general should name the regional assistants. GC XXXI, Decree 44, Part II, no. 8; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 659, p. 276. Cf. "The Jesuits in the Post-Conciliar Era," p. 353.

Aquaviva (1581-1615), Jan Roothaan (1829-1853), Włodimir Ledóchowski (1915-1942), and Pedro Arrupe (1965-1983). Their lives cover a 400-year span, almost all of the Society's history. They all had long terms of office, but not necessarily *the* longest. Their impact was felt more in the way they helped shape the Society according to their unique vision and in their manner and style of governance. Their greatest contributions can be seen in the decrees of the different general congregations. As a group, these four generals presided at *ten* general congregations.

CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA (1543-1615)

Claudio Aquaviva was the fifth superior general (1581-1615) of the Society of Jesus: he was elected at GC IV on February 19, 1581.⁵⁸ Aquaviva has been called "the most important member of the Society," apart from St. Ignatius.⁵⁹ Father James Brodrick calls him "the greatest of the Jesuit generals."⁶⁰ And according to Martin, "Aquaviva can be said to tower above every other one" of the generals since Ignatius; he "was in a certain sense the second founder" of the Society. It was he who "solidified [...] the character of the Society envisioned by Ignatius."⁶¹

⁵⁸Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 9. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 14.

⁵⁹Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 157.

⁶⁰J. Brodrick, *The Progress of the Jesuits (1556-1579)*, New York, London and Toronto, Longmans, Green and Company, 1947, p. 183. See also W.J. Burke, *The Spiritual Direction of Claudio Acquaviva [Aquaviva]*, Jersey City (New Jersey), 1969. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 138.

⁶¹Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 203.

Aquaviva was born in Naples on September 14, 1543; he was the youngest son of the Duke of Atri.⁶² When he entered the Society on July 22, 1567, at the age of 23, he was already an ordained priest with a solid education behind him.⁶³ With a keen intellect and noticeable executive abilities, Aquaviva quickly rose through the ranks. Within a relatively short period of time, he was first appointed rector of the Collegium Maximum in Naples (1575), then provincial of the Neapolitan province (1576), and later provincial of the Roman province (1579).⁶⁴ While he was provincial of Rome, the Fourth General Congregation (=GC IV) convened on February 7, 1581, following the death of Superior General Everard Mercurian (1573-1580).⁶⁵ GC IV was Aquaviva's first general congregation, which he attended (*ex officio*) along with his friend from Tuscany, Roberto Bellarmino (=Robert Bellarmine).⁶⁶

Besides the election of a new superior general, GC IV would also devote its attention to other issues and important matters. Altogether, the congregation passed 70 decrees,⁶⁷ including two which had important canonical implications. Firstly, Decree 19 declared that the superior general has the authority to explain the meaning

⁶²Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 158.

⁶³Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 97. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 9.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 8-9. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 12-13.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 167-185.

of the *Constitutions*:

[...] the superior general, using the ordinary power of his office, can clarify the *Constitutions* and general decrees, but these interpretations do not have the force of universal law and pertain only to the practice of good governance.⁶⁸

Secondly, Decree 21 determined that the superior general does indeed have the power, before he dies, to designate a vicar general who would hold office until the election of a new superior general at the next general congregation.⁶⁹ This decree basically clarified and confirmed the meaning of St. Ignatius' *Constitutions*.⁷⁰ Some critics suggest, however, that these two decrees (nos. 19 and 21) seem to give more power to the superior general than was originally intended.⁷¹

By 1581, there were more than 5,000 Jesuits scattered throughout the world; 59 of them were delegates assembled at GC IV.⁷² By a nearly unanimous vote, they selected Claudio Aquaviva as their superior general, although he was just 37 years old and a member of the Society for only fourteen years.⁷³ The election of "young" Claudio took many by surprise, including Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585).⁷⁴

⁶⁸GC IV, Decree 19; *ibid.*, pp. 172-173.

⁶⁹GC IV, Decree 21; *ibid.*, p. 173.

⁷⁰St. Ignatius Loyola, *Constitutions*, Part VIII, Chapter 4, no. 1; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 687, p. 297.

⁷¹Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 14-15.

⁷²*Ibid.*, pp. 12-13. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 8.

⁷³Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 9. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 14.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

Commenting on this election, Father Padberg writes: "Aquaviva was indeed an extraordinarily young choice, made by a congregation that in this instance acted as no other congregation would ever do."⁷⁵ Aquaviva went on to serve the Society of Jesus for 33 years and eleven months, the longest term of office in the Society's history.⁷⁶ He governed the Society for almost half of its first 75 years;⁷⁷ his generalate covered three general congregations⁷⁸ and eight pontificates.⁷⁹

During Aquaviva's tenure as general, the membership of the Society grew enormously and its apostolic labors expanded further throughout the world. Commenting on the Society's rapid growth under Aquaviva, Padberg states: "If the Society of Jesus owes its birth to Ignatius of Loyola, it undoubtedly owes to Aquaviva much of its development."⁸⁰ Aquaviva served as general during a remarkable period of history when the Society grew (almost tripled) from 5,165 to 13,112 members;⁸¹ when Jesuit schools and colleges multiplied from 144 to 372; when residences

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 97.

⁷⁷Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 138.

⁷⁸GC IV (1581); GC V (1593); and GC VI (1608).

⁷⁹Gregory XIII (1572-1585); Sixtus V (1585-1590); Urban VII (1590); Gregory XIV (1590-1591); Innocent IX (1591); Clement VIII (1592-1605); Leo XI (1605); and Paul V (1605-1621).

⁸⁰Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 14. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 21.

⁸¹Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 157. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 138.

increased from 33 to 123, professed houses from 10 to 23, novitiates from 12 to 41; and when the number of provinces went from 21 to 32.⁸² As the first Italian superior general, Aquaviva was naturally interested in expanding the Society throughout all of Italy. And because of his own youthfulness, he was greatly responsible for attracting large numbers of young Italians into the newly expanding Order. During Aquaviva's term as general, the number of Italian Jesuits grew from 1,689 to 2,763, more than a thousand in 34 years; and the number of Italian colleges and residences increased from 42 to 75.⁸³

All of these additional communities, of course, required superiors and rectors. And since all of these appointments had to be made by the superior general himself, a greater percentage of the general's time and effort was now devoted to the selection, review, and appointment of candidates to fill these many new positions. As a result, the administrative burdens of the general's office increased significantly.

By the time of Aquaviva's death in January 1615, there were Jesuits working in 550 different local communities spread across 33 provinces throughout the world.⁸⁴ Jesuits labored throughout all of Europe, in the Near East, and even in some African colonies. During this time, the Society developed extensive missions in Canada, Brazil, and Paraguay, as well as stations in Chile, India, China, and Japan. And

⁸²Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 157. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 98, 105.

⁸³Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 107.

⁸⁴Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 15. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 21. See also Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 202.

under Aquaviva, the Society's farthest expansion reached Indochina, Indonesia, and the Philippines.⁸⁵

Despite such accomplishments and progress, the years under Aquaviva were also marked by a certain degree of instability as the young Society learned to cope with new issues, problems, and crises, which were rooted both internally and externally. According to Father Bangert, the chief concern or task which Aquaviva faced during his tenure was that of *preservation*: "The problems which Aquaviva had to handle through the years were staggeringly complex: that of keeping pure and authentic the ideals and purpose of St. Ignatius."⁸⁶ Much to his credit, Aquaviva accepted this responsibility and faced this challenge with "unwavering resolution,"⁸⁷ "energy and dedication, [...] suavity and strength."⁸⁸ Moreover, he was "sure and steady in his grasp of Ignatius' thought."⁸⁹ Indeed, Aquaviva's preservation of the Ignatian character of the Society was perhaps his greatest accomplishment, as Father Harney concludes: "If the Jesuit Order honors Loyola as its founder, it must acknowledge Aquaviva as its preserver."⁹⁰

⁸⁵Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 202. See also Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 29-40.

⁸⁶Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 98.

⁸⁷Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 158.

⁸⁸Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 103-104.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁹⁰Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 157.

During the long course of his administration, Aquaviva was forced to deal with several crises. One of the most serious of the early threats to the Society, as an institution, and to Aquaviva's generalate, in particular, came from within the Society's own ranks. A small faction of Spanish Jesuits attempted to subvert the general's authority and tried to have the *Constitutions* radically altered. The issue focused on the general's absolute power to appoint provincials and local superiors. The disgruntled Jesuits wanted to curtail the general's authority in this area; specifically, they wanted to create "provincial chapters" which would have the right (power) to appoint provincials and rectors, thereby circumventing any dependence on Rome or the will of the general. In their efforts to seek papal approval of this plan, the rebellious Spanish minority employed the aid of their monarch, Philip II (1556-1598), and the Spanish Inquisition. Interestingly, the leader of these rebellious Spaniards was Father Antonio de Araoz, the first provincial of Spain and the nephew of Ignatius Loyola.⁹¹ The crisis temporarily ended when Aquaviva persuasively convinced Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) that such a drastic change in the Institute was not only unwarranted, but clearly not in the best interest of the Holy See.⁹²

Unfortunately, after the death of Sixtus V, this same group of disaffected Jesuits sought satisfaction from the new pope, Clement VIII (1592-1605). Through the appeals of two Jesuit advocates, Father José de Acosta and Cardinal Francisco de

⁹¹Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," p. 146.

⁹²Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 98-99. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 10; Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 15-16; and Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 158.

Toledo (the first Jesuit to receive a red hat), they complained that "the worldliness of superiors and the vast power invested in the general" was causing considerable unrest among Jesuits in Spain.⁹³ To help resolve their differences with Rome (i.e., with the Jesuit Curia), they wanted a new general congregation convoked, one that would openly debate the disputed issues. Legitimately disturbed by all this unrest, Clement VIII acquiesced and ordered Aquaviva to summon a general congregation.⁹⁴ Thus, GC V convened on November 3, 1593; it was the first general congregation to be summoned during the lifetime of a general.⁹⁵ Interestingly, none of the malcontents was elected to the congregation,⁹⁶ but they did have some minimal support among those present. In addition, 27 of the Spanish Jesuits had signed "memorials" against the *Constitutions*, which they sent to the general congregation.⁹⁷ The congregation fathers discussed and debated these and other issues for 76 days.⁹⁸ Despite all the machinations and maneuvering on the part of the sympathizers, the vast majority of

⁹³Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 100. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 11; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 16.

⁹⁴Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 100. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 11; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 16-17.

⁹⁵Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 10; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 15.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 11; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 17.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 12; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 18.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. xv.

delegates solidly confirmed the government of Claudio Aquaviva.⁹⁹ Furthermore, in their strong desire to preserve the integrity of the Institute, the delegates resoundingly rejected all of the radical or controversial petitions submitted by the Spanish Jesuits, many of them submitted on behalf of Philip II.¹⁰⁰

Calling the conspirators "deceitful [...] and degenerate sons of our institute," as well as "disturbers of our accustomed peace and authors of sedition," GC V ordered them dismissed from the Society.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, and very unfortunately, the congregation went too far in its condemnation; the resulting backlash would later prove to be very embarrassing for the Society. Since 25 of the 27 Jesuits who had signed the "memorials" were of either Jewish ("Hebrew") or Moorish ("Saracen") descent, the congregation further decreed that no one of such origin or extraction could be admitted to the Society without first obtaining a special dispensation from the Holy See;¹⁰² not even the superior general could dispense from this impediment.¹⁰³ In

⁹⁹Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 17; Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 11; and Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 358.

¹⁰⁰Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 18-19; and Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 11.

¹⁰¹GC V, Decree 54; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 205-206. Decree 54 was later confirmed by Pope Paul V (1605-1621), *Apostolic Letters*, p. 132; cited in the work above, p. 205. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 101.

¹⁰²GC V, Decrees 52 and 53; and reconfirmed by GC VI, Decree 28; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 12, 204-205 and 231-232. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 18; Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," p. 150; and Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 101.

addition, GC V also decided that even those Jesuits already admitted with this impediment were likewise subject to dismissal by the general, except for the solemnly professed of four vows.¹⁰⁴ Although the impediment of origin was later eased by Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903),¹⁰⁵ it officially remained part of the Society's proper law until 1946, when GC XXIX completely removed it.¹⁰⁶ Finally, in a further effort to repudiate the actions of the wayward Jesuits, GC V decreed that members of the Society were "not to involve themselves in secular political conflicts and negotiations."¹⁰⁷

Aquaviva also had to overcome some opposition from at least one of the eight reigning popes while he was general. The conflict focused on the use of the Holy Name in the Society's formal title. Pope Sixtus V was not happy with the official name of the Society: "it seemed to him an act of pride, to wish to be called by the

¹⁰³At GC XXVII (1923), the power to dispense from this impediment was finally given to the general. GC XXVII, *Collectio decretorum*, Decree 27; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 534.

¹⁰⁴GC V, Decree 52; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 204.

¹⁰⁵Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 101.

¹⁰⁶GC XXIX, Decree 8; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 12 and 625. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 101. See also J.W. Reites, "St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 13, no. 4 (September, 1981), pp. 31-32, 46.

¹⁰⁷GC V, Decrees 47-48; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 12 and 200-201. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 18.

name of the Saviour."¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, he instructed Aquaviva to submit a formal petition requesting a change of title. Although very reluctant to do so, Aquaviva complied with the pope's wishes. However, before any official action was taken, Sixtus V died on August 27, 1590; and, as a result, the papal document was never promulgated.¹⁰⁹ Commenting on this surprising turn of events, Father Antonio Astráin, S.J. states: "The death of Sixtus V freed the Company from a disaster."¹¹⁰ The controversy concerning the Society's name was completely put to rest the following year (1591), when Pope Gregory XIV (1590-1591) issued a bull, *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, confirming the Society's entire Institute, including its official title.¹¹¹ In this papal bull, Gregory XIV explicitly declares: "the name Society of Jesus, by which this praiseworthy Order was called by the Apostolic See at its birth, and by which it has been designated hitherto, is to be retained for all times."¹¹²

¹⁰⁸Pastor, *A History of the Popes*. Vol. XXI, p. 174. Cf. Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," p. 148.

¹⁰⁹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 100. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 10; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 16.

¹¹⁰A. Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, 7 vols., Madrid, Razón y Fe, 1902-1925. vol. III, p. 473; English trans. Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government." p. 148.

¹¹¹Gregory XIV, Bull. *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, 28 June 1591; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 116-123; excerpts in *MHSI Cons.*, vol. III, p. CLI. See also Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, p. 30.

¹¹²Gregory XIV, *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*: "[...] nomen Societatis Iesu, quo laudabilis hic Ordo nascens a Sede Apostolica nominatus est, et hactenus insignitus, perpetuis futuris temporibus in ea retinendum esse"; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, p. 120. English trans. Harney. *The Jesuits in History*, p. 109.

Throughout his tenure, Aquaviva's influence was enormous, and the accomplishments of his generalate were many. One area where he took a particular interest was education. First of all, concerning the educational formation of Jesuit scholastics, Aquaviva held firm to the opinion that the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle were pre-eminent, and that only these authors should be taught to those in training.¹¹³ Thus, at GC V, this particular viewpoint became the Society's law. The congregation decreed that Aquinas and Aristotle were to be the primary sources for Jesuit theology and philosophy studies.¹¹⁴ As a result, Jesuit scholars and teachers were instructed, by proper law, to follow only these masters in choosing opinions in theology and philosophy; and, furthermore, specific rules and guidelines were actually spelled out for them to follow.¹¹⁵

In a related area, Aquaviva reorganized the curriculum of the Jesuit schools and colleges and produced the famous *Ratio atque institutio studiorum S.I.* (or simply, *Ratio studiorum*). Actually, work on the *Ratio studiorum*, or "Plan of Studies," began under Aquaviva's predecessor, Everard Mercurian (1573-1580).¹¹⁶ But it was clearly under Aquaviva's personal prodding that this educational endeavor finally reached

¹¹³Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 202.

¹¹⁴GC V, Decree 41; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 198-199. The endorsement of Aristotle was later reconfirmed by GC XVI (1730), Decree 36; in the same work, pp. 384-385. Cf. Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 358; and Martin, *The Jesuits*, pp. 234-235.

¹¹⁵GC V, Decree 41; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 198-199. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 19.

¹¹⁶Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 105.

fulfillment.¹¹⁷ Altogether, Aquaviva supervised this project for fifteen years. as the document went through three editions (1586, 1591, and 1599) before reaching its final form and official publication.¹¹⁸ Of course, there were still later (revised) editions over the following years. But upon completion, the *Ratio studiorum* provided the Society's schools with a solid curriculum and a "coherent and graded set of objectives and methods."¹¹⁹ The Jesuit "Plan of Studies" stressed the classical languages, especially Latin, as well as grammar, rhetoric, and theology. In the words of Father Bangert, the *Ratio studiorum* became "an important part of the European humanistic tradition."¹²⁰ And, according to Father Harney, it "gave to Jesuit education that system of definitely purposed and well-organized studies which made its colleges the best and most popular in Europe."¹²¹

In 1606, the Eleventh Congregation of Procurators voted to hold another general congregation in order to resolve the ongoing controversy and internal disputes concerning Aquaviva's leadership and administration. This was the first and only time in the Society's history that a congregation of procurators has voted to hold a general

¹¹⁷Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 157.

¹¹⁸Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 105-106.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*

¹²¹Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 157.

congregation.¹²² As a result, the *third* general congregation that Aquaviva presided over was GC VI; it convened on February 21, 1608 and lasted a little more than a month.¹²³ Like GC V, it solidly confirmed Aquaviva's leadership, as the 64 members of the congregation openly expressed their complete confidence in him.¹²⁴ And like GC V, this congregation also addressed an important educational issue. Under Aquaviva's leadership, the congregation sought to settle a growing dispute whether it was permissible for the Society, according to its vocation, to have schools and colleges exclusively for laymen (i.e., with *no* Jesuit students).¹²⁵ Some Jesuits were strongly opposed to the Society's involvement in this type of school. However, in a decisive manner, the congregation determined that such schools were clearly allowable under the Society's Institute.¹²⁶ Thus, as a result of the vote, the controversy and internal confusion finally ended.¹²⁷ According to Father Padberg, this was a pivotal

¹²²See Chapter Two of this study, p. 88, including footnotes nos. 156 and 159.

¹²³Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 13; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 20.

¹²⁴GC VI, Decree 2; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 13, 217-218. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 20; and Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 358.

¹²⁵Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 14. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 20-21.

¹²⁶GC VI, Decree 18; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 223-224.

¹²⁷For more on this controversy and topic, see L. Lukács, "*De origine collegiorum externorum deque controversiis circa eorum paupertatem obottis, 1539-1608*," in *AHSI*, 29 (1960), pp. 189-245; and continued in vol. 30 (1961), pp. 3-89.

event because "This decree put the final authoritative seal of approval upon what had become *de facto* the Jesuits' largest and most successful apostolate."¹²⁸ Aquaviva's pro-laity stance was also evident in other areas. He enthusiastically encouraged the use or application of St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* for non-Jesuits, thereby promoting Ignatian spirituality and imprinting the Jesuit character on a greater segment of Catholic society.¹²⁹ As a final note, in a related matter, GC XXIX (1946) determined that the practice of allowing women into Jesuit universities was not inherently contrary to the Society's Institute. However, the congregation left it to the general's discretion to determine "where and with what precautions this practice should be permitted."¹³⁰

Besides the education of youth, the other great apostolate of the Society is evangelization or missionary work. Aquaviva's interest and contribution in this area were also significant. Thus, in addition to codifying Jesuit educational procedures, Aquaviva actively directed the great expansion of foreign missions that occurred during his tenure as general. And this was no small or easy task; indeed, it proved to be quite a challenge since it involved the delicate adaptation of the Catholic faith to

An English digest of this article, prepared by G.E. Ganss, appears in *Woodstock Letters*, 91 (1962), pp. 123-166; and a condensed summary is found in Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 166, footnote no. 19.

¹²⁸Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 14. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 21.

¹²⁹Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 202.

¹³⁰GC XXIX, Decree 12; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 629.

the various native cultures in China, Japan, and India.¹³¹ Aquaviva also took a serious interest in the "New World," encouraging greater development and supporting the widespread activities of the Jesuits who were there. For example, in South America, the well-known and successful Jesuit "Reductions" in Paraguay were started with Aquaviva's approval and encouragement.¹³² Furthermore, he continued the expansion and development of the Jesuit missions in Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. In Peru, especially, the number of Jesuit missionaries under Aquaviva multiplied to such an extent that the dependent missions of Chile and Ecuador were erected into independent regions (or vice-provinces) and eventually into separate provinces.¹³³

It has been said that, as general, Aquaviva's greatest quality was his enormous "vision" of the Society.¹³⁴ Indeed, in his *Constitutions*, Ignatius suggested that this was a necessary quality in the superior general in order "to initiate great undertakings in the service of God our Lord [no. 728]."¹³⁵ In addition to having this broad vision, Aquaviva was also a "master administrator," with an admirable organizational ability

¹³¹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 98.

¹³²Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 157.

¹³³*Ibid.*, pp. 240-241. See also Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. IV, book 3, chs. 5-6; vol. V, book 2, ch. 5; vol. VI, book 3, ch. 6; and vol. VII, book 2, ch. 4.

¹³⁴Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 138.

¹³⁵Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 310. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 138-139.

for making rules and regulations.¹³⁶ Thus, he was the first superior general to send out a large number of letters and "ordinations" (*ordinationes*) to his subordinates.¹³⁷ Furthermore, he also established a system of regular reporting, whereby all major superiors were required to submit periodic reports to the general curia about the state of their communities and the Society's works.¹³⁸ Although some historians have criticized his absolute control, administrative strictness, and bureaucratic manner,¹³⁹ Aquaviva did manage to "tighten the bonds of obedience and internal cohesion throughout the Order."¹⁴⁰ He accomplished all of this, of course, during one of the most critical periods in the Society's early and fragile history.

Despite all of its difficulties and controversy, the historical period of Aquaviva's generalate (1581-1615), and that of his successor, Muzio Vitelleschi (1615-1645), has been called by some the "Golden Age" of the Society of Jesus.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," p. 156. Cf. H. Boehmer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Gesellschaft*, Bonn, 1914; English trans. P.Z. Strodach, *The Jesuits: An Historical Study*, Philadelphia, 1928, p. 100.

¹³⁷Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 138.

¹³⁸Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 202.

¹³⁹Boehmer, *The Jesuits: An Historical Study*, p. 100; and J. de Mariana, *Discurso de las enfermedades de la Compañía*, 1625; Madrid, 1768; Reprint, Mexico, 1841, Ch. 19, p. 156. The Works of J. de Mariana also appear in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XXXI. Cf. Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," pp. 152-156, and footnotes nos. 56, 59, and 77-78, p. 160.

¹⁴⁰Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 202.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 201-202; Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 15; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 21.

This span of 64 years represents a period of unparalleled growth and a time, unlike any other, when many of the Society's most famous members lived and worked. As general, Aquaviva directed the apostolates of many well-known Jesuits who looked to him for leadership, and who would later be canonized: Robert Bellarmine, Peter Canisius, Aloysius Gonzaga, John Berchmans, Peter Claver, and Alphonsus Rodríguez.¹⁴² Other Jesuit saints from this same period include the Japanese martyrs, Paul Miki, John Soan (de Gotó), and James Kisai;¹⁴³ and the martyrs of England and Wales, Edmund Campion, Robert Southwell, and their companions.¹⁴⁴ In addition, there were more than 25 Jesuits, who also labored under Aquaviva, that were later beatified; most of these were missionaries who suffered persecution and martyrdom in the Far East, France, England, and Hungary.¹⁴⁵ And during Aquaviva's generalate, there were many prominent Jesuit scholars: Francisco Suárez, Luis de Molina, Leonard Lessius, Francisco de Toledo, Robert Persons, Antonio Possevino, and Matteo Ricci, to name a few.¹⁴⁶ Finally, Jesuit spirituality under Aquaviva reached the lives of many Christians through the classic works of such notable spiritual writers

¹⁴²Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 202.

¹⁴³Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 168.

¹⁴⁴*Companions of Jesus: Spiritual Profiles of the Jesuit Saints and Beati*, London, English Province of the Society of Jesus, 1974, pp. 133-138, 146.

¹⁴⁵Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 173.

¹⁴⁶Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 202; Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 141; and Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 157.

as Alvarez De Paz, Luis de la Puente, and Antoine le Gaudier.¹⁴⁷

Claudio Aquaviva died in Rome on January 31, 1615. The long generalate of Aquaviva was, indeed, an extraordinary period of history, both for the Society of Jesus and for the universal Church. Succeeding Jesuits owe much to his significant contribution and legacy. As superior general, Aquaviva presided over three general congregations, each of which endorsed and supported his authority and administration. Indeed, it was during Aquaviva's tenure as general that the power and influence of the superior general reached new heights.

JAN PHILIP ROTHAAAN (1785-1853)

Following the death of Superior General Luigi Fortis (1820-1829), the Twenty-First General Congregation convened on June 30, 1829; and, nine days later, it selected a Dutchman, Jan Philip Roothaan, as the Society's 21st superior general. The 28 members of GC XXI elected Roothaan on the fourth ballot. And at only 44 years of age, Roothaan was the youngest general chosen since Claudio Aquaviva.¹⁴⁸ Like Aquaviva, he went on to govern the Society for many years; his tenure of 23 years and ten months is the sixth longest in the Society's history.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷Martin, *The Jesuits*, pp. 202-203. For additional information on the Jesuit saints, scholars, writers, and artists of this period, see de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*.

¹⁴⁸Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 435. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 36; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 45.

¹⁴⁹J.B. Goeststouwers (ed.), *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*, Lovanii, Typis ad Sancti Alphonsi, 1950, col. 626.

Roothaan was born in Amsterdam on November 23, 1785, during the official period of the Society's suppression (1773-1814).¹⁵⁰ And because of the universal suppression,¹⁵¹ his only option was to join the Society in Russia, where, because of certain canonical complexities, the Society of Jesus still operated legally.¹⁵² Accordingly, on June 18, 1804, Roothaan entered the Jesuit novitiate in Dünaburg,

¹⁵⁰Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 189. Cf. Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 369.

¹⁵¹Suppression of a religious institute pertains to the Apostolic See alone; cf. canon 584, *CIC* (1983); in *Code*, pp. 222-223. The Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV (1769-1774) through his Brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, 21 July 1773 (effected 16 August 1773); in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 313-328.

¹⁵²Father Padberg explains the unusual circumstances that allowed the Society to remain in existence in Russia and Prussia: "Due to the canonical complexities wherewith the Brief of Suppression was promulgated, and due to the refusal of Frederick [II] the Great [1740-1786] in Prussia and Catherine [II] the Great [1762-1796] in Russia to allow its publication in their domains, the Society remained legally and canonically in existence in those two countries." [And for this same reason, the Society was never suppressed in Canada either.] Without official publication, the Brief of Suppression had no legal effect. Thus, the Society was able to continue its work in schools and parishes, but only until 1776 in Prussia; whereas in Russia, the Society's apostolates continued throughout the full period of suppression. However, six years after the Society's universal restoration in 1814 (by Pius VII, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, 7 August 1814), Czar Alexander I (1801-1825) banished all Jesuits from Russia in 1820. See Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 36-37 and 42-43. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 413-419 and 434-435. [N.B. During the 41 years of suppression, those Jesuits still legally active were able to hold five "congregations" at Polotsk, in White Russia. These congregations, which took place in 1782, 1785, 1799, 1802, and 1805, are referred to as the "Interim" or "Polish Congregations." Since they are not considered general congregations, *per se*, they remain beyond the scope of this study. The decrees of these congregations, however, can be found in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 407-426. Cf. also Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 36-40.]

White Russia (modern-day Poland); at the time, he was eighteen years old.¹⁵³ Having completed his philosophy and theology studies at Polotsk, Roothaan was ordained in 1812. By the time he finished the remaining period of formation and his early training, the Society had been fully restored. As a young priest, he was assigned to various teaching posts in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland.¹⁵⁴ Eventually, Roothaan ended up in Italy where he was the founder and rector of the Jesuit college at Turin (1823), and then vice-provincial of Italy, the post from which he represented the Italian province at GC XXI (1829).¹⁵⁵ As "an intense and single-minded man of decidedly serious nature,"¹⁵⁶ Roothaan has been called "one of the most outstanding superiors-general of the new and of the old Society,"¹⁵⁷ and certainly "one of the most influential generals" in the Society's history.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, as general, his broad vision and crucial decisions "influenced the direction of the Jesuits for the next century after his death."¹⁵⁹ Roothaan's able leadership, during the very critical

¹⁵³Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 436.

¹⁵⁴Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 189. Cf. Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 369. See also R.G. North, *The General who Rebuilt the Jesuits [Roothaan]*, Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1944.

¹⁵⁵Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 436. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 190.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 369.

¹⁵⁸Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 189.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*

period following the Suppression, helped re-establish the Society of Jesus on solid ground. Metaphorically, he was responsible in very large measure for ushering in the "Second Spring" of the Society.¹⁶⁰

Historians agree that Roothaan devoted himself thoroughly to the Society's longstanding traditions; and, thus, he concentrated his efforts on three principal areas in which it had already achieved some considerable measure of success: the apostolate of education; the apostolate of missionary work; and Jesuit spirituality.¹⁶¹

With regard to the education apostolate, Roothaan's great achievement was the much-needed revision of the *Ratio studiorum*. GC XX (1820) had determined that the *Ratio* of 1599 should be adapted to "the needs of our own times," i.e., to the new social and political climate of Europe following the French Revolution (1789).¹⁶² Also, the *Ratio studiorum* had to be updated and kept in harmony with the ever-changing progress of science (especially the physical sciences), where many recent discoveries had been made.¹⁶³ Accordingly, the general congregation directed this task to then-Superior General Luigi Fortis (1820-1829), who was unable to see this work through to completion. When Roothaan succeeded Fortis in 1829, therefore, GC XXI

¹⁶⁰Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 370.

¹⁶¹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 436; and in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 36; cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 46.

¹⁶²GC XX, Decree 10; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 430-431.

¹⁶³B. Neave, *The Jesuits: Their Foundation and History*, 2 vols., New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Benziger Brothers, 1879, vol. II, p. 318.

was emphatic that the job be finished, instructing Roothaan to move quickly.¹⁶⁴ Following his election, Roothaan appointed a commission of five professed fathers, outstanding in learning, to whom he entrusted the task of thoroughly revising the *Ratio studiorum*. Roothaan, of course, would supervise and approve their work.¹⁶⁵ On July 25, 1832, Roothaan issued the revised *Plan of Studies* and ordered that this new edition be sent to all the houses of the Society for implementation, but only on a trial basis.¹⁶⁶ Of course, no single plan of studies was fully adequate to satisfy the unique needs of all the Society's schools, especially those operating in diverse cultures around the world. Thus, as a result of this intrinsic flaw, the *Ratio studiorum* of 1832 never became "official" through a decree of acceptance by a general congregation.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Roothaan's *Ratio studiorum* was a very useful work that made a valuable contribution to the apostolate. Father Bangert, in his commentary, offers the following assessment: "Roothaan's *Ratio* did help toward unity of endeavor in the educational apostolate of the Society as it strove to make the necessary accommodation to the needs of a new age in its history."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴GC XXI, Decree 15: in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 440-441; and in Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 436-437.

¹⁶⁵Neave, *The Jesuits*, p. 318.

¹⁶⁶Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 437.

¹⁶⁷Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 45; Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 36; and Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 437.

¹⁶⁸Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 437. Cf. W. McGucken, *The Jesuits and Education*, Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1932, pp. 130-131, 135-136.

Once the task of revising the *Ratio* had been completed, Roothaan devoted his energies to the missionary apostolate, a work for which he showed much enthusiasm and zeal. Encouraged by Pope Gregory XVI (1831-1846), Roothaan wrote a letter to the whole Society on December 3 (the feast of St. Francis Xavier), 1833, asking for volunteers to do mission work abroad (*De missionum exterarum desiderio excitando et fovendo*).¹⁶⁹ The response was overwhelming; more than 1,000 Jesuits (over half the membership of the Society) offered their services.¹⁷⁰ As a result, a new wave of Jesuit missionaries descended upon Asia and Africa. In Asia, French Jesuits returned to China; and in India, the Belgians went to Bengal and Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the Germans to Bombay, the Italians to Mangalore, and the French to Malabar and Madurai.¹⁷¹ In Africa, the Society established its missions along the lines of colonial rule: the French Jesuits went to Algeria and Madagascar, the English to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and the Belgians to the Congo (Zaire).¹⁷²

However, in terms of missionary activity, the geographical region that profited the most from the renewed enthusiasm inspired by Roothaan was North America. And, as Father Clancy points out, "The chief beneficiary of this zeal was the

¹⁶⁹Goeststouwers (ed.), *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*, col. 426.

¹⁷⁰Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 191.

¹⁷¹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 472-473.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, pp. 474-475. Cf. T.J. Campbell, *The Jesuits: 1534-1921*, New York, The Encyclopedia Press, 1921, pp. 811-824.

U.S.A.¹⁷³ Under Roothaan's direction, French, German, Italian, and Belgian Jesuits all developed missions in the United States.¹⁷⁴ Roothaan seemed to take a special interest in helping to build the Catholic Church in America by making additional appeals for volunteers to work there. In 1833, Roothaan erected the Maryland Province (with 89 members), the first Jesuit province in the United States; and in 1841, the Missouri mission broke away from Maryland to become the vice-province of Missouri (with 45 members).¹⁷⁵

When the Society of Jesus was expelled from Switzerland in 1848, Roothaan was responsible for sending several Swiss Jesuits to the United States. Among this group of able Swiss were Anton Anderledy (later Superior General, 1887-1892) who continued his studies at St. Louis University, and who later worked as a parish priest in Wisconsin before returning to Europe;¹⁷⁶ and Jean Bapst who stayed in the United States and helped establish both Boston College (1863) and St. Peter's College, New Jersey (1878).¹⁷⁷ In some ironic way, the political upheavals in Europe during the mid-nineteenth century aided the missionary efforts of the Society and the Church by providing many able recruits willing to leave an unstable Europe for the promise of a

¹⁷³Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 191.

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁷⁵Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 480.

¹⁷⁶Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 48; and Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 38.

¹⁷⁷Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 483, 491.

new life abroad.¹⁷⁸ Nonetheless, Roothaan deserves much credit for making the missionary apostolate such a top priority of his generalate and for actually sending ("missioning") so many of his most talented men abroad. By 1851, the 22nd year of Roothaan's tenure, there were 975 Jesuits (approximately 20% of the Society) assigned to the foreign missions.¹⁷⁹

Roothaan's third major interest was Jesuit spirituality, an area in which he exerted much influence by stressing the centrality of the *Spiritual Exercises* in the life of a Jesuit.¹⁸⁰ Indeed, the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius constitute an essential component in the patrimony of the Institute; and it was Roothaan's duty, as general, to preserve, foster, and promote the observant use of this legacy.¹⁸¹ Roothaan emphasized the importance and strategic place of the *Exercises* in a letter to the whole Society (27 December 1834) on "The Study and Use of the *Spiritual Exercises*" (*De spiritualium exercitiorum S.P.N. studio et usu*).¹⁸² In this letter, Roothaan takes a firm stand against loose interpretations and improvisations of the *Exercises*, and orders a

¹⁷⁸Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 191.

¹⁷⁹Ibid. Cf. Goeststouwers (ed.), *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*, col. 447.

¹⁸⁰Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 46.

¹⁸¹Cf. canon 578, *CIC* (1983), concerning the patrimony of a religious institute; in *Code*, pp. 220-221. See also Second Vatican Council, *Perfectæ caritatis*, no. 2b; in Flannery (ed.), *Vatican Council II*, p. 612.

¹⁸²Goeststouwers (ed.), *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*, col. 426.

strict fidelity to the Ignatian text.¹⁸³ To insure a more precise understanding of Ignatius' words, Roothaan published (in 1835) a new, more accurate Latin translation of the original Spanish text.¹⁸⁴ And in 1847, he also published his own personal notes on mental prayer, entitled *Method of Meditating (De ratione meditandi)*, which greatly influenced other works on prayer for the remainder of the century.¹⁸⁵ Finally, Roothaan influenced Jesuit spirituality through his continuous efforts to re-establish the Ignatian spirit and ideal, a goal which he accomplished primarily through his letters and admonitions. Roothaan wrote numerous and lengthy letters on the spiritual life of Jesuits and about the various apostolates of the Society.¹⁸⁶ Not since Ignatius had any superior general been so prolific in his writings.¹⁸⁷ And, according to Father Bangert, "No general used the epistle to the extent Roothaan did to keep the Society true to its ideals."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 191-192; and in Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 436.

¹⁸⁴Prior to this new edition of the *Exercises*, the Latin text then in use was André des Freux's Vulgate version (Rome, 1548). Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 192. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 436.

¹⁸⁵Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 192.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 204.

¹⁸⁷Most of Roothaan's spiritual writings and letters have been published in the following works: *Opera Spiritualia*, ed. L. de Jonge and P. Pirri, 2 vols., Romæ, Apud Curiam Societatis Iesu, 1936; and *Epistolæ*, 5 vols., Romæ, Apud Curiam Societatis Iesu, 1935-1940; vol. I, ed. L. de Jonge and P. Pirri, 1935; vols. II-III, ed. J. Boubée and H. Azzolini, 1940; and vols. IV-V, ed. R. Züllig, 1939.

¹⁸⁸Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 437.

During his 24 years as superior general, Roothaan helped to rebuild the Society of Jesus out of the ruins of suppression, and he saw the Order double in size to 5,000 members.¹⁸⁹ When he died on May 8, 1853, Roothaan had already left the Society a three-fold legacy: his strong support for the educational apostolate and his revision of the *Ratio studiorum* (1832); his enthusiasm and encouragement for the foreign missions; and his emphasis on the *Spiritual Exercises* as the focus for spiritual renewal within the Order. Father Padberg summarizes this legacy and Roothaan's remarkable achievement as follows:

[...] these three sources and manifestations of interior and exterior vitality and generosity — education, the *Spiritual Exercises*, and the missions — owe much to Roothaan and to the twenty-four years when, in the midst of great trials, he led the Society with extraordinary effectiveness.¹⁹⁰

Jan Roothaan participated in only one general congregation — GC XXI, the one that elected him in 1829; however, he had summoned the next general congregation (GC XXII), but died before it assembled. GC XXII's first task, therefore, was to name Roothaan's successor. On July 2, 1853, the congregation elected Pieter Beckx of Belgium as the 22nd Superior General of the Society of Jesus.¹⁹¹ Following the example set by Roothaan, i.e., using the same strong model of leadership, Beckx went

¹⁸⁹R.G. North, "Johann Philipp Roothaan," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. W.J. McDonald, 15 vols., New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967, vol. 12, p. 665. See also R.G. North, *The General Who Rebuilt the Jesuits [Roothaan]*.

¹⁹⁰Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 36. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 46.

¹⁹¹Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 46. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 37.

on to govern the Society for nearly 34 years.

WŁODIMIR LEDÓCHOWSKI (1866-1942)

Following the death of Superior General Franz Wernz (1906-1914), the Twenty-Sixth General Congregation convened on February 2, 1915. It had taken six months to assemble this congregation due to the outbreak of World War I. On February 11, nine days after the opening session, the congregation elected Włodimir Ledóchowski as the Society's 26th superior general. Ledóchowski, a 48 year-old Pole with Austrian citizenship, was chosen on the *second* ballot by the 87 members of the congregation. Ironically, he began his term of office in the midst of World War I and ended it in the midst of World War II; he died in 1942. Overall, Ledóchowski's tenure as general lasted 27 years and ten months, the fourth longest in the Society's history.¹⁹²

Włodimir Ledóchowski was born on October 7, 1866, in Loosdorf, Austrian Poland (part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire).¹⁹³ Legally, he was a citizen of Austria, although of Polish nationality.¹⁹⁴ Włodimir was the son of Count Antonius

¹⁹²Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 499; Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 45; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 56-57.

¹⁹³Goeststouwers (ed.), *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*, col. 506. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 201.

¹⁹⁴Modern-day Poland did not become a political entity until after the end of World War I (1918).

Kalka-Ledóchowski and the nephew of Cardinal Miecyslaw Ledóchowski.¹⁹⁵ At first, Wlodimir studied law for one year at the University of Cracow but then decided to enter the diocesan seminary. He began his theological studies at Tarnów, in 1885, but continued them at the Gregorian University in Rome. During this time, Ledóchowski lived at the "German College" (*Collegio Germanico-Hungarico*) which was (and still is) under the pastoral care of the Society of Jesus. Influenced by the Jesuits whom he met in Rome, Ledóchowski decided to join the Society of Jesus after completing his doctorate in philosophy from the Gregorian.¹⁹⁶ On September 24, 1889, he entered the Jesuit novitiate of the [former] Galicia Province (at Starawies, in Austrian Poland).¹⁹⁷ With philosophy and theology studies already behind him, Ledóchowski was ordained just five years later, in 1894, at the age of 28. Later on he served as superior of the residence in Cracow, and then rector of the college there. On March 25, 1901, the same day of his solemn profession, Ledóchowski was first appointed vice-provincial of the Galicia Province, and then provincial just one year later (1902).¹⁹⁸ In 1906 he returned to Rome to serve in the Society's general curia as regional assistant for the German Assistancy. It was from this same post that

¹⁹⁵J.A. Slattery, "In Memoriam: Very Reverend Father Vladimir Ledóchowski, S.J.," in *Woodstock letters*, 72, no. 1 (March, 1943), pp. 1-2. Cf. P. Molinari, "Wladimir Ledóchowski," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. W.J. McDonald, 15 vols., New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967, vol. 8, p. 602.

¹⁹⁶Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 202.

¹⁹⁷Goeststouwers (ed.), *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*, col. 506.

¹⁹⁸Slattery, "Vladimir Ledóchowski," p. 3. Cf. Molinari, "Wladimir Ledóchowski," p. 602.

Ledóchowski participated in GC XXVI, and from which he was elected superior general in 1915.¹⁹⁹

Most Jesuit historians agree that Włodimir Ledóchowski was one of the two or three most influential generals of the Society since Claudio Aquaviva.²⁰⁰ And like Aquaviva, he was a man who possessed "much personal power" which he routinely used to mold and shape the Society according to the very strict ideals of St.

Ignatius.²⁰¹ As Malachi Martin points out, it was during the 28-year generalate of Ledóchowski "that the traditional character of the Society received the firmest stamp and clearest definition since the generalate of Claudio Aquaviva."²⁰² Although "a humble man with deeply spiritual convictions,"²⁰³ Ledóchowski was nonetheless "an almost merciless disciplinarian" who "insisted on fidelity to the structure of Jesuit obedience."²⁰⁴ As an administrator, Ledóchowski was involved in all but the most trivial of decisions, and he kept his finger on every aspect of the Society's Institute. As general, Ledóchowski sent out numerous letters and memoranda which could best be described as "a stream of instructions flowing out to the whole Society about every

¹⁹⁹Ibid. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 201-202; and Campbell, *The Jesuits*, p. 926.

²⁰⁰Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 201.

²⁰¹Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 221.

²⁰²Ibid.

²⁰³Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 202.

²⁰⁴Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 221.

detail of Jesuit life and Ignatian ideals."²⁰⁵ For example, in one particular letter issued in November 1928, Ledóchowski specified that the partitions separating the cubicles of novices and juniors should be no higher than six feet, four inches. And there were other specific instructions as well: on the care of the hair, and how Jesuits were to be awakened in the morning.²⁰⁶

Ledóchowski's authoritarian style seemed to fit the times. It is not surprising, therefore, that his generalate coincided with the pontificates of two strong-willed popes, Pius XI (1922-1939) and Pius XII (1939-1958). Thus, religious life in the Society of Jesus under Ledóchowski merely reflected the overall conditions of the larger, universal Church. Perhaps because they shared such similar views of the Church, the papacy and the Society's generalate were closely linked; and Ledóchowski had a close, working-relationship with both pontiffs.²⁰⁷ Indeed, the Society's relationship with Pius XI, in particular, was especially close, and there was much cooperation between the two. It is Father Harney's opinion that "At no time in its history had the Society found a more generous benefactor on the pontifical throne than the late Pius XI."²⁰⁸ And Father Padberg concurs by stating, "Pius XI was one of the

²⁰⁵Ibid. See also W. Ledóchowski, *Selected Writings of Father Ledóchowski*, Chicago, The American Assistancy of the Society of Jesus and Loyola University Press, 1945.

²⁰⁶Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 203.

²⁰⁷Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 221.

²⁰⁸Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 375.

greatest friends that the Society ever had among the popes."²⁰⁹

As a sign of his confidence in Ledóchowski and in the Society, Pius XI entrusted the Oriental Institute, the Russian College, and the Brazilian College to the care of the Jesuits in Rome.²¹⁰ Furthermore, under Pius XI, the Pontifical Biblical Institute, which was founded by Pius X (1903-1914) and confided to the Society earlier (1910), now became a part of the Gregorian University, as did the Oriental Institute. Pius XI was also responsible, in part, for the construction of several new buildings at the Gregorian (1929-1931).²¹¹ Under Ledóchowski's careful watch, all of the Jesuit institutions of higher learning in Rome received an added impetus.²¹² GC XXVI (1915) had declared that the Society was united in its whole-hearted support for the Gregorian University, and the congregation commended it to "the special care and foresight of the Superior General."²¹³ And in 1923, GC XXVII decreed that all provinces, according to their capability, would support the Gregorian with either manpower or money.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 49, footnote no. 67.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*

²¹¹Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 212.

²¹²Molinari, "Wladimir Ledóchowski," p. 602.

²¹³GC XXVI, Decree 10; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 506-507.

²¹⁴GC XXVII, Decree 21; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 525. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 212; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 62.

The Society's close relationship with Pius XI manifested itself in other ways. Pius XI canonized eleven Jesuit saints, including Peter Canisius (1925), Robert Bellarmine (1930), Andrew Bobola (1938), and the eight Canadian (or North American) Martyrs (1930); he also beatified another 42 Jesuit martyrs.²¹⁵ In addition, Pius XI also bestowed the title "Doctor of the Church" on both Peter Canisius and Robert Bellarmine; and, as a strong advocate of the *Spiritual Exercises*, he named Ignatius Loyola as the patron saint of all retreats and spiritual exercises.²¹⁶ Finally, Ledóchowski's special relationship with Pius XI is evident by the fact that he closely supervised the writing of the Pope's landmark social encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno* (15 May 1931), which was produced by a team of German and Austrian Jesuits personally selected by the General. And two Jesuit professors from the Gregorian University, with Ledóchowski's approval, had also drafted Pius XI's earlier encyclical on marriage, *Casti connubii* (31 December 1930).²¹⁷

During his long tenure as general, Ledóchowski presided over three general congregations: GC XXVI (1915), the one that elected him; and *two* others, GC XXVII (1923) and GC XXVIII (1938), which he himself convened, something which

²¹⁵*Companions of Jesus*, pp. 145-151. Cf. Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 375.

²¹⁶Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 375.

²¹⁷D. Leston and M. Higgins, *The Jesuit Mystique*, Chicago, Jesuit Way (An Imprint of Loyola Press), Toronto, Macmillan Canada, 1995, pp. 58-59. See also P. McDonough, *Men Astutely Trained: A History of the Jesuits in the American Century*, New York, The Free Press, Toronto, Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1992, opposite p. 266; and Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 503-504. Pius XI, Encyclical, *Casti connubii*, 31 December 1930; in *AAS* 22 (1930), pp. 539-592.

had not been done since Aquaviva. Following Ledóchowski's election at GC XXVI,²¹⁸ the congregation took up two main concerns. First, it established the American Assistancy.²¹⁹ The creation of this new assistancy was significant because it reflected the reality of a major shift taking place in 1915: the Church in the United States was growing enormously (mainly through immigration) and along with it the Society of Jesus. Indeed, by 1940 (just 25 years later), there were 5,552 American Jesuits, more than in any other country;²²⁰ and by 1965 (50 years later), there were 8,469 American Jesuits, nearly 24% of the total Society (36,038), and more than in Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Belgium, and Holland combined.²²¹ Recognizing this trend, the fathers at GC XXVI overwhelmingly approved the new assistancy; the decree passed with well over the three-quarters votes it needed.²²² On March 1, 1915, the congregation elected the first American assistant, Father Thomas Gannon, who

²¹⁸The decrees of GC XXVI are found in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, 2 (1915-1918), pp. 13-46 and 27-41; English trans. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 503-513.

²¹⁹GC XXVI, Decree 8; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 506. The American Assistancy was renamed the United States Assistancy following GC XXXIII (1983). See *Appendix E* of this study for a list of the ten provinces that make-up the United States Assistancy.

²²⁰Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 215.

²²¹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 500. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, Chart 5, p. 247; and J.R. Sheets, "A Survey of the Thirty-Second General Congregation," in *Review for Religious*, 34, no. 5 (September, 1975), p. 685.

²²²Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 57; and in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 45.

was then provincial of the [former] Maryland-New York Province.²²³

The second important issue taken up at GC XXVI concerned the Society's own proper law which, in the view of many delegates, needed revision. Accordingly, as a first step, the assembled fathers ordered that the superior general (Ledóchowski) should:

see to it that instructions, ordinances of the generals, rules, and likewise decrees and canons of general congregations are reviewed, in order to make our laws better adapted to contemporary needs and easier to apply, and in order to make the accommodation of our own law with the current papal legislation clearly evident.²²⁴

The fathers then determined that the formal ratification of any necessary revisions would take place at the *next* general congregation (GC XXVII), which would be summoned by the general "at such time as he will deem fitting."²²⁵

GC XXVI also decided that a new edition of the "Epitome of the Institute" (*Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu*) should be produced. The *Epitome* is a compendium of the Society's legislation; and the decision of the congregation seemed to make good sense, given the fact that the *last* edition had been published in 1882.²²⁶ Upon its completion, the new edition of the *Epitome* was tentatively approved by the next

²²³GC XXVI, Decree 9; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 46 and 506. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 57.

²²⁴GC XXVI, Decree 11, no. 1; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 507. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 57.

²²⁵GC XXVI, Decree 11, no. 2; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 507.

²²⁶*Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu*, Prati in Etruria, Ex Typographia Giachetti, Filii et Socii, 1882.

congregation (GC XXVII)²²⁷ subject to the revisions of the *Collectio decretorum* (discussed below); it was finally published in 1924.²²⁸

In 1923, Ledóchowski summoned GC XXVII for the main purpose of adapting the Society's proper law in conformity with the "new" (1917) Code of Canon Law.²²⁹ By 1923 the "review" of the Society's legislation, as called for by GC XXVI, had been completed; likewise, the *schemata* for the new edition of the *Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu* had also been prepared (in accord with GC XXVI), and it now required approval by the general congregation. Thus, GC XXVII convened on September 8, 1923, and carried on its business for the next three and a half months (for a total of 93 sessions); except for GC VI (1608), it was the longest congregation ever assembled.²³⁰ Before taking any action on the *Epitome*, the fathers first thought it necessary to produce a compilation of all the decrees, formulas, and rules of previous congregations that still retained the force of law. Therefore, the congregation reviewed all of the previous statutes and revised them; in addition, it abridged the

²²⁷GC XXVII (1923), Decree 14; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 522-523.

²²⁸*Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu additis præcipuis præscriptis ex iure communi Regularium*, editio minor, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1924.

²²⁹*Codex iuris canonici, Pii X Pontificis Maximi iussu digestus, Benedicti Papæ XV auctoritate promulgatus [=CIC (1917)]*, Romæ, Typographi Pontificii, 1917.

²³⁰Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 59, 62. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 47, 49.

revised decrees into a shorter form and condensed all of them into one volume.²³¹

GC XXVII subsequently approved the new document, which it called the "Collected Decrees of the General Congregations" (*Collectio decretorum congregationum generalium Societatis Iesu*).²³² And in approving this document, the congregation further determined that "those decrees of earlier congregations not recorded there, are regarded as obsolete as far as their obligatory force is concerned."²³³ The *Collectio decretorum* was promulgated and published in 1924 along with the other decrees of GC XXVII.²³⁴ As subsequent congregations, GC XXVIII (1938), GC XXIX (1946), and GC XXX (1957), made further revisions to the *Collectio*, these were published in later editions.²³⁵ Finally, the changes that were made to the Society's *Constitutions* at GC XXVII, in conformity with the new Code of Canon Law, were solemnly ratified by Pius XI in 1924.²³⁶

²³¹Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 47. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 59.

²³²GC XXVII, Decree 8; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 521.

²³³*Ibid.*

²³⁴*Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII, A Restituta Societate VIII, 1923*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1924; and in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, 4 (1924).

²³⁵A second edition of the *Collectio decretorum* was published in 1961 (Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis), as was a third edition in 1977. The most recent publication (1994) is an English translation found in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 527-591.

²³⁶Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 375. Furthermore, the Society's entire Institute and its privileges were confirmed by Pius XI in his Apostolic Letter, *Paterna*

One of Ledóchowski's significant achievements concerned the Society's long-standing practice of the account (or manifestation) of conscience. St. Ignatius considered this practice an essential element of Jesuit life, which he clearly articulated in the *Constitutions* [nos. 91-97].²³⁷ And GC V (1594) later declared the account of conscience to be one of the substantials of the Institute.²³⁸ However, a conflict arose because the 1917 Code of Canon Law forbade superiors either to induce or require manifestation.²³⁹ Because of this new law, Ledóchowski sought special apostolic approval for the Society's practice of rendering the account of conscience. After two audiences with the pope, during which Ledóchowski read and explained the appropriate paragraphs of the *General Examen*,²⁴⁰ Pius XI finally agreed to grant

Caritas, 12 March 1933; in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, S. Sedes, 4 (1933); in AAS 25 (1933), pp. 245-246; and excerpts in *MHSI Cons.*, vol. III, p. CLII. See also Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, p. 31.

²³⁷Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 103-106. For additional information on the history of the manifestation of conscience see J. Creusen, *Religious Men and Women in the Code*, trans. A.C. Ellis and F.N. Korth, Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1965, nos. 128-132; and F.N. Korth, *The Evolution of the "Manifestation of Conscience" in Religious Rules, III-XVI Centuries*, Roma, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Società Grafica Romana, 1949.

²³⁸GC V, Decree 58; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 208. At GC XXVII (1923), the fathers categorized the account of conscience as a "Substantial of the Second Order" (*Substantialia secundi ordinis*); see *Collectio decretorum*, Decree 13, in the work cited, p. 532. Cf. *Appendix D* of this study.

²³⁹See canon 530, §1, *CIC (1917)*. This canon stems from alleged abuses in the nineteenth century, especially by lay superiors, that prompted Leo XIII, in 1890, to prohibit elicited or mandatory manifestation in lay religious institutes. See Ganss, *Constitutions*, pp. 104-105, footnote no. 19. Cf. canon 630, §5, *CIC (1983)*, in *Code*, pp. 236-237.

special approbation for this practice in the Society of Jesus; the papal rescript was issued on June 29, 1923.²⁴¹ In recognition of Father Ledóchowski's able efforts in obtaining the papal approval, the fathers at GC XXVII paid special tribute to the superior general.²⁴²

GC XXVII also granted Father Ledóchowski the authority to create a new assistancy for the Slavic provinces.²⁴³ This was a timely decision that reflected the rapid growth of the Society in Eastern Europe following World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, because the political and economic conditions in that region were still unstable, the congregation determined that the general should postpone any action on this matter until a more appropriate time, i.e., "as soon as the state of affairs matured and the difficulties were resolved."²⁴⁴ Six years later, on April 17, 1929, Ledóchowski formally erected the Slavic Assistancy.

²⁴⁰de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, pp. 59-60. An account of the two papal audiences granted by Pius XI to Superior General Ledóchowski is published in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, S. Sedes, 4-9. Cf. de Aldama, in the work cited, footnote no. 79, p. 60.

²⁴¹Pius XI, *Rescriptum Pontificium de ratione conscientiae*, 29 June 1923: "*Quæ Sanctus Ignatius de Loyola in Constitutionibus Societatis Iesu toties ab Antecessoribus Nostris probatis et confirmatis de ratione conscientiae reddenda statuit, suprema Nostra Apostolica auctoritate iterum probamus et confirmamus.*" The pontifical rescript is published in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, 4 (1924), p. 261; and in *Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII*, p. 261.

²⁴²GC XXVII, Decree 16; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 523.

²⁴³GC XXVII, Decree 20; *ibid.*, p. 525.

²⁴⁴*Ibid.* Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 60.

The new assistancy incorporated the two newly-constituted provinces of Poland ["Greater" (*Maioris*) and "Lesser" (*Minoris*)²⁴⁵], the province of Czechoslovakia, and the vice-province of Yugoslavia.²⁴⁶ All of these provinces represented "new" nations (i.e., new political entities) carved out of the old empire.²⁴⁷ Previously, the Society's provinces in that particular territory all belonged to the German Assistancy.²⁴⁸

GC XXVII finally adjourned on December 21, 1923, three and a half months after the opening session.²⁴⁹ This had been the second general congregation presided over by Superior General Ledóchowski, and he was chiefly responsible for its many accomplishments. In analyzing the significance of this congregation, Father Padberg writes: "It was [...] among the most important in reinforcing the clarity, the order — and to some degree — the somewhat mechanical rigor that seemed to characterize

²⁴⁵The province of "Lesser Poland" (*Poloniae Minoris*) has since been renamed "Southern Poland" (*Poloniae Meridionalis*).

²⁴⁶The Slavic Assistancy has since been replaced by the East Europe Assistancy, which includes the provinces of Bohemia, Croatia, Greater Poland, Southern Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and the independent region of Russia. Cf. *Appendix E* of this study.

²⁴⁷Goeststouwers (ed.), *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*, cols. 562-563. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 48; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 60-61.

²⁴⁸GC XXVII, Decrees 6 and 20; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 519-520 and 525. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 61.

²⁴⁹Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 47, 49; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 59, 62.

legislation and life in the Society during the years ahead."²⁵⁰

Ledóchowski's third and final general congregation was GC XXVIII, which convened on March 12, 1938. At 72 years of age and in frail health, Ledóchowski had summoned this congregation for the primary purpose of electing a permanent vicar general who would assist him with the many burdens of his office.²⁵¹ Once in session, Ledóchowski asked the congregation for the authority to name the vicar general, which was a rather unusual request. But since the superior general was much-beloved and trusted by the delegates, the congregation acceded to his wish. Thus, in accord with the *Formula Congregationis*,²⁵² the congregation voted and decreed, "that a permanent vicar general should indeed be named, but without the right of succession; [and] that he should be named by the superior general himself."²⁵³ On April 10, Ledóchowski selected Father Maurice Schurmans, provincial of the North Belgium (Flemish) Province, as the vicar general. However, Ledóchowski chose not to announce the appointment until the following day (April 11), after he

²⁵⁰Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 49. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 62; and Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 202.

²⁵¹Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 62-63; and Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 49-50.

²⁵²*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, Title V: *De electione Vicarii Generalis perpetui*, no. 94; in *Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII*, pp. 170-171.

²⁵³GC XXVIII, Decree 5, no. 3; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 596. The voting took place on March 21, by secret ballot; the measure supporting Ledóchowski's request passed easily, receiving well over half the votes needed.

first obtained the written personal approval of each of the electors.²⁵⁴

With the issue of the vicar general out of the way, the congregation focused its attention on the next important matter — the creation of a new Latin American assistancy. By 1938, the Church in South America was growing faster than the Church in North America, and the need for a new assistancy was obvious to all. At that time, most of the Latin American provinces of the Society were part of the Spanish Assistancy,²⁵⁵ and the congregation recognized the pressing need to divide this overgrown assistancy. Therefore, the decrees that erected the new assistancy passed easily;²⁵⁶ and on March 25, the congregation elected Father Camillo Crivelli of Mexico as the first Latin American assistant.²⁵⁷ The new assistancy incorporated the provinces of Argentina, Southern Brazil, Columbia, Mexico, and the vice-provinces of Chile and Central Brazil.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴GC XXVIII, Decree 5, no. 4; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 50 and 596. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 63; and Goeststouwers (ed.), *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*, col. 602.

²⁵⁵Actually, *all* of the Latin American provinces and vice-provinces, except for Southern Brazil and Central Brazil, were part of the Spanish Assistancy.

²⁵⁶GC XXVIII, Decrees 6 and 19; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 596 and 601.

²⁵⁷GC XXVIII, Decree 7; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 596-597.

²⁵⁸GC XXVIII, Decree 19; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 601. Over the years, other South American countries were added on; and today there are now *two* assistancies for that part of the world: North Latin America and South Latin America. See *Appendix E* of this study for the list of provinces in each assistancy.

GC XXVIII had 161 members in attendance; and it included, for the first time as delegates, procurators of major dependent vice-provinces and missions.²⁵⁹ It lasted only 58 days, however, due in part to the growing turmoil and political upheaval in Europe. On March 12, 1938, the same day the congregation convened, Nazi Germany invaded Austria, which it then annexed just one month later.²⁶⁰ And also that year, while GC XXVIII was still in session, more than 2500 Spanish Jesuits were forced into exile following another persecution of the Society during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). As a result of these incidents, several delegates had to leave the congregation early. In fact, by the time the congregation adjourned, on May 9th, twelve of the members had already returned home.²⁶¹ As war loomed over Europe and the congregation came to a close, the fathers at GC XXVIII urged all Jesuits to foster "that universal love which embraces all in our Lord."²⁶²

Despite (or perhaps, because of) the strict, authoritarian style of its superior general, the Society of Jesus flourished during the nearly 28 years of Ledóchowski's generalate. Under his leadership, the Society experienced tremendous growth. During his tenure (1915-1942), the number of assistancies increased from five to eight; the number of provinces almost doubled, from 26 to 50; the number of foreign

²⁵⁹Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 49.

²⁶⁰The annexation of Austria was "legalized" by a plebiscite on April 10, 1938.

²⁶¹Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 50.

²⁶²GC XXVIII, Decree 22, no. 4; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 602. Cf. Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutions*, Part X, no. 11; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 823, p. 337.

missions jumped from 29 to 46, while the number of Jesuits assigned to these missions nearly quadrupled, from 971 to 3785; and finally, the overall membership of the Order grew by almost 10,000 men, from 16,946 in 1915 to 26,588 in 1942.²⁶³ Father Molinari summarizes Ledóchowski's life and long career by stating, "Ledóchowski was noted for [his] keen perception, knowledge of men and of conditions throughout the world, spiritual firmness, and indefatigable labor."²⁶⁴

From a canonical point of view, Ledóchowski was chiefly responsible for bringing the proper law of the Society up-to-date with the new (1917) *Code of Canon Law*. He presided over GC XXVII (1923) which ratified the major revisions of the law and which produced the *Collectio decretorum*, an abridged collection of all decrees enacted by the previous general congregations which still retained the force of law. GC XXVII also approved a new edition of the *Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu*, a compendium of all of the Society's rules and legislation.

Włodimir Ledóchowski died in Rome on December 13, 1942. Because of World War II, the next general congregation (GC XXIX) could not convene until September 1946. During the interim, the Society was governed by two able vicars general: Alessio Ambrogio Magni of Italy (December 1942 to April 1944) and Norbert de Boynes of France (April 1944 to September 1946). When GC XXIX finally did convene, the congregation elected Jean-Baptiste Janssens of Belgium as the

²⁶³Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 203. Cf. Molinari, "Włodimir Ledóchowski," p. 602.

²⁶⁴Molinari, "Włodimir Ledóchowski," p. 602.

27th superior general of the Society of Jesus.²⁶⁵

PEDRO ARRUPE (1907-1991)

With the death of Jean-Baptiste Janssens on October 5, 1964, the Thirty-First General Congregation assembled the following Spring, convening on May 7, 1965.²⁶⁶ The eight-month delay was necessary in order to allow for adequate preparation. Also, since a significant number of Jesuits were involved in the work of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), GC XXXI had to be planned carefully so as to meet at a time when all would be "free"; hence, the months between the third and fourth sessions of the Council seemed most opportune.²⁶⁷ Meanwhile, during the interim, Father John L. Swain (of Canada) governed the Society as vicar general.²⁶⁸ On May 22, after two weeks had elapsed, the delegates at GC XXXI finally chose Pedro Arrupe, a 57 year-old Spanish Basque, as the 28th superior general of the Society. The only other Basque ever to hold this office was Ignatius of Loyola.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁵Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 65. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 52.

²⁶⁶Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 1. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 73.

²⁶⁷Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 507-508. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 73-74.

²⁶⁸Actually, John Swain had been vicar general since 1960, when he was appointed to assist the superior general (Janssens) whose health was already in decline. See Chapter Two of this work, p. 85, including footnotes nos. 147 and 148.

²⁶⁹Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 3. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 77.

GC XXXI was the last general congregation to assemble in which delegates were selected by the old formula of provincial congregations,²⁷⁰ which allowed only the fifty *oldest* professed fathers and *ex officio* members to attend (as was discussed in Chapter Two). However, Arrupe's election by the 224 delegates²⁷¹ came on the *third* ballot, suggesting that, perhaps, this election was "more open than usual"²⁷² since voting beyond the second round had only happened three times before.²⁷³ At the time of his election, Arrupe was the "compromise" candidate -- "neither the prime candidate of the traditionalists nor that of the renewalists;"²⁷⁴ basically, he was perceived as a moderate and, therefore, acceptable to all. However, after the election, the world press speculated as to whether the Society of Jesus had chosen a "progressive" superior general or not; and there were many different opinions on this matter. For example, the Roman correspondent for the London *Times* determined that the Society's new general could *not* be ranked among the "solidly progressive," but

²⁷⁰*Formula Congregationis Provincialis, in Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII, Formulæ Congregationum, Titulus II, Caput I, nos. 7-8, pp. 187-188.*

²⁷¹There were 224 delegates at the *first* session of GC XXXI (May 7 to July 15, 1965); however, at the *second* session (September 8 to November 17, 1966) there were 226 delegates.

²⁷²"The Jesuits in the Post-Conciliar Era," p. 354.

²⁷³In 1687, at GC XIII, Tirso González (of Spain) was elected on the *third* ballot; in 1829, at GC XXI, Jan Roothaan (of Holland) was elected on the *fourth* ballot; and in 1906, at GC XXV, Franz Xavier Wernz (of Germany) was elected on the *third* ballot. All of the other Jesuit generals were elected on either the first or second ballot. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 36 and 43.

²⁷⁴Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 347.

instead offered this assessment of Arrupe: "a meticulous organizer, a careful evaluator, with an open rather than an original mind, a conciliator rather than a pace-setter."²⁷⁵

Pedro Arrupe was born on November 14, 1907, in Bilbao (in the Basque province of Vizcaya), Spain.²⁷⁶ There were five children in the Arrupe family and Pedro was the only son; his father was an architect who had also founded the local (regional) newspaper, *Gaceta del Nord*. At first, Pedro studied medicine at the University of Madrid; but after a profound spiritual conversion while visiting Lourdes in 1926, he felt called to be a priest.²⁷⁷ Arrupe entered the Loyola Province of the Society of Jesus on January 15, 1927. In April 1931, the Spanish monarchy [King Alfonso XIII (1902-1931)] was forced to flee Spain, and the government of the new ("Second") Spanish Republic began expelling priests and religious from that country. On February 13, 1932, hundreds of Jesuits were forced into exile, including Pedro Arrupe. He first went to Belgium to study philosophy, and then moved on to Holland to begin theology studies under the German Jesuits at Valkenburg. On July 30, 1936, he was ordained to the priesthood there in Holland. Arrupe spent his fourth year of theology (1936-1937) in the United States, at St. Mary's College, Kansas. And from

²⁷⁵These quotations from the London *Times* appear in the *Herder Correspondence* article, "The Jesuits in the Post-Conciliar Era," p. 354.

²⁷⁶P. Arrupe, *Challenge to Religious Life Today: Selected Letters and Addresses—I*, ed. J. Aixalá, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1979, Biographical Summary, inside back cover.

²⁷⁷Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 347.

there he went directly into the Society's "tertianship" (*tertia probatione*) program²⁷⁸ in Cleveland, Ohio.²⁷⁹

The next 27 years of Arrupe's life were spent doing missionary work in Japan. After having arrived there on October 15, 1938, Arrupe was assigned to the mission post in Yamaguchi (Western Honshu). On March 13, 1942, he became master of novices and rector of the novitiate at Nagatsuka, which was located on the outskirts of Hiroshima. Arrupe was there on August 6, 1945, when the atomic bomb exploded over the city; and he used his previous medical knowledge to help care for the victims and to organize the enormous rescue effort. He was appointed vice-provincial for Japan in 1954, and then provincial in 1958 (when Japan became a full province). It was in this capacity, as provincial, that Arrupe attended (*ex officio*) GC XXXI in 1965.²⁸⁰

In electing Pedro Arrupe, the congregation had chosen someone with "openness of mind"²⁸¹ and with a vision "fixed on the universal good."²⁸² Moreover,

²⁷⁸"Tertianship" is the *third* and final period of probation (after postulancy and novitiate) in preparation for final vows in the Society of Jesus. For further information on tertianship, see A. Ruhan, "The Origins of the Jesuit Tertianship," in *Woodstock Letters*, 94, no. 4 (Fall, 1965), pp. 407-426. See also GC XXXI, Decree 10: "Tertianship" (*De tertia probatione*), in Padberg (ed.), *The Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 188-192, pp. 125-126; and GC XXXII, Decree 7: "Tertianship" (*De tertia probatione*), in Padberg (ed.), in the work cited, nos. 187-190, pp. 459-460.

²⁷⁹Arrupe, *Challenge to Religious Life Today*, Biographical Summary, inside back cover.

²⁸⁰Ibid. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 508; Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 229; and Martin, *The Jesuits*, pp. 348-352.

²⁸¹"The Jesuits in the Post-Conciliar Era," p. 354.

Arrupe was a gifted man with unusual credentials, someone who seemed well-suited to meet both the current demands and future direction of the Society. In his assessment of the congregation's choice for general, Father Bangert points out: "[...] in the entire history of the Society there has been no general who brought to the office the breadth of experience and knowledge of the world as does Pedro Arrupe."²⁸³ Arrupe's qualifications were quite apparent to the delegates, especially when contrasted with those of his predecessor. Father Janssens' studies and apostolic activities had been confined exclusively to Western Europe (Belgium and Rome), whereas Arrupe had studied and worked in six different countries on three continents.²⁸⁴

Upon election as superior general, Arrupe presided over and influenced the remaining sessions of GC XXXI which had to deal with many important issues and a significant number of business matters. As was pointed out earlier, GC XXXI had received a record number of *postulata*: 2,021.²⁸⁵ The agenda and work of GC XXXI was strongly influenced by two outside sources or events: the Second Vatican Council and its decree *Perfectæ caritatis*²⁸⁶ and Pope Paul VI's 1966 motu proprio *Ecclesiæ*

²⁸²From the exhortation of Father Maurice Giuliani (of France) to the delegates at GC XXXI, as translated and quoted by Bangert, in *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 508.

²⁸³Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 508.

²⁸⁴"The Jesuits in the Post-Conciliar Era," p. 354.

²⁸⁵See Chapter Two of this work, p. 103, including footnotes nos. 223 and 224.

²⁸⁶Vatican Council II, Decree on the Appropriate (or Up-to-date) Renewal of Religious Life, *Perfectæ caritatis*, 28 October 1965; in *AAS*, 58 (1966), pp. 702-712;

sanctæ.²⁸⁷ *Perfectæ caritatis* called for a renewal of religious communities which would be achieved primarily through a rediscovery of the founder's original spirit and inspiration, and then by an appropriate adjustment to the modern world. And in *Ecclesiæ sanctæ*, Paul VI amplified *Perfectæ caritatis* by giving some practical guidelines for implementing this renewal process. In the words of Father Bangert, GC XXXI:

[...] responded to the call of the Council in an open, positive, and constructive way. Its documents [...] adopted the scriptural and pastoral language of the conciliar decrees, expressed a fresh appreciation of the legacy of St. Ignatius, and at the same time manifested a mature awareness of the intellectual, social, and spiritual problems of the present age.²⁸⁸

In addition to these two *Roman* documents, there is no doubt that the congregation was greatly influenced by the rapidly-changing world around them; the social and political upheavals of the 1960's deeply affected every aspect of modern life, and the Church and the fathers at GC XXXI were not untouched by these changes.

GC XXXI produced 56 decrees; and the vast majority of these (45 decrees) fall into one of the following six topic categories: (1) The Institute in General; (2) The Formation of Jesuits; (3) Religious Life; (4) The Apostolate; (5) Congregations; and

English trans. W.M. Abbott, gen. ed., *The Documents of Vatican II*, New York, Guild Press, 1966, pp. 466-482; and in A. Flannery, gen. ed., *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, Northport (New York), Costello Publishing Company, 1975, 1984, pp. 611-623.

²⁸⁷Paul VI, *motu proprio*, Norms for Implementing the Decree, On the Up-to-date Renewal of Religious Life [*Perfectæ caritatis*], *Ecclesiæ sanctæ II*, 6 August 1966; in *AAS*, 58 (1966), pp. 757-787; English trans. Flannery (gen. ed.), *Vatican Council II*, pp. 624-633; cf. *Canon Law Digest*, vol. 6, pp. 285-287.

²⁸⁸Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 509.

(6) Government.²⁸⁹ What were some of the more significant pieces of legislation that came out of this congregation? We will look at just a few decrees – those that are most relevant to this work. From the perspective of this study, perhaps the most important act of GC XXXI was its new (updated) legislation on provincial and general congregations, specifically the changes that were made concerning the composition of the provincial congregation and the establishment of an electoral process for selecting delegates. [*N.B.* All of these changes were discussed earlier in this work.]²⁹⁰

Another important matter, from our perspective, was the congregation's affirmation of the superior general's term of office (also discussed earlier); it is still a *life* term, but now with a possibility for resignation.²⁹¹ On the subject of obedience, the congregation put a new emphasis on the role and importance of consultation.

Superiors at all levels (including the general) were instructed to seek the advice of professional experts (when necessary) and to consult with their advisors often. The fathers also inserted a new provision for resolving conflicts which may arise when a "matter of conscience" prevents a Jesuit from carrying out his orders.²⁹² And in the

²⁸⁹Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, Table of Contents, pp. v-viii.

²⁹⁰See Chapter Two of this work, pp. 71-74. Cf. GC XXXI, Decrees 38-40 and 50-52; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 606-630 and 706-764, pp. 261-266 and 292-302.

²⁹¹See Chapter Two of this work, pp. 63-64, especially footnote no. 71. Cf. GC XXXI, Decree 41: "The Office of the General" (*De munere Praepositi Generalis*); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 631-641, pp. 269-271.

²⁹²GC XXXI, Decree 17: "The Life of Obedience" (*De vita obœdientiae*); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 268-282, pp. 157-166. Cf. Clancy,

area of formation, GC XXXI rejected the traditional concept of having formation houses separated and away from urban areas; the training of novices, juniors, and scholastics would now be integrated with the secular world.²⁹³

At the close of GC XXXI, several commentators offered this common assessment: "[...] the 31st General Congregation is the most important congregation in the four hundred years of the Society's history."²⁹⁴ If not actually the most important, then it was certainly "unique in the history of the Society" in terms of the extensive preparation of materials and the vast number of *postulata*.²⁹⁵ In fact, because of the voluminous materials and workload, GC XXXI required *two* distinct sessions or periods (which were separated by a year); this was the only congregation, ever, to be divided in half. In his analysis, Father Ganss described GC XXXI as "a miniature replica of Vatican Council II."²⁹⁶ And Father Bangert states: "The decrees [...] evoked a heightened awareness of the roots of Jesuit life. They were, in a sense,

An Introduction to Jesuit Life, p. 231.

²⁹³GC XXXI, Decree 8: "The Spiritual Formation of Jesuits" (*De Nostrorum institutione spirituali*), and Decree 9: "The Training of Scholastics Especially in Studies" (*De Scholasticorum institutione præsertim in studiis*); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 75-187, pp. 97-124. Cf. Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 389.

²⁹⁴E.J. Sponga, "The [31st] General Congregation: Its Atmosphere and Hopes," in *Woodstock Letters*, 94 (Winter, 1965), p. 396.

²⁹⁵G.E. Ganss, "Impressions of the 31st General Congregation," in *Woodstock Letters*, 94 (Winter, 1965), pp. 373-375.

²⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 372.

a rediscovery of the Ignatian thrust."²⁹⁷ In the spirit of openness and *aggiornamento* fostered by Vatican II, what happened at GC XXXI was nothing less than a fundamental philosophical change of direction for the Society.²⁹⁸ And those elements of the Society's Institute which were not examined or renewed by GC XXXI, would be taken up by GC XXXII.

The preparations for GC XXXII began in April 1971, just four and a half years after the final session of GC XXXI. And as was stated earlier, no previous congregation had had such a lengthy period of preparation: three years and eight months.²⁹⁹ Despite the relatively short interval since the last congregation, the need for another congregation seemed apparent to Arrupe and his advisors. In his letter convoking GC XXXII, Arrupe noted that the intervening years since Vatican II and GC XXXI had brought about many changes in the Church and in the Society, and that another congregation was indeed necessary in order to evaluate the present state of affairs with a "deep, realistic, and open consideration" (*profundæ, obiectivæ, apertæque considerationi*) so as to make the appropriate response (i.e., to enact

²⁹⁷Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 509.

²⁹⁸Ganss, "Impressions of the 31st General Congregation," pp. 372-373, 395. Cf. J.M. Kakalec (ed.), "The [Thirty-First] General Congregation," in *Woodstock Letters*, 94, no. 2 (Spring, 1965), p. 153. For further analysis of GC XXXI, see the following series of four articles edited by J.P. Jurich in *Woodstock Letters*: (1) "The 31st General Congregation: The First Session," 95, no. 1 (Winter, 1966), pp. 5-79; (2) "The 31st General Congregation: Between the Sessions," 95, no. 4 (Fall, 1966), pp. 467-490; (3) "The 31st General Congregation: Letters from the First Session [Part I]," 96, no. 1 (Winter, 1967), pp. 5-34; and (4) "The 31st General Congregation: Letters from the First Session, Part II," 96, no. 2 (Spring, 1967), pp. 143-195.

²⁹⁹See Chapter Two of this study, p. 101, including footnotes nos. 213-215.

whatever further legislation may be required).³⁰⁰ And concerning the lengthy period of preparation that would be necessary for GC XXXII, Arrupe had this to say:

This congregation will require a preparation that is long, well-defined and serious. [...] This 32nd General Congregation should be nothing more than the *final, juridical expression* of all the work of the provinces and of the communal reflection of all their members on the best means of assuring our spiritual and apostolic renewal.³⁰¹

As a result, no previous congregation in the Society's history had involved so many of the members in the preparation process as did GC XXXII.³⁰²

Arrupe and others expected that the "basic thrust" of GC XXXI would carry forward to GC XXXII,³⁰³ and that, in a sense, it would be the task of GC XXXII to complete the work begun at GC XXXI. Thus, GC XXXII would be the definitive congregation of the new Society -- "a congregation capable of giving new expression to its primitive charism."³⁰⁴ Commenting on the high expectations which preceded GC XXXII, Martin offers the following analysis:

³⁰⁰P. Arrupe, *Letter of Very Reverend Father General Convoking the Thirty-Second General Congregation, September 8, 1973*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1973; in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, fasciculus I (1973), pp. 109-120; English trans. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 31.

³⁰¹P. Arrupe, *Finalis Allocutio Patris Generalis ad PP. Procuratores, 6 Octobris 1970*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1970; in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XV, fasciculus IV (1970), pp. 614-617; English trans. J.-Y. Calvez, "A Critical Appraisal of the Preparation for the Jesuits' Thirty-Second General Congregation," in *Review for Religious*, 34, no. 6 (November, 1975), pp. 938-939.

³⁰²Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," p. 3.

³⁰³Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 108.

³⁰⁴Arrupe, *Address to the Congregation of Procurators, 1970*; as quoted in Calvez, "A Critical Appraisal of the Preparation for GC 32," p. 938.

And now, the time had finally arrived to draw all the "new unbroken threads," provided eight years before by GC 31, into "the new fabric of the Society" -- to declare and define in the official decrees of the Order the new substance and the modern meaning of "the primitive charism." Nothing less than the subsequent history of the Society -- its structure, its inspiration, and its mission -- would be molded in the coming weeks.³⁰⁵

Indeed, Arrupe's vision for the Society and for its unique role in the post-conciliar Church would reach its fulfillment in the Thirty-Second General Congregation.³⁰⁶

After nearly four years of preparation, GC XXXII finally convened on December 2, 1974.³⁰⁷ The 236 members³⁰⁸ constituted the highest number of delegates of any previous (or subsequent) congregation.³⁰⁹ Besides the obvious increase in numbers, there were other noticeable differences between this congregation and those that came before it. The demographic population of delegates was much more

³⁰⁵Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 428.

³⁰⁶Letson and Higgins, *The Jesuit Mystique*, p. 63.

³⁰⁷Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. ix, 337, 348. Cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, pp. 29, 42; and Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 514-515.

³⁰⁸Of the 236 members of GC XXXII, 148 were elected by their provincial congregations; the remaining 88 members attended *ex officio* or by appointment, including the superior general, the four general assistants, the twelve regional assistants, all provincials, the treasurer, the procurator general, and the secretary of the Society, and four others appointed by the general. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, pp. 32, 140-142. Cf. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 551-556, for a complete list of all members with each one's title to membership.

³⁰⁹The two congregations since GC XXXII have had fewer members. GC XXXIII (1983) had 220 members. See Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, pp. 109-115; cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, pp. 143-145. GC XXXIV (1995) had 223 members. See McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, pp. 6, 291-294. Each of these references contains a complete list of all delegates.

diversified at GC XXXII, a fact directly attributable to the new *electoral* method (enacted by GC XXXI) for selecting delegates at the provincial congregations. For example, at GC XXXII, more than half of the delegates were *under* 49 years of age (122 out of 236), and nine were under 40.³¹⁰ By contrast, in all previous congregations the assembled population clearly reflected the fact that the delegates had been chosen by the 50 oldest (plus *ex officio*) members of their provinces. Also, at GC XXXII only 36 members (15%) had participated in a previous general congregation. Furthermore, the makeup of the congregation accurately reflected the shifting power base within the Society away from Europe and North America; there were far more delegates from Asia, Africa, and Latin America than in any previous congregation.³¹¹ Finally, GC XXXII was the first congregation where the established rules of secrecy were lifted³¹² from the very start. Five Jesuit journalists had free access to the sessions, and an information office published a report almost every week on the congregation's proceedings. As a result, the Society (as a whole) was kept well-informed of its general congregation's ongoing developments and progress.³¹³

³¹⁰Sheets, "A Survey of the 32nd General Congregation," p. 686. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 249.

³¹¹Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 249.

³¹²All of the rules of secrecy were lifted except for the prohibition against publishing either the names of delegates who spoke on a given question or the exact tally of the votes.

³¹³Sheets, "A Survey of the 32nd General Congregation," p. 684. Cf. Chapter Two of this study, pp. 99-100, concerning similar changes in the rules which were enacted at GC XXXI.

Under Arrupe's direction as president of the congregation, GC XXXII produced sixteen documents; most of them were issued through the ten commissions which had been established.³¹⁴ In one of its first acts, the congregation reaffirmed the basic direction and thrust of GC XXXI:

The 32nd General Congregation makes its own and confirms all of the declarations and dispositions of the 31st General Congregation. [...] The documents of the preceding Congregation accurately and faithfully express the genuine spirit and tradition of the Society.³¹⁵

And on the subject of the general congregation, relevant to this study, GC XXXII expressed its desire to involve more Jesuits in the legislative process by enacting further changes in the makeup of the provincial congregation. As was discussed in Chapter Two, participation in the provincial congregation was still restricted to those Jesuits *with* final vows, since they were the only ones with both active and passive voice in the selection process. The *postulata* now expressed a clear desire for change. Accordingly, GC XXXII corrected the exclusivity of the selection process by expanding the participation of Jesuits to include those *without* final vows.³¹⁶

However, perhaps the greatest contribution of GC XXXII, and its primary

³¹⁴See Chapter Two of this study, p. 104, including footnote no. 239.

³¹⁵GC XXXII, Decree 1: "Introductory Decree" (*Decretum introductorium*), no. 2; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 2, p. 395.

³¹⁶GC XXXII, Decree 14: "The Provincial Congregation" (*De Congregatione Provinciæ*), no. 11; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 322, p. 509. Cf. Chapter Two of this study. pp. 74-75, including footnotes nos. 108-109.

focus, was its pronouncements on the concept of *mission*.³¹⁷ This theme permeates three major documents which, together, constitute the main work (i.e., the most substantive matter) of the congregation. And it was this theme of mission, more than any other, that clearly reflected the minds and hearts of the delegates assembled at GC XXXII.³¹⁸ In Decree 2: "Jesuits Today,"³¹⁹ the congregation offers an updated description of Jesuit identity. At first, the document reaffirms that the *raison d'être* of the Society is its apostolic orientation:³²⁰ "A Jesuit [...] is essentially a man on a mission... It is by being sent that the Jesuit becomes a companion of Jesus."³²¹ Secondly, this document prioritizes "faith" and "justice" among the Society's apostolic goals:³²²

[...] the service of faith and the promotion of justice cannot be for us simply

³¹⁷Sheets, "A Survey of the Thirty-Second General Congregation," pp. 676, 685-686.

³¹⁸The general focus on mission can be seen as an aftermath or influence of Vatican Council II: Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity, *Ad gentes divinitus*, 7 December 1965; in *AAS* 58 (1966), pp. 947-990; English trans. Flannery, *Vatican Council II*, pp. 813-856. See also Paul VI, motu proprio, Norms for Implementing the Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity [*Ad gentes divinitus*], *Ecclesiæ sanctæ III*, 6 August 1966; in *AAS* 58 (1966), pp. 757-787; in Flannery, in the work cited, pp. 857-862. Cf. canon 781, *CIC* (1983); in *Code*, pp. 294-295.

³¹⁹GC XXXII, Decree 2: "Jesuits Today" (*Declaratio: Iesuita hodie*); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 11-42, pp. 401-409.

³²⁰Sheets, "A Survey of the Thirty-Second General Congregation," p. 676.

³²¹GC XXXII, Decree 2, no. 14; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 24, p. 404. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit life*, p. 260.

³²²B. Daley, "Identifying Jesuits: The 32nd General Congregation," in *The Month*, 236, no. 1293 (May, 1975), p. 147.

one ministry among others. It must be the integrating factor of all our ministries; and not only of our ministries but of our inner life as individuals, as communities, and as a world-wide brotherhood.³²³

The congregation considered this new priority so important that it decided to elaborate on its various implications in an entirely separate document, Decree 4: "Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice."³²⁴ Decree 4 is the longest document of the congregation;³²⁵ and it states, in part: "The mission of the Society of Jesus today is the service of faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement. For reconciliation with God demands the reconciliation of people with one another."³²⁶ GC XXXIII (1983) would later describe Decree 4 (and Decree 2) as "the application today of the Formula of the Institute and of our Ignatian charism."³²⁷

Finally, GC XXXII's third major document with an underlying theme of

³²³GC XXXII, Decree 2, no. 9: in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 19, p. 403. Cf. Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 147.

³²⁴GC XXXII, Decree 4: "Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice" (*De nostra missione hodierna: Diakonia fidei et iustitiæ promotio*); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 47-130, pp. 411-438.

³²⁵Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 147.

³²⁶GC XXXII, Decree 4, no. 2: in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 48, p. 411. Cf. Letson and Higgins, *The Jesuit Mystique*, p. 64.

³²⁷GC XXXIII, Decree 1: "Companions of Jesus Sent into Today's World" (*Socii Iesu in hodiernum mundum missi*), Part II, Section D, no. 38: "[...] applicatio hodierna Formulæ Instituti atque charismatis Sancti Patris Ignatii;" in *Decreta: CG XXXIII*, p. 44; English trans. Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, no. 41, p. 58. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 522.

mission is Decree 11: "The Union of Minds and Hearts."³²⁸ Basically, this decree is a modern commentary on Chapter One of Part VIII of the *Constitutions*, "Aids Toward the Union of Hearts."³²⁹ The connection between this decree and the other two (Decrees 2 and 4) is explained by Father Clancy: "And just as Ignatius in the *Constitutions* placed the part on union (Part VIII) after the part on mission (Part VII), so the congregation after treating with mission took up "The Union of Minds and Hearts" in the Society of Jesus."³³⁰ Thus, Decree 11 is closely related to the nature of the Society as an apostolic body. St. Ignatius clearly understood that the Society's apostolic endeavors would depend primarily on the "union" (*unio*) of all members with God, but also upon the union of members with one another.³³¹ Moreover, with that same recognition in mind, the congregation added: "[...] that very union of minds and hearts which participation in Christ's mission requires will at the same time be a powerful aid to that mission, since it will be a visible sign of the love of the Father for all men."³³² In general, Decree 11 continued the emphasis initiated at GC XXXI for greater communication, consultation, communal reflection ("communitarian

³²⁸GC XXXII, Decree 11: "The Union of Minds and Hearts" (*De unione animorum*); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 199-256, pp. 467-485.

³²⁹Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 655-676, pp. 285-293. Cf. Chapter Two of this study, pp. 48-51.

³³⁰Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 258.

³³¹Sheets, "A Survey of the Thirty-Second General Congregation," p. 676.

³³²GC XXXII, Decree 11, no. 5; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 203, p. 468.

discernment"),³³³ and shared responsibility.³³⁴

With its work finally completed, GC XXXII adjourned on March 7, 1975, after 96 days, 83 plenary sessions, and more than 1300 ballots.³³⁵ The congregation's legacy, articulately expressed in its sixteen decrees, will have a lasting impact on the Society.³³⁶

Through his leadership, Pedro Arrupe made an enormous contribution to both GC XXXI and GC XXXII. Father (later Bishop) Sheets, a delegate at GC XXXII, recognizes Arrupe's critical role:

[...] if it were not for Fr. Arrupe's example and leadership, the congregation would have capsized under the difficulties it ran into. He constantly called us to a vision we needed in order to see what was happening from a supernatural point of view... [...] he reminded us to see what was happening as coming from the hand of God. [...] he exercised his leadership by leaving the congregation free to follow the paths where its deliberations would take it. In its authority, the General Congregation is superior to the general. Fr. Arrupe

³³³Ibid., nos. 21-24; in Padberg, nos. 219-222, pp. 474-475.

³³⁴Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, pp. 258, 260.

³³⁵Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," p. 88. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 515.

³³⁶For further analysis of the documents and impact of GC XXXII, see *Follow-up on General Congregation XXXII: Unedited Papers, Articles, Experiences and Bibliography on the General Congregation*, Subsidia no. 15, Roma, Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1975; and J.-Y. Calvez, "General Congregations XXXI (1965-1966) and XXXII (1974-1975). Their Different Times and Problems: Essential Historical Aspects," in J.-Y. Calvez et al., *Conferences on the Chief Decrees of the Jesuit General Congregation XXXII: A Symposium by Some of Its Members*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1976. The last work contains nine articles; most are commentaries on each of the congregation's major decrees.

always acted with full awareness of this fact.³³⁷

Besides his full involvement in two general congregations, Arrupe governed the Society for over eighteen years. During this time, he wrote several books and numerous articles on Jesuit spirituality, on social justice issues, and on the Society's Institute and its unique charism. Arrupe also took an active part in Vatican II and in three Synods of Bishops; and he was a member of two Sacred Congregations: the Congregation for Religious and the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples.³³⁸ As superior general, Arrupe travelled extensively, more than any previous general, visiting Jesuit communities in every corner of the world. And GC XXXI encouraged and commended these journeys as an important aid in creating a greater "union of hearts" within the Society.³³⁹

In 1967, Arrupe was elected president of the Union of Superiors General of Religious Congregations of Men, a position he would hold for the next fourteen years. He was re-elected for the *fifth* consecutive three-year term on May 25, 1979.³⁴⁰ However, Arrupe's fifth term was cut short by a serious stroke, which he suffered on

³³⁷Sheets, "A Survey of the Thirty-Second General Congregation," pp. 683-684.

³³⁸P. Arrupe, *Witnessing to Justice*, Vatican City, Pontifical Commission, Justice and Peace, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1972, Biographical Summary, back cover.

³³⁹GC XXXI, Decree 42: "Journeys of Father General" (*De itineribus Præpositi Generalis*); in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 642, p. 272.

³⁴⁰Arrupe, *Challenge to Religious Life Today*, Biographical Summary, inside back cover.

August 7, 1981.³⁴¹ Because of his illness, Arrupe also wished to resign as superior general, but Pope John Paul II would not allow his resignation at that time. Therefore, instead of resigning, and as provided for by proper law, Arrupe appointed (on August 10) Father Vincent O'Keefe (of the New York Province) as vicar general to administer the Society for the indefinite future.³⁴² As it turned out, however, Father O'Keefe would govern the Society for less than three months. On October 5, the Pope appointed his own personal "delegate," Father Paolo Dezza, S.J. (of the Venice-Milan Province), to oversee the Society until the next general congregation could convene (at a date yet to be determined).³⁴³ The Pope also named, at a later date, Father Giuseppe Pittau, S.J. (of Italy and of the Japan Province) to be coadjutor of the papal delegate.³⁴⁴ These events came as a shock to many Jesuits; after all, Father O'Keefe's appointment as vicar general was legitimate, according to the

³⁴¹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 521.

³⁴²*Ibid.*

³⁴³The Pope's letter appointing Fr. Dezza was hand-delivered to Arrupe by Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State, on October 6, 1981. The appointment would become effective on October 31. See *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVIII, fasciculus II (1981), pp. 399-401, 608-611, and 624-626. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 521, footnote no. 32. See also, GC XXXIII, "Historical Preface," no. 1, including footnotes; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC XXXIII*, pp. 13-14.

³⁴⁴GC XXXIII, "Historical Preface" (*Prooemium Historicum ex actis Congregationis Generalis XXXIII*), no. 1; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, p. 13. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 521.

Constitutions of the Society of Jesus [nos. 773, 786-788].³⁴⁵ The papal intervention that in effect removed him from office was unprecedented in the Society's history. As papal delegate, Father Dezza governed the Society for the next two years. During this time, however, Arrupe was alive and living in Rome and, officially, was still the superior general of the Society. On December 8, 1982, with the Pope's approval, Father Dezza summoned GC XXXIII.³⁴⁶ The congregation convened on September 2, 1983, with Pedro Arrupe "officially" presiding along with Fathers Dezza and Pittau.³⁴⁷ On the next day, September 3, Father Arrupe formally submitted his resignation to the congregation,³⁴⁸ and after a brief discussion, it was accepted by the fathers following a secret vote.³⁴⁹ On September 13, the congregation elected Father Peter-Hans Kolvenbach (of Holland and of the Near East Province) as the 29th superior general of

³⁴⁵The appropriate sections of the *Constitutions* that deal with a general's incapacity and the authority to appoint a vicar general are found in Part IX, Chapters 4 and 5; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 773, 786-788, pp. 319, 322-323.

³⁴⁶GC XXXIII, "Historical Preface," no. 1; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, p. 14. The text of Fr. Dezza's letter of convocation is found in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVIII, fasciculus III (1982), pp. 856-858.

³⁴⁷GC XXXIII, "Historical Preface," no. 5; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, p. 16. Cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 108.

³⁴⁸See "Message of Fr. Pedro Arrupe to the Society, September 3, 1983," in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, pp. 93-95.

³⁴⁹GC XXXIII, "Historical Preface," no. 7; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, pp. 17-18. Cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 109. As a result of this vote, Pedro Arrupe became the *first* superior general of the Society ever to resign from office.

the Society of Jesus.³⁵⁰ Father Pedro Arrupe died in Rome on February 5, 1991.³⁵¹

In this chapter, we have looked briefly at the constitutional role of the superior general in the Society of Jesus and, to a greater degree, at the lives and careers of four particular Jesuits who served in that capacity over a 400-year span of history: Claudio Aquaviva (1581-1615); Jan Roothaan (1829-1853); Włodimir Ledóchowski (1915-1942); and Pedro Arrupe (1965-1983). Their terms of office were not, in all cases, the longest in the Society's history; but, nonetheless, each of these generals played a major role in shaping that history. Each made significant contributions to the Society's Institute and apostolates; and their lasting influence can be seen in the decrees of the ten general congregations which they presided over as superior general.

In the next chapter, we will look at the Society's special relationship with the Roman pontiff and the enormous influence of the papacy on the Society's Institute. Most especially, we will examine papal allocutions and interventions both preceding and during the general congregations.

³⁵⁰GC XXXIII, "Historical Preface," no. 10; in Campion and Louapre (eds.), *Documents of GC 33*, pp. 19-20. Cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 111; and Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 522.

³⁵¹Lacouture, *Jesuits: A Multibiography*, p. 479. Cf. Letson and Higgins, *The Jesuit Mystique*, p. 133.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GENERAL CONGREGATION AND THE PAPACY

From its very beginning, the Society of Jesus has always had a special relationship with the Holy See. When their dream of working in the Holy Land could not be realized, St. Ignatius and his first companions offered their services to Pope Paul III. Their offer was graciously accepted by the Pope who saw in this small band of men the nucleus of an army that would eventually lead the anti-Reformation forces of the Church. Thus began a long history of collaboration between the papacy and the Society of Jesus.

The Society of Jesus is a religious institute of pontifical right;¹ it was approved by Paul III and confirmed by Julius III.² As such, there are matters relating to the Society's Institute which are subject to pontifical law and which remain, therefore, outside the competence of the general congregation's legislative authority. The matters of pontifical law which are *particular* to the Society include the "Formula of the Institute," which contains certain "substantials" that set forth the basic structure of the Order; other proper laws of the Society which, after receiving specific approval of the Holy See, became laws of pontifical right; and finally, the various apostolic

¹Cf. canon 607, *CIC* (1983); in *Code*, pp. 228-229.

²Paul III, Bull, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, 27 September 1540; Julius III, Bull, *Exposcit debitum*, 21 July 1550.

letters, rescripts, and indults granted by the popes in favor of the Society.³ As was pointed out in Chapter Two, the dispositions of pontifical law, whether universal or particular, may not be changed by a general congregation unless it first receives special authorization from the Holy See.⁴

Thus, the Society of Jesus, as a religious institute of pontifical right, has a juridical attachment to the Holy See. In addition, all members of the Order are equally bound, through their public vow of obedience, to the superior general and to those subordinate superiors whom he has delegated. And according to the *Constitutions*, all members are likewise bound to obey and serve the Roman pontiff, the vicar of Christ.⁵ Furthermore, "in addition to the ordinary bond of the three vows," those who make *solemn* profession in the Society must also make "a special vow" of obedience to the pope (with regard to missions).⁶ This is the so-called "fourth vow"⁷ which is peculiar to the professed members (fathers) of the Society, for

³Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

⁴*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 118, §1. Cf. Valero, "The Upcoming Congregation," p. 8.

⁵*Formula Instituti* (1550), nos. 1-2; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, "Formula of the Institute," no. 3, pp. 66-68. Cf. canon 590, §2, *CIC* (1983), in *Code*, pp. 224-225.

⁶*Formula Instituti* (1550), no. 3; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, "Formula of the Institute," no. 4, pp. 68-69.

⁷Father Harney points out that the Society of Jesus was not the first or only Order to add *other* vows to the three evangelical ones; as he states: "[...] the Knights of St. John had a vow of serving the sick and defending the Faith; some branches of the Order of the Holy Spirit had a vow of serving the poor [...]; the Augustinian Canons of the Windesheim Congregation had a vow of observing perpetual enclosure; and the Barnabites had a vow of not aiming at ecclesiastical dignities"; in Harney, *The*

they alone take it.⁸ As the "Formula of the Institute" states:

All who make profession in this Society should understand at the time, and furthermore keep in mind as long as they live, that this entire Society and the individual members who make their profession in it are campaigning for God under faithful obedience to His Holiness Pope Paul III and his successors in the Roman pontificate.⁹

It needs to be pointed out, however, that the fourth vow pertains only to the "missions" (*circa missiones*), whereby a professed father offers to go wherever he is sent. For the "Formula" further specifies:

[...] we are to be obliged by a special vow to carry out whatever the present and future Roman pontiffs may order which pertains to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith; and to go without subterfuge or excuse, as far as in us lies, to whatsoever provinces they may choose to send us.¹⁰

Thus, the Society's special relationship with the papacy can be traced back to the first vows of the *primi Patres* at Montmartre (Paris) in 1534. The total availability of professed Jesuits to go anywhere that the pope missions was later institutionalized by the "Formula of the Institute" approved by Paul III in 1540 and confirmed by Julius III in 1550. To this day, it remains a unique trait or charism of the Society of Jesus.

It should be emphasized, however, that the Society of Jesus was not founded for the principal purpose of serving the popes. The *raison d'être* of the Society has

Jesuits in History, Ch. V, footnote no. 29, p. 112.

⁸de Aldama, *Formula/Notes*, pp. 55, 58.

⁹*Formula Instituti* (1550), no. 3; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, "Formula of the Institute," no. 4, p. 68.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

always been the "salvation of souls"¹¹ -- for the greater glory of God. The decision of the *primi Patres* (as expressed in their first vows) to seek the pope's direction was always *conditional*. They would turn to the pope (Paul III) *only if* they could not get to the Holy Land within a year; or, if they were unable to stay there; or, if they could not accomplish their intended purpose (to help the "unbelievers").¹² In other words, when their dreams did not materialize and all else failed, and they found themselves confronted with uncertainty about the future, they would then turn to the pope for help and direction. Therefore, this was the "fundamental motive" behind the so-called "papal clause" of the first vows taken at Montmartre.¹³ In their hearts, the *primi Patres* trusted that the pope, as vicar of Christ, would have a solution to their quandary, and that the pope would know best and decide what they should do, i.e., where and how they could "best benefit the neighbor for the glory of God."¹⁴

In his analysis, Father Gerhartz points out that this insight into the reality behind the "papal clause" of Montmartre and its later implications concerning the special (fourth) vow of obedience, is critically important for a correct understanding

¹¹As the Society's end or purpose, the terms "salvation of souls," "progress of souls," and "help of souls" are used interchangeably throughout the Ignatian *Constitutions*. See Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 3, 156, 258, 307-308, 446, 603, and 813. See also "Formula of the Institute" (1550); in Ganss, nos. 2-3, p. 66.

¹²J.B. Gerhartz, "The Fourth Vow in Respect of Missions and Its Influence on the Constitutions: An Historico-Canonical Inquiry," in Alphonso et al., *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 81-82.

¹³Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁴*FN*, vol. II, p. 567. Cf. Gerhartz, "The Fourth Vow," p. 82.

of the "special ecclesial attitude of Ignatius and his companions."¹⁵ And by way of conclusion, he goes on to state:

This Ignatian ecclesial stance [...] arose not from any weakness of the pope requiring protection or defense. The Society of Jesus was not founded to support the pope against his enemies. [Furthermore,] Ignatius and his first companions had no intention of being a sort of spiritual or intellectual "Swiss guard" for the papacy in the Church and in the World. The Society of Jesus was not founded for the promotion of the greater glory of the papacy. This Ignatian ecclesial stance is not one of special obedience of the intellect for faith, but one of special obedience of the will for apostolic action, to be instructed in what would be concretely the "greater" apostolic service to be performed.¹⁶

Thus, the fundamental concept of obedience to the pope, as first expressed in the vows at Montmartre, slowly developed over time and eventually became, in the words of St. Ignatius, "our origin and basic foundation."¹⁷ Such was the genesis of the fourth vow and of the Society's special relationship with the papacy.¹⁸

Despite their special relationship, the Society of Jesus and the papacy have not always found themselves in full agreement on all matters. Over the years there have

¹⁵Gerhartz, "The Fourth Vow," p. 83.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 83-84.

¹⁷*MHSI Cons.*, Vol. I: *Monumenta Constitutionum prævia*, p. 162. Cf. Gerhartz, "The Fourth Vow," p. 82.

¹⁸For further reading on the "fourth vow," see J.W. O'Malley, "The Fourth Vow in Its Ignatian Context: A Historical Study," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 15, no. 1 (January, 1983), pp. 1-59; J.R. Sheets, "The Fourth Vow of the Jesuits," in *Review for Religious*, 42 (1983), pp. 518-529; and M.J. Doiron, *An Historico-Juridical Consideration of the Jesuit Fourth Vow: Special Obedience to the Pope with Regard to Missions*, dissertation (Saint Paul University, Faculty of Canon Law), Ottawa, Saint Paul University, 1995.

been a number of divisive issues that have caused friction between the two parties. Almost all of the issues have been canonical rather than theological (or doctrinal), and sometimes a political conflict was at the root of the problem. How these various difficulties were ultimately resolved often depended upon the strength and personality of the popes involved and their susceptibility to outside pressure and influence. For the remainder of this chapter we will look at some of these disputes between the papacy and the Society of Jesus. Most especially, we will consider how these conflicts were finally settled, including the reaction and response of the various general congregations that had to deal with these disruptive issues. However, there have also been many times when a general congregation has responded favorably and positively to a papal request, providing a number of occasions of close cooperation and collaboration. And, finally, we will look at the lasting influence of selected papal allocutions and interventions both before and during the general congregations, especially their impact on the congregation's agenda. For the sake of clarity and continuity, I shall present these materials chronologically.

Following the death of Ignatius (in 1556), GC I convened on June 19, 1558, and elected Diego Laínez (1558-1565) of Spain as the second superior general of the Society of Jesus.¹⁹ On the day of the election (July 2), Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) sent Cardinal Pacheco as his personal deputy to carry out the role of secretary of the

¹⁹Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 2-4, 65; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 5-7.

congregation and to count the votes. Although this action was not considered highly unusual at the time, because of previous controversies concerning disputed elections in other religious Orders, it was, nonetheless, the first case of direct papal intervention in the internal governance of the Society.²⁰ Then shortly after the election, while the congregation was still in session, Paul IV summoned Father Laínez and informed him that he wished the general congregation to enact two major reforms.

In the first place, Paul IV wanted the Society to adopt the practice of a common choir for the recitation of the *Divine Office*, as other religious Orders were obliged to do. And secondly, he demanded that the superior general be elected for a fixed term of three years, instead of a life term. Laínez responded that the Society would willingly obey, even though these proposed changes contradicted both the letter and the spirit of the Ignatian *Constitutions*.²¹ GC I protested the second proposal by drafting a letter to Paul IV indicating its unanimous preference for the general's life term; but since the congregation had already agreed that it would ultimately respect the pope's wishes on the matter, Laínez prudently decided not to submit the letter.²² Likewise, concerning the issue of the *Divine Office*, the Society also agreed to comply with the Pope's wishes; and on September 29 of that year (1558), Jesuits began saying

²⁰Ibid., p. 4; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 7.

²¹Ibid. Cf. Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 358.

²²GC I, Decree 47; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 81-82. The letter to the Holy Father was dated September 3, 1558 (but actually signed on August 13); all of the delegates signed the letter, except for two fathers who had left the congregation early; also, the superior general (Laínez) decided it would be inappropriate for him to sign the letter since it involved his very own term of office.

the *Divine Office* in common choir.²³

Paul IV never formally decreed any of these changes by means of a papal bull or brief; in fact, he never even mentioned the earlier bulls of his predecessors which had approved and confirmed the Society's entire Institute. Therefore, when the Pope died a year later (1559), the curial cardinals agreed that these changes to the Institute merely represented the personal wish of Paul IV and, hence, they did not constitute a formal, final decision of the Holy See. As a result, all of the previous papal bulls were still in force; and therefore, nothing in the Society's Institute had *permanently* changed.²⁴ Thus, with the death of Paul IV, the Society of Jesus was free to resume its previously established practices, although some of these very same issues would surface again at a later date.

The next papal intervention into the Society's governance occurred at GC III (1573), which convened to elect a successor to Superior General Francisco Borja (=Francis Borgia. 1565-1572). Since the first three generals of the Society had all been Spaniards, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) felt strongly that someone from a different nation should be chosen.²⁵ He even went so far as to suggest that Father Everard Mercurian of Belgium (Spanish Netherlands) may be a worthy choice. Regardless of this papal "suggestion," Juan de Polanco (secretary of the Society) still

²³Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 4; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 8.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 7; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 11. Cf. Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 358.

believed that the congregation had the Pope's complete confidence and blessing and that it could proceed with its full freedom intact.²⁶ Actually, some Jesuits did resent the powerful influence and domination of the Spanish in the Society's hierarchy and, therefore, they probably agreed with the Pope's assessment that a change in leadership would be good. However, most delegates (the majority of whom were Spanish)²⁷ felt that the situation was strictly an *internal* matter, and they did not appreciate the Pope's interference; moreover, the congregation naturally felt that it must act independently of all external influence. Nevertheless, regardless of the congregation's wishes, Gregory XIII sent Cardinal Gallio of Como to the opening session to plead with the delegates, in the interests of the universal Church, to elect a non-Spanish superior general. After much discussion, the congregation responded by sending a special delegation to the Pope to protest this apparent usurpation of their freedom of choice. Fortunately, they were able to convince Gregory XIII (a canonist) to retreat and to allow them the complete freedom of conscience they required. The Pope agreed to comply, but with one restriction: he insisted that the congregation let him know the name of the new superior general before it was publicly announced. On April 23, 1573, GC III elected (on the first ballot) Father Everard Mercurian of

²⁶Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, pp. 9-10.

²⁷Of the 27 delegates at GC I, eighteen were Spanish. Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," p. 146. For a complete list of all the delegates at GC I, see Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 715.

Belgium as the fourth superior general of the Society of Jesus.²⁸

Gregory XIII was pleased with the election results which put the controversy finally to rest. The lasting effects of this dispute, however, were significant. Had a Spaniard been elected, tensions between the Pope and the new general may have escalated; thus, the Third General Congregation carefully averted a potentially explosive situation. Furthermore, by appeasing the wishes of the Pope, the Society won over a good friend in the person of Gregory XIII. As Pope, Gregory XIII extended the many privileges of the Society²⁹ and reconfirmed its entire Institute.³⁰ In addition, he greatly supported the Society's missionary efforts in China, Japan, India, and Brazil. Having established several colleges in Rome and other cities, Gregory XIII entrusted many of them to the Society. He reconstructed the Roman College (later renamed the Gregorian University in his honor), which he heavily endowed along with the German College. Pope Gregory also founded the Hungarian College which, under the Society's care, later merged with the German College. Finally, Gregory XIII was responsible in part for building the Gesù Church in Rome, the titular church of the Society of Jesus and the final resting place of St. Ignatius

²⁸Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 7-8; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 11-12.

²⁹Gregory XIII, Bull, *Salvatoris Domini*, 30 October 1576; and Bull, *Quanto Fructuosius*, 1 February 1583; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 63-68 and 87-90.

³⁰Gregory XIII, Bull, *Ascendente Domino*, 25 May 1584; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 90-99.

Loyola.³¹

The dispute between Pope Sixtus V and Claudio Aquaviva with regard to changing the Society's official title, as discussed in Chapter Three,³² did not involve a general congregation. However, Aquaviva still had to contend with Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605), who also wanted several reforms within the Society. Incited to action by the Spanish malcontents,³³ Clement VIII ordered Aquaviva to summon GC V, which convened in November 1593. In early January, 1594, Pope Clement addressed the general congregation in person. Guenter Lewy narrates this dramatic event as follows:

He [Clement VIII] blamed the Jesuits for meddling in matters not of their concern, for having no regard for the opinions of prince, king, emperor or pope, for looking on their Constitutions as perfect, unimprovable and without the need of visitation or reform. He warned the fathers that if they did not take remedial steps, he himself would intervene.³⁴

And in direct response to the pope's address, GC V approved three specific proposals.

Following Pope Clement's directive, GC V decreed: (1) provincials and rectors (except those in novitiate houses) were not to hold office beyond a three-year

³¹J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1986, pp. 269-271.

³²See Chapter Three of this study, pp. 131-133.

³³*Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

³⁴Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," p. 149. Cf. Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, pp. 597-598.

term;³⁵ (2) provincials were to render an account of their tenure either to a "visitor" or to the succeeding provincial;³⁶ and (3) a general congregation should be convoked every six years. This last measure was passed under protest, and only after a futile effort was made to change the Pope's position.³⁷ As Lewy points out, none of these "reforms" remained in full effect for very long.³⁸ The decree concerning the three-year term of office for provincials and rectors was abrogated in 1663 by Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) in his bull, *Debitum pastoralis officii*.³⁹ The decree calling for a general congregation every six years proved to be very impractical. A general congregation could not always meet at the prescribed times, and Clement VIII's successors generally dispensed from the prescription. In fact, after GC V, more than fourteen years elapsed before the *next* general congregation (GC VI) convened (in 1608). Also, in 1646, Pope Innocent X (1644-1655) extended Clement VIII's time-requirement by three years, thereby ordering a general congregation to

³⁵GC V, Decree 64; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 210.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷GC V, Decrees 73 and 74; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 212-213.

³⁸Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," p. 149.

³⁹Alexander VII, *Debitum pastoralis officii*, 1 January 1663; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 186-192. Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. XXIV, p. 179; and Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government," p. 159, endnote no. 37.

assemble every *nine* years.⁴⁰ And, finally, in 1746, Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758) completely abolished the requirement for periodic general congregations in his brief. *Devotam maiori*.⁴¹

Following the death of Superior General Muzio Vitelleschi (1615-1645), GC VIII convened on November 21, 1645.⁴² Pope Innocent X asked the 93 delegates to put aside their normal procedures (as outlined in the *Formula Congregationis Generalis*) and to delay the election of a new superior general until *after* they first considered a series of eighteen "questions" (i.e., reforms) that he had proposed.⁴³ Among these suggested reforms were the following major proposals: (1) that all provincials be *elected* by local provincial congregations (rather than appointed by the superior general); (2) that the three-year term of office for all provincials and rectors (as mandated by Clement VIII and approved by GC V) be maintained but, in addition, a further requirement that these terms cannot be renewable immediately; rather, the Pope suggested that a period of at least eighteen months should elapse before a superior could be reappointed; and (3) that the requirement to hold a general

⁴⁰Innocent X, Brief, *Prospero felicique statui*, 1 January 1646; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 177-180. Cf. Chapter Two of this study, p. 66, including footnote no. 80.

⁴¹Benedict XIV, *Devotam maiori*, 17 December 1746; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 262-269. Cf. Chapter Two of this study, pp. 66-67, including footnote no. 83.

⁴²Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 16-17, 281; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 22-23.

⁴³Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 176. Cf. Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 358.

congregation every six years (as mandated by Clement VIII and approved by GC V) be changed (i.e., extended) to every *nine* years (as mentioned above).⁴⁴

GC VIII considered these various proposals during a full month of deliberations.⁴⁵ In the end, the congregation determined that it could not agree to the election of provincials and that the general's authority to appoint superiors ought to be preserved. It did agree, however, to accept the new requirement for holding a general congregation every nine years.⁴⁶ Likewise, the congregation also accepted the continuation of the three-year term of office for provincials and rectors. However, it could not agree with the Pope's proposal that a superior should not be reappointed for at least eighteen months.⁴⁷ This last requirement, it felt, would seriously hamper the Society's governance; since experienced men with all the necessary qualities (to be a superior) were not always plentiful or readily available,⁴⁸ especially in those days. Nevertheless, regardless of the congregation's preferences, Innocent X issued his brief

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 176-177. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 16; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 23.

⁴⁵Father Padberg points out, however, that "None of these discussions before the election of the general are directly mirrored in the decrees"; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁶GC VIII also determined that, despite the nine-year rule for general congregations, the congregation of procurators should still assemble every *three* years (as before). GC VIII, Decree 10; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 283.

⁴⁷Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 176-177. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 16; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 23.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 177.

*(Prospero felicique statui)*⁴⁹ during the general congregation, thereby ordering all of these changes except for one; the authority to appoint provincials, the Pope finally agreed, would remain with the superior general.

Once the discussion of the papal proposals had ended and the related matters properly treated, GC VIII went on with its intended purpose, the election of a new superior general. Accordingly, on January 7, 1646, seven weeks after its opening session, the congregation elected Father Vincenzo Carrafa (of the Naples Province) as the seventh superior general of the Society of Jesus.⁵⁰ GC VIII then continued discussing other important matters for the next three months. When it finally adjourned, on April 14, it was (and remains) the longest general congregation in the Society's history.⁵¹

Following the death of Superior General Charles de Noyelle (1682-1686), GC XIII convened on June 22, 1687, to elect a new general.⁵² The congregation took place during the reign of Pope Innocent XI (1676-1689). Innocent was an austere

⁴⁹Innocent X, *Prospero felicique statui*, 1 January 1646; in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. I, pp. 177-180. Cf. Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 259.

⁵⁰Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 177. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 17, 281; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 23.

⁵¹Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 17, 281; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 22, 24. GC VIII lasted 145 days. The *second* longest general congregation was GC XXXI (1965-1966) which, over two sessions, totaled 141 days.

⁵²Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 21, 353; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 29.

man noted for his firm stand or rigorous position on a number of theological issues.⁵³

He was chiefly concerned about the growing (perceived) danger of "laxism" in the Church (as a reaction against Jansenism); and he condemned most theological propositions which seemed to take a "laxist" approach in moral theology.⁵⁴

Philosophically, Innocent XI defended and advocated the moral system of "probabiliorism," rather than the doctrine of "probabilism" which the majority of Dominican and Jesuit moral theologians taught at that time.⁵⁵ One of the few Jesuit scholars to hold the doctrine of probabiliorism, the Pope's position, was Father Tirso González de Santalla, professor of moral theology at the University of Salamanca

⁵³In partial recognition of his firm moral stance, Innocent XI was later beatified by Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) on October 7, 1956; in Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, p. 288.

⁵⁴Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 274; and in Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 260.

⁵⁵Father Harney explains the basic difference between the two philosophical doctrines: "Probabilism is a doctrine in Moral Theology which holds that, when there is question solely of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of an action, it is permissible to follow a solidly probable opinion in favor of liberty [i.e., one which favors freedom of action], even though the opposing view is [equally or] more probable. Probabiliorism, on the other hand, teaches that it is not lawful to act on the less-safe opinion unless it is more probable than the safe opinion." Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 260. And Father Avery Dulles, S.J. describes probabilism as that doctrine in moral theology which asserts "[...] that obligations are to be proved, not assumed, and that in case of doubt the presumption is in favor of freedom." A. Dulles, "Saint Ignatius and the Jesuit Theological Tradition," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 14, no. 2 (March, 1982), p. 7. Probabilism, the more liberal position, gained widespread acceptance among moral theologians in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, primarily through the teachings and writings of Bartolomé de Medina, the Dominican who formulated the doctrine, and Francisco Suárez, Gabriel Vázquez, and Hermann Busenbaum, three well-known Jesuit theologians of that period. Harney, in the work cited, p. 260. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 183.

(Spain). Thus, when GC XIII convened, Innocent XI made it quite clear to the congregation that he wanted and expected two results: (1) the election of Tirso González as superior general; and (2) a special decree stating that all Jesuits were free to hold and defend the doctrine of probabiliorism.⁵⁶

The Pope's direct intervention took many delegates by surprise. Nevertheless, the congregation acceded to both of his wishes. Since Father González had been a duly-elected delegate from the Castile Province, it remains possible that he could have been elected superior general even without the Pope's strong "recommendation."⁵⁷ With regard to the decree on probabiliorism, however, the congregation was less accommodating to the Pope's specific wishes. Rather than endorsing the doctrine of probabiliorism, GC XIII merely stated that such a "contrary view" was not forbidden: "The Society has not forbidden and does not forbid those to defend this contrary view [probabiliorism] who find this position more convincing."⁵⁸

During González's tenure as general, an internal canonical dispute arose that eventually involved the Holy See. In November 1693, the congregation of procurators had gathered in Rome to determine whether another general congregation (GC XIV) should be convened. The vote was almost evenly divided; of the 33 votes

⁵⁶Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. VI, pp. 228-230, including footnote no. 2 on p. 230. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 274.

⁵⁷The election took place on July 6, 1687. Tirso González was elected on the *third* ballot, receiving 48 out of 86 votes. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 21 and 353; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 29.

⁵⁸GC XIII, Decree 18; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 358.

cast, seventeen procurators favored a new congregation while sixteen were against.⁵⁹ According to proper law, i.e., the "Formula for a Congregation of Procurators" (*Formula Congregationis Procuratorum*), "if the votes of the provinces are equal, the matter should be settled by the vote of more than half [of the procurators]."⁶⁰ Thus, those seventeen procurators who were in favor of convening another general congregation thought that *they* had won the vote. However, the Secretary of the Society, Father Egidio Estrix (of Flemish Belgium), interpreted the vote differently. Estrix determined that a "majority" of votes is defined as "50 percent *plus one*." Therefore, since a *full* vote beyond half was lacking in this case (50% of 33 = 16.5 votes, and only 17 were received), Father Estrix ruled that a general congregation should *not* be convened.⁶¹ Superior General González, who was personally opposed to holding another general congregation,⁶² supported Estrix's final decision; he even prepared a 21-page written brief defending Estrix's legal opinion. Nevertheless, the seventeen procurators (and the provinces they represented) that wanted another general

⁵⁹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 278.

⁶⁰GC VI, Decree 26, no. 1; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 230.

⁶¹Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 278.

⁶²González was perhaps fearful of holding another general congregation. His attacks on probabilism and his fierce defense of probabiliorism, as outlined in his book, *A Short Treatise on the Correct Use of Probable Opinions* (University of Dillingen, Germany, 1691), had upset many Jesuit scholars; in fact, some of them felt that González had actually embarrassed the Society. As a result, there were widespread rumors that the next general congregation (GC XIV) would either admonish, discredit, or even depose the superior general. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 274-278.

congregation protested the decision vehemently, thereby protracting the dispute for another six months.

Finally, Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700) became involved in the case. He submitted the dispute to a jury of five cardinals who would make the final judgment. The curial cardinals decided, by a vote of three to two, in favor of the position taken by Fathers Estrix and González, i.e., that a general congregation should *not* be summoned.⁶³ However, the final resolution of this conflict, decided by "externs,"⁶⁴ left many Jesuits dissatisfied. Therefore, when GC XIV finally did convene, three years later (1696), as mandated by the nine-year requirement of Innocent X, the congregation decided to clarify the specific area of doubt in the Society's proper law. The fathers at GC XIV determined that a vote by the congregation of procurators in favor of holding a general congregation had to have a majority of at least *three* votes.⁶⁵

[...] in the case of an uneven number of votes upon a decree for calling a [general] congregation, it is not sufficient that the count is simply the larger of two. Rather, it ought to exceed the opposite side by at least three votes, so that thus it may be clear that it includes more than half the votes

⁶³Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. XXXII, pp. 625-631; and in Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. VI, pp. 306-315. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 278.

⁶⁴An "extern" is anyone who does not belong to the religious community [Society of Jesus]; in this case, the term refers to the curial cardinals.

⁶⁵Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 278-279. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 23.

and has achieved validity.⁶⁶

This decree of GC XIV, which amended the "Formula for a Congregation of Procurators," passed easily; it received well-over two-thirds of all the delegates' votes.⁶⁷

The restrained warnings of Alexander VII and Innocent XI against the dangers of "laxism" in the seventeenth century slowly gave way to outright condemnations of "Catholic Liberalism" and "Modernism" in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, especially through the papal decrees and encyclicals of Pius IX (1846-1878), Leo XIII (1878-1903), Pius X (1903-1914), and Benedict XV (1914-1922). In the nineteenth century, the Jesuit Order found itself slowly recovering from the effects of its Suppression (1773-1814); and as it re-entered the life of the Church, it was only natural that the Society should want to proceed cautiously, prudently, and somewhat more conservatively. Thus, the Society of Jesus, for its part, kept pace with the papacy during this period; through its general congregations, the Order issued a number of decrees supporting the Vatican's rigid stance against modernism. The Society's legislation was particularly harsh where the "evils" of modernism were found creeping into the Institute, i.e., into Jesuit common life and the Society's

⁶⁶GC XIV, Decree 6; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 363. Cf. *Formula Congregationis Procuratorum*, Caput IV: *De agendis in secunda sessione*, no. 23: "Ut decernatur Congregationem Generalem cogendam esse, requiritur ut pars huic sententiae favens partem adversam duobus saltem suffragiis superet, si suffragiorum numerus sit par; tribus, si numerus sit impar." In *Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII*, p. 220.

⁶⁷GC XIV, Decree 6; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 363.

apostolates.

In 1864, Pius IX issued two major documents against "liberalism": (1) his encyclical, *Quanta cura* (8 December 1864); and attached to it, (2) the *Syllabus of Errors* (*Syllabus errorum*). Pius prepared the *Syllabus*⁶⁸ with help from the theology professors at the Gregorian University and from the editorial staff of the Jesuit publication, *La Civiltà Cattolica*.⁶⁹ Several well-known Jesuit writers and theologians in Germany strongly defended the teaching. These included the provincial of Germany, Father Anton Anderledy (who later became superior general, 1887-1892).⁷⁰ However, the first real opportunity for the whole Society corporately to endorse either of these two papal documents did not come until GC XXIII, nineteen years later.

GC XXIII convened on September 16, 1883. At the time, Pieter Beckx (of Flemish Belgium) was superior general, and Leo XIII was in the sixth year of his pontificate. Beckx, who was 88 years old and in poor health, had summoned the

⁶⁸The full title of the *Syllabus* is: "A syllabus containing the most important errors of our time which have been condemned by our Holy Father Pius IX in allocutions, at consistories, in encyclicals and other apostolic letters" (*Syllabus complectens praeceptuos nostrae aetatis errores qui notantur in allocutionibus consistorialibus in encyclicis aliisque apostolicis litteris sanctissimi domini nostri Pii Papae IX*). The document is comprised of ten sections (topics) containing a total of 80 theses. For a theological analysis of the *Syllabus*, see W.F. Hogan, "Syllabus of Errors," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967, vol. 13, pp. 854-856. See also T.F. Woodlock, "'Liberalism' and the Church," in *The Month*, 167 (June, 1936), pp. 493-503; "Liberals and the Syllabus," in *Catholic Mind*, 42 (January, 1944), pp. 12-20; and B. Schneider, "Der Syllabus Pius' IX und die deutschen Jesuiten," in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 6 (1968), pp. 371-392.

⁶⁹Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 371.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 387.

general congregation primarily to elect a permanent vicar general. On September 24, the congregation chose Father Anton Anderledy (a Swiss national and the regional assistant for Germany) as vicar general and gave him the right of succession;⁷¹ he was only the *second* vicar general (and the last) to be given that right.⁷² Once the election of the vicar general was over, however, the congregation turned its attention to Pius IX's earlier documents, *Quanta cura* and the *Syllabus of Errors*. GC XXIII echoed the late Pope's condemnation of "liberalism" and enthusiastically affirmed the *Syllabus of Errors*:

Amid such a welter of errors that are creeping in everywhere and have often in our times been proscribed by the Roman See, there are grounds for fear that even some of Ours might be touched by this pestilence. Thus the general congregation, seizing upon this earliest opportunity, affirms that our Society fully adheres to the doctrine explained in the encyclical *Quanta cura* of the supreme pontiff Pius IX, dated December 8, 1864, and repudiates, as it has always repudiated, all the errors proscribed in the *Syllabus* of the same pontiff.

But since some provinces have asked that the doctrine known as Catholic liberalism should be repudiated by name, the congregation heartily consents to these requests and strongly urges Our Reverend Father [General Beckx] to employ every resource at his command to avert this evil from the Society.⁷³

There is little doubt that the pro-Vatican stance against liberalism, taken by Superior

⁷¹GC XXIII, Decrees 3 and 6; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 461-463. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 48.

⁷²In 1661, GC XI elected Father Giovanni Paolo Oliva (of the Roman province) as permanent vicar general (to assist Superior General Goswin Nickel); and he, too, was given the right of succession. Cf. Chapter Two of this study, pp. 63-64, footnote no. 71.

⁷³GC XXIII, Decree 12; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 39, 465. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 49; and Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 200.

General Beckx and GC XXIII, had the full support of the vast majority of Jesuits.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, there remained within the Society a small minority of Jesuits who were less sympathetic to this issue, and who saw such condemnations as aiding and abetting a certain "siege mentality" which they felt had been growing in the Church since the French Revolution.⁷⁵

GC XXIII also paid respect to the reigning Pope, Leo XIII, by fully supporting his encyclical, *Æterni Patris* (4 August 1879), which called for all Catholic theology to be grounded on the firm philosophical teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas. Although the Society had already passed similar decrees at previous congregations,⁷⁶ GC XXIII, nonetheless, restated its commitment to "the teaching of the Angelic Doctor":

The Society of Jesus, now convened in general congregation for the first time since [the publication of *Æterni Patris*], has judged that it should demonstrate by solemn and public testimony the fullest extent of its filial obedience and assent. [...] Ours are, by all means, to look upon St. Thomas [Aquinas] as their own teacher and are obliged to follow him in scholastic theology.⁷⁷

After having affirmed the writings of two Popes, Pius IX and Leo XIII, GC XXIII went on to address a number of other issues, especially those concerning the

⁷⁴Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 200.

⁷⁵Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 39; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 49.

⁷⁶GC V, Decrees 41 and 56; GC XVI, Decree 36; GC XVII, Decree 13; and GC XXII, Decree 37, no. 1; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 198-199; 207-208; 384-385; 390-391; and 455. Cf. also St. Ignatius Loyola, *Constitutions*, Part IV, Chapter XIV, §1; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 464, p. 219.

⁷⁷GC XXIII, Decree 15; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 466-467. See also Decree 18 of GC XXIII, in the same work, p. 469.

educational apostolate and the formation and education of Jesuit scholastics. GC XXIII finally adjourned on October 23, 1883.⁷⁸

The Pope most noted for his denunciations of "modernism," of course, was Pius X.⁷⁹ In his decree, *Lamentabili sane exitu* (3 July 1907), which condemned 65 "modernist" propositions, Pope Pius refers to modernism as a "synthesis of all heresies."⁸⁰ Likewise, there were further condemnations in his encyclical, *Pascendi dominici gregis* (8 September 1907). And in a final effort to root out modernism in the Church, Pius X later issued a motu proprio, *Sacrorum antistitum* (1 September 1910), which required clergy to take an oath disavowing all forms of this "heresy."⁸¹ The Society of Jesus was naturally caught up in this atmosphere; and the decrees of its general congregations clearly reflect the sobering mood of the Church during this period.

⁷⁸GC XXIII, Decree 48; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 477-478. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 48.

⁷⁹And just as he had done for Innocent XI, Pope Pius XII beatified Pius X on June 3, 1951; canonization followed on May 29, 1954; in Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, p. 314.

⁸⁰For a complete theological and canonical analysis of *Lamentabili*, see F. Heiner, *Il decreto "Lamentabili sane exitu" della S. Congregazione del S. Ufficio in data 3 luglio 1907, concernente gli errori de' modernisti e la loro condanna*, esposto e commentato da F. Heiner, versione italiana di G. Straniero, seconda edizione riveduta e corretta, Roma, Desclée & Ci., Editori Pontifici, 1914. See also F. Heiner, *Der neue Syllabus Pius X, oder Dekret des Hl. Offiziums "Lamentabili" vom 3 Juli 1907*, dargestellt und kommentiert von F. Heiner, Mainz, Verlag von Kirchheim & Co., 1907.

⁸¹Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, pp. 313-314. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 458.

During the reign of Pius X, GC XXV convened on September 1, 1906. Following the death of Superior General Luis Martín (1892-1906), the congregation had been summoned to elect a new general. On September 8, GC XXV selected Franz Xavier Wernz (of Germany),⁸² the well-known scholar and canonist,⁸³ as the Society's 25th superior general. At the start of GC XXV, Pius X sent two *postulata* directly to the congregation, which he asked the fathers to consider with complete freedom. The Pope's first concern was that the Society's educational apostolate remain faithful to the philosophical and theological teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas,⁸⁴ as prescribed in Pius X's own Apostolic Letter, *Gravissime Nos*.⁸⁵ The Pope's second concern was with regard to foreign missions, specifically Japan. Pius X "strongly

⁸²GC XXV, Decrees 1 and 2; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 491-492. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 53.

⁸³At the time of his election in 1906, Father Wernz was 64 years old and Rector of the Gregorian University; he was considered one of the leading authorities on canon law in the Church. He had taught the subject for 24 years at the Gregorian and was often consulted by the various Roman dicasteries. Father Wernz played an important role in the codification of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (which resulted in the *Codex Iuris Canonici* of 1917). Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 372. Father Wernz also wrote several books and articles; his most scholarly work was *Jus Decretalium ad usum prælectionum in scholis textus canonici sive iuris decretalium*, 6 vols., Prati, Ex Officina Libraria Giachetti, Filii et Socii, 1913; see also F.X. Wernz and P. Vidal, *Ius Canonicum ad codicis normam exactum*, 7 vols., Romæ, Apud Ædes Universitatis Gregorianæ, 1925-1951.

⁸⁴Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 43; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 54.

⁸⁵After issuing *Gravissime Nos*, Pius X went one step further. In 1914, he insisted that all Catholic institutions granting *pontifical* degrees must use St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* as a textbook for teaching theology; otherwise, they would lose their pontifical mandate to grant these degrees. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 213.

commended" this mission to the Society, expressing his hope that an institution of higher learning would be established there.⁸⁶ The general congregation, however, was somewhat perplexed by the Pope's first request concerning the teachings of St. Thomas, especially since GC XXIII, in response to Leo XIII's *Æterni Patris*, had already issued *two* very strong commitments to Thomist philosophy and theology.⁸⁷ In other words, the Society's position on this point had already been firmly established and seemed perfectly clear to the congregation. Nonetheless, GC XXV responded favorably to both of the Pope's requests. It issued a single decree which enthusiastically reaffirmed the Society's educational commitments and expressed its wholehearted willingness to cooperate completely in fulfilling each of the Pope's wishes.⁸⁸

The fathers at GC XXV then went on to address several issues raised by "modernism." They produced a series of *four* decrees designed either to purge "modernist" tendencies or practices within the Society or, at the very least, to warn Jesuits of their dangers. It was hoped, of course, that these measures would not only demonstrate the Society's orthodoxy and loyalty to the Holy See, but also appease the growing number of critics (i.e., zealots) who were making wild accusations against

⁸⁶Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 43; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 54. As a direct result of Pius X's request, the Society later established Sophia University in Tokyo (1913). Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 473.

⁸⁷GC XXIII, Decrees 15 and 18; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 466-467, 469.

⁸⁸GC XXV, Decree 6; *ibid.*, pp. 493-494.

the Society, or against specific Jesuit scholars.

The *first* of these "anti-modernist" decrees, on religious discipline, warned Jesuits "to ward off [...] the dangers to faith and morals" by avoiding certain books and authors, and "to avoid imprudently praising rationalist authors or those hostile to the Church, or others whose doctrine is suspect."⁸⁹ The *second* of these decrees was aimed directly at Jesuit professors of philosophy, who were warned and reminded "that in their classes and prelections they should take special account of more recent errors."⁹⁰ In the *third* decree, on theological studies, and specifically with regard to Sacred Scripture, Jesuit superiors were advised to "keep in mind the norms handed down by Leo XIII in the encyclical letters *Providentissimus Deus* [18 November 1893] and *Vigilantiæ studique memores* [30 October 1902], and by Pius X in the letter *Quoniam in re biblica* [27 March 1906]."⁹¹ And finally, the *fourth* decree of GC XXV to respond directly to the modernist problem requested that "the Society be safeguarded against rash novelties" and urged each Jesuit to "make every effort within his power to prevent that intemperate desire for novelty from somehow creeping into the Society."⁹² Furthermore, this same decree admonished all Jesuit superiors to watch out...

[...] that Ours at no time express anything with impunity, either in the schools

⁸⁹GC XXV, Decree 11, nos. 3 and 4; *ibid.*, pp. 495-496.

⁹⁰GC XXV, Decree 13, no. 1; *ibid.*, p. 497.

⁹¹GC XXV, Decree 14, no. 2; *ibid.*, p. 498.

⁹²GC XXV, Decree 16, no. 1; *ibid.*, p. 499.

or in published works, or in sermons or even private conversations or letters, that smacks of dangerous craving for unbridled freedom to hold rash opinions.

They should rather take diligent care that all those things are faithfully observed which many passages of our Institute prescribe regarding novel views, thinking with the Church, and the choice of opinions to hold, especially the rules of our holy father [Ignatius] for thinking with the Church.⁹³

As an addendum to Decree 16, the congregation also drew up a special set of strict regulations, rules that would in some ways anticipate the later decrees of Pius X.⁹⁴

With its major work completed, GC XXV finally adjourned on October 18, 1906.⁹⁵

Despite the congregation's protracted effort of demonstrating the Society's fidelity and goodwill, modernist accusations and attacks against the Society continued, primarily from select individuals and certain "orthodox" forces within the Church.⁹⁶ Thus, the issue of "modernism" was not completely over; it would come up again at the *next* general congregation (GC XXVI).

Following the death of Superior General Franz Wernz (1906-1914), GC XXVI

⁹³GC XXV, Decree 16, no. 2; *ibid.*, p. 500. Decree 16 goes on to indicate where these various prescriptions can be found in the documents of the Society: the *General Examen*, Ch. 3, no. 11; the *Constitutions*, Part 3, Ch. 1, declaration "O"; GC V, Decrees 41 and 56; and "Rules for the [Superior] General's Censor," nos. 6-9. *Ibid.*

⁹⁴GC XXV, Decree 16, no. 3, i-vii; *ibid.* Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 55.

⁹⁵GC XXV, Decree 19; *ibid.*, pp. 501-502. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 53.

⁹⁶Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 45; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 56.

convened on February 2, 1915, to elect a new general.⁹⁷ By this time, Pius X had also died (in 1914)⁹⁸ and Benedict XV was now Pope. The congregation and election took place in Rome (at the German-Hungarian College), in the midst of World War I (1914-1918), although Italy had not yet officially entered the war.⁹⁹ GC XXVI formally recognized the courageous efforts of the former general in preserving the Society from the dangers of modernism, and, in particular, Wernz's ability "to fend off from the Society [...] any and all poison stemming from recent errors."¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the congregation declared categorically that the Society of Jesus "most faithfully adheres" to all papal teachings wherein modernism is rejected:

The Society of Jesus [...] solemnly attests and declares that, with the utmost willingness and all rightful religious reverence and obedience, it embraces the condemnation of modernism proclaimed to the universal Church by the encyclical letter of the supreme pontiff Pius X *Pascendi dominici gregis* and in his motu proprio *Sacrorum antistitum*, and confirmed once again by our Most Holy Father Benedict XV in his encyclical letter *Ad beatissimi apostolorum principis* [1 November 1914]; and the congregation declares that, opposed to these errors from the depths of its heart, it rejects whatever smacks of

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 45 and 503; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 56.

⁹⁸Interestingly, Pius X died on August 20, 1914, just a few hours after the death of Superior General Franz Wernz, who died on August 19.

⁹⁹According to the Treaty of London (signed April 26, 1915), Italy agreed to join forces with France, Great Britain, and Russia (the so-called "Entente" powers); but the Italians waited an additional four weeks before they formally declared war, on May 23, 1915. R.A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1974, 1980, Ch. IX, pp. 469-472.

¹⁰⁰GC XXVI, Decree 18; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 510.

modernism of any kind and the very spirit of the modernists.¹⁰¹

And finally, the congregation felt it necessary to reiterate the Society's firm stance on the teaching of sound Catholic doctrine.

As if the numerous decrees of past congregations were not enough, GC XXVI again defended the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas and recommitted the Society, through its educational apostolate, to the "profound knowledge and study of the Angelic Doctor."¹⁰² And in this regard, the congregation requested the superior general (Ledóchowski) "to write a letter to the entire Society, urging it to foster among us ever more insistently the teaching of St. Thomas."¹⁰³ Furthermore, GC XXVI also determined that any Jesuit teacher at variance with Thomist principles ought to be removed from the classroom: "If any are found who show themselves less than well disposed towards St. Thomas or deviate from the teachings proper to the Society [...], they should be removed from the office of teaching."¹⁰⁴

Because of the "imminent danger of war," GC XXVI decided to adjourn early, on March 18, 1915.¹⁰⁵ Three general congregations had been forced to deal with the

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²GC XXVI, Decree 19, no. 1; *ibid.*, pp. 510-511.

¹⁰³Ibid. Cf. W. Ledóchowski, Letter, "On Fostering Ever More the Teaching of St. Thomas [Aquinas] in the Society," December 8, 1916; in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, II, fasciculus III (1917), pp. 319-363; an English translation is found in *Selected Writings of Father Ledóchowski*, pp. 480-519.

¹⁰⁴GC XXVI, Decree 19, no. 3; *ibid.*, p. 511.

¹⁰⁵GC XXVI, Decrees 22 and 24; *ibid.*, pp. 512-513.

modernist controversy; consequently, GC XXIII, GC XXV, and GC XXVI spent much time discussing and through various decrees responding to this 20th century crisis in the Church. Thus, with the close of GC XXVI, this protracted era of controversy was almost over, and the next general congregation (GC XXVII) would not have to deal with such polemic issues.

The Society's next two general congregations took place during the reign of Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) while Włodimir Ledóchowski was superior general (1915-1942): GC XXVII (September 8—December 21, 1923) and GC XXVIII (March 12—May 9, 1938).¹⁰⁶ The major decrees of these congregations were discussed earlier in this study.¹⁰⁷ At that time, we also pointed out that Pius XI was a great friend of the Society, perhaps its greatest friend among all of the popes.¹⁰⁸ Because of Pope Pius' close relationship with the Society and with Superior General Ledóchowski, there seemed to be no need for any direct papal intervention into the affairs of either GC XXVII or GC XXVIII. Ledóchowski and both of these congregations already knew the mind of the Pope. However, Pius XI did address both congregations, but only at the very end; his allocutions offered for the most part congratulatory remarks, personal best wishes, and, of course, his apostolic blessing on the whole Society and

¹⁰⁶Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 47, 49, 515, 593. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 59, 62.

¹⁰⁷See Chapter Three of this study, pp. 158-165.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 153-154, including footnotes nos. 208 and 209.

on the work accomplished by the general congregation.¹⁰⁹

At the next general congregation, however, things changed: there was a new pope, a new superior general, and the overall situation was noticeably different. GC XXIX convened on September 6, 1946, to elect a new general. Ledóchowski had died in 1942, during World War II, and the Society had to wait four years before it could safely hold another general congregation. During the eight-year interim since the last congregation, Pius XII (1939-1958) had become Pope. On September 15, 1946, GC XXIX elected Jean-Baptiste Janssens (of North Belgium) as the 27th superior general of the Society.¹¹⁰ Breaking from past tradition and protocol,¹¹¹ Pius XII expressed his wish to address the congregation immediately after the election of the new superior general.¹¹² And so, on September 17, the fathers gathered at Castel

¹⁰⁹Pius XI, *Allocutio Summi Pontificis Pii XI, ad Patres Congregatos*, die 17 decembris 1923; in *Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII, A Restituta Societate VIII, 1923*. Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1924, pp. 267-268; and *Allocutio Summi Pontificis Pii XI, ad Patres Congregatos*, die 28 aprilis 1938; in *Decreta: Congregationis Generalis XXVIII, A Restituta Societate IX, Anno MCMXXXVIII*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1938, pp. 57-60.

¹¹⁰GC XXIX, Decrees 1 and 3; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 621-623. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 65.

¹¹¹In the past, a group of selected delegates, usually the oldest in profession from various provinces (*Formula Congregationis Generalis*, no. 111), would visit the pope at the beginning of every general congregation to convey the respects of the Society. If the pope had any special concerns or items for the agenda, he would normally express them at that time. Popes rarely addressed the whole assembly, such as Clement VIII at GC V; but if they did so, it was usually at the *end* of the congregation, as Pius XI had done at GC XXVII and XXVIII. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 55.

¹¹²GC XXIX, Decree 1, no. 7; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 622.

Gandolfo where the Pope delivered an allocution¹¹³ which was quite positive and well-received.¹¹⁴

The papal allocution at GC XXIX represents a major innovation; it was the *first* time that any pope had addressed the entire assembly at the *beginning* of a congregation. As a result, the pope's address became a regular feature at all subsequent general congregations. Moreover, starting with GC XXIX, the congregations have chosen to incorporate selected quotations from these talks into some of their decrees. It would seem, therefore, that a papal allocution could easily set the tone for a congregation, or help set the agenda, and perhaps even influence the delegates and their deliberations. Commenting on the influence of papal allocutions at past congregations, especially those since Pius XII, Father Padberg writes:

"Historians of those congregations must now inquire about the source of the material for those addresses and must take into account how influential on or even preemptive of the work of those congregations such papal addresses have been."¹¹⁵

In general, the papal allocution of Pius XII at GC XXIX "demonstrated his

¹¹³Pius XII, *Allocutio Summi Pontificis Pii XII, ad Patres Congregatos [CG XXIX]*, die 17 septembris 1946; in *Decreta: Congregationis Generalis XXIX*, published in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XI, fasciculus I (1946), pp. 54-59; an English translation is found in *Woodstock Letters*, 75, no. 3 (October, 1946), pp. 191-198.

¹¹⁴The Pope's address was described as "a message filled with paternal love and bountiful solicitude for the entire congregation and, through it, for the whole Society." See GC XXIX, Decree 1, no. 7; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 622.

¹¹⁵Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 55-56.

love for the Society and his vigilant care of the Church."¹¹⁶ But by all accounts, the Pope's address was a formal exhortation; and Pius XII used this opportunity to challenge the Society to a strict observance of its own laws and of the teachings of the magisterium. As a result, direct quotations from the Pope's address appeared in several decrees of the congregation. In Decree 25, for example, we read how Pope Pius admonished all Jesuits to remain faithful to "the complete spirit of the Exercises of your saintly Founder, Ignatius" and to "make the solid supernatural virtues your own." The Pope also urged greater self-denial and self-discipline, asking everyone to "crush in yourselves the feelings of sinful self-love."¹¹⁷ In Decree 27, on theological doctrine, the members of the Society were once again reminded, in the exact words of Pius XII, to "observe with all diligence [...] the doctrine of St. Thomas."¹¹⁸ And in Decree 26, Jesuit superiors are exhorted to "take great care" in seeing that scholastics "come to know the sacred books," in keeping with the wishes of the Holy Father, i.e., "in accord with the intent of the encyclical letter *Divino afflante Spiritu* [30 September 1943]."¹¹⁹

On a canonical note, GC XXIX broke new ground by finally admitting, as

¹¹⁶GC XXIX, Decree 27; in *Selected Decrees of the Twenty-Ninth General Congregation, Held in 1946*, El Paso (Texas), Revista Catolica Press, 1947, p. 13. Cf. Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 637.

¹¹⁷GC XXIX, Decree 25; *ibid.*, p. 11.

¹¹⁸GC XXIX, Decree 27; *ibid.*, p. 13.

¹¹⁹GC XXIX, Decree 26; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 637.

delegates, the procurators of the vice-provinces and missions who "were now for the first time admitted to the full exercise of the rights of electors."¹²⁰ Since many of these "new" delegates came from missionary posts in Third World countries, the overall "vision" of the general congregation finally expanded beyond the Western world.¹²¹ As a result of World War II, the world had changed enormously; and nothing would ever be the same again. The Church and the Society of Jesus were no exceptions. GC XXIX completed its other business, much of it "of lesser moment,"¹²² and adjourned on October 23, 1946.¹²³

Life in the Society of Jesus remained fairly stable during the generalate of Jean-Baptiste Janssens (1946-1964). After GC XXIX, there were no further papal interventions for the next eleven years, not until GC XXX. On December 8, 1956, Superior General Janssens summoned a new general congregation to deal with important matters ("of greater moment") for the Society. GC XXX convened the following autumn, on September 6, 1957.¹²⁴ As he had done at GC XXIX, Pius XII again wished to address the delegates at the *beginning* of the congregation. Therefore, just four days after the opening session, Pope Pius received the delegates at Castel

¹²⁰GC XXIX, Decree 1, no. 2; *ibid.*, p. 622.

¹²¹Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 65.

¹²²GC XXIX, Decree 16, no. 8; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 631.

¹²³GC XXIX, Decree 22, nos. 1-4; *ibid.*, pp. 633-634.

¹²⁴GC XXX, "Prologue" (*Prooemium*), no. 1; and Decree 1; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 56, 647.

Gandolfo on September 10.¹²⁵ However, unlike the last congregation, where the Pope's remarks were generally very supportive and his admonitions mild and restrained, the papal allocution at GC XXX¹²⁶ was much more forceful, challenging, and even critical. The Pope was especially concerned about a growing sense of laxity in the Society's Institute, whether it involved the vows, religious practices, or the common life. Apparently, there were sources within the Society who were responsible for bringing certain "abuses" to the Pope's attention.¹²⁷ In general, Pius XII called on the Society to ensure orthodoxy among its ranks, fidelity to holy obedience, and firm religious discipline, including greater humility and abnegation of self. And with regard to poverty, the Pope specifically recommended that certain known practices be monitored and kept in check, such as excessive travel, holidays outside the community, the use of tobacco, and the "private" (i.e., exclusive) use of work-related tools and instruments.¹²⁸

More significant than the specific details of the speech, however, was the way

¹²⁵GC XXX, Decree 2; *ibid.*, p. 648.

¹²⁶Pius XII, *Allocutio Summi Pontificis Pii XII, ad Patres Congregatos*, die 10 septembris 1957; in *Congregatio Generalis XXX, A Restituta Societate XI, Anno MCMLVII*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1958, pp. 9-15.

¹²⁷Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 70; and in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 56. Malachi Martin suggests that Pius XII had three Jesuit collaborators, all German, who may have helped him with the allocution; or even possibly the Italian Jesuit, Paolo Dezza, who was also close to the Pope. Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 241.

¹²⁸Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 56; and in Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 70-71.

it was received by the delegates, and the impact it had on the remainder of the congregation. The 185 delegates at GC XXX did not expect such open criticism; nor were they prepared to hear such harsh words from the Roman pontiff. After all, relations with the Holy See had been quite cordial, and there was no obvious reason to suspect any feelings of dissatisfaction on the part of the Pope. As a result, most of the delegates were either shocked or confused by the speech.¹²⁹ Some delegates were even annoyed, as Malachi Martin explains: "[...] the mood of the delegates at the end of the address ranged from somber to mildly indignant. [...] It was felt that the Society had been treated rather rudely, its intentions misinterpreted."¹³⁰ More importantly, the change in mood caused many delegates to feel that their democratic freedom had been taken away. Consequently, they felt that they could no longer discuss their ideas and proposals openly, as Father Padberg reports:

At least some felt that the tone, manner, and substance of the pope's address, [...] severely limited the congregation's field of action. [The delegates] considered themselves constrained from discussing certain questions that concerned them even before they came to Rome. [...] The speech of Pius XII reputedly put a brake on that freedom and inhibited that frank assessment before the congregation had even gotten under way.¹³¹

Despite its sullen reaction to the Pope's address, GC XXX voted to publish the entire text of the exhortation along with the documents and decrees (*acta*) of the general

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Martin, *The Jesuits*, pp. 240-241.

¹³¹Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 56-57. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 71.

congregation.¹³²

The papal intervention of Pius XII did alter the mood at GC XXX, but it did not disable the congregation completely. GC XXX established twelve commissions and three subcommissions,¹³³ and these went on to produce 77 decrees. On procedural matters, the congregation adopted a few innovative changes. In order to save time, a delegate could now speak only once on a given topic at each session; and public voting would no longer be done verbally, but rather electronically.¹³⁴ Also, the congregation decided that the *acta* should no longer be read to the entire assembly; instead, the decrees should be duplicated and distributed to the fathers, who would then have two days to submit their comments and corrections; after that, "the *acta* were to be regarded as approved."¹³⁵ With regard to governance, and specifically, the *formulae* of the various congregations, there were very few changes enacted by GC XXX, and these were of a minor nature. The "Formula of the General Congregation" (*Formula Congregationis Generalis*) was left virtually intact.¹³⁶ As to the provincial congregation, GC XXX rejected any major changes, including *postulata* that would have allowed the *socius* to the provincial, the master of novices, and the tertian master

¹³²GC XXX, Decree 2; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 648.

¹³³The names of the twelve commissions are listed in Decree 4; *ibid.*, p. 649.

¹³⁴GC XXX, Decree 5, a and b; *ibid.*

¹³⁵GC XXX, Decree 5, d; *ibid.*

¹³⁶GC XXX, Decree 26, nos. 1-6; *ibid.*, pp. 661-662.

to attend the provincial congregation *ex officio*.¹³⁷ With regard to the congregation of procurators, however, GC XXX did grant the independent vice-provinces the right to send a procurator (i.e., delegate) to these special congregations which, at that time, were held every three years.¹³⁸

In other decrees, GC XXX reviewed and revised the "Common Rules" (*Regulae Communes Societatis Iesu*),¹³⁹ and arranged them in a more suitable order.¹⁴⁰ The congregation also decided that the "Summary of the Constitutions" (*Summarium Constitutionum*)¹⁴¹ should be revised, at least partially; therefore, it entrusted the review process to the superior general (Janssens) and granted him the full authority to

¹³⁷GC XXX, Decree 27, no. 1; *ibid.*, p. 662.

¹³⁸GC XXX, Decree 28; *ibid.* Since GC XXXIV (1995), the congregation of procurators now meets in Rome "every four years after the end of the last general congregation." GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section C, no. 6, 2°; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, no. 488, p. 222.

¹³⁹"Common Rules," in *Rules of the Society of Jesus*, Roehampton (England), The Manresa Press, 1929, pp. 23-46. See also Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, Part Three, pp. 295-345.

¹⁴⁰GC XXX, Decree 8, no. 2; and Decree 77; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 650, 691-692.

¹⁴¹"A Summary of Those Constitutions Which Concern the Spiritual Instruction of Ours and Are to Be Observed by All," in *Rules of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 1-22. See also Coemans, *Commentary on the Rules*, Part Two, pp. 48-294. The "Summary" is a collection of excerpts from the *General Examen* and the *Constitutions*. St. Ignatius compiled the first edition of the "Summary" in 1553. In 1580, Superior General Everard Mercurian promulgated a revision of the "Summary," which carried the title *A Summary of Those Constitutions and Rules Which Pertain to the Spiritual Formation of Ours and Are to Be Observed by All*. Ganss (ed.), *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, p. 89. Successive editions of the "Summary" were authorized by various general congregations throughout the years. Prior to GC XXX (1957), the last major revision of the "Summary" was undertaken in 1923, by GC XXVII.

promulgate a new edition of the "Summary."¹⁴² On the topic of education, GC XXX decreed that co-education in Jesuit high schools was *not* to be allowed; this decree was in keeping with the norms handed down by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical letter, *Divini illius magistri* (31 December 1929).¹⁴³ And with regard to the Gregorian University, the congregation called upon the universal Society to support this "most important and cherished common responsibility by sending it subsidies, seeking out benefactors for it, and especially, allowing the best professors to go there."¹⁴⁴ Finally, the tremendous growth of the Society in the Third World prompted the congregation to authorize the superior general to erect *three* new assistancies: (1) an additional assistancy was needed in Latin America (and the two which resulted would later be named "North Latin America" and "South Latin America");¹⁴⁵ (2) a new assistancy in Asia would be called the "Assistancy of India and East Asia" (and a provision was included which would allow for its eventual division);¹⁴⁶ and (3) a new African assistancy would be erected, partly in response to Pius XII's encyclical, *Fidei*

¹⁴²GC XXX, Decree 8, no. 3; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 650.

¹⁴³GC XXX, Decree 17, no. 1; *ibid.*, p. 655.

¹⁴⁴GC XXX, Decree 18, no. 1; *ibid.*, p. 656. Cf. similar decrees from past congregations: GC XXIII, Decree 24; *ibid.*, pp. 470-471; GC XXVI, Decree 10; *ibid.*, pp. 506-507; and GC XXVII, Decree 21; *ibid.*, p. 525.

¹⁴⁵GC XXX, Decree 57; *ibid.*, p. 676.

¹⁴⁶GC XXX, Decrees 55 and 56; *ibid.*, pp. 675-676.

donum (21 April 1957).¹⁴⁷

A majority of delegates at GC XXX had come to Rome hoping to enact far more "progressive" legislation;¹⁴⁸ however, the allocution of Pius XII certainly tempered those expectations. The "winds of change" would have to wait until the next general congregation (GC XXXI), when there would be a new pope, a new superior general, and a new era of *aggiornamento* ushered in by the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965).¹⁴⁹ GC XXX adjourned on November 11, 1957.¹⁵⁰

Following the death of Superior General Janssens (in October 1964), GC XXXI convened on May 7, 1965, to elect a new general. Since a number of Jesuits were occupied with the work of the Council, the congregation had to be carefully scheduled to meet between the third and fourth sessions of Vatican II. As was discussed in Chapter Three, GC XXXI chose Pedro Arrupe (of Spain and of the Japan Province) as the Society's 28th superior general.¹⁵¹ The major decrees of this general congregation were fully discussed in the previous chapter. What was not discussed in the last chapter, however, was Paul VI's keen interest and active involvement in the

¹⁴⁷GC XXX, Decree 58; *ibid.*, p. 676. Pius XII's encyclical *Fidei donum* called upon the universal Church for a greater commitment to the service of Africa; the encyclical is found in *AAS* 49 (1957), pp. 225-248.

¹⁴⁸Martin, *The Jesuits*, p. 242.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 243.

¹⁵⁰GC XXX, Decree 38; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 61, 666-667.

¹⁵¹See Chapter Three of this work, p. 167, including footnotes nos. 266-269.

workings of this general congregation.

Before the congregation began, Paul VI met with the vicar general, Father John Swain (of Canada), and told him that "the fathers of the congregation should be absolutely free to discuss anything pertaining to the life of the Society."¹⁵² At the opening session of the congregation (May 7), Paul VI warmly welcomed the delegates and imparted his apostolic blessing on their undertakings.¹⁵³ However, in his allocution, the Pope also exhorted the delegates and all Jesuits to

take care in their thinking, their teaching, their writing, their way of acting, not to conform to the spirit of the world, nor to let themselves be buffeted by every wind of doctrine [*Ephesians* 4:14] and not to give in to unreasonable novelties by following personal judgment beyond measure.¹⁵⁴

Then, quoting from the "Formula of the Institute" (of Julius III, 1550), Paul VI reminded the Society of its fundamental mission ("campaigning for God") and of the obligation of each member ("under faithful obedience") to remain loyal to the pope

¹⁵²Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 3. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 77, including endnote no. 187, p. 121.

¹⁵³Paul VI, *Allocutio Summi Pontificis Pauli VI, ad Patres Congregatos*, die 7 maii 1965; in *Decreta: Congregationis Generalis XXXI, A Restituta Societate XII, Annis 1965-1966*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1967, pp. 192-195; English trans. *Address of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, to the Members of the 31st General Congregation, May 7, 1965*; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 311-316.

¹⁵⁴Paul VI, *Allocutio*, 7 May 1965 : "*Idcirco semper omnibus cavendum est, ut in sentiendo, in docendo, in scribendo, in agendo nolint conformari huic sæculo et circumferri omni vento doctrinæ [Eph. 4,14] et præposteris novitatibus concedere, præter modum proprio indulgentes arbitrio.*" Latin text of quotation is found in *Decreta: CG XXXI*, p. 193; English text is in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 313.

and to all "his successors in the Roman pontificate."¹⁵⁵

Overall, the Pope's remarks were of a general nature and quite supportive of the Society and its various apostolates; consequently, most delegates were pleased with Paul VI's statement of confidence in the Society and, specifically, in the work of the general congregation. Since Paul VI was quite aware of the disruption and hurt feelings generated by Pius XII's allocution at GC XXX, there is little doubt that his comments were deliberately toned down in order to avoid a similar occurrence at GC XXXI. The Pope's carefully chosen words were well-balanced, and they apparently produced the desired effect. Certainly, in no way did the delegates feel intimidated or under direct attack. And unlike those at GC XXX, the delegates at GC XXXI now felt completely free to carry on with the congregation's heavy workload: besides the election of a new superior general, there was a record number of *postulata* (2,021) that required GC XXXI's careful attention.¹⁵⁶ Thus, for the next ten weeks, the congregation carried on with business. Moreover, since all of its work had not been completed, GC XXXI decided (for the very first time) to recess and to schedule a *second* session which would re-convene fourteen months later.¹⁵⁷ The first session of

¹⁵⁵*Decreta: CG XXXI*, p. 195; Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 315.

¹⁵⁶See Chapter Two of this study, p. 103, including footnotes nos. 223 and 224.

¹⁵⁷GC XXXI, Decree 49, nos. 1-4; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 695-705, pp. 290-291. See also GC XXXI, "Historical Preface" (*Prooemium Historicum*), no. 6: "The Two Sessions of the Congregation" (*De duplici periodo Congregationis*); in *Decreta: CG XXXI*, pp. 14-15; and in Padberg, in the work cited, pp. 16-18.

GC XXXI adjourned on July 15, 1965.¹⁵⁸

Just two days after the first session ended, on July 17, Paul VI met with Superior General Arrupe and the four general assistants.¹⁵⁹ Ostensibly, the Pope wished to congratulate them on the work of the first session and to inquire about the general progress of the congregation.¹⁶⁰ However, Paul VI was also concerned about the overall "direction" that the congregation was taking. Through various contacts in Rome, Pope Paul had heard reports that the mood and attitude of the congregation was somewhat "progressive." As a result, he was now legitimately concerned that such liberal tendencies may get out of hand. Therefore, the Pope made three general recommendations to the superior general and his assistants, who were representing the congregation: (1) that the Society remain faithful to itself, its Institute, and to its laws and constitutions; (2) that it adapt itself to the needs of the times; i.e., the adaptation

¹⁵⁸Ibid. Cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, pp. 5-6; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 80-81.

¹⁵⁹The four general assistants, elected at GC XXXI, were: Fathers Paolo Dezza of Italy, John Swain of Canada, Vincent O'Keefe of the U.S., and Andrew Varga of Hungary (who was living in exile in New York). GC XXXI, "Historical Preface," no. 36; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 53-54. With regard to the election of these particular four assistants, there had been some concern, especially among the Europeans, that the upper level of the Society's government had become too "Americanized," as Father Jurich reports: "[...] in European eyes, the North Americans have an exaggerated representation with three of their men belonging to the Big Four, the four General Assistants: Frs. Swain, O'Keefe, and Varga (whom they regard as Americanized), leaving only Fr. Dezza to represent Europe." Jurich (ed.), "The 31st General Congregation: Letters from the First Session, Part II," p. 153.

¹⁶⁰Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 7; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 81.

necessary for modern apostolic work should be neither "too broad" nor "too strict"; and (3) that the Society remain "true to the Church and the Holy See."¹⁶¹

Clearly, one of the issues that Paul VI had been concerned about was whether the congregation would attempt to alter the Society's internal system of "grades," i.e., the Ignatian distinction between the three classifications of formed Jesuits: the professed, the spiritual coadjutors, and the temporal coadjutors.¹⁶² The "professed" are those select fathers¹⁶³ who pronounce three *solemn* vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, plus a fourth solemn vow of special obedience to the pope (with regard to missions).¹⁶⁴ The "spiritual coadjutors" are also priests, usually with less education

¹⁶¹P. Arrupe, "A Letter of Very Reverend Father General to the Whole Society on the 31st General Congregation, July 31, 1965," Romæ, Apud Curiam Præpositi Generalis, 1965; in *Woodstock Letters*, 94, no. 4 (Fall, 1965), pp. 365-371. Cf. J.M. Kakalec (ed.), "The [Thirty-First] General Congregation," in *Woodstock Letters*, 94, no. 2 (Spring, 1965), p. 153. Cf. also Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 7; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 81-82.

¹⁶²The appropriate sections of the Ignatian *Constitutions* that deal with the distinction of grades are found in Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 10-16, 511, 516-522, and 819; pp. 81-84, 231-232, 234-237, and 335-336. And for further reading on the subject of grades, see D.A. Brown, *The Origins of the Grades in the Society of Jesus, 1540 to 1550*, Dissertation, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Facultas Iuris Canonici, 1969; Excerpts published by the University, Romæ, Typis Pontificiæ Universitatis Gregorianæ, 1971. See also G. Dumeige, *On the Mind of St. Ignatius and the Later Historical Evolution on the Question of Grades in the Society of Jesus*, Washington, D.C., Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970.

¹⁶³At the time of GC XXXI (1965), the professed fathers comprised only 40.7% of the Society's membership. Jurich (ed.), "The 31st General Congregation: Letters From the First Session, Part II," p. 167.

¹⁶⁴According to the "Formula of the Institute" approved by Julius III in 1550 (as contained in the bull *Exposcit debitum*), it is also theoretically possible to be "professed" of *three* vows only. However, such cases are "done rarely and for special and important reasons" [no. 520], e.g., "meritorious achievements and great devotion"

than the professed, who are typically assigned to ministerial duties; they pronounce three *simple* (but perpetual) vows. The spiritual coadjutors do not possess the same rights and privileges as the professed; although they are members of the Society, they can be dismissed more easily and cannot become major superiors. And thirdly, the "temporal coadjutors" are the lay brothers who help in temporal or external matters, either within the community or in the apostolate; they also pronounce three simple, perpetual vows.¹⁶⁵ Until fairly recently, the spiritual and temporal coadjutors could not take part in either provincial or general congregations.¹⁶⁶ Father Jurich explains the original Ignatian idea behind this three-fold distinction of grades: "The professed, [are] men consecrated and totally dedicated, eagerly laboring in the more demanding

[no. 521], as determined by the superior general. See *Formula Instituti* (1550), no. 9; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, "Formula of the Institute," no. 6, p. 71. Those sections of the Ignatian *Constitutions* that deal with this matter are found in Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 11, 519-521, pp. 82, 236-237. See also *Practical Compendium of the Law of the Society of Jesus*, no. 245, p. 126. Cf. GC IV, Decrees 19 and 54; and GC XXVII, *Collectio decretorum*, Decree 147; in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, pp. 172-173, 181, and 556.

¹⁶⁵Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 81, footnote no. 20. As of GC XXXIV (1995), the "temporal coadjutors" are now simply called "brothers"; see Decree 7: "The Jesuit Brother," in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, nos. 194-227 (especially no. 226), pp. 101-110.

¹⁶⁶GC XXXI (1965-1966) established an electoral process for choosing delegates to the *provincial* congregation and decreed that spiritual and temporal coadjutors now had passive voice, i.e., they could be elected to the provincial congregation (provided they had taken final vows). [Cf. GC XXXI, Decree 40, no. 2.] However, the spiritual and temporal coadjutors were still excluded from participation in a *general* congregation, until GC XXXIV (1995) decreed that all formed coadjutors now have the right to be electors (delegates) in a general congregation. [Cf. GC XXXIV, Decree 23, Section A, no. 2.] For further clarification of these changes, including certain restrictions, see Chapter Two of this study, pp. 72-81.

fields of the apostolate, and [they are] 'assisted' by coadjutors, either spiritual or temporal, with whom they form one apostolic body."¹⁶⁷ Prescinding from the Ignatian ideal, the separation of priests into two distinct classes proved to be a source of great division within the Society over the years, especially since many spiritual coadjutors were doing the same work as the professed. And, as Father Ganss describes this internal division: "[...] the existence of the grade of spiritual coadjutors continued to cause difficulties, humiliation, and sadness in the Society."¹⁶⁸ As a result, there were many Jesuits who wanted to rid the Society of this two-class system of priesthood.

When GC XXXI re-convened, therefore, there were a very large number of *postulata* that dealt with the issue of grades in the Society. Some *postulata* called for an outright abolition of all grades, including the professed; some called for suppressing the grade of spiritual coadjutor; others pronounced the distinction of grades unsuitable or inappropriate; others criticized the norms currently used for the promotion to solemn profession; and some *postulata*, of course, asked that the distinction of grades be preserved unchanged.¹⁶⁹ Thus, because of such diverse opinions on the matter, no other topic at GC XXXI (except perhaps poverty) would

¹⁶⁷Jurich (ed.), "The 31st General Congregation: The First Session," p. 63.

¹⁶⁸Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 82, footnote no. 20.

¹⁶⁹GC XXXI, "Historical Preface," No. 10: "The Distinction of Grades" (*De graduum discrimine*); in *Decreta: CG XXXI*, pp. 18-19; and in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 22-24. Cf. Jurich (ed.), "The 31st General Congregation: Letters from the First Session, Part II," p. 167.

generate such heated discussions as did the question of grades.¹⁷⁰ By the end of the first session (July 1965), which included a series of five votes on this question, GC XXXI had made the following determinations: (1) not to abolish the distinction of grades, at least not immediately; (2) to revise the present norms for profession; and (3) to recommend that the superior general (Arrupe) set up a commission of experts (*periti*) to study the whole question in depth, including the advantages and disadvantages of inviting everyone, even brothers, to solemn profession.¹⁷¹ This was the status of the situation when Paul VI met with Arrupe and the four General Assistants on July 17.

Although the Pope did not specifically mention the subject of grades during his audience with Arrupe, his general comments certainly suggested a disinclination toward any *major* changes in the Society's Institute. Still, the matter remained clouded and unresolved. As long as the Pope had not yet prohibited such a change, there was always a possibility that he may agree to it. Thus, in the view of many delegates, it was still an open question. The Pope's final position, of course, would be crucial in deciding the issue. The distinction of grades was considered an essential

¹⁷⁰Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 9. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 84.

¹⁷¹GC XXXI, Decree 5: "The Distinction of Grades" (*De graduum discrimine*); in *Decreta: CG XXXI*, p. 57; and in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 61-62, p. 88. Cf. Jurich (ed.), "The 31st General Congregation: The First Session," pp. 58-59.

element¹⁷² of the Ignatian *Constitutions*; it is listed as one of the "Substantials of the First Order" (*substantialia primi ordinis*).¹⁷³ Since this distinction had been approved by Paul III and Julius III in the "Formula of the Institute," it was clearly a matter of pontifical law.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, any changes in the system of grades would *require* the pope's approval.¹⁷⁵

Between the two sessions of GC XXXI, the whole question of grades was further complicated by the appearance of two Vatican documents. During this fourteen-month hiatus, the Second Vatican Council issued its decree on the renewal of religious life, *Perfectæ caritatis* (28 October 1965),¹⁷⁶ and this was followed, nine months later, by Paul VI's motu proprio *Ecclesiæ sanctæ* (6 August 1966).¹⁷⁷ Both of these documents called on religious to rediscover their true charism, i.e., the charism

¹⁷²It is tantamount to constitutive law; cf. canon 86, *CIC* (1983); in *Code*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁷³*Epitome*, no. 21, pp. 14-15. Cf. *Collectio decretorum*, Decree 13, Part I; in *Statuta: Congregationis Generalis XXVII*, pp. 32-34; and in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 531-532. Cf. also *Appendix D* of this study.

¹⁷⁴Jurich (ed.), "The 31st General Congregation: The First Session," p. 41.

¹⁷⁵Since the distinction of grades was a "Substantial of the Institute," even to take up the matter for discussion required a favorable preliminary vote by the general congregation. Jurich (ed.), "The 31st General Congregation: Letters from the First Session, Part II," p. 167.

¹⁷⁶Vatican Council II, Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life, *Perfectæ caritatis*, 28 October 1965; in *AAS*, 58 (1966), pp. 702-712; English trans. Abbott (gen. ed.), *The Documents of Vatican II*, pp. 466-482.

¹⁷⁷Paul VI, motu proprio, *Ecclesiæ sanctæ*, 6 August 1966; in *AAS*, 58 (1966), pp. 757-787; English trans. Flannery (gen. ed.), *The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, pp. 624-633; cf. *Canon Law Digest*, vol. 6, pp. 285-287.

which was based on the founder's original spirit and inspiration.¹⁷⁸ And because these documents emphasized the origins of a religious institute and the founder's initial concept and vision, some delegates at GC XXXI now felt that any further discussion of changing the system of grades had been precluded. The distinction of grades, they argued, had to be maintained because such a radical change to the Ignatian *Constitutions* would not be compatible or reconcilable with these recent conciliar documents. Of course, other delegates, who still considered the question open, felt differently; consequently, strong disagreements arose.¹⁷⁹

The second session of GC XXXI convened on September 8, 1966.¹⁸⁰

Naturally, because the subject was on everyone's mind, the issue of grades came up immediately. But since there was such widespread disagreement, even as to whether the very matter should be discussed, no real progress occurred. Then, on October 7, the congregation determined once again (as it had during the first session) that the grade of "spiritual coadjutor" should not be abolished just yet; nor should *definitores* be appointed to decide the matter conclusively; rather, the whole question would be left to a thorough examination by Father General's special commission of experts, and

¹⁷⁸Both of these conciliar documents, *Perfectæ caritatis* and *Ecclesiæ sanctæ*, and their influence on GC XXXI, were discussed earlier in this study. See Chapter Three of this work, pp. 171-172.

¹⁷⁹Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 10. Cf. Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 84.

¹⁸⁰GC XXXI, "Historical Preface," No. 6: "The Two Sessions of the Congregation" (*De duplici periodo Congregationis*), no. 3; in *Decreta: CG XXXI*, pp. 14-15; and in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 17-18.

the matter remanded to the next congregation of procurators and, possibly, to the next general congregation (GC XXXII).¹⁸¹ By letting the next congregation deal with this explosive issue, GC XXXI was now free to carry on with the rest of its heavy workload (the major decrees which were discussed in the previous chapter).¹⁸² The second session of GC XXXI formally adjourned on November 17, 1966.¹⁸³

Just seven years later, on September 8, 1973, Father Arrupe convoked the Thirty-Second General Congregation, which would convene in December of the following year (1974).¹⁸⁴ Arrupe had summoned this new congregation to discuss important "matters of greater moment." Such an extraordinary gathering was rare — GC XXXII was only the seventh such gathering in the Society's history. Another general congregation so close to its preceding assembling was even more unusual. However, given the particular circumstances of the time, it seemed opportune and even necessary. At the last congregation (GC XXXI), there was insufficient time to

¹⁸¹GC XXXI, "Historical Preface," No. 10: "The Distinction of Grades" (*De graduum discrimine*), no. 2; and CG XXXI, Decree 5; in *Decreta: CG XXXI*, pp. 18-19, and 57; and in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 23-24, and 88 (nos. 61-62). Cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 10; and Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 84-85.

¹⁸²See Chapter Three of this study, pp. 171-175.

¹⁸³GC XXXI, "Historical Preface," No. 45: "The End of the Congregation" (*Congregatio solvitur*); in *Decreta: CG XXXI*, p. 44; and in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁸⁴P. Arrupe, *Letter of Very Reverend Father General Convoking the Thirty-Second General Congregation, September 8, 1973*, Romæ, Apud Curiam Societatis Iesu, 1973; in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, fasciculus I (1973), pp. 109-115 (Latin text), pp. 115-120 (English text).

undertake an adequate reappraisal of the Society's life and work in the light of Vatican II's decrees. Furthermore, in the nine years since the Vatican Council, there had been radical changes in the life of the Church which the Society needed to address.

Finally, and more importantly, there was a widespread feeling among many Jesuits that the work of the Thirty-First General Congregation was still unfinished.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, a number of concrete decisions had to be taken on significant matters that were deliberately left open by the previous congregation, not the least of which was the question of grades in the Society.

One of the overall themes for the new general congregation would be Jesuit identity; the congregation would attempt to define what it means to be a Jesuit in today's Church.¹⁸⁶ Pope Paul VI was obviously pleased with the intended undertaking. Just one week after Arrupe's letter convoking GC XXXII, the Pope wrote a letter to the whole Society (15 September 1973) strongly supporting this underlying theme and urging all Jesuits to engage in the preliminary process of reflection and self-evaluation.¹⁸⁷ As discussed in Chapter Three, thorough preparations were made for the up-coming congregation, and a record number of the Society's members were involved in the process.¹⁸⁸ GC XXXII finally convened on

¹⁸⁵B. Daley, "Identifying Jesuits: The 32nd General Congregation," in *The Month*, Second New Series, vol. 8, no. 5 (May, 1975), p. 146.

¹⁸⁶The other major themes of GC XXXII were discussed in Chapter Three of this study; see pp. 179-183.

¹⁸⁷Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 146.

¹⁸⁸See Chapter Three of this work, pp. 175-176.

December 2, 1974.¹⁸⁹

On the next day, December 3, Paul VI addressed the delegates and reiterated his hopes that the congregation would engage in a broad evaluation of the contemporary Society and that it would produce a clear definition of Jesuit identity.¹⁹⁰ To stimulate their reflection and to initiate the discussion, the Pope offered his own summary of the Society's essential elements: "You are members of an Order that is religious, apostolic, priestly, and united with the Roman Pontiff by a special bond of love and service."¹⁹¹ Since it would be the duty of the congregation to en flesh this brief sketch or skeleton given by the Pope, Paul VI then asked the delegates to address three fundamental questions: "[1] Where do you come from (*Unde venitis*)?; ... [2] Who are you (*Qui estis*)?; ... [and 3] Where are you going (*Quo pergitis*)?"¹⁹² In the Pope's mind, the answers to these three questions would constitute the essential work of the congregation. Or, as Father Daley comments, "[...] with these three

¹⁸⁹Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. ix, 337, 348. Cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, pp. 29, 42; and Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, pp. 514-515.

¹⁹⁰Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 146.

¹⁹¹Paul VI, *Allocutio Summi Pontificis Pauli VI ad Patres Congregatos*, CG XXXII, 3 decembris 1974: "[...] vos esse scimus membra Ordinis religiosi, apostolici, sacerdotalis, qui singulari admodum amoris ac servitii vinculo cum Romano Pontifice est iunctus"; in *Decreta Congregationis Generalis XXXII, A Restituta Societate XIII, Annis 1974-1975*, p. 167; and in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, p. 435; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 524. Cf. Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 146.

¹⁹²Ibid. *Decreta*: CG XXXII, pp. 165-172; and in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, pp. 433-440; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 521-530.

broad questions Pope Paul summed up the Congregation's agenda, as he hoped it would be."¹⁹³ Paul VI also urged the delegates to remain faithful to the Society's traditions and to reaffirm the essentials of the Ignatian vision and inspiration.¹⁹⁴

Despite the Pope's efforts to shape and influence the congregation's agenda, the delegates at GC XXXII already had their *own* agenda, in the form of the 1,077 *postulata* submitted to the *Cœtus prævius*.¹⁹⁵ Much of the *postulata* responded to the decrees of the previous congregation and dealt with several issues unresolved at GC XXXI. Of course, one of the most contentious issues that was left unfinished by GC XXXI was the question of grades in the Society. As a result, very many *postulata* were received on the subject of grades or formed members (those with final vows). Fifty-eight of these *postulata* came from the provincial congregations (representing well over two-thirds of them). And of these, 37 provincial congregations asked that *all* Jesuits, including those who were not priests (i.e., the temporal coadjutors or lay brothers), might be admitted to the solemn profession of four vows.¹⁹⁶ In his analysis, Father Padberg states: "Many *postulata* clearly exhibited the desire for an internal

¹⁹³Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 146.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁹⁵Calvez, "A Critical Appraisal of the Preparation for the Jesuits' Thirty-Second General Congregation," p. 946. Cf. Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," p. 5. See also Chapter Two of this study, p. 103, including footnote no. 224.

¹⁹⁶GC XXXII, "Historical Preface," No. 15: "Formed Members, or Grades in the Society of Jesus" (*De membris formatis seu de gradibus*); in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, p. 27; in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, p. 295; and in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 373.

equality of membership in the Society, not only *de facto* but also *de jure*.¹⁹⁷ Thus, in view of the overwhelming sentiment in favor of some kind of change, the delegates at GC XXXII felt obliged to examine the whole matter thoroughly.¹⁹⁸

Moreover, the delegates were further encouraged by the dictum of the previous congregation; GC XXXI had clearly stated that it wanted a thorough renovation and adaptation of the Society's Institute:

Thus it has determined that the entire government of the Society must be adapted to modern necessities and ways of living; that our whole training in spirituality and in studies must be changed; that religious and apostolic life itself is to be renewed; that our ministries are to be weighed in relation to the pastoral spirit of the Council according to the criterion of the greater and more universal service of God in the modern world; and that the very spiritual heritage of our Institute, containing both new and old elements, is to be purified and enriched anew according to the necessities of our times.¹⁹⁹

And as a further act of empowerment, GC XXXI justified its authority to "suggest"

¹⁹⁷Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," p. 13. Cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 38.

¹⁹⁸Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 261.

¹⁹⁹GCXXXI, Decree 2: "The Renewal of Our Laws" (*De nostrarum legum renovatione*), no. 3: "*Sic censuit regimen integrum Societatis hodiernis necessitatibus et habitibus esse accommodandum; totam nostram institutionem in spiritu et in studiis esse readaptandam; vitam ipsam religiosam et apostolicam esse renovandam; ministeria nostra ad spiritum pastoralem Concilii sub criterio maioris et universalioris servitii divini in mundo hodierno esse perpendenda; ipsumque nostri Instituti spirituale patrimonium, nova et vetera continens, iuxta necessitates nostrorum temporum esse obsoletis exonerandum, novis autem ditandum*"; in *Decreta: CG XXXI*, pp. 49-50; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 21, p. 74. Cf. Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," endnote no. 13, pp. 97-98; and Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, footnote no. 12, p. 39.

changes in the "Formula of the Institute"²⁰⁰ by reminding the Society that, according to proper law, it was within the competence of a general congregation to declare which matters were *substantial* elements in the Society's Institute; and that, indeed, previous congregations had already done so; and that a general congregation also has the power (*potestas*) to declare the *meaning* of the "Formula of the Institute" itself.²⁰¹

Therefore, empowered by the decrees of GC XXXI, the delegates at GC XXXII undoubtedly thought that the matter of extending the fourth vow to all formed members would be an uncomplicated issue — merely a technical matter of bringing the Society's law up-to-date. Nevertheless, such a proposed measure clearly touched on one of the substantials of the Institute, one that was governed and protected by a document ("Formula of the Institute") that was clearly outside of the Society's competence. Hence, the delegates obviously knew that such a constitutional change would *require* explicit approval from the Holy See; but many delegates assumed, perhaps naively, that papal approval would be a simple formality, especially from the "progressive" pontificate of Paul VI.²⁰²

However, on December 3 (the second day of the congregation), Father Arrupe

²⁰⁰Because the "Formula of the Institute" is pontifical law, the general congregation can only "suggest" proposed changes to the Holy See; the congregation cannot *change* the substantials of the "Formula" on its own authority.

²⁰¹GC XXXI, Decree 4: "The Preservation and Renewal of the Institute" (*De conservatione et renovatione Instituti*), no. 3; in *Decreta: CG XXXI*, p. 55; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 50, 52, p. 85. Cf. Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 39; and Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," p. 13.

²⁰²Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 149.

received a letter from Jean Cardinal Villot, Secretary of State, informing him that Paul VI, after "careful examination" (*accurati examinis*), had determined that the proposal to extend the fourth vow to all formed members of the Society "seems to present grave difficulties which would impede the approval necessary on the part of the Holy See."²⁰³ Consonant with Roman practice, Cardinal Villot's brief letter gave no further explanation of the Pope's thinking on this matter. In his analysis, however, Father Daley points out that Paul VI had become very concerned about what he regarded as "the erosion of the distinctive role of the sacramental priesthood in the Church;" and that he feared that a "growing equality between clergy and laity may be a form of secularisation in disguise."²⁰⁴ Or, as Father Calvez states in his analysis, "Paul VI's real fear centered on the Company's loss of identity [through] reforms that might make it abandon its presbyterial role."²⁰⁵ And to support the Pope's fears, an article appeared in the Italian Jesuit periodical *La Civiltà Cattolica*, shortly before the start of GC XXXII, which suggested that the proposed abolition of grades was part of

²⁰³J. Villot, *Letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State to Father General, December 3, 1974*: "[...] videri graves difficultates præsentrare, quæ necessariam ex parte Sanctæ Sedis approbationem impedirent"; in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, p. 179; and in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, p. 447; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 537-538.

²⁰⁴Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 149.

²⁰⁵J.-Y. Calvez: "Sa [le Pape] vraie crainte avait trait à une 'perte d'identité' de la Compagnie par des réformes qui lui feraient abandonner son caractère d'ordre 'presbytéral'"; in *Foi et justice: La dimension sociale de l'évangélisation, Essai sur un document clé de l'histoire récente des jésuites*, Collection Christus, no. 58, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, Bellarmin, 1985, p. 46; English trans. J. Leggatt, in J. Lacouture, *Jesuits: A Multibiography*, p. 466.

a plot from the Society's left wing to turn the Order into a secular institute.²⁰⁶

The contents of Cardinal Villot's letter were not revealed immediately; Father Arrupe waited nearly two weeks, until December 16, before finally informing the delegates of the Pope's disinclination to extend the fourth vow.²⁰⁷ When they were told, however, many delegates still felt that Cardinal Villot's letter did not *preclude* an open discussion on the question of grades in the Society, especially since so many *postulata* had petitioned for just such a discussion.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, in the minds of most delegates, the issue did not appear to be *completely* closed; after all, the Pope's "disinclination" was hardly the same thing as a final decision. Thus, in light of this apparent ambiguity, many delegates thought it would be wrong simply to drop the matter entirely. Instead, they felt that the congregation should debate the question openly and thoroughly for the benefit of all Jesuits back in the provinces and should reach some sort of clear consensus where they (the assembled Society) stood on this issue.²⁰⁹ Although they acknowledged the pope's full authority to make the final decision and professed their complete willingness to abide by that decision, the delegates at GC XXXII, nevertheless, considered it their primary duty (as representatives of the whole Society) to discuss an obviously important issue (a

²⁰⁶B. Sorge, "XXXII Congregazione Generale della Compagnia di Gesù: La preparazione e le attese, I-II," in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, Anno 125 (1974), vol. 4, pp. 424-434, 526-539. Cf. Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 149.

²⁰⁷*Ibid.*

²⁰⁸Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 262.

²⁰⁹Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 149.

"matter of greater moment") that was on the minds of so many members.²¹⁰ And so, the debate continued. However, since the whole matter was so politically sensitive, the talks moved much more slowly than usual.²¹¹

Finally, after serious and protracted discussions in both the commission ("On the Fourth Vow") and in the plenary session, the congregation decided to take a *provisional* vote simply to find out where it stood;²¹² although it was not a final decision, the vote would be taken for the benefit of the commission drafting the final decree. Surprisingly, on January 22, more than two-thirds of the delegates voted that they would be in favor of extending the fourth vow to all formed members, i.e., to all Jesuits (including lay brothers) who were definitively incorporated into the Society through final vows.²¹³

Ordinarily, the next step (after further discussion) would have been the drafting of a decree and the taking of a final vote of the delegates. However, before this action could be taken, it seemed only fitting, and necessary, to notify the Pope of the congregation's intentions.²¹⁴ Accordingly, the congregation submitted a detailed report

²¹⁰Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 262.

²¹¹Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," pp. 149-150.

²¹²Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 262.

²¹³Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 150. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 262.

²¹⁴Not only was such communication prudent and appropriate, but it was also "in accord with the procedures of constant information employed all during the Congregation." GC XXXII, "Historical Preface," No. 15; in Padberg, *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 374.

to the Vatican on the background of the issue of grades, which outlined the primary arguments moving the congregation to request a change;²¹⁵ it also communicated the results of the provisional vote, carefully emphasizing that this straw vote was "only an indication of opinions."²¹⁶ Nevertheless, the Pope's swift reaction proved strongly negative.

Paul VI took serious issue with the congregation's methods and procedures; to him, the perceived machinations of the delegates appeared to be an act of open defiance, if not outright disobedience.²¹⁷ These events are recounted in the congregation's "Historical Preface":

The Holy Father informed the Congregation that this [vote] had been done contrary to his will; he asked that the Congregation take no further action on this matter, and that it send to him a report of the reasons which had led to the members of the Congregation to choose that line which had found expression in the indicative or straw vote.²¹⁸

And after receiving that report, the Pope responded by sending an autograph letter (15 February 1975) to Pedro Arrupe; this letter contained Paul VI's *final* decision that the system of grades must be preserved, and that "he [the Pope] could in no way grant a change in this matter."²¹⁹ As the letter stated:

²¹⁵Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 150.

²¹⁶GC XXXII, "Historical Preface," No. 15; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 374.

²¹⁷Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 262.

²¹⁸GC XXXII, "Historical Preface," No. 15; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 374.

²¹⁹*Ibid.*

[...] no change can be introduced related to the fourth vow. As the supreme guarantor of the "Formula of the Institute," and as universal Pastor of the Church, we cannot allow this point in any way to be infringed upon, since it constitutes one of the pivotal points of the Society of Jesus.²²⁰

Paul VI obviously felt a sincere sense of responsibility for preserving the essential character of the Society, which he saw as priestly (*sacerdotalis*); he was also concerned about possible repercussions in other religious orders and in the Church, if the Society of Jesus were allowed to make such a fundamental change in its constitutional structure.²²¹

Paul VI ended his letter by urging the delegates, "with fatherly alarm and utter seriousness" (*trepidatione paterna ac extrema serietate*), to reflect more deeply on their responsibilities: "Think well, my dear sons, on what you are doing" (*Cogitate bene, filii carissimi, id quod facitis*).²²² Moreover, in an unprecedented move suggesting a certain lack of trust, the Pope requested that *all* of the congregation's documents and decisions (decrees) be sent to him for final approval before their

²²⁰Paul VI, *Autograph Letter of His Holiness Paul VI to Father General, February 15, 1975*: "[...] nulla innovatio relate ad IV votum introduci potest. Tanquam supremus "Formulae Instituti" fideiussor, et tanquam universalis Pastor Ecclesiae, permittere non possumus ut hoc punctum nec minime laedatur, quod unum constituit e fundamentalibus cardinibus Societatis Iesu"; in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, p. 181; and in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, p. 449; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 539.

²²¹Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 150. Cf. full text of Paul VI's letter of February 15, 1975; in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 539-541.

²²²Paul VI, *Autograph Letter to Father General, February 15, 1975*; in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, p. 183; and in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, p. 451; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 540. See also Padberg, "The Society True to Itself," p. 75; and Padberg, *Together As a Companionship*, p. 90.

publication.²²³

The letter of Paul VI came as a shock to most delegates. The papal intervention was largely unexpected, mainly because the congregation had obviously misread the Pope's firm position (as initially expressed in Cardinal Villot's letter of December 3).²²⁴ Likewise, the delegates erred in assuming that Paul VI understood the meaning of "obedience" in the same way as the Society of Jesus.²²⁵ When the discussions and correspondence concerning the whole question of grades finally came to an end, the issue had become, in the words of Pedro Arrupe, "a purifying experience, an experience of conversion."²²⁶ Furthermore, it was not simply a lesson in obedience or in cooperation with the universal Church, it was also an experience of deep humility for the Society. Father Arrupe, in his final address to the delegates, spoke of this experience as one of the most significant events of the congregation: "It was an experience which united our hearts and wills. [...] The cross was our deep

²²³Ibid. Cf. Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 150; and Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 264.

²²⁴Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 150.

²²⁵Father Daley summarizes the *Jesuit* understanding of religious obedience: "In the Jesuit tradition of obedience, a subject may even object to the decision of a superior in private dialogue and urge him to change it, if in conscience the subject believes the decision was wrong." Ibid., p. 149. In making his position known, the subject "represents" to the superior the various reasons why the decision in question is flawed, and why an alternative course of action would be preferable. The process of "representation" can continue, even to the next highest level, until a *final* decision is ultimately reached.

²²⁶P. Arrupe, *Final Address to the Delegates at GC XXXII, March 7, 1975*; as quoted in Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 150.

humiliation. We were moved in the very center of our being when doubts were cast on our fidelity to the Church."²²⁷

Fortunately, the congregation ended on a positive note. After Paul VI's letter (February 15), the delegates went on with their legislative work, determined to complete the remaining items on their full agenda. Eventually, all of the remaining documents and decrees were finished and the final votes taken. GC XXXII's first four decrees²²⁸ were quickly approved by the Holy See, even before the congregation ended.²²⁹ And final approval for the remaining twelve documents came just two months after the congregation adjourned.²³⁰

On the last day of the congregation, Father Arrupe and his four General Assistants²³¹ had a private audience with Paul VI in which the Pope assured them of

²²⁷P. Arrupe, *Final Address to the Delegates at GC XXXII, March 7, 1975*; as quoted in Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 263.

²²⁸The first four decrees of GC XXXII: (1) "Introductory Decree"; (2) "Jesuits Today"; (3) "Fidelity of the Society to the Magisterium and the Supreme Pontiff"; and (4) "Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice." See Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 395-438.

²²⁹Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 150.

²³⁰The Vatican's approval was conveyed in a letter by Jean Cardinal Villot: *Letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State to Father General, May 2, 1975*; in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, pp. 188-193; and in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, pp. 456-461; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 545-549. Cardinal Villot's letter also carried an Appendix (entitled "Particular Observations about Certain Decrees") which contained some directives on how to interpret five of the documents in particular.

²³¹The four new general assistants, elected at the start of GC XXXII, were: Fr. Jean-Yves Calvez (Atlantic France); Fr. Parmananda Divarkar (Bombay); Fr. Cecil McGarry (Ireland); and Fr. Vincent O'Keefe (New York). GC XXXII,

his personal support and warm affection. He also gave them his farewell message for the congregation, in the form of a letter addressed to all the delegates of GC XXXII.²³² In this address, the Pope repeated his main reasons for refusing to allow a change in the "Formula of the Institute"; he again reminded every Jesuit to remain faithful: "Be loyal!" (*Estote fideles!*).²³³ At the end of the letter, Paul VI announced his readiness to continue taking an active, personal interest in all Jesuit affairs; indeed, he would do so "as often as the good of the Society or the Church seems to demand such involvement."²³⁴

After the Pope's letter was read to the delegates, and after nearly fourteen weeks (96 days) in session, GC XXXII finally adjourned on March 7, 1975.²³⁵

The intervention of Paul VI during GC XXXII was not the last papal

"Historical Preface," No. 22: "Election of the General Assistants and Appointment of Some of the New Regional Assistants" (*Electio Assistantium Generalium atque nominatio quorundam novorum Assistantium Regionalium*); in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, p. 38; in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, p. 306; and in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, p. 389.

²³²Daley, "Identifying Jesuits," p. 150.

²³³Paul VI, *Address of Pope Paul VI in the Presence of Father General and the General Assistants, March 7, 1975*; in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, pp. 184-187; and in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, pp. 452-455; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 542-544.

²³⁴Paul VI, *Address, March 7, 1975*: "[...] quotiens id prodesse sive istius Societatis, sive Ecclesiae bono visum erit." Ibid.

²³⁵GC XXXII, "Historical Preface," No. 24: "The End of the Congregation" (*De fine Congregationis*); in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, pp. 39-40; in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XVI, pp. 307-308; and in Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, pp. 391-392.

involvement for the Society. In Chapter Three, we discussed the much-publicized intervention of Pope John Paul II, who in 1981 appointed his own special "delegate," Fr. Paolo Dezza, S.J., to oversee the Society during Superior General Arrupe's incapacity (which had resulted from a stroke). The Pope's unprecedented action at that time completely circumvented the Society's proper law which had legitimately installed Fr. Vincent O'Keefe as vicar general; in effect, the Pope removed Fr. O'Keefe from office and replaced him with his own choice.²³⁶ Moreover, concerning the issue of grades in the Society, John Paul II has taken the same position as Paul VI. Thus, the question of extending the fourth vow was never discussed at the Society's next two general congregations, neither at GC XXXIII (1983) nor at GC XXXIV (1995).

In 1993, when Superior General Peter-Hans Kolvenbach informed John Paul II of his intention to convoke the Thirty-Fourth General Congregation, the Pope responded favorably, but he repeated Paul VI's final decision regarding any proposed changes to the fourth vow.²³⁷ GC XXXIV, however, did increase the participation of spiritual and temporal coadjutors at both province congregations and general congregations.²³⁸ And John Paul II did approve these changes. But in the letter conveying the Pope's approval, Archbishop Giovanni Battista Re (*sostituto per gli*

²³⁶See Chapter Three of the study, pp. 184-187.

²³⁷Doiron, *An Historico-Juridical Consideration of the Fourth Vow*, p. 264.

²³⁸GC XXXIV, Decree 23: "Congregations and Governance," Parts A and D; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, pp. 219-221 and 223-225.

affari generali at the Secretariat of State) had this to say:

The Holy Father wishes to stress that such changes ought not in any way be interpreted as a weakening of the structure of grades and of the need for them; this would contradict what St. Ignatius wanted for his Society, which is based on two essential elements: the priesthood and the [fourth] vow of obedience of the professed to the Supreme Pontiff.²³⁹

Archbishop Re's letter was clearly designed to prevent anyone from drawing false conclusions from the Pope's approval, and to head off any wild speculation (or hope) that somehow the door had been left open for other possible changes in the future. As a result of this letter, John Paul II's thoughts on this matter are now quite clear and his position firmly established.

In this chapter, we have focused on the special relationship between the Society of Jesus and the various men who have sat on the Chair of Peter for the past 457 years. From Popes Paul III (1540) and Julius III (1550) who approved and confirmed the Society's Institute, virtually every succeeding pontiff has taken some sort of interest in the activities and internal affairs of the Society of Jesus. More significantly, as it relates to this study, almost every pope has been actively involved in some aspect of each of the Society's 34 general congregations. From the direct intervention of Paul IV at GC I (in 1558) to the papal allocution of John Paul II at GC XXXIV (in 1995), most of the intervening popes have tried to exert their influence on each congregation's proceedings and outcome, including the elections for new

²³⁹Giovanni Battista Re, *sostituto per gli affari generali* at the Secretariat of State, *Reply of the Holy Father on Points Which Touch Pontifical Law, 10 June 1995*; in McCarthy (ed.), *Documents of GC 34*, Appendix Five, pp. 287-288.

superiors general. Most often, papal involvement has taken the form of an address delivered to the delegates for the main purpose of shaping the congregation's agenda; this has been especially true since Pius XII's address at GC XXIX (in 1946). But, as we also pointed out, there were some occasions when less subtle means of persuasion were employed; a few popes actually sent special delegates or representatives directly to the voting sessions with specific instructions or "recommendations" for the congregation. And each general congregation, for its part, has always tried to accommodate the special needs and wishes of the reigning pontiff.

This symbiotic and mutually sustaining relationship will no doubt continue to evolve and develop over time. To be sure, some form of interaction between the two parties at all future congregations can well be expected as long as the Society of Jesus remains an Institute of pontifical right, with special ties to the Holy See — a bond that finds its ultimate expression in the unique fourth vow of obedience to the Roman pontiff (with regard to missions).

CHAPTER FIVE

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION...

The focus of this examination has been the general congregation as an instrument of governance in the Society of Jesus. After nearly 450 years of existence, the general congregation remains in place as the highest legislative authority within the Jesuit Order. Despite some necessary modern adaptations authorized by the last four congregations (GC XXXI-GC XXXIV), the general congregation still functions as the same representative body envisioned by St. Ignatius Loyola. As was pointed out in Chapter One, Ignatius' ideas for the general congregation came to him early on in the life of the new Society, and he fully instituted these concepts in the very earliest drafts of his *Constitutions*.¹ As was also pointed out, the *Constitutions* embody the entire Ignatian experience of conversion and a call to service; as such, they vividly reflect Ignatian spirituality and the founder's vision for a worldwide apostolic body that would carry on the redemptive work of Jesus Christ, all for the greater glory of God (*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*). Thus, the general congregation, as outlined in the *Constitutions*, remains an integral part of the Ignatian apostolic vision.

According to Father Ganss, "The *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* are the

¹St. Ignatius began writing the *Constitutions* shortly after his election as superior general, in April 1541. However, no significant progress was made until the appointment of Juan de Polanco as secretary of the Society in March 1547. The first draft or oldest text of the *Constitutions* is known as *Text 'a'* and it was written between 1547 and 1549. See Chapter One of this study, pp. 35-40.

application of Ignatius' worldview to the organization, inspiration, and government of the religious institute he founded."² Thus, the *Constitutions* represent the principal body of statutes which Ignatius composed in order to unite, inspire, and govern the members of his religious institute, the Society of Jesus. Furthermore, these statutes apply and expand the various provisions that are found in the "Formula of the Institute" approved by Paul III (1540) and Julius III (1550).³ Or, as Father O'Malley states: "The *Constitutions* articulated the broad principles according to which the Society was to achieve its goals and reduced the generalities of the *Formula* to concrete structures and procedures."⁴ But above all, according to St. Ignatius, "The purpose of the *Constitutions* is to aid the body of the Society as a whole and also its individual members toward their preservation and development for the divine glory and the good of the universal Church."⁵

To understand fully or appreciate the overall purpose of the general congregation and how it functions as the supreme authority within the Society of Jesus, one must fully recognize its pivotal place within the Ignatian *Constitutions*.

²Ganss (ed.), *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 55.

³Ganss (ed.), *Jesuit Religious Life Today*, p. 88. Cf. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 37.

⁴O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 7.

⁵Ignatius of Loyola, "Preamble to the Declarations and Annotations on the *Constitutions*" (*Prooemium in Declarationes et Annotationes Constitutionum*): "*Cum Constitutionum hic finis sit ut universum corpus Societatis et particularia eius membra ad sui conservationem et incrementum, ad gloriam Dei et universalis Ecclesiae bonum, iuventur*"; in *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, p. 48; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 121.

According to St. Ignatius, the *goal* of the *Constitutions* is to aid the Society in its efforts to serve God ("our Creator and Lord"); thus, the *Constitutions* contribute to preserving, directing, and carrying forward the Society's fundamental mission, which is "divine service." As the "Preamble to the Constitutions" states, the *Constitutions* are "written to aid us to proceed better, in conformity with our Institute, along the path of divine service on which we have entered."⁶ Or, as Ignatius later states in Part IX, "[...] the purpose of the Constitutions [...] is the greater divine service and the good of those who live in this Institute."⁷ Thus, the *Constitutions* (and therefore, the general congregation) aim simply to aid the Society of Jesus in its basic work of helping the universal Church to fulfill its divine mission: the salvation of souls.

It should be remembered, of course, that Ignatius founded the Society of Jesus and wrote the *Constitutions* during the mid-16th century — in the midst of the Catholic Reformation.⁸ This historical context is very significant for analyzing the

⁶Ignatius of Loyola, "Preamble to the Constitutions" (*Prooemium Constitutionum*), no. 1: "[...] *Constitutiones conscribi, quae iuvent ad melius in via incepta divini obsequii procedendum, iuxta Instituti nostri rationem*"; in *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, p. 47; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 134, pp. 119-120. Cf. U. Valero, "Revision of Our Law and Our Life," in *Review of Ignatian Spirituality*, vol. 25-1, no. 75 (1994), p. 109.

⁷Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions*, Part IX, Ch. 3: "[...] *finem earundem Constitutionum intuendo, qui alius non est quam maius Dei obsequium et eorum bonum qui hoc vivendi institutum sequuntur*"; in *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, Pars IX, Caput III, no. 8, p. 264; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 746, p. 314. Cf. Valero, "Revision of Our Law," p. 109.

⁸See E.A. Ryan, "Ignatius Loyola and the Counter-Reformation," in *Woodstock Letters*, 86 (1957), pp. 240-256; and T. O'Reilly, "Ignatius of Loyola and the Counter-Reformation: The Hagiographic Tradition," in *The Heythrop Journal*, 31 (1990), pp. 439-470. For further reading on this particular period of church history,

mind of St. Ignatius and for reaching a fuller understanding of the Society and its *Constitutions* (including the role of the general congregation). After studying this important historical connection, David Knowles comments: "[...] the Constitutions of St. Ignatius, at once traditional and revolutionary, show a military perfection of organization and an abandonment of romantic methods and practices, together with a translation of medieval spiritual teaching into the idiom of the Counter Reformation."⁹ Thus, the Ignatian *Constitutions* and all that they contain represent a blueprint or battle plan (i.e., a strategy) for fulfilling the divine mission that was revealed to Ignatius at La Storta and that was entrusted to the Society by Pope Paul III in 1540.

In that sense, the *Constitutions* are a *means* to an end. According to the Ignatian vision, the aim of the Society or its *raison d'être*, which we previously defined as "divine service" for the salvation of souls and for the good of the members, should always transcend and direct all of the Order's activities. Likewise, the Society's *Constitutions* should, in the same way, transcend themselves and become a means or a help for accomplishing that end. In other words, the *Constitutions* are not an end in themselves, but rather the means for achieving a specific goal, a goal that is

see H.O. Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, The Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History, given at the University of Cambridge in May 1951, edited with a postscript by J. Bossy, Cambridge (England), At the University Press, 1968; and J.W. O'Malley, "The Jesuits, St. Ignatius, and the Counter-Reformation: Some Recent Studies and Their Implications for Today," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, vol. 14, no. 1 (January, 1982), pp. 1-28.

⁹D. Knowles, *From Pachomius to Ignatius: A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders*, The Sarum Lectures, 1964-1965, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966, inside cover.

quite other than themselves.¹⁰ And in order to guarantee the successful accomplishment of its end or goal, the Society itself must be preserved, which involves the attainment of good government and continued growth. Accordingly, the *Constitutions* also function as a means of preserving the Society; they do so by establishing a firm foundation (i.e., good government) upon which the building up of the Institute can rely. Furthermore, by insuring the Society's stability, the *Constitutions* cooperate in God's "primordial and principal action," which creates and conserves the Society in existence; and, of course, any subsequent growth of the Society depends completely on this first divine action.¹¹ Thus, in the final analysis, the *Constitutions* serve the Society by helping it to accomplish its ultimate ends — the realization of "divine service" (salvation of souls) and the "good" (salvation) of the members.¹²

The sections of the Ignatian *Constitutions* that deal specifically with the general congregation are found in Part VIII, which is entitled "Helps toward uniting the distant members with their head and among themselves" (*De iis quæ conferunt ad eorum, qui dispersi sunt, cum suo capite et inter se mutuam unionem*).¹³ Whereas the first seven parts of the *Constitutions* focused primarily on the members in their various stages of formation and mission, Part VIII is concerned with the members and their

¹⁰Valero, "Revision of Our Law," p. 109.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³*MHSI Cons.*, vol. III, p. 216; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, p. 285.

unity: how are they to remain united among themselves and with their head? Ignatius was very concerned for those members who were separated from the larger community, especially those who were living in the "missions" in perhaps very unsupportive and possibly hostile environments. In such situations, there is always a grave danger of disunity; thus, Ignatius wrote Part VIII of the *Constitutions*, at least in part, as a preventative against this danger. Therefore, the goal of Part VIII is *unity* among the members, which is something Ignatius considered an absolute necessity.¹⁴

The basic challenge for Ignatius concerns the Society's missionary activity (considered critically essential to the Jesuit charism), which by necessity involves the dispersal of members.¹⁵ How then can the Society deal effectively with the natural consequences of dispersal, which include separation and disunity? In Part VIII of the *Constitutions*, Ignatius addresses this basic challenge or dilemma. As Father de Aldama points out, "In the whole of Part VIII one senses a certain dialectical tension between mission and body, between charism and institution."¹⁶ Therefore, in an effort to reduce this tension, Ignatius presents in Part VIII the various *means* for "reinforcing that union of the body in the midst of the dispersal of its members."¹⁷ And one of the principal remedies or instruments for bringing about unity, in the

¹⁴Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, p. 102.

¹⁵Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions*, Part VII, Ch. 1, no. 1; in Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 603, pp. 267-268.

¹⁶de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 282.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

midst of dispersal, is the general congregation.

Finally, we can also say that the intended purpose of the general congregation is not simply structural or juridical, but also spiritual. Thus, the decrees of the congregations can be the means by which the Order and its individual members advance in holiness.¹⁸ Furthermore, as Father Padberg suggests, the general congregation "can be the means on the level of the supernatural by which the Spirit speaks to and within the whole Society."¹⁹

In analyzing the *Constitutions*, one should always keep in mind that St. Ignatius never intended to burden his Society with detailed definitions or grand pronouncements about Jesuit identity, the nature of "mission," etc.; rather, he merely wanted to provide sufficient spiritual resources and to leave behind sound organizational structures,²⁰ among which is the general congregation. According to Father Örsy's analysis, "The resources should feed us, [and] the structures should give us good order for efficient operation."²¹

With regard to the general congregation, it should not attempt to do too much on the practical level. Although the general congregation functions as the supreme legislative authority within the Society, it should use this power only sparingly and with restraint. Thus, in order to avoid being tied down by numerous and detailed

¹⁸Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 3.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 113.

²¹Ibid.

statutes, a congregation's goals and ambitions should be loftier, perhaps more theoretical. Writing about the general congregation to his fellow Jesuits, Örsy argues:

Its role should be to reaffirm our belief in certain ideals; to issue a kind of creed in certain values; to explain our ideals in contemporary terms; to legislate about structures; to initiate new movements and works; and to encourage us all. [Furthermore,] its scope [...] is to be our practical communal conscience. It should play an important role in promoting the healthy growth of the whole body by recalling us to our ideals and leaving the road open for development and progress.²²

In summary, a general congregation is, or should be, "a center to which forces of life converge, become united, recreated, and hopefully flow out into the whole body again."²³

And in his analysis, Father Padberg repeats what Father Örsy has stated, but further adds that a general congregation explains what Jesuits are and what they want to be: "It attempts to help us, individually and corporately, to be better witnesses to the Gospel, better servants of the Church, better helpers of our fellow man, better followers of Jesus Christ."²⁴ Padberg also believes that all congregations should be judged by how well they accomplish these ends. In other words, when formulating a judgment about a particular congregation, the key questions should be: What did it hope to accomplish and was it successful?²⁵ Therefore, the incidental questions concerning the general congregation, such as those regarding structure, procedures,

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 92.

²⁴Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 107.

²⁵Ibid.

frequency, or size (membership), are not so important as the overall goal or purpose. Accordingly, these gatherings should always be judged "in the light of what the general congregations are there for": they are surely legislative bodies, "but to what end?"²⁶

It sometimes happens, therefore, that a general congregation is criticized for doing very little, or for not doing enough, or for not living up to people's expectations. Jesuits, in particular, have often come to expect too much from their general congregations, especially after GC XXXI. Calling on all Jesuits to abandon their unrealistic expectations, Örsy suggests that "There should be a purifying movement from romantic illusions to reasonable foresight."²⁷ Although the general congregation is the *supreme* legislative authority within the Society, Jesuits should be more realistic in their expectations because there are still certain inherent limitations on the congregation's power. As Örsy clearly points out:

[...] the seemingly unlimited power of a general congregation to deal with issues of great importance is limited by a duty of fidelity to the spirit of the *[Spiritual] Exercises*, by an obligation to respect the terms of approval given by the Holy See [as contained in the "Formula of the Institute"], and finally, by the duty to preserve the essential points of the Institute.²⁸

Because of these limitations, and other historical factors, the general congregations have seldom broken "new ground." Father Padberg points out that, except for the most recent congregations (i.e., the last four), there are very few examples of real

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 113.

²⁸Ibid., p. 95.

innovation that can be found amongst the decrees of the first 30 general congregations. As he states:

[...] the congregations have regularly been followers rather than leaders. They have been very cautious about new theories or new policies for action. Very little daring has ever been exhibited by the congregations; they have been regularly conservative. [...] The members of past congregations by and large reflected much the milieu, religious, social, and intellectual, of which they were a part. At times this has led the congregations to a maintenance of the status quo or an inability to grasp the fact or the implications of change, either on-going or imminent.²⁹

Of course, it should be remembered that the first 30 general congregations took place between 1558 and 1957, a 400-year span of history where, in general, ecclesial changes and innovation were carefully controlled and monitored. The last four congregations, on the other hand, have taken place between 1965 and 1995, an unsurpassed period of enormous change, not only in the Catholic Church, but in society overall. Accordingly, the delegates at GC XXXI through GC XXXIV have done their best to keep pace with this astonishing period of religious and social transformation.

The primary concern of the last four congregations has been reform. The delegates at these congregations have focused their time and energy on updating the Society's Institute in all of its aspects — formation, common life, final incorporation, the apostolate, and governance. Although, many of these reforms were initially inspired and, in some cases, mandated by the decrees of the Second Vatican Council. With regard to governance, much has been done to update the Society's proper law

²⁹Padberg, "The General Congregations," pp. 105-106.

concerning the office of the superior general and the workings of both the provincial and the general congregations. In this study, we have focused on the general congregation and have pointed out the numerous and important changes enacted over the last 32 years by the four most recent congregations, GC XXXI—GC XXXIV. Most significantly, the general congregation is now more representative of the *whole* Society and is finally open to those members who are not solemnly professed, including lay brothers.

Although there have been many recent changes in the general congregation, several Jesuits still feel that there is need for further reform. Some of the proposals for additional reform have focused on the size and timing of the general congregation. There are those who believe that the general congregation would function more efficiently if the size (i.e., number of delegates) were smaller. Again, there are those who think that the general congregations could be more responsive to the pressing and timely needs of the Society (and of the universal Church) if they were held on a regular, periodic schedule.

As we discussed in Chapter Two, St. Ignatius did not favor regular or fixed intervals between general congregations, as was the custom in other religious communities. Ignatius believed that the apostolate should always be the first priority and that a general congregation unavoidably would be a "distraction [for] the Society as a whole" (*distractionis universæ Societati*); thus, he wanted them to occur as

infrequently as possible.³⁰ Or, as Father de Aldama summarizes Ignatius' thoughts on this matter, the "[...] 'apostolic life' demands that these reunions be neither periodic nor frequent, and last as briefly as possible, so that they will not distract the Society from its evangelizing endeavor."³¹

In recent years, however, some Jesuit scholars have called for a periodic meeting of the general congregation. Fathers Örsy and Reese wholeheartily endorse this idea, while Father Padberg's opinion on this issue is somewhat more ambivalent. The views of these particular men, and the main arguments either "for" or "against" periodic meetings were fully discussed in Chapter Two.³²

Fathers Örsy and Reese have also called for an overall reduction in membership, arguing that the *size* of the general congregation (which has averaged 226 delegates in recent years)³³ has already become too cumbersome and less efficient; and that the problem would be aggravated if the Society were to adopt frequent or periodic meetings. As Father Örsy states:

To have a congregation of [approximately] 250 or more members which would meet regularly and work leisurely would be an excessive demand on the

³⁰Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, Part VIII, Ch. 2, no. 1, p. 237; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 677, p. 294. Cf. Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 111.

³¹de Aldama, *The Constitutions*, p. 282.

³²See Chapter Two of this study, pp. 65-69.

³³The number of delegates at the last four general congregations: GC XXXI had 224 (first session) and 226 (second session); GC XXXII had 236; GC XXXIII had 220; and GC XXXIV had 223 delegates. For a comparison with all previous congregations, see *Appendix A* of this work.

Society. Therefore its membership must be reduced. [...] Anything over 100 seems too many for reasonable exchange and dialogue. Anything under 50 appears too few for broad representation of differences.³⁴

Örsy concludes his argument for holding regular, periodic meetings and for reducing the congregation's overall membership by stating that such changes would make the general congregation "more ordinary, more modest — and more Ignatian."³⁵

Father Reese agrees with Örsy and calls for similar changes with regard to the size and timing of the general congregation. Specifically, he suggests that "a general congregation meet at least every six years in place of the present congregation of procurators."³⁶ Furthermore, Reese favors reducing the membership of the general congregation because he thinks that the current size is clearly too large "for easy functioning."³⁷ He bases his judgment primarily on a common complaint that was made by a number of delegates at GC XXXI. However, Reese also believes that a large membership is (or can be) problematic for other reasons. As he states, "Size is especially a problem in getting to know possible candidates for [superior] general before the election. [Also,] If the congregation continues to grow in size, or even remains at the same size, it will probably have to meet for long periods of time."³⁸ Again, Reese agrees with Örsy that the "ideal" size would be somewhere between 50

³⁴Örsy, "Some Questions about the General Congregation," p. 108.

³⁵Ibid., p. 113.

³⁶Reese, "The General Congregation," p. 360.

³⁷Ibid., p. 369.

³⁸Ibid.

and 100 delegates. His specific recommendation, however, is for a general congregation comprised of 100 members; he thinks that such a membership would be "the best size since it simplifies calculations."³⁹

It seems to me that periodic meetings of the general congregation would be very time-consuming and costly, and perhaps not as necessary in this modern era of advanced means of communication (e.g., e-mail, telex, and fax). The superior general can now have instant communication with the provincials and receive an immediate response if necessary. Likewise, within the provinces, provincials can communicate with every local superior in the same efficient manner. Thus, the Society of Jesus, at all levels, can be kept well-informed of critical events; and, it is therefore better able to respond to these events with appropriate and timely initiatives.

Furthermore, frequent gatherings of the general congregation could easily produce a proliferation of "new" (but probably repetitive) documents which very few Jesuits would ever read. An over-abundance of documents and decrees would clearly dilute and diminish their potency and impact. Therefore, perhaps the Society of Jesus should let the wisdom of Ignatius prevail in this matter and let the congregations meet as infrequently as in the past, thereby ensuring a system of governance that seems to have worked quite well for nearly 450 years.

And as to size, it would seem that the new proportional system for selecting

³⁹Ibid.

delegates to a general congregation,⁴⁰ with its built-in restriction on the maximum number of delegates allowed from a given province, will more or less guarantee that the size of all future congregations will be kept in check; thus, the total number of delegates will not fluctuate wildly and the overall size will not continue to grow exponentially (as in the past). Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that the present size (223 delegates at GC XXXIV) can be easily maintained at future congregations. Although this current number (223) is twice as large as the "ideal" number (100) suggested by Fathers Örsy and Reese, it seems to work adequately well for several reasons. First of all, the larger number guarantees better representation. The new proportional system (which sustains the larger number) not only ensures that every province (hence, more countries and cultures) will be represented, but it also guarantees that the representation will be fair and accurate, i.e., more *proportional* to the size of a province's total membership. Secondly, a larger number of delegates also provides for a larger pool of workers from which to draw enough members to staff the various commissions and sub-commissions, which is where the bulk of the congregation's work really takes place. Therefore, it seems to me that in a smaller congregation, the fewer delegates would be greatly over-burdened with work. This is a major disadvantage which would more than offset any gains in efficiency that might be produced by having fewer delegates.

⁴⁰GC XXXIII (1983) established the new proportional system for selecting delegates to a general congregation; it went into effect at GC XXXIV (1995). For a fuller explanation of this selection process, see Chapter Two of this study, pp. 77-78, especially footnote no. 121.

David Knowles believes that the Society of Jesus "must be regarded as the most carefully centralized and disciplined non-military body that has ever existed."⁴¹ And in an attempt to formulate a general critique of the Society's history, he writes that, when thinking of the early Society, "we feel the impression of that mighty impulse, perhaps the greatest single religious impulse since the preaching of the apostles, which spread over Europe from Manresa."⁴² And the historian Christopher Hollis, apparently in full agreement with Knowles' assessment, adds: "This small band of a few thousand men took it on themselves to change the face of Europe and succeeded, while at the same time sending out their missionaries to the most distant corners of every other continent. History has no parallel to their extraordinary achievement."⁴³ The Jesuits' highly centralized government and tightly disciplined body undoubtedly played an important role in contributing to the Society's early and continued successes in the apostolate. Despite on-going criticism and pleas for renewal by some individuals both within and without the Order, the Society's rigidly conservative traditions prevailed throughout most of its history. It would be easy to criticize the Society for choosing to maintain the status quo throughout all those years, but as Father Padberg points out, there were considerable benefits to be gained from

⁴¹Knowles, *From Pachomius to Ignatius*, p. 68.

⁴²D. Knowles, *The Benedictines*, with an introduction by J.H. Diman, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1930, p. 2. Cf. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 523.

⁴³C. Hollis, *A History of the Jesuits*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968, p. 128. Cf. Clancy, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, Ch. VI, endnote no. 56, p. 369.

such a stable position: "[...] this conservative stance has had the advantage of maintaining intact the bedrock values of the Society."⁴⁴

Of course, nothing ever remains static for changes become inevitable. For the Society of Jesus, as with other religious communities, the floodgates were blown open by the spirit of openness and *aggiornamento* fostered by the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). At GC XXXI (1965-1966), many of the Society's long-standing traditions came under careful scrutiny, resulting in a number of significant changes to the Institute.⁴⁵ The delegates at GC XXXI responded to the call for renewal by recognizing, in the words of Father C.J. McNaspy, S.J., "[...] that traditions must prove themselves by consonance with the activity of the Spirit now, and that all traditions, however hallowed, must be ever tested by the gospel and by the Church today."⁴⁶ GC XXXI was just the beginning, however; additional reforms continued to take place through the acts (decrees) of the next three congregations: GC XXXII (1974-1975), GC XXXIII (1983), and GC XXXIV (1995).

As Ignatius planned it, the primary goal of the general congregation is "union of hearts" (*animorum unio*)⁴⁷: unity amongst the members themselves and with their

⁴⁴Padberg, "The General Congregations," p. 106.

⁴⁵Many of these significant changes, especially the canonical ones, were discussed earlier in this work; see Chapter Two, pp. 71-74; and Chapter Three, pp. 172-175.

⁴⁶C.J. McNaspy, "Tomorrow's Jesuit," in *America*, 117, no. 10 (September 2, 1967), p. 223.

⁴⁷Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions*, Part VIII, Ch. 1, nos. 1 and 6; in *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, pp. 225 and 231; and in Ganss, *Constitutions*, nos. 655

head (the superior general). In this sense, all of the general congregations have been fairly successful in uniting the Society; this is especially true of the last four congregations, which were not only more representative of the whole Society but also more "open" in terms of planning and the public disclosure of events. As a result of this greater openness, many Jesuits around the world were both anxious and fascinated to read the daily and weekly news accounts (via press releases and bulletins) that filtered out of the last four congregations; and through this open process, a shared vision of the Society and a greater hope for its future emerged. Commenting on his personal experience at GC XXXII, Father [later Bishop] John Sheets writes: "[...] the main strength of the congregation is the sense of solidarity manifest among the delegates and throughout the Society, a solidarity coming from a vision based on faith and brought into an Ignatian focus through the Spiritual Exercises and our Jesuit tradition."⁴⁸

Furthermore, the overall experience of the delegates at a general congregation can be shared with the dispersed members of the Society through a congregation's documents and decrees (*acta*). And Father Robert Taft, a delegate at GC XXXIV, expresses this thought in his general reflection on the Society's most recent congregation: "A General Congregation is sort of like Manresa for Ignatius: a great personal experience. But Manresa would still be a town in Catalonia [that] no one ever heard of, had Ignatius not passed Manresa on to us in the [Spiritual] Exercises.

and 666, pp. 285-286 and 290.

⁴⁸Sheets, "A Survey of the Thirty-Second General Congregation," p. 686.

That's why GC 34 wrote decrees: to pass the experience on to you."⁴⁹ Thus, the decrees of a general congregation, democratically voted upon and passed by a representative body of the Society, serve to unite *all* of the members (even those not present) amongst themselves and with their head, thereby fulfilling the Ignatian vision: "the union of minds and hearts in the Society" (*unio animorum in Societate Iesu*).⁵⁰

But the decrees of a general congregation can never fully embody all of the hopes and dreams of every Jesuit. Neither can the decrees of a general congregation, in and of themselves, produce a total or final solution to all of the Society's challenges or deficiencies. Nor do the words of any single document, no matter how eloquent, automatically change reality or create renewal. *De iure* is not the same as *de facto*; and often the latter reality (inchoate) lags far behind until it finally (if ever) reaches the ideal envisioned by the law.

Established principally as an apostolic body, the Society of Jesus remains on a continuous mission, a mission which GC XXXII defines as "the service of faith and the promotion of justice."⁵¹ Succeeding congregations have reaffirmed this

⁴⁹R.F. Taft, "Today's Jesuit According to GC 34?," Keynote Address to the New England Province Assembly, June 15, 1995, College of the Holy Cross, Worcester (Massachusetts), Published by the Province, 1995, p. 9.

⁵⁰GC XXXII, Decree 11: "The Union of Minds and Hearts" (*De unione animorum*), no. 2; in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, no. 200, p. 393; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, no. 200, p. 467.

⁵¹GC XXXII, Decree 2: "Jesuits Today" (*Declaratio: Iesuita hodie*), no. 9; and Decree 4: "Our Mission Today" (*De nostra missione hodierna*), no. 2; in *Decreta: CG XXXII*, nos. 19 and 48, pp. 315 and 331; English trans. Padberg (ed.), *Documents of GC 31 and 32*, nos. 19 and 48, pp. 403 and 411.

commitment. Indeed, the decrees of the last four congregations have served as both a universal declaration and as a platform for this mission. But again, the decrees themselves become only hollow words unless they are fully supported, sustained, and implemented by the individual members of the Society. Father Sheets expresses this concern as follows:

Decrees, however excellent, are no substitute for the gospel-call to totality. To the degree that individuals open themselves to the radical call of the gospel will they also open themselves to the decrees, which after all are only a faltering attempt to express this radical call in a way that is both Ignatian and contemporary. [...] The importance of the congregation comes not from the written decrees but from the support that these decrees give to creating in the Society a different kind of group-think, a "group-feel" based upon the gospel. [...] The Society will rise or fall to the extent that the good will of the individual is supported and sustained by a corporate realization of sanctity.⁵²

Therefore, it appears that a key factor in determining a congregation's success is not simply the quantity or quality of its decrees, but rather how well those decrees are lived out or put into practice. Thus, implementation is an essential element in the totality of the renewal process. Or, as Father Sheets would say, "If the Society as a whole could translate what is set down in the decrees from formulation into fact, it would be renewed."⁵³

Needless to say, the responsibility for implementing a congregation's decrees rests with every individual Jesuit and at every level of the Society: from the superior general down to the provincials, to the local superiors, and to each member

⁵²Sheets, "A Survey of the Thirty-Second General Congregation," pp. 687-688.

⁵³Ibid., p. 687.

(regardless of grade) of even the smallest Jesuit community. All Jesuits, individually and collectively, must live out their own response to the gospel and to the decrees of the general congregations which seek to extend and carry out that apostolic mission. And, of course, every apostolic endeavor must depend upon the inspiration and power of the Holy Spirit. As Father Sheets states so concisely, "Legislation can support; it cannot convert. Of ourselves we are weak, but with the power of the Spirit we can overcome."⁵⁴

St. Ignatius instituted the general congregation as a means for unity, as a means for carrying on the "divine service" (*sancto servitio*),⁵⁵ and as a means for renewal. Therefore, as the Society of Jesus renews itself continuously through its general congregations, with its constant and primary goal of serving the Lord more generously and effectively, it hopefully becomes, through this process, a more unified Christian force for renewing the face of the earth.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 689.

⁵⁵Ignatius of Loyola, "Preamble to the Constitutions" (*Prooemium Constitutionum*), no. 1; in *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, p. 47; English trans. Ganss, *Constitutions*, no. 134, pp. 119-120.

THE GENERAL CONGREGATIONS

	<u>Dates</u>	<u>No. of Days</u>	<u>No. of Delegates</u>
I	1558: Jun 19--Sep 10	84	27
II	1565: Jun 21--Sep 03	75	44
III	1573: Apr 12--Jun 16	66	49
IV	1581: Feb 07--Apr 22	75	59
V	1593/94: Nov 03--Jan 18	77	64
VI	1608: Feb 21--Mar 29	38	64
VII	1615/16: Nov 05--Jan 26	83	77
VIII	1645/46: Nov 21--Apr 14	145	93
IX	1649/50: Dec 13--Feb 23	73	90
X	1652: Jan 07--Mar 20	74	86
XI	1661: May 09--Jul 27	80	81
XII	1682: Jun 22--Sep 06	77	86
XIII	1687: Jun 22--Sep 07	78	89
XIV	1696/97: Nov 19--Jan 16	59	86
XV	1706: Jan 20--Apr 03	74	92
XVI	1730/31: Nov 19--Feb 13	87	81
XVII	1751: Jun 22--Sep 05	76	90
XVIII	1755/56: Nov 18--Jan 28	72	87
XIX	1758: May 09--Jun 18	41	89
XX	1820: Oct 09--Dec 10	63	24
XXI	1829: Jun 30--Aug 17	49	28
XXII	1853: Jun 22--Aug 31	71	55
XXIII	1883: Sep 16--Oct 23	38	72
XXIV	1892: Sep 24--Dec 05	73	73
XXV	1906: Sep 01--Oct 18	48	72
XXVI	1915: Feb 02--Mar 18	45	87
XXVII	1923: Sep 08--Dec 21	105	102
XXVIII	1938: Mar 12--May 09	59	161
XXIX	1946: Sep 06--Oct 23	48	167
XXX	1957: Sep 06--Nov 11	67	185
XXXI/1	1965: May 07--Jul 15	70	224
XXXI/2	1966: Sep 08--Nov 17	71	226
XXXII	1974/75: Dec 02--Mar 07	96	236
XXXIII	1983: Sep 02--Oct 25	54	220
XXXIV	1995: Jan 05--Mar 22	77	223

THE GENERAL CONGREGATIONS

<u>Year(s)</u>	<u>Presiding General(s)</u>	<u>Reigning Pope</u>
I 1558	Diego Laínez	Paul IV
II 1565	Francis Borgia	Paul IV
III 1573	Everard Mercurian	Gregory XIII
IV 1581	Claudio Aquaviva	Gregory XIII
V 1593/94	Claudio Aquaviva	Clement VIII
VI 1608	Claudio Aquaviva	Paul V
VII 1615/16	Muzio Vitelleschi	Paul V
VIII 1645/46	Vincenzo Carrafa	Innocent X
IX 1649/50	Francesco Piccolomini	Innocent X
X 1652	Luigi Gottifredi and Goswin Nickel	Innocent X
XI 1661	Giovanni Paolo Oliva (Vicar Gen.)	Alexander VII
XII 1682	Charles de Noyelle	Innocent XI
XIII 1687	Tirso González	Innocent XI
XIV 1696/97	Tirso González	Innocent XII
XV 1706	Michelangelo Tamburini	Clement XI
XVI 1730/31	Frantisek Retz	Clement XII
XVII 1751	Ignazio Visconti	Benedict XIV
XXVIII 1755/56	Luigi Centurione	Benedict XIV
XIX 1758	Lorenzo Ricci	[<i>sede vacante</i>]
XX 1820	Luigi Fortis	Pius VII
XXI 1829	Jan Roothaan	Pius VIII
XXII 1853	Pieter Beckx	Pius IX
XXIII 1883	Anton Anderledy (Vicar Gen.)	Leo XIII
XXIV 1892	Luis Martín	Leo XIII
XXV 1906	Franz Wernz	Pius X
XXVI 1915	Wlodimir Ledóchowski	Benedict XV
XXVII 1923	Wlodimir Ledóchowski	Pius XI
XXVIII 1938	Wlodimir Ledóchowski	Pius XI
XXIX 1946	Jean-Baptiste Janssens	Pius XII
XXX 1957	Jean-Baptiste Janssens	Pius XII
XXXI/1 1965	Pedro Arrupe	Paul VI
XXXI/2 1966	Pedro Arrupe	Paul VI
XXXII 1974/75	Pedro Arrupe	Paul VI
XXXIII 1983	Pedro Arrupe and Peter-Hans Kolvenbach	John Paul II
XXXIV 1995	Peter-Hans Kolvenbach	John Paul II

SUPERIORS GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS¹

	<u>Year & Place of Birth</u>	<u>Dates of Tenure</u>
1 Ignatius of Loyola	1491 Spain	19 Apr 1541–31 Jul 1556
2 Diego Laínez	1512 Spain	02 Jul 1558–19 Jan 1565
3 Francis Borgia	1510 Spain	02 Jul 1565–01 Oct 1572
4 Everard Mercurian	1514 Belgium	23 Apr 1573–01 Aug 1580
5 Claudio Aquaviva	1543 Italy	19 Feb 1581–31 Jan 1615
6 Muzio Vitelleschi	1563 Italy	15 Nov 1615–09 Feb 1645
7 Vincenzo Carrafa	1585 Italy	07 Jan 1646–08 Jun 1649
8 Francesco Piccolomini	1582 Italy	21 Dec 1649–07 Jun 1651
9 Luigi Gottifredi	1595 Italy	21 Jan 1652–12 Mar 1652
10 Goswin Nickel	1582 Germany	17 Mar 1652–31 Jul 1664
11 Giovanni Paolo Oliva	1600 Italy	31 Jul 1664–26 Nov 1681
12 Charles de Noyelle	1615 Belgium	05 Jul 1682–12 Dec 1686
13 Tirso González	1622 Spain	06 Jul 1687–27 Oct 1705
14 Michelangelo Tamburini	1648 Italy	31 Jan 1706–28 Feb 1730
15 Frantisek Retz	1673 Bohemia	30 Nov 1730–19 Nov 1750
16 Ignazio Visconti	1682 Italy	04 Jul 1751–04 May 1755
17 Luigi Centurione	1686 Italy	30 Nov 1755–02 Oct 1757
18 Lorenzo Ricci	1703 Italy	21 May 1758–16 Aug 1773

----- Suppression (1773-1814) -----

19 Tadeusz Brzozowski	1749 Poland	07 Aug 1814–05 Feb 1820
20 Luigi Fortis	1748 Italy	18 Oct 1820–27 Jan 1829
21 Jan Roothaan	1785 Holland	09 Jul 1829–08 May 1853
22 Pieter Beckx	1795 Belgium	02 Jul 1853–04 Mar 1887
23 Anton Anderledy	1819 Switzerland	04 Mar 1887–18 Jan 1892
24 Luis Martín	1846 Spain	02 Oct 1892–18 Apr 1906
25 Franz Wernz	1842 Germany	08 Sep 1906–19 Aug 1914
26 Włodimir Ledóchowski	1866 Austrian Poland	11 Feb 1915–13 Dec 1942
27 Jean-Baptiste Janssens	1889 Belgium	15 Sep 1946–05 Oct 1964
28 Pedro Arrupe	1908 Spain	22 May 1965–03 Sep 1983
29 Peter-Hans Kolvenbach	1929 Holland	13 Sep 1983–present

N.B. All of the past generals died while in office, except for Lorenzo Ricci who died in 1775 during the Suppression, and Pedro Arrupe who, after retiring in 1983, died in 1991.

¹Biographical data taken from the following sources: Goeststouwers (ed.), *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*, cols. 610-618, 621-629; and Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 529. Cf. Padberg et al. (eds.), *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. xvi.

SUBSTANTIALS OF THE INSTITUTE

(according to the *Collectio decretorum*, 1923; and the *Epitome Instituti*, 1924)

Substantials of the First Order (*Substantialia primi ordinis*):

- (1) The name of the Order: Society of Jesus (*Societas Iesu*)
- (2) The apostolic end of the Society: defense and spread of the faith; the progress of souls
- (3) The government of the Society:
 - supreme legislative power in the general congregations
 - full executive power of the superior general
 - monarchical paternal government
- (4) General means to our end:
 - the distinction of grades: scholastics, spiritual and temporal coadjutors, professed
 - the special [fourth] vow of obedience to the pope (with regard to missions)
 - personal property and poverty in common
 - no recitation of the divine office in choir
- (5) Particular means to our end:
 - the gratuity of ministries
 - obedience to the most perfect in all things

Substantials of the Second Order (*Substantialia secundi ordinis*):

["without these, those of the First Order cannot be preserved"]

- (1) The essential impediments
- (2) No juridical form in dismissal (except for the professed)
- (3) Manifestation (or account) of conscience to superior
- (4) Election of the superior general for life
- (5) Provincial congregations have no jurisdiction
- (6) Two years of novitiate
- (7) Tertianship (precedes final vows for priests)
- (8) The vow of poverty of coadjutors has the same effects as that of the professed

THE TEN ASSISTANCIES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS
[with their (84) member Provinces and (5) Independent Regions]

South Latin America:

Argentina
Bahia
Bolivia
Central-Eastern Brazil
North Brazil
South Brazil
Chile
Paraguay
Peru
Uruguay

North Latin America:

Central America
Antilles
Colombia
Ecuador
Mexico
Venezuela
Cuba*
Puerto Rico*

South Asia:

Andhra
Bombay
Calcutta
Dumka-Raiganj
Goa
Gujarat
Hazarihagh
Jamshedpur
Karnataka
Kerala
Madhya-Pradesh
Madurai
Patna
Pune
Ranchi
Sri Lanka

East Asia:

Australia
China
Indonesia
Japan
Philippines
Korea*
Vietnam*

Africa:

Central Africa
Eastern Africa
West Africa
Madagascar
Zambia-Malawi
Zimbabwe

United States:

California
Chicago
Detroit
Maryland
Missouri
New England
New Orleans
New York
Oregon
Wisconsin

Central Europe:

Austria
Northern Germany
Upper Germany
Switzerland
Hungary
Lithuania-Estonia
Netherlands

East Europe:

Bohemia
Croatia
Greater Poland & Marovia
Southern Poland
Romania
Slovakia
Slovenia
Russia*

West Europe:

North Belgium
South Belgium
Britain
French Canada
Upper Canada
France
Ireland
Malta
Near East

South Europe:

Aragón
Baetica
Castile
Italy
Loyola
Portugal
Tarragon
Toledo

* = Independent Region

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

B. Jeffrey Blangiardi was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on July 16, 1948. After completing high school in Honolulu, Hawaii, he went on to receive a Bachelor of Science (B.S.) degree from Boston College in 1970 and a Master of Business Administration (M.B.A.) degree from Babson College (Wellesley, Massachusetts) in 1971. He entered the New England Province of the Society of Jesus in 1977. During his formation, he taught at The Fairfield Preparatory School in Fairfield, Connecticut for three years, between 1980 and 1983. Then, after earning a Master of Divinity (M.Div.) degree from the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley (California), he was ordained to the priesthood on June 14, 1986.

Following ordination, Father Blangiardi served as chaplain in the Office of Campus Ministry at Georgetown University (Washington, D.C.) until 1989. In 1991, he earned a Licentiate in Canon Law (J.C.L.) degree from The Catholic University of America (Washington, D.C.). And for the next two years, Father Blangiardi served as Judicial Vicar for the Diocese of Nassau (Bahamas). Then, after one year at the Gregorian University in Rome, he continued his doctoral studies in canon law at Saint Paul University in Ottawa.

Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam