

# STUDIES

## in the Spirituality of Jesuits



**“In Ten Thousand Places”:  
Christian Universality and the Jesuit Mission**  
by  
**Brian E. Daley, S.J.**

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## THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

consists of a group of Jesuits from various provinces who are listed below. The members were appointed by the Fathers Provincial of the United States.

The Purpose of the Seminar is to study topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially American Jesuits, and to communicate the results to the members of the Assistancy. The hope is that this will lead to further discussion among all American Jesuits--in private, or in small groups, or in community meetings. All this is done in the spirit of Vatican Council II's recommendation to religious institutes to recapture the original charismatic inspiration of their founders and to adapt it to the changed circumstances of modern times. The members of the Seminar welcome reactions or comments in regard to the topics they publish.

To achieve these purposes, especially amid today's pluralistic cultures, the Seminar must focus its direct attention sharply, frankly, and specifically on the problems, interests, and opportunities of the Jesuits of the United States. However, many of these interests are common also to Jesuits of other regions, or to other priests, religious men or women, or to lay men or women. Hence the Studies of the Seminar, while meant especially for American Jesuits, are not exclusively for them. Others who may find them helpful are cordially welcome to read them.

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## EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Once again we are happy to welcome to our pages a guest author, Father Brian E. Daley, S.J., professor of Historical Theology at Weston School of Theology, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He attended St. Peter's Prep in Jersey City and graduated from Fordham College. Thereupon he continued his classical education at Merton College, Oxford, and entered the New York Province of the Society in 1964. He made his theological studies in Frankfurt, Germany, where he stayed an extra year to do Patristic research with Father Aloys Grillmeier. He returned to Oxford in 1972 and earned a doctorate in Patristic Theology, and then took up his present post in Weston School of Theology.

Some knowledge of the circumstances which gave rise to the essay offered in our present issue will be helpful to many of our readers. From June 13 through 15, 1983, the New York Province held a province conference to reflect on our Jesuit overseas apostolate today. The planners of the program desired a keynote address which would put the work of the Jesuits abroad into a historical and theological perspective, and they requested Father Daley to prepare it. At first he felt seriously daunted by the prospect, since missiology is not his field. But he acceded to the request. Then the more he read and thought about the topic, the more fascinating he found it. The very fact of our missionary apostolate tells us much about what the Society understands itself to be. It also raises questions about our understanding of Christ as savior of all people, and about our understanding of the Church universal.

Father Daley's paper won a positive response, and many of his hearers urged him to publish it for a wider audience. Hence he offered it to our Seminar for our Studies. We invited him to attend our meeting of January 28, 1984. In accordance with our customary procedure we discussed his paper in his presence and told him that in the light of the discussion he should make whatever revisions he saw fit. He followed this procedure, and now with gratitude to him we are happy to offer his stimulating study to our readers.

George E. Ganss, S.J., Chairman  
The American Assistancy Seminar

"IN TEN THOUSAND PLACES": CHRISTIAN UNIVERSALITY  
AND THE JESUIT MISSION

by

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INTRODUCTION

In the years since the 32nd General Congregation, the apostolic horizon of most American Jesuits has undoubtedly grown wider. Most of us probably know more about what Jesuits in other countries do, and what problems they face, than we did fifteen years ago. We are used to getting communiqués from our offices in Rome and Washington about the hopes and the sufferings of our brother Jesuits in China and Latin America, and we probably feel our solidarity with them more strongly than we used to. Many of us have actually spent several weeks or months in a Jesuit apostolate in some developing country as part of our novitiate or tertianship, and others have devoted a summer to experiencing "third world" life firsthand, through the good offices of Horizons for Justice. The plight of the Church, and its promise, in countries very different from our own is probably more present in the thoughts of most American Jesuits today than it was in the days of Lenten mite-box drives and mission spectaculars: present in our classroom presentations, in our preaching, and in our prayer.

Yet American Jesuits have also, I think, become noticeably more insular, more exclusively American in their vocational ideals, than they were fifteen years ago. Much of this is surely beyond our control. In the late sixties, parts of the Church that formerly received a great deal of assistance from American missionaries began to look for more authentically native ways to realize their Christian faith; as a result, missionaries were sometimes abruptly forced to return home, and it was often impossible to assign others to take their place. Political instability has made many "mission" countries dangerous for American Church workers, and politics or simple hostility to Christian evangelism has made it impossible for them to obtain visas in

others. Dwindling manpower, too, has focused the concern of superiors on staffing our existing ministries in the United States, so that many of our provinces seem to have lost the sense of apostolic priority that once was attached to their overseas missions. Fewer of us study overseas today than did so fifteen years ago, and fewer Jesuits from overseas study with us in the United States. For all our increased volume of information, circumstances tend today to limit our actual experience of the Society and its work, more and more, to the American scene.

It was out of concern to foster an active and informed interest in its own traditional mission areas and works, and to encourage new volunteers for ministry overseas, that the New York Province held a conference at Fordham University on our international apostolate, in June, 1983. Members of the Province and other interested Jesuits were invited to take part, and a number of presentations were given on the needs and opportunities for the Society's work in countries where New York Jesuits are now active. As a member of the Province working in the mission field to the near northeast, I was invited to get the discussion going with a talk on the broader theological and historical dimensions of the Jesuit international apostolate: What theological questions does an overseas ministry raise for us today, and what importance does such ministry have in our own documents? I did not attempt to consider the complex political and social dimensions of the Church's ministry in less developed countries, or the elusive issue of inculturation, which ultimately centers on the question of where the "pure" Gospel stops and its social incarnation begins. These questions have been dealt with much more frequently than the strictly theological side of missionary activity during the past decade or so, and will surely be dealt with again, by people more competent than I am to approach them. My task was to consider the context for our overseas ministry in our understanding of ourselves as Jesuits and men of the post-Vatican II Church.

In some ways, I am the last person one might expect to be writing about our international ministry. Missiology is not my field, nor have I ever worked in one of the Society's official overseas apostolates. My present assignment is to study and teach the theology of the early Church. This is certainly a work that brings me into contact with people of other languages and cultures and with all the complex theoretical and practical issues of inculturation and missionary activity in their original guises, but one that I can do from the comfortable and perhaps distorting perspective of a

blackboard or a library desk. I have, in other words, no field training.

Despite these disclaimers, however, I think I *can* speak from a kind of international Jesuit experience. Eleven of the twenty years that have passed since I entered the Society I spent happily in studies in Europe, living in communities with brother Jesuits from almost all the European countries, east and west, and from all the other continents. Of the six other Jesuits ordained with me in Frankfurt in 1970, one (a Japanese) is now teaching theology in Tokyo, another (a Colombian) is an economist in Bogotá, a third (a German) is doing ecumenical work with Muslims in Pakistan, and a fourth (also a German) is a country pastor in Zimbabwe. The bishop who ordained us--Hans Martensen, one of the few native Danish Jesuits--was and still is bishop of Copenhagen. That ordination day, in fact, has become a concrete symbol for me--a sacrament, in the most fundamental sense--of what our Jesuit priesthood is meant to be. Whatever else I learned in those years in Europe, I learned that to be a Jesuit is to share a common ideal of Christian discipleship and ministry with companions "from every tribe and tongue and people and nation," and that our vocation is essentially a call to be at home and at work anywhere in the world, wherever--to our own charismatic instincts and in the judgment of our superiors--there is an opportunity for God's greater service. In this conviction I offer these thoughts to the wider body of my companions in the Lord, in the hope that what I have written, sketchy though it is, will strike some positive resonances and lead others to further reflections of their own.

## I. THE UNIVERSAL MISSION IN OUR FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Every Jesuit, just by being a Jesuit, shares in a brotherhood that is essentially international, intercultural, and commits himself to an essentially international apostolate. We tend, I think, to forget this dimension of our Jesuit vocation all too easily, especially if we are happily and fruitfully engaged in some work here at home. Yet it only takes a quick look through the foundational documents of the Society--the Formula of the Institute, the General Examen, or the *Constitutions*--to remind us that the central image of the Jesuit St. Ignatius seems to have had in his own mind, right up to his death, was that of a kind of apostolic vagabond. One of the clearest statements of this vision comes

in a declaration added to the Preamble of Part IV of the *Constitutions*, on the instruction of scholastics; "The aim and end of this Society," Ignatius writes, "is, by traveling through the various regions of the world at the order of the supreme vicar of Christ our Lord or of the superior of the Society itself, to preach, hear confessions, and use all the other means it can with the grace of God to help souls."<sup>1</sup> A few paragraphs before this, at the end of Part III, Ignatius had remarked in passing that "our vocation is to travel through the world and to live in any part of it whatsoever where there is hope of greater service to God and of help of souls."<sup>2</sup> In the General Examen he reminds his readers that "in conformity with our profession and manner of proceeding, we should always be ready to travel about in various regions of the world, on all occasions when the supreme pontiff or our immediate superior orders us."<sup>3</sup> One could multiply the examples easily.

Quite clearly, Ignatius is thinking in such passages not only of far-flung missions as characteristic of his Jesuit companions, but also of a fairly constant movement of Jesuits from one mission or kind of work to another. The regular singing of the office in choir is to be omitted in the Society, according to Part VI of the *Constitutions*, not only because direct ministerial occupations are to be considered "of great importance, proper to our Institute, and very frequent," but equally "because our residence in one place or another is so highly uncertain."<sup>4</sup> "Likewise," he writes a few paragraphs later, "because the members of the Society ought to be ready to go at any hour to some or other parts of the world where they may be sent by the sovereign pontiff or their own superior, they ought not to take a curacy of souls, and still less ought they to take charge of religious women . . ."<sup>5</sup> Ignatius seems simply to expect the fully formed Jesuit to be on the move for most of his active life, carrying out, in terms dictated by the needs of the sixteenth-century European Church, a varied ministry of word and sacrament, as far as his own talents and strength permit. In all of this work, he understands that the Jesuit will move at the direction of those with a broader perspective of the needs of the universal Church: the pope, when possible, or else the superior of the Society.

The difficult question for a superior, Ignatius realizes, will often be how to schedule the peregrinations of these traveling apostles: how



long to let a man stay in one place when other needs are clamoring for attention. In making such a decision, he writes, one should consider those other needs as well as the opportunities at hand; "finally, one should attend to the first characteristic of our Institute. Since this is to travel through some regions and others, remaining for a shorter or longer time in proportion to the fruit which is seen, it will be necessary to judge whether it is expedient to give more time or less to certain missions or to others."<sup>6</sup> This is the reason, he adds, why the Jesuit on the road must keep the superior constantly informed about the success of his work.

The "first characteristic of our Institute" is to travel, to move with the Word of God through the world! The criterion for where to stop and how long to stay, like the criteria for choosing points for repetition when making the *Exercises* (see, for example, [62]), seems to be one formed in a judgment--in this case, the judgment of the superior--based on the man's own experience of the workings of God's Spirit in his ministry: "remaining for a shorter or a longer time in proportion to the fruit which is seen." In fact, the whole process of seeking a general and limitless end--the glory of God--in a restless, winding journey through the world of concrete details, led by a combination of reflection and discernment, judgment and desire and tireless dedication, seems, in Ignatius's description of the apostolic life of his companions, curiously parallel to the internal quest of prayer in the *Exercises*. So, after explaining clearly at the beginning of Part VII of the *Constitutions* that the intention of the fourth vow of obedience to the pope was "not to designate a particular place [for the Jesuit's life of service], but to have the members distributed throughout the various parts of the world," Ignatius explains *why* he and his first companions felt moved to take such a vow. "For those who first united to form the Society," he says, "were from different provinces and regions and did not know into which regions they were to go, whether among the faithful or the unbelievers; and therefore, to avoid erring in the path of the Lord, they made that promise or vow in order that His Holiness might distribute them for the greater glory of God. They did this in conformity with their intention to travel throughout the world and, when they could not find the desired spiritual fruit in one region, to pass on to another and another, ever intent on seeking the greater glory of God and the greater aid of souls."<sup>7</sup> Obedience to the pope was the concrete norm which would keep their search for the glory of God within the needs

and the possibilities of the real Church of Christ.

In fact, in all of Part VII of the *Constitutions*--the only part which deals with what fully formed Jesuits actually *do* in their ministry--the overriding question is not *what* they will do but *where* they will do it. The very title of Part VII, "The Distribution of the Incorporated Members in Christ's Vineyard and their Relations There with their Fellowmen, suggests this concern clearly. Ignatius lists, in the first chapter of this section ([603]), four possible ways of placing working Jesuits. First on the list--the means of distribution Ignatius seems to hope for as the ideal--is that the pope himself should send Jesuits where he judges they are most needed, in virtue of their vow of special obedience to him. Here, as in the other places where he speaks of the fourth vow, Ignatius makes it clear that its intent is to be a way of determining the mission Jesuits undertake; but he gives this interpretation here a peculiarly geographical twist: "It should be observed that the vow which the Society made to obey him as the supreme vicar of Christ without any excuse meant that the members were to go *to any place* whatsoever where he judges it expedient to send them for the greater glory of God . . . The Society did not mean any particular place, but rather that it was to be distributed into diverse regions and places throughout the world, and it desired to proceed more correctly in this matter by leaving the distribution of its members to the sovereign pontiff."<sup>8</sup> Ignatius clearly realized, however, that popes would not always be willing or able to spend their time deciding where individual Jesuits should carry out their ministry. So the second chapter of Part VII elaborates the criteria to be followed by the superior of the Society--the general--in locating his subjects, in lieu of such a papal mission ([618-632]). A third possibility, appropriate especially for vast, undeveloped mission areas like India or South America, is simply to commission a man to go to the region and to leave it to his own apostolic discretion to decide, when there, what places to visit and how long to remain in each place ([603,633]). Only in fourth and last place, as if by concession, does Ignatius add: "Or they may carry on their labor not by traveling, but by residing steadily and continually in certain places"--for example, in houses and colleges--"where much fruit of glory and service to God is expected."<sup>9</sup>

This conception of traveling as the normal mode of Jesuit life was not simply a personal idiosyncrasy of Ignatius, influenced by the wanderings of

his own "pilgrim years." In a recent study of Jeronimo Nadal's ideas on the international mobility of the Jesuit vocation,<sup>10</sup> John O'Malley surveys a fairly large number of passages where Nadal--one of Ignatius's closest associates in the Roman years and his designated interpreter in the promulgation of the *Constitutions*--stresses this same idea of a mobile mission in still more emphatic language than Ignatius used. Nadal remarks, for instance, in an exhortation to Spanish Jesuits delivered in 1554: "It must be noted that in the Society there are different kinds of houses or dwellings (*mansionum seu habitationum*). These are: the house of probation, the college, the professed house, and the journey (*peregrinatio*), and by this last the whole world becomes our house" (*Monumenta Nadal*, V, 54). In his Annotations to the General Examen of 1557, Nadal justifies this wandering style of life by connecting it with our apostolic vocation as "reformed priests" and with our vowed ties to the pope: "I declare that the characteristic and most perfect house of the Society is the journeys of the professed, by which they diligently seek to gain for Christ the sheep that are perishing. And this is indeed the distinctive mark of our vocation: that we accept from God and the orthodox Church the care of those for whom nobody is caring, even if there actually is somebody who ought to be caring for them. And if there is nobody else, surely the supreme vicar of Christ, the Roman pontiff [has them in his care]. To him, therefore, we are given in service, that through us he may care for those for whom their ordinaries or priests are of no avail, or especially those who altogether lack an ordinary. This also is the purpose of our vow that is made to the supreme pontiff, which specifically concerns missions . . . It is hence that the Society seems somehow to imitate the condition of the Church of the Apostles, in our humility in Christ" (*Monumenta Nadal*, V, 195-196).

Here and in St. Ignatius's own detailed instructions in the *Constitutions* about the way to determine the apostolic activities of Jesuits, priority of place and emphasis is given to *where* and *how* Jesuits are to work rather than to *what* they are to do when they get there. The fourth vow, as Ignatius and Nadal explain it, is more a way of locating Jesuit ministry than a way of specifying its content. Like the vow of stability taken by the great monastic orders, it provides the long-term setting for the Jesuit's life of poverty, chastity, and obedience as a companion of the Lord; its uniqueness is simply in that it defines that setting as the world itself, rather

than as the monastic enclosure. Without betraying their underlying ideal, it translates the first companions' desire to join the wandering Jesus into ecclesial terms, terms more directly relevant to the needs of the sixteenth-century Church.

Ignatius seems less concerned to determine the exact character of Jesuit works. The classic definition of the Society's purpose at the beginning of the *Formula Instituti* sets down "the defense and propagation of the faith and the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine" as the general aim of the Institute, and lists as means to this end a representative array of straightforward priestly ministries; first of all the ministry of the word, including preaching and delivering "sacred lectures"; then giving the Spiritual Exercises, instructing the unlettered in basic Christian doctrine, celebrating sacramental reconciliation and the other sacraments, and doing various corporal works of mercy.<sup>11</sup> Part VII of the *Constitutions* elaborates on these possibilities, especially when it discusses the work of Jesuits who live in the same place for a long period ([636-654]); but aside from stressing the priority of spiritual, explicitly faith-centered ministries over others ([623 b]), it adds nothing new to the list. When sent on a mission by the pope or the superior of the Society, the Jesuit will normally expect more explicit instructions about his mission in writing ([612, 629]), and may receive further directions on how to proceed through correspondence with the one who has sent him ([629]). Yet there is no comprehensive job-description of the Jesuit at work, no list of the activities with which a Jesuit might, in Ignatius's eyes, suitably "hyphenate" his sacramental ministry in the interests of the Kingdom. The *Formula*, *General Examen*, and *Constitutions*, in fact, make curiously little specific reference to what Jesuits do, something that especially strikes us when we compare these early documents to those of General Congregations 31 and 32. Ignatius seems simply to have assumed, as a man of the Catholic Reformation, that his companions would normally do what "reformed priests"<sup>12</sup> in the sixteenth century ought to do, wherever they were sent: preach the gospel of Christ, formally and informally, to groups and to individuals, in word and in sacrament and in the classic ministries of love.<sup>13</sup> Even the norm of norms that Ignatius lays down for a superior to use in making apostolic assignments--"one should keep the greater service of God and the more universal good before his eyes"<sup>14</sup> because "the more universal a good is, the more it is divine"<sup>15</sup>--is meant

first of all to guide his decision on where to send a man, whom to direct him to, and how long to leave him there. It is not explicitly connected in the *Constitutions* with determining the form of a subject's work.

Behind all this stress in the Ignatian documents, and in Nadal's comments about them, on the far-flung field of Jesuit endeavors and on their call to constant mobility in that field, as well as behind the documents' relative vagueness on the nature of Jesuit works, stands an image of ministry--of apostolate, in the literal sense--that Ignatius seems to have derived from the Synoptic Gospels, especially from the Gospel of Matthew. One need only read through the passage in Matthew 10, in which Jesus instructs the Twelve before sending them out to preach the news of the Kingdom of God, to recognize the picture of prophetic discipleship that Ignatius later would develop as his model of Jesuit ministry in the *Constitutions*. The German New Testament scholar Gerd Theissen has argued recently that the inner core of the earliest Christian community in Palestine--the community for whom Matthew's Gospel was presumably written--was a band of "wandering charismatics," who lived by the pattern sketched out in Jesus's words in Matthew 10.<sup>16</sup> Theissen's phrase, "wandering charismatics," seems to fit Ignatius's image of early Jesuits equally well. Leaving one's home and relatives to be a companion of the homeless Son of Man (as in Matt. 8:18-22), selling all one has to follow him (as in Matt. 19:16-22), being sent by Jesus or his vicar as a "laborer in the vineyard" (as in the parable of Matt. 20:1-16)--these are the paradigms for Jesuit life and work that Ignatius prefers to use in the founding documents of the Society of Jesus, paradigms that leave the further determination of that work superfluous.

This conception of Jesuit ministry in the *Constitutions* parallels the broader picture of true discipleship we find in the *Spiritual Exercises*, in such passages as the parable of the Call of the King and the Meditation on the Standards. In the first of these, Christ our Lord, imagined standing in majesty before the entire world, declares his "will to conquer all the world and all enemies" and invites those willing to join in this project to "labor with Me," (*SpEx*, [96]), sharing the homelessness and privations of his evangelical "campaign" in order to accomplish his saving purpose. In the second, "the Lord of all the world chooses so many persons--Apostles, Disciples, etc.--and sends them through all the world, spreading His sacred doctrine through all states and conditions of persons" (*SpEx*, [145]). It

is the same conception of mission, of apostolate, little specified in content but clearly defined in style, that we find in Matthew 10, expanded now beyond the horizon of rural Palestine to touch the most distant imagined limits of the sixteenth-century world.

## II. CHANGES IN THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

### A. Ignatius's Theology of Mission

Implied in Ignatius's vision of Jesuit ministry, of course, is not only the yearning, restless spirit of a romantic Spaniard in the age of discovery, who liked to imagine himself as a pilgrim, but an understanding of salvation and a theology of the Church. Ignatius's ecclesiology, like most of his theological assumptions, is neither very original nor highly developed in theoretical detail. He was not a professional theologian, nor-- as John O'Malley has recently argued in another number of these *Studies*-- does he seem to have been particularly interested in theology for its own sake.<sup>17</sup> His understanding of the Church and of other aspects of Christian life and faith was usually a careful distillation of respectable Catholic opinions current during his years of study. The Church, for him, is unalterably linked to Christ, in God's eternal plan of salvation. It is his Bride, "without spot or wrinkle," responding in love to Christ's call to union; it is his Body, continually enlivened by his Holy Spirit. The Christian's obligation to follow the teaching of the Church's hierarchy in every detail, which Ignatius puts so strongly in his thirteenth "Rule for Thinking with the Church," rests on the understanding that (as he puts it) "between Christ our Lord, the Bridegroom, and the Church, His Bride, there is the same Spirit which governs and directs us for the salvation of our souls. Because by the same Spirit and our Lord Who gave the ten Commandments, our holy Mother the Church is directed and governed" (*SpEx*, [365]). This Church, in which God's charismatic gift of teaching is vested, is coterminous, for Ignatius, with "our holy Mother, the Church Hierarchical" (*ibid.*, [353]), united in communion with the Roman pontiff. So the Formula of the Institute can state, with what seems today astonishing blandness, "that all of Christ's faithful are subject to the Roman pontiff as their head and as the vicar of Jesus Christ" (*Exposcit debitum*, [4]). Membership in this Church, the Roman

Catholic Church, is for Ignatius a requirement for legitimate Christian ministry, and is even necessary for salvation. So he writes, in his famous letter to Claude, Emperor of Abyssinia, of February, 1555, "The Patriarch in Alexandria or Cairo, being schismatic and separated from the Apostolic See and its supreme pontiff who is the head of the whole body of the Church, received for himself neither the life of grace nor authority . . . For anyone who is not united with the body of the Church will not receive from Christ our Lord, who is its head, the influx of grace which gives life to his soul and disposes him for beatitude."<sup>18</sup>

It was easy, then, for Ignatius to fit his conception of ministry, as we have sketched it out, into a much broader conception of God's saving plan for the human race. The Holy Trinity, in the Contemplation on the Incarnation at the start of the Second Week of the *Exercises*, is represented as seeing the wretched state of sinful humanity and "determining, in their Eternity, that the Second Person shall become man to save the human race" (*SpEx*, [102]). The Son becomes human, forms his disciples into a body, a Church, and sends out those who are willing to join him "through all the world, spreading his sacred doctrine through all states and conditions of persons" (*SpEx*, [146]). Christ is the "Lord, King eternal" (*ibid.*, [96]), the commander in the long and bitter campaign for souls; the pope is his vicar and commands later generations of disciples and apostles in Christ's place, with the same authority and saving urgency (see *Exposcit debitum*, [3]). In this view of the Church and of salvation, it is perfectly clear that the more directly any Christian ministry is governed by the pope's oversight, the more fully it is in harmony with the whole direction of salvation history. And the purpose of such Christian ministry is equally clear: not only to announce Christ's "sacred doctrine," the news that "the Kingdom of heaven is at hand," as the Twelve were commissioned to do in Matthew 10, but to proclaim that that Kingdom is uniquely identified with the Roman Catholic Church, and so--by all legitimate means, consonant with human freedom--to bring that Church to all people, to "make them come in" (Luke 14:23).

#### B. The Church's Mission in the Documents of Vatican II

It is here, perhaps, that many contemporary Jesuits--many contemporary Catholics--will begin to have difficulty with Ignatius's notion of mission,

indeed with the classical theology of ministry and mission that prevailed in the Church from Trent until Vatican II. Anyone familiar with the documents of Vatican II is aware that part of the revolutionary change in theological perspective they embody is a new reverence for non-Catholic and non-Christian ways to God. God's saving grace is no longer regarded here the way Ignatius understood it in his letter to the Emperor Claude, as exclusively operative within the Roman communion. *Lumen Gentium* (15), for example, and *Unitatis Redintegratio* (3), the Council's decrees on the Church and ecumenism respectively, recognize the presence of the Holy Spirit and the operation of divine grace within the worship and structures of other Christian communities, and *Lumen Gentium* (17) goes on to acknowledge both among non-Christian religions as well. The Council's decree on the Church in the modern world, *Gaudium et Spes*, in fact, after speaking eloquently about the renewal of the human race through Christ's paschal mystery (22), adds what amounts to a major qualification of the traditional Roman Catholic understanding of the means to salvation: "All this holds true not only for Christians, but for all people of good will in whose hearts grace works in an unseen way. For, since Christ died for all men and women, and since the ultimate vocation of humanity is in fact one--and divine--we ought to believe that the Holy Spirit, in a manner known only to God, offers to everyone the possibility of being associated with this paschal mystery." Passages like this certainly raise questions about the conception of the Church's mission, and of its urgency, cherished by St. Ignatius.

The very notion of the Church, too, as we all realize, is presented in a significantly new light in the documents of Vatican II. This is not the place to launch a full-scale résumé of the ecclesiology of *Lumen Gentium*--its images, its doctrines, its implications. Two points, however, are worth making briefly here. One is that the intention of this Constitution is clearly to move away from conceiving of the Church as a neat institutional pyramid, with the pope at the top and the laity at the bottom. Rather, the document speaks of the Church in a variety of overlapping metaphors that deliberately blur the edges of the picture, suggesting that the phenomenon of God's people in the world is a much more complex, multipolar social and religious reality than medieval or nineteenth-century Catholic ecclesiology had dreamed of. *Lumen Gentium*'s famous statement on the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to the true Church of Christ, in chapter 8, is eloquent



in both its subtlety and its caution: "This Church, constituted and organized in the world as a society, subsists in the Catholic Church, which is governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops in union with that successor, although many elements of sanctification and of truth can be found outside her visible structure. These elements, however, as gifts properly belonging to the Church of Christ, possess an inner dynamism toward Catholic unity." It is a far cry from the simple identification of the true Church as a visible *societas perfecta*, familiar from pre-Vatican II ecclesiology.

Secondly, as is well known, *Lumen Gentium* also presents a picture of authority within the Catholic Church that differs radically from the unidirectional, chain-of-command model used by Ignatius and classical post-Tridentine ecclesiology. Ignatius's letter to the Emperor of Abyssinia, for instance, which we have already quoted, put this counter-reformation view of Church authority perfectly clearly: "To the rest of his apostles Christ our Lord gave a delegated authority. But to St. Peter and his successors, it was full and ordinary, to be communicated with all the other pastors as necessity should require. They were to recognize Peter as their chief pastor and receive authority from him."<sup>19</sup> The documents of Vatican II represent a major change from this theological position. After carefully re-introducing the third-century notion of a *collegial* responsibility of all bishops for the welfare of the whole Church, *Lumen Gentium* (22) makes it clear that bishops receive their authority in the community, as well as their priesthood, directly from their sacramental ordination as successors to the Apostles; they do not receive it by delegation from the bishop of Rome. True, the Constitution also insists that "the college or body of bishops has no authority unless it is simultaneously conceived of in terms of its head, the Roman Pontiff." Even so, it moves a decided step beyond medieval Western notions of Church authority--and surely beyond those expressed in the documents of Vatican I--when it declares, in the same chapter: "Together with its head, the Roman Pontiff, and never without this head, the episcopal order is the subject of supreme and full power over the universal Church."<sup>20</sup>

Inevitably, such changes of theological interpretation have their implications for Catholic missions. Many of these are already reflected in the Council's decree on missionary activity, *Ad Gentes*--an excellent document that unfortunately seems to be less well known than most of the others. There, for example, the Council encourages a spirit of ecumenical cooperation

and mutual respect among the different Christian groups in the traditional "mission" territories (15). More importantly, these territories are deliberately conceived of not as simple outposts of Roman Christianity but as "young Churches"; they possess from the start a local integrity of their own, and are encouraged not to be dependent on Rome but to foster "an intimate communion with the Church universal" (19). Responsibility for the missionary activity of the Church is explicitly located by this document not with the pope or the Roman curia alone, but with "the body of bishops" (29), especially as they express their common concerns through the international Synod of Bishops (29) and through national episcopal conferences (31). "As members of the body of bishops that succeeds the College of Apostles," the decree insists, "all bishops are consecrated not just for some one diocese, but for the salvation of the entire world. Christ's mandate to preach the Gospel to every creature (Mk. 16:15) primarily concerns them, with Peter and under Peter" (38). Responsibility for preaching the gospel, for propagating the faith, is now seen as a collective responsibility of the whole Church: of all Christians, in virtue of their baptism (so especially *Lumen Gentium* 33), and particularly of the bishops, who, as heads of the local Churches in communion with each other, assume collective responsibility for the Church's universal needs. Although the Holy See is clearly very important still, from both an ecclesiological and an organizational point of view, its specific role in coordinating and promoting mission activity has been set, in the Council's documents, in a much broader and more complex ecclesial context than had been conceived of by pre-Conciliar theology.

### III. SOME THEOLOGICAL REDISCOVERIES

#### A. Post-Conciliar Uncertainty

Where do these changes of theological perspective leave Ignatius's "pilgrim priests," sent out from Rome by the vicar of Christ to call alien or straying sheep into the Catholic fold? Clearly several of Ignatius's key suppositions no longer correspond with contemporary Catholic thinking. The Council documents' repeated acknowledgment that God's grace also operates for salvation outside Catholic or even Christian boundaries seems to rob

missionary activity, such as Ignatius and Xavier conceived it to be, of much of its urgency. And the Council's undoubted intention to present a more nuanced picture of Church authority than had appeared in the documents of Vatican I or in traditional theological manuals--its repeated effort to situate the role of the pope at the center of a college of bishops in mutual communion, whose power to rule and teach is conferred by their ordination, not by papal delegation, and who are, as a college, responsible with the pope for the Church's growth and well-being--clearly raises serious questions about the continued relevance of a group of traveling papal trouble-shooters like Ignatius's companions. It should not surprise us that the late 1960s and early 1970s, that period celebrated for change and uncertainty in so many aspects of Catholic life, should also have been a time when European and American Catholics asked themselves hard questions about the purpose of the foreign missions. In harmony with the Council's emphasis on the primacy of the local community as a model of the Church, Jesuits all over the world seem to have become more concerned, in those years, with the needs of Christians in their own culture, and correspondingly less moved to commit themselves to a life of ministry overseas. Though the Council's decree on missionary activity is surely somewhat cautious in its endorsement of the Church's direct involvement in economic and social development, apart from a context of Christian evangelization (*Ad Gentes* 12), an inevitable result of the Council's new turning towards "the world" was also that much of the international consciousness and missionary energy of young Western Catholics in the 1970s took on a social and political, even a secular character.

Our own 32nd General Congregation made a strong attempt to address some of these newly problematic issues. Its introductory document, "The Jesuit Today," eloquently reaffirmed the dynamic restlessness and the international, intercultural character of Jesuit community (13-14, 16-18, 26), as well as underlining the Society's traditionally close link to the person and pastoral concerns of the pope (14, 23-24, 31). And Decree 4--the Congregation's most controversial product, perhaps, but surely also the document that has been most influential on contemporary Jesuit life--not only turned the whole Society's attention, more seriously than ever before, to global issues of justice, but tried seriously to situate our work for social justice and human development within the wider context of our full preaching of the gospel; that is, within our "mission" from the

Lord, in the sense of the *Exercises* and the *Constitutions*, to "reveal to men and women the love of God" (13).<sup>21</sup> This connection between preaching the gospel and being actively concerned for justice in the world where one preaches it had already been made by the international Synod of Bishops in its declaration of 1974, and was discussed still more exhaustively in Paul VI's great "apostolic exhortation" on evangelization of 1976, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*. In spite of these documents, however, I have the sense that many of the questions Jesuits have about the meaning and urgency of our international apostolate still remain unanswered.

### B. Two Fundamental Issues

I do not propose to answer those questions here: not only because of the limitations of space and my own talent, but because I believe that there lie at the root of much of our contemporary search for the right scope and style of missionary activity in the Catholic Church at least two very profound theological issues--issues that are only beginning to be addressed in depth, and that may well occupy the collective mind and spiritual instinct of the Church in the next century or two the way the formulation of the Trinitarian doctrine of God occupied the century of Athanasius.

One of these issues is the question of the uniqueness of Christ in the history of human salvation, as that salvation is now conceived by contemporary theology and by the documents of Vatican II. It is the question of determining the relationship of Jesus of Nazareth to that divine grace which, in the words of *Gaudium et Spes* (22), "works in the hearts of all people of good will in an unseen way." All grace in human history, for Christian faith, is in a fundamental sense *gratia Christi*; "there is one God," writes Paul to Timothy, "and there is one mediator between God and humanity, the man Christ Jesus . . ." (1 Tim. 2:5). If Jesus, and only Jesus, is for Christian faith the one in whom God's loving gift of himself to humanity has taken the concrete shape of a human person who speaks to us and touches us, who shares the pain and the beauty of our life on earth, then that divine gift to others cannot be different from what we find incarnate in him. The problem is one of integration. How can the Christianity of the late 20th and the 21st centuries conceive of this decisive explicitness of Jesus, this centrality of the Incarnation in human history--as its Christian confession compels it to do--and still take other gospels, other systems of belief, seriously on

their own terms, as ways to the same God? How can Christians articulate this understanding of Jesus as Lord of all history without appearing condescending or hopelessly narrow to people of other religious traditions?

The second unanswered question that touches our Jesuit mission, more internal to Christianity but equally momentous and perhaps equally difficult to answer, concerns the nature of authority in the Church, particularly teaching authority. How is that authority best held and shared today? More specifically, what should the role of the pope be in relation to the other bishops of the Catholic communion and in relation to the authority structures of other communions, with which the Catholic Church hopes to re-establish some kind of sacramental unity? What is the pope's ministry in a universal Church where supreme authority to teach and to lead is held *in solidum*, according to recent Conciliar teaching, by the whole body of bishops? How does the pope exercise his leadership, his pastoral initiative, his oversight of the episcopal college, without returning to the "chain-of-command" model of authority prevalent in Catholic thinking before Vatican II? Closer to home, how can the pope make use of the services of international ministerial bodies like the Society of Jesus, whose distinctive character lies in their claim to be responsible to him alone, without infringing on the integrity of the local Churches?

These two sets of questions, as I have said, seem to me to be central today--perhaps the two most critical theological issues we face as a Church; both, from what I can see, are still far from having definitive solutions.<sup>22</sup> What I want to suggest here, however, is that there are still excellent theological reasons for trying to preserve and even re-emphasize the universal, dynamic character of our Jesuit work as we find it in our founding documents, and that our own Jesuit tradition of universal ministry may well be a help to us--and to others in our Church--towards sketching out the beginnings of answers to the questions I have mentioned.

### C. The Universal Role of Christ

Let us begin with the Christological question: How can Christ be savior, vehicle of divine grace, for all peoples even if most human beings do not know him and must in fact respond to that grace through explicitly non-Christian forms of faith? For classical scholastic and post-Reformation theology, the question was a very difficult one even to formulate, and

theologians usually tried to answer it in terms of "implicit faith" in Christ and the "implicit desire for baptism."<sup>23</sup> Honest as such attempts were, they inevitably strike one as overly contrived and as failing to take seriously enough the religious integrity and the God-given goodness of countless non-Christians. Yet post-Vatican II theology has hardly succeeded in doing better. Much of our present perplexity over this question comes, I suspect, from the almost exclusively historical, individual way in which modern theology--and modern Catholic preaching--tends to approach the mystery of Jesus. We tend nowadays, as the cliché goes, to favor an "ascending" Christology, a Christology "from below."<sup>24</sup> We tend, in other words, to take as the starting-point of our faith the full humanity of Jesus, with all that implies for our new stress on the humanity of the Church. We want to begin our Christian commitment as disciples of Jesus the prophet, hearers of his human word as it is recorded in the Gospels. We want to think of ourselves as brothers and sisters of a man who lived through the same human and religious struggle we do. Only from the perspective of Jesus the man of faith, Jesus the prophet, Jesus the weak yet faithful fellow-sufferer, does the contemporary theologian and preacher begin to ask what it means that we also call him "Lord" and "Son of God."

I certainly do not want to imply that this approach to Christology, when done responsibly and within the fairly broad limits of the Church's tradition of faith, is not useful and even necessary. It is, after all, the way Jesus' followers came to know him: first "according to the flesh" (Rom. 1:3), in all his historical limitations, and only in the blinding, Spirit-filled light of Easter as the one who literally "came from God and returned to him" (John 13:3). The Christology of theological and devotional works before Vatican II, as well as that of most Catholic preaching, usually began with the assumption that Jesus is a "divine person" who "took on" humanity as something additional, something extrinsic to his real identity. It often was, in effect, a semi-monophysitism, which failed to do justice to the full, rich paradox of the classical Christology of Chalcedon; inevitably, such an understanding of Christ deflected the committed disciple from a full engagement with human concerns, and left Jesus remote, even inaccessible and forbidding.<sup>25</sup> Even so, I have the impression that Catholic Christology today--technical and popular--often suffers from the opposite kind of imbalance: a lack of interest in the fact that Christian faith, since New

Testament times, has called Jesus "Son of God" and recognized in him a constitutive part of the divine Mystery. This new imbalance, which stresses the historical, the particular, the human reality of Jesus at the expense of a more cosmic, universal understanding of his identity--an understanding that begins not in history but in the eternity of God--has the unfortunate result of making the question of Jesus's relationship to other religions difficult, if not impossible to explain satisfactorily in a Christian sense. One either absolutizes Jesus's message and style of life, as they are presented in all their historical concreteness in the Gospels, and identifies them simply as "God's way," implicitly refusing to recognize God's gracious revelation of his plans for humanity in other words, other ways; or else one discards the eschatological uniqueness of Jesus altogether, and sees him merely as one of many "great religious leaders," who have shown humanity the way to its highest aspirations, one of many "Christs."<sup>26</sup> Neither of these positions, it seems to me, is satisfactory for a Christian; and neither does justice to the full range of Christological terms and assertions found in the group of writings the Church accepts as the canonical New Testament.

What I am suggesting is that the more universal questions about the identity and importance of Jesus require us to be careful to balance the "ascending" Christology of the Synoptic Gospels against the Christology of divine incarnation we find in the Johannine writings, or the wisdom-Christology of Ephesians and Colossians. We need, in other words, both to begin our discipleship by trying to hear and understand the human Jesus, the prophetic Jesus, and to let that discipleship grow into faith by recognizing that he is the realization in human flesh of a timeless, universally present, inseparable aspect of the divine Mystery: the Word, by which that Mystery communicates itself, creates other reality, and reveals itself to that reality as a loving partner.

This is not the place to launch a full discussion of the Logos-theology or Wisdom-theology of the New Testament and early Christianity--its origins in late Jewish speculation on the role of the divine Wisdom in creation and in the adaptation and fusion of that tradition with Platonic and Stoic cosmology by Philo of Alexandria in the first century. I simply want to suggest, with all the partisan enthusiasm of a student of the Church Fathers, that this ancient tradition of Logos-Christology, of seeing a universally active and constantly creative and communicative aspect of God, which we

call Word, made flesh in Jesus but communicating with human hearts in countless ways throughout human history--this tradition of Logos-Christology opens up the most promising approach for us towards solving the problem of Jesus's relationship to non-Christian religions and values. It does this just as the more down-to-earth picture of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels is perhaps the most helpful starting-point for seeing him in his relationship to contemporary social issues. As early as the mid-second century, Justin Martyr saw the broad ecumenical potential of this Logos-Christology and expressed it in terms that strikingly anticipate recent discussion of the possibility of an "anonymous Christianity." Justin writes in his *First Apology* (46): "We have been taught that Christ is the first-begotten of God, and have previously testified that he is the Reason (*Logos*), in which every race of people participates. Those who have (in the past) lived in accordance with reason are Christians, even though they were called godless. Examples, among the Greeks, are Socrates, Heraclitus, and others like them; among non-Greeks, Abraham, Ananiah, Azariah, Mishael, Elijah and many others . . . So also those who lived apart from reason were ungracious, and enemies to Christ." Today one might translate Justin's stress on the use of God-given Reason into terms of conscience or selfless love, but his basic point remains clear and challenging: The divine gift that makes the life of every human being gracious, intelligible, and transparent with the values and characteristics Christians ascribe to God is, in its primal fulness, what has become flesh in Jesus of Nazareth.

About the year 180, Irenaeus of Lyons developed a similarly trans-historical understanding of the presence of Christ to all men and women, as part of his attack on the Gnostic tendency to downgrade most religious experience and to see salvation as promised only to the few who possess special knowledge. Irenaeus repeatedly insists on the unity of both God and history, and on the continuity of his saving self-revelation to his creatures. "There is one God," he writes, "who by his Word and Wisdom created and arranged all things . . . and who, as regards his greatness, is indeed unknown to all who have been made by him , , , but as regards his love, he is always known through him by whose means he ordained all things, Now this is his Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, who in the last times was made human among human beings, that he might join the end to the beginning--that is, humanity to God" (*Adversus Haereses* 4.20.4). It is the vision of God, in fact, that



gives life and sustenance to the human creature (ibid, 5-7); so God's revelation of himself to human minds and hearts is the core of his work of salvation--a process which began "through creation itself" (*Adv. Haer.* 4.4.6), which was brought to greater and more explicit clarity in the "prophets" of the Old Testament and which has reached its peak in Jesus, whose "advent has brought a fuller measure of grace and greater gifts to those who have received him" (*Adv. Haer.* 4.11.4). Still, Irenaeus remarks, the things of creation, as manifestations of God's love, "do indeed address all people in the same manner, but all do not in the same way believe them" (*Adv. Haer.* 4.6.6).

Thus Christ, as the incarnation of the Word who is always revealing God to human hearts, can in a true sense be called savior of all who are ready to find in creation a mystery of self-giving love and to let their lives be changed by that discovery. "For it was not merely for those who believed in him in the time of Tiberius Caesar," remarks Irenaeus, "that Christ came, nor did the Father exercise his providence only for the people who are now alive, but for all men and women together, who from the beginning, according to their capacity, in their generation both feared and loved God, and practiced justice and piety towards their neighbors, and have earnestly desired to see Christ and to hear his voice" (*Adv. Haer.* 4.22.2). How that desire is expressed and lived is as difficult for us to determine as it was for Irenaeus--more so, in fact, since we are undoubtedly far more aware of the multiplicity of human forms of faith, and the vastness of human history, than he was. Yet his principle that God is present throughout that history in Christ, in order to save all who search for him in their way, remains, like Justin's theology of the Word, fruitful and challenging. It calls on us to move beyond the Gnosticisms of our own day and to give careful thought to how we can preserve the trans-historical dimension in our own contemporary Christology.

This is not a perspective much emphasized in Catholic thinking during the past two decades, for reasons I have already given. Yet I think it is an aspect of traditional Christology that holds great promise for the "wider ecumenism" that reaches towards a religious unity beyond inter-Christian relations. More important for us here, it is an aspect of Christology thoroughly compatible with our own Ignatian spirituality and with our traditional conception of our mission. It seems to echo the Christology of

the *Exercises*, where Christ, however concretely and humanly one imagines him as one prays, is first of all the "King eternal and universal Lord," is one of the Holy Trinity "so lately incarnate" for humanity's salvation (*SpEx*, [98, 109]). It echoes, too, the Christology implied in the founding documents of the Society, where (as George Ganss remarks in the introduction to his monumental translation of that work) it is so often tantalizingly unclear whether "God our Lord," who dwells and labors and loves in all creatures and who summons and rules the Society through his earthly vicars, is the whole divine Trinity or specifically the Word, the Son.<sup>27</sup> This is, significantly, very much the Christological perspective of Teilhard de Chardin, whose efforts to bring together his own faith and his prayer-experience as a Jesuit priest with his years of thoroughly secular scientific work as a palaeontologist in China led him to see Christ as the central, unifying reason of created reality, the one who makes sense of a bewilderingly variegated and constantly evolving world and who acts as the life-giving goal of the universe's constant growth.<sup>28</sup> Taken by itself, a "cosmic Christology" like Justin's, Irenaeus's, or Teilhard's can be a strong, intoxicating potion that makes us forget the personal and social challenge of Jesus's words and death. It can become an ideological excuse for overlooking the prophetic dimension of Christian discipleship in our time--just as an exclusively "ascending" Christology can become the ideological underpinning for a Christianity that sees discipleship exclusively in terms of power and confrontation. Yet the identity of Jesus as the human, personal realization of God's universally revealing and saving Word is part and parcel of our Christian Biblical revelation of the mystery of Christ. And it is one that we, as Jesuits, cannot afford to forget, lest we lose something of the universal apostolic concern to which our companionship with Jesus commits us.<sup>29</sup>

#### D. The Universal Ministry of the Pope

The second set of theological questions I mentioned, on the role and nature of authority--especially papal authority--in a Church and a world that are both moving towards more complicated, less individually focused structures of power, finds fewer hints for fruitful answers in the theology of the New Testament or the early Church. Clearly the individual Christian communities had developed some kind of episcopal leadership by the mid-second

century, and clearly communion with the Church of Rome, expressed principally through fraternal relations between the Roman bishop and the bishops of the other sees, came more and more to be seen as a touchstone of orthodoxy and orthopraxis during the third and fourth centuries.<sup>30</sup> It is not until the late fourth century, however, that we find Roman bishops expressing anything like a sense of universal pastoral concern, a sense that it is their responsibility and their right, in virtue of their office, to intervene directly in the affairs of dioceses beyond Rome's borders; and it was only Leo the Great, in the middle of the fifth century, who connected this universal pastoral concern with Jesus' commission to Peter in Matthew 16.<sup>31</sup> This universal scope of papal responsibility has evolved enormously, of course, in the centuries since Leo: first in the institutional developments of an internationally oriented papal bureaucracy in the Middle Ages, after the Gregorian reforms, and again--with special reference to the pope's universal teaching authority--in the Church's nineteenth-century struggle against the secularism of post-Enlightenment Europe. Many signs in the documents of Vatican II seem to suggest that our understanding of leadership in the Catholic Church is still evolving, towards something more compatible with the early Christian ideal of Christendom as a communion of local communions. Still, it is inevitable that the pope will continue to play a key role in personally fostering and preserving that universal union in faith and in the works of love.

The real issue now is how to define that unifying role of the papacy in practical terms. We are only beginning to address this sensitive question seriously, and some of the most interesting reflections on it so far have come from an ecumenical context: from Protestant scholars looking to find a bridge between their own Churches and Catholicism, or else from joint commissions charged with theological dialogue between the Catholic and various Protestant Churches. The most elaborate recent ecumenical discussion of the pope's role in a unified Christian body appears in the 1976 "Venice Statement" of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC), which dealt with authority in the Church.<sup>32</sup> Here, after a discussion of the broader question of authority in the Christian community, the joint commission agrees on the central importance for a world-wide Christianity of a primacy exercised by the bishop of Rome "in order to guard and promote the faithfulness of all Churches to Christ and to one another" (12).<sup>33</sup>

Later on, the document characterizes this primacy more closely: "Primacy fulfils its purpose by helping the Churches to listen to one another, to grow in love and unity, and to strive together towards the fullness of Christian life and witness: it respects and promotes Christian freedom and spontaneity; it does not seek uniformity where diversity is legitimate, or centralize administration to the detriment of local churches . . . The only see which makes any claim to universal primacy and which has exercised and still exercises such *episkope* is the see of Rome, the city where Peter and Paul died. It seems appropriate that in any future union a universal primacy such as has been described should be held by that see" (21-23).<sup>34</sup>

In this statement, despite its caution and even its deliberate vagueness, a very definite, centrally important ministry to the universal body of Christians is seen as the special duty of the bishop of Rome: the work of fostering and protecting world-wide Christian unity, of making the body of Christians throughout the world a Church that is both catholic and one, by taking steps to preserve the holiness of its practice and the apostolicity of its faith. In a later statement on authority in the Church, published at Windsor in 1981, the same Anglican-Roman Catholic Commission defined primacy still more closely, in a way that recalls the understanding of the Roman bishop's role attested by third- and fourth-century Latin writers: "Primacy is not an autocratic power over the Church but a service in and to the Church which is a communion in faith and charity of local churches . . . The purpose of the universal primate's jurisdiction is to enable him to further catholicity as well as unity and to foster and draw together the riches of the diverse traditions of the Churches" (19, 21).<sup>35</sup> Just how a bishop of Rome could carry out this ministry effectively, without doing violence either to the Catholic or to the various Protestant and Orthodox conceptions of Church structure and polity, is a question so vast and so freighted with painful history that it paralyzes the imagination. Clearly all the Christian Churches have a good deal of growing to do, in their conception of their own role in the contemporary world and in their effective desire to transcend the resentments and divisions of the past, before a universally acceptable working model of universal primacy can seriously be conceived. Yet the theory, I think, is already there, at least in its beginnings, in this conception of the papacy as first and foremost an agency aimed at serving the world-wide unity of Christians.

It is in the context of such a universal Petrine ministry, surely, that the special ministry of the Society of Jesus in the Church must also be seen, especially as that ministry is expressed in our fourth vow. As a body of men committed to go without delay wherever the pope chooses to send us, we have defined our pastoral concern as being beyond any diocese or culture or type of work, as being fundamentally as broad, as catholic, as restlessly responsive to world-wide human need as is the pope's own. We have made ourselves, by our *Constitutions* and by our tradition of loyalty and accessibility to the Holy See, an extraordinarily sophisticated instrument for the popes to use precisely in accomplishing this Petrine ministry of building Christian unity and preserving the apostolic tradition. In the light of the "wider ecumenism" expressed in *Gaudium et Spes* and many of the encyclicals of the last three popes--a concern to unify not only Christians but all "men and women of good will" in the effort to build a more just and peaceful world--surely the Society's recent commitment to promote justice and peace can also be seen as the fruit of its desire to share in the evangelizing concerns of Peter. Nadal's view, that the pope's pastoral role includes the care of those throughout the world who have no one else to care for them adequately, seems to have regained a great deal of its relevance and urgency.

"The more universal a good is, the more it is divine." This famous principle of St. Ignatius, enunciated in the *Constitutions* as the ultimate criterion for assigning Jesuit ministries, can be seen as carrying in itself an implicit theology of redemption, which, in its turn, colors and shapes our understanding of both Christ and his Church. The divine Good, the laboring love that pours God's life outward into creation, is a good that knows no exclusion except free human rejection. The risen Christ, the universal Lord of history, clearly wills to touch every part of this earth with his presence, to draw every human heart to his service, by whatever means concretely lend themselves to this work. Ignatius's vision of a universal ministry of Jesuits seems to be derived, above all, from his desire that he and his companions cooperate in realizing this universal divine beneficence, be bearers to our world of the good that God is, the good that Christ made flesh.

Seen in this light, the ministry of the Jesuit must be first of all a life of service to the universally redeeming Christ, "the Light that

enlightens everyone who comes into this world," Our bearing of his light, our preaching of the Word who became flesh, must begin, of course, by being itself incarnate in our own Christian and Catholic tradition; we speak of the Lord we know, in the terms and symbols in which we have come to know him. Nevertheless, we do this as representatives of Christianity in its most universal form: as members of a Church whose distinctive claim is that it is both Catholic and apostolic, and as men sent by the pope, the servant of the Church's unity, to help realize his central concern for building up that apostolicity and that catholicity. And as the service of a God who is universally good, our ministry--whatever form it takes--must, I think, be specially characterized by openness to God's gracious presence in other values, other patterns of belief beyond those of Christians. Precisely as men given a universal mission in the Church of the Word made flesh, Jesuits ought to be peculiarly able to perceive that Word in other guises--guises that are less explicit, perhaps, less fully incarnate than that in which we have come to know him, but equally gracious and life-giving. We ought to be singularly able to realize in our work the high ideal of the Church's ministry to the world that is proposed in *Lumen Gentium* (17; see also *Ad Gentes* 9): "Through her work, whatever good is in the minds and hearts of men and women, whatever good lies latent in the religious practices and cultures of diverse peoples, is not only saved from destruction but is also healed, ennobled and perfected into the glory of God, the confusion of the devil, and the happiness of the human race."

#### IV. SOME QUESTIONS FOR US

These reflections have taken us very far from Jesuit international ministries, perhaps--high into the vague stratosphere of theological language. But I think any re confrontation with St. Ignatius's conception of what Jesuits do, and where they should do it, also puts serious practical questions to us about our own apostolates. Granted, times have changed--they probably began changing during Ignatius's own lifetime, as numbers grew and the need for permanent works became obvious; so his romantic, slightly quixotic ideal of the homeless wandering apostle, the "pilgrim priest," has always remained an exceptional form of the Jesuit vocation. Granted, too, we cannot hope to organize and sustain a collective ministry that has any chance of

influencing our society without regional structures like provinces and assistancies that focus and steer our efforts, and without stable institutions like colleges, schools, institutes, and periodicals as a base for our common activity. Even so, anyone who reads Part VII of the *Constitutions* can hardly escape the impression that we have become very provincial in our apostolic concerns, and very rigid in our way of realizing them, since Ignatius's day.

Do we really think of our vocation as a mission to the whole world, the service of a universal Lord in his universal Church? How seriously do we take our fourth vow--as a way of situating our pastoral concerns, if not as an ordinary instrument for receiving our assignments? How concerned *are* we, really, for the needs of the Church beyond our own culture, beyond the place of our immediate labors? How ready are any of us to be "sent"--to be mobile in our work, to be uprooted, if need be, over and over in order to begin something new? How indifferent *are* we, really, about where we work or about the permanence of the institutions we work in? How much does our need for security, our eagerness to have some kind of tenure, keep us from seriously considering both the Society's universal call and our own part in answering it? How far are our provincials ready to put their perception of the Church's wider needs ahead of the needs of the part of the Society for which they are directly responsible? What new structures does the Society need--in this country and internationally--to make the broader evaluation and shaping of our ministries possible?

What about our existing international apostolates? What is their real aim? Are they simply concerned with implanting and promoting Catholic institutions in countries where the Catholic Church is relatively small or relatively new or relatively understaffed, or do they also aim beyond Catholic interests towards a wider human unity, a more universal good? Do we take non-Catholic Christians, and non-Christian "men and women of good will," seriously enough as partners in our mission from the God of grace? Is our work for the promotion of justice really aimed at promoting the New Testament ideals of reconciliation and unity among a society's conflicting factions, or is it mere uncritical partisanship? Is our work for justice consciously, reflexively rooted in our concern to "preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ as Lord"--or has our "service of faith and promotion of justice" become simply social action?

I do not ask these questions as an indirect way of criticizing anyone, or of inducing feelings of guilt in Jesuits who are sincerely trying to respond to God's call. They really *are* questions for me--questions based partly on my own ignorance and partly on the inescapable ambiguities of belonging to a body of men of our own time and culture, who feel themselves called to a service that transcends both. Perhaps there are no clear answers to most of these questions. I think, however, that it is important we ask them of ourselves over and over, if only to remind ourselves of what the ideal of St. Ignatius calls us to, and of our need constantly to translate that ideal--that scope, that urgency, that mobility, that singleness of evangelical purpose--into the terms our world and our Church needs. The curious paradox, after all, of loving and serving the eternal Word of God, who became flesh and dwelt among us, is that our service must be both utterly concrete, utterly concerned with flesh-and-blood realities, and at the same time always pointed beyond the immediate, beyond the individual person or place or need, to the God who is *semper maior*.

Our Jesuit brother, Gerard Manley Hopkins, caught the heart of this paradox of our service as well as anyone ever has in his famous sonnet "As Kingfishers Catch Fire." There, you remember, after celebrating the unrepeatable, irreplaceable uniqueness of every thing and every person, Hopkins goes on, in the sestet, to assert the remarkable Christian conviction that every human creature, in spite of his or her uniqueness and diversity, is, in God's eye, identified with Christ:

For Christ plays in ten thousand places,  
Lovely in limbs, and lovely in eyes not his  
To the Father through the features of men's faces.

It is our privilege, as Jesuits, to be always en route to one or another of those ten thousand places, meeting the eyes and supporting the limbs of people in every nation and on every level of faith, in the burning desire to meet this Christ for ourselves, and to help his Kingdom come.



FOOTNOTES

ABBREVIATIONS Used in the Footnotes

<i>Cons</i>	<i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus</i>
<i>ConsSJComm</i>	St. Ignatius of Loyola. <i>The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Translated, with an Introduction and a Commentary</i> , by George E. Ganss, S.J.
<i>EppIgn</i>	<i>Sti. Ignatii Epistolae et Instructiones</i> . 12 volumes in MHSJ
<i>LettersIgn</i>	<i>Letters of St. Ignatius</i> . Translated by William J. Young, S.J.
MHSJ	The series of the Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu
<i>MonBroet</i>	<i>Epistolae Patris Paschasi Broet</i> . In MHSJ
<i>SpEx</i>	<i>The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius</i>

- 1 *ConsSJComm*, [308], p. 172. All my quotations from the *Constitutions* and the Formula of the Institute (*Exposcit debitum*) will be taken from this edition.
- 2 *Ibid.*, [304].
- 3 *Ibid.*, [92; see also 82].
- 4 *Ibid.*, [586].
- 5 *Ibid.*, [588].
- 6 *Ibid.*, [626].
- 7 *Ibid.*, [605].
- 8 *Ibid.*, [603], emphasis added.
- 9 *Ibid.* See also [636].
- 10 J. W. O'Malley, S.J., "To Travel to Any Part of the World : Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, XVI, 2 (March, 1984).
- 11 Formula of the Institute, [3], in *ConsSJComm*, p. 66. For a profound reflection on the centrality of a "prophetic priesthood" to the Jesuit vocation, see M. J. Buckley, S.J., "Jesuit Priesthood: Its Meaning and Commitments," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, VIII, 5 (Dec., 1976), esp. pp. 140-151.
- 12 This title--for lack of a more formal designation such as "Jesuit"--was applied by Curial officials to the early Italian Jesuit Francesco Strada in 1539 (see P. Tacchi-Venturi, S.J., *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, 2,1 [Rome, 1950], p. 213). It was probably a common appellation for Ignatius's companions before the institutional formation of the Society. See also P. Dudon, S.J. (tr. W. J. Young, S.J.), *Ignatius of Loyola* (Milwaukee, 1949), pp. 267f. Ignatius's companions apparently preferred to refer to themselves as "pilgrim priests" (*preti pellegrini*), as can be seen from the addresses of letters between

Jesuits in 1537. See *MonBroet*, pp. 523-526; Tacchi-Venturi, p. 133. For a description of their ministry at this period, see Tacchi-Venturi, pp. 109ff., 135-138.

- 13 See also the carefully composed description of the early work of Ignatius's companions in *Exposcit debitum*, [2]: "They were . . . Masters of Arts, graduates from the University of Paris, and trained in theological studies for many years, who, inspired by the Holy Spirit, had departed from their various regions and met one another some time before. They had become companions in an exemplary and religious life, renounced the attractions of this world, and dedicated their lives forever to the service of our Lord Jesus Christ and to that of the Roman Pontiff, himself and his successors. They had by then praiseworthy exerted themselves in the Lord's vineyard for many years by preaching the word of God, by privately encouraging the faithful to devout meditations and to a good and blessed life, by serving in hospitals, by teaching to children and unlettered persons the saving doctrines necessary for the education of a Christian, and, in a word, by performing with much praise in whatsoever countries they journeyed, and each one according to the grace granted him by the Holy Spirit Himself, all the services of charity which pertain to the edification of souls" (*ConsSJComm*, p. 64). This description of the companions' background and training, community life and early apostolic activity is really Ignatius's earliest description of the Jesuit ideal.
- 14 *Cons*, [622a].
- 15 *Ibid.*, [622d].
- 16 *The First Followers of Jesus: a Sociological Analysis of the Earliest Christianity* (London, 1978), esp. pp. 8-16.
- 17 See J. W. O'Malley, S.J., "The Fourth Vow in Its Ignatian Context: a Historical Study," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, XV, 1 (Jan., 1983), 8-14, and the bibliography discussed there.
- 18 *LettersIgn*, p. 369.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 368f.
- 20 This same understanding of the ordinary power of bishops is expressed in can. 375 of the new Code of Canon Law.
- 21 See Francisco Ivern's thoughtful discussion of this decree and its subsequent "reception" by the Society: "The Future of Faith and Justice: a Critical Review of Decree Four," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, XIV, 5 (Nov., 1982).
- 22 For an excellent reflection on the range of Christological models used today in Catholic theology, and on the range of conceptions of the Church and of salvation each model implies, see J. P. Schineller, S.J., "Christ and the Church: a Spectrum of Views," in W. J. Burghardt, S.J., and W. G. Thompson, S.J., (eds.), *Why the Church?* (New York, 1977), pp. 1-22.
- 23 For a representative discussion of this question in a recent pre-Vatican II dogmatic textbook, see J. Pohle (rev. J. Gummersbach), *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik 2* (Paderborn, 1956), 607-611. While insisting that God offers sufficient and necessary grace for salvation to everyone, Pohle and Gummersbach emphasize that faith in God's supernatural revelation is a

necessary means to the acceptance of that grace on the part of the human person. Such faith, they argue, must include an explicit assent to the existence of God and to his role as eschatological judge, as well as at least the readiness to believe (*fides implicita*) in the dogmas of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the immortality of the soul, and the necessity of grace for salvation (609ff.).

- 24 Perhaps the best recent survey in English of the various approaches presently being taken to the study of Christology, and of their terminology, is J. P. Schineller, S.J., "The Newer Approaches to Christology and Their Use in the Spiritual Exercises," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, XII, 4-5 (Sept.-Nov., 1980), 2-31. Brian McDermott, S.J., has made a perceptive analysis of the Christology of several leading Catholic theologians in "Roman Catholic Christology: Two Recurring Themes," *Theological Studies*, 41 (1980), 339-367. More compressed but valuable is the opening section of Walter Kasper, *Jesus the Christ* (New York, 1976), pp. 15-61. See also Karl Rahner's reflections on the relative strengths and weaknesses of classical and contemporary Christologies in his essay from 1973, "Christology Today?" in *Theological Investigations*, 17 (New York, 1981), pp. 24-38. In a more recent essay, "Christologie heute," *Schriften*, 15 (Freiburg, 1983), pp. 220f. (not yet available in English), Rahner insists that every responsible Christology today must be an "ascending Christology" (*Aufstiegschristologie*) in the sense that it must begin with the historical Jesus, insofar as he is accessible to us, and ask, "What is Jesus for us?" before trying to answer the question, "Who is he in himself?"
- 25 Undoubtedly one of the reasons for the centrality of Marian devotion in Catholic life since the seventeenth century was the contrast between her accessibility to us, as a fully human person to whom God has "done great things," and the other-worldly Jesus presented in theological works and popular preaching. In Louis Grignion de Montfort's famous little book, *True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary*, for example, composed at the beginning of the 18th century. God is presented as a severe, demanding judge (No. 27: *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1966, p. 501); Christ, our mediator with the Father, is also stern and distant, because he is so exclusively identified with God (e.g., No. 31: *ibid.*, pp. 503f.; No. 78: *ibid.*, pp. 536f.; No. 149: *ibid.*, p. 580). So the sinful Christian needs Mary as a "mediator" with Christ the mediator (Nos. 83-86: *ibid.*, pp. 540-543). A true mother, she is strong and dominant towards her son (No. 27: *ibid.*, pp. 500f.; No. 139: *ibid.*, p. 574), yet capable of being gentle and compassionate, of showing real "humanity," towards her adopted children (Nos. 144-150: *ibid.*, pp. 577-581). The implication throughout De Montfort's work is that Mary is able to sympathize with us in a way Jesus is not; an attitude that is as much Christological as it is Mariological.
- 26 This is the position finally adopted by J. A. T. Robinson, for instance, in his book on Christology, *The Human Face of God* (London, 1972), pp. 212-224.
- 27 *ConsSJComm*, p. 7.
- 28 See his reflections, for instance, on the role of Christ as focusing and realizing the "diaphany" of God in creation, in *The Divine Milieu* (New York, 1960), pp. 99-107. Teilhard expresses this "cosmic" Christology

- here in characteristically geophysical terms: "We shall . . . see with a wave of joy that *the divine omnipresence* translates itself within our universe by the network of the organizing forces of the total Christ. God exerts pressure in us and upon us--through the intermediary of all the powers of heaven, earth and hell--only in the act of forming and consummating Christ who saves and suranimates the world. And since, in the course of this operation, Christ himself does not act as a dead or passive point of convergence, but as a center of radiation for the energies which lead the universe back to God through his humanity, the layers of divine action finally come to us impregnated with his organic energies" (ibid., p. 101). For further study of Teilhard's Christology, see C. F. Mooney, S.J., *Teilhard de Chardin and the Mystery of Christ* (New York, 1966); and J. A. Lyons, S.J., *The Cosmic Christ in Origen and Teilhard de Chardin* (Oxford, 1982). For some brief reflections on the implications of Ignatius's "high Christology" for his understanding of the world, sin, and history, see A. Dulles, S.J., "Saint Ignatius and the Jesuit Theological Tradition," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, XIV, 2 (March, 1982), 3-5.
- 29 For a stimulating discussion of the theological issues at stake here, and an attempt to situate Jesus at the center of a universal history of salvation through the concept of *memoria*, see K. Rahner, "Jesus Christ in the Non-Christian Religions," *Theological Investigations*, 17 (New York, 1981), pp. 39-50.
- 30 For a classic sketch of the early Christian conception of the universal Church as a *communio communionum*, and of the role of the bishop of Rome in that world-wide communion, see L. Hertling, S.J. (tr. J. Wicks, S.J.), *Church and Papacy in Early Christianity* (Chicago, 1972).
- 31 See, e.g., Leo, *Serm.* 2.2; 3.1-3; see also J. Rivière, "In partem sollicitudinis . . . Évolution d'une formule pontificale," *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 5 (1925), 210-231.
- 32 This document, along with the other documents of ARCIC and the "Elucidations" made in response to public reactions to them, appears in a collection published by the joint commission: *The Final Report* (London, 1982). A collection of essays by American Catholic and Lutheran scholars on the role of the papacy is P. C. Empie and T. A. Murphy (eds.), *Papal Primacy and the Universal Church: Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue*, 5 (Minneapolis, 1974). An excellent survey of such discussions and their historical and theological background is J. Michael Miller, C.S.B., *The Divine Right of the Papacy in Recent Ecumenical Theology* in *Analecta Gregoriana*, 218 (Rome, 1980). For a recent book-length exposition of the papal ministry as the promotion of the Church's Catholicity, by an eminent Catholic ecumenical theologian, see J. M. Tillard, O.P., *The Bishop of Rome* (Wilmington, 1982).
- 33 *The Final Report*, p. 58.
- 34 Ibid., pp. 63f.
- 35 Ibid., p. 90.



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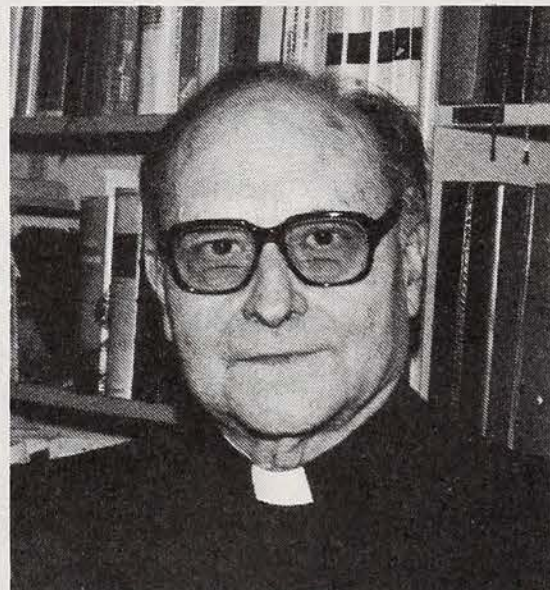
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## THE AUTHOR

Father Cándido de Dalmases was born in Barcelona in 1906 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1921. He made his philosophical and theological studies in Spain, Holland, and Italy, and was ordained a priest in 1936. After tertianship in Belgium, in 1938 he became a collaborator on the scholarly periodical *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, published by the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome. But his chief work there soon became the editing of critical editions of primary sources about St. Ignatius

—notably the four volumes of *Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio* (1943-1965), *Exercitia Spiritualia: Textus* (1969), and *Fontes Documentales* (1977). He has also published over eighty scholarly monographs. He is presently an active member of the Jesuit Historical Institute, of which he was the Director from 1947 to 1954 and 1958 to 1964.



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or **exaggerations** according to the literary or hagiographical customs of their times. They made Ignatius into a colossal figure not very human or winning. Other books distorted or defamed him. In the 1800s efforts were made at **more scientific** lives. But most of the primary sources were still in unpublished handwritten manuscripts and were practically unavailable.

The enormous work of **winnowing the wheat from the chaff** was greatly furthered from 1894 onward, through the publication of critical editions of these sources by the Jesuit Historical Institute, first in Madrid and since 1929 in Rome. Father Dalmases has taken a prime part in this editing.

The Spanish original of the present book, *El Padre Maestro Ignacio: Breve biografía Ignaciana* (Madrid, 1979), was composed at the invitation of its publisher, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. This task turned out to be a challenge forcing the author to **select** from his vast knowledge the most **important facts** known about Ignatius and to **synthesize them** into a brief, well-rounded whole. Reviews of the Spanish original have pointed out its value to scholars and general readers alike.

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