



STUDIES

IN
THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

IES

The Pilgrim Journey of Ignatius

*From Soldier to Laborer in the Lord's Vineyard
and Its Implications
for Apostolic Lay Spirituality*

J. PETER SCHINELLER, S.J.

THE SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

The Seminar is composed of a number of Jesuits appointed from their provinces in the United States.

It concerns itself with topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially United States Jesuits, and communicates the results to the members of the provinces through its publication, *STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS*. This is done in the spirit of Vatican II's recommendation that religious institutes recapture the original inspiration of their founders and adapt it to the circumstances of modern times. The Seminar welcomes reactions or comments in regard to the material that it publishes.

The Seminar focuses its direct attention on the life and work of the Jesuits of the United States. The issues treated may be common also to Jesuits of other regions, to other priests, religious, and laity, to both men and women. Hence, the journal, while meant especially for American Jesuits, is not exclusively for them. Others who may find it helpful are cordially welcome to make use of it.

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Of all things

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31/4 · SEPTEMBER 1999

Of all things . . .

From July 29 to August 1 more than four hundred lay men and women, Jesuits, and several members of other religious orders from more than three dozen states and six foreign countries met at St. Louis University to take part in what was probably the largest conference ever held anywhere on Ignatian spirituality. Entitled "Companions in the Mission of Christ," the conference was sponsored by the St. Louis Center for Ignatian Spirituality and the Jesuits of the Missouri Province. The idea for the conference arose in part out of the work of the Thirty-fourth General Congregation and, in particular, its document "Cooperation with the Laity in Mission."

Dr. Monika Hellwig, executive director of the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities, and I collaborated in delivering the opening address, "The Development of Ignatian Spirituality in Forming Men and Women for Others"; and Sister Marian Cowan, C.S.J., artist and spiritual director, made the concluding presentation on Ignatius's vision for the twenty-first century. In between, there was a major panel presentation on Ignatian spirituality in the Church today and almost three dozen workshops by more than that number of presenters on subjects as diverse as "Ignatian Spirituality and other Cultures," "Adapting the Movements of the Exercises to the World Wide Web," "Psychology and Spirituality," "Ignatian Spirituality in Academic Life," "Christian Life Communities and the Spiritual Exercises," "Mentoring Directors for the Nineteenth-Anniversary Retreat," "Women and the Spiritual Exercises," "Ignatian Spirituality in Academic Life," and "Ignatian Spiritual Development for High-School Faculty and Staff." The liturgies at the conference even featured a new hymn especially written for them by John Foley, S.J., "When Our Eyes Open, Lord."

To turn from the present to the past, this year, 1999, we celebrate the four-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the day, August 15, 1549, that Francis Xavier set foot in Japan. Next year, 2000, it will be four hundred years since the Roman Inquisition burned the pantheist philosopher Giordano Bruno at the stake in the Campo dei Fiori in Rome. And the year after that, 2001, it will also be four hundred years since Matteo Ricci was finally able to settle in Beijing, China. Between the two events opening up a new and unexpected world in which the Church could preach the Gospel in Asia, that same Church still fearfully executed heretics. Geographically speaking, Asia was opening a new world for the Western mind, with theological consequences yet to come; and, philosophically and theologically speaking, an old world was dying in Europe over the course of more than a century, beginning with the Reformation and culminating in the full flowering of the Enlightenment. Pioneers on the edges of Christendom were willing to take chances and act boldly in order to preach the Gospel effectively. Bureaucrats at its center, however, in the name of preserving that same Gospel, wanted to allow them to take no chances at all. Today there are no major lands yet to be discovered geographically, but culturally the Church is still in the era of discovery and exploration, hesitating between the

exhilaration and fear of coming upon the unexpected and summoning all its imagination or lack thereof to take the next steps. Which will it be as along with the Church we move from 1999 to 2000 and then to 2001 and then on into the future? Will Xavier and Ricci be our exemplars or Bruno and his judges?

What challenges you as a Jesuit at the end of this millennium and the beginning of the next? *Jivan*, the journal of the Jesuits of South Asia, "asked this question of several south Asian Jesuits of every age and background," with this stipulation: "Give us a personal reply . . . not a bookish answer, but please be brief." *STUDIES* here and now extends that same invitation to any and all Jesuits of the United States Assistancy. Write us a brief personal letter in answer to that question: What challenges you as a Jesuit at the end of this millennium and the beginning of the next? We shall try to publish a good selection of those replies in our Letters section in subsequent issues of *STUDIES*. Send your reply to *STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS*, 3601 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, MO 63108.

Surely I should not have mentioned geography in the first remarks above, given the egregiously mistaken geographical remark in this column in the last issue of *STUDIES*. You will remember that while discussing the locations of Jesuits in the United States at the time of writing, I noted that the states "with nary a Jesuit within their borders [were] Michigan and Rhode Island." Of course, the former is not true. That state should have been Mississippi. How this mistake escaped the Argus-eyed author, editor, and proofreaders I do not know. It surely did not escape the eyes of sundry members of the Society whether residing in Michigan or not. I apologize to the Jesuit Michiganders and would gladly accept 138 lashes with a wet noodle, one from each of them living in the state, according to the 1999 Assistancy Catalog. One bright ray in the darkness of this error: The brethren certainly do read *STUDIES* attentively.

Finally, to recall an anniversary: Thirty years ago to the month, September 1969, the first issue of *STUDIES* appeared, with an inaugural essay by John R. Sheets, S.J., "A Profile of the Contemporary Jesuit: His Challenges and Opportunities."

John W. Padberg, S.J.
Editor

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THE PILGRIM JOURNEY OF IGNATIUS

From Soldier to Laborer in the Lord's Vineyard and Its Implications for Apostolic Lay Spirituality

Introduction

Jesuits speak of sharing the Ignatian tradition with lay colleagues. When we think of the spirituality of St. Ignatius, we spontaneously turn to the *Spiritual Exercises*.¹ We may also be aware of Ignatius's autobiography, the story of his conversion from knight to pilgrim.² We place considerable emphasis on his eighteen years as administrator in Rome and, even if they have not often been studied at length, the almost seven thousand letters that he wrote. The *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* are his final legacy, but these too have not been adequately studied in terms of their theology and

¹ George E. Ganss, S.J., trans., *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992).

² St. Ignatius of Loyola, *A Pilgrim's Testament: The Memoirs of St. Ignatius of Loyola As Transcribed by Luis Gonçalves da Câmara*, trans. Parmananda R. Divarkar, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995). This source will hereafter be cited as *PilgTest*.

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spirituality.³ Our aim here is to focus more upon the significance of the *Constitutions* in the development of the spirituality of St. Ignatius.⁴

While the text of the Exercises remains a classic, there is a legitimate need to interpret and supplement the Exercises.

Since the life of Ignatius took many turns and since he was so introspective, it seems natural to expect developments in his theology and spirituality. Numerous books and studies on the *Exercises* are available, and an increasing number on the *Constitutions*; however, little has been written on the relationship between these works, and even less on their different theological perspectives.

Let me set forth briefly three examples of areas where I believe a shift took place. Then it will become my task to ground and verify these shifts from the viewpoint of the mature Ignatius of the *Constitutions*.

- In the early Ignatius and in the *Exercises*, the image of the soldier and pilgrim dominates. In the later Ignatius of the *Constitutions*, the image of the Jesuit shifts significantly to that of “the laborer in the Lord’s vineyard.”

- Ribadeneira recounts a remarkable conversation that took place in July 1541. He notes that he was present when Father Master Laínez was with our Father Ignatius.

There came a moment when our Blessed Father Ignatius said to Father Laínez, “Tell me, Master Laínez, what does it seem to you that you would do were God our Lord to propose to you this case and say: ‘If you are willing to die on the spot, I shall withdraw you from the prison of this

³ *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996). This source will be cited as *Constitutions*.

⁴ A brief review of the time sequence of the life of Ignatius may be helpful as we move through the various documents. The book of the *Spiritual Exercises*, based upon his experience at Manresa, which took place in March 1522, was probably completed by 1535. It was first printed in 1548. His autobiography (*PilgTest*), dictated between 1553 and 1555, recounts events of his life from 1521 to 1538. The First Deliberations, from which issued the *First Sketch*, took place in March 1539. The first bull of approval, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, was issued on September 27, 1540, and confirmed by the bull *Exposcit debitum* of 1550. Ignatius and Jean Codure were commissioned to draw up constitutions but Codure died on August 29, 1541, and Ignatius continued the work. For the most part, our present text was written between 1546 and 1553. In 1547 Polanco began to assist Ignatius as his secretary.

body and grant you eternal glory. But if you wish to continue to live, I give you no surety of what will become of you, but leave you to your fate. . . .’ If our Lord were to tell you this—and you were to understand that, by remaining in this life for some time, you could render some great and notable service to the Divine Majesty—what would you choose? What would you answer?”

Láinez replied, “Father, I confess to Your Reverence that I should choose to depart at once to enjoy the vision of God, and thus assure my salvation and deliver myself from dangers in a matter of such importance.”

Then our Father said: “Now, I certainly should not have done so. Rather, had I judged that, remaining in this life, I could have rendered some singular service to our Lord, I should have besought him to leave me in it until I should have performed that service. And I should place my eyes on it and not on myself, having no regard for my danger or security.”⁵

Ignatius shifts from a spirituality where concern for his personal salvation is paramount, to an apostolic spirituality that centers on the commitment to do the Lord’s work. In the Exercises, as we will see, the goal of the human person is to praise, reverence, and serve God and by this means *to save one’s soul*. In the Constitutions, the end of our Institute and the aim or end of every Jesuit is rather to *labor for the salvation of souls*.

■ In the time of the annual retreat, for example, while engaged in the Spiritual Exercises, prayer for the Jesuit consists of several daily hour-long meditations or contemplations. In the Constitutions, Ignatian prayer governed by discreet charity emphasizes the examen and allows a wide range of vocal or mental prayers, with particular emphasis on prayer of petition.

At this point these are no more than assertions. They remain to be established, clarified, and expanded. Then the implications for contemporary spirituality, for Jesuit life and ministry, and possibly for lay ministry must be presented. I am turning to the Constitutions for a more complete understanding of the spirituality of St. Ignatius. I also maintain that in our interpretation and presentation of the Exercises, we are already bringing in elements of the later Ignatius, and viewpoints from contemporary theology and spirituality, although we do so without fully attending to what we are doing. One goal of this study is to show that while the text of the *Exercises* remains a classic, if one wants to be faithful to the mature spirituality of

⁵ Juan Luis Segundo refers to this story in his essay “Ignatius Loyola: Trial or Project?” in *Signs of the Times* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1993), 169f. The original story, in Spanish, is found in Pedro Ribadeneira’s sixth-century *Vita Ignatii Loyolæ* (Rome, 1965), 773–75. This is vol. 4 of the *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis*, from ser. 4 of the Monumenta Ignatiana, and vol. 93 of the Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI).

Ignatius, there is a legitimate need to interpret and supplement the Exercises.⁶

Our essay proceeds at two levels and in four parts. The first level examines the imagery Ignatius employs to describe himself and his mission. The change in imagery reflects the change at the second level, the level of theology or spirituality.⁷ In outline this essay comprises four main sections. First, we trace the development of the imagery Ignatius employs to describe his life and mission; second, the end of the person and the end of the Jesuit; third, apostolic prayer according to Ignatius; finally, we reflect on how elements of the Constitutions might be helpful in setting forth a lay apostolic spirituality.

From Soldier to Pilgrim to Laborer in the Lord's Vineyard

Several studies have pointed to developments in the understanding of the identify or self-image of Ignatius and to developments in our interpretation of Ignatius. For example, Joseph Conwell, in the preface to his book *Impelling Spirit*, writes that

[a] paradigm shift is coming about in our understanding of Ignatian and Jesuit spirituality, a shift from Ignatius as soldier-saint, a man of steely will, an orderly administrator, coldly rational, to Ignatius the mystic, man of passion and profound affectivity, responding to experience both rational and felt, a whole and holy man deeply in love.⁸

Tellechea Idigoras writes of the shifting image of Ignatius. Not only has Ignatius been depicted and studied as a soldier, writer, priest, guru, but he has even been psychoanalyzed.⁹ Marjorie Boyle marks the early progress of

⁶ José Rambla, S.J., is one scholar who makes this point. He indicates that there is as yet little written on how the Constitutions affect our understanding and presentation of the Exercises. See his essay "The Christian of the Constitutions, Model of the Christian of the Exercises," *CIS* 22, no. 1 (no. 66 of the series, 1991): 100-105.

⁷ John Futrell studies the major images of Ignatius in the dossier "Constitutions," A, *CIS* (Rome, 1971), 185-220.

⁸ Joseph Conwell, *Impelling Spirit* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997), xix.

⁹ Tellechea Idigoras, *Ignatius of Loyola, the Pilgrim Saint* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1994), xii ff.

Ignatius in four acts, suggested by the chapter titles of her book: "Knight Errant," "Ascetic", "Flying Serpent," and, finally, "The Pilgrim."¹⁰

Ignatius progressed from layperson or lay minister to ordained priest; from pilgrim preacher to more stable administrator in Rome; from one untrained in theology to Master of the University of Paris, from rigid ascetic to selfless apostle. In its Decree 1, "United with Christ on Mission," the recent Thirty-fourth General Congregation depicts our Jesuit mission today as that of following Jesus Christ "in light of the Ignatian images of pilgrimage and labor."¹¹ Early drafts of this document, which featured the image of the pilgrim almost exclusively, were later expanded to include the image of the laborer. Thus we read, "As pilgrims on Christ's mission, we are ready to be dispersed to any part of Christ's vineyard, to labor in those parts of it and in those works which have been entrusted to us" (8).¹²

Ignatius as Soldier

Ignatius is frequently represented as the soldier saint. He lays a foundation for this in the words that begin his autobiography: "Up to his twenty-sixth year he was a man given to worldly vanities, and having a vain and overpowering desire to gain renown, he found special delight in the exercise of arms" (1). In actuality he was a soldier for only a few years, and his career as a fighting soldier ended after the brief and unsuccessful campaign at Pamplona. The image of Ignatius as a chivalrous and valiant knight might be more apt than that of a soldier.

The soldier mentality persists as he begins his pilgrim journey. On the road he is tempted to slay the Moor who had spoken ill of Mary. The wise and blessed mule makes the proper decision for Ignatius and he takes the other road. (15f.). Soon after this, at Montserrat he performed the ritual of a soldier, keeping all-night vigil before the altar of our Lady. Here he arranged "to leave his mule behind and to hang his sword and dagger at our Lady's altar in the Church" (17).

After his conversion to a new way of life, Ignatius may well have envisioned himself as a crusader fighting for Christ the King, his commander

¹⁰ Marjorie Boyle, *Loyola's Acts: The Rhetoric of the Self* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

¹¹ *Documents of the Thirty-fourth General Congregation of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995), nos. 4-9.

¹² Unless otherwise indicated, numbers enclosed in parentheses denote boldface marginal numbers or paragraph numbers in the document being cited. Here, for example, (8) means marginal number 8 of decree 1.

in chief. This image is carried over into the Exercises.¹³ Like a crusader armed with the cross, Ignatius was ready to journey to the four corners of the earth in response to the call of Christ, a call often heard, he believed, in the recommendations of popes and bishops.

Gradually the connotation of the word "pilgrim" becomes associated with availability and mobility, the ongoing search for God, seeking how best to serve and find God.

The image of the soldier is strongly emphasized in the *Formulas of the Institute* of 1540 and 1550. Both documents begin, "Whoever wishes to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in our Society" (1), and continue, as we "campaign for God under faithful obedience to His Holiness" (3), and enlist "in this militia of Christ" (4).

The military image has its place in his letters and is surprisingly strong in the important letter of 1547 to the fathers and scholastics at Coimbra. Gradually its power and overarching influence becomes less strong. More and more, the image of

the soldier and the battlefield shifts to the interior struggle, the war against sensuality and carnal love, the battle in which the devil opposes our good and our progress.

In the Constitutions it rarely occurs, even when obedience is mentioned. O'Malley indicates that poverty more than obedience was Ignatius's concern.¹⁴ Perhaps during the last years of his life, as the Society expanded, he necessarily insisted more on obedience as a way to coordinate its diverse apostolic endeavors, with the result that the military metaphor once again assumed a new status.

Ignatius as Pilgrim

As a convert to a new way of life, Ignatius desired to make a complete break with his past. He cut himself off from his family and avoided places where he might be recognized. To make this clear, he deliberately became a poor pilgrim.¹⁵ As such, he could do penance for the sins of

¹³ Hans Wolter, S.J., "Elements of Crusader Spirituality in St. Ignatius," in *Ignatius of Loyola: His Personality and Spiritual Heritage, 1556-1956*, ed. Friedrich Wulf, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977), 97-134.

¹⁴ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 351.

¹⁵ Idigoras, *Ignatius*, 162.

his past life. Before he reached Montserrat, Ignatius bought some sackcloth and a pilgrim's staff in preparation for his journey or pilgrimage to Jerusalem (*PilgTest* 16). He began to call himself the pilgrim as he traveled and begged his way through Spain to Rome, and eventually to Jerusalem as a pilgrim. Even to the end of his autobiography, when he was living and working in Rome as superior general, he continues to call himself the pilgrim.¹⁶

We see a shift in this image too. Gradually the connotation of the word "pilgrim" is less associated with an ascetical way of life and becomes more linked with one on the move, journeying like a pilgrim. It becomes associated with availability and mobility, the ongoing search for God, seeking how best to serve and find God.

The image of pilgrim eventually becomes transferred to the whole body of the Society of Jesus. The first Jesuits were called "a company of pilgrim priests."¹⁷ They had given up their homes and homelands and were always on the move, ready to undertake any labor that would assist the neighbor. It is interesting to note that their planned journey to Jerusalem, which they were never able to undertake, had been envisioned as a pilgrimage with an apostolic goal.

Already by this time they had all determined what they would do, sc., go to Venice and to Jerusalem, and spend their lives for the good of souls; and if they were not given permission to remain in Jerusalem, then return to Rome and present themselves to the Vicar of Christ, so that he could make use of them wherever he thought it would be more for the glory of God and the good of souls. (85)

As long as the first Jesuits remained pilgrims, apostolic goals and labors emerged as their primary mission. As O'Malley indicates, for the early Jesuits, travel, pilgrimage, and mission, became "almost synonymous."¹⁸ For the most part, the fathers traveled on foot and lodged with the poor. Jesuits sent on mission to form a new college were said to go like pilgrims.¹⁹ The

¹⁶ Most helpful for understanding the background and meaning of the image of the Pilgrim and the Laborer in the Vineyard is the work of Joseph F. Conwell, S.J., *Impelling Spirit* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997). He develops the image of the laborer in the vineyard on pp. 133-38, and the image of the pilgrim on pp. 165-76. For the image of pilgrim, see also Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, S.J., "A Certain Pathway to God," *CIS* 22, no. 3 (1991, no. 68 of the series): 25-45.

¹⁷ Conwell, *Impelling Spirit*, 174.

¹⁸ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 271.

¹⁹ Letter 2048, in William J. Young, S.J., trans., *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), 253. Subsequent citations of the letters of Ignatius will be taken from this source.

institution of the colleges tied them down to some extent, yet ideally the Jesuit should always remain ready and willing to move on to a new assignment. The image of the pilgrim as the beggar, the detached one, would perdure and influence Ignatius's views and instructions on Jesuit poverty.

In view of Jesuits' commitment to help souls here and now, we realize that as pilgrims we have here no permanent home. Ignatius, aware of his own illness and mortality, reminds us of this in two letters from the last years of his life. "We must never lose sight of the fact that we are pilgrims until we reach [our heavenly country]."²⁰ And, "being as we are pilgrims on this earth, with our lasting city in the kingdom of heaven, we should not consider it a great loss when those whom we love in our Lord depart a little before us, for we shall follow them before long."²¹

Laborer in the Lord's Vineyard

As Ignatius becomes the leader of the first Jesuits, as the Society of Jesus is formed and approved, a new image emerges and predominates, that of a laborer in the Lord's vineyard. This image does not appear in the *Exercises*, although the related image of seeking fruit is present in the graces to be petitioned. It is present in the early letters of Ignatius, for example, in his letters to Francis Borgia and to King Ferdinand, then throughout his letters; and towards the end of his life it appears in his guidelines for those sent on mission.²²

The image of the laborer in the Lord's vineyard comes to flower and flourishes in the Constitutions. It emerges as the predominant, consistent, and constant image of what Jesuits do and what they are called and formed to accomplish.

How did the image of the laborer in the vineyard enter official Jesuit documents? Disappointed at not being able to travel to the Holy Land, the first companions came to Rome in November 1538.

²⁰ Letter 4306, *ibid.*, 332.

²¹ Letter 5313, *ibid.*, 379. This was written less than four months before Ignatius's own death, to console a husband on the death of his wife.

²² Letter 146, *ibid.*, 106-8; letter 149, *ibid.*, 111-13, both dated 1546. Also see "Those Sent on Mission," a document of 1552, in Young, *Letters*, 267-69. This instruction begins, "He who is sent on a mission in this Society, to labor in the vineyard of the Lord . . ." It then explains how we are to deal with persons "from whom we can expect greater fruit."

Bobadilla recalls that some of them held disputations before Pope Paul III. The Pope inquired: "Why do you have such a desire to go to Jerusalem. Italy is a good and true Jerusalem if your desire is to bring forth fruit in God's Church."²³ Bobadilla comments that those present with the Pope shared the Pope's comments with the others; and from that time on they started thinking about "founding a religious order," rather than continuing as pilgrims.²⁴ A letter of November 23, 1538, written by Favre at the instruction of Ignatius, takes up the image of the gathering of fruit. He writes that "all of us who are bound together in this Society have offered ourselves to the Supreme Pontiff because he is the lord of the entire harvest of Christ."²⁵ Soon after this, the first companions begin their First Deliberations. One result was to draw up the *First Sketch of the Institute*. The image of the laborers in the vineyard appears in this document, *Dilectis filiis*, that Ignatius presented to Pope Paul III in 1539. Toward the end of it, the Pope adjured them to

[p]ress on, therefore, beloved sons in Christ, follow your call, whithersoever the Holy Spirit leads you, and in the vineyard of the Lord from now on, under the protection of this Holy See, work with all your heart like good vinedressers, with our Lord Jesus Christ on your side.²⁶

It is somewhat surprising that the image is not found in the bull of 1540 of Pope Paul III, which was the papal response to the *First Sketch*. But it is present in the second Formula of the Institute, the bull of Julius III of 1550.

However, since the houses which the Lord will provide are to be dedicated to labor in his vineyard and not to the pursuit of scholastic studies; and since on the other hand, it appears altogether proper that workers should be provided for that same vineyard from among the young men who are inclined to piety and capable of applying themselves to learning, in order that they may be a kind of seminary for the Society.²⁷

²³ Nicolás Bobadilla, in his "Autobiographia," in *Narrationes scriptæ ab anno 1574 ad initium sæculi XVII* (Rome, 1960), 327. This is vol. 3 of *Fontes Narrativi de s. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis*, from ser. 4 of the Monumenta Ignatiana, vol. 85 of MHSI.

²⁴ See Conwell, *Impelling Spirit*, 504f.

²⁵ Letter 16, in Young, *Letters*, 35f.

²⁶ *Monumenta Constitutionum prævia* (Rome, 1934), no. 8 (p. 212). This is vol. 1 of *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, from ser. 3 of the Monumenta Ignatiana, vol. 63 of MHSI.

²⁷ "Exposcit debitum," *ibid.*, no. 5 (p. 379). For an English version of this document, see *Constitutions*, no. 8 (p. 11, col. 2).

In the Constitutions

The image of the laborer in the Lord's vineyard comes to flower and flourishes in the Constitutions.²⁸ It emerges as the predominant, consistent, and constant image of what Jesuits do and what they are called and formed to accomplish. One might expect that many images such as apostle, missionary, soldier, servant, priest, preacher, or teacher would be employed to describe Jesuits at work, but the predominant image is that of the laborer in the Lord's vineyard. The phrase "the vineyard of the Lord" occurs fifteen times in the Constitutions: to labor in the vineyard (107, 149, 243, 308, 573), workers in the vineyard (144, 334, 338), distributed in the vineyard (135, 137, 603, 604, 654), and finally, choosing that part of the vineyard which has greater need (622). A series of related images also find prominence, such as the image of "bearing fruit," "spiritual fruit," and the image of "laborers" and "laboring." These occur regularly, not always explicitly linked with the image of the Lord's vineyard.

Not only the frequency but the strategic places where the image of the laborer in the vineyard is found are of significance. It occurs most frequently in Part VII, dealing with mission. This section was written first and is the one for which Ignatius is most directly responsible. Justly called the centerpiece of the *Constitutions*, this part is entitled "The Relations to Their Neighbor of Those Already Incorporated into the Society When They Are Dispersed into the Vineyard of Christ Our Lord." Whether at the call of the pope or the superior, whether traveling or residing, "they are dispersed throughout Christ's vineyard to labor in that part of it and in that work which have been entrusted to them" and where "much fruit of glory and service to God is expected" (603).

No. 622 makes the image more explicit as it describes the norms in making choices in regard to missions. Throughout this long and important section, the image of the vineyard is modified and developed. The vineyard is described as "ample." Jesuits should be sent to the parts that have "greater need," to "where greater fruit is likely to be reaped," or where there is hope of "preserving the fruit produced to the glory of God." But Ignatius reminds us that the enemy has also been at work. Therefore the Society must give

²⁸ Before exploring this, we note one other emphatically featured image, the image of the Society of Jesus as a body. This frequently refers to the unity of the members among themselves and with their head, the superior general. De Aldama judges that "the application of the image of the body to the Society, despite all that has been written about it, does not appear to be Ignatian." In his opinion, it stems from Polanco (See Antonio M. de Aldama, S.J., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1989), 73f.

special consideration to "places where the enemy of Christ our Lord is seen to have sown cockle [Matt. 13:24-30], particularly where he has spread bad opinion about the Society or stirred up ill will against it so as to impede the fruit which it might produce."

While Part VII, on mission, is the center, earlier sections of the *Constitutions* on the admission and formation of members also employ the image. Candidates are described as "those who hope to enter the Society in order to be good and faithful sowers in the Lord's field and to preach his divine word."²⁹ In Part I we admit candidates "endeavoring to secure in the Society an increase of workers for the holy vineyard of Christ our Lord" (144). We add new members in order to "relieve those who are laboring in the Lord's vineyard, or who are studying to labor in it later" (149).

In the very first paragraph of Part III, on the preservation and progress of the members, we are to take care that the members have and preserve the "health and bodily strength necessary to labor in the Lord's vineyard" (243). The second paragraph of Part IV, on the formation of those retained in the Society, gives the well-known description of our vocation as requiring us to travel through the various parts of the world (308). It goes on to state that we should be "admitting young men whose good habits of life and talent give hope that they will become both virtuous and learned in order to labor in the vineyard of Christ our Lord" (308).

Ignatius constantly calls for communications among those laboring in the vineyard. They should "keep the superior informed by frequent reports about the fruit which is gained" (626). This interchange not only informs and encourages all the members, but also supplies the superior with information that will enable him to make better decisions regarding future missions. The *Constitutions* require weekly letters if possible, from those "sent to bear fruit in the Lord's field" (674).

In sum, in the *Constitutions* the Jesuit is primarily and consistently described as one admitted and trained to be a laborer in the vineyard, or as one already formed and laboring in the Lord's vineyard.

The Life of Ignatius in Rome

It is interesting to note that the years Ignatius spent in Rome as leader of the first Jesuits (1537-56) are framed by gardens or vineyards. After the vision at La Storta, when he and his companions first entered Rome, they were offered the use of an empty house "surrounded by vineyards" on the estate of Quirino Garzoni, near the Church of Trinità dei Monti,

²⁹ "General Examen," no. 30, in *Constitutions*, p. 29.

overlooking the Spanish Steps.³⁰ After he had traveled from Rome to Monte Cassino to give the Exercises to Doctor Ortiz, as he recalled in his autobiography, “and returning to Rome he busied himself helping souls. They were still living at the vineyard. He gave the Spiritual Exercises to various people at the same time” (98).

Later, according to Gonçalves da Câmara, “Ignatius wrote a great part of the *Constitutions* seated at a small table in the garden.”³¹ At the end of his life, on July 2, 1556, when he fell ill and death seemed imminent, he felt the need of a change of air and atmosphere, so he went to a small country house, informally called “The Vineyard,” situated near the Antonine baths and belonging to the Roman College.³² We do not know if a longer stay there might have prolonged his life, but on or around July 25 he returned to Rome and died there on July 31. From his autobiography we know that Ignatius received his greatest consolation from gazing at the sky and stars, and “the result of all this was that he felt within himself a strong impulse to serve our Lord” (11). One might imagine that the presence of the garden and vineyard also influenced and urged him and his followers to go out and bear fruit. We are familiar with the pithy saying that concludes, “Ignatius loved the great cities.” But we should not forget that he had his roots in the scenic Basque country, and enjoyed the gardens and vineyards in and near the city of Rome.

Early Jesuits as Laborers in the Vineyard

To confirm the centrality of the image of the laborers in the Lord’s vineyard, we refer briefly to the letters of Xavier and Favre. The famous letter of Xavier from India, pleading that some of those studying in the university of Paris come and work with him, described the fruits he was gaining through his labors.³³ Writing to his brother Jesuits while serving as provincial in India, he asks them repeatedly to give detailed accounts of the “fruits they are producing through their labors” (p. 264f.). In letters to Ignatius in Rome, he detailed the fruits that God was producing through the efforts of the Jesuits in the Far East (p. 404).

³⁰ Idigoras, *Ignatius*, 399.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 522.

³² *Ibid.*, 604.

³³ Francis Xavier, S.J., *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), 67f. See also an earlier letter of his on p. 51, in which he uses the same imagery.

Pierre Favre wrote an extended letter of farewell to the Jesuit scholastics in Coimbra. The image of the vineyard predominates, imagery of "the plentiful field" and "the fruit of your lips and works." He prays that God may "give your earth spiritual rain in due season," and that the scholastics may be "rooted in God."³⁴ In his journal or *Memoriale*, Favre applies the image of the vineyard to his own spiritual life. He wishes

that my soul might have four spiritual seasons during this coming year: a winter, so that the seeds sown in the soil of my mind by God might be tended and so be enabled to put down roots; a spring, so that my piece of earth might germinate and grow its crop; a summer, so that the fruit might ripen into an abundant harvest; and an autumn, so that the ripe fruit might be picked, and gathered into the divine barns for safekeeping lest any of it be lost.³⁵

He beautifully interweaves the development of his interior spiritual life with the exterior goal of bearing fruit in his apostolic life.

Reflections on the Shift of Imagery from the Soldier to the Pilgrim to the Laborer in the Vineyard

Each of the three images might be briefly evaluated. The military image of the **soldier** provides a strong, clear purpose of fighting the battle and overcoming the enemy. Dedication, self-sacrifice, and generosity are virtues of the soldier. Yet the soldier tends to see the world as a struggle of good against evil. One may be tempted to employ strong, violent measures, the quick solution, in pursuit of victory. It may lead to the holy-war mentality of the crusader, at times leading to impatience and intolerance.

The image of the **pilgrim** reminds us that we journey as best we can in search of our true home. We travel light, focused upon the goal of seeking and finding God. At the same time, this journeying discourages us from digging in, making a difference where we are, and committing ourselves to work for the transformation of situations. Perhaps the danger for the pilgrim is to focus too much upon his or her search, with insufficient outward apostolic concern for the neighbor or the others similarly on their pilgrim journey.

Clearly, I find most enriching the mature image of Ignatius, that of the **laborer in the Lord's vineyard**.³⁶ The world is seen not as a battlefield,

³⁴ Pierre Favre, *The Spiritual Writings of Pierre Favre* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 374f.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 190, no. 206.

prison, or vale of tears, but as a garden or vineyard, a place of growth yielding fruits necessary for life.³⁷ As laborers in the vineyard, we make a difference in this world. We are involved in a living and life-giving project, a constructive task whose goal is to bear fruit for the Lord. We do not work alone. We are co-workers with God (1 Cor. 3:9). Although we plant and water, it is God who gives the increase. We do not just pass through this life, or simply weave baskets in the day and take them apart at night. Rather we are here to tend the garden and bear fruit, fruit that will last. The cultivator of a vineyard is an optimist, a laborer committed to the long haul, to patient, respectful cooperation with fellow laborers and with the Lord of the harvest.

This image indicates, as we will see, a shift from a focus upon fear of one's salvation to a focus on apostolic effectiveness, on bearing fruits in and for the Church. Perhaps the shift of the first Jesuits to a realization of the importance of education and educational institutions goes hand in hand with an increased emphasis on the image of the Jesuit as one who labors in the Lord's vineyard. Education patiently prepares for the future. As a matter of fact, the early educational institutions of the Society were founded as seminaries, literally "seedbeds" for future Jesuit laborers.

Yet we are not portraying a bucolic and idyllic image, as Ignatius or any one who labors in the vineyard knows. Vinedressers must be ready to work long hours and bear the heat of the day. They face the frustrations of dry seasons, weeds, diseases, and unproductive vines. They must clear the stones, dig the soil, plant and tend, fertilize and prune. An abundant harvest presupposes days of sweat and hard labor.³⁸

³⁶ It is worth noting that Pope John Paul II structures his "Apostolic Exhortation on the Laity" (*Christifideles laici*) of January 30, 1989, around the image of laborers in the vineyard. All—lay, religious, and priests—in complementary ways labor in the vineyard, which is composed of rich and varied gardens.

³⁷ Conwell shows that for Ignatius and his companions, "the vineyard is the whole world in need of salvation" (*Impelling Spirit*, 137).

³⁸ We note too that the image of the laborer in the vineyard relates very well to contemporary ecological concerns. We are stewards of God's creation, working in the Lord's good vineyard, caring for creation and cooperating so that it will bear much fruit.

From Saving One's Own Soul to Helping the Neighbor

In this section we move from imagery to theological formulations. Our study points to a significant shift in how Ignatius viewed the end of the human person while composing the *Exercises* and then later, while preparing the *Constitutions*. This involves a shift in spirituality, in one's view of the world, and in the norms for making a decision or choice. It also is consistent with the shift in imagery we have just outlined, namely the shift from soldier to pilgrim to laborer in the Lord's vineyard.

In the life of Ignatius, it is hard to pinpoint exactly when or where this shift takes place. But one strong piece of evidence we can draw from his recollection of his experiences at Manresa. In his autobiography he narrates that "At Manresa too, where he stayed almost a year, after he began to be consoled by God, and saw the fruit which he bore in dealing with souls, he

Quite remarkably, the Exercises does not mention helping the neighbor as a goal of our life or a criterion for making choices.

gave up those extremes he had formerly practiced, and he now cut his nails and his hair."³⁹ Segundo quite pointedly has called this a shift from the **Test-or-Trial Spirituality** of the *Exercises* to the **Project Spirituality** of the later Ignatius.⁴⁰ While this may be an oversimplification, it does help illuminate the development in the thought of Ignatius. In a test-or-trial spirituality, the earth is a vale of tears and rife with dangers. Our goal in life is to pass through

uncontaminated. We hope that God judges us kindly because we have not sinned and have not died with mortal sin on our souls. This reflects the image of the pilgrim. In a project spirituality, however, we are here in order to involve ourselves in the service of humankind. Our goal is not simply to avoid sin, but to overcome it, to transform what is unjust into justice. We are judged by the fruits of our actions, by how we have used our talents and

³⁹ *PilgTest*, no. 29. Cándido de Dalmases, S.J., sees the Cardoner vision as key, the moment when Ignatius changed from the solitary pilgrim to the apostle, and adds that "the foundation of the Society goes back to this." See his *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), 63f.

⁴⁰ Segundo's two major discussions of Ignatian spirituality are his essay "Ignatius Loyola: Trial or Project?" in *Signs of the Times* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1993), 169f., and *The Christ of the Ignatian Exercises* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1987).

made a difference in our families, communities, and world. Our work and the fruit of our labor make a difference in God's eyes. This more closely reflects the image of the laborer in the vineyard.

The End of the Person in the Spiritual Exercises

Quite remarkably, the *Exercises* does not mention helping the neighbor as a goal of our life or a criterion for making choices. This may shock us in view of our respect, indeed, reverence for this volume. The two key places where we reflect upon the end of the person are the First Principle and Foundation, and the Introduction to Making a Choice of a Way of Life. In both places it is very clear that concern for one's own salvation predominates. I suspect that in presenting the Exercises Jesuits do include elements of love of neighbor. One way of amplifying the text at this point is to say that the praise, reverence, and service of God entail love of neighbor. Indeed, the mature Ignatius would agree with this, but in these early writings he does not seem to include it in his understanding of the term. Later on, as we will see, the glory of God will be almost identified with helping the neighbor, rather than with the salvation of one's own soul.⁴¹

The examination of texts from the *Exercises* discloses this emphasis on the salvation of one's own soul, with no mention of help for the neighbor. In annotation 1, the goal of the Exercises is to rid ourselves of attachments, "seeking and finding the will of God in the disposition of our life for the salvation of our soul." In the First Principle and Foundation, "[t]he human person is created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save one's soul" (23). Everything else helps us attain this end; consequently, we must choose what is conducive to the end for which we were created.

⁴¹ I do not intend to disparage the apostolic effectiveness of the Exercises. But I contend that some of this effectiveness comes from our way of adding to, interpreting, and developing the Exercises based upon the fuller life and writings of Ignatius, and based upon subsequent developments in theology and spirituality. Ignatius himself clearly saw the apostolic effectiveness of his Exercises. In 1536 he wrote to a priest, urging him to make the Exercises because they are "the best means I can think of in this life both to help one to benefit oneself and to bring help, profit and advantage to others. . . . they will help you to serve others beyond anything you ever dreamed of." This letter, no. 10, is found in Young, *Letters*, 27f. On the other hand, we should bear in mind that in the lifetime of Ignatius, as a result of the Exercises, some entered contemplative orders rather than apostolic orders, and some turned immediately to extreme ascetical practices rather than to an apostolic life.

The grace sought in the meditation on the Three Classes of Men is "what is more for the glory of his Divine Majesty and the salvation of my soul" (152). So too in the consideration on Three Kinds of Humility, we reflect on what "would promote equally the service of God our Lord and the salvation of my soul" (166). Most significantly, in the Introduction to Making a Choice of a Way of Life, "I must consider only the end for which I am created, that is, for the praise of God our Lord and the salvation of my soul" (169). This phrase is repeated in this same number and is found in the Third Time for Making a Good Choice (177). It occurs again in the Two Ways of Making a Choice of Life, twice in no. 179, and again in no. 181. There we are "to weigh the matter by reckoning the number of advantages and benefits that would accrue to me if I had the proposed office or benefice solely for the praise of God our Lord and the salvation of my soul." Note that we do not look outward to the good of the neighbor, but only to the salvation of my soul and to the benefits that come to me. The Directions for the Amendment and Reformation of One's Way of Living in His State of Life make the same observation. One is to amend his or her life "in view of the purpose of his creation and his life and position, namely, the glory and praise of God and the salvation of his soul" (189).

Ignatius indeed begins in the First Week with the purgative way, attaining contrition, sorrow, and tears for sins, and setting us on the path to salvation. From the Second to the Fourth Weeks, we meditate on the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. According to Nadal, it was precisely this emphasis upon the life and example of Jesus that led Ignatius to move to a more apostolic life. Nadal writes that while at Manresa Ignatius "began meditating on the life of Christ our Lord. Stirred as a result, he felt within him at this time a strong desire to help his neighbor."⁴² Thus, as we move through the Weeks of the Exercises, we gradually include more elements of an apostolic spirituality. Yet it is a gradual shift, and even in the Second to the Fourth Weeks of the Exercises, as Segundo explains, much of the test spirituality remains. For example, in the contemplation on the Incarnation (102), the Trinity see that all are going down to hell, and so they decree "that the Second Person should become man to save the human race." The purpose of the Incarnation, boldly put, is to save us from hell, rather than involve us in some historical project. In the meditation on the Kingdom of Christ, the goal is to offer oneself in service, and to imitate Christ in bearing all wrongs and abuse and all poverty. This seems to emphasize an ascetical identification with the life of Christ rather than a firm commitment to imitate Christ in doing great things for others. One labors with Christ so

⁴² In Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), 39.

that, by following Christ in suffering, one may follow him in glory. The goal is not so much action in the world, building a kingdom of peace and justice, but rather being with Christ in labor so I can enter into the glory of the Father with Christ.⁴³

The Contemplation to Attain the Love of God, with its focus on God's love and our response to this love in deeds, certainly moves in the direction of service and love of neighbor. In response to God's love, we are invited to collaborate in the work of redemption. Yet the implications of that are hardly developed. We move from God dwelling in creatures (second point), to God laboring (third point), and then to the contemplation of all blessings and gifts as descending from above (fourth point). The response to each of these is to give oneself to God. Surely in the life and mind of Ignatius, this eventually included giving oneself to the neighbor, but this concept is not developed in this contemplation.

In sum, the purpose of the Exercises is primarily to guide the retreatant to make the best choice concerning a way of life. The deliberation regarding the choice begins as one meditates on the infancy and hidden life of Jesus. The choice is ideally made during the Second Week, and then is confirmed through the meditations of the Third and Fourth Weeks. While the choice might ultimately lead to apostolic action, to helping the neighbor, that end does not explicitly enter into the choice of the state of life. Rather, surprisingly, the emphasis is upon what is best for the glory of God and for the salvation of my soul.

Helping the Neighbor as the End of the Society, As Found in the Constitutions

In describing the end of the Society, the Constitutions do mention saving one's own soul. But we must quickly add, this is said only in the context of explaining the Society to the candidates to be admitted and to those in early training (General Examen and Parts I-IV). Ignatius allows those in formation to be concerned about the salvation of their own soul and works with that. Gradually he expects the young men not to focus on the test or trial, but rather to give themselves generously, totally, to the

⁴³ I rely here upon Segundo, who makes this point even more strongly than I do. See the two major sources referred to above. Note that neither Segundo nor I would expect Ignatius to have the modern sense of how the human person shapes and changes history, or a sense of modern historical consciousness. The absence of a commitment to love of neighbor as an end of the person and the absence of commitment to a historical project are what he considers a deficiency.

project of helping and serving the neighbor.⁴⁴ Thus we discover that when Ignatius moves to the formed and professed members (Parts V-X), there is no mention of saving one's own soul as an end of our Institute, but only of helping the neighbor. We now turn to the texts to support this.

The General Examen explains to the candidates what the Society of Jesus is about. We read at the very beginning: "The end of this Society is to devote itself with God's grace not only to the salvation and perfection of the members' own souls, but also with that same grace to labor strenuously in giving aid toward the salvation and perfection of the souls of their neighbor" (3). This text presents a double aim, one's own salvation and the help of the neighbor, because it is mainly addressed to candidates interested in entering the Society. In no. 52 Ignatius repeats this. If the candidate "judges that it is highly expedient for him to enter this Society for the greater praise and glory of God our Lord, and the better saving and perfecting of his own soul by helping his neighbor's soul as well," then one continues with the interview, which possibly will lead to his admission. Yet even here one can detect the beginnings of a shift, because the future Jesuit will save his own soul (still a value and motivating force) by helping the neighbor.

In Part I, in a section entitled "The Impediments to Admission" (163), Ignatius explains that charity might lead us to admit some members to help them to attain beatitude. But when we speak of fully incorporating these men into the Society, "that charity and zeal ought to embrace only those who are judged useful for the end it seeks, as has been said." Here he refers to what he had said earlier, cautioning us to admit only those who can labor fruitfully "in the holy vineyard of Christ our Lord" (144).

In no. 152 we read that in some cases it might be good for the person ("useful to themselves") to enter the Society. But because that same person might be "very difficult or unserviceable to the congregation," he should not be admitted. In other words, only those ready to be involved in the project and apostolic mission of the Society, and not those simply concerned with their own salvation, should be admitted.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ In regard to the expression "helping souls or serving the neighbor," various parallel and interchangeable expressions are found in the writings of Ignatius. Some of them would be "to help souls," "care for souls," "aid souls," "the good of souls," "help of your neighbor," and "the salvation and perfection of the souls of the neighbor."

⁴⁵ Important material on this question is found in the letter of Ignatius to the fathers and scholastics at Coimbra (no. 169, dated 1547, in Young, *Letters*, 120-130). He distinguishes the Society from other orders in terms of their ends. He goes on to remind the Jesuit scholastics that they are called, not to another order, but to the Society of Jesus "in which His glory and the salvation of the neighbor are set before you, not as a general end, but one toward which all your life and its various activities must be made by you

Part IV, concerning those in formation, begins, "The end steadfastly pursued by the Society is to aid its own members and their neighbors in attaining the ultimate end for which they were created" (307). This still allows for a double end, namely, personal salvation and help to the neighbor. Yet the very next number, a later addition to the text, pulls back from that and states that "the aim and end of this Society, is by traveling . . . to preach . . . and use all other means it can with the grace of God to help souls" (308). It appears that throughout Part IV Ignatius is gradually cutting back on the emphasis on saving one's own soul, and emphasizing more the project or mission to help others (see nos. 324, 351, and 446).

When we come to Part VII, dealing with mission, this emphasis on helping the neighbor is the only end mentioned. Here we find what is expected of formed members, rather than the expectations of those entering or in early stages of training. Part VII begins by explaining "what the members need to observe in regard to their neighbor (which is an end eminently characteristic of our Institute)" (603). The entire thrust of Part VII is outward orientation and mission, how best to help the neighbor, with no mention of the concern for one's own salvation.

What remains constant throughout the life and writing of Ignatius is the emphasis upon the glory of God.

Part X, the last part, is a review and summary of the Constitutions, the fruit of the mature Ignatius. The Society relies upon the grace of God: "In him alone must be placed the hope that he will preserve and carry forward what he deigned to begin for his service and praise and for the aid of souls" (812). This attitude continues in the next section, which describes "the objective it seeks, which is to aid souls to reach their ultimate and supernatural end" (813).

What do these texts indicate? I believe they reflect the development that Ignatius himself underwent, and the development he expects in candidates for the Society. At the beginning they may be concerned about and

into a continuous sacrifice."

Ignatius does not rule out a Jesuit's hoping to be saved, but he strongly emphasizes that the specific nature of our Institute is to help the neighbor. The controversy between Ignatius and the Theatines also emphasizes the total apostolic nature of the Society of Jesus. On this controversy, see O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 68f., and Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 140-142.

motivated by the fear that they may lose their own soul.⁴⁶ But eventually Ignatius expects this to be secondary to the goal of the Society (in contrast with other Institutes), which is fundamentally to help souls. What remains constant throughout the life and writing of Ignatius is the emphasis upon the glory of God. How that is specified develops from regarding the glory of God as derived from the attainment of my own salvation, to regarding it as the service of the neighbor.⁴⁷

In the Constitutions, therefore, we find an apostolic spirituality. The purpose or end of the life of the Jesuit is to glorify and serve God by helping the neighbor. We are to become involved in this great undertaking or mission, living in accord with a project spirituality, in the language of Segundo. Prayer, studies, and the vows are all means of carrying out these undertakings or missions. This stress on "the mission of helping souls" pervades Jesuit documentation, according to John O'Malley.

In the *Autobiography*, *Constitutions*, and his correspondence, Ignatius used it again and again to describe what motivated him and what was to motivate the Society. His disciples seized upon it and tirelessly repeated it as the best and most succinct description of what they were trying to do.⁴⁸

We note that in this citation O'Malley correctly omits the *Exercises* as a text which emphasizes "the helping of souls."

⁴⁶ In a personal reminiscence, Gonçalves da Câmara affirms this when he writes, "I remember often hearing our Father [Ignatius] say that he wanted none in the Society just to save their own souls, if beyond this, they did not all make ready to save the souls of other people" (James Brodrick, S.J., *The Origin of the Jesuits* [London: Longmans, Green and Co, Ltd, 1940], 95). For the original text, see his so-called "Memoriale," in *Narrationes scriptae ante annum 1557* (Rome, 1943), 527-751. Nadal reports that Ignatius once told him, "The way to make spiritual progress is to attend to the salvation of one's neighbors." This is found in de Aldama, *Commentary on the Constitutions*, 32, with references to the MHSI. Laínez in lectures on the *Constitutions* maintains that Ignatius saw stages in the development of the person entering the Society. First the candidate is concerned for himself and his salvation, and then, after joining the Society, he feels concern for the good of others. Laínez notes that this was precisely the experience of Ignatius himself. See "Laínez on the End of the Society of Jesus," in *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 35 (1966): 132-85.

⁴⁷ In the issue of *AHSI* referred to above, we find the very helpful essay of François Courel, S.J. (pp. 186-211) on the single end of the Society. He explains from a series of texts that the constant in Ignatius was the "glory and service of God." Then Ignatius spoke of the salvation of one's soul and the help given to the neighbor. But as Ignatius matures, he does not view these as two separate ends. The emphasis upon love of neighbor assumes total importance for an apostolic group such as the Society, and this aspect is regarded as the single end, the one way to give service and glory to God.

⁴⁸ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 18.

Norms in Choosing

One further way to see this change in emphasis in Ignatius from the *Exercises* to the *Constitutions* is to examine the norms for making a choice.

In the Exercises

As we noted, the entire section "Making a Choice of a Way of Life or the Reformation of One's Life" is dominated by the consideration of what is for the glory of God and the salvation of my soul. This is seen most clearly in the set of rules not often studied or referred to, the Rules for the Distribution of Alms (337-44). How does one make a decision about what Ignatius calls the ministry of giving alms (337)? The retreatant imagines someone else who does this "for the greater glory of God and the perfection of his soul." He or she should follow that example (339). One pictures oneself at the moment of death (340) or before the judge on the last day (341), and reflects on how one wishes he or she had acted. One's concern is to pass the trial and gain entrance into heaven by having distributed alms correctly. Ignatius does wish that we imitate "our Great High Priest, model, and guide, Christ our Lord" (344), but we are to imitate him more in the ascetical mode of "saving and cutting down expenses" rather than in showing active love for the neighbor.

In none of the rules does the condition or needs of the neighbor enter into the picture. The entire consideration is on what is best for my salvation (and in this sense for the glory of God). There is no analysis of the situation, no look beyond oneself to the recipient, to the needy, no questioning of how or where my almsgiving might best help someone. The perspective of the state of my soul at my death, more than the present need or good of the neighbor, predominates.

In the Constitutions

Since the end of the Jesuit, his goal in life, has shifted from saving his own soul to the help of the neighbor, there is a corresponding change in the norms for making decisions regarding what members of the Society should be doing.

These norms and criteria are presented in Part VII of the *Constitutions*. In accord with the special fourth vow, the first is obedience to the pope (603-17), followed by obedience to one's superiors (618-20). In choosing and in specifying missions, we are to look outward to the world, the vineyard, and examine where the greater possibilities for gaining fruit are to be found (622-26). Where are the greater needs and the more universal good? How can we give greater glory of God? To whom are we more indebted?

Criteria are set forth to best determine where to go, what to do, and whom to send.⁴⁹ Clearly, we find here a very different set of norms from those given in the Exercises for choosing a way of life or for distributing alms.

The Constitutions have been characterized as the marching orders for an apostolic body. Jesuits live and act out of an apostolic spirituality rather than what might be characterized as the more ascetical and pilgrim spirituality of the Exercises. The Constitutions surely take into account one's personal perfection and one's salvation, but always in light of the apostolic goal of the Jesuit to help others. In the process of discernment, when we are making choices regarding missions, they place an increased emphasis upon external factors, examination of the needs as embodied in the historical situation. Prayerful listening to the interior movements of the Spirit (signs from heaven) remains constant, but in the Constitutions Ignatius puts more emphasis on the circumstances, the objective conditions in the Lord's vineyard (signs of the times) and has us make decisions in light of that input.

Review and Confirmation

We began this essay with the story of Ignatius and Laínez. If offered the choice of dying that very day and going to heaven, Ignatius would have preferred to live on in the world, even putting his salvation in jeopardy. He wanted to give himself to some great undertaking for God. It is difficult to imagine that at the time of his stay at Manresa, Ignatius would have made that same choice. But gradually his apostolic experiences and deepened experience of the love of God caused him to grow spiritually, to such an extent that he would even dare to risk his eternal salvation by staying on in the world.

A letter of 1553 from Ignatius to Diego Miró confirms and makes the same point. Fr. Miró was sent on mission to be a confessor to King John III of Portugal. He wrote to Ignatius seeking to excuse himself from this task for various reasons, including the fear that he would endanger his own salvation. Ignatius wrote back and strongly ordered him to accept the position offered, explaining the importance of the work, the good that can be achieved, and the debt we owe to the King. Then he writes bluntly, "I do not think your security of soul is relevant, because if all we looked for in our vocation was to walk safely, and if to get away from danger we had to

⁴⁹ See the essay by Michael Amaladoss, S.J., "Sent on Mission," in *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, Incorporation of a Spirit*, 334f. There he spells out the criteria Ignatius uses.

sacrifice the good of souls, we should not be living and associating with our neighbor.⁵⁰ In other words, Miró's concern about danger to his own soul and its salvation (security) should not play a determining role. Jesuits should give themselves to the work, and "seek not our own interests but those of Jesus Christ" (ibid.), with the trust that God will be our protection.

Apostolic Prayer in the Constitutions

One way to further explore this development in Ignatius of a thoroughly apostolic spirituality is to examine how he describes the prayer of the Jesuit in the Constitutions. An apostle necessarily prays differently from an ascetic, a monk, or one on retreat. Religious men and women often take as the model or ideal prayer the meditation or contemplation of thirty to sixty minutes. For Jesuits, this stems from our experience of the Spiritual Exercises. There we are told to pray for one hour and, if tempted to shorten the hour, to prolong it instead (12).

What is "normal" Jesuit prayer according to the Constitutions and letters of Ignatius? What we discover here agrees very much with the development from the pilgrim to the laborer: the shift from the more ascetical, test or trial spirituality, to an apostolic, project spirituality. For the formed Jesuit, Ignatius shows great respect and flexibility: "In what pertains to prayer, meditation, and study, and also in regard to the bodily practices of fast, vigils and other austerities or penances, it does not seem proper to give them any other rule than that which discreet charity dictates to them" (582).

For the professed, Ignatius does not specify *any* length of time, as he does for those in formation. For those he writes, "[I]n addition to confession and Communion every eight days, and daily Mass, they will have one hour, during which they will recite the Hours of Our Lady, examine their consciences twice each day, and add other prayers according to each one's devotion to fill out the rest of the aforesaid hour" (342). This hour includes two examens (perhaps ten to fifteen minutes each), and the Hours of Mary. This surely leaves little time for lengthy meditation or contemplation, and certainly no time for an hour-long meditation.

A famous incident involving Nadal reinforces this. While Nadal was making a visitation of Spain, some Spanish Jesuits requested permission to increase the amount of prayer. When Nadal personally reported this request

⁵⁰ Letter 3220, in Young, *Letters*, 284. The entire letter (pp. 282-84) is worth examining.

of theirs to Ignatius, the latter was visibly upset and remarked that "a man truly mortified would find a quarter of an hour sufficient to unite himself to God in prayer."⁵¹ On this and on other occasions, Ignatius feared the illusions that often accompany long prayers.⁵² Conwell, who has written a classic text on Ignatian prayer, remarks boldly, "Ignatius seemed to show toward prayer, if anything, an attitude of distrust."⁵³ Perhaps we might say that Ignatius is shifting from a monastic or ascetical view of prayer to the specifically Jesuit prayer of the active apostle, the laborer in the Lord's vineyard.

Prayer of Petition

Ignatius does frequently mention prayer in the Constitutions, but it is almost exclusively prayer of petition for specific persons, decisions, and missions. Such prayer is a primary means of achieving the end of the Society, the helping of souls. In Part X, toward the end of the Constitutions, where Ignatius sets forth his final hopes and dreams for the Society of Jesus, he writes, "In conformity with this hope [that God will preserve and prosper the Society], the first and most appropriate means will be the prayers and Masses which ought to be offered for this holy intention" (812).

*All Jesuits are called upon to pray for
those in civil or ecclesial authority,
and for our benefactors.*

In Part VII, on mission, we note a slight change where Ignatius puts good example as the first means to help the neighbor. Yet prayer remains in second place: "[Ours should offer] prayers for all the Church, especially for those persons in it who are of greater importance for the common good. They should also pray for friends and benefactors, living and dead, whether they request these prayers or not" (638). Rightly has it been said that for Ignatius, truly a man of his times, the Mass was not so much the community's public celebration of the remembrance of the Last Supper and the

⁵¹ Gonçalves da Câmara, *Memoriale*, no. 196. This is cited in André Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola and the Foundation of the Society of Jesus* (San Francisco: Ignatian Press, 1987), 379.

⁵² Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 379 n. 11.

⁵³ Joseph F. Conwell, S.J., *Contemplation in Action: A Study in Ignatian Prayer* (Spokane, Wash.: Gonzaga University, 1957), 4.

Sacrifice of Calvary, as it was a means to implore the divine grace for specific intentions.⁵⁴

Particular Jesuits and Prayer

Ignatius lists seven qualities that the general should possess: "In regard to the qualities which are desirable in the superior general, the first is that he should be closely united with God our Lord and have familiarity with him in prayer and in all his operations" (723). Yet the expression of this prayer will frequently be found in the prayer of petition. As the one who governs the whole body, "[h]e will achieve this kind of government by the good reputation and example of his life, by charity and love for the Society in Christ our Lord, and by his constant and heartfelt prayer and Masses to obtain the grace of the aforementioned preservation and growth (790).

The assistants of Fr. General, in addition to "observing the affairs of the Indies" and wherever else the Society is laboring, are given the special responsibility to pray: "Each one would offer special prayer and be mindful in his Masses of the region particularly entrusted to him" (803).

Ignatius gives prayer a high priority in his instruction for the local superiors or rectors of a college that includes seminarians: "The function of the rector will be first of all to sustain the whole college by his prayers and holy desires" (424). If there is a question of dismissing anyone, superiors should pray first before making any decision and later pray for the one dismissed, that God will guide him after his dismissal. In nos. 211-29 he mentions prayer four times.

Scholastics in studies should pray for success in their studies (360). Ignatius warns them that, although their studies might lead them to "grow cool in their love of true virtues and of religious life, still they will not at that time have much place for mortifications or for long prayers and meditations" (340). Teachers are to pray at the beginning of class, or at least make the sign of the cross (486f.). Those sent on mission are to beg the Lord's help before going on mission (292) and while on mission (631, 633).

All Jesuits are called upon to pray for those in civil or ecclesial authority, and for our benefactors (638). In a characteristic Ignatian insight, they are to pray especially for those who may be a source of trouble for them!

⁵⁴ De Aldama, *Constitutions*, 258.

When an unfavorable attitude is noticed in some persons, especially in persons of importance, prayer ought to be offered to bring them to friendship, or at least to keep them from being hostile. This is done, not because contradiction and ill-treatment are feared, but so that God our Lord may be more served and glorified in all things through the benevolence of all these persons. (824)

Finally, very special prayers should be said for the dying and the dead (596, 598, 601).

Examination of Conscience

As might be expected, Ignatius emphasizes the importance of the examination of conscience for anyone engaged in or preparing to engage in apostolic activity. In the examen we review what we have done for the Lord, what fruits we have been reaping. We look ahead to where we hope to serve and meet the Lord. Through the examen, we grow into the habit of finding and serving God in all things, as laborers in the Lord's vineyard.

Prayer in the Letters and Life of Ignatius and the First Companions

In contrast with what we might expect from the superior general, living as we do in today's more secular age, on several occasions Ignatius writes to warn Borgia about *excessive* prayer. In a letter of 1548 he advises, "First, I should think that the time devoted to these exercises, both interior and exterior, should be reduced by half."⁵⁵ Borgia must attend more to family administration, and he needs energy and good health for that. In another letter to Borgia on the prayer and prophecies of a certain Father Onfroy, Ignatius explains that Jesuit scholastics serve God not only in prayer but by their time given to studies: "And indeed, at times God is served more in other ways than in prayer, so much so in fact that God is pleased that prayer is omitted entirely for other works, and much more that it be curtailed."⁵⁶

We noted how Ignatius prescribed Masses and prayers to be offered for a variety of needs and occasions. We have some record of his own deeply mystical prayer, as found in his *Spiritual Journal*. Even here one goal of his prayer was to guide him in making concrete decisions regarding poverty. What Ignatius asked others to pray for, he himself also prayed for. Ravier

⁵⁵ Letter 466, *ibid.*, 179.

⁵⁶ Letter 776, *ibid.*, 211.

cites Gonçalves da Câmara to the effect that Ignatius “carried the Society before God in his prayer,” and “he was the first to enter into this immense activity of supplication.”⁵⁷ He adds that “the Father has the custom of praying every day for the Pope; now that this one [Julius III] is ill, he does so twice daily, and always with tears” (ibid.) Ignatius prayed for his companions, in regard to expulsions, labors, illnesses, and captivities. “Nothing happened to anyone that the Father, if he learned of it, did not make the object of prayer.”⁵⁸

Throughout his letters, Ignatius prays and promises to pray for others, and requests others to pray for him. In a letter to Borgia, in a typically direct manner, Ignatius requests prayers and financial support from him in one and the same sentence: “I beg your lordship by the love and reverence of God our Lord to help me with your prayers, and also to be good enough to help me by taking charge of the government and seeing to the completion of a house or college that is desired in Gandía.”⁵⁹ Citations from Nadal reinforce this eminently practical nature of Ignatian prayer. He writes, “Meditation and contemplation would seem to be wasted if they do not issue in petition and in some devout desire,”⁶⁰ and, “Meditation and contemplation ought to be done *practice*, that is, in such a way that they expand into work and reach fruit in execution, unconcerned about purely speculative matters.”⁶¹ Again, he writes, “We gather that our prayer should immediately incline us to something practical, for this is the end of our Institute, to help souls which are being lost, and for which God gave his life.”⁶²

Blessed Pierre Favre was a master of Ignatian prayer. In his *Memoriale* we find countless examples where his prayer intersects with his life and

⁵⁷ Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 378.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 379.

⁵⁹ Letter 101, in Young, *Letters*, 86.

⁶⁰ Cited in E. Edward Kinerk, S.J., “Eliciting Great Desires, *STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS* 16, no. 5 (November 1984): 17.

⁶¹ Conwell, *Contemplation*, 71.

⁶² Ibid. For more on Nadal, see a translation of his thoughts, “On Prayer Especially for Those of the Society,” in *Woodstock Letters* 89, no. 3 (1960): 285–94, translated by Fr. L. Schillebeeckx, S.J. (brother of Edward Schillebeeckx and formerly a provincial in India). For a contemporary emphasis on the value of the prayer of petition, we quote from Pope John Paul II, who explains: “When I was young, I thought that prayer could be—should be—only in thankfulness and adoration. A prayer of supplication seemed to be something unworthy. Afterwards, I changed my opinion completely. Today, I ask very much.”

mission, as he prays for specific persons and, indeed, for cities, for towns and villages; he invokes the aid of guardian angels and patron saints, and saints whose feast is celebrated that day, asking them to take care of dying sinners; he prays for the dead and those in desolation or suffering. He offers petitions for those he meets and asks pardon for their sins. He exemplifies well the Ignatian ideal of contemplation in action. In the *Memoriale* we have his famous reflection on apostolic prayer:

Reflecting the same day on how to pray well and on different ways of doing good, I wondered how holy desires in prayer are, as it were, ways of disposing us to perform good works and, on the other hand, how good works lead us to good desires. I then noted, indeed clearly perceived, that by seeking God in good works through the spirit, one will more readily find him afterwards in prayer than if one had sought him first in prayer so as to find him subsequently in good works, as is often done.

For he who seeks and finds the spirit of Christ in good works makes much more solid progress than the person whose activity is limited to prayer alone. So then, to possess Christ in our actions or to possess him in our prayer often amounts to either an "effective" or an "affective" possession.

You must therefore strive hard to subdue yourself, to mortify and conquer yourself, making every effort to become capable of undertaking all kinds of good works. This is the best preparation for mental prayer, as you will often experience. Your life should have something of Martha and Mary in it. It should apply itself both to prayer and to holy works. In short, it should unite the active and contemplative lives. But if you practice one for the sake of the other and not for itself, as often happens, . . . then you will do better, as a general rule, to direct all your prayers to the storing up of good works rather than vice versa.⁶³

It may seem surprising that for Ignatius and his companions, prayer tends to be viewed as highly pragmatic and practical. Prayer for the most part becomes prayers for particular persons and intentions. It is not viewed as an end or value in itself, but as a means for Jesuits to achieve their mission, the glory of God and the salvation of souls. A Jesuit historian puts this simply: "After all, in [Ignatius's] concept of the spiritual life, prayer was not an end but a means in developing the perfect servant of God."⁶⁴ In light of this emphasis upon practical prayer, we are somewhat surprised to find that prayer of petition is barely mentioned in an entire issue of *STUDIES*

⁶³ Pierre Favre, *The Spiritual Writings of Pierre Favre* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 141.

⁶⁴ Robert E. McNally, S.J., "St. Ignatius: Prayer and the Early Society of Jesus," *Woodstock Letters* (Spring 1965): 115.

dedicated to Jesuits praying.⁶⁵ Over thirty Jesuits share how they pray, and only three of the thirty explicitly mention prayer of petition for others. Of course, at the Eucharistic celebration specific prayers of petition are offered; but it seems that in the Constitutions and in his own life, Ignatius intended much more if we are to live our apostolic spirituality as laborers in the Lord's vineyard.

Looking Back and Looking Ahead

William Meissner reviews the changes in Ignatius throughout his life, and writes of the mature Ignatius of the *Constitutions*:

What has changed is the man Ignatius, mellowed and made wise by his years of experience. He is no longer the fanatical extremist with a burning desire to take the kingdom of heaven by storm. The tone is measured, prudent, holding up ideals and lofty ambitions while at the same time urging moderation. He had ruined his health and destroyed his body in his impatient and immoderate zeal for self-abnegation and severe penances; he did not wish his sons to make the same mistake and render themselves less, rather than more, fit for God's work. The ideals and practices of the pilgrim years had to give way to more prudent arrangements and procedures.⁶⁶

Some might say that what we have examined is simply the shift in Ignatius and in any spirituality from the purgative way to the illuminative and unitive ways. It is the change from the fire of the new convert to the steady work of the mature apostle. There is truth in this. Certainly, such a change took place in the life of Ignatius, and he expects something similar to take place in the life of the Jesuit. But the three traditional stages in the spiritual life, as normally understood, stay within the framework of union with God through the pursuit of personal perfection. They remain in the realm of personal growth and holiness in the more narrow, ascetical sense of that life. For Ignatius, the shift is from a more ascetical spirituality to an apostolic spirituality, from emphasis on the salvation of my soul, to a passionate dedication to the salvation of others, where we find and serve God in all things.

This development was to affect many areas in the life and spirituality of Ignatius and the first Jesuits. In order to be apostolically effective,

⁶⁵ "Jesuits Praying: Personal Reflections," *STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS* 21, no. 5 (November 1989).

⁶⁶ W. W. Meissner, S.J., *Ignatius of Loyola* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 223.

Ignatius would forgo the gift of tears, because continued tears might ruin his eyesight and his apostolic effectiveness. A priest who had the gift he warned to be careful: "To those who have the will and the profound desire to have pity for the suffering of their neighbors, to help them with all their strength, and who devote themselves effectively by using all means at their disposal, no other tears are necessary nor are other tendernesses of heart."⁶⁷

He continues, "I shall acknowledge to you that even if it were in my power to give to certain people the gift of tears, I would guard myself from doing so because they do not help at all and they bring trouble to the body and the head, and henceforth prevent all exercise of charity" (ibid.) Ignatius no longer evaluates the gift of tears as an ascetical value or a value in itself. He judges this gift as a possible means (or hindrance!) in the larger context of love of neighbor and apostolic effectiveness.

While encouraging fasting and penance, Ignatius always evaluated these practices in terms of their apostolic effectiveness. Thus Ignatius spoke against certain extreme types of fast and penance. He moved away from a monastic model of religious life with choir in common to a private recitation of the Divine Office, in order to allow more mobility and availability for mission. Even treasured theological principles, such as indifference and the third degree of humility, would not be regarded as ends in themselves, but viewed and lived in light of their effect in fostering the mission and ministry of the Jesuit.⁶⁸ Thus, instead of seeking or rejoicing in humiliations, on several occasions Ignatius fought to clear and protect his reputation and that of the Society. Only by upholding his good reputation could he assist the neighbor and be apostolically successful. Jesuit poverty is not viewed as an end or good in itself, but viewed, developed, and modified in light of the apostolic goal of the Society.⁶⁹

Laínez remarks that Ignatius once said there were two ways to help the neighbor. The first consists in the practice of severe asceticism and the second consists in works of charity. He adds that Ignatius tried both ways, and eventually moved to the second, treating his body more kindly. Laínez

⁶⁷ This incident and letter are discussed and quoted in Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 452f.

⁶⁸ An essay by Roger Cantin, S.J., shows this shift in Ignatius from a more ascetic view of the third degree to one whose norm is apostolic effectiveness. The imitation of Christ yields to apostolic effectiveness as the more encompassing norm ("Le Troisième Degré d'humilité et la gloire de Dieu," *Science Ecclésiastique* 8 [1956]: 237-66).

⁶⁹ See O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 348-51.

concludes that if Jesuits were to add more penances, they would hardly be of much service to the neighbor.⁷⁰

Jesuits are to find, serve, and achieve union with God in all things. Their challenge is to maintain union with God in the midst of an active, busy, apostolic life in the world. In the history of spirituality, Ignatius contributed enormously to an understanding of how this union with God in action may be achieved. And this he best expressed this insight in the Constitutions.

The Treasure of the Constitutions

Jesuits recently committed themselves to carrying out the ideals embodied in GC 32's "Cooperation with the Laity on Mission."⁷¹ For centuries we have been sharing the treasure of the Exercises with religious and lay persons. We say that the *Exercises*, written by a layperson, is for everyone, lay, priests, and religious. We also maintain that the *Constitutions* are for Jesuits, outlining our Institute, our way of proceeding.⁷² But is this the whole truth? In this day of lay collaboration, lay spirituality, and the apostolate of the laity, is there not a sense in which the *Constitutions*, or at least SOME aspects of them, can be helpful for the laity in their mission in the Church and society? A number of religious congregations of women rely heavily on the Jesuit *Constitutions* as the basis of their apostolic spirituality. Would it not be logi-

It would seem, therefore, that there might be further insight and illumination in the Constitutions (originally written for Jesuit laborers in the Lord's vineyard) for the laity who are committed to that labor.

⁷⁰ For an account of this, see Hugo Rahner, S.J., *Ignatius: The Man and the Priest* (Rome: CIS, 1977), 40.

⁷¹ GC 34, Decree 13. See also Decree 14, "Jesuits and the Situation of Women in Church and Civil Society."

⁷² Laínez wrote in 1556 that in the *Constitutions* Ignatius "has left us a great treasure, for they contain a very holy and prudent form of guidance, entirely sufficient for whoever seeks to be ruled by them so as to become a very great servant of God, our Lord" (Pedro Arrupe, S.J., "Apostolic Mission: Key to the Ignatian Charism," in *A Planet to Heal* [Rome: Ignatian Center of Spirituality, 1975], 275). The original Spanish of this quotation is found in *Epistolæ et acta Patris Jacobi Lainii*, 636. This is vol. 1 of *Lainii Monumenta* and vol. 44 of MHSI.

cal to examine how insights of these same *Constitutions* might be of great value to lay apostles?⁷³ Can we not mine the treasure of the *Constitutions* for insight into an apostolic spirituality for lay and religious individuals and groups?

In the *Constitutions*, Ignatius viewed the Exercises as the first of several experiments, as the beginning of a life of growth into an apostolic spirituality. In our interaction with Christian laity, might not Jesuits begin to see that sharing the Exercises is only the first step or stage in the process of initiating the laity into Ignatian spirituality? Ignatius saw the need to follow up the retreat conversion experience and the novitiate experiments with the detailed way of life outlined in the *Constitutions*. Do we not find this same need in lay apostles today, who desire to share in the Ignatian spiritual heritage?

We noted that the apostolic exhortation of Pope John Paul II on the Christian laity takes as its major theme the image of the laity as the "laborers in the Lord's vineyard."⁷⁴ It would seem, therefore, that there might be further insight and illumination in the *Constitutions* (originally written for Jesuit laborers in the Lord's vineyard) for the laity who are committed to that labor.

The recipients of this might be a group of lay persons, such as a Christian Life Community (CLC), or a parish society that wants to be more fully and apostolically Christian. It might also be helpful for the individual layperson who wishes to be more apostolically involved and at the same time grow in the life of the Spirit. Such a person may already have made the Exercises and be looking for a new way to contribute to the mission of the Church.

⁷³ Maurizio Costa, S.J., raises this possibility, but does not develop it at length: "Between the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* there is both continuity and discontinuity. Once we have subjected the relationship between the two to careful analysis and are clear on it, we have the basis for discerning how far the spirituality proper to the *Constitutions* and to the Society can be legitimately adapted for people who are not Jesuits" ("The Ignatian 'Person of the Spirit' as Reflected in the *Constitutions*," *CIS* 20, no. 3 [no. 65 in the series, 1990]: 62). Howard Gray also raises this possibility, suggesting that four priorities of the *Constitutions* might well be shared with lay colleagues, namely, the themes of wisdom, the pilgrimage of the human spirit, commitment to service and compassion, and being a contemplative in the midst of action (see "What Kind of Document?" *The Way Supplement*, 61 [Spring 1988], 21-34).

⁷⁴ Every section of Pope John Paul II's *Christifideles laici* (The lay members of Christ's faithful people), on the vocation and the mission of the lay faithful in the Church and in the world, uses the imagery of the vineyard, the vine and the branches, bearing fruit, and laboring in the Lord's vineyard.

Pedro Arrupe challenged our Jesuit educational institutions to train “men and women for others.”⁷⁵ Many of our institutions now include service programs. Presuming that our lay colleagues have familiarity with the initial conversion experience and spirituality of the Exercises, input from the Constitutions might provide further valuable insight into the formation and apostolic work of such “men and women for others.”

With these observations in mind, we turn to the Constitutions. We offer some tentative suggestions and insights grouped under three headings:

1. personal qualities, virtues, and attitudes needed for a laborer in the Lord’s vineyard
2. means to be effective apostolic laborers, and
3. norms for choosing a particular field in the Lord’s vineyard

Personal Qualities, Virtues, and Attitudes

Pervading the Constitutions are

- ▶ The themes of moderation and flexibility. Moderation points to the perfect mean that does not lean “toward an extreme of rigor or toward excessive laxity” (822). Flexibility indicates an adaptability that leaves room for exceptions and accommodations to the general rules, room for the freedom and working of the Spirit. The superior general is to exemplify this quality of flexibility (746).

- ▶ Apostolic prayer, seeking and loving God in all, and all in God (258). The examen prayer (342 and 344) developed and presented today as the examination of consciousness becomes the foundational prayer of the Christian apostle. In addition, there is consistent prayer of petition for specific persons and situations.

- ▶ The importance of the exterior, the correct use and control of the senses, outward peace (250–253). This includes proper care of the body so that one can be apostolically effective long into the future (826, 292).

- ▶ Special care for the weaker members of the group. One example of this is the attitude of charity and prayerful care for the ill and especially the dying (595–601).

- ▶ Respect for all persons whether cooks or doctors, executives or security guards. One seeks, sees, finds, and serves God in all (551), and manifests a strong trust in the Spirit who speaks to and directs each and every person (582).

⁷⁵ Pedro Arrupe, S.J., “Men and Women for Others,” in *A Planet to Heal*, 95–108.

▶ A desire for continued growth in the spiritual life, fostered by the desire and ability to learn from others, for example, by seeking and accepting advice and correction (269–70).⁷⁶ Those in authority should have an officially appointed admonitor who will regularly give friendly advice (770). The leader should have a system of assistants or advisors (810f. and 431). Ignatius expects every individual to grow in zeal, familiarity with God, and apostolic effectiveness. He expects the entire apostolic body constantly to grow in the Spirit and increase in its well-being and apostolic effectiveness (813).

▶ Leadership characterized by service rather than ambition or self-aggrandizement (817). Members of the Society are not only responsible to one another but have the responsibility to support, encourage, and empower their superiors in their difficult task (766).

▶ Loyalty to the Church and to the Holy Father (603, 605).

▶ Freedom, availability, and indifference in regard to possible ministries. As far as possible, one is available, ready to travel, to respond to the greatest needs (82 and 304).

▶ Seeing oneself not as one's own, but viewing one's life and mission as being an instrument in the hands of God for the good of others (638, 813, 814).

Means to Become Effective Laborers in the Vineyard

▶ The need and advantages of having a spiritual director or mentor, one who can guide, assist, support one in the life of ministry (263).

▶ An attitude of openness and trust between the director and the one directed, so that the best possible apostolic assignment may be made. This is found in the Constitutions under the account of conscience (91f.), and insights gained from these passages can be adapted to lay apostolic spirituality.

▶ Learning and practicing "the art of dealing and conversing with others" (814). Ignatius calls this the grace of conversation, and desired all Jesuits to acquire this skill, so that they could engage in spiritual conversation, sharing the Good News in a variety of formal and informal situations (349, 648). This implies listening skills, patience, intelligence, and a number of related virtues.

⁷⁶ Ignatius recommended that the fathers missioned to Trent as theologians take time each night to give helpful advice and, if necessary, correction to one of the brethren (Letter 123, in Young, *Letters*, 96).

► At the same time, the Constitutions aim to engender in Jesuits an ability to communicate as teachers and preachers (280, 402), striving for *eloquentia perfecta*.

► The need to cultivate “solid and perfect virtues” and “interior gifts,” to which we “attach greater importance than to learning and other natural and human gifts” (813). At the same time, there is need for a reliance upon natural means in service to the apostolate. “The human or acquired means ought to be sought with diligence, especially well-grounded and solid learning, and a method of proposing it to the people” (814). From this stems the importance of education (307), as well as the need to learn the language of the people (402).

► Recognition and proper use of extrinsic gifts of nobility, wealth, reputation in the service of God and God’s people (191). Ignatius had the remarkable ability to use both human and divine means. He saw that grace builds on nature, and that both work together for the greater glory of God and the good of others.

► The importance of good example in our everyday life. Ignatius calls this the first means to help our neighbor (637).

► Apostolic experiments (65–71). After the novice in the spiritual life has made the Exercises, Ignatius leads him through a series of experiments and apostolic insertions; for example, working and living in a hospital, performing low and humble tasks in the house, undertaking a pilgrimage to test his ability to live poorly and with confidence in God, and teaching catechism. Lay persons who have made the Exercises might well follow that with some form of insertion experience.

Norms for Choosing the Most Effective Apostolic Works

► Prayerful discernment in making choices. Admittedly a complex area, this implies that one is open to being led by the Spirit, and that at the same time one makes a serious evaluation of the given situation and its possibilities. In Part VII (621–32 in particular), we find rich material on the choice of ministries. Where is the greatest need, the more universal good, and where might we best employ our talents?

► Always searching for the *magis*, asking where the greater fruit might be reaped. Involved here is using the multiplier effect by working with the powerful and influential, by working in the famous cities (622), as well as linking the resources of the powerful with the needs of the powerless, as Ignatius did in his lifetime.

▶ Discernment involving prayer and personal care (*cura personalis*). One example of this in the Constitutions is the difficult decision to dismiss a member (220–229).

▶ Constant and ongoing communication, oral and written, among laborers in the vineyard and with their superiors. This gives support, maintains union, and also provides the information that will assure the effective and best use of resources (821, 673–75).

Further Reflections

We have seen development in the thought, life, and writings of St. Ignatius: development in the image of himself and his mission from soldier, through pilgrim, to laborer in the Lord's vineyard; development in his spirituality from the goal of saving his own soul to dedication to helping others; development from a more ascetic and monastic concern with personal perfection and salvation to a thoroughly apostolic spirituality; development in understanding the imitation or following of Christ not only as an ascetic imitation of his virtues but as a Christlike commitment to witness to the Kingdom of God in human history. We pointed to related developments in evaluating all aspects of the spiritual life, for example, prayer discernment, asceticism, and the vows, all viewed in light of an apostolic spirituality.

Constant throughout Ignatius's life was his search for the service and the greater glory of God. His understanding of *how* to give service and glory to God gradually evolved. While in the midst of this development, Ignatius was probably not aware of its full meaning and implications. Yet he clearly expected and saw the need for growth and development in the exercitant as he or she moved from the First to the Second, the Third, and the Fourth Weeks. And he saw the need for it in the life of the Jesuit candidate and the novice as he moved through the stages of training to become incorporated into the Society. The Constitutions describe the end product that Ignatius envisions, the dedicated, faithful laborer in the Lord's vineyard.

Some might judge the Constitutions as simply the logical step for Ignatius, the application of the theology and spirituality of the Exercises to the Society of Jesus. This is true, but I am arguing that they are much more. We find a shift in genre from a retreat manual aimed at initial conversion to the ways of proceeding for an organization; we find a shift in audience from individual Christians to the Company of Jesus, a shift from personal spirituality to corporate mission. There is also a shift in theology and spirituality,

in one's view of the world and mission in the world. Here we perceive a development from the initial conversion experience with a strong ascetical spirituality to a thoroughly apostolic spirituality. Not simply the imitation of Christ but the norm of apostolic effectiveness—how best can one bear fruit—plays an increasingly important role.

Some consequences of attending to this development in Ignatius would be the following:

- If we recognize development in Ignatius, this legitimates our innate tendency to add to, adapt, interpret, and develop the Spiritual Exercises, and to employ them as deeply apostolic.⁷⁷
- We should expand and rethink our basic image of Ignatius to include more of the patient, practical, laborer in the Lord's vineyard.
- Our Jesuit spirituality and lifestyle is not monastic but thoroughly and deeply apostolic. At the time of Ignatius, this was something creative and new in the history of the Church; it is something that we still strive to realize in light of the Second Vatican Council and our recent general congregations.
- We live and share a "world-affirming spirituality" in the proper sense of that expression. Seeing this development in Ignatius lends legitimacy to our Jesuit concern for history, our commitment to inculturation, our interest in reading and interpreting the signs of the times. The words of Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II to two recent general congregations call

⁷⁷ This also helps us to understand more positively some of the criticism of the Exercises, for example, criticism of the Principle and Foundation. See, for example, Joseph A. Bracken, S.J., and Roger Haight, S.J., in their articles published in *STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS* (vol. 19, no. 4 [September 1987] and vol. 22, no. 2 [March 1990] respectively). Their criticisms are valid if, as they do, they stay with the text. But widening our perspective to include the later Ignatius, as we have done in this essay, gives us insight and principles that I believe free us to modify and update the way we present the Exercises in terms of the mature Ignatius and in terms of a contemporary understanding of the world and the Church. I would add that the helpful attempt to rewrite the *Exercises* in modern English, as achieved by David L. Fleming (*Draw Me into Your Friendship* [St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996]) is also in agreement with what I am doing here. His work is a step in the right direction, but he does not explicitly refer to the development that takes place in Ignatius; however, he eliminates some of the harsh, individualistic language of Ignatius. In a sense, all commentary on, and every presentation of the *Exercises* is not only the attempt to be faithful to Ignatius, but also to present the challenge of how we personally live, choose, and engage in mission today.

upon Jesuits to be "in the crossroads of ideologies, in the front line between the deepest human desires and the perennial message of the Gospel."⁷⁸

- We are challenged to expand our study of Ignatius from the Exercises and autobiography to the letters and Constitutions, and to study all of this in light of the cultural and historical background of the world of Ignatius. The work of John O'Malley on *The First Jesuits* is a strong step in this direction.⁷⁹ With this deepened understanding of Ignatius, we will be more faithful in our understanding and living the Spiritual Exercises and in sharing them with religious and lay persons.

- Thus when we speak of Ignatian spirituality and share that with lay colleagues, we will supplement the richness of the Exercises with the treasury of the Constitutions in order to develop an ongoing apostolic spirituality in those colleagues. Ignatius first discovered in the Manresa experience and then set down in the book of the Exercises certain ideals, hopes, values, and goals; these he later concretized in the Jesuit *Constitutions*.

With That Same Grace

At the very beginning of the *Constitutions* we read, "The end of this Society is to devote itself with God's grace not only to the salvation and perfection of the members' own souls, but also with that same grace to labor strenuously in giving aid toward the salvation and perfection of the souls of their neighbors" (3). "With that same grace," is a simple phrase, but one that reveals and uncovers much of the path we have examined in the life of St. Ignatius and his followers. Nadal sees in these words

the whole nucleus of the Society: here all our thought should be centered. . . . For all that we have received from God, we have received to employ in the salvation and perfection of our neighbor. . . . Alas, then, for us if we strive only for our own salvation! That is not our grace; that is not our vocation. It is a good occupation, indeed, but not ours.⁸⁰

I believe this phrase, "with that same grace," at the very beginning of the *Constitutions*, reveals an important insight and synthesis, a step forward with great consequence not only for Ignatius but for the Catholic tradition. Grace, as Ignatius describes it above, pulls and pushes us in two directions.

⁷⁸ Allocution of Pope John Paul II, in *Documents of the Thirty-fourth General Congregation*, 253.

⁷⁹ Cited in Conwell, *Contemplation*, 64.

⁸⁰ Arrupe, "Men and Women for Others," 95-108.

Grace serves two functions, first converting or drawing us to the love of God and then pushing us out to the love of neighbor.

In the Ignatian view, this grace urges the move from the more monastic and individualistic piety and spirituality of Thomas á Kempis to the more world-affirming, apostolic, historically oriented spirituality of the Society of Jesus. This happened first in the life of Ignatius himself. The grace of God accompanied his conversion and his composition of the *Spiritual Exercises*. In light of that grace, he described the end of the person as the praise, reverence, and service God and by that means the salvation of his soul. Then Ignatius, led by the same dynamic of grace, dedicated himself to gather followers and to form the Society of Jesus, whose purpose and that of its members was to strive to help souls.

In this passage of the *Constitutions*, Ignatius acknowledges that it is that "same grace" that led to both. The dynamic and direction of grace led—in his case, in the case of every Jesuit, and, I would like to add, in the case of every Christian—from concern for the salvation of one's own soul to the outward mission of helping the neighbor towards salvation.

This insight into the working of grace reveals the deeply incarnational truth that we cannot find God except in and through the neighbor. For us today, this may seem simple and obvious. It is the message of the letter of John and is found in Matt. 25. But it seems to be easily lost or overlooked because of the strong monastic, individualist, and often other-worldly strands that remain in Catholic piety. Ignatius, led by the Spirit and enlightened by his own experience of God and his experience of the apostolate, gradually came to this insight. It is this same insight that grounds and validates the theology and spirituality and mission of the Society of Jesus and provides a solid basis for any apostolic spirituality.

We are challenged to expand our study of Ignatius from the Exercises and autobiography to the letters and Constitutions, and to study all of this in light of the cultural and historical background of the world of Ignatius.

Pedro Arrupe calls for this new vision in his oft-quoted address on men and women for others. The new vision of justice must give rise to a new kind of spirituality and asceticism, to one that includes the personal and the social, the interior and the exterior. Interior conversion is not enough. God's converting grace calls us not only to win back our whole selves for

God but to win back our whole world for God. We cannot separate personal conversion from structural social reform.⁸¹

Some currents of thought and spirituality today seem to contrast sharply with this Christian and Ignatian vision. As Daniel Berrigan wrote recently,

People [are] uninterested in anything outside their own feelings. I've watched some of this new American spirituality fill itself with prideful psychobabble as it provides a self-obsessed inner focus for people who have "made it" but who don't care much about those who have not. Some of this spirituality is aimed at . . . immunizing oneself against the misery of the streets. It was very upsetting to me to be in some spiritual centers and experience this . . . radiating affluence, self-satisfaction, and isolation from the suffering of others. . . . Too often some of the New Age people are seeking a soft world, which their affluence allows them to purchase, while turning their attention from the harsh realities of a world that needs healing and repair.⁸²

The view of Arrupe and the criticism of Berrigan certainly resonate with the thrust of the Second Vatican Council. The council ends its historic *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* with a call for an apostolic, mission-oriented Christian life. In a section entitled "A World to Be Built Up and Brought to Fulfillment," we read in words couched in terms of a project spirituality:

Christians can yearn for nothing more ardently than to serve the men and women of this age with an ever growing generosity and success. . . . They have shouldered a weighty task here on earth and they must render an account of it to him who will judge all men and women on the last day.⁸³

Clearly here is a call to all Christians to undertake an apostolic life and spirituality, a life of labor in the Lord's vineyard. This in turn echoes the insight of St. Ignatius and his experience of the twofold dynamic of grace. There is the grace of conversion that Ignatius experienced and shared in the *Exercises*, and the graced call to an apostolic life and spirituality that he solidified in the *Constitutions*. Not only do Jesuits try to live this dynamic of grace as fruitful laborers in the Lord's vineyard, but more and more they strive to share this rich heritage of the *Exercises* and *Constitutions* with lay persons similarly called to be faithful and fruitful laborers in the Lord's vineyard.

⁸¹ Arrupe, "Men and Women for Others," 95-108.

⁸² Daniel Berrigan, S.J., in *Tikkun* (September/October 1998), cited in *U.S. Catholic* (January 1999), 6f.

⁸³ Austin Flannery, O.P., ed., "Gaudium et spes," in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1975), no. 93 (p. 1001).

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