

Mysticism & Social Transformation

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With a Foreword by ROBERT J. EGAN, S.J.

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Foreword

ROBERT J. EGAN, S.J.

Politics begins in mysticism, and mysticism always ends in politics.
—Charles Péguy

It is a pleasure for me to introduce this collection of essays on a subject that has been close to my heart for more than thirty years: What is the relationship between, on the one hand, the human longing for holiness, for active participation in the sacred, for what might be called the vision of God or union with God, and, on the other, the human longing for compassionate justice, for the alleviation of poverty, suffering, and oppression, for a more equitable configuration of human dwelling on this earth? What is the relationship, in other words, between the mystical and the political dimensions of religious existence?

When I first became interested in this topic, I was convinced that it was precisely in these two areas—in the struggle to appropriate in an intelligent, contemporary way the practical demands of a spirituality and in the struggle to make common cause in transforming the conditions of life for the excluded and the impoverished—that authentic religion remained a possibility in this age. It seemed to me that these great passions or transcendent longings moved the souls of the finest and most inspiring members of my generation. The question that gripped me with the force of a destiny, then and now, was how to *think* the inner relationship between these two longings.

Over the years, different aspects of this question came, for a time, to seem most urgent. Why do the mystical and the prophetic or political manifest themselves so often in tension, if not opposition? How does the organization of authorized power in a culture sometimes become the object of a religious analysis and criticism? How does the experience of an absolute claim being made on one's will to stand in solidarity with the helpless, the sorrowful, the other-than-oneself so often become the excuse for a murderous hatred of outsiders and of those who are weak? What are the factors, both social and histor-

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Ignatian Mysticism of Service

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA AND PEDRO ARRUPE

JANET K. RUFFING, R.S.M.

The innovative “service mysticism” of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), the founder of the Company of Jesus, later known as the Society of Jesus,¹ exemplifies with extraordinary clarity the link between mysticism and action for the good of others—the transformation of society as well as of the hearts and minds of individuals. I demonstrate this link by examining the life of Ignatius with the original founding group and later historical embodiments of Ignatian service mysticism in this century’s charismatic general of the order, Pedro Arrupe (1907–91), and in the consensual decrees of the Thirty-first to Thirty-fourth General Congregations of the Society of Jesus.²

Before the relationship between mysticism and action in the Ignatian experience can be demonstrated, it is necessary to situate this reflection in the context of the possible meanings of both mysticism and social transformation. This problematic results from a long philosophical and cultural history. In the modern and contemporary periods, definitions of both mysticism and social life artificially separated these two domains of human experience from one another. The Enlightenment and later Marxist criticisms of religion demonstrated only too clearly the potential of a dominant religious institution to oppress large segments of a society through the manipulation of religious meanings and through the coercive uses of political as well as sacral power. Hence, as Steven Ozment so persuasively argues in *Mysticism and Dissent*, mysticism carries the roots of dissent, reform, or revolution (1973). In the six-

1. The Company of Jesus refers to the apostolically oriented religious community of priests known later as the Society of Jesus and, more popularly, as Jesuits.

2. A general congregation is an assembly of Jesuits representing every province in the world, which meets to elect new leadership, to legislate on behalf of the entire society and to authoritatively interpret their charism in the light of present circumstances and challenges.

teenth century, for instance, Ignatius’s historical context and the historical period Ozment studied, religious ideology shaped history and directly contributed to the social grievances and oppression of large numbers of people. In this cultural context, mysticism became a powerful source of resistance, renewal, and reform.

Both in terms of its objective orientation and its subjective power the mystical enterprise is peculiar, departing the ordinary way to religious truth and salvation for a more direct and intimate communion with God. It reaches further than the normal psychological functions of the soul can grasp and demands more than the normal institutional structures of the church can give. In the most literal sense of the words, the mystical enterprise is transrational and transinstitutional. And because it is such, it bears a potential *anti*-intellectual and *anti*-institutional stance, which can be adopted for the critical purposes of dissent, reform, and even revolution. (Ozment 1973, 8)

Taken to its logical conclusion, the conscious cultivation of the mystical relationship with ultimate reality may lead the subject of such experiences to a radical repudiation of all other means of mediated experiences of God in favor of a form of mystical salvation as the “final power and authority of the Self within one’s own self” (Ozment 1973, 12). Ozment continues, “With the collapse of the normal activities of the soul follows as surely as the night the day the irrelevance of everything the visible world has to offer, whether it be of good or of ill. One is above popes and kings, beyond sacraments and laws, immune to worldly praise and condemnation. Even if the experience (or the theory) does not issue in dissent, reform or revolutionary activity, it uniquely drives home the ideological prerequisite for such, viz. an understanding of the penultimate character of all worldly power and authority” (12).

Because the radical freedom of persons mystically transformed in their perspective vis-à-vis worldly (social) power and its particular forms of coercion and corruption, especially should they gather followers, has such potential for challenging existing religious power relations and their social and institutional embodiments, religious institutions develop effective means of controlling, suppressing, or taming such challenges to their hegemony. When reform movements fail in their attempts to bring about incremental social change within religious or political-religious institutions through appeals to the ideals available to all within a common ideological frame, they may be ruthlessly extinguished or turn revolutionary. Hence, in the sixteenth century and even earlier, mystical reform movements were frequently suppressed by the

Catholic Church through judicial processes and violent crusades that defined many challengers as “heretical” and thereby meriting execution.

As political systems began to change in the sixteenth century, some “heretics” succeeded in establishing radical reform groups that evolved into Protestant sects or churches in opposition to the Catholic Church. The inability of the Catholic Church to respond adequately to the criticism of the reformers led to revolution in many instances. These Protestant reformers felt compelled to form alternative religious sects by developing alliances with secular authorities who also resented the control of the church in their affairs.

Reform Within Roman Catholicism

Within the Roman Catholic Church, attempts at religious reform represented a version of social transformation focused on the institution itself and on its relation to the larger society. Sociologists sometimes characterize these reform movements as “renewal” or “revitalization” movements. In order to create positive change and successfully avoid suppression, reformers aligned themselves with institutional and spiritual interests that made their contribution appear desirable to the church. These “interests” were often a shared vision rooted in the Gospel, regarding which there were real agreements about desirable actions and values. If successful, reformers were able to establish a set of conditions under which they could creatively work that would serve both their own deepest goals of personal and social renewal, and yet not appear to threaten the current power arrangements and interests of the institution. The phenomenon of mystical reformers who managed to initiate and sustain social transformation within a church has been of less interest to contemporary scholars than an ahistorical, privatized account of religious or mystical experience devoid of such social implications.

Further, both phenomenological studies of mysticism as well as the typologies developed by sociological studies define the closely related concepts of social action, prophecy, charisma, and mysticism in ways that obscure their relationship to one another. For instance, is not prophecy a form of mysticism, as Woods recently argues against Smart (1996, 169–70)? Regarding the biblical religions, it is very difficult to argue that the experience of the prophet is not also mystical. It does, after all, become a matter of definition to what extent a charisma, a gift of the Holy Spirit for the sake of the community, is not also received and acted on through an ongoing process of mystical transformation in the person so empowered to act for and in a particular community. This split between mysticism and prophecy impedes scholars’ efforts to recognize the historical embodiments of mystically grounded social action within

religious contexts.³ Grace Jantzen (1995) has clearly shown that the power to define mysticism and who counts as a mystic is often both political and gender biased. Her study reveals that motives of institutional and political control may be operative under the guise of concerns about religious truth or doctrinal development. The power exercised by certain educated elites—usually male, celibate, and clerical—may threaten the nonordained, especially women when they claim any mystical or doctrinal authority.

Counter-Reformation mystical reformers, such as Ignatius of Loyola, were successful in creating a new social embodiment of their reforming ideals, usually a new religious community; in mobilizing resources; and in creating or adapting frame alliances (Wittberg 1996) that enabled them to participate effectively within the larger social phenomenon of the Catholic reform movements leading up to and resulting from the Council of Trent (1546–63). Thus, they successfully innovated on the basis of their mystical experience, yet presented their innovation as harmonious to the reform sponsored by the institution. They succeeded precisely because they found ways of carving out a new niche of activity within the larger institution. This adaptation of frame alliances may appear to twentieth-century interpreters as a compromise with the political reality of an institution and some of the corrupt officeholders who wielded power in its system. Contemporary scholars in the field of mysticism often fail to take sufficiently into account the actual historical record, however, which might demonstrate that reforming mystics were engaged within their ecclesial bodies in a form of social transformation when they were concerned about mediating religious salvation to those who were marginalized within society, even when they did not address all of the other economic or social needs of the group they served. Sociologists, on the other hand, often fail to recognize the range of complex social processes related to the religion mystics practiced that contributed to and supported innovating or reforming movements (Coleman 1997).

Ignatius of Loyola

In the case of Ignatius of Loyola, his project of social transformation was directly related to the broad reform movement in the Catholic Church of his day, but he gradually evolved a unique response to that movement through his personal experience and that of the founding group of companions who

3. For instance, see McGinn (1994), who defines Elisabeth of Schonau as a prophet rather than a mystic because her writing calls for church reform rather than describing the mystical process.

became the Society of Jesus. Thus, he founded a renewal movement within the church while never entertaining the option of becoming a dissenter. This movement included not only the Society of Jesus but also an entire series of institutions that became social carriers of his reforming ideals.

Ignatius's initial conversion experience in 1521 occurred only a year after Luther was officially condemned by the Catholic Church. In Spain, Ignatius was isolated from the continental Protestant reformers and took another twenty years to discern his call in a dialectical process of action and contemplation. His self-understanding always remained within the framework of the Catholicism of his day, when the church was anxious about potentially heretical movements. Ignatius saw himself as trying to live a deeply authentic Catholic Christian way of life, exceeding the ordinary expectations of his times. Such an exemplary way of life often has transformative social effects in a situation in which many others are living conventionally or superficially.

There are several aspects to Ignatius's specifically social intentions. Ignatius remained part of the church, fully embracing its theology, sacramental worship, and institutional embodiments from his mystical initiatory experiences until his death. He was inspired by the Gospel ideal of service, love of one's neighbors, and concern for their personal salvation. He cared for the spiritual and corporal needs of the poor. Eventually, he gathered to share his vision like-minded men or men capable of being converted to a similarly committed love of God and neighbor through guided spiritual exercises. Each of these men was initiated in a mystically transforming process. As they gravitated toward one another through similar personal religious experiences and fruitful ministries, the seminal company of priests pledged themselves to one another and to the church, thus initiating the Society of Jesus (1539–40). They linked this new social body to the papacy in such a way that they were seen to serve both the evangelizing interests of Pope Paul III as well as their own dream of a world mission. Finally, as these original members of the company and those who joined them responded charismatically and spontaneously to the immediate needs of the people, they usually created institutions such as schools and houses for women at risk of becoming prostitutes, as well as other means of addressing some of the causes of social and spiritual distress. At other times, they simply followed the accepted practices of the times related to their ministries.

In what sense, then, was Ignatius a mystic and not simply following an already established calling within the church not predicated on mystical experience or illumination? This rather bald statement of the question contests some of the contemporary definitions of mysticism, such as William James's, which identify abstract features from the accounts of some mystics and detach the experience and definition from the religion that functioned as the mystics'

context. No account is taken of the social process inherent in the mystical transformation of the subject (Woods 1996, 158), and the social contexts (just or unjust) that the mystic may feel called to reform, transform, or cooperate with are also obscured. In other words, a purely psychological description of the phenomena associated with mysticism reduces mysticism to a purely interior and privatized experience without taking into account both the social construction (Jantzen 1995) of the definition of mysticism or the social effects of such experiences.

Ignatius's Mystical Experience

Because Ignatius was so thoroughly shaped by his Catholic Christian religious tradition, and because his most significant (from his own point of view) mystical experiences had to do not only with experiencing the presence of God in an altered state of consciousness, but also with understanding the mysteries of Christian faith and of the Scriptures in an entirely new way so that the rest of his life and action flowed from these content-filled appropriations of Christian faith, Bernard McGinn's recent definition of mysticism within a Christian context best fits Ignatius's case. "The mystical element in Christianity is that part of its belief and practices that concerns the preparation for, the consciousness of, and the reaction to what can be described as the immediate or direct presence of God" (1991, xvii). This definition of the mystical element of Christianity is, for McGinn, part of a process or way of life rather than an isolated experience: "Although . . . the goal . . . of mysticism may be conceived of as a particular kind of encounter between God and the human, between Infinite Spirit and the finite human spirit, everything that leads up to and prepares for this encounter, as well as all that flows from or is supposed to flow from it for the life of the individual in the belief community, is also mystical, even if in a secondary sense" (xvi).

Beginning with his conversion experience at Loyola when he was recovering from his battle-inflicted leg wound (1521), Ignatius began to notice the occurrence of various interior movements. They continued in ever greater intensity during his withdrawal to the cave at Manresa (1522–23) for a series of meditations, fasts, and other spiritual exercises that consolidated his religious conversion and reorganized his personality in response to them. He all the while noted and identified some of his spiritual movements and mystical experiences, which culminated with his illuminating vision along the banks of the Cardoner River. Ignatius reported in his *Autobiography* that after the experience at Cardoner, he was never the same again, but saw and felt everything differently. However, this experience was not the end of his mystical itinerary. From that time on, Ignatius appeared to his companions to be guided and

confirmed throughout the rest of his life as he attempted to discern the direction his life and actions were to take in relationship to the unfolding sense of call or election he had experienced. His confirming vision at La Storta on the way to Rome convinced him that he was “being sent” on a mission, just as Jesus had been.

Recent interpreters of Ignatius and his historical project, the founding and governance of an apostolic community, assert an inherent unity between Ignatius the mystic and Ignatius the man of action (H. Egan 1984; Conwell 1997; Idigoras 1994; R. Egan 1990; Arrupe 1985b). Ignatius’s entire spiritual or mystical itinerary was never characterized by purely inward mystical experiences that had no relationship to the actions toward which that interior experience was directed. Like the apostle Paul and countless other figures in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, Ignatius’s mystical experience was a theophany that conveyed a mission and that continued to instruct him through a series of profound spiritual and affective experiences. This series of ongoing interior movements or “spirits” required him to develop a method of discerning them so that he might interpret them confidently as a guide to action and response to the divine initiative.

Ignatius, a Basque soldier and nobleman from the upper-middle-class family of Loyola in the Golden Age of Spain, was shaped by the experience and imagery of chivalry as a guiding framework for his religious experience. He “pictured”

the relationship with God . . . therefore . . . not as a nuptial relationship, not in a mode of consciousness which is primarily receptive and impassioned, but primarily as service in a Royal Household, in a mode of consciousness which foregrounds agency and intentionality. Thus the vision of Ignatius puts its strongest emphasis on doing things, on great enterprises. “Love,” he says laconically, “manifests itself in deeds.” . . . [T]his priority of action, and so the need to be good at what one does . . . is the most characteristic feature of Ignatian spirituality. It is a mysticism of effective and transformative action in a world, undertaken as a mission from a beloved sovereign. (R. Egan 1991b, 34)

Thus, Ignatius experienced himself as summoned by this Lord and entrusted with an urgent mission, a specifically Gospel-inspired mission, placed in service with God’s Beloved Son, entirely focused on helping to bring about the Kingdom of God. He dreamed of missionary pilgrimage, a conflation of Paul’s missionary journeys and the crusading ideal of Christian chivalry.

It is important to note that Ignatius’s most profound early mystical experience, which occurred to him as he sat on the bank of the Cardoner River,

where he stopped on his way to a church for services, was not a critique of or an innovative departure from Christianity. Nor was it a new prophetic revelation, a new truth, or a new religious inspiration. It was, instead, an experience of Christian enlightenment in which he “received a mystically infused sense of the unity of the Christian mysteries. Mystically seeing how all things fit together, his outlook was ‘architectonic,’ grasping the root unity of all the truths of the faith. He saw everything from then on in its proper universal perspective, how all things flow from and to the God of love” (H. Egan 1984, 36). In *The Autobiography* dictated to Luis Goncalves daCâmara many years later, it was put this way: “The eyes of his understanding began to be opened; not that he saw any vision, but he understood many things, both spiritual matters and matters of faith and scholarship, and this with so great an enlightenment that everything seemed new to him.” In a marginal note, daCâmara added, “This left his understanding so very enlightened that he felt as if he were another man with another mind” (par. 30).⁴

Ignatius thus wanted others to experience something similar. He wanted them to appropriate a more interiorly coherent Christianity than many had previously encountered. He wanted others to understand and respond to the Christian mysteries—creation, the Trinity, incarnation, redemption, and salvation—through an intimate experience of the Persons of the Trinity and of the intentions and desires of this Triune God toward the world. Such a personal appropriation of Christianity could be described as a revitalization movement that began with personal self-transcendence. “It was this deep renewal of life and reform of customs, of mores, of ordinary ways of doing things, that was the constant apostolic goal of the society. . . . This is already in principle, what we mean by changing ‘social structures’ ” (R. Egan 1991b, 39).

Implications for Influence and Action

As Ignatius underwent this personal pedagogy under the Holy Spirit’s guidance, he was led to make notes about the process of his experiences. Thus, from August to September 1522, he began to write his book, which came to be known as *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*.⁵ Unlike the writing of other

4. Quotations from *The Autobiography* (Ignatius of Loyola 1991) are translated by Parmananda Divarkar and cited by paragraph number.

5. *The Spiritual Exercises* is the book written by Ignatius of Loyola as a guide for a spiritual director who initiates a retreatant into an intimate spiritual experience, the goal of which is both interior conversion and freedom for religious commitment to an apostolic way of life based on the Gospels. The book contains a series of notes and a specified sequence of content for meditation and spiritual practices. The “Exercises,” when not italicized, refers to the experience of making or directing the exercises rather than to the book.

mystics, this book was not a record of mystical visions, but a series of notes about the processes involved in Ignatius's transformation, about how to interpret interior movements, and about the contents and techniques of a set of exercises arranged in a particular order that would enable him to guide others. The notes assume individual differences in retreatants and encourage the guide to respect their unique personalities. Through this retreat process, Ignatius expected the retreatant to experience a mystical transformation issuing in a call to apostolic action as a member of the group that would gradually gather around Ignatius or to some other equally appropriate form of action for that particular person. Ignatius understood that only God could effect human transformation. He merely tried to organize a set of exercises using all of the available spiritual resources he knew to facilitate another's receiving a similar illumination and call: a sequence of meditations focused on the central mysteries of Christian faith and the ministry and teaching of Jesus, which would evoke memory, imagination, desire, and reflection, and dispose the person to God's action.

Dialectic of Action and Reflection

After his unique experience of illumination, Ignatius still had no master plan for his activity, but he was so changed by that experience that he began to engage in any ministry formed to respond to the actual needs of other people, including listening and speaking about the things of God, giving sermons, and leading others through some version of spiritual exercises. He worked and reworked both his notes and the meditations, which became *The Spiritual Exercises*. These spiritual conversations apparently with anyone who would listen to him were the primary way he attracted followers, friends, and companions who wanted to be with him and to learn from him. He did not intend to create a community, but a community—"a company" as they eventually called themselves—grew up around him in Paris, where he took a master's degree in theology so that he could engage in the care of souls without continual harassment as a layman.⁶ These original companions proceeded in the same

6. Ignatius's activities were questioned or curtailed in several locations before he and his first companions were ordained. In 1526 in Alcalá, Ignatius was investigated by the Inquisition and agreed to the resultant directives regarding dress and behavior. In 1527, while studying in Salamanca, he was investigated and imprisoned; he was investigated again in 1529 in Paris and again in 1535. In 1537, another investigation was underway in Venice, and in 1538, Ignatius insisted on a judicial process in Rome. See Conwell (1997, 184–99) for an account of all these investigations and their outcomes. According to Conwell, Ignatius was insistent on collecting testimony and documents that cleared him or his companions of any sign of heresy so that even a rumor about having been investigated elsewhere might not endanger their reputations and hinder their

manner as Ignatius—experiencing a sense of call or mission and gradually discovering where it was leading them until they took vows of celibacy together and committed themselves to poverty in Paris in 1534. In 1537, prior to their projected pilgrimage to the Holy Land, they decided to apply to the pope for ordination of the five among them not already ordained. They dispersed on various missions when unable to go to Jerusalem, and in 1539, they gathered again in Venice to deliberate about their future: Were they to form some formal community, or were they to minister as individuals? Joseph Conwell movingly narrates the process and events that led to the mutual discovery made by the first fathers—who came together finally in an intensive and ongoing discernment process in the midst of their apostolic work from late March to August 1539—that they had been impelled by the Holy Spirit to join together freely in one body with the one shared desire to dedicate themselves in companionship to the service of Christ and His church (1997, 90).

In the lengthy and intense spiritual conversations with the companions whom he attracted, through the Exercises, and in their deliberations, Ignatius revealed some of the particular content or guidance he received in mystical visionary, ecstatic, or illuminative experiences that led to the formation of the Society of Jesus and that guided this "renewal movement" within the larger social context of the Counter-Reformation of the Catholic Church. Some of these companions pressed him in 1553–55 to dictate his autobiography before his death to one of their group, daCámara.⁷

Only after founding the Society of Jesus did Ignatius keep a spiritual diary, recording his daily experiences of consolation and other mystical graces from February 2 to March 12, 1544, and from March 13, 1544, to February 27, 1545. The reason for doing so was his deliberation about income and poverty, which he would legislate for the society in *The Constitutions*, currently being drafted. In contrast to other examples of such autobiographical writings, such as *The Life of St. Teresa of Avila*, Ignatius concealed most of the content of the visions, *loquelaes*,⁸ and inspirations he received in prayer. He simply indicated

work. In such a climate, it is not surprising that Ignatius protected himself by earning degrees in theology, seeking ordination, and maintaining documentation so that they could work unhindered.

7. *The Autobiography* covers only 1521–38, beginning with his conversion and ending eighteen years prior to his death. This document was not published in Latin until 1731 or in Italian until 1943. *The Spiritual Diary* was published in its entirety only in 1934. For several centuries, these documents were not well known in the Society of Jesus, which relied primarily on *The Constitutions* and *The Spiritual Exercises* as sources for their shared life. The recovery of these documents offered fresh insight into the founder's spirit in the last half century.

8. *Loquelaes* is a term used for mystically received words, usually a sentence, heard or sensed in mystical prayer.

the direction or nature of the consolations he received, which he interpreted in relationship to the particular decision he was making. Continental mystics of the same historical era described in great detail the content of their mystical experiences and frequently placed great store in them. Ignatius traced the pattern of consolation, following his own "Rules for Discernment of Spirits" noted in *The Spiritual Exercises* as a guide to action or to organizational development. According to Antonio De Nicholas (1986), this behavior emphasized his action/decision orientation. It became—as Jerónimo Nadal reported,⁹ ascribing the term to Ignatius—"Our Way of Proceeding," a characteristic pattern either for making decisions in concrete circumstances for the society as a whole or related to apostolic decisions for individual men.

Contemplation in Action

Some further elaboration on the particular relationship between mystical experience and social action can now be undertaken. First of all, although Richard Woods argues persuasively for a dialectical relationship between mysticism and social action by an analysis of mystical development as a social process of periods of withdrawal, transformation, and return to society (1996), that analysis does not entirely fit Ignatius's contemplation in action. Frequently, the period of mystical withdrawal and transformation comprises a very lengthy time, preceding the return phase of the process. Such an analysis would fit Teresa of Avila well. She began the reform of Carmel and her foundations of reformed convents only in the later stages of her mystical development.

Ignatius was somewhat different. His initial withdrawal constituted convalescence at home, where he was cared for by family and servants after his serious war injuries. For him, this period was one of forced inactivity that resulted in a spiritual process. He remained part of his familiar social milieu. Only after he resolved to dedicate himself in vigil and pilgrimage at Montserrat did he express his commitment to a spiritual way of life and undergo a more complete spiritual transformation in the cave at Manresa. During this time, however, he continued to participate in the regular round of religious practice common in the church at the time, and he engaged in spiritual conversations with others and cared for the sick. He spent several hours a day in

9. Jerónimo Nadal, a Spaniard, was appointed vicar of the society by Ignatius prior to his death. Nadal, although not one of the original founding fathers, was sent on numerous missions throughout the world to explain the purpose, structure, and internal spirit of the *Constitutions* and of Ignatius's thinking. He continued in this role under Ignatius's successor Diego Laynez. He has long been considered the best interpreter of Ignatius's thinking and intentions, and did much to unify the society.

spiritual practices, but he was also involved with local people, performing either corporal or spiritual works of mercy. He participated in the sacramental life of the church and sought spiritual guidance from monastics in the area.

Likewise, while the first fathers of the Society of Jesus were involved with their deliberations about their future together, they chose not to disengage from their many ministries in Venice, but to continue them, while at the same time performing such spiritual exercises as they could and sharing the results of that prayer related to their common intention. Ignatius pioneered a service mysticism in which God is found in all things, in which the intimate love relationship with God was expressed in action, in collaborating with Christ in God's vineyard. These themes all coalesce in the final "Contemplation to Attain Love," which concludes *The Spiritual Exercises* (nos. 230–37) and that was meant to continue on a daily basis.

Ignatius expected the "withdrawal" phase to last about thirty days if a person had sufficient leisure (no. 20). Otherwise, he devised an alternate form (no. 19) spread over many more weeks of focused prayer and attention while the person continued normal activity. This intense spiritual activity of directing the Exercises is itself a form of action when it becomes focused on one's neighbor. Then it becomes a ministry—a way of animating others toward the realities of faith, of facilitating spiritual awakening and conversion of life. It is a reform of the heart, illumined by the mysteries of faith and exemplified in the story of Jesus and the saints. This action had no fixed form. "The forms were always to be discerned anew in specific contexts" (R. Egan 1991a, 10).

The corporal and spiritual works of mercy complemented all of the ministries of word and sacrament in which the first companions participated as priests. In the later history of the society, these ministries often became separated from one another, creating too large a gap between the sacred, cultic service of the clergy and active works of charity. Purely charitable responses to the marginalized or oppressed often enabled situations of injustice to continue because of a lack of analysis about the causes of this suffering when it was economically or socially based.

Apostolic Innovation and Social Concerns

With his companions, Ignatius innovated a new way of being missionary priests throughout the world. The "Formula of the Institute"¹⁰ clearly integrated the works of mercy with preaching and spiritual ministry. Not only did

10. "The Formula of the Institute" is a summary of the way of life proposed by the first fathers for papal approval first in a series of five paragraphs in *Cum ex plurimum*, which was then approved by Paul III in *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* (1540) and revised again by Julius III in *Exposcit debitum*

the members of the society physically care for the sick, hear their confessions, and prepare them for death, but they also set up confraternities to continue the activity once the priests left or moved into another sphere of activity (O'Malley 1993, 165ff.). Although the first Jesuits did not have the tools of social analysis, they "consistently worked to improve the physical circumstances of the needy" (O'Malley 1993, 167). Their care for those in need was both motivated by the Gospel and rooted in their philosophy, which obligated them to work for "the common good." In many circumstances, Jesuits collected funds to provide financial assistance to individuals suffering from disasters such as famine, flood, or plague. Where adequate social institutions existed, such as the Italian hospitals, they volunteered their service within them. At other times, they founded entirely new ones. In both cases, they supported or established lay confraternities that would continue the work (O'Malley 1993, 166–67). Thus, the society created new institutional embodiments of an already established type to extend their influence in bettering some aspects of social conditions beyond themselves and their own ministries.

O'Malley's account of the early ministries of these first Jesuits shows that they are remarkable both for their pluriformity and for the breadth of their social concerns. His careful historical analysis differentiates areas in which the society innovated from those groups following conventional lines.

Although O'Malley could not establish an innovative quality to early Jesuits' ministries of reconciliation and peacemaking between feuding parties in Italy, he does show that they responded to this apostolic need and were often quite successful with it during their first ten years. It was not one of the works of charity specified in the initial "Formula of the Institute," making its first appearance later, in 1550 (1993, 169).

The ministry with prostitutes in Rome and elsewhere was among the Jesuits' most innovative works. By 1543, Ignatius himself took an active role in developing Casa Santa Marta, a halfway house for prostitutes who desired to change their lives. In addition to preaching to prostitutes, Ignatius raised funds to support the house and to supply dowries for women who wished to marry. He recognized that women became prostitutes because of economic and social conditions. They were often fleeing abusive marriages or were without dowries required for marriage or the religious life. Ignatius offered the women he served a wider range of choices than other charities permitted.

(1550). To this day, Jesuits consider these formulae as encoding the original inspiration of their way of life and include them in their *Constitutions*.

These women could marry, embrace religious life as *conversae*,¹¹ or enter domestic service. Ignatius also recognized the intergenerational character of prostitution and provided education and dowries for the daughters of prostitutes between the ages of ten and twelve to provide them with better options than their mothers had. Ignatius was insistent that the prostitutes who came to Casa Santa Marta freely choose from the available options they had open to them (O'Malley 1993, 182–85).

Ignatius also repudiated the "blood purity" standards of the Spaniards and accepted into the society new Christians who converted either from Judaism or Islam. O'Malley comments that Ignatius's policies and decisions reflected resistance to Spanish prejudices on these matters, but did not secure universal endorsement from members of the society (1993, 188–92). Ignatius sufficiently understood the intensity of bigotry against these men and educated them outside of Spain. However, O'Malley also notes that the interest of the early Jesuits in winning converts from the Jewish community actually contributed to some of the persecution Jesuits experienced in Rome and on papal lands (1993, 188–92).

The history of educational institutions established and operated by the Jesuits is too vast and complex to treat in this essay except to acknowledge that the society responded at first to the educational needs of the poor, and its schools proliferated so rapidly that they began to absorb much of the manpower of the society and to eclipse for a long time the initial diversity of the other ministries. These schools were, however, important social institutions with far-reaching and diverse effects both on the Society of Jesus as well as on those whom they educated (O'Malley 1993, 200–242).

Ignatius and his fledgling society were welcomed in many of the contexts in which they established themselves because their manner of living and of conducting their ministries offered the witness of lives dedicated to the welfare of others and to the reforming ideals of the church. They were not self-serving, ecclesiastical careerists. They required no fees for either their sacramental services or their charitable works. They raised funds by begging for their modest needs and for those they served. They offered themselves for the universal mission of the church through their fourth vow, which grew out of their personal relationship to the pope, who, they felt, knew where the most pressing needs were. This apostolic and social action for the common good emerged out of their deep interior experience of being united with the poor Christ and of collaborating with him in the ongoing work of redemption in their church and its worldwide ex-

11. *Conversae* were women who became penitential religious after a life of prostitution. They were required to form communities separate from those composed of virgins.

tension. Although they lacked the tools of the social sciences, which would not develop for several hundred years, nonetheless they contributed to the revitalization of Christian life within Catholicism and created numerous institutional carriers of these reforms in their ministries, in the Society of Jesus itself, and in other organizations, which effected considerable social change of various kinds.

Pedro Arrupe, S. J.: Revitalization of the Founding Charism

Pedro Arrupe (1907–91) was elected general of the Society of Jesus by the Thirty-first General Congregation in 1965, while the Vatican Council II was still in session. He served in this capacity for eighteen years while both the Society of Jesus and the Roman Catholic Church implemented and resisted the reforms and renewal mandated by this council and by the synods that followed it. Arrupe, like Ignatius before him, lived at a turning point in history and responded to the unique challenges he faced.

A Basque like Ignatius, Arrupe grew up in Spain, attended medical school from 1922 to 1926, and entered the Society of Jesus at Loyola in 1927 after witnessing three medical miracles at Lourdes. This experience he identified as the birth of his vocation (Arrupe 1986, 18, 30–31). While he was still involved in his studies, he and the entire membership of the society were expelled from Spain in 1932, so he completed his philosophical and theological studies in Belgium and then in Holland. Ordained a priest in 1936, he did further theological studies in Kansas, where he concentrated on moral theology. He completed tertianship in Cleveland and in New York City. In 1938, he was assigned to the mission to Japan, fulfilling a “vision” he had during a much earlier retreat “that my vocation was to be a missionary and that it would lead me to Japan” (1986, 13).

Mystical Experience Interpreted Through the Ignatian Charism

Arrupe’s experiences in Japan were challenging and profound, and his mystical experience was often eucharistic. He celebrated one of his first masses in Japan on Mount Fujiyama.

Arriving at the summit, the sunrise was magnificent; it raised our spirits and disposed us for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. . . . Above us the blue sky stretched out pure and majestic like the dome of an immense temple; below one saw all the people of Japan, then about eighty million people who did not know the Savior. Piercing the lofty dome of the material sky, my spirit rose to the throne of the Divine Majesty, to the throne of the Holy Trinity,

and I seemed to see the heavenly Jerusalem, the Holy City; I seemed to see Jesus Christ accompanied by St. Francis Xavier, the first apostle to Japan, whose hair turned white in a few months because of the sufferings he had to endure. I too was faced with the same Japan as St. Francis Xavier, faced with a totally unknown future; if I had known then how much I would suffer, my hands would have trembled as I raised the Host. (1986, 32–33)

Different kinds of suffering came soon. He experienced a “feeling of great loneliness” as he adjusted to yet another new culture. Suspected of espionage because of his time in the United States, he was imprisoned for one month in Yamaguchi, where he served as a parish priest. He claimed he learned during this time “the science of silence, of solitude, of severe and austere poverty, of inner dialogue with the ‘guest of my soul’ ” (1986, 21). He was appointed master of novices in 1942, outside of Hiroshima, where he and his men saved nearly two hundred lives after the atomic bomb exploded in the city on August 6, 1945.

Living through the aftermath of the bombing altered his life forever. Again, he described both intense suffering and profound consolation when he celebrated mass in the ruined chapel, overflowing with wounded victims who had no understanding of the ritual that so strengthened him. “I stayed there as if I were paralyzed, my arms outstretched, contemplating this human tragedy—human science and technological progress used to destroy the human race. They were all looking at me, eyes full of agony and despair as if they were waiting for some consolation from the altar” (1986, 33). Arrupe spontaneously prayed for those who had dropped the bomb and for the victims.

Arrupe had deeply appropriated the charism and spirit of Ignatius of Loyola. His mystical experience occurred in moments of ritual and in moments of ordinary experience. He described experiences in prayer in which he felt destined for a particular mission—in his case, Japan. He was thoroughly shaped by the kinds of intimate experiences of the three Persons of the Trinity that the Spiritual Exercises seek to facilitate. His priestly ministry and his care of the sick were completely integrated. He sensed himself in continuity with the first Jesuits in Japan and recognized that he was living through momentous historical times. Eventually he was appointed vice-provincial of Japan in 1954 and then provincial in 1959.

Arrupe assimilated the Ignatian tradition to an extraordinary degree. When he was expelled from Spain, instead of visiting his family, he studied the *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu*, absorbing a great deal of the spirit of the founder from the narratives and documents about the founding group (Arrupe 1986, 46). These texts were not widely known among ordinary mem-

bers of the society. While novice master in Japan, he wrote five books on the Exercises because he recognized they needed to be reinterpreted for entirely new situations. He spoke seven languages and studied many historical layers of the Ignatian experience. He could cite by memory from Ignatius's voluminous correspondence, the early narratives, and the founding documents. Moreover, he simply lived from the mystical level in all of his activities.

He acted on spiritual experience. As general of the society, he was uniquely able to offer an authentic interpretation to various groups in the society and governed the society entirely according to these principles. After a plan of action had been developed, he reported, "Above all I followed the Spirit. All the points which supported me did not come from me, but from the Spirit who has animated the life of the Church, during and after the Vatican Council II" (1986, 26–27). His decision to convene a general congregation in 1974 was one such Spirit-guided action. "I have never doubted, even for a moment, that God wanted the convocation of that Congregation. I had already understood this clearly beforehand in such a manner that all doubt, all possibility of doubt, had vanished from my soul (*Spiritual Exercises* #118). And, with time, this certitude became stronger. When subsequently I wanted to 'consider through reflection' (*Spiritual Exercises* #181) the reasons for God's will, several appeared to me, which St. Ignatius enumerates in our *Constitutions* (#680)" (1986, 27). Part of following the Spirit was involving all other appropriate persons in the process. He consulted with the Congregation of Procurators¹² in 1970 about convoking this historic meeting, and they voted to support it, giving him the authority to determine when it was to be held.

Arrupe Revitalizes Governance in the Spirit of Ignatius

Arrupe brought unique gifts to his governance of the society. In the language of contemporary leadership theory, he exemplified the characteristics of transformational leadership. He embodied the mission of the organization and exemplified the spiritual, apostolic, and relational qualities that the Society of Jesus was attempting to retrieve and renew.

Arrupe was keenly aware of the complexity of personal and communal conversion. He constantly appealed to the common ideals of the group, recognized the generosity of disposition in his men, and named the conflicts and resistance erupting from those individuals not yet converted. Above all, he

12. The Congregation of Procurators is a meeting held every four years to conduct necessary business of the society in concert with the general. It is an elected body with one person sent from every province worldwide, approximately eighty delegates.

trusted in the activity of God in their midst and placed their work within an entirely new interpretive horizon.

Arrupe, like Pope John XXIII, who convoked Vatican Council II, had personally experienced many aspects of the challenges the church faced in the modern world. He had experienced unjust political actions, first in Spain and subsequently in Japan. He witnessed the technological destruction of human life by that creation of modern science, the atomic bomb. He was a man of science, trained in medicine, and a man of the social sciences, trained in psychology. He ministered in diverse cultures and recognized the need for careful inculturation. As provincial in Japan, he led a community of men from nearly thirty different countries. He recognized from personal experience the limitations of a social structure that did not entirely fit his apostolic situation. He also recognized the limitation of all human means that were not animated by God's Spirit.

His election as general in 1965 enabled him to participate in the fourth session of Vatican Council II. At that time, the council was deliberating on *Gaudium et spes*, the role of the Catholic Church in the modern world, which included all aspects of culture—in particular, the challenge of atheism. The new context for mission was a world in which unbelief and injustice were facts. Arrupe made an important intervention in the council related to inculturation (October 12, 1965). Likewise, after his election, he presented his own vision of the global reality of the Jesuit community and a vision of church and society that had gradually been emerging throughout his own lifetime and that culminated in Vatican Council II and in the Thirty-first General Congregation. With tools from the social sciences, they could address questions of justice and faith in an entirely new way.

Church Reform as the Context for Transformation

Everything Arrupe advocated was based on deep fidelity to the church—a relationship of personal loyalty to the popes under whom he served and of fidelity to the implementation of the agenda of Vatican II, which included an entirely new relationship of the church to the world, a renewal of religious life based on an adaptation to the changed social contexts of modern life, and an authentic renewal of the original charisms of religious communities. These initiatives were mandated in the conciliar documents. The documents of the Thirty-first General Congregation cite the relevant papal encyclicals related to matters of social justice as well as the consensual documents produced by Vatican II. Arrupe unconditionally accepted these new directions.

Decree 32 of the Thirty-first General Congregation, "The Social Apostolate," gave increased priority to this apostolate for Jesuits. It identified the

goal of the apostolate: “to build a fuller expression of justice and charity into the structures of human life in common . . . [so] that every man may be able to exercise a personal sense of participation, skill, and responsibility in all areas of community life” (*Documents* 1977, Decree 32, par. 569). The decree acknowledged that “social structures, above all today, exert an influence on the life of man, even on his moral and religious life” (par. 570). The document described an awareness of global social and economic inequalities. It placed a universal love for the peoples of the world at the heart of this apostolate so that it could not be reduced to ideology or temporal activity alone. Further, it attempted to integrate this mission more fully into the society—giving it priority among others (par. 575), integrating these concerns into everyone’s training (par. 576), preparing some talented men specifically for this work (par. 577), and establishing regional social centers of research and action in collaboration with the laity (par. 578).

Within hierarchical structures, the leader exerts enormous power. A universal council, however, convoked in union with the pope, such as Vatican II, carries the highest authority of the church to which even the pope is accountable. Likewise, the documents of general congregations represent the deliberations of representatives of the community worldwide, not simply the opinions of the general of the society. Nonetheless, Arrupe used his leadership position to influence and persuade others to promote the reform agenda, to deepen spirituality, and to link faith with justice. He used every opportunity for speaking and for promoting fully integrated contemplation in action, prophetic witness, and core themes from *The Spiritual Exercises* and from Ignatian spirituality.

In between these two general congregations, the social teaching of the church continued to unfold with sharper analysis of the modern world. The Thirty-first General Congregation was followed by yet another social encyclical, Paul VI’s *Populorum progressio* (1967), by the Conference of Latin American Bishops (1968) in Medellín (which Arrupe attended), and by the synodal document *Justice in the World* (1971). Within a decade, official ecclesiastical documents articulated a growing awareness of global injustice embedded in social structures. Church teaching now recognized the limitations of a development model of economics in the third world and the relationship between faith and justice, between peace and justice, so that a form of integral liberation began to emerge. There was a reciprocal influence between the Society of Jesus and Pope Paul VI, whose encyclical *Evangelii nuntiande* (1975) expressed the role of religious life in evangelization along the lines articulated in the synod of 1971 and the Thirty-second General Congregation (O’Keefe 1998).

Influence of Liberation Theology

According to J. B. Libanio, a Brazilian Jesuit, “liberation theology starts from an option for the poor, with its ultimate motivation and inspiration in the gospel, aware that in the last resort it is grace. . . . The political and dialectical dimension is what makes it different from Ignatius’s experience. It is dialectical in the sense of recognizing that the poor we meet in the Third World have been made poor. . . . It sees and asserts a causal connection between the existence of poor people and the accumulation of wealth by the rich” (1991, 54). “The political dimension of liberation theology’s option for the poor is revealed in the importance it attaches to the poor person as the initiator of their [*sic*] own process of liberation from the situation of poverty and dehumanization” (55).

In 1972, Arrupe wrote an extensive commentary on the synodal document *Justice in the World*. His aim was to stir Christians worldwide to action on behalf of justice in response to the synod of 1971. In “Witnessing to Justice in the World,” he called for a lived witness to justice originating in a deep concern for others rather than in a desire for power or prestige. He repeatedly stressed the credibility of life and action that inspires others to build a world based on justice. He strongly asserted that discernment was required for these choices. “Discernment means reading and interpreting the signs of the times. It means asking ourselves such questions as these? In the concrete, existential situation in which we find ourselves, what are the acts that have a bearing on the Gospel message of justice: the liberation of the oppressed, the defense of the poor, the safe-guarding of human rights, the promotion of human development?” (Arrupe 1980b, 119). This kind of discernment required the identification of appropriate means of action. Arrupe also recognized that conversion was a prerequisite for discernment—an open mind and heart: “This means getting rid of attitudes and prejudices that close one’s mind and heart to everything except to the familiar, to what we are used to, to what has ‘always been done;’ and, also, getting rid of attitudes and prejudices that close one’s mind and heart to everything except what is new, what is against ‘tradition,’ what is sensational, what is revolutionary” (1980b, 120).

He built on the papal theme “If you want peace, work for justice” (theme for the World Day of Peace in 1972) by describing the false peace that “in reality supports, maintains, and perpetuates a real disorder, and ‘institutionalized violence;’ that is to say, social and political structures which have injustice and oppression built into them. In such a situation, to bear witness to justice, to act for justice, may mean to engage in a hard and protracted effort to

change such structures. . . . The outcome of any structural change should be a true liberation and not another type of oppression" (1980b, 107).

Dialogue and Discernment as a Way of Proceeding

In his style of governance, Arrupe sought to reconcile conflicts and to overcome resistance through consensus and dialogue. Ignacio Ellacuria, S.J., believed that the direction taken by the vice-province of Central America—which was inspired by the meeting in Medellín and embraced a theology of liberation—helped prepare the way for the Thirty-second General Congregation. In dealing with this community, Arrupe showed himself capable of real dialogue, seeking to understand the local situation and the varied responses of members of the society to it. Ellacuria said, "together we found the will of God in an interplay of representation and discernment carried out in the light of the strictest evangelical demands" (1986, 145). When the approaches to liberation and justice in Central America harmonized with the concerns of Arrupe and others in Rome, the outcome was very positive, according to Ellacuria and the Central American Jesuits:

in spite of substantive differences, we Jesuits of Central America and Father Arrupe were able to attain a very high degree of consensus achieved by growth rather than imposition. We all learned in the process, and we all suffered with it; but the results were good: where there had hardly been any native vocations, these began to flower in an extraordinary manner; where theological reflection was practically nil, there emerged an important theological movement; where the best efforts of many were oriented towards undifferentiated development, they assumed a new direction toward the liberation of the popular majorities; where once people lived attracted by the powerful of this world, they began to feel harshly the vigors of persecution for the sake of the kingdom—even to martyrdom and the constant threat of death.

Father Arrupe made all of this possible because, from his enormous evangelical richness, he knew how to approach with authority, humility, and immense love what was happening in these lands. (1986, 150–51)

Despite the developments in Central America, Arrupe was not convinced that the Society of Jesus as a whole had responded adequately to the pluriform agenda of renewal of life emerging from Vatican II and from the decrees of the Thirty-first General Congregation. Consequently, he called the Thirty-second General Congregation to develop a stronger consensus about the society's direction and a greater impetus to conversion and action. He sought the wisdom in the whole discerning group to deepen the reflection on the histor-

ical moment and to delineate the society's response. Nonetheless, he ardently supported the initial directions established in the Thirty-first General Congregation. Long before they voted on the key document of the Thirty-second General Congregation—Decree 4, "Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice"—he eloquently challenged the assembly on December 20, 1974: Were they willing to embrace the suffering that would surely follow should they continue the direction toward linking faith and justice? He spoke of misunderstanding, conflict, persecution from both church and civil authorities, even from one's own friends. According to Vincent O'Keefe, Ignatius himself believed persecution was a "sign of fidelity to Christ, a sign that we are not of this world" (1990, 63–64). In his travels throughout the world after the decree was passed, Arrupe tirelessly spoke about its implications. Three years later, at a meeting of the Congregation of Procurators, he expressed concern at the slowness of the society to implement the decrees of the Thirty-second General Congregation. He called for a more radical implementation of those decrees, and he linked this implementation to the Spirit breathing new life into the community and deeply desiring wholehearted response (1985a, 21–42).

Vincent O'Keefe identifies Decree 4 from the Thirty-second General Congregation as the heart of the entire set of documents produced in this meeting (1990, 53). It states boldly: "The mission of the Society of Jesus today is the service of faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement. For reconciliation with God demands the reconciliation of people with one another" (*Documents* 1977, par. 2). The subsequent paragraphs show continuity with the "Formula of the Institute" in the entirely new situation and challenges of the world today (par. 3). These challenges are named: a search for God by many who do not yet know Christ (par. 4), a complete loss of the sense of God by others (par. 5), and the reality of global interdependence. "There is a new challenge to our apostolic mission in a world increasingly interdependent but, for all that, divided by injustice: injustice not only personal but institutionalized: built into economic, social, and political structures that dominate the life of nations and the international community" (par. 6). This mission calls for a response that "must be total, corporate, rooted in faith and experience and multi-form" (par. 7).

The decree acknowledges that the modern world provides new tools as well as new challenges: "new and more effective ways of understanding man, nature and society; of communicating through image and feeling; of organizing action. These we must learn in the service of evangelization and human development" (par. 8).

The decree then calls for a "reassessment of all traditional apostolic methods, attitudes and institutions" in order to adapt them to a rapidly changing

world (par. 39). To do this requires the discernment taught in the Exercises (par. 10).

The documents carefully integrate faith and justice, priestly ministry and social action, contemplative prayer, and service to others. Spiritual discernment, deep faith, and commitment to Christ are the primary spiritual resources. Discernment seeks to discover God's action in the world, in the hearts of contemporaries, and in changing structures as well as hearts.

Vincent O'Keefe, Arrupe's trusted assistant, reports, "The period following the 32nd General Congregation was a difficult one, and the new focusing of our mission on the service of faith and the promotion of justice caused tensions both in the Society and outside it. In numerous talks and writings, Father Arrupe worked to explain the true meaning of our mission today; he worked to overcome readings of decree 4 that he termed 'incomplete, slanted, and unbalanced' ('Rooted and Grounded in Love,' #67)" (1990, 55). Above all, Arrupe refused to allow justice and charity to conflict with one another or with the total mission of the society to evangelize others, proclaiming the totality of Christian faith and salvation. "Faith moves and is moved by charity, and that charity brings about and goes beyond justice" (Arrupe 1985c, no. 73). Arrupe believed that love overcomes all the apparent tensions and dichotomies. According to O'Keefe, Arrupe restored personal relationships within the society by his own "way of proceeding," which was "not only credible but infectious" (1998).

In 1981, the same year in which he gave the address "Rooted and Grounded in Love," Arrupe suffered a stroke from which he never fully recovered. When the Thirty-third General Congregation was finally convened in 1983 to elect his successor, and after Pope John Paul II had intervened in the ongoing governance of the society, the question uppermost in the minds of most Jesuits was whether the Thirty-third General Congregation would confirm the reinterpretation of the society's charism and mission arrived at in both the Thirty-first and Thirty-second General Congregations, as well as confirm the previous eighteen years of corporate life, reflection, and action so ardently inspired by Pedro Arrupe's leadership.

The Thirty-third General Congregation did so ratify these matters:

the 33rd General Congregation readily receives the calls which the pope has made to the Society, and commits itself to a full and prompt response. At the same time we confirm the Society's mission expressed by the 31st and 32nd General Congregations particularly in the latter's decrees 2 and 4, which are the application today of the Formula of the Institute and of our Ignatian charism. They express our mission today in profound terms offering insights that serve as guidelines for our future responses:

- The integration of the service of faith and promotion of justice in one single mission [Decree 2, par. 8];
- the universality of the mission in the various ministries in which we engage [Decree 2, par. 9];
- the *discernment* needed to implement this mission [Decree 4, par. 10];
- the *corporate* nature of this mission [Decree 4, par. 62–69]. (*Documents* 1984, Part II, D.38)

The documents of the Thirty-third General Congregation also acknowledged "The decrees of General Congregation 31 (8, 13–17) and General Congregation 32 (2, 4, 11) as well as the writings of Father Arrupe have developed a spiritual doctrine at once profoundly rooted in the gospel and our tradition" (1984, 11). Arrupe's legacy was clearly accepted.

* * *

The foregoing extended treatment of Pedro Arrupe and of his leadership of the Society of Jesus solidly demonstrates several themes introduced in the treatment of Ignatius of Loyola and the mysticism of service that he articulated and lived. The most compelling frame of reference for Arrupe's thought, action, and experience of the presence of God in a life-long process of personal conversion was one inspired by Ignatius. Both men gave evidence of ongoing mystical experience that "sent" them on significant missions. Theirs was a contemplation in action—a contemplation that included concrete situations and historical settings. They contemplated—pondered, considered, observed, noticed, beheld—the needs of the church, the desires of others, and the complex dynamics of their social worlds as a spiritual practice. They did this in the company of the Three Persons of the Trinity and of God's offer of salvation to the world. They asked, What have they done, are doing, and will do for Christ? They attempted to scrutinize "the signs of the times" for God's Spirit moving in them and in the church. When transposed into the new key of the twentieth century, this question was answered by Arrupe and the society within the context of careful social analysis by a commitment to transform society and themselves toward greater justice, charity, and human dignity.

Both Ignatius and Arrupe maintained a strong commitment to ongoing personal transformation in a process of action interpenetrated with contemplation and reflection. Both made their friendship with Christ the center of their lives. This friendship entailed not only intense periods of personal prayer, illumination, and mystical experience but also service to Christ in works of evangelizing, preaching, spiritual direction, and other forms of missionary activity. Both Ignatius and Arrupe allowed themselves to be transformed by the Spiritual Exercises and made them the center of all of their apostolic activity.

Both men consciously developed their service, social influence, and efforts at social change in response to and in support of the reforming efforts of the Roman Catholic Church of their day. Both led their communities, one as an innovative founder and the other as a courageous refounder. In the light of sociological theory, clearly Arrupe was one of the most important twentieth-century members of the Society of Jesus to contribute to the revitalization of the religious community and of the institutions the society runs in response to the mandates of the Thirty-first, Thirty-second, and Thirty-third General Congregations.

Both Arrupe and Ignatius were leaders of revitalization movements who attracted and inspired others to join together with them in their apostolic project. Just as the first fathers felt their union into a community was literally impelled by the Spirit and expected the Spirit to continue to inspire them in new directions, the twentieth-century Society of Jesus judged its reforming general congregations to be similar events of the Spirit. This was so much the case that Decree 2 of the Thirty-fourth General Congregation appropriated Arrupe's dream of uniting the whole body of the society with all of its spiritual and apostolic strength and talent in one mission for every Jesuit and all Jesuits:

The Church, whose mission we share, exists not for itself but for humanity, bearing the proclamation of God's love and casting light on the inner gift of that love. Its aim is the realization of the Kingdom of God in the whole of human society, not only in the life to come, but also in this life. We exercise our Jesuit mission within the total evangelizing mission of the Church. This mission is "a single but complex reality which develops in a variety of ways:" through the integral dimensions of life witness, proclamation, conversion, inculturation, the genesis of local churches, dialogue and the promotion of the justice willed by God. Within this framework, in accordance with our charism, our tradition and the approval and encouragement of Popes through the years, the contemporary Jesuit mission is the service of faith and the promotion in the society of "that justice of the Gospel which is the embodiment of God's love and saving mercy." (*Documents* 1995, no. 24)

Both Ignatius and Arrupe knew how to influence and how to await a free response, empowered by God. Both men admirably succeeded in leaving behind a legacy of personal and social transformation rooted in their mystical experience.